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**Harbingers of A New Age: Irish and Scots Irish Indian Fighters on the Colonial American
Frontier**

A Dissertation Submitted

By

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Dedication

To my dearest and most loving family: I dedicate this most laborious undertaking. Many of you have sacrificed your time, energy, and emotions to ensure that this dissertation came to fruition. I would like to thank my family for instilling a love of history and for encouraging me at every opportunity. I would also like to thank my husband, Hank, for inspiring me to explore this research and for providing family histories for documentation, so that these Irish and Scots Irish histories in early America will be remembered. To my children, I hope that these histories will help you understand the history of your people and your nation. This dissertation belongs to you all.

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Introduction

Governor John Winthrop and his brother-in-law Surveyor-General Thomas Lechmere corresponded over the influx of Irish immigrants with the hope of settling in the New World. On August 11, 1718, Thomas Lechmere, the Surveyor-General of Customs for the colonies of New England, lamented at the shortage of servants in the colonies of New England and the great expense of the few that there were. He informed Winthrop not to mistake the Irish for servants as they were men of estates and had come to the New World at the promise of free land to be given for their settlement as a barrier for Native American attacks.¹ He also expressed that very few of the Scots Irish*² arriving were for sale or indenture, as they had paid their passage ahead of their sailing and had references from their previous employment. This is a stark departure of the indigent servants arriving from Irish shores, traditionally focused on in American history³.

The economic impact upon the colonies is what appears to have been the biggest issue for Anglo settlers in the New World. Most of the food stores in the colony were imported and during especially hard years, had to be borrowed from neighboring colonies. Lechmere remarked, “These confounded Irish will eat us all up, provisions being most extravagantly dear & scarce of

¹ Winthrop, John. *Thomas Lechmere Letter, August 11, 1718, Winthrop Papers*. Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1992.

²*Scots Irish, Scots-Irish, Scotch, Ulster Scots, and Scotch-Irish, are all valid ethnic monikers identifying populations from Ireland and Scotland. The term “Scotch Irish” is an Americanism, or a term in reference to Protestant settlers from Northern Ireland and Scotland who migrated to America in the 17th and 18th century. “.” Dictionary of American History. Encyclopedia.com. 23 May. 2022.” Encyclopedia.com. Encyclopedia.com, May 30, 2022. <https://www.encyclopedia.com/history/united-states-and-canada/us-history/scotch-irish#:~:text=SCOTCH-IRISH%2C%20a%20term%20referring%20to%20a%20migrant%20group,United%20Kingdom%20and%20seldom%20used%20by%20British%20historians.>

³ Ford, Henry Jones. *The Scotch-Irish in America*. Ulster Books, 1915. Chp. VII.

all sorts”⁴. The Irish and Scots Irish were allowed by colonial leaders in the New England colonies to settle on land on the borderlands of the colony as a barrier to Native American attacks. One of the earliest of these communities was Worcester, Massachusetts. Eventually, the Scots Irish frontiersmen, and their evolution as Indian Fighters proved to be of recognizable military value. Colonial governments began recruiting them for fighting in 1722 when Indian Wars broke out⁵.

As a result of living on the frontier, the Irish settlers risked Native American attacks, but the adaptability of the Irish in the New World was ingenious. They were able to build outposts and develop into efficient Indian Fighters who would settle the frontier lands. The Colonial Governments and Continental Congress would later call upon their services on multiple occasions in matters of warfare⁶. Geographic and environmental isolation affected and preserved religious belief and linguistics, and these communities have contributed to American culture and development⁷.

Protestant Irish immigrants from Ulster, also known as Scots Irish, arrived in New England, and were greeted by brothers in faith such as Cotton Mather and Samuel Sewall. But as larger numbers of immigrants began to arrive, it put an economic strain on the communities (as they had to import rations) and evidence of social and ethnic prejudice were evident, especially

⁴Winthrop, John. *Thomas Lechmere Letter, August 11, 1718, Winthrop Papers*. Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1992.

⁵ Ford, Henry Jones. *The Scotch-Irish in America*. Ulster Books, 1915. Chp. VII.

⁶ O’Toole, Fintan. *White Savage: William Johnson and the Invention of America* 1st American ed. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2005. 294.

⁷ Kennedy, Billy. *Heroes of the Scots-Irish In America*. Greenville: Emerald House Group, Inc, 2000. 100-101.

in the correspondence of community leaders and the appointment of where the Irish were allowed to settle.

These isolated frontier communities of Irish immigrants formed out of necessity for survival on the expanding western frontiers, whether voluntarily as a choice, or because of placement due to economic prohibitions and ethnic prejudice. The Irish and Scots Irish settlements on the frontiers played an important role in the formation of American religion, environment, infrastructure, warfare, culture, language, and society. These two unique ethnic groups were able to contribute vastly to these areas while their effective actions of Indian fighting on the frontier had the effect of expanding their influence on the American continent.

This examination focused on early Irish and Scots Irish communities that were often geographically and socially isolated in the New World, and how their existence and placement on the North American continent necessitated their evolution into Indian fighters.⁸ The time period under discussion is from the earliest arrivals in the New World in the 16th century to the late 18th century. During these periods, there were various waves of immigration from staggered socio-economic backgrounds. This had an enormous impact not only upon the social standing and settlements of the Irish or Scots Irish that settled in the New World, but also the ways in which their histories were recorded; in some cases, misreported or omitted completely. This examination provides a comprehensive examination of the Irish and Scots Irish in their roles of evolving Indian Fighters in early North American history.

⁸ Though the Irish and Scots Irish are two unique groups diversified by factors such as ethnic or geographic origin, religious and political adherences in the Old World, in America they were often broadly classified as "Irish". Owing to this identification in British and Early North America, both the Irish and Scots Irish shall be referred to as Irish in this dissertation. For a more in-depth description of this, see Chapter 2.

Some of the most pressing questions that were considered were: How and why were Irish Indian Fighters evolve from immigrants on the North American continent? How were frontier communities formed, and what role did they play in the evolution of Irish Indian Fighters? What incentives, or conversely, mandates, were there that drew Irish immigrants to settle on the frontier? What issues arose on the frontier that necessitated the evolution of migrants to Indian fighters? What were the contributions of Irish Indian Fighters to early American history?

Through the examination of these questions, an understanding was gained of how the Irish retained their ethnic pride and heritage and how isolation affected the Irish populations socially, culturally, politically, and militarily. The story of the Irish communities in early America can help modern historians understand how the Irish and the Scots Irish helped to shape the emerging American nation. The impact of the Irish Indian Fighters to colonial and early American endeavors was representative of their adaptive and industrious nature, which had evolved over centuries of border warfare in Ireland and Scotland, as well as border warfare on the North American continent. Their martial, political, religious, and cultural contributions to colonial America heavily influenced the outcome of warfare on the continent, but also political ideologies and an emergent American ethic.

The evolution of underlying factors or structure within this evaluation was studied through the examination of quantitative methods and details, especially the mentalities of common people of the period. This was often found in letters, diaries, and other personal papers. The reason for the use of data extracted from these sources is that they help to gauge the perspectives of the affected subject population and their reactions to factors beyond their control, such as geography, policies, and unexpected conflict. The use of ethnographic detail in this research allowed for the discovery of how everyday Irish people on the frontiers perceived their

identity and events, and in the course gave clues as to larger patterns of change and evolution.

The employment of ethnographic and quantitative techniques in this instance has expanded the body of information and has provided more evidence concerning the larger subject matter under the lens of focused examination.

Qualitative records, such as church and societal records, were also used in this analysis, and have contributed to an understanding of the texture of daily life of Irish Indian Fighters and the role that social control played in the functions and evolution of their lives over time. This data provides valuable insights into the value systems to which the subjects responded, such as race, class, gender, religion, ethnic background, etc. These insights provide historians with an understanding of how these people understood the meaning of their lives. Through the lens of symbolic analysis, both rational and irrational behavior displayed the manner in which the Irish and Scots Irish implied values and orientations of people, policies, and conflicts within their world, and what those people and their meanings meant within the systems of their lives.

The synthesis of abstract formulation of Irishness as a constant, provides a constitution of the framework of the lives of Irish Indian Fighters. As changes in the New World occurred, subtle changes in the construction of relationships and interactions with one another socially also took place. Consequently, the Irish took actions to preserve facets of their lives and to forge a new world according to their own ideas of social existence. Hopefully this history will create an understanding of a broader political process and tensions that eventually produced the evolution of the Irish Indian Fighters.

Primary sources such as vital statistic records, deeds, personal papers, journals, correspondence, archived documents, legislative documents, church sermons, and testimonies reflective of settlement progress and community matters, and other sources deemed helpful in supporting the methodology of valuating this history “from the bottom-up” were used to assist in the methodological approach of this examination. The methodology employed in this analysis is a new social history, where a particular community is examined in a sort of microhistory. This methodological pathway is a departure from that of the slim repertoire of previous Irish American historians, who relied upon influences of the Consensus, Progressive, and even Revisionist schools of historiography.

This last historiographical model, which relied heavily upon statistical methodology was heavily imbalanced in one direction. This research balanced statistical analysis in the representation of statistics where applicable. However, the new social history methodology focus means that the historian will be more focused on telling the story of the subject and using evidence to validate those claims. The use of demographic analysis based upon data and collections that have been mined as well as theoretical analysis of some previous scholars in the field, such as Michael O’Brien, Kerby A. Miller, and Jay Dolan were used to examine and deduce the most accurate historical conclusions for the questions that this project sought. This methodology lays foundational information on the Irish and Scots Irish Communities of New World, so that readers might then understand the social complexities and contributions of their rich heritage.

Most of the studies that have been conducted on the Irish up to this point have been written by investigative journalists, amateur historians, and a select few contemporary historians who have focused on a specific theme within Irish American history. This presents a challenge to

the contemporary historian seeking to understand a comprehensive view of the Irish and Scots Irish in the New World, as small fragments of history must be gleaned from these historiographies to provide a historiographical understanding of their history. One of the earliest historiographies to include the Irish perspective also serves as a primary account of the time in which it was written. Alexander Hewat wrote *An Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of the Colonies of South Carolina and Georgia* (1779) to provide an account of the establishments and the histories of the colonies of South Carolina and Georgia for recollection and for the people of England to understand the development of the American colonies in the New World⁹. As a clergyman and historian, he wished to record the history of the region for posterity and to account to the English for the development of the colonies. This account was helpful in understanding the manner of early Irish arrival to the colony of South Carolina and the challenges that they faced from Anglo society and from Native American interactions. Hewat's perspective also provides valuable insight into the climate of attitudes and perceptions of the Irish and their roles during the colonial period.

The accounts of immigrants through the ports in Charlestown and documentations of the living conditions of the time is important in supporting evidence as to the number of immigrants arriving in America from certain countries and where they would establish themselves once they had arrived. There are accounts of Native American attacks on settlers and frontier settlements (of which many were Irish and Scots Irish immigrants). These adversarial issues are important in examining the social and cultural, as well as homesteading and housing conditions that placed these immigrants apart from mainstream civilization, and by extension the central role of the

⁹ Hewat, Alexander. *An Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of the Colonies of South Carolina and Georgia*. London, 1779.

church's influence. The church served as a community hub for frontier settlements. The Scots Irish and Irish settlers on the frontier and in the township were evaluated by Hewat in terms of immigration, homesteading, church foundations, and frontier challenges and progress.

A second source, similar in origin and purpose, but written nearly 100 years later, was George Howe's discourse, *The Scotch-Irish, and their first settlements on the Tyger River and other neighboring precincts in South Carolina: a centennial discourse, delivered at Nazareth Church, Spartanburg district, S.C., September 14, 1861*. This historical discourse is a primary source document gathered by George Howe and delivered at a meeting in the city of Spartanburg, South Carolina¹⁰. The discourse is a compendium of facts, events, and politicking in response to the grievances and successful ventures of certain frontier communities. The areas that were discussed in the discourse were considered frontier homesteads and communities (largely inhabited by Irish and Scots Irish). These homesteads were subject to geographic isolation, where the homesteaders relied on itinerant preachers, as well as traveled to towns to have some religious interaction. The areas also saw some of the most brutal and heavy Native American attacks. This speech delivered in the church shows how central of a role that the churches played as hubs of the community and in politics. The opinions and accounts that were provided by pastors such as these were influential and afforded leadership a first-hand account of the conditions of settlements. This source suggests that geographic and social isolation limited the religious institutions that the Irish and Scots Irish had access to, but religion remained an

¹⁰ Howe, George. *The Scotch-Irish, and their first settlements on the Tyger River and other neighboring precincts in South Carolina: a centennial discourse, delivered at Nazareth Church, Spartanburg district, S.C., September 14, 1861*. Columbia, S.C: Southern Guardian Steam-Power Press, 1861.

important influence in their daily lives. Howe's historical record provides geo-political information as well as ethnographic information of the Irish.

Nearly 50 years later, a Catholic and Irish historian by the name of Michael O'Brien published a series of articles and research in various papers and journals that reflected the history of Irish, and the distinction between the history of the Scots Irish (Protestant) immigrants. O'Brien became the President of the Irish Historical Association and advocate for the Irish to take pride in their history and to make sure that their own histories were preserved for future generations. O'Brien came along during a time of Progressive and Consensus historians. His perspective reflected the view that it was time for the people to preserve their own histories and to have pride in the Irish contributions (which he argued were innumerable from before the founding of the nation). His essays and articles were published collectively in a book entitled *Irish Settlers in America (1979)*.¹¹ O'Brien's work is ground-breaking in the fact that he examined historical records and used empirical data to lead him to logical conclusions. His whole mission was to validate the presence and contributions of native Irish immigrants in early America. Several of the articles contained in his book examine various issues and occurrences that substantiate the Irish as members, or outcasts in some cases, of early American communities. It also proudly substantiates records of the Irish in their evolving role of Indian fighters on the expanding American frontier.

The same year that O'Brien's work was published, Peter B. Sheridan published an article entitled "The Protestant Irish Heritage in America", a history behind the Irish Diaspora in

¹¹ O'Brien, Michael J. *Irish Settlers in America*. Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 1979.

America¹². Sheridan focused on the fact that most of the earliest Irish immigrants in America were in fact Scots Irish from Ulster. He verified that the British had sought to reform Ireland by establishing a Scots Irish plantation in Ulster, Ireland which was not extraordinarily successful resulting in the emigration of those settlers to America. Once in America they began to homestead plantations and carve out livings on the frontier. The Protestant faith was important to these Scots Irish but was not always accessibly due to their living arrangements. The settlers who lived on the frontiers maintained an identity from Irish Catholic settlers in the region. Many settlers had to travel for religious ministry, but their faith remained firm. The birth of itinerant ministers on the frontier brought religion back into the daily lives of these settlers and the revivals, as well as fragmentation of denominations also affected the Scots Irish. Sheridan's article provides insight into the Scots Irish and Protestant Irish religious identity and, by extension, cultural identity. It also highlights the religious diversity that existed between the Scots Irish and Irish, despite shared ethnic origins. Immigrants from Ireland were all defined as "Irish" by the Anglo settlers. This definition is crucial to understanding immigrants from Ireland and their ethnic origins during the colonial period in North America. The broad umbrella term of "Irish" gave more credence to port of origin, rather than ethno-religious factors that defined Irish and Scots Irish identity in America during larger waves of Irish migration at a later date.

The book *Ulster to America: The Scots-Irish Migration Experience, 1680-1830* (1947-2012) is a compilation of scholarship that categorized and interpreted the Scots Irish experience in the United States from the first point of immigration until 1830.¹³ This approach to Scots Irish

¹² Sheridan Peter B. "The Protestant Irish Heritage in America". In: *Études irlandaises*, 1979. pp. 167-176.

¹³ Hofstra, Warren R. *Ulster to America the Scots-Irish Migration Experience, 1680-1830*. 1st ed. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2012.

history in America challenges the notion of the Scots Irish as lone wolves orphaned by civilization, carving out the wilderness with their own bare hands. Instead, the narrative examines the tight-knitted communities that the Scots Irish felt compelled to build as a transplantation of practices that had been learned in Ulster. These communities and their churches not only served as social hubs, but also existed out of necessity for the dangerous task of settling in land unknown and sometimes hostile. This argument presented the Scots Irish in America as wanting to live communally and carry with them valued traditions, and to hold honorable positions in their newly formed communities. This sense of community was of paramount importance to the Irish and Scots Irish who lived on the frontier, because of their geographic isolation and insular nature. These factors had a direct impact on frontier society, and help to explain the cyclical violence that emerged in response to warfare on the frontier.

Ned C. Landsman provided an important understanding of Scottish society, which was later transplanted to Ulster, and then on to America in *Scotland and Its First American Colony* (1985). The book gives insight into Scottish society, Scottish transplants and their experiences, influences, identities, and communities in New Jersey, and lastly, transatlantic, and comparative perspectives on Scots settlements from the Old World to the New, and how those settlements and experiences affected their social development. The assessment given by the evaluation of these historical experiences indicated that the ethnic identity of the Scots and Scots Irish was strengthened despite mounting adversities. Landsman's documentation assessed that they were economically and socially progressive, yet steadfast in their opposition of despotic rule. Their ethnic identity was that of educated, intellectual, and socially conscious individuals who had "an implicit logic" when it came to the cultivation of their own societies, communities, homesteads,

medicine, etc.¹⁴. Landsman purported that this mindset of perfection over dominant and aggressive English neighbors set them apart from any other ethnic immigrants in the New World at the time. Landesman's analysis of Irish and Scots Irish societies also lend validity to the role of ethnic identity and collective memory in the development of Indian fighters on the American frontier.

The challenges of frontier living created the product of Indian fighters upon the frontier, which most certainly affected the Irish and Scots Irish who settled those lands. Historian Richard Levine led a school of study on Frontier Indian Fighters and the conflicts which necessitated their existence. His article "Indian Fighters and Indian Reformers: Grant's Indian Peace Policy and the Conservative Consensus" (1985), which focused mostly on political and governmental policy leading to conflict on the frontier, touched upon the role and evolution of frontier Indian Fighters.¹⁵ Levine's focus was mostly on political and governmental policy. His assertions about a lack of uniformity in policy are correct, but there was a lack of historical perspective in understanding the troops that were fighting on the frontiers. Yet there was a complete absence of the conditions (attacks on homesteads, settlers, innocent doctors who happened to wander into the country in pursuit of botany) that necessitated the existence of Indian fighters. Levine analyzed social histories, historical documents, eyewitness accounts, and considered revisionist and consensus historian schools of thought in his article. From the outset of the article Levine appears determined to condemn the approaches of the Indian fighters and their advisors to paint them as complete villains. In actuality, the diplomacy of the missions was more complicated, and

¹⁴ Landsman, Ned C. "Back Matter." In *Scotland and Its First American Colony, 1683-1765*, 361–361. Princeton University Press, 1985.

¹⁵ Levine, Richard R. 1985. "Indian Fighters and Indian Reformers: Grant's Indian Peace Policy and the Conservative Consensus." *Civil War History* 31 (4): 329-53.

the systems of deployment broke down in several places. There was little discussion of ethnic origin of the fighters in any of the work, when in the correspondence and origins of the fighters themselves one discerned how the cultural experiences affected reaction. The lack of these perspectives limited and committed a disservice to both sides of the conflict. The danger of consensus historians with tunnel vision is that the singular lens leaves out important evidence as well.

A decade later, with the rise of New Social history, a historian focused upon the various ethnic contributions and frontier lifestyles in British North America. The book was *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America* by David Hackett Fischer¹⁶. Fischer discussed the significant role of the Celtic populations in the book, in which he determined the migration of the Celts from the borderlands to the backcountry and the significance of their settlement in the Appalachian region, most importantly in the Cumberland Gap. Through their settlement in this region, they imported their culture, customs, language, skills, religious beliefs, and other social systems¹⁷. Hackett's in-depth analysis of folkways in America is fundamental to the understanding of the origin of border ethnic people, such as the Scots Irish and Irish, and how their experiences over several generations influenced and necessitated their adaptation for survival on the American frontier.

Irish journalist Billy Kennedy wrote several pieces on Irish immigrants in America, but his book *Heroes of the Scots-Irish In America* (2000) highlighted the events and actions that led to religious differences and the cultural separation of the Scots Irish from their Gaelic Irish

¹⁶ Fischer, David Hackett. *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.

¹⁷*Ibid.*

brothers during the immigration process to America were unique to the frontier settlements in which they settled. The conditions and influences that these groups encountered and how they affected their morals and traditions also weighed heavily on their faith. In the isolated homesteads of the frontier, the Irish settled apart from their neighbors by miles of rugged wilderness, because of the traditional way in which they farmed. Kennedy even discusses the transition of isolated linguistic Scots Irish terms into the terminology of vernacular America.¹⁸ Kennedy's main claims assert that the Irish and Scots Irish were distinctive in their cultural traits and traditions that they transplanted from the Old World. His arguments are based on the Irish and Scots Irish identity and contributions, while authors such as Hofstra illuminate the role of the Scots Irish in the New World as contributory, yet adaptive, meaning that the Scots Irish threw out cultural and social traditions and folkways that did not serve them well in North America in favor of ones that insured survival.

In the book, *The People with No Name: Ireland's Ulster Scots, America's Scots Irish, and the Creation of a British Atlantic World, 1689-1764* (2001), Patrick Griffin used archival materials to evaluate the massive Ulster Scots migration through the transatlantic world in the 18th century, and to examine the lives and communities that they established or contributed to in America. He noted that they transplanted Old World values, traditions, and beliefs to the New World, and that in turn largely influenced and helped them adapt to religious, economical, and cultural changes that they faced in America¹⁹. This book is critical in understanding the new identities that the

¹⁸ Kennedy, Billy. *Heroes of the Scots-Irish In America*. Greenville: Emerald House Group, Inc, 2000.

¹⁹ Griffin, Patrick. *The People with No Name Ireland's Ulster Scots, America's Scots Irish, and the Creation of a British Atlantic World, 1689-1764* /. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2012.

Scots Irish formed for themselves in America, and what roles they played in shaping patterns of frontier settlement.

Timothy J Hatton and Jeffrey G. Williamson's book *Global Migration and the World Economy: Two Centuries of Policy and Performance* provided an economic methodology for exploring the roles of migrating communities and the impacts that their migration had on their gaining and losing territories²⁰. This statistical evidence converged with political, economic, and business policies to provide explanations for historical innovations. While this book isn't exclusive to the study of Irish migration, it does contain valuable information on the effects of transatlantic migration on certain populations.

Ulster and Scotland, 1600-2000: History, Language, Identity is another compilation of essays that focus on the theme of Scots and Ulster Scots identity in language, emotion, culture, families, politics, and religion. The main theme of the essays are the links and effects of Scots migration and Kerby Miller's essay regarding Scots Irish identity successfully argued how patterns of migration had resulted in impactful cultural consequences in some of the furthest reaches of the globe²¹. These cultural consequences are helpful in evaluating not only how the Scots and Scots Irish were impacted by those very communities influenced the communities that they migrated to, but also how influenced the communities to which they migrated. These influences would establish the Irish Diaspora in the United States.

²⁰ Hatton, T. J., and Jeffrey G. Williamson. *Global Migration and the World Economy: Two Centuries of Policy and Performance*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT, 2008.

²¹ Kelly, William and John R. Young. *Ulster and Scotland, 1600-2000: History, Language, Identity*. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2004.

These Fissured Isles: Ireland, Scotland, and British History, 1798-1848 (2005) is a collection of 13 essays that were originally presented at a conference in Aberdeen, Scotland²². They reflect on the class identity and struggles with respect to the fragmentation of society and ethnic identity within the British empire. The authors surmised that there were separate spheres of Scottish and Irish identity within the British identity and history. The idea of forced assimilation to imperial standards under English rule, as well as religious and national tensions that existed within these confines was discussed in detail. Ultimately, the book and essays contained within underscore the theme of class divisiveness and the links between class identity and conflict. Kerby Miller contributed an important article on the American definitions of ethnography and how Revisionist scholarship compartmentalized the ethnic identity of Scotland and Ireland within America²³. This perspective is important in diagnosis of more recent historical scholarship and how it has changed the way that historians evaluate the links between the three countries of origin and their confluences.

The popular frontier theme of Native American conflict and Indian fighting again emerged in Fintan O'Toole's *White Savage: William Johnson and the Invention of America* (2005). The book provided a biographical history of William Johnson, who assimilated Native American warfare tactics into European colonial fighting styles upon the frontier, and successfully combatted pervasive frontier assaults, and simultaneously earned the respect of his enemies. Despite these pervasive attacks, there were also instances of peaceful interactions between settlers and the Native Americans. Many of the settlers were able to learn valuable planting methods, language, hunting and fighting techniques from their Indian allies²⁴. Some

²² Brotherstone, Terry, Anna Clark, and Kevin Whelan. *These Fissured Isles: Ireland, Scotland, and British History, 1798-1848*. Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 2005.

²³ *Ibid*, 206.

settlers, such as William Johnson, adopted the Indian lifestyle, as well as tactics of warfare, and employed them for the defense of their homesteads, as well as the expansion of the western frontier, and war with enemy nations²⁵. Men such as Johnson were instrumental in the evolution of Indian fighters and frontier diplomacy in America.

James Webb wrote *Born Fighting: How the Scots-Irish Shaped America* (2005), which addressed the lack of historical perspective in understanding the troops that were fighting in the frontiers. The conditions (attacks on homesteads, settlers, innocent doctors who happened to wander into the country in pursuit of botany) necessitated the existence of Indian fighters initially. In Virginia, the government noted that the Scots Irish were primed for Indian fighting because of their contentious origins in Ireland and Scotland prior to their arrival in America²⁶. There was still a lack of understanding on the Native American analysis of why some of these homesteaders were so abhorrent to them (slash and burn, planting techniques). However, such encroachments on Native American environments in the New World explain the complex interactions of the Irish and native people, and the evolution of frontier pioneers to Indian fighters.

David Gleeson's article "Smaller Differences: Scotch Irish and Real Irish" takes an introspective look at the dividing characteristics between the perceived "real" Irish and "every other kind of Irish"²⁷. Traditional differentiation related to schisms in religion, and ethnic origin

²⁵ O'Toole, Fintan. *White Savage: William Johnson and the Invention of America* 1st American ed. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2005.

²⁶ Webb, James H. *Born Fighting: How the Scots-Irish Shaped America*. First trade paperback ed. New York: Broadway Books, 2005.

²⁷ Gleeson, David T. "Smaller Differences: 'Scotch Irish' and 'Real Irish' in the Nineteenth-Century American South." *New Hibernia Review / Iris Éireannach Nua* 10, no. 2 (2006): 68–91.

were evaluated in several cases by Gleeson, to glean an understanding of historical events and the relation of both types of Irish identities surrounding them. In his conclusion, Gleeson asserts that politics and political atmosphere were responsible for cultivating Irish sectarianism in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. He asserted that the right political circumstances and a certain political leadership may have been responsible for “blurring the lines” between the two Irish ethnic designations²⁸. His assessments concludes that the differences between Irish Catholics and Protestants, even in the American South, were not so profound to cause a serious national schism.²⁹ Gleeson’s analysis of the blurred definition of Irish identity is important to the understanding of the evolution of Irish identity both within the Irish community and within the larger population. For frontier Irish settlers, their Irish identity was directly linked to their value (or lack thereof) as settlers and subjects of the Crown, with all entitled rights.

The article “How the Irish Became Protestant in America” by Michael P. Carroll examined the Irish identity in America about the identification of Irish Protestants³⁰. A comparative analysis in the chronology of Irish American immigration exposed the fact that most of the Irish who settled in early America prior to the 18th and 19th century waves of immigration were Protestants. In this article Carroll exposed the complicated nature between Irish culture and religious identity. He argued that there was a period of early American history in which the “Scotch-Irish” immigrated from Ireland (the Ulster region in particular) because of the religious tensions between Catholics and Protestants at the time. This important origin for these Scotch-

²⁸ Gleeson, David T. “Smaller Differences: ‘Scotch Irish’ and ‘Real Irish’ in the Nineteenth-Century American South.” *New Hibernia Review / Iris Éireannach Nua* 10, no. 2 (2006): 91.

²⁹ Based off investigative research and conclusions by historians like Gleeson, Sheridan, and O’Brien that the Irish were lumped into the same ethnic group in America at some point in their early history on the continent, this dissertation examined the comprehensive histories of the Irish and Scots Irish in early America.

³⁰ Carroll, Michael P. “How the Irish Became Protestant in America.” *Religion and American Culture: A Journal of Interpretation* 16, no. 1 (2006): 25-54.

Irish immigrants is key to understanding the frontier settlers who arrived from Ireland and distinguished themselves from their other Irish counterparts who would flock to the United States following the Great Famine in Ireland. This second wave of Irish immigrants were primarily Catholic and represented the second half of the Irish population in America. Carroll provided a speculative look into how these religious, cultural, and traditional differences led to a diversification of religious congregations among Irish populations in American history, such as the growth of Methodist and Baptist congregations. The perspective also helped to illuminate the Irish Diaspora within American Protestants to the modern day. This source provided an analysis of the key cultural, religious, and traditional differences that separated these two ethnically similar groups of Irish immigrants.

University professor Jay Dolan is well-known for his research in the subject of Catholicism, particularly as it relates to the large denomination of Irish contingency within its ranks. His book *The Irish Americans: A History (2008)* documents the history of traditional Irish communities in America.³¹ In many cases, Dolan is masterful in finding copious examples of perseverance through adversity and the triumph of the Irish in America. Dolan's work documented the conditions of the Irish immigrants' arrival on the shores of the New World through the 2000's. A great deal of the work focused on the bleak challenges that they faced in a strange and wild land, and their suffering under prejudice as scores of their fellow countrymen flooded America in search of relief from the Famine.³² There were hundreds of years of oppression, ethnic prejudice, and nativist discrimination, in which the Irish had to form their own

³¹ Dolan, Jay P. *The Irish Americans: A History*. First U.S. ed. New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2008. 72-73.

³² *Ibid.*

communities and political bonds to seize political power, unions, and industry. He focused mainly on parishes in New York and Chicago that were among the most populous parishes in America at the time and focused on the ethnic culture and ingenuity of the immigrants who dwelt in the tenements.³³ This perspective helps to explain the adversities which the Irish and their Scots Irish counterparts faced, and perhaps why their historiography in American history was omitted or skewed at certain points.

Kerby Miller is an expert on Irish and Irish American history and professor at the University of Missouri. He has written several books and articles on the Irish experience in America, but his book *Ireland and Irish America: Culture, Class, and Transatlantic Migration* (2008) served as an analysis of the effects of the Protestant and Catholic Irish identities in America once they crossed the Atlantic³⁴. The period of focus is from the 1600's-1930's and encompassed over 30 years' worth of research in the form of primary source documents such as letters, census, and other government data reports, as well as church records. Miller explained the Irish Diaspora and the role of their religion in influencing almost every factor of their identity and evolution in the New World. This book provided a supportive argument and links to primary evidence of the role of religion in influencing cultural communities and differences within the Irish diaspora in America.

Miller also published a resourceful history along with other noted historians, Arnold Schrier, Bruce D. Boling, and David N. Doyle. The title of the work is *Irish Immigrants in the Land of*

³³Dolan, Jay P. *The Irish Americans: A History*. First U.S. ed. New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2008., 272.

³⁴ Miller, Kerby A. *Ireland and Irish America: Culture, Class, and Transatlantic Migration*. Dublin: Field Day, 2008.

Canaan (2003), and it encompasses the experiences of Irish (and Scots Irish) Americans throughout their journey from the Emerald Isle to America³⁵. The historians masterfully referenced original letters and other official documents to show how the lives of those in America and Ireland were inextricably linked throughout their history. Many of the documents were accessed for the first time for this project, and the authors accompanied primary source evidence with scholastic historical dialogue, which narrated the conditions under which the primary documents had been composed, as well as the implications of the correspondence and other documents. This work is invaluable to the study of Irish American history, as it elucidates the hostile and challenging environments that necessitated the evolution of the Irish on the frontier. It also illustrated the role of the Irish immigrants in America with reference to social, martial, judicial, and civic aspects.

There are some severe gaps in the scholarly research on Irish and Scots Irish individuals and communities on the American frontier. Most of the research that has been done on Indian Fighters is more than three decades old and incomplete. Much of the research is also affected by social influences of historical methodology or social perspectives of the time in which they were written. Irish American historians such as Michael O'Brien often claimed that the feats of Irish immigrants were often omitted or labeled simply as American, to cut ties from their Gaelic origins. Considering the time in which these arguments were put forth, nativism was at its height, and there was a large societal push for the eschewing of nationalities once an immigrant became an American.

³⁵ Miller, Kerby A. *Irish Immigrants in the Land of Canaan Letters and Memoirs from Colonial and Revolutionary America, 1675-1815*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.

There was also evidence of social prejudice against the Irish following the massive influx of immigrants following the Great Famine. When Revisionist histories began to emerge in the 20th century, the role of Indian fighters was villainized in preference to show sympathy for the displaced Native American populations of the American frontiers. The Indian Fighters were villainized as usurpers who sought to eradicate the Native Americans to avoid having to deal with them or share any resources, but there was little mention of the homestead attacks and the precarious position of the Irish and Scots Irish settlers.

These problematic historiographies and monumental gaps present several challenges because new information must be unearthed and mined to find the ethnic scope of Irish and Scots Irish research in the New World. The upside is that social historians have unearthed papers, correspondence, and other data to support the ethnic aspect of the argument. This information is more readily available and accessible than it was in 1985, when historians began to show an interest in Irish American history and wrote these previous historiographies.

There has been a great deal of research published on the religious landscape that included the Irish and Scots-Irish in North America throughout the last century, and while the Revisionist school of historiography documented the role of the Irish and other ethnicities in their capacities as Indian fighters, it does not seem that they evaluated them with the intention of understanding their position, so much as understanding their role in the removal of Native Americans from the frontier landscape. The New Social histories that were written on the Irish and Scots Irish have used records, papers, journals, and other statistical evidence to reconstruct the histories of an ethnic group that made a unique contribution in the New World, but that scholars have failed to understand in a historical sense. Most of these new historiographies focus on the time period following the Great Famine, when waves of Irish immigrants came to America, but fail to

examine the intricate and pivotal role they had in the shaping of the nation and American identity.

The interpretation of Irish and Scots Irish frontier communities and the necessitation for their development into competent Indian fighters examined here is based upon empiricist methodology, where the evidence led to the conclusion. The use a social methodological approach puts value in the belief that it is the most reliable and the most comprehensive presentation of the goals for the analysis and a history that is unbiased and worth telling. The work examines the Irish and Scots Irish communities in the New World in a chronological order, by seeking an understanding for the many transitions in militarism, society, industry, economy, environment, and medicine that these ethnic communities underwent.

The aim was to substantiate the historic links between Irish and Scots Irish transplants to North America with their ancient tribal military tactics, and their modernizing military applications adopted from Native Americans in early America. Primary resources that were held in personal and official collections, as well as statistical evidence and data from a variety of sources such as vital records, deeds, etc. were used in this research. Through this approach, it is hoped that this oft-omitted ethnic community's history can be better understood and perhaps make a positive impact upon future generations understanding of the Irish and Scots Irish community's contributions to the development of the Early Republic of America through their roles as Indian fighters, frontier settlers, and even diplomats.

It is very important to understand that the nature of "culture" or social identity and historical change within this paper is critical to understanding how these historical actors viewed and described themselves in "linguistic turn". The ethnic label of "Irish" and the idea of Irishness held a constantly evolving definition based on both interior and exterior perspectives. For the

Irish who immigrated to the New World in the 16th and 17th centuries, definitions of what it meant to be Irish were much more nuanced, based on various factors of geographical and ethnic origin, religious adherence, political allegiance, social stratification, and even linguistics. Yet, the exterior definition of the Irish label was subject to popular opinion, imperial, Anglo, and Franco, and later American perspectives. The context of Irishness provided a significant understanding of how Irish frontier people played out their roles in the face of broad social changes. This evaluation captures the underlying themes of ethnic loyalty and patriotism, in addition to geographic isolation (forced or optionally chosen) and imperialism. As the evolution of the New World commenced, so did the identity of the Irish on the frontiers and the way that exterior actors perceived them.

The second chapter of this dissertation examines the role of Irish and Scots Irish settlements. The main research questions posed are: What prompted groups of Irish and Scots Irish to migrate to the New World? When they arrived, how were they accepted or rejected? Where did they settle and why? This chapter explored the differences between arrival and societal acceptance or rejection for the settlement of the Irish and the Scots Irish in communities in the New World. The reasoning for geographical isolation and the emergence of Irish Diaspora in the New World are the main focus in this chapter. It also examined the homesteading patterns and areas of saturation for these geographically isolated communities in the New World. The major questions evaluated in this chapter were: What were their homesteads like? And how did this manner of settlement affect their communities? The manner of settlement that the Irish employed was slash and burn, tended to be distanced from neighbors, and tended to be spread out over large area, making it more prone to Native American attacks and less saturated with

population. The Irish populations that migrated to the New World transplanted their homesteading patterns to the frontiers.

In Chapter 3 a treatment of the evolution of frontier Indian fighters was undertaken. The questions evaluated in this extensive examination were: How did Indian Fighters develop and evolve on the frontier? What made the Irish and Scots Irish so adept at this occupation? Why were these individuals considered valuable in their communities and by national governments for their use in warfare? The Irish and Scots Irish who lived in isolate communities were at higher risk for Native American attacks but were also in a unique position to learn tactics, trade, and network with friendly tribes. This allowed for them to adopt and integrate Native American weaponry, tracking, and fighting tactics into their own experience with warfare on the frontier. European colonial powers and later the U.S. Government recognized their military value as Indian Fighters and military assets.

Chapter 4 provides an analysis of the frontier conflicts and Indian wars in early America leading up to and including the French and Indian War. The Irish living on the fringes of European civilization on the North American continent were in a vulnerable position geographically. They were often the first victims to frontier violence and often bore the brunt of attacks incited for political and material gain during state conflicts between the French, English, and Spanish. There were also several aspects of growing distrust from continental settlers with their governing entities and their apathy in the protection of the settlements. Some of the European powers even acted duplicitously in their power plays, with the frontiersmen ending up as collateral damage. Questions within this chapter are: How did the geographic isolation of Irish communities in the New World affect their settlements and their security? What challenges did Irish frontiersmen face with both Native Americans and European powers on the North

American Continent? How did the Irish frontiersmen meet the challenge of attacks and Indian wars? What steps did the local governments take to protect their people and their assets on the frontier? How was Native American warfare used by the frontiersmen and the European powers? The evidence from this examination supported the necessitation of adaptation not only to the frontier environment, but to frontier warfare and the French and Indian War.

Chapter 5 examined conditions and conflicts on the frontier following the French and Indian war. The end of the French and Indian conflict left many problems between Native Americans, frontier settlers, and British governing powers. There were various conflicts on the frontiers that resulted from diplomatic breakdown, distrust between Native American allies and the British, as well as growing resentment over land encroachment and the exploitation of Native tribes. Resentments grew on both sides of the frontier and attacks became commonplace, resulting in an era of terror and insecurity. Such conditions allowed for the breakdown of diplomacy and for cyclical violence to erupt. Issues that emerged during this era drove hostilities and contributed to the eruption of the American Revolution; in which Indian fighters were applied in warfare on both sides.

Chapter 6 explored the role of Irish Indian fighters during the American Revolution. As the fight for control of the North American continent took place, the same methods of Indian warfare were employed by Britain. British military leaders had learned from previous skirmishes and campaigns on the continent that if they were to have any foothold and maintain it, that they would have to use the Native Americans to their advantage. They had been, and continued to employ Indian agents to serve their interests among native tribes. Yet, the Continentals had also learned to use Native American warfare, not only in terms of alliances, but in the military fashion. Frontiersmen who had lived alongside Native tribes had learned Native American

military ways and applied this fighting style to combat the regimental warfare of the British. The research questions regarding this line of inquiry were: What were the grievances of frontiersmen towards the British and lack of protection from hostilities leading up the Revolution? How did the British and their agents use Native American warfare to their advantage during the Revolution? How did the Irish communities use their knowledge of Native American warfare to the benefit of the Continental Army? What impacts did Indian fighters have on the outcome of battles during the Revolution?

Through the examination of these various points of Irish and Scots Irish settlement in the New World, a previously underrepresented portion of American history emerges to tell the story of a hearty and industrious people who literally went out into the wilderness and settled their own communities. Through their hard work and enterprising nature, they were able to not only survive in the face of extreme adversity on the frontier, but they preserved their culture for generations and contributed to the cultural, political, military, religious, and environmental influences that shaped the New World and the American nation. Their martial prowess and military ingenuity enabled them to survive through frontier warfare, and to emerge as highly valued soldiers in North America. In doing so, they created an identity that has come to be known as uniquely American. Through an understanding of the history of the Irish history and the evolution of Irish Indian Fighters in the New World, a unique perspective of American history comes to light.

Chapter 2: The Background, Establishment, Ethnic Identity, and Homesteading Patterns of Irish Settlers in the New World

The Irish who came to the New World were a hearty, brave, and enterprising people. In the annals of American history, the first mention of the Irish included the Scots Irish in terminology as well. Both Scots Irish and the traditional Catholic Irish were lumped into the same definition in British and Colonial America. The differentiation of ethnic origin in American reference was a latter point of notation in American history, as the result of social and political prejudices. These prejudices evolved as the American continent grew, and landscapes and leadership changed. With those changes came societal implications. To understand these changes, this chapter will examine the chronological definition of “Irish” according to reception, origin, status, and customary perceptions of the era.

Generally, the Irish and Scots Irish were all considered “Irish” upon the earliest arrival in the New World, and that later categorizations came later based upon social, religious, and political perspectives of the time (the most prominent example being the Irish Catholic waves arriving as a result of the Great Famine, or Hunger). This chapter addresses the following questions in relation to the migration, reception, and designation of the Irish in the New World: What prompted groups of Irish and Scots Irish to migrate to the New World? When they arrived, how were they accepted or rejected? What were the public views of the arriving Irish and how were the Scots Irish differentiated from the Irish? How did these viewpoints change during the influx of immigrants during and after the Great Famine? Where did the immigrants settle and why? The evidence provided herein promotes the evolution of the Early American Irish character as determined, adventuresome, and evolutionary.

This chapter demonstrates that the manner of Irish settlement was transplanted and modelled after traditional agriculture in Ulster and the rest of Ireland. The architecture and fencing that was employed was also built in this manner. They tended to clear land and have spread out homesteads, distant from neighbors. This had some catastrophic results regarding the Native American perception of the Irish and the safety of the homesteaders. Since the homesteads were sometimes on unpermitted frontier land, known as squat settlements, there were also issues with English law enforcement and there was substantial social isolation. This had setbacks with church and communal establishments and diversity. However, necessity also provided an adaptation of fighting, farming, and religious practices.

Additionally, there is an examination of the homesteading patterns and areas of saturation for these geographically isolated communities in the New World. The major question in this part of the examination was: What were their homesteads like, and how did this manner of settlement affect their communities? The manner of settlement that the Irish employed was slash and burn, tended to be distanced from neighbors, and tended to be spread out over large area, making it more prone to Native American attacks and less saturated with population. The Irish populations that migrated to the New World transplanted their homesteading patterns to the frontiers.

Throughout history there have been a great many definitions of Irish peoples depending on the political and social customs of the time. For the purposes of this dissertation, the definition of Irish people delineates a descendance from the island of Ireland, as well as customs, language, culture, traditions, and religious ideology. To understand the evolution of Irish ethnic references, we must first understand the various definitions given to these groups throughout history. Throughout the discussion of the Irish in America, the Ulster Scots, or Scots Irish will sometimes be referred to by the Americanism "Scotch" or "Scotch Irish". The term "scotch" is

generally used as the description of an alcoholic drink called Whiskey. However, in America, the corruption of the pronunciation would lead to the use of the term Scotch in reference to the Scottish portion of one's ethnicity.³⁶

To understand the Irish in the comprehensive context, one must understand the historical proximity of Ireland to the rest of the British Isles (most notably Scotland). At one point, Scotland lies only 12 miles off Ireland, and it stands to reason that migration, trade, and intermingling of residents constituted a commonality of Irish identity among the Irish and those of Scots Irish birth. Many Scots originated in Ireland, only to migrate to Scotland later. When times were especially hard in Scotland and better opportunities presented in Ireland, many Scots were eager to return to the Emerald Isle. The Lowland Scots had grown weary of hundreds of years of border skirmishes and lackluster crop yields. With the rise and spread of Calvinism,

³⁶ Kennedy, Billy. *The Scots-Irish in the Carolinas*. Causeway, 1997. 12. *The term "Scotch Irish" is an Americanism adapted from the 17th century and still present in colloquial usage today. Its origins are in the ethnic standing which the descendants of the first Scots Irish settlers in America bestowed upon them. The term is used to describe people of origination in Scotland, who moved to Ireland for a time, and eventually migrated to America. Upon their arrival, all immigrants from the region of Ireland were denoted as "Irish". Yet as the number of Irish continued to cross the Atlantic in later years after the Potato Famine in 1845, the Scots Irish were weary of groups of Gaelic Irish who had begun immigrating. This demographic was sometimes known as the "shanty Irish" because of their poverty. The descendants of the first Scots Irish settlers sought to differentiate themselves from the "shanty Irish" by insisting on the designation of "Scotch-Irish". The reasons behind this designation are based on ethnic pride and prejudice against social classes designated through social stratification. For more information on the subject, see *Leyburn, James G. "The Scotch-Irish."* *AMERICAN HERITAGE*, May 1, 2022. <https://www.americanheritage.com/scotch-irish>.

there was even more incentive for those of Protestant faith to move to Ireland to establish the faith and settle the fertile ground of Ulster Plantation.³⁷

The Irish and the Scottish planters who migrated to Ulster Plantation shared similar genealogical backgrounds and one very specific theme: they were a border people. Many Scots Irish defined themselves as a mixed people in the 18th century.³⁸ Having lived on borders for generations, they intermingled with civilizations of differing religious practices, languages, and ethnicities and had intermingled, or mixed, in various folkways, such as social ranking, religious beliefs and orders. They also shared a mixed ancestry of Gaelic, Roman, German, English, Scandinavian, Irish and Scottish.³⁹ Historian David Hackett Fischer remarked that these mixed people were separate, yet still very similar to one another. Despite their socio-economic circumstances, religious adherences, or whether they were Saxon or Celt, the one common link was that they were a border people who developed and shared the commonality of a “unique regional culture which was the product of a place in time”.⁴⁰

When the Ulster Irish transplanted to Ireland in the 17th century, (and later to America), they came by several names: Ulster Irish, Northern Irish, Scotch Irish (which was a Americanism and linguistic corruption, that brought resentment from some who were labeled as such).⁴¹ In Pennsylvania, as waves of Irish and settlers from Northern Britain flooded in, moods

³⁷ Bardon, Jonathan. *The Plantation of Ulster: The British Colonisation of the North of Ireland in the Seventeenth Century*. Dublin: Gill Books, 2012. 214.

³⁸ Fischer, David Hackett. *Albion's Seed : Four British Folkways in America*. New York: Oxford University Press, Incorporated, 1989. 618.

³⁹ *Ibid*, 621.

⁴⁰ *Ibid*, 621.

⁴¹ *Ibid*, 618.

and attitudes towards them began to change, and had an effect on the labelling of certain residents. Initially, those of Irish or Scots Irish breeding were lumped together as “Irish”. Yet in Pennsylvania, where the mood against the Irish had blackened among certain Quakers and residents in the port town of Philadelphia, one Scot remarked, “We’re no Eerish bot Scoatch”.⁴² As these technical differentiations were made to the Irish label, the term, “Anglo-Irish” was commonly applied to them in the 18th century, while another descriptive label was “Saxon-Scotch”.⁴³ One historian even noted that the labeling of many of the Ulster Protestants was incorrect, due to the fact that they did not hail from Scottish stock at all, but were in fact English or Irish. He noted that historians may have erroneously labeled additional Irish immigrants as “Scots-Irish”, when they were not in fact from Ireland, but had come directly from Scotland.⁴⁴

When seeking to understand the differentiation between Irish and Scots Irish, there are some key points to consider. They were divergent in faith, with the Irish being of mostly Catholic faith, and the Scots Irish of Protestant adherence. There were also differences in language, with the Scots Irish speaking Scots (which at this point in history was an amalgamation of corrupted English and Gaelic), as well as English and in some cases being educated in Latin or Greek.⁴⁵ There was a difference in industrial availability as well as education. The most important difference in the substantiation of the Scots Irish in Ireland is

⁴² Dunaway, Wayland Fuller. *The Scotch-Irish of Colonial Pennsylvania*. Baltimore: Genealogical Pub. Co., 2007. 10.

⁴³ Gilmer, George. *Sketches of some of the First Settlers of Upper Georgia, of the Cherokees, and the Author*. New York: D. Appleton and company, 1855. 173.

⁴⁴ Landsman, Ned. C. *Scotland and Its First American Colony, 1683-1765*. Princeton, 1985. 8.

⁴⁵ Fraser, Lady Antonia. *Mary Queen of Scots*. Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 2018.

their ideological, religious, and military sympathies with England. While the Irish and Scots Irish had risen from the same genealogical, religious, and cultural backgrounds, they had become divergent in their allegiances, and this made them strangers to each other in Ireland. Another important point of notation is that even though these stark contrasts existed in the Old World, when the Irish and Scots Irish initially stepped foot in Early America, they were all considered Irish. The terminology seems to have been a way of delineating the origin of ethnic matriculation to the New World.

An understanding of the complexity of the Irish and Scots Irish history is critical to understanding the disposition and evolution of the Irish in early America. Scotland was originally settled by Irish transplants from the Scoti tribe.⁴⁶ The interactions between the settlers of Scotland and the Irish were marked throughout the Middle Ages by ambitious chieftains who led invasions into Ireland with hopes of conquering more territory for themselves. In other instances of peace, Irish chieftains would habitually recruit Scottish mercenaries to serve their interest on the battlefield.⁴⁷

In 1603 King James VI, who was already the King of Scotland, ascended the English throne, and by inheritance also reigned over Ireland following the death of Elizabeth I. Through the Act of Union, all 3 kingdoms were united under one ruler for their first time in history⁴⁸. Yet this unification displeased some of the Irish chieftains, and in 1603, two Irish chieftains from the

⁴⁶ Blethen, Tyler, and Curtis Wood. *From Ulster to Carolina: The Migration of the Scotch-Irish to Southwestern North Carolina*. Raleigh, NC: North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, Office of Archives and History, 2013. 1.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ "Act of Union." Encyclopædia Britannica. Encyclopædia Britannica, inc. Accessed January 10, 2022. <https://www.britannica.com/event/Act-of-Union-Great-Britain-1707>.

North led a failed rebellion against the occupation of Ireland by the English Army. With the rebellion a failure, their lands were confiscated and about 3.8 million acres of it was set aside for the resettlement of English and Scots Protestants, who James considered to be a more stable and agreeable lot of tenants.⁴⁹ His intentions for the province were “the settling of religion, the introducing (of) civility, order and government amongst a barbarous and unsubdued people, ... acts of piety and glory, and worthy always of a Christian prince to endeavor.”⁵⁰ He noted that he preferred Scots in the Ulster settlements, as they were “of a middle temper between the English tender and the Irish rude breeding, and a great deal more like to adventure to plant Ulster than the English, it (Ulster) lies nigh to Scotland, and the inhabitants not so far from ancient Scots manner.”⁵¹

With these plans in mind, the confiscated land was granted in 3 tiers to Lords and stewards whom James felt would best serve the English interests. Land was parceled out by the 1,000, 1500, or 2,000 acres to English and Scotsmen of elite rank. It was expected that this rank of landholding elites would rent out the land to deserving English or Scots tenants. The second rank, termed “servitors”, were usually government administrators and military leaders. They were granted estates of similar comparison to the first tier of recipients and received permission to rent their land out to the native Irish inhabitants in addition to other Anglo and Scots settlers.

⁴⁹ Blethen, Tyler, and Curtis Wood. *From Ulster to Carolina: The Migration of the Scotch-Irish to Southwestern North Carolina*. Raleigh, NC: North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, Office of Archives and History, 2013. 3-4.

⁵⁰ Stuart, James I. Letter to Sir Arthur Chichester. “Royal Patent from James I to Sir Arthur Chichester.” *Royal Patent from James I to Sir Arthur ...* Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, March 4, 1611. https://apps.proni.gov.uk/eCatNI_IE/ResultDetails.aspx.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

In some cases, the native Irish were granted smaller estates of about 100-200 acres that they could rent out to Irish tenants as well. The third tier of land grants in County Coleraine fell to the City of London, which later became known by the name County Londonderry.⁵²

There were conflicts among the settlers and natives, which the English government had reported as being problematic in 1628 since the Irish “of whom many townships might be formed, do not dwell together in any ordered form, but wander with their cattle all the summer in the mountains, and all the winter in the woods. And until the Irish are settled...there is no safety for their (the settlers’) goods or lives.”⁵³ The native Irish population was thought to be primitive and barbaric in their semi-nomadic folkways. The English government deemed them a threat because of the hostility between the planters and the Irish, who were competing for land and survival under some desperate circumstances.⁵⁴

The Anglo perceptions of the Native Irish were tempered with fear and prejudice, but the Native Irish had a rich history in military and government, technological advancements (such as metallurgy and engineering), and scholastic, musical, and artistic achievements (such as the ancient written language known as Ogham script, and illuminated manuscripts and archives, like the Book of Kells).⁵⁵ Dr. Oliver Woods wrote of a compelling medical history and the Brehon Laws (a series of laws of the land that provided special standing for healers and their errand-runners, as well as medical mediation compensation) that were designed for medical healers in ancient Ireland. These laws developed several hundred years before Christ and survived among

⁵² Blethen, Tyler, and Curtis Wood. *From Ulster to Carolina: The Migration of the Scotch-Irish to Southwestern North Carolina*. Raleigh, NC: North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, Office of Archives and History, 2013. 5.

⁵³ *Ibid*, 6.

⁵⁴ *Ibid*.

⁵⁵ Woods, J. O. "The History of Medicine in Ireland." *Ulster Medical Journal* 51, no. 1 (1982): 35-45.

the Irish through countless invasions, until James I abolished them during his reign (1603-1625).⁵⁶ Such an advanced civilization as the Native Irish may have shared community and clan values that could be described as tribal; and in some cases, an outside perspective might have viewed them as provincial. But clearly the Native Irish had an adept history as warriors, leaders, healers, tradespeople, and farmers that would have centered around community, honor, and tradition. This history made them ideal candidates for frontier living, fighting, and survival in the New World.

With the immigration of Scots to Ulster and the increase of population, it is estimated that there were over 600,000 Scots in Ulster by the year 1715. The native Irish still existed in the area because they were relied upon for labor.⁵⁷ There was a competition amongst the Irish and Ulster Scots for land and labor, which stirred harsh feelings and conflict among local populations. The surrounding environment in which the settlers lived evolved into an increasingly complex society that intermingled, when necessary, but conflicted in their cultural and religious traditions.

The conditions in which the Ulster Scots found themselves in Ireland was one that they would repeat on American soil years later. Upon their arrival in the Ulster settlements, they found that the lands were mainly forested and needed clearing. This was no easy task, as the seizure of land by the English to give it to the Ulster settlers had created feelings of hostility towards them. They lived in a constant state of fear and paranoia of attacks by the native Irish. As a result, most Ulster towns were walled and fortified. The standard expectation for each estate owner in the Ulster plantation was that they would build an estate home and a fortified courtyard,

⁵⁶ Woods, J. O. "The History of Medicine in Ireland." *Ulster Medical Journal* 51, no. 1 (1982): 36.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

known as a “bawn” within 3 years of acquisition.⁵⁸ Despite these protections, the Ulster settlers maintained a sense of being strangers in Ireland, who were surrounded by hostile inhabitants. These feelings put them in a defensive mindset and discouraged them from assimilating with the local population. It also put a restrained approach on interactions.⁵⁹

It is important to acknowledge that these transplants held themselves above local Catholic Irish residents and isolated their homesteads and society from them. The seizure of Irish lands which were made available to Ulster Scot transplants did not occur without violence and contestation. There were several incidents of violence and attacks upon Ulster Scots settlements, necessitating precautionary measures in the protection of their homesteads. The traditional clan familial unit was continued with transplantation to Ireland and served these homesteads through clan-directed small towns and communes⁶¹. These nuclear societies also served to protect religious establishments and substantiate Scots Irish societies in Ulster Plantation.

The settlements in Ulster during the 17th and 18th centuries were centered in a pastoral setting with limited interactions that would be expected in towns. The rural lifestyle was a hallmark of the Scots preference for “farmtowns” or domiciles that were isolated and spatially distant that were reminiscent of agrarian life in Scotland.⁶² The most common type of settlement in the area during this period was the “clachan”, which was a collective community tenants on the same land tract. The classic Ulster residence was a walled-in compound, referred to as a

⁵⁸ Blethen, Tyler, and Curtis Wood. *From Ulster to Carolina: The Migration of the Scotch-Irish to Southwestern North Carolina*. Raleigh, NC: North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, Office of Archives and History, 2013. 6.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ Fischer, David Hackett. *Albion's Seed : Four British Folkways in America*. New York: Oxford University Press, Incorporated, 1989. Accessed April 10, 2022. ProQuest Ebook Central. 691.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 7.

“Clachan”.⁶³ The barrier wall served as battlements and siege protection, while insulating and protecting crops, livestock, people, and the interior structures. The tenants who inhabited the clachan dwelt in small huts or homes near one another and sometimes surrounded by fortifications. These tenants lived in clan style, and shared the surrounding land and its bounty, with joint work efforts. This style of living was a contrast to the traditional European villages in England and the rest of Europe. It differed in the fact that the clachan was a smaller habitation, with the community made up of clans or family members and relations.⁶⁴ Clachans tended to be more self-sufficient and were lightly regulated.

Through the 18th century, large tracts of land remained undeveloped, and homesteads were scattered among the countryside. Many land tenants were transient for reasons of famine, rents, and hostilities. Clachan health was affected by the transience of tenantry. The border origins, uprooting for new land, and frontier mindset that the Ulster settlers experienced created a mindset and culture of impermanence that would be transplanted with them to the New World.

Religion played a profound role in the lives of 17th and 18th century settlers in Ireland. While the majority of native Gaelic Irish remained Catholic, this loyalty was rewarded with a labeling of inferior status and alienation by the Anglos and Ulster settlers. While the Ulster settlers imported their Presbyterian faith among the majority, the English government established the Anglican Protestant Church as the Official Church of Ireland, and all residents, whether they were adherents of the faith or not, were required to pay tithes. This created a sense of resentment

⁶³ Blethen, Tyler, and Curtis Wood. *From Ulster to Carolina: The Migration of the Scotch-Irish to Southwestern North Carolina*. Raleigh, NC: North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, Office of Archives and History, 2013. 9.

⁶⁴ *Ibid*, 9-10.

amidst the Catholic and Presbyterian populations that inhabited Ireland. Additionally, “Penal Laws” were instated that punished all dissenters of the faith.⁶⁶ Those who were of a Catholic or Presbyterian faith were unable to hold public office because of the passage of the Test Act.⁶⁷ Dissenters found it increasingly difficult to find work, food, trade, and were even persecuted to the point of imprisonment and execution.⁶⁸ While both Catholics and Presbyterians were persecuted under these penal laws in Ireland, they remained separate in their communities and sufferings because of their own religious discouragements.

With the rise of religious persecution, the Ulster settlers found life difficult due to the revolving issues that they felt surrounded them and threatened their existence. During the 17th century the ire of the Catholics against the Presbyterian settlers manifested through Catholic rebellions and attacks. As a result, the Ulster settlers developed a “siege mentality” that was characterized as an intolerant outlook and defensive nature.⁶⁹ This psychological development among the settlers was shared by future generations and became a critical part of the Scots Irish and Irish American experience.

⁶⁶ Blethen, Tyler, and Curtis Wood. *From Ulster to Carolina: The Migration of the Scotch-Irish to Southwestern North Carolina*. Raleigh, NC: North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, Office of Archives and History, 2013. 10-11.

⁶⁷ “The Declaration of Indulgence and the Test Act - UK Parliament.” UK Parliament. Accessed April 28, 2022. <https://www.parliament.uk/about/living-heritage/evolutionofparliament/parliamentaryauthority/revolution/overview/catholicsprotestants/>.

⁶⁸ Hoefling, Larry J. *Scots and Scotch Irish: Frontier Life in North Carolina, Virginia, and Kentucky*. Oklahoma: Inlandia, 2009. Chp. 1.

⁶⁹ Blethen, Tyler, and Curtis Wood. *From Ulster to Carolina: The Migration of the Scotch-Irish to Southwestern North Carolina*. Raleigh, NC: North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, Office of Archives and History, 2013. 11.

Protestant Ireland evolved into a militant Christianity as religious tendencies evolved. While the British government relied on Presbyterianism for Protestant support in Ireland, it was the Anglican protestant elite that governed.⁷⁰ There grew to be a deep interest in reformed religions accompanied by a rooted hostile attitude toward the Church of Ireland (which the tithes and persecution of dissidents had instilled). Yet, the Ulster Irish also subscribed to a belief in free grace and worshipped in field meetings. The Catholics also took to meeting in fields as way to avoid persecution.⁷¹

The experience of persecution in Ireland was punishment and attempt by militant Anglican Christians to absolve Ireland of divergent faith. Anglican clergyman referred to them as “the scum of the universe”.⁷² As a result of this militarism and suppression by the English government, the local populations became paranoid, fearful, disillusioned with their lives in Ireland. Presbyterians weren’t persecuted to the extent that the Catholics were but were subject to a set of Penal Laws that excluded them from a position of government or major professions. They were also required to pay tithes to the Church of Ireland. This led to a mindset of resentment and many people complained that they were harvesting a flock for emigration through dissent.⁷³

They felt that they were struggling to survive, both in the physical and military sense, and they had resolved not to comply. Through settlement experiences in Ireland, the Irish

⁷⁰ Blethen, Tyler, and Curtis Wood. *From Ulster to Carolina: The Migration of the Scotch-Irish to Southwestern North Carolina*. Raleigh, NC: North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, Office of Archives and History, 2013. 14-15.

⁷¹ Fischer, David Hackett. *Albion's Seed : Four British Folkways in America*. New York: Oxford University Press, Incorporated, 1989. 703-708.

⁷² Stewart, John. “Letter,” 3 May 1736, *PMHB* 21 (1897), 485-86.

⁷³ Blethen, Tyler, and Curtis Wood. *From Ulster to Carolina: The Migration of the Scotch-Irish to Southwestern North Carolina*. Raleigh, NC: North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, Office of Archives and History, 2013. 15.

Presbyterian Church was less disciplined and authoritative than its Scottish counterpart. But in turn it developed into a more independent and diversified congregation.⁷⁴ These religious grievances, combined with unequal vocational opportunities, economic downturn, poor harvests, limited land opportunities, expiration of land grants, and a rapidly expanding population influenced the decision of Irish families towards migration.⁷⁵

There was a severe shortage of labor in the New England colonies in the 17th and 18th centuries and colonial leadership sought to alleviate this hardship by attempting to recruit skilled labor in most fields. Yet household servants were difficult to come by and even harder to maintain, as one leader noted that the servants would move on to plant for themselves.⁷⁶ The grandson of Governor John Winthrop of Connecticut, John Winthrop III, had interest in developing his estate in New London, but complained of the difficulty of finding any servants in the colony.⁷⁷ Winthrop even wrote a letter to Surveyor General Lechmere lamenting the fact that there were a shortage of servants in the Massachusetts Bay Colony and that the typical Irish in the colony were not servants at all, but were self-sufficient men of means with no will for household service. He wrote a grievance to Surveyor General Thomas Lechmere on August 11, 1718:

“Whoever tells you now that servants are cheaper than they were, it is a very gross mistake, & give me leave to tell you your informer has given you a very wrong information about ye cheapness thereof, for never were they dearer than now, there being such demand for

⁷⁴ Blethen, Tyler, and Curtis Wood. *From Ulster to Carolina: The Migration of the Scotch-Irish to Southwestern North Carolina*. Raleigh, NC: North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, Office of Archives and History, 2013. 12.

⁷⁵ *Ibid*, 13.

⁷⁶ *New-Letter*, June 10, 1706.

⁷⁷ “Irish Immigration to America, 1630 to ... - Nantucket Atheneum.” Accessed 2021. <https://www.nantucketatheneum.org/wp-content/uploads/Irish-Immigration-to-America.pdf>.

them, & likewise pray tell him he is much out of the way to think that these Irish are servants. They are generally men of estates, & are come over hither for no other reason but upon encouragements sent from hence upon notice given that they should have so many acres of land given them gratis to settle our frontiers as a barrier against the Indians.”⁷⁸

Lechmere’s letter notes “There are none to be sold; have all paid their passages sterling in Ireland.”⁷⁹ The leadership therefore set out to recruit laborers to offset these issues. On the other side of the Atlantic, the churches in Ireland coordinated crossings for entire families to colonize the New World. As a result, skilled tradespeople were in demand and the prospect enticed many enterprising Irish citizens.

Prior to migration to the New World, the Ulster Scots had managed to re-establish themselves in Ireland despite these adversities. So, what would prompt groups of Ulsterman to migrate across a dangerous sea and face a land they could not fathom? The initial answer was that the first waves of Irish settlers were Protestant reformers who were encouraged by their hopes and dreams for a better life in America. Some were encouraged by family and friends who had already made the transatlantic crossing. Many were motivated by distress in their current socio-economic conditions and even the clergy were said to have encouraged them to move their entire families to the New World to establish and practice their religion and to benefit from God’s promised land⁸⁰. There were stipulations on what type of people could come to the New

⁷⁸ Winthrop, John. Thomas Lechmere Letter, August 11, 1718, Winthrop Papers. Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1992.

⁷⁹ Winthrop, John. Winthrop Papers. Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1992.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

World though⁸¹. Many settlers carried with them letters of recommendation from their clergy in the hopes that it would lend them admission to newly founded colonies in America.⁸²

The motives of Irish migration to the New World in the early 1700's was primarily for material betterment, that was exacerbated by the condition of Northern Ireland; famine and starvation.⁸³ In another half a century, the Irish still considered migration for the same material reasons, yet their outlook was somewhat more favorable than their predecessors. In a survey of Irish immigrants at manifestation in North American ports, surveyors recorded that the primary reasons driving migration were: Unscrupulous English landlords, food shortages, and dreams of a better life.⁸⁴ Due to these circumstances and the amount of people who emigrated to the New World from Northern Irish ports initially, it is analytically reasonable to focus on both the Irish and the Scots Irish groups and their exodus from Northern Ireland. It is also a probability of their affixation with the vague title of "Irish" upon arrival in America.

James Patton, an early immigrant to America, later recollected his motivation for making the Atlantic Crossing: "The death of our landlord, and others coming in and raising the rents, prevented my mother from giving her children more than a very limited education. This together with the many difficulties we laboured under in Ireland, induced a wish on my part, to try my fortunes in some other part of the world. I accordingly in the 28th year of my age, obtained her consent to come to America for the purpose of procuring the necessary means of bringing herself and family to this land of liberty, where we would no longer feel the oppression of haughty

⁸¹ *Mass. Bay Records*, 21 April 1629, I, 397.

⁸² Orr, James to John Dunlap, 1 June 1811. PRONI, T. 1336/I.

⁸³ Fischer, David Hackett. *Albion's Seed : Four British Folkways in America*. New York: Oxford University Press, Incorporated, 1989. 611.

⁸⁴ Dickson, R. J. *Ulster Emigration to Colonial America, 1718-1775*. Belfast: Ulster Historical Association, 1966. 81.

landlords, and where virtue and good conduct give a passport to the highest stations of society.”⁸⁵ The vast majority of Irish migration took place because of land use difficulties and better opportunities in the New World.⁸⁶

The prospect was even more enticing as the conditions in Ireland in the 17th and 18th century became increasingly cumbersome. The landlords in Ireland began to increase the pressure under which the average farmer lived. There were issues of rent increases and failure to pay the planters for improvements that had been made to the land during their tenancy. Rental prices all over Ireland rose to high proportions in comparison with low incomes and as an added burden, tenants were obliged to pay tithes to the Church of Ireland (under a faith to which they did not subscribe). Farming and weather conditions on the island devastated crops, livestock, and the trades of many Irish tenants to the point where many could not afford their dues and were evicted without proper compensation for improvements on the land.⁸⁷

Under these circumstances, many settlers decided to take their chances in America, where land was copious, and many times offered for free in exchange for an agreement to settle in a certain area. The stories of God’s providence over this new Promised Land touched the heart of many a Christian settler to make to pilgrimage. Many of the more prominent planters had means of paying for passage in Ireland. In some cases, they spent most of their fortunes in booking passage for their families (as they tended to travel in a familial unit). In some cases, the men

⁸⁵Patton, James. “1756-1845 Biography of James Patton”. 1845. Accessed October 5, 20221.
<https://docsouth.unc.edu/fpn/patton/menu.html>.

⁸⁶Hoeffling, Larry J. *Scots and Scotch Irish: Frontier Life in North Carolina, Virginia, and Kentucky*. Oklahoma: Inlandia, 2009. Chp. 1.

⁸⁷ Crawford, W.H. “Landlord-Tenant Relations in Ulster, 1609-1800”. *Irish Economic and Social History* 2 (1975): 5-21.

went on ahead to America with the promise to bring their families over once they were settled. However, most of the emigrants chose to leave together in the nuclear family unit and send for extended family who was left behind at a later time. Those who could not afford to book passage on their own, entered into a bonded servitude agreement that allowed for passage to be paid upon arrival by the employer of the servant, in exchange for a number of years of service. Yet, in the earliest waves of migration, this manner of transport was also uncommon from Ireland.

Many Scots Irish and Irish believed that they would soon follow family who departed for America. From 1718-1775 annual number of immigrants from Ireland, Scotland, and North of Britain, averaged more than 5,000 a year. Northern Ireland contributed at least 150,000.⁸⁸ For many families it cost their entire income and holdings to book passage for themselves and their families. In 1740, 91 percent out of 405 Ulster emigrants who had migrated to the Shenandoah Valley in Virginia arrived in families. Only 37 of 405 manifested as individuals.⁸⁹

Remarkably few Irish immigrants came in bondage. From 1773-76 indentured servants were only around 21 percent of the arriving immigrants.⁹⁰ Emigrants from Northern Ireland were somewhat higher, but even there a majority were free. There was a small percentage that were unskilled laborers, but most immigrants had useful trades. Some of the Irish were sometimes considered poor in the New World, but the reality was that the cost of passage for an entire family, pigeon-holed the poorest people at home.⁹¹

⁸⁸ Fischer, David Hackett. *Albion's Seed : Four British Folkways in America*. New York: Oxford University Press, Incorporated, 1989. 608.

⁸⁹ Bailyn, Bernard., and Barbara. DeWolfe. *Voyagers to the West : a Passage in the Peopling of America on the Eve of the Revolution*. New York: Vintage Books, 1988.129-34.

⁹⁰ *Ibid*, 162-163.

⁹¹ *Ibid*, 170-71.

The earliest arrivals occurred in the early 17th century. Prior to the English shutdown of the merchant marine in Ireland, there was lucrative trade between the Galway marines and the colonies in America.⁹² There was an indiscriminate air for the Irish and headrights were granted in Virginia for Irish servants prior to 1630.⁹³ Irish Calvinists arrived in New England around in 1636 and numbered around 140 members.⁹⁴ Following that there was a continuous flow of a small segment of the population.

Not all migration was voluntary though. The traditional community model of the Gaelic Irish and the Scots was represented by a significant warrior ethic. The Chieftain as the leader of the land, with the warrior class holding a place of honor and duty of protection, being supported by the merchants and farmers. A significant proportion of the male population were warriors, and this fighting spirit made them formidable in the guerrilla warfare against the English. Lord Chichester, the Lord Deputy of Ireland recognized that hostilities and resistance to colonization and religious subscription would continue unless the warrior class was diluted and dismantled. Therefore, Irish warriors were conscripted for service in wars abroad in Spain, Sweden, and Russia (to which some flatly refused). Those who were defiant were slated for transportation to the New World.⁹⁵

However, transportation from Ireland to the Americas did not quell the problem, but transplanted it. It is possible that even more deep-seated animosity resulted as well. Despite cultural prejudices in the New World against the Irish and Scots Irish, the military application for

⁹² "Irish Immigration to America, 1630 to ... - Nantucket Atheneum." Accessed 2021.

<https://www.nantucketatheneum.org/wp-content/uploads/Irish-Immigration-to-America.pdf>.

⁹³ Davies, A.C. "'As Good a Country as Any Man Needs to Dwell In': Letters from a Scotch Irish Immigrant in Pennsylvania, 1766, 1767, and 1784," *PH* 50 (1983). 313-22.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁹⁵ O'Brien, Michael J. *Pioneer Irish in New England*. New York: P.J. Kennedy & Sons. 1937, 31.

them and their warrior ethic was recognizable in Plymouth colony in 1636, when the General Court ruled that “it was enacted by the Court that all Scotese and Irishmen as are in any Township of the Gou’ment shall beare Armes and traine as others, except such as are servants from month to month”.⁹⁶ This eyewitness account was written by John Winthrop in 1636, when he served as the first Governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. On July 2, 1655, the same law was passed in the Plymouth Colony.⁹⁷

The warrior class were not the only targets for removal by transportation. Irish citizens who refused to take the oath of allegiance to the King of England were forcibly transported as bonded servants.⁹⁸ The poor, and those without visible worth were also transported, many of them children. On January 31, 1643, English Parliament resolved “that the agents for the affairs of New England shall have the liberty to collect free contributions...for the transportation of divers poor children driven out of Ireland.”⁹⁹ Many of these were native Irish, who were generally Catholic, but there were instances of Protestant Irish/Scots Irish driven out as well. Although Northern Ireland had many transportees under this scheme, all regions of Ireland were subject.

The native Catholic Irish who came to the New World in the 17th and 18th centuries were often unwilling migrants. They were often sent as a form of exile or forced bondage.¹⁰⁰ Many of

⁹⁶ Winthrops Journal (1636), 172.

⁹⁷ Plymouth Colony Records, Vol. II. 65, 106, 182.

⁹⁸ O’Brien, Michael J. *Pioneer Irish in New England*. New York: P.J. Kennedy & Sons. 1937, 31.

⁹⁹ *Proceedings and Debates of the British Parliament Respecting North America*. Edited by Leo F. Stock. Washington D.C., 1924.

¹⁰⁰ Ford, Henry Jones. *The Scotch-Irish in America*. Baltimore, MD: Reprinted for Clearfield Co. by Genealogical Pub. Co., 1992. Chp. 7.

these Irish were first sent to other colonies, such as Barbados. This was a result of the Cromwellian Conquest of Ireland when forced migration and penal colonization was a practical solution to rid Ireland of political and religious dissidents. Upon arrival, they would continue to be persecuted by Anglo Protestant authoritarians.¹⁰¹ Most of the Catholic Irish did not have the financial capability to migrate to the New World under their own power.

The business of sourcing labor for the needs of the colonial New World fell to ship captains who were given temporary licenses for 4 years to collect persons from Ireland to fill the gaps. The English government had felt that the removal of the Irish to be used in the New World as servants would not only fill the labor gaps in the colonies, but would alleviate the troubles in Ireland, where hostility and starvation were prominent. One eyewitness wrote:

“While the Government were employed in clearing the ground for the Adventurers and Soldiers, the English capitalists of that day, by making the nobility and gentry yield up their ancient inheritances and withdraw to Connaught, they had agents actively employed through Ireland, seizing women, orphans and the destitute, to be transported to Barbadoes and the English Plantations in America. The thirteen years war, 1641 to 1654, followed by the departure of 40,000 Irish soldiers, with the chief nobility and gentry, to Spain, had left behind a vast mass of widows and deserted wives with destitute families. There were plenty of other persons too, who, as their ancient properties had been confiscated, had no visible means of livelihood. Just as the King of Spain sent over his agents to treat with the Government for the Irish swordsmen, the merchants of Bristol had agents treating with it for men, women, and girls to be sent to the sugar plantations in the West Indies. The Commissioners for Ireland gave them orders upon the governors of the garrisons to deliver them prisoners of war, upon the keepers of gaols for offenders in custody, upon masters of work houses for the destitute in their care, and gave directions to all in authority to seize those who had no visible means of livelihood and deliver them to these agents of the Bristol sugar merchants, in execution of which latter direction Ireland must have exhibited scenes in every part like the slave hunts in Africa. How many girls of gentle birth must have been caught and hurried to the private prisons of these mancatchers none can tell. But as the last evil became too shocking and notorious, particularly when these dealers in Irish flesh began to seize the daughters of

¹⁰¹ Miller, Kerby A. *Irish Immigrants in the Land of Canaan: Letters and Memoirs from Colonial and Revolutionary America, 1675-1815*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003. 31.

the English themselves, and to force them aboard their slave ships; then, indeed, the orders, at the end of four years, were revoked.”¹⁰²

As recorded in the English State Papers on October 4, 1652, one Colonel Marcus Trevor was ordered by the Council “to remove 500 Irish out of Ulster to Carlingford for transportation.”¹⁰³ Again, on February 4, 1653, the Council ordered that “150 or 200 Irish or Scotch youths, unless English can be procured, to be sent to New England and let out to persons there who will pay for their services there in commodities necessary for shipping.”¹⁰⁴ The total number of unwilling transportees from Ireland was upwards of 11,000 people within 4 years.¹⁰⁵ Even though there were directives for the transportation of the Irish to the colonies, the General Court passed an Act on October 29, 1654 a penalty of 50 pounds on every Irish person entering the Massachusetts Colony “on account of their hostility to the English nation.”¹⁰⁶ Each colony had their own fees on Irish imported persons. In essence, the Irish transportees were doubly wronged, first in removal and then upon arrival.

Following Queen Anne’s War in 1713, an uptick in the number of migrants was marked through the American Revolution. Census historians have noted that the years: 1718, 1729, 1741, 1755, 1767, and 1774 were peak periods of migration and that over two-thirds of the migration of the Irish and Scots Irish occurred during the period of 1765-1775. It is believed that one-third of those migrants travelled to New World in the 4 years prior to American independence.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰² Prendergast, John P. *The Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland*. 241-246.

¹⁰³ Orders in Council, English State Papers, A-82, fol. 363.

¹⁰⁴ *Interregnum Entry Book*. Vol. 67. 2 and 5.

¹⁰⁵ O’Brien, Michael J. *Pioneer Irish in New England*. New York: P.J. Kennedy & Sons. 1937. 35-42.

¹⁰⁶ *Massachusetts Bay Colony Records*, Act passed on October 29, 1654.

¹⁰⁷ Fischer, David Hackett. *Albion’s Seed : Four British Folkways in America*. New York: Oxford University Press, Incorporated, 1989. 606-608.

Around 250,000 Irish made the Atlantic crossing to America in the 17th and 18th centuries.¹⁰⁸

This great migration began as a slow matriculation of mostly familial units that continued in wavelike movements preceding the American Revolution. During the Revolution the migration of the Irish came to a halt.

The class of Irish and Scots Irish in the earliest times were deemed the “Ascendancy”.¹⁰⁹ This class was composed of men of means, who had income and estates generally to their credit. This group fell somewhere between the gentry and yeoman class of citizens. They were simply prospecting in the hopes of gaining a better life than the increasingly cumbersome one that was emerging in Ireland. Many of these men would themselves go on to be major power players in the development of colonial and American politics, as well as their descendants.¹¹⁰

They were a narrow elite who through themselves or their descendants, were destined to become imminent in American affairs. However, they made up but a small percentage of Irish immigrants. Census historians estimate that they accounted for no more than 1-2 percent of all immigrants.¹¹¹ Most of the population came from ranks below the gentry and statesmen (yeoman) and the majority were farmers, laborers, or tradesmen who worked as tenants and undertenants, yet never owned their own land. Many of them were semiskilled craftsmen and petty traders and many immigrants from Northern Ireland were in the plummeting linen trade (especially during the years 1772-74).¹¹²

¹⁰⁸ Fischer, David Hackett. *Albion's Seed : Four British Folkways in America*. New York: Oxford University Press, Incorporated, 1989. 606-608.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid*, 642-650.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid*.

¹¹¹ *Ibid*, 613.

¹¹² *Ibid*.

Irish servants were not much desired in America, as they were deemed violent, ungovernable, and very likely to lash out against authority figures. There were dissuading accounts of Irish servants who rebelled in Barbados and absconded in the Caribbean colonies. There were even rumors that some had taken their masters female household members in their flights.¹¹³ The rebelliousness was thought to be so severe that 125 unruly Irish were deliberately marooned on a desert island called the Isle of Crabs.¹¹⁴ Masters complained that the proud and unbending nature of the Irish made them the most vexing of servants. John Winthrop III railed in a complaint against his own servant who complained that he had sought a complaint against him for “cruel usage”:

“It is not convenient now to write the trouble & plague we have had with this Irish creature the year past. Lying & unfaithfull; would doe. Things on purpose in contradiction & vexation to her mistress; lye out of the house anights, and have contrivances with fellows that have been stealing from our estate & get drink out of the cellar for them; saucy & impudent, as when we have taken her to task for her wickedness she has gon away to complain of cruell usage. I can truly say we have used this base creature with a great deal of kindness & lenity. She would frequently take her mistresses capps & stockins, handkerchers, &c, and dress herself, and away without leave among her companions. I may have said some time or other when she has been in fault, that she was fit to live nowhere butt 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 service for 20 yeares, she is such a high spirited pernicious jade. Robin has been run away near ten days, as you will see by the included, and this creature knew of his going and of his carrying out 4 dozen bottles of cyder, metheglin (fermented honey beverage), & palme wine out of the cellar amongst the servants of the towne, and meat and I know not what.”¹¹⁵

The tone of this letter suggests that Winthrop was frustrated with the demeanor of the girl and felt that she had employed passive resistance to the authority and directives of her masters. His description of her as “this Irish creature”, “this base creature”, and “a high spirited

¹¹³ Smith, Abbot E. *Colonists in Bondage: White Servitude and Convict Labor in America, 1607-1776*. Chapel Hill, 1947. 171, 289.

¹¹⁴ Herrick, Cheesman A. *White Servitude in Pennsylvania*. Philadelphia, 1926. 164-66.

¹¹⁵ John Winthrop III Letter. 1717. Winthrop Papers. Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1992.

pernicious jade” allude to the prospect that Winthrop determined her unworthiness not just from her actions, but from her ethnicity. It is probable that he used these stereotypes to credit the misdoings and disposition of the servant. One other detail within the letter delineates a form of verbal and possible abuse on his part, where he notes that he had threatened to send her to Virginia (which was thought to be colony that harbored corruption and that was not as advanced as Massachusetts). While tales of passive resistance bonded servants and slaves have been documented historically, and may have even taken place in this instance, the ethnic prejudice of this particular Puritan master towards his servant is clear. The fact that he wrote these prejudices in response to a complaint against him gives insight into the colonial attitude toward the Irish at that time.

As emigration led to a significant depletion in skilled labor, especially in the North, the clergy were accused of fomenting immigration. In March 1729 a letter from Judge Ezekiel Stewart at Fort Stewart, County Donegal said:

“The Presbyterian ministers have taken their share of pains to seduce their poor ignorant hearers, by bellowing from their pulpits against the Landlords and the Clergy, calling them rackers of Rents, and Servers of Tithes, with other reflections of this nature, which they know is pleasing to their people at the same time telling them that God has appointed a country for them to depart thence, where they will be freed from the bondage of Egypt and go to the land of Canaan, etc.”¹¹⁶

Stewart also accused women in the province of being instigators to skilled migration:

“I can assure your Lordship the women are a great cause of many of our people leaving the kingdom, the accounts of masters of ships and their confederates bring from New England, etc, are so very agreeable to the women that they listen to them with great attention, and everybody knows that they have often been thought very proper engines to work upon, and very sensible, in carrying a point where they themselves expect to be the

¹¹⁶Stewart, Judge Ezekiel. 1729, Fort Stewart, Donegal, quoted in H. Tyler Blethan and Curtis W. Wood Jr., *From Ulster to Carolina: The Migration of the Scotch-Irish to Southwestern North Carolina*. Revised Edition 1998. 17.

gainers, by the bargain, the masters of ships as I have said before, tell the women they are much more desirable there than the natives of the country, because they are much better housewives, and the like, that the men there use their wives like gentlewomen, this makes the women that have daughters to marry to prevail with their Husbands to go thither in hope of making them Gentlewomen, and these women that have no daughters are in hopes of getting rid of their husbands and getting better ones.”¹¹⁷

Despite the conflicting welcome that Irish received, with a 50 pound penalty, and yet a need to fill labor force needs, there was an equally mixed reception socially for the Irish in the New World. While it is probable that some clergy and women advised their flocks to emigrate, the driving forces were economic grievances, poor treatment and dealings with landlords, high rents, low return on trade and manufactured goods, and famine during the years of 1717-1800.¹¹⁸ Prior to that time Scottish migration in 1690s to Ulster as famine strangled the land drove an estimated 40,000 immigrants to the country. This combined with the practice of the Irish government to allow Catholics to lease land as tenants at an increased rate drove competition for land occupation even higher.¹¹⁹ The fact that land was scarce and unaffordable because it was controlled by a small majority of the elites, led to Irish Catholics and Protestants alike to seek their fortunes elsewhere. Land scarcity had forced rents to become higher to meet the demand and it is estimated that Ulster rents quintupled by the 1770s.¹²⁰

Despite early distaste for Irish servants, scarcity of labor within the colonies as they expanded further drove immigration. The disdain for the Irish was most keenly displayed in New England, but as immigration to colonies in Pennsylvania, Virginia, and South Carolina became

¹¹⁷ Stewart, Judge Ezekiel. 1729, Fort Stewart, Donegal, quoted in H. Tyler Blethan and Curtis W. Wood Jr., *From Ulster to Carolina: The Migration of the Scotch-Irish to Southwestern North Carolina*. Revised Edition 1998. 17.

¹¹⁸ Hanna, C.A. *The Scotch-Irish*. 2 vols. New York: G.P. Putnam and Sons, 1902.

¹¹⁹ Blethan, H. Tyler and Curtis W. Wood Jr., *From Ulster to Carolina: The Migration of the Scotch-Irish to Southwestern North Carolina*. Revised Edition 1998. 16.

¹²⁰*Ibid*, 16.

more common, prejudices and disdainful attitudes arose there as well. Several colonies feared their white population were being dangerously outnumbered by Indians and African slaves. South Carolina in the 1730s and again in 1760s offered land, tools, and seed to whites who would settle within its borders. Charleston rivaled Philadelphia as a port of entry for Ulster immigrants.¹²¹ The Ulster immigrants in 1774 were paying passengers of the middle class.¹²²

There were colonies, such as South Carolina that put forth offers of land bounties through legislature in the 1730's and 1760's that would serve as a beacon for settlers. Yet, after 1750, land scarcity became a problem in those areas as well and the cost to obtain what was available was also high.¹²³ As a result, some settlers simply squatted on land, and this created additional problems with local tribes (who sometimes had a border treaty with the local governments). One official remarked that the Irish squatted where they found a "spot of vacant land." Prejudices from the Old World were sometimes echoed in the New World and some British subjects referred to Scotch-Irish immigrants were referred to as "the scum of two nations".¹²⁴

The success of earlier settlers provided a stimulus to Ulster migration as correspondence from family and friends who had already made the journey arrived in Ireland. The clergy, who were often accused of shepherding vast congregations of migrants to the Atlantic crossing, noted in the year 1779 that members of their congregations had received "many letters from their friends and acquaintances...in the plantations, inviting them to transport themselves thither, and

¹²¹Blethan, H. Tyler and Curtis W. Wood Jr., *From Ulster to Carolina: The Migration of the Scotch-Irish to Southwestern North Carolina*. Revised Edition 1998. 19.

¹²² Dickson, R. J. *Ulster Emigration to Colonial America, 1718-1775*. Belfast: Ulster Historical Association, 1966. 97.

¹²³ Blethan, H. Tyler and Curtis W. Wood Jr., *From Ulster to Carolina: The Migration of the Scotch-Irish to Southwestern North Carolina*. Revised Edition 1998. 27.

¹²⁴ Boulter to Newcastle, 23 Nov. 1728, quoted in Wayland F. Dunaway, *The Scotch-Irish of Colonial Pennsylvania*. Chapel Hill, 1944. 20.

promising them liberty and ease as the reward for their honest industry, with a prospect of transmitting their acquisitions and privileges safe to their posterity, without the impositions of growing rents and other burdens.”¹²⁵

In the late 18th century, the concern at the rapidity of emigration from Ireland was noted in the *Londonderry Journal*.¹²⁶ The author was concerned that in the prior 2 years, around 17,500 emigrants had left Ulster and that it would have a detrimental effect on an already fragile economy. The article expressed that a:

“great part of these Emigrants paid their passage, which at 3 pounds 10 shillings each amounted to 60725 pounds, most of them people employed in the Linen Manufacture, or Farmers, and of some property which they turned into money and carried with them... This removal is sensibly felt in this country---This prevalent humour of industrious Protestants withdrawing from this once flourishing corner of the kingdom, seems to be increasing; and it is thought the number will be considerably larger this year than ever.”¹²⁷

The author continued to impress the seriousness of the depletion of the class of trade and skilled labor on the Irish economy:

“The North of Ireland has been occasionally used to emigration, for which the American settlements have been much beholden:--But till now, it was chiefly the very meanest of the people who went off, mostly in the station of indented servants and such as had become obnoxious to their mother country. In short, it is computed from many concurrent circumstances, that the North of Ireland has in the last five or six years been drained of one fourth of its trading class, and the like proportion of the manufacturing people—Where the evil will end, remains only in the womb of time to determine.”¹²⁸

¹²⁵ Bouch, C.M.L. and G. P. Jones. *A Short Social and Economic History of the Lake Countries, 1500-1830*. 1961. 897.

¹²⁶ *Londonderry Journal*. April 1773.

¹²⁷ *Ibid*.

¹²⁸ Blethan, H. Tyler and Curtis W. Wood Jr., *From Ulster to Carolina: The Migration of the Scotch-Irish to Southwestern North Carolina*. Revised Edition 1998. 20-21.

There were other immigrants from Ireland who found their way to America and were able to establish their own communes. Irish Quakers made their way in comparatively small numbers. Some of them arrived in Philadelphia, while others arrived in South Carolina and other small outposts. The Irish Quakers who arrived in South Carolina made their way to the present-day city of Camden, South Carolina (once referred to as Fredericksburg) and settled in Pine Tree Hill to the south of the city. These communes were insular and would later be fractured by Revolutionary allegiances.¹²⁹ Other groups of Irish who arrived in the same city of Camden did not live in the township, but instead lived in a sort of shantytown on the West Bank of the Wateree River. A similar group of Irish settled in similar manner outside of the city of Charleston, South Carolina.

As the emigrant trade evolved, there were shipping companies and captains who sought the highest fares and best business from family members, friends, acquaintances of their previous customers. Often, upon the completion of a voyage, a group of reputable passengers would compose a letter or billet describing the commendable treatment and comfortability of the voyage under a certain captain and sign their names to it. This letter would be used as a recommendation or endorsement for prospective clients to refer to when considering their Atlantic crossing.¹³⁰

A point worth considering is how the Irish were accepted/rejected based on prevailing views of the time. Things such as recruitment and migration to the New World based on difficulties in Ireland had a profound impact upon both the Irish perspective and their

¹²⁹ Carroll, Kenneth L. "The Irish Quaker Community at Camden." *The South Carolina Historical Magazine* 77, no. 2 (1976): 69–83.

¹³⁰ Blethan, H. Tyler and Curtis W. Wood Jr., *From Ulster to Carolina: The Migration of the Scotch-Irish to Southwestern North Carolina*. Revised Edition 1998. 24.

reception in the New World. Furthermore, social perspectives answer the question of where the Irish were allowed to settle and chose to settle or migrate. For instance, some colonies used them as a buffer against Native American attacks, some welcomed them for religious reasons (sharing Calvinistic faith) and some colonists chose isolation for numerous reasons.

In the earliest days of migration, when the influx of immigrants was low and the need for skilled labor high, advocates and friends of the Scots Irish were somewhat encouraging. Cotton Mather had initially welcomed the Irish to Massachusetts in good humor after the Irish had sent supplies to the struggling colony in the 1600's. James Logan who was the provincial secretary of Pennsylvania in 1720, advocated for the importation of Ulster immigrants early on. The increase in Indian disturbances on Pennsylvania's frontier was pressing and he wrote in 1720 that:

“I therefore thought it might be prudent to plant a settlement of such men as those who formerly had so bravely defended Londonderry and Inniskillen as a frontier in case of any disturbances...These people if kindly used will be ordered as they have hitherto been and easily dealt with. They will also, I expect, be a leading example to others.”¹³¹

According to the plans of men like Logan, many settlers did make their homes in an area that would be considered frontier, where they served as a buffer against Indian attack. Many of the fighting men were hired as mercenaries; for the colonial leadership felt that they had the countenance and fortitude inherited from their time in Ulster and experiences with the rebellions there.¹³² As colonial populations climbed and territory expanded, leading to a scarcity of affordable land in town limits, failures of crops and famine in certain territories, the mood towards the Scots Irish and Irish cooled. Newly arrived migrants were promptly rushed out to the

¹³¹ James Logan to John, Thomas and Richard Penn, 1720. Penn Papers, Official Correspondence, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

¹³² Hoefling, Larry J. *Scots and Scotch Irish: Frontier Life in North Carolina, Virginia, and Kentucky*. Oklahoma: Inlandia, 2009. Chp. 1.

frontier in search of available land and dissuaded by the cold receptions of local inhabitants. These immigrants manifested mainly through Philadelphia and Newcastle, then moved quickly into surrounding countryside.¹³³

James Logan, who had once been the champion of Ulster settlers as ideal frontier tenants, changed his tune 9 years later. He wrote that “a settlement of five families from the North of Ireland gives me more trouble than fifty of any other people...It looks as if Ireland is to send all her inhabitants hither...The common fear is, that if they continue to come, they will make themselves proprietors of the province.”¹³⁴ Logan’s preoccupation with the steadfastness and willful nature of the Irish immigrants was mirrored in his contemporaries. Some people even began to surmise that the strangeness of their dialect, and their dress meant that they were poverty-stricken. One citizen remarked that no more than “one man in ten is a man of substance.”¹³⁵ They were also known to be proud, stubborn, and troublesome.¹³⁶

Quakers in Philadelphia (which was one of the largest ports of debarkation for the Irish) were set sideways on the influx of immigrants. One resident, Jonathan Dickinson, was troubled by their strange manner of dress, speaking, and overall demeanor in October of 1717.¹³⁷ He was distressed at the “swarm of people...strangers to our Laws and Customs, even to our language.”¹³⁸ He also lamented, “Our people are in pain. From the north of Ireland many

¹³³ Fischer, David Hackett. *Albion's Seed : Four British Folkways in America*. New York: Oxford University Press, Incorporated, 1989. 633.

¹³⁴ James Logan to John, Thomas and Richard Penn. 17 April 1731. Penn Papers, Official Correspondence, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

¹³⁵ S.F. Warren to Dr. Warren, 22 Jan. 1766, in H. Roy Merrens, ed., *The Colonial South Carolina Scene: Contemporary Views, 1697-1774*. Columbia, S.C., 1977. 233-34.

¹³⁶ Hoefling, Larry J. *Scots and Scotch Irish: Frontier Life in North Carolina, Virginia, and Kentucky*. Oklahoma: Inlandia, 2009. Chp. 2.

¹³⁷ Jonathan Dickinson to John Aiken, 22 Oct. 1717. Johnathan Dickinson Letterbook, 1715-21, HSP.

¹³⁸ Jonathan Dickinson to John Aiken, 22 Oct. 1717. Johnathan Dickinson Letterbook, 1715-21, HSP.

hundreds have come.¹³⁹ On arrival they faced intense prejudice from other ethnic groups. “I was looked upon as a barbarian” wrote Lieutenant James MacMichael.¹⁴⁰ The proud way in which they carried themselves, despite having a rough appearance and weather-worn faces confounded settlers who could not understand how people of such blatant poverty could demand others to treat them respectfully.¹⁴¹

Officials in Pennsylvania toyed with the idea of restricting immigration in 1718 by “laying a Duty of 5 pounds a head on some sorts and double on others.”¹⁴² However, such an unfair duty went against the ideology of William Penn’s holy experiment and wasn’t adopted. So, the Quakers decided that they would offset settlement to the back parts of the colony. In 1731, James Logan informed the Penn family in England that he was deliberately planting the North Britons in the west “as a *frontier* in case of any disturbance.”¹⁴³ He argued that these people might usefully become a buffer population between the Indians and the Quakers. At the same time, he hoped to be rid of them.¹⁴⁴

Distrust of colonial governance among the Irish and Scots Irish settlers was blanketed across the colonies of British North America, just as were the colonies. This shows that the style of governance and approach to policy was consistent in most of the colonies. One such example was the settlement of Williamsburgh in South Carolina. It was settled in 1732 by James Pringle and other Irish protestants and named in honor of William of Orange.¹⁴⁵ Migration to this settlement, as well as others in the vicinity were copious to the point that in 1736, they had

¹³⁹ Jonathan Dickinson to John Asher, 22 Oct. 1717, Dickinson Letterbook, 1715-1721, HSP.

¹⁴⁰ MacMichael, James. “Diary...,” ed. William P. MacMichael, *PMHB* 16 (1892), 145-46.

¹⁴¹ *GM* 36 (1766). 582.

¹⁴² Jonathan Dickinson to John Asher, 22 Oct. 1717, Dickinson Letterbook, 1715-1721, HSP.

¹⁴³ James Logan to John, Thomas and Richard Penn, 14 April 1731, Penn Papers, Official Correspondence, Historical Society of Pennsylvania; Frederick B. Tolles, *Quakers and the Atlantic Culture*. New York, 1960. 126.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁵ Williamsburgh was about 83 miles Northwest of the Charles Towne port.

reached a capacity and sustained them long enough to request a minister from Ireland to come tend to their flock.¹⁴⁶

Reverend Alexander Hewatt was a Presbyterian clergyman who wrote one of the first histories of South Carolina in 1779 and discussed the influx of Irish settlers to the colony through the port of Charleston. He argued that South Carolina was a prime destination for foreign Protestants but especially those of Ireland. He remarked that “the spirit of emigration seized the people to such a degree, that it threatened a total depopulation. Such multitudes of husbandmen, laborers and manufacturers flocked over the Atlantic, that the landlords began to be alarmed, and to concert ways and means for preventing the growing evil. Scarce a ship sailed for any of the plantations that was not crowded with men, women and children”¹⁴⁷. This assessment of emigrating masses of skilled Irish citizens to America was echoed by judges back in Ulster who were lamenting the losses of skilled labor¹⁴⁸.

The importance of these Irish emigrants who were skilled, and in many cases nominally educated, is paramount to their perception of government inaction to protect their interests as the Indian wars broke out. Some of the skilled tradesmen remarked that they had been induced through Government advertisement in the form of an invitation for settlers to make the journey.¹⁴⁹ In his writing, Hewatt used the term “resort to” regarding migration to a province.

¹⁴⁶ Ford, Henry Jones. *The Scotch-Irish in America*. Reprinted for Clearfield Company, Inc. by Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 2000. Chp 7.

¹⁴⁷ Hewatt, Alexander. *An Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of the Colonies of South Carolina and Georgia, Volume I*. Project Gutenberg, 2005.

¹⁴⁸ Stewart, Judge Ezekiel. 1729, Fort Stewart, Donegal, quoted in H. Tyler Blethan and Curtis W. Wood Jr., From *Ulster to Carolina: The Migration of the Scotch-Irish to Southwestern North Carolina*. Revised Edition 1998. 17.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

This use implies the fact that the situation was unsatisfactory in the Ulster plantation, greater Ireland, Scotland, and even parts of England, and that migration was seen as a means of escape or way to improve the quality of life.

Settlers had doubtless heard whispers of conflict on the frontiers, but the land that was available in less conflicted areas was priced too high or was not of desirable arability. Despite these discouragements and the severity of the climate, Hewatt remarked that the bounty of the land induced more settlers from the Old World to continue to immigrate. One telling remark he made showed that a great many of the immigrants were in a sickly condition before they made for the frontier, if they ever left their arrival port:

“The merchants finding this bounty equivalent to the expenses of the passage, from avaricious motives persuaded the people to embark for Carolina, and often crammed such numbers of them into their ships that they were in danger of being stifled during the passage, and sometimes were landed in such a starved and sickly conditions that numbers of them died before they left Charleston....”¹⁵⁰

Hewatt bore witness to the fact that “strength and increase of population” were derived from the migration of settlers who had at first tried to settle in the North, as in Pennsylvania and Virginia:

“a scarcity of improvable lands began to be felt in these colonies, and poor people could not find spots in them unoccupied equal to their expectations. Most of the richest valley in these more populous provinces lying to the east of the Alleghany Mountains were wither under patent of occupied, and by the royal proclamation at the Peace, no settlements were allowed to extend beyond the sources of the rivers which empty themselves in the Atlantic”¹⁵¹.

¹⁵⁰ Hewatt, Alexander. *An Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of the Colonies of South Carolina and Georgia, Volume I*. Project Gutenberg, 2005.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*

An important aspect of inability to settle was that though those provinces were vast and fertile, the best parcels had already been spoken for and any other suitable land was restricted to the flood of the Irish masses because of a Peace brokered between Indian agents in service of the Crown and the native tribes of the areas. At this particular juncture in the settlement process, the bureaucracy that had limited them in the Old World was now hindering them in the New World. The difference between the two was the ability to enforce such agreements over the vast and geographically challenging terrain, with the limited number of enforcements that were on the North American continent at the time. This fact would lead the enterprising Irish and Scots Irish to push into the frontier and take by force what they needed for survival; a theme that would be attributed to them in many aspects of frontier history.

Another unfortunate aspect of migration encouraged the decampment from the northern colonies for many of the Irish immigrants. Early in the colonization of British North America, there had been a significant empathy for the plight of Protestants among other religious sympathies between the newly founded colonies and those inhabiting Ulster. This encouraged a natural pilgrimage to a land with religious morals and social acceptance that they were lacking in in the land of their nativity. Unfortunately, the welcome became cooler as more waves of Irish immigrants poured into the north. Many Irish immigrants found themselves unwelcome when sailing into Boston.

Early sympathizers such as Cotton Mather and Samuel Sewall continued to extend the proprietary courtesies afforded to fellow clergymen, but from 1718 onwards, they were champions of the under trod no more. In fact, they were in many ways repellant. This appears to have been fueled by anxieties that were not necessarily due to the Irish ethnicity, but to the vast numbers upon arrival that were compounding an already volatile situation in the colony. There

had been years of lean harvests, conflicts, and illness that taxed the government's ability to provide for the citizens of the colony. A relief shipment of provisions had earlier been donated by Ireland distributed between Connecticut and Massachusetts (ironically from an Irish vessel) to aid the colonies following severe losses at the hands of the Narragansett Indians during King Phillip's War in 1676.¹⁵²

Irish emigrants from Londonderry began arriving in New Hampshire after 1689 to take advantage of land grants and tax exemptions in lieu of their service in the decisive siege. The influx created at least 10 distinct Irish settlements in New Hampshire, and they all became well established towns. As populations soared, migration to other regions and towards mountains pushed the Irish into Vermont. This fact played a critical role in the French and Indian War because the Scots Irish and Irish were critical as a military force both in raids and in defending their homesteads.¹⁵³ In 1756, a Londonderry transplant named Major Roger commanded three companies of rangers (mostly made up of Londonderry men) in the New Hampshire frontier. In 1759, they also were militarized for the Conquest of Canada.¹⁵⁴

The arrivals in July and August 1718 in Boston amounted to between 500-700 people and this induced a panic among residents who were already in dire straits. This prompted the selectmen of Boston to send an agent to court to act in their interests and to secure the town from incurring any charges for the by the arrival of passengers from Ireland.¹⁵⁵ Such fears were

¹⁵² Massachusetts Colonial Records. Vol. 5. 124.

¹⁵³ Bahmanyar, Mir. *Shadow Warriors: A History of the US Army Rangers*. Bloomsbury: USA. 2006. 14.

¹⁵⁴ Black, Robert. "The Beginning of the American Ranger". *Gung-Ho*. October 1984. 20–22.

¹⁵⁵ Ford, Henry Jones. *The Scotch-Irish in America*. Reprinted for Clearfield Company, Inc. by Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 2000. Chp. 7.

applicable to the arrival of passengers, as the colony had previously fined people for the importation of the Irish. Once such case was that of David Sellecke, a Boston merchant who was noted in the Colony records for “craveing pardon for his offence in bringing some of the Irish men on shoare”.¹⁵⁶

By winter the Irish were warned that they were leave the area or that they must sustain sureties for their support. It did not matter whether the immigrants were rich or skilled in trade that would be valuable to the colony.¹⁵⁷ The colony wanted no part in having to care for them, should they find themselves in need of economic help.

Lord Lechmere’s correspondence with John Winthrop III regarding the use of the Irish as “a barrier against the Indians” was put into practice as the colony of Massachusetts continued to grow. One of the first Irish settlements that was established was the town of Worcester, about 50 miles to the west of Boston. It served not only as a buffer, but as a frontier outpost for those who settled in the countryside. Frontier towns that had been attempted to be established in Massachusetts were plagued by hostile conflict and the anxiety that came along with it. Many settlers found the challenges to be too taxing and quit the frontier towns, leading to a massive depopulation at the end of the 17th century.

The depopulation epidemic was so disastrous that there was legislation through acts passed in Massachusetts that prohibited the removal of settlers from the frontier town without the express consent of the Governor of the Province, or of a Council.¹⁵⁸ Yet, just as the imaginary

¹⁵⁶ Records of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay in New England. Vol. 3. 291.

¹⁵⁷ John Winthrop III Letter. 1717. Winthrop Papers. Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1992.

¹⁵⁸ Records of the General Court. Vol. I. 129.

frontier boundaries could be crossed when the Irish saw fit, so too were these Acts broken in the spirit of survival. Many of the settlers migrated to the Carolinas, while others moved on to Connecticut and Rhode Island, which were deemed somewhat less dangerous than Massachusetts.

While the colonial governments could enact these laws governing the settlers, they were again unable to enforce them in totality because of the limited military resources available to them. In a strange twist of fate, the military use of the Irish and Scots Irish on the frontiers that such minds as Lord Lechmere had designed were not reliable as mere buffers to a colony. Lechmere had not accounted for the free will of the Irish who had come to America to escape the yoke of empire.

The frontier towns were important to the colony because they contained fertile ground that was valued for a population of increase. Towns like Worcester were desirable if they could be stabilized by an Irish fighting force and little to no expense for the British government. In 1675 Worcester was abandoned because of consistent hostilities. Over time, settlers were induced to settle the area again, but then in 1709 it was again abandoned for the same reasons. These abandonments sparked migrations up and down the Eastern seaboard and retarded growth in the colony of Massachusetts. It was not only the migrations that led to depopulation, but also hostilities that resulted in whole families being wiped from this earth.

Four years after Worcester was abandoned a second time, the settlers erected a block fort and 4 additional garrison houses for the defense of the population. These outposts were critical to the survival of the population, as sentries could warn the townsfolk that hostilities were

imminent and certain possessions and livestock could be sheltered inside the fort for a short time while the war party came through and was repelled. In 1713 the population of Worcester was about 200 with around 50 log cabins, when additional Scots Irish frontiersmen joined the colony.¹⁵⁹

In 1722 an Indian war inflamed the Massachusetts frontier, and the outpost was outfitted with defenses as well as sentries who doubled as sharpshooters. The Scots Irish of Worcester were assigned as scouts to warn the town of impending attacks and established their post west of the settlement on Leicester Hill. These scouts proved adept at their jobs, and later in 1722 one of them was even selected to be a selectman. The military ingenuity of the Scots Irish earned them benefits, such as commands of frontier outposts and rises in social and political station.

Other benefits were more tangible. It is clear from the land grants and taxation exemptions passed by acts of the British Parliament concerning colonies in both America and Ireland at that time that the utilization of the Irish and Scots Irish in military applications on the frontier was paramount. A clear example of these expectations, not just from the British standpoint, but direct colonial leadership in the Plymouth Colony as referenced in a session of General Court in 1636. The Court remarked: "it was enacted by the Court that all Scotese and Irishmen as are in any Township of the Government shall beare Arms and traine as others, except such as are servants from month to month."¹⁶⁰ Another example was a land grant of five

¹⁵⁹ Ford, Henry Jones. *The Scotch-Irish in America*. Reprinted for Clearfield Company, Inc. by Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 2000. Chp. 7.

¹⁶⁰ Records of the General Court. Vol. 1. 129.

thousand acres to forty-eight settlers by the General Assembly of Rhode Island in May 1677 as a reward for their services in King Phillip's War.¹⁶¹

Britain continued its policy of dismantling the warrior class in Ireland at the time, not only by transporting them to fight on frontiers in Europe and America, but also through encouraging them to migrate by land grants in America. For instance, those who had participated in the siege of Londonderry in Ireland for Anglo interests had lands bestowed upon them and their heirs with tax exemptions that might have remained perpetual had the American Revolution not taken place. Their farms in New England were referred to as "exempt farms". The Irish settlement of Worcester in New England and other lands in the area were obtained through direct grants by the General Court of Massachusetts in lieu of military service.

The policy of rewarding the Irish for martial services with tracts of land appeared to be beneficial to the British because it solved the issue of limited martial power in the colonies and installed a bulwark between Indians who could be volatile and seacoast townships that could control shipping and supply routes. But as townships expanded, so did Anglo influence and a desire to control. Ethnic and religious differences between the English and those of Irish and Scots Irish backgrounds, soon played a larger role in tensions within the colonies. As populations elevated in number, many Scots Irish and Irish found it more desirable to push further into the frontier, to carve out a living free from such conflict and to afford themselves more opportunity.

Other Governors in the American colonies induced migration through the promise of land grants so that the land might be settled for Britain and the bulk of hostilities peter-out for other settlers. As Cotton Mather once said of the removal of the natives, the colonial government felt

¹⁶¹ Rhode Island Colonial Records. Vol. 2. 587-590.

the land had been cleared to make way for better growth.¹⁶² In the fall of 1718, around 300 Irish migrants attempted to settle in Casco Bay, in Maine. But they found the limited support, resources, and the crushing and constant attacks by the Natives to be beyond suffering. The Casco Bay settlement eventually dissolved, and with it, the fortunes of many of the frontier families. Those who weren't killed or critically wounded, and lived to flee the area, were often made paupers by their experience. This condition was somewhat common in the colonies, and many local governments worried about the drain on resources and the pestilence of those reduced to beggary in their townships. The laws that some colonies passed requiring surety bonds, or removal from the settlement for the Irish were applied to many in these circumstances.¹⁶³

There is evidence that in 1738 a large company of 34 families banded together to purchase a new settlement around 30 miles to west of the once mostly Irish settlement of Worcester. When the contract was applied for, the terms were for “families of good connection be settled on the premises who shall be such as were the inhabitants of the Kingdom of Ireland or their descendants, being Protestants, and none be admitted but such as bring good and undeniable credentials or certificates of their being persons of good conversation and of the Presbyterian persuasion.”¹⁶⁴

This statement alone addressed the underlying motivations for establishing an insular society that was geographically removed from their contemporaries in Worcester. It outlines religious and ethnic points of desirability. While the language of the document inferred that the

¹⁶² Drake, Samuel, Cotton Mather, Lucius Robinson, and Thomas Robbins. *Magnalia Christi Americana, Or, the Ecclesiastical History of New-England: From its First Planting, in the Year 1620, Unto the Year of our Lord 1698 : In Seven Books*. Vol. 1. Hartford: Silas Andrus and Son, 1855.

¹⁶³ Records of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay in New England. Vol. 3. 291

¹⁶⁴ Settlement Contract between James Thorington and Robert Peebles with Colonel James Stoddard, etc. Records and Files of the Quarterly Court. Vol. 7.

settlement was purchased in a voluntary manner, it begs the question of the what the conditions were like in Worcester at the time to necessitate the move. Was the township too populous? Considering the notation that the upcoming settlement was for those of Irish descendency, how had the ethnic demographics of Worcester changed in the span of a few decades? Religious notation also begs the same question of change in religious demographics. Was the demographic shift in Worcester so profound that the Irish wished to be removed from that place? Or were there other aspects (such as job and land availability, taxation, political or religious oppression) that necessitated a move so that the Irish might survive?

Native American hostilities were incited not only by frontier encroachment of European settlements but also from French and even Spanish inducements in games of empire. The common tactic of competing colonial powers from Europe was to illicit native occupants to rebel against the competing European power in an effort to destabilize the region. The Spanish were complicit in the motivation of Southern Native American warfare on many Anglo settlements. There is ample evidence that they engaged in treaties with many Southern tribes to commit espionage and warfare, so that the Anglo foothold on the southern part of North America was destabilized.¹⁶⁵

But the alliance between the Spanish and the Native Americans only went so far. The Natives sometimes refused to make war upon other Native Americans because of pre-existing treaties and political relations through intermarriage.¹⁶⁶ In their calculation of the Native populations of North America, some of the European powers had misjudged the value of honor and traditions that were upheld by the tribes and were central to their operations as a civilization.

¹⁶⁵ Arnold, Morris S. 2020. "The Quapaws and the American Revolution." *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 79 (1): 1–39.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

The European powers had thought to use them, and indeed did use them, as pawns. But examples such as the refusal of the tribe to make war upon another tribe because it was the desire of the Spanish, shows that the Natives had their own will and motivations for treaties and allegiances with the European powers. Friendship and common cause were two of the main factors. The free will of the tribes is also evident in such examples as the massive land grant that the Mohawk bestowed upon Sir William Johnson, an Indian agent in New York. They believed that a time was coming when their rights would inexorably be suppressed by the Europeans and wished to gift their land grant to him while it was still within their power to do so.¹⁶⁷

The French and English powers on the North American continent followed the same tactics of Native American alliances, treaties, and espionage. The French emerged as the most formidable contender for control of the continent and the Indian wars that spawned as a result led to atrocities on both sides. The unfortunate position of the Irish and Scots Irish on the frontiers, and the design of pushing to the frontier, as well as military application as frontier enforcement meant that they were the ones who suffered such atrocities. Slaughter, kidnappings, and slavery were fates dealt to men, women, and children on the frontiers daily.

Judge Samuel Penhallow's History concerned the settlement of New England and was published in 1726. In his account, he documented several of the massacres committed by both the frontiersmen and the natives along the contest line of demarcation that served as a border according to various treaties. The lax authority which the local governments asserted was merely to seek retribution through short campaigns aimed at what amounts to extermination. In 1706 he documented the plans for assembling a militia for such a task:

¹⁶⁷ O'Toole, Fintan. *White Savage: William Johnson and The Invention of America*. State University of New York Press, 2009.

“The state of affairs still looking with a melancholy aspect, it was resolved for a more vigorous prosecution of the war, to grant the following encouragement, viz.:

To regular forces under pay L10 To volunteers in service. ...20. To volunteers without pay 50(per scalp) To any troop or company that go to the relief of any town or garrison 30

“Over and above was granted the benefit of plunder, and captives of women and children under twelve years of age,, which at first seemed a great encouragements, but it did not answer what we expected.”¹⁶⁸

It is evident that pressures to curb hostilities mounted following that year, because bounties increased to nearly 100 pounds per scalp for volunteers and to 60 pounds for soldiers in the Army.¹⁶⁹ Considering that there were limited resources and funding provided by Britain. Therefore, the inducement of frontier mercenaries was of critical importance to conduct warfare during the Indian Wars. This colonial license to kill meant that no parties were safe, including those who had been friendly towards the settlers. There was little discretion on the part of the frontiersmen who aimed at clearing the frontier and collecting bounties with which to further their own personal prospects.

Even when the state was aware of atrocities committed against innocent native American parties, they were somewhat powerless to bring justice about, and in fact sent mixed signals of encouragement. For example, in 1795 , one Irish settler was indicted for murdering two in Maine and taking their scalps. However, when his time came to appear in court, he was swiftly acquitted of their murders and instead was rewarded with the outrageous bounty of two thousand

¹⁶⁸ Adams, Nathaniel, Samuel Penhallow, Benjamin Colman, and Lion Gardiner. *The History of the Wars of New-England with the Eastern Indians, Or, A Narrative of their Continued Perfidy and Cruelty: From the 10th of August, 1703, to the Peace Renewed, 13th of July, 1713, and from the 25th of July, 1722, to their Submission, 15th December, 1725, which was Ratified, August 5th, 1726.* Cincinnati [Ohio]: Reprinted for W. Dodge by J. Harpel, 1859.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

dollars in exchange for their scalps.¹⁷⁰ Examples such as this illuminate the duality of the colonial governments in appearing to remain impartial while also pushing the empirical agenda of territorial acquisition and extermination.

This line of warfare was not profitable to anyone but the bounty hunters, and even then, the casualties they suffered in the exercise were liable to negate the profit. In a reversal of fortunes from ending the wars and clearing the territory, it contributed to endemic cycles of violence and emptied the colonial treasuries, all while reinforcing brutality and atrocities on the frontier. Penhallow noted that for every Native American that was killed or captured it cost the country at least one thousand pounds.¹⁷¹

For three years of Indian wars in 1722 to 1725, Penhallow documented that the bill for bounty operations was “no less than one hundred and seventy-five thousand pounds, besides the constant charge of watching, warding, scouting, making and repairing of garrisons &c, which may modestly be computed at upward of seventy thousand pound more.”¹⁷² The bounties collected in Penhallow’s colony were not so numerous as to warrant such extravagant expenses in his opinion and he found it “surprising to think that so small a number of Indians, should be able to distress a country so large and populous to the degree we have related.”¹⁷³ Such lessons as this may have cemented the necessity of using Indian agents to manage affairs so that expense

¹⁷⁰ Sullivan, James and John Thornton. *The History of the District of Maine*. Boston: Printed by I. Thomas and E.T. Andrews, 1795.

¹⁷¹ Adams, Nathaniel, Samuel Penhallow, Benjamin Colman, and Lion Gardiner. *The History of the Wars of New-England with the Eastern Indians, Or, A Narrative of their Continued Perfidy and Cruelty: From the 10th of August, 1703, to the Peace Renewed, 13th of July, 1713, and from the 25th of July, 1722, to their Submission, 15th December, 1725, which was Ratified, August 5th, 1726*. Cincinnati [Ohio]: Reprinted for W. Dodge by J. Harpel, 1859.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*

would not be incurred so heftily on the colonial side, if tribes could be set to work fighting each other and doing the bidding of the empire while only costing a pittance in trinkets and money.

The Irish and Scots Irish who were utilized in a military capacity were rewarded for time in the local militias with pay and land in many cases. They were encouraged in their service by the payment of bounties for captured Native Americans, or their scalps. Native American allies were also encouraged for the capture of enemies, or their scalps as can be seen in the bounties paid out by Indian agent.¹⁷⁴

In some cases, the British used the Scots Irish and Irish on expeditions to take forts and thwart the French. Sir William Johnson had a war party composed of Irish and Mohawks that he used in several raids on French settlements and forts. They were adept at guerilla warfare and were highly successful.¹⁷⁵ Back in Worcester, the family of the noted scout and selectmen Gray had also answered the call to lead an attack on nearby French controlled territory. They led an expedition to capture the French mouth of the river.¹⁷⁶

In Carolina, Hewatt documented that the circumstances were quite different, as large tracts of the best land were still unsettled. This encouraged colonists in the North to move southward in search of attainable and arable land. He documented that “about this time about a thousand families, with their effects, in the space of one year resorted to Carolina, driving their

¹⁷⁴ Adams, Nathaniel, Samuel Penhallow, Benjamin Colman, and Lion Gardiner. *The History of the Wars of New-England with the Eastern Indians, Or, A Narrative of their Continued Perfidy and Cruelty: From the 10th of August, 1703, to the Peace Renewed, 13th of July, 1713, and from the 25th of July, 1722, to their Submission, 15th December, 1725, which was Ratified, August 5th, 1726.* Cincinnati [Ohio]: Reprinted for W. Dodge by J. Harpel, 1859.

¹⁷⁵ O'Toole, Fintan. *White Savage: William Johnson and The Invention of America.* State University of New York Press, 2009.

¹⁷⁶ Ford, Henry Jones. *The Scotch-Irish in America.* Reprinted for Clearfield Company, Inc. by Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 2000. Chp 10

cattle, hogs and horses overland before them. Lands were allotted to them on the frontier and most of them being only entitled to small tracts, such as one, two or three hundred acres, the back settlements by this means soon became the most popular parts of the province.”¹⁷⁷

Yet with such a population boom, it was inevitable that the Irish would come into contact with the local Native American tribes. The drain on natural resources, such as clearing of land, lumber for building, water accessibility, fishing accessibility, and hunting grounds produced a point of contention between the two demographics. Cultural differences and the desperate circumstances which men as had fought sieges in Londonderry and other parts of Ireland would be the spark to light the tinder of regional hostilities.

During the Indian Wars, the local colonial governments encouraged the eradication of Native American tribes in the vicinity of settlements or expansions of frontier through various means. The most prominent operation of such a task was to offer bounties on captives and scalps, yet it did not yield the return that the British had initially thought it would. The most effective way of clearing the Native Americans people off was pushing frontier settlement further west. The compression of tribes and the competition for land and resources led to intense conflict. Another source of conflict arose from proximity and trade with frontier settlers in which the natives were introduced to many new possessions and developed a sort of cupidity and desire to obtain them. The tribes were no longer able to subsist on the limited land that they had available, while also being pushed into a smaller geographic area and creating geo-political conflict with other Native American peoples.

¹⁷⁷ Ford, Henry Jones. *The Scotch-Irish in America*. Reprinted for Clearfield Company, Inc. by Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 2000. Chp 10

The deviance of such a design for land clearance is evidenced in the work of *Magnolia* by Cotton Mather, in which he positively remarks that “the woods were almost cleared of those pernicious creatures, to make room for a better growth”.¹⁷⁸ The hostilities that emerged from these clashes led to hard feelings on both sides. The frontier settlers and Native Americans alike suffered the loss of land, possessions, family, and friends. Some all in the same breath. This led towards cruelties and acts of revenge on both sides. The British attempted to wield the frontiersmen in a beneficent manner but found that they were ultimately unable to control them once their patience and temperaments got the better of them. Consistent attacks and the perspective that the natives were an inferior race fueled attitudes of antipathy towards them.

The only province where this appears not to have been the case was in Pennsylvania, where Quaker beliefs eschewed violence that was prevalent in other colonies. It is also important to note that William Penn believed that the natives were not necessarily racially inferior but were one of the lost tribes of Israel.¹⁷⁹ However, it is also important to consider the fact that Penn was an absentee landlord and was therefore distanced considerably from any mortal effects that hostilities had on the settlement. Had he been present during the Indian wars, and suffered as his compatriots did, he might have developed a considerable different attitude. That was certainly the case for the Governor of the Province and the General Assembly, who would eventually and reluctantly grant permission for military action against the offending raiding parties. The uncomfortable nature of the conflict with their mortality on one hand, and their religion on the

¹⁷⁸ Drake, Samuel, Cotton Mather, Lucius Robinson, and Thomas Robbins. *Magnalia Christi Americana, Or, the Ecclesiastical History of New-England: From its First Planting, in the Year 1620, Unto the Year of our Lord 1698 : In Seven Books*. Vol. 1. Hartford: Silas Andrus and Son, 1855.

¹⁷⁹ Smith, Ethan. *View of the Hebrews, Or, the Tribes of Israel in America*. 2nd ed. Poultney: Smith & Shute, 1825.

other in that decision is evident in their attempt to keep such actions hidden from the public at large.

As early as 1730 Pennsylvania officials complained of the Irish “audacious and disorderly manner.” James Logan continuously found the incoming Irish land-squatting and border conflicts to be increasingly problematic. He appeared to regret his original preference of welcoming them to the colony. He wrote, “I must own from my own experience in the land office that the settlement of five families from Ireland gives me more trouble than fifty of any other people. Before were now broken in upon, ancient Friends and first settlers lived happily; but now the case is quite altered.”¹⁸⁰

Other areas of the New World echoed the sentiments of the Pennsylvania attitudes. Few Gaelic-speaking people emigrated from Ireland, Cornwall, or Wales to the American colonies before the 19th century. Gaelic-Irish immigrants were excluded by law from some American colonies.¹⁸¹ A South Carolina statute of 1716 forbade admission to the colony of “what is commonly called native Irish, or persons of known scandalous character or Roman Catholics.”¹⁸² (The land bounties offered to the Irish in the mid-1700’s were largely given to Scots Irish or those of Protestant background). In 1720, the flood of Irish migrants in Boston concerned Cotton Mather so much that he drafted a letter with a question of how to support them to the Governor. Samuel Shute desired to use them as a buffer against the French and Indians; resulting in a decree demanding that the Irish settlers “move off”.¹⁸³ Despite harsh reception in the New

¹⁸⁰Hanna, Charles A. *The Scotch-Irish; or the Scot in North Britain, North Ireland and North America* (2 vols, New York, 1902), II. 63.

¹⁸¹ McDonald, Forrest and Grady McWhiney. “The Antebellum Southern Herdsman: A Reinterpretation,” *JSH* 41 (1975). 147-66.

¹⁸² Schaper, William A. *Sectionalism in South Carolina*, (1901, rpt. New York, 1968), 66.

¹⁸³ “Irish Immigration to America, 1630 to ... - Nantucket Atheneum.” Accessed 2021. <https://www.nantucketatheneum.org/wp-content/uploads/Irish-Immigration-to-America.pdf>.

World, it was still a better situation than what they had left, and a Scots Irish immigrant wrote in Pennsylvania in 1767 “I do not know one that has come here that desires to be in Ireland again”.¹⁸⁴

As they migrated through the back country, their populations soared, until a census in 1790 found that they made up more than half of the population.¹⁸⁵ Despite being uprooted from their home in Ireland and having transplanted twice in living memory (once from Scotland to Ulster, and once more to the New World), they carried their culture with them. They were innovative and adaptive to their new surroundings but stubbornly clung to traditions. “Whole neighborhoods formed parties for removal; so that departure from their native country is no longer exile. He that goes thus accompanied...sits down in a better climate, surrounded by his kindred and his friends; they carry with them their language, their opinions, their popular songs, and hereditary merriment: they change nothing but the place of their abode.”¹⁸⁶

Many of the colonial leaders felt that the Irish were valuable as sentries against attack, and in Worcester, Massachusetts they were noted for their incredible abilities with a rifle and fighting style. The governing authorities of Eastern colonies believed that the hardships they had to contend with in Scotland and Ireland instilled in them an inherent disposition that readied them for the conflicts and hardships that they would face on the American continent, but as more Irish settlers migrated across the Atlantic, and the population began to multiply, the colonials became more resentful of their presence. They lamented that there was a shortage of servants for

¹⁸⁴ Davies, A.C. “‘As Good a Country as Any Man Needs to Dwell In’: Letters from a Scotch Irish Immigrant in Pennsylvania, 1766, 1767, and 1784,” *PH* 50 (1983), 313-22.

¹⁸⁵ Forrest McDonald and Ellen Shapiro McDonald, “The Ethnic Origins of the American People, 1790” *WMQ* 38(1980), 179-99.

¹⁸⁶ Johnson, Samuel. *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland*. 1775, ed. Mary Lascelles. New Haven, 1975. 59, 67, 95.

their needs and that the Irish that were present in the colony were not servants or bonded. They did not believe that they met the strict pious lifestyle recommendation of the Puritan colonies and believed that they would have a corrupting influence¹⁸⁷.

The Irish did not adhere to the same stringency as the Puritans and were therefore seen as useful in terms of militant protection, but not for much else. As a result of the custom of reception upon arrival, many frontier settlers came over by themselves, if they did not bring their families. If they left their families in Ireland to be received later once a homestead had been established. When the Irish arrived, they mostly settled in makeshift housing (such as tents) or with someone that they knew who had an established home. As they pushed westward into the frontier, this manner of settlement continued. Many families slept underneath the stars or in tents while clearing land and building cabins and faced countless adversities from the land itself to the predators.¹⁸⁸

There were many Irish settlements that caused a headache for the British government in America because the Irish were technically squatters, who were in violation of treaties between the British and local tribes. In many cases they settled 50 miles beyond treaty borders to the discontent of the local natives. The local governors complained that the squatting was causing massive issues and that agents had tried to dispossess them of the land, but that without adequate reinforcement, they were helpless to remove the Irish.¹⁸⁹ Essentially, the Irish were initially welcome to settle in areas deemed as hazardous to serve as protectors, but they later expanded

¹⁸⁷ *Massachusetts Bay Colony Records*, Act passed on October 29, 1654.

¹⁸⁸ James Logan to John, Thomas and Richard Penn, 14 April 1731, Penn Papers, Official Correspondence, Historical Society of Pennsylvania; Frederick B. Tolles, *Quakers and the Atlantic Culture*. New York, 1960.

¹⁸⁹ Kennedy, Billy. *The Scots-Irish in the Carolinas*. Causeway, 1997. 35-36.

further into the frontiers, many times against the protestations of colonial agents; earning a black mark for themselves.

With issues that mounted in this fashion, a time came when the Irish became detested more in their communities. They were seen as invasive, barbaric, and quick to anger. The grudges which they held also continued to cause issues. After Native attacks, many of the Irish began to hold grudges and carry out attacks on Natives. Such a case in point was the massacre of Indian sportsmen when they went to attend an event at a local homestead. This triggered further retaliation from the tribes which made resolution difficult.¹⁹⁰ Indian agents for the British government played a large role in dissuading discontent.

The defensive outlook, resilience, stubbornness, and even pride that the Ulster settlers garnered in Ireland served them well in terms of survival but would become a source of vexation to outsiders who observed them. The English who observed the Irish resented their “haughty” and proud exteriors, and instead of admiring their fortitude and resilience in surmounting adversity, found them to represent vanity and undesirable qualities. One English observer noted, “his looks spoke out that he would not fear the devil, should he meet him face to face... He loved to talk of himself and spoke as freely and encomiastically as enthusiastic youth do of Alexander and Caesar... Qualities united in him which are never found in one person except an Irishman.”¹⁹¹

Historians have remarked that the simplistic and practical style of the Scots Irish was a residual effect of their own poverty and that they were a people who abandoned their past in the

¹⁹⁰ Kennedy, Billy. *The Scots-Irish in the Carolinas*. Causeway, 1997. 149-152.

¹⁹¹ Gilmer, George. *Sketches of some of the First Settlers of Upper Georgia, of the Cherokees, and the Author*. New York: D. Appleton and company, 1855. 62.

necessary move for survival.¹⁹² Their religion had provided a rich style and tradition in Calvinism that embraced the individual as well as the clan. The evolving Irishman (or Scots Irishman) was quick to adapt to the necessary conditions, sometimes at the expense of their own cultural traditions.¹⁹³ This evolutionary model may not have had excessive possessions and material culture, but the traits of the Scots Irish especially were of an innovative and yet simple spirit in the interests of survival.

Furthermore, the history of the border and “mixed people” mentality served the Scots Irish well upon their arrival on new frontiers. It served to provide an avenue for intercultural relations. One history noted that “despite differences of religion and official efforts to segregate the native Irish, some cultural blending occurred. It was in America, however, that the Scotch-Irish capacity for cultural adaptation fully manifested itself”.¹⁹⁴ And despite the terminologies which are now applied to this unique group of people, many transplants continued to consider themselves Irish. James Patton, one of the first settlers in the Asheville, North Carolina area, always referred to his Ulster network as “Irishmen”.¹⁹⁵ These varying distinctions throughout the period provided historians with the perspective of an ethnic group on the brink of evolution within itself.

Due to the lowering of public opinion of the Irish and the challenges that they placed to British interests; earlier Irish immigrants began to distance themselves from new arrivals. The prior experience of the Irish in Ireland had prepared them for the harsh living conditions that they

¹⁹² Blethen, Tyler, and Curtis Wood. *From Ulster to Carolina: The Migration of the Scotch-Irish to Southwestern North Carolina*. Raleigh, NC: North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, Office of Archives and History, 2013. 30-31.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 31.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 33.

found in the New World. The militarism and skills that they learned as a means of survival were transplanted with them to the New World and would serve them well on the frontiers. The manner of reception in the New World also would shape their disposition and ethnic identity in the future generations.

The groups of immigrants who arrived from Ireland were large and carried with them a culture of mobility and adaptive nature. This culture evolved from living experience in Scotland and Ireland. It would continue to shape the process and mentality of migration for Irish settlers in the New World. The hallmark of their lifestyle was simplicity and practicality, which might appear to be unimpressive on its face. However, in the subjects of religion and mountain agriculture, their enterprising and innovative spirit made deep impressions of their Ulster origins on the American landscape.

The areas of geographic saturation (and isolation) of the Irish in early America were concentrated in the frontier lands to the west of established communities. The Scots Irish and Irish communities in early America, were settlements located mostly on the frontier. Although the Irish and the Scots Irish shared a common ethnic link through Irish origins, and they also shared similar cultural and traditional heritages, their religious affiliations separated the two groups communally. In particular, the homesteading, cultural aspects, and how religion fit into those aspects helped to cultivate the American identity of the Irish and Scots Irish.

An antiquated account of the establishments and the histories of the colonies of South Carolina and Georgia were provided by Alexander Hewat, who was clergyman and subsequent historian. He wished to record the history of the region for posterity and to account to the English

for the development of the colonies¹⁹⁶. Hewat was largely based out of Charleston, but did gather accounts from other areas, including the frontier regions. The accounts of immigrants through the ports in Charlestown and documentations of the living conditions of the time is important in supporting evidence as to the number of immigrants arriving in America from certain countries and where they would establish themselves once they had arrived. There are accounts of Native American attacks on settlers and frontier settlements (of which many were Irish and Scot Irish immigrants).

These adversarial issues are important in examining the social and cultural, as well as homesteading and housing conditions that placed these immigrants apart from mainstream civilization, and by extension the central role of the church's influence. Hewat examined both the Irish who remained in the townships and the ones who struck out on the frontier, by which enable an understanding that the Catholic Irish were more apt to remain in populated cities and townships, as opposed to living on the frontier. This was not always the case in many circumstances. Native Catholic Irish, such as William Johnson in New York, were pioneers and innovators on the frontiers, but often had to renounce their Catholic faith in service to the British to obtain those ends.¹⁹⁷

As migrants poured into port towns and felt the cold reception of established settlers, they made the choice to move to the frontier. The enticement of clean water, fertile soil that required

¹⁹⁶ Hewat, Alexander. *An Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of the Colonies of South Carolina and Georgia*. London, 1779.

¹⁹⁷ O'Toole, Fintan. *White Savage: William Johnson and The Invention of America*. State University of New York Press, 2009.

little work, and abundances of natural bounty, proved to be irresistible to people who had been disinherited from their own lands in the last few generations. One settler remarked,

“These mountains (of North Carolina) begin to be populated rapidly. The salubrity of the air, the excellence of the water, and more especially the pasturage of these wilde peas for the cattle, are so many causes that induce new inhabitants to settle there. Estates of the first class are sold at the rate of two dollars, and the taxes are not more than a half-penny per acre. Indian corn, wheat, rye, oats, and peach trees, are the sole object of culture”.¹⁹⁸

The Great Wagon Road provided a route into the frontier and those who settled along its path and newly formed communities, found themselves in contact with Native Americans. Some of these encounters were productive for both Native American and European settlers. Especially in the Carolinas, there was an exchange of ideas, and horticulture benefitted greatly from the adoption of Native techniques.¹⁹⁹

As contact between the two worlds resulted in an exchange of information, techniques, and culture, so too did the blending of the cultures result in miscegenation. Many Scots Irish and Cherokee people intermarried and in later years of frontier settlement, many Native Americans bore the names of Irish settlers. The use of Irish and Scots Irish as military pawns and diplomatic tools for interpretation and persuasion influenced the identity of the settlers. An amalgamation of the two civilizations was apparent in their personal identity and allegiances.²⁰⁰ Unfortunately, in

¹⁹⁸ Hoefling, Larry J. *Scots and Scotch Irish: Frontier Life in North Carolina, Virginia, and Kentucky*. Oklahoma: Inlandia, 2009, 9.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid*, 137.

²⁰⁰ Doan, James E. “How the Irish and Scots Became Indians: Colonial Traders and Agents and the Southeastern Tribes.” *New Hibernia Review / Iris Éireannach Nua* 3, no. 3 (1999): 9–19.

later years during Indian Removal, these European ties did not always exempt the progeny of such unions from deportation.²⁰¹

Many Irish and Scots Irish frontiersmen became Indian Fighters, and soon found a vocation in the field. Many of the frontiersmen found it beneficial to adopt Native American practices in lifestyle and in fighting patterns to survive and thrive in their expansion of the western frontier²⁰². Daniel Boone, who kept in his company many Irish and Scots Irish, cut his way through the Appalachian frontier and by consequence ended up with many settlements that bore his name. The Boonesborough settlement was a stopping point for many pioneers on their way to carve out a homestead for themselves. It was a place to collect rations, tools, knowledge. More importantly, it was a place where there was a militia and protection in the event of native American attacks.²⁰³ Harper's Station was also named after an intrepid wilderness explorer and served the same purpose.

The circumstances for migration along the Great Wagon Road versus remaining in established Anglo settlements hinged largely on the need for elbow room on the frontier spurred on by the Irish practice of spacious family farm layouts. The incoming immigrants placed a demand on lands that had previously been frontier territory and had been settled. Many of the Irish and Scots Irish were not able to remain in heavily inhabited cities because of overcrowding,

²⁰¹ Kennedy, Billy. *The Scots Irish in the Carolinas*. Npl: Causeway Press, 1997. 139.

²⁰² Jones, John Beauchamp. *The war-path: a narrative of adventures in the wilderness : with minute details of the captivity of sundry persons, amusing and perilous incidents during their abode in the wild woods, fearful battles with the Indians, ceremony of adoption into an Indian family, encounters with wild beasts and rattlesnakes, &c.* Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott & Co., 1856. *Sabin Americana: History of the Americas, 1500-1926* (accessed May 24, 2020). https://link-gale-com.ezproxy.liberty.edu/apps/doc/CY0110823600/SABN?u=vic_liberty&sid=SABN&xid=ace493a7.

²⁰³ Kennedy, Billy. *The Scots Irish in the Carolinas*. Npl: Causeway Press, 1997. 168.

prejudices, cultural, and religious differences. Many of these settlers made their homes on the expanding western frontier, away from the mass population and civilization of their churches. Prejudice against the Irish and Scots Irish was considerable among the early settlers of North America. The Puritans viewed the Irish as “black papists” and a pestilence.²⁰⁴

John Winthrop was one of the most influential elders in the Massachusetts Bay Colony. He was a devout Puritan and involved in every facet of his community. He also kept regular reports and contacts with other colonies throughout his career. The Winthrop Papers collection contains letters, journals, decrees, and other such valuable papers that were found in Winthrop’s collection. Throughout his tenure he noted several scourges of the communities in the form of Native American attacks, plagues, and even in the form of religious dissidents. The incoming Irish and Scots Irish immigrants from Ulster were of increasing concern, due to limited civil land availability and the concern of the pollution of their community.

It is on this basis that other members of the community offered solutions to the Irish Protestant issue. Lechmere, Bradford’s nephew was one example, wherein a letter he had written to Bradford detailed a plan to allow the Irish to settle on the border of the colony (towards the frontier) where the Puritans hoped that they would prove a buffer to Native American attacks²⁰⁵. The attitude of the colonial settlements towards these religious and cultural dissenters was negative, and the necessity of the Irish settling in frontier lands where they were removed from mainstream society and religious exposure was evident. In such circumstances, the Irish and the

²⁰⁴ Kennedy, Billy. *Heroes of the Scots-Irish In America*. Greenville: Emerald House Group, Inc, 2000. 83.

²⁰⁵ Winthrop, John. “Thomas Lechmere Letter”. Winthrop Papers. Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1992.

forms of religion that they adhered to made them outsiders in a land of considered religious freedom, and that those religious affiliations fractured certain cultures and religions.

Another example of the regard for the Irish was Governor William Bradford's mention of the Irish slaves who served an unscrupulous Puritan who absconded from the colony²⁰⁶. There was little charity or compassion showed to those of Irish descent in early American colonies. So it was, that the common settlement for those of Irish descent was the frontier, on the fringes of society.

As a result of social stigma and prejudice driving societal isolation, most Irish who found themselves on the receiving end of such effects had a choice to go over the mountains in Pennsylvania or to try their luck on the Great Wagon Road. This meant that most of the Scots Irish left for the frontier as soon as they were able and became farmers. Some enterprising settlers preferred to try their hand at trading, importing goods, and driving cattle to northern markets from pastures in the Carolinas. One such settler was the early frontier pioneer, James Patton.²⁰⁷

The events and actions that led to religious differences and the cultural separation of the Scots Irish from their Irish brothers were unique to the frontier settlements in which they settled. The conditions and influences that these groups encountered and how they affected their morals and traditions also weighed heavily on their faith. In the isolated homesteads of the frontier, the

²⁰⁶ Bradford, William, and Harold Paget. *Of Plymouth Plantation: Bradfords History of the Plymouth Settlement, 1608-1650*. San Antonio, TX: Vision Forum, 2002. 77.

²⁰⁷ Hoefling, Larry J. *Scots and Scotch Irish: Frontier Life in North Carolina, Virginia, and Kentucky*. Oklahoma: Inlandia, 2009. 33.

settlers were distanced from their neighbors by miles of rugged wilderness, because of the traditional way in which they farmed. They used a slash and burn method of land clearance, and their homesteads were spread widely over several acres, as they had been accustomed to doing for hundreds and thousands of years in Ireland²⁰⁸.

The Irish who inhabited New World frontier lands had been culturally conditioned to a certain form of restlessness and were thereby induced to move based on environmental, social, and geo-political factors.²⁰⁹ While the frontier Irish did appreciate elbow room apart from their neighbors, they also tended to settle within a certain proximity of one another. It was a general belief that your neighbor should not live so close to you that you might hear their dog bark.²¹⁰ One such area was west of the Yadkin River in North Carolina. This region was so concentrated with Irish immigrants that it was termed the “Irish Settlement”.²¹¹

The lure of these frontier lands was proliferated through eyewitness accounts which enticed further migration into America’s interior. Governor William Byrd II wrote that:

“It must be owned North Carolina is a Very happy Country where people may live with the least labour that they can in any part of the world, and if the lower parts are moist and consequently a little unwholesome every where above

²⁰⁸ Kennedy, Billy. *Heroes of the Scots-Irish In America*. Greenville: Emerald House Group, Inc, 2000. 100.

²⁰⁹ Blethen, Tyler, and Curtis Wood. *From Ulster to Carolina: The Migration of the Scotch-Irish to Southwestern North Carolina*. Raleigh, NC: North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, Office of Archives and History, 2013. 35.

²¹⁰ North Carolina Congressman Nathaniel Macon, John Hill Wheeler, *Historical Sketches of North Carolina* (rpt. Baltimore, 1964), 438.

²¹¹ Blethen, Tyler, and Curtis Wood. *From Ulster to Carolina: The Migration of the Scotch-Irish to Southwestern North Carolina*. Raleigh, NC: North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, Office of Archives and History, 2013. 35.

Chowan, as far as I have seen, people may live both in health and plenty. T'is the same I doubt not in the uplands in that Province.”²¹²

Patterns of migration throughout the backcountry usually consisted of movements that were short in distance that were usually only a few miles at a time, as the families scouted out potential homestead sites.²¹³ Settlements in the backcountry were initially spaced close enough together to provide for a mutual protection against threats. Defensible positions were eventually built up to help settlers on their migration routes as well as provide a militia protection that backcountry settlers could flee to for assistance or in case of attack.²¹⁴

The migration pattern to the frontier was so rapid and large that newspapers began to cover it as a matter of interest. One account noted that there “is scarce any history, either ancient or modern, which affords an account of such a rapid and sudden increase of inhabitants in a back Frontier country, as that of North Carolina.”²¹⁵ With these enticements the earliest sought out the most fertile land near creeks and rivers. The first Irish settlement on the Yadkin River was documented in 1746, in which the Scotch Irish were the forerunners in obtaining the most fertile lands.²¹⁶

²¹² Byrd, William, and William K. Boyd. *William Byrd's Histories of the Dividing Line Betwixt Virginia and North Carolina, 1737*. New York: Dover Publications, 1987.

²¹³ Miles, Emma Bell. *The Spirit of the Mountains*. LaVergne, TN: Nabu Public Domain Reprints, 2011. 177.

²¹⁴ Fischer, David Hackett. *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America*. New York: Oxford University Press, Incorporated, 1989. 760.

²¹⁵ *Connecticut Courant*, November 30, 1767.

²¹⁶ Blethen, Tyler, and Curtis Wood. *From Ulster to Carolina: The Migration of the Scotch-Irish to Southwestern North Carolina*. Raleigh, NC: North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, Office of Archives and History, 2013. 43.

Settlements on the creeks and river bottoms west of the Yadkin River appeared in 1746. Three other settlements were established by the year 1750, and the “Irish Settlement” which was situated at the head of Second Creek on the South Yadkin River was recorded as the largest of them.²¹⁷ The growth in this region was rapid. In 1749, there were 14 families in the settlement, exploding to over 100 new family over the course of 15 years.²¹⁸ It would be credited with the first Presbyterian Church west of the Yadkin River, known as Thyatira (located in present day Rowan County).²¹⁹ The settlement was unique because they were predominantly English speakers and were the furthest settlement from a navigable river. Rivers were highways of a sort in early America. Many settlers used rafts to carry their families and belongings to unsettled lands on the frontier. This was fraught with danger, as Native Americans often attacked the rafts with arrows, and the rapids and rocks damaged or destroyed many rafts, resulting in deaths and maiming.²²⁰

Despite the occurrence of severe hostilities in New England in 1718, more Irish settlers continued to arrive along the Merrimac River. However, economic antipathies (such as the fear of ration depletion) made for a cool welcome in the townships. Nevertheless, by April of 1719, the newly arrived Irish established a settlement at Nutfield, which served as a frontier outpost.²²¹

²¹⁷ Blethen, Tyler, and Curtis Wood. *From Ulster to Carolina: The Migration of the Scotch-Irish to Southwestern North Carolina*. Raleigh, NC: North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, Office of Archives and History, 2013. 43.

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²²⁰ Kennedy, Billy. *Heroes of the Scots-Irish in America*. Belfast: Ambassador, 2000.

²²¹ Ford, Henry Jones. *The Scotch-Irish in America*. Reprinted for Clearfield Company, Inc. by Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 2000. Chp. 7.

In June 1723 Reverend James Woodside petitioned the English Crown regarding the hostilities:

“That he with 40 Familys, consisting of above 160 Persons, did in the year 1718 embarque on a ship at Derry Lough in Ireland in order to erect a Colony at Casco Bay, in Your Majesty’s Province of Main in New England. *

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

That upon this Surprize the Inhabitants, naked and destitute of Provisions, run for shelter into your Pet. Rs House (which is still defended by his sons) where they were kindly receiv’d provided for, & protected from the rebel Indians.

That the Indians being happily precented from murdering Your Majesty’s good Subjects (in revenge to your Pet. R) presently kill’d all his Cattel, destroying all the Movables, & Provisions they could come at, & as Your Pet r. had a very considerable Stock of Cattle he & his Family were great sufferers thereby.”²²²

The established frontier outpost was exposed to Native warfare and the very first building that were built were two large stone garrison houses that could withstand assault from weaponry and fire. These garrison houses were a fort for the outlying settlers to run to in case of imminent hostilities. Provisions such as foodstuffs and arms were stored inside, as well as any possessions and sometimes livestock that the settlers brought with them as they fled to safety. Settlers would sometimes stay for several days but would eventually have to return to their homesteads to tend to any crops or livestock that had been left alive.

²²²History of Brunswick, Topsham, and Harpswell, Maine, Wheeler, 1878. 823-5.

Forts became a critical form of defensive survival on the frontier. In case of raiding parties, settlers would shelter in the forts until the threat had passed. A young man who grew up in such conditions documented the style of these outposts. He wrote that:

“The fort consisted of cabins, block houses and stockades. A range of cabins commonly formed one side at least of the fort. Divisions or partitions of logs separated the cabins from each other. The walls on the outside were ten or twelve feet high, the slope of the roof being turned wholly inward. A very few of these cabins had puncheon floors; the greater part were earthen. The block houses were built at the angles of the fort. They projected about two feet beyond the outer walls of the cabins and stockades. Their upper stories were about eighteen inches every second story to prevent the enemy from making a lodgment under the walls. In some forts, blockhouse walls were furnished with portholes at proper heights and distances... The whole of this work was made without the aid of a single nail or spike of iron, and for this reason—such things were not to be had. In some places less exposed, a single blockhouse, with a cabin or two, constituted the whole fort. Such places of refuge may appear very trifling to those who have been in the habit of seeing the formidable military garrisons of Europe and America; but they answered the purpose, as the Indians had no artillery. They seldom attacked, and scarcely ever took one of them.”²²³

There was a reluctance among frontier settlers to resort to sheltering at the forts because it often meant abandoning their farms, livestock, houses, and possessions. Many of them often stayed on their properties until the threat to their lives was imminent, or until hostilities were manifested. However, the anxiety was ever present. Joseph Doddridge recalled such situations as a child:

“I well remember that, when a little boy, the family was sometimes waked up in the dead of night, by an express with a report that the Indians were at hand. The express came softly to the door, or back window, and by a gentle tapping waked the family. This was easily done, as an habitual fear made us ever watchful and sensible to the slightest alarm. The whole family were instantly in motion. My father seized his gun and other implements of war. My stepmother waked up and dressed the children as well as she could, and being myself the oldest of the children, I had to take my share of the burdens to be carried to the fort. There was no possibility of getting a horse in the night to aid us in removing to the fort. Besides the little children, we caught up what articles of clothing and provision we could get hold of in the dark,

²²³ Doddridge, Joseph. *Notes, on the Settlement and Indian Wars, of the Western Parts of Virginia & Pennsylvania, from the Year 1763 Until the Year 1783 Inclusive: Together with a View, of the State of Society and Manners of the First Settlers of the Western Country*. Wellsburgh, Va: Printed at the office of the Gazette, for the author, 1824. 593.

for we durst not light a candle or even stir the fire. All this was done with the utmost dispatch, and the silence of death. The greatest care was taken not to awaken the youngest child. To the rest it was enough to say Indian and not a whimper was heard afterward. Thus it often happened that the whole number of families belonging to a fort who were in the evening at their homes, were all in their little fortress before the dawn of the next morning. In the course of the succeeding day, the household furniture was brought in by parties of the men under arms.”²²⁴

After the necessary fortresses were erected, sawmills were built and the first frame houses were erected for men of standing in the community, such as the Reverend and the Justice of the Peace (who had received his commission in Ireland). This example of the commission prior to migration is another inducement for migration by the British. Men of leadership quality and desirability were offered roles of benefit in the colonies. The settlers resided on the “Double Range”, which was built in order for the protection of the community, as they were made of combustible materials. The log cabins were strategically erected on lots that were on around 60 acres apiece and thirty rods apart on both sides of the West Running Brook.²²⁵

This particular settlement, and its clergy were prosperous because of harmonious relations with the native populations. The Reverend McGregor was even able to discover an important fishing spot at the base of Amoskeag Falls (in what would become Manchester)

²²⁴ Doddridge, Joseph. *Notes, on the Settlement and Indian Wars, of the Western Parts of Virginia & Pennsylvania, from the Year 1763 Until the Year 1783 Inclusive: Together with a View, of the State of Society and Manners of the First Settlers of the Western Country*. Wellsburgh, Va: Printed at the office of the Gazette, for the author, 1824.593.

²²⁵ Ford, Henry Jones. *The Scotch-Irish in America*. Reprinted for Clearfield Company, Inc. by Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 2000. Chp. 10

because of his conversations with local natives. This resource provided his community with valuable provisions of fish.²²⁶

Despite such active wars, the Irish and Scots Irish continued to fan out settlements into Maine and Massachusetts. History Henry Ford has assessed that they were the chief colonizing agency in Maine.²²⁷ Other places on the frontier saw similar growth as more families migrated to the Cherry Valley. In 1755 the town of Middlefield was settled but continued hostilities on the frontier led to a temporary retardation of growth. For the next decade, the population slowly climbed. Additional small settlements that were comprised of about 40 families along the upper Susquehanna River were established, but they suffered the same as Middlefield.²²⁸

As populations boomed and antipathies between ethnicities and religious sects within settlements occurred, migration of the Irish became more common. They did not always wait to be granted any land, and often were at odds with local governments for squatting on land. In the custom of English bureaucracy land grants were often handed on land contracts were purchased by men of political importance. Despite their claims to land in the New World, many aristocrats tended to be absentee landowners who relied on agents and officers of the province to manage their land and affairs.

One group of landowners such as this were the Penn family (of Pennsylvania fame). The Secretary of the Province, James Logan, was tasked with the headache of managing provincial

²²⁶ Ford, Henry Jones. *The Scotch-Irish in America*. Reprinted for Clearfield Company, Inc. by Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 2000. Chp. 10.

²²⁷ *Ibid.*

²²⁸ Smith, Edward Church and Phillip Mack Smith. *A History of the Town of Middlefield, Massachusetts*. Menasha, Wisconsin: George Banta Publishing Company. 1924.

land affairs of interest to the Penns. Initially, Logan had been excited and happy to welcome the Irish to the Province because he believed them to be the brave and upstanding sort that had fought at Londonderry. He had envisioned that they would bring their warrior ethnic to the province to help subdue hostilities and stabilize the region for civilized settlement. By 1724, the influx of immigrants through the convenient port of Philadelphia led to a population that was expanding into contested frontier land and created a geopolitical crisis for him with Pennsylvania settlers, as well as the Native Americans, and those in Maryland.²²⁹

In 1724, he wrote to the Penns to outline the issue. He said they were “bold and indigent strangers, saying as their excuse when challenged for titles, that we had solicited for colonists and they had come accordingly.”²³⁰ For the practical Irish, they could not understand why they were not allowed to settle such land that was not in use. Many of them had been invited to settle in the colony because of prior military service, or because they had received an invitation by some other measure. Family members and acquaintances also took the migration of their consorts as an invitation and followed them over as well. They expanded rapidly and created a crisis by crossing the contested Maryland boundary line.²³¹

Another tract of land that the Penn family had was 40,000 acres near the Maryland borderline and Logan’s successor, Richard Peters attempted to remove about 70 Irish settlers who had taken advantage of the landlord’s absenteeism. Peters took a magistrate and sheriff to dispossess the settlers along with surveyors to survey the area. They were met with mob protests and prevented the surveyors from completing their task with threats and acts of violence. Peters

²²⁹ James Logan to John, Thomas and Richard Penn, 1724, Penn Papers, Official Correspondence, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

²³⁰ *Ibid.*

²³¹ *Ibid.*

and his associates issued several resulting indictments against the settlers. However, settlement of the matter was reached in each case through relinquishments of certain parcels of the Penn estate.²³² This exemplifies the lack of enforcement ability on behalf of the Proprietors and the sheer power in violence that the Scots Irish and Irish were capable of in defense of their homes.

Never mind the disputes over land rights, the squatters remained in the region until 1736 when negotiations with Native Americans had concluded and a proper title for occupation of the lands was granted. In 1743 it was documented in J. F. Watson's *Annals of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania*:

“The Proprietaries, in consequence of the frequent disturbances between the Governor and Irish settlers, after the organizations of York and Cumberland Counties, gave orders to their agents to sell no lands in either York or Lancaster Counties to the Irish; and also to make advantageous offers of removal to the Irish settlers in Paxton and Swatara and Donegal townships to remove to Cumberland country, which offers, being liberal, were accepted by many.”²³³

From these notations it is evident that while some settlers were allowed to remain in their occupied region, other settlers were induced to migrate to the newly acquired land holdings, so that contested land belonging to English dignitaries could be vacated and returned to its former state. Land contestations and occupations such as the aforementioned were yet another reason for further Irish migration west into the mountain frontiers. All the most arable and vacant land was

²³² Ford, Henry Jones. *The Scotch-Irish in America*. Reprinted for Clearfield Company, Inc. by Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 2000. Chp. 9.

²³³ Watson, John and Willis Hazard. *Annals of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania in the Olden Time: Being a Collection of Memoirs, Anecdotes and Incidents of the City and its Inhabitants, and of the Earliest Settlements of the Inland Part of Pennsylvania*. Vol. 3. Philadelphia: Edwin S. Stuart, 1884.

imposed upon by absentee landlords and laid fallow. If any land in the prime areas was for sale or tenancy, the terms were certainly steep, if they even welcomed a bid from an Irishman.

Edmund Burke provided an account of social prejudice, and the functions of land plotting and sale among the Scots Irish:

“The number of white people in Virginia is...growing every day more numerous by the migration of the Irish who, not succeeding so well in Pennsylvania as the more frugal and industrious Germans, sell their lands in that province to the latter, and take up new ground in the remote counties in Virginia, Maryland, and South Carolina. These are chiefly Presbyterians from the northern part of Ireland, who in America are generally called Scotch-Irish”.²³⁴

There were also settlers who preferred to squat on lands and refuse to pay rent or taxes to the owner or a governing body. The Surveyor General of Pennsylvania, John Logan estimated that squatters had settled over 100,000 acres of frontier by 1726.²³⁵ The authorities who made laws regarding property rights and enforcement were often located at a considerable distance from the lands in question. Some regional authorities were 200 miles away, which made imposing law on the frontier regarding land rights difficult. Therefore, many squatters made their own laws regarding their right to frontier land. “Corn right” entitled a man to 100 acres for each acre that he planted. “Tomahawk right” declared that trees which had been fallen and marked with indicated property line were that of the settler. Finally, “cabin right” declared the right of

²³⁴ Burke, Edmund, and William Burke. *An Account of the European Settlements in America: In Six Parts: I. A Short History of the Discovery of That of the World. II. the Manners and Customs of the Original Inhabitants. III. of the Spanish Settlements. Iv. of the Portuguese. v. of the French, Dutch, and Danish. Vi. of the English.* London: Printed for R. and J. Dodsley ., 1760. 37.

²³⁵ Blethen, Tyler, and Curtis Wood. *From Ulster to Carolina: The Migration of the Scotch-Irish to Southwestern North Carolina.* Raleigh, NC: North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, Office of Archives and History, 2013. 20.

ownership of surrounding land for the intended builder's use for a cabin.²³⁶ These frontier rights served as rules in an uncharted region and were generally used to settler land disputes amongst early frontier settlers until government administrators travelled or migrated to the region to oversee and grant boundaries and deeds for farms.²³⁷

Boundary markers were usually notated using geographic features; often marking a parcel of land by a certain tree and measuring distance using poles, rope or cloth.²³⁸ The early use of cloth and rope was often inaccurate based on the age and condition of the material. Later, surveyors carried metal poles, sometimes known as chains, which were all the same length and could be fastened together in links. These were also easy to transport as they could fold.

Early settlers found the lands plentiful for planting and hunting. The Valleys were hunting grounds for buffalo that were drawn by healthy grasslands.²³⁹ The forests skirting the valleys were thick with brush and hosted a menagerie of buffalo, deer, squirrels, birds, and more dangerous wildlife. Bears stalked the forests and panthers, bobcats, snakes, and wolves were of grave concern. Many settlers found the wolves most terrifying, as many had not encountered humans before and were at first primarily unchecked by gunshots in their direction.²⁴⁰ Some settlers found it impossible to sleep because to the wolves' howling. It created a sense of apprehension and fear among the unprotected settlers.²⁴¹

²³⁶Blethen, Tyler, and Curtis Wood. *From Ulster to Carolina: The Migration of the Scotch-Irish to Southwestern North Carolina*. Raleigh, NC: North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, Office of Archives and History, 2013. 24.

²³⁷*Ibid.*

²³⁸Hoefling, Larry J. *Scots and Scotch Irish: Frontier Life in North Carolina, Virginia, and Kentucky*. Oklahoma: Inlandia, 2009. 39.

²³⁹*Ibid.*, 25.

²⁴⁰*Ibid.*, 26.

²⁴¹*Ibid.*, 26-27.

Later migrants were sometimes fortunate enough to shelter with their neighbors who might have already completed their home, until the new homestead could be raised. If there were no neighbors nearby the family would have to sleep out in the open.²⁴² The manner of settlements was documented by a geographer as the transplantation of Ireland and Scotland. He wrote that the “Scotch-Irish brought the Celtic dispersed farm with cattle-grazing and kitchen garden common in Ireland and Scotland. Members of each group moved in single family units onto the uplands. The Scotch-Irish often squatted on land in forested coves and mountainsides.”²⁴³ The manner of cattle-grazing practiced in the backcountry is reminiscent of the ancient right of creaghting in Ireland.

The farming structures of barns and stables, if they had them, were similarly simplistic and impermanent in their construction as well. They were comprised of saplings and tree limbs, much the same as had been utilized in Ireland. The Irish also brought with them their fence or wall building techniques, using stones that were available and stacking them in a certain way.²⁴⁴ Simple enclosures, sometimes known as cow pens or “barmkins” in the old country were used to shelter cattle and other livestock.²⁴⁵ Animals were often left to graze in the open and the woods. One eyewitness wrote:

“Such herds of cattle and swine are to be found in no other colonies, and when this is better settled, they will not be so common here: for at present the woods are all in common. In this system of crops they change the land as fast as it wears out, clearing fresh pieces of woodland, exhausting them in succession, after which they leave them to

²⁴²Hoeffling, Larry J. *Scots and Scotch Irish: Frontier Life in North Carolina, Virginia, and Kentucky*. Oklahoma: Inlandia, 2009. 26-27.

²⁴³ Raitz, Karl B. *Appalachia, A Regional Geography: Land, People and Development*. Boulder, CO, and London, 1984. 115.

²⁴⁴ Kennedy, Billy. *The Scots-Irish in the Hills of Tennessee*. Londonderry, BT: Causeway Press, 1996.

²⁴⁵ Long, Amos. “Fencing in Rural Pennsylvania”. *PF* 12 (1996). 30-35.

spontaneous growth...It presently becomes such wood as the rest of the country is: and woods here are the pasture of the cattle.”²⁴⁶

This form of animal husbandry was a relic from the traditional Gaelic practices of open grazing that had been outlawed by the English in Ireland. The practice of free grazing outside of a contained enclosure or pasture was not uncommon in the North American colonies, but was practiced by many Scots Irish and Irish frontiersmen. William Byrd II noted that the “Indolent Wretches” of the North Carolina frontiers who lost their cattle through “Ill Management” by having their herds freely “rambling through Neighbouring Marshes and swamps” and who were thought to be lazy, and “lived just like the Indians” were deficient in their behaviors regarding proper animal husbandry.²⁴⁷ This form of animal husbandry was a swift departure from traditional and “civilised” methods, and required the spreading out of such farms, so that there was an adequate amount of food for the livestock.²⁴⁸ Such a departure left the livestock open to many hazards, and by consequence led to disputes with Native Americans and fellow colonists and neighbors. Some planters lamented of the theft of livestock by “wicked persons”.²⁴⁹

Some authorities believed that debtors moved away to the frontiers to avoid their creditors and stocked their new farms with stolen cattle.²⁵⁰ Others argued over the ownership of

²⁴⁶ Huey, Paul R. *Animal Husbandry and Meat Consumption at Crown Point, New York, in the Colonial Period and Revolutionary War*. Waterford, NY: New York State Office of Parks and Recreation, Division for Historic Preservation, Bureau of Historic Sites, 1979. 44-45.

²⁴⁷ Boyd, William K., ed. *William Byrd's Histories of the Dividing Line Betwixt Virginia and North Carolina*. New York, 1967. 54, 92.

²⁴⁸ Anderson, Virginia DeJohn. “Animals into the Wilderness: The Development of Livestock Husbandry in the Seventeenth-Century Chesapeake.” *The William and Mary Quarterly* 59, no. 2 (2002): 393.

²⁴⁹ Brown, ed. *Archives of Maryland*. 1:253, 17:135-136, 38:77-78.

²⁵⁰ Anderson, Virginia DeJohn. “Animals into the Wilderness: The Development of Livestock Husbandry in the Seventeenth-Century Chesapeake.” *The William and Mary Quarterly* 59, no. 2 (2002): 397.

livestock that were allowed to roam free and had been “taken up” by other settlers. In the Chesapeake colony, laws were enacted against such practices, and at one point sentries were hired to keep a watchful eye on herds of livestock against two of the largest perceived predators: “wolves and Indians.”²⁵¹ These circumstances might not have been exclusive to all Scots Irish and Irish populations on the frontier, but certainly applied to a vast majority of them. Such circumstances highlight the challenges and issues of frontier living for the Irish and Scots Irish.

The cabins were dwellings unlike the rest of British North America. Charles Woodmason described on his travels in 1767 that “These people live in open log cabins with hardly a blanket to cover them.”²⁵² The cabins used natural resources and copied the impermanence of border living among the Scots and Irish. They were simple in their construction, yet also defensible. The earliest cabins had roofs made of log poles and sand, but when heavy rains came through, they would initially melt down on top of the unfortunate settlers. One settler recalled, “The rain quickly penetrated through between the poles and brought down the sand that covered over, which seemed to threaten to cover us alive...I believe we all sincerely wished ourselves again at Belfast...”²⁵³

The simplicity and primitive nature of the homes was looked down upon by many English travelers, one of which described the homesteads as “paltry log houses, and as dirty as in

²⁵¹ Kingsbury, ed. *Records of the Virginia Company*. 3:18, 221.

²⁵² Woodmason, Charles. *The Carolina Backcountry on the Eve of the Revolution*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1953. 16.

²⁵³ Witherspoon, Robert. “Recollections”. In Merrens, ed., *Colonial South Carolina Scene*, 126.

the north of Ireland, or even Scotland.”²⁵⁴ Some of the homes did not have beds or had very crude furnishings and the issue of family sleeping altogether in one room was often looked upon by English visitors to the backcountry. Clergyman Charles Woodmason wrote, “They sleep altogether in common in one room, and shift and dress openly without ceremony....nakedness is counted as nothing.”²⁵⁵ William Byrd wrote more disgustingly of a family that they “pigged lovingly together” on the floor of the cabin.²⁵⁶ The adjectival reference of the family as pigs denotes not only disgust and social subordination of the backcountry Irish, allowing a glimpse into the social mindset of prejudice in America at that time.

Plows and hoes were important tools on the frontier but arguably the most important tool that the Irish had on the frontier was the long-barreled Pennsylvania Rifle that they had adopted from their German neighbors.²⁵⁷ It was known as a rifle-gun. It was a European model, with a barrel that was over 40 inches long and flintlock. The Scots Irish were said to have modified their rifle barrels for accuracy, which was critical to survival on the frontier. A firearm was most definitely required for travel on the frontier, and it was a prized possession among settlers. It was so prized in fact, that it was commonly listed in last wills and testaments. It functioned as protection and as a tool for the acquisition of food and clothing (furs) which were practical for use in forest living.²⁵⁸ A family required the long rifle, an ax for wood cutting, salt, seed and

²⁵⁴ Leyburn, James G. *Scotch-Irish: A Social History*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1988. 151.

²⁵⁵ Woodmason, Charles. *The Carolina Backcountry on the Eve of the Revolution*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1953. 31.

²⁵⁶ Byrd, William. *The London Diary (1717-1721) and Other Writings*. New York, 1958. 588-89.

²⁵⁷ Blethan, H. Tyler and Curtis W. Wood Jr., *From Ulster to Carolina: The Migration of the Scotch-Irish to Southwestern North Carolina*. Revised Edition 1998. 30.

²⁵⁸ Hoefling, Larry J. *Scots and Scotch Irish: Frontier Life in North Carolina, Virginia, and Kentucky*. Oklahoma: Inlandia, 2009. 26.

sewing items as they entered the wilderness. With these necessities, they could obtain everything else that they needed from their environment.²⁵⁹ In Francis Andre Michaux's travels through the backcountry he documented:

“The inhabitants of these mountains are famed for being excellent hunters. Towards the middle of autumn most of them go in pursuit of bears, of which they sell the skins, and the flesh, which is very good, serves them in great measure for food during that season. They prefer it to all other kinds of meat, and look upon it as the only thing they can eat without being indisposed by it. They make also of their hind legs the most delicious hams. ..They hunt them with great dogs, which without going near them, bark, tease, and oblige them to climb up a tree, when the hunter kills them with a carbine.”²⁶⁰

The Irish in the backcountry were adapted cultural workings that they observed in American throughout all avenues of their lives to fit their needs on the frontier. The infield-outfield system was an imported Ulster system to the Carolina. With this method, crops and fields could be rotated and replenished, while small herds of animals could also be raised.²⁶¹ This method was well-suited to the landscape of Ireland. However, such systems of farming required spatial distance between neighboring farms and facilitated additional distance between the Irish and their neighbors. As a result, Irish and Scots Irish crops, livestock, and lives were at an increased risk of conflict with Native Americans on the frontier. The distance between neighbors and other forms of civilization also meant that protection against attacks was severely limited.

The role of men on the homestead was to protect the family and to provide food, shelter, protection, and any other environmental necessities for survival. They were also expected to

²⁵⁹ Hoefling, Larry J. *Scots and Scotch Irish: Frontier Life in North Carolina, Virginia, and Kentucky*. Oklahoma: Inlandia, 2009. 26.

²⁶⁰ Michaux, Francis Andre. *Travels to the Westward of the Allegany Mountains*. London, 1805. 55.

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*

keep the home and fencing in good repair. Anything that was needed on the homestead and could not be gained from the land, was expected to be earned through work or trade.²⁶² The role of women on the homestead was to rear children, make, mend, and launder clothing, tend to the house, and prepare meals.²⁶³ The females of the household often served men first and then ate their own meals after the men had done.²⁶⁴ However, these domestic duties did not preclude the role of women, and in some cases children, in the defense of their homesteads and families when necessary.

Foodways in the backcountry were created out of necessity. The success of the farm had a direct impact on backcountry survival. What could not be reared on the homestead, was hunted for in the forests of the frontier. This second method of food sourcing was extremely dangerous as it put settlers in direct competition for food with Native tribes in the area and it also isolated them from any protection that they had on their homesteads or in their forts. Food scarcity was a concern, and so the settlers made the most out of the materials on hand, so as not to waste any resources.

An Anglican missionary named Charles Woodmason was horrified at the offerings that he wrote: “Clabber, butter, fat mushy bacon, cornbread. As for tea and coffee they know it not...neither beef nor mutton nor beer, cyder or anything better than water.”²⁶⁵ He pointed out that the backcountry “people are all from Ireland, and live wholly on butter, milk, clabber and

²⁶²Hoeftling, Larry J. *Scots and Scotch Irish: Frontier Life in North Carolina, Virginia, and Kentucky*. Oklahoma: Inlandia, 2009. 44. 32.

²⁶³ *Ibid*, 33.

²⁶⁴ *Ibid*, 34.

²⁶⁵ Clabber, which was made of soured milk, curds and whey, and sometimes known “bonny clabber in the borderlands of Britain. In England, the food was regarded simply as “spoiled milk” and was rendered as slop for the animals. In the backcountry, this dish was consumed most often by children and the elderly. *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, II (1854): 204.

what in England is given to hogs.”²⁶⁶ While Woodmason may have been projecting British superiority in his writing, it is evident that there was an abhorrence of the poverty and lifestyle of the Irish in this instance.

There were other significant differences in foodways that the backcountry settlers adapted to better serve their purposes. Instead of sowing oats, they adopted the planting of maize, or Indian corn, as it grew plentifully and the techniques were taught to them by friendly natives.²⁶⁷ It was versatile and could be crushed into meal for cooking and baking, as well as made into the dish named “grits”, which is still a staple in Appalachia today. The neighbors and friends entertained were also sometimes shocking to travelers, as frontier homesteads tended to be open to Native Americans who were friendly to the settlers. One visitor wrote:

“We dined on fish---suckers and chubbs and on venison. It is a level, rich, pleasant spot, the broad creek running by the door...Soon after we fined two Indian boys bolted in (they never knock or speak at the door) with seven large fish, one would weigh two pounds....Down they sat in the ashes before the fire, stirred up the coals and laid on their flesh...When they were gone I sat me down on the three legged stool to write. This house looks and smells like a shambles: raw flesh and blood in every part, mangled wasting flesh on every shelf. Hounds licking up the blood from the floor; an openhearted landlady; naked Indians and children; ten thousand flies; oh! I fear there are as many fleas...Seize me soon kind sleep, lock me in thy sweet embrace...For all this settlement I would not live here for two such settlements; not for five hundred a year.”²⁶⁸

²⁶⁶ Woodmason, Charles. *The Carolina Backcountry on the Eve of the Revolution*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1953. 34, 173.

²⁶⁷ Hilliard, Sam Bowers. *Hog Meat and Hoecake: Food Supply in the Old South, 1840-1860*. Carbondale, Ill, Southern Illinois University Press, 1972.

²⁶⁸ Author unknown (itinerant clergyman), quoted in Robert Secor, gen. ed., *Pennsylvania 1776*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University, 1976. 31.

Examples such as this detailed the nuanced relationship of Scots Irish and Irish frontier settlers. Such a close relationship in these instances helps to explain the symbiotic relationship that many frontier settlers shared with natives and how they came to adopt Native American language, customs, fighting styles, tools; it also explains the alliances made between frontier settlers and local tribes.

Neighbors, family, and friends often visited each other and stayed with each other on these overnight visits. There was always a warm welcome for family and friends, but a hearty distrust of newcomers and strangers.²⁶⁹ This was a by-product of poor past experiences, and the insular culture reinforced by geographic and social isolation.

The harsh, tiresome, and unforgiving experience of frontier living didn't nurture the critical Christian virtues of kindness, compassion, and humility. Some observers felt that the harsh conditions on the frontier made the settlers of the backcountry godless and wild. One such observer noted that the Scots Irish were "regulated by the wildness of the neighborhood" which molded them into "ferocious, gloomy, and unsocial...no better than carnivorous animals of a superior rank, living on the flesh of wild animals".²⁷⁰

Additional to social opinions on the devolution of the backcountry settlers, some critics turned on the clergy who did tend to these flocks and charged that they were catalysts of frontier politics. Reverend Charles Woodmason, the traveling Church of England clergyman, was alarmed by growing resistance to British rule he witnessed in the Carolina Piedmont during his travels in 1767:

²⁶⁹ Fischer, David Hackett. *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America*. New York: Oxford University Press, Incorporated, 1989. 763.

²⁷⁰ de Crevecoeur, Michel Guillaume Jean. *Letters from an American farmer*. 1782. 46.

“Not less than 20 Itinerant Presbyterian, Baptist and Independent Preachers are maintain’d by the Synods of Pennsylvania and New England to travers this Country Poisoning the Minds of the People- Instilling Democratical and Commonwealth Principles into their minds- Embittering them against the very name of Bishops, and all Episcopal Government and laying deep their fatal Republican Notions and Principles- Especially That they owe no Subjection to Great Britain- That they are a free People- That they are to pay allegiance to King George as their Sovereign- But as to Great Britain or the Parliament, or any there, that they have no more to think of or about them than the Turk or Pope- Thus do these Itinerant Preachers sent from the Northern Colonies pervert the Minds of the Vulgar.”²⁷¹

This sort of observation and conjecture from the British perspective would be a catalyst of future strife between the backcountry settler and the British authorities when political, governmental, and military issues reached the frontier. The poor opinion and social isolation or ostracization of many Irish immigrants would permeate the memories of backcountry settlers. As tensions among colonial issues heated up in British North America, old imperialism and patterns of subjugation would come back to haunt the British.

The Scots Irish and Irish communities in early America, which were mostly frontier settlements, had unique homesteading and cultural aspects which affect how religion evolved to help cultivate their American identity. The analysis of their lifestyle on the frontier is significant because it illuminates the role and diversity of both religion and culture in the early American colonies between the Irish and the Scots Irish. In the past, the Irish and their various ethnic relations have not had much positive representation in the history of the United States.

Due to the circumstances in which many of them arrived on American soil, their history, and contributions to the religious and cultural heritage of America has been marred with

²⁷¹ Charles Woodmason, *The Carolina Backcountry on the Eve of the Revolution*, ed. Richard J. Hooker (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953. 48.

dismissive racial, religious, and cultural prejudice. Yet, there is evidence that these Irish communities were great innovators and contributors to their communities. In the examination of the American dynamic in illuminating the cultural and societal experiences, an understanding about how it shaped their communities and their roles as Indian fighters in American history.

Chapter 3: Overcoming Adversity: Geographic Isolation, Territorial Conflict, the rise of Sir William Johnson, the Evolution of Irish Indian Fighters and Rangers Units, Weaponization on the American Frontiers and French and Indian War

Expansion to the Western frontiers was full of conflict for Irish and Scots Irish settlers. Issues stemming from land boundaries to conflicts with Native Americans, and by association with governmental leaders led to an increase in the adversities that they faced. Additionally, socio-political issues and wars between nations contributed to escalating violence on the frontiers which gave rise to the adaption to Native American style warfare. The history of Irish Indian Fighters is something unique to the group of Irish and Scots Irish settlers in the frontier lands of early America. Socio-economic issues such as housing shortages and poverty, scarcity of employment, societal prejudice, religious, and ethnic differences pushed the Irish and Scots Irish to the frontier, where they were the first to suffer Indian attacks. The vocation of Irish Indian Fighters was born out of the will of survival that they faced on the fringes of civilization in America's expanding frontier. The colonial American government recognized the usefulness of these Indian Fighters and used them explicitly during the French and Indian War, as well as for Western expansion through new frontiers and alliances.

The recognition of the Irish and Scots Irish as not only potential buffers, but also deterrents to attack is evident in the employment of two Scots Irish sharpshooters on the borders of the town of Worcester, Massachusetts.²⁷² "Irishmen" John Gray and Robert Crawford posted

²⁷² Ford, Henry Jones. *The Scotch-Irish in America*, by Henry Jones Ford. Princeton: University Press, 1915. Chp. 7.

on Leicester Hill to the West of the settlement. In the same year a town council was selected, and John Gray was named a Selectman. In 1724, John McClellan, also a Scots-Irishman was chosen town constable.²⁷³ The keen eye and skillful shot of these riflemen was valuable to the settlements, as well as the hearty, fighting spirit that they held. The conflicts in Ireland and Scotland had seasoned these fighters for the challenges of frontier living in America.

Due to housing and employment scarcity, societal prejudice, and religious differences, the Irish and Scots Irish settled in the borderlands of the frontier, as well as the unique homesteading patterns that they employed and had a high instance of Indian attacks²⁷⁴. The homesteading patterns of the Irish were in part a contributor to their targeting for Indian attacks. The land scarcity in Ireland had left a hunger for land ownership and the patterns which they cleared the land with were effective.²⁷⁵ The model in which these homesteads were planned out also left them open to attack, with little protection. German homesteaders often criticized the isolation from one's neighbors and the expansionary perimeters of homesteads as one of the larger risks in Irish homesteading²⁷⁶.

²⁷³ Ford, Henry Jones. *The Scotch-Irish in America, by Henry Jones Ford*. Princeton: University Press, 1915. Chp. 7.

²⁷⁴ *James MacCullough Journal, 1748-1758*. James McCullough Journal, 1748-1758. Accessed February 20, 2022. <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/fulcrum.p5547t64t>.

²⁷⁵ Lee, Wayne E. "Peace Chiefs and Blood Revenge: Patterns of Restraint in Native American Warfare, 1500-1800." *The Journal of Military History* 71, no. 3 (07, 2007): 701-41. This article provides a perspective of the Native Americans regarding frontier settlement and conflict, as well as responses to perceived or intentional acts of warfare. The slash and burn manner of homesteading that the Europeans such as the Scots Irish and Irish employed on the frontiers was an affront to the native populations and they felt the need to eradicate the threat. Hunting grounds and dispersion of game was also a point of contention.

²⁷⁶ Williams, William. "EXTRACTS FROM A PIONEER'S NOTE-BOOK." *Magazine of Western History (1884-1891)*, 06, 1889. 177.

The homesteads that the Irish founded on the frontier were rife with Indian attacks, which usually consisted of the slaughter of livestock and the burning of crops and the cabins, in addition to the attacks on the settlers' lives. The settlers were isolated from their neighbors, militias, and government entities that might have been able to provide some aspect of security²⁷⁷. Often there were wilderness outposts, but the mileage and terrain to travel would have been prohibitive²⁷⁸. Additionally, many outposts were undermanned and subject to targeting for war party attacks. In some instances, the position of the outpost was so indefensible, that they were abandoned under heavy attack²⁷⁹. Forts became a critical form of defensive survival on the frontier. In case of raiding parties, settlers would shelter in the forts until the threat had passed.

Some of the earliest documentation of Irish Indian fighters in the New World provided insight into the military role of the Irish and their purposes for accompanying expeditions, as well as their temperament and perceived propensity for effective dissolution of militant confrontation. In the early colonization of the New World in Roanoke around 1585, Ralph Lane was sent to build a fort and establish boundaries by Sir Walter Raleigh who had lately been granted a plantation patent. Lane was interested in expanding territory, which led to strained tensions with the natives. Due to these conditions, he employed an enterprising Irish lieutenant

²⁷⁷ Willis, Lonnie L. "Conversations with Bullwhackets, Muleskinners, Pioneers, Prospectors, '49ers, Indian Fighters, Trappers, Ex-Barkeepers, Authors, Preachers, Poets and Near Poets, and all Sorts and Conditions of Men Ed. by Mike Helm (Review)." *Western American Literature* 17, no. 2 (1982): 192-193.

²⁷⁸ Smucker, Isaac. *Ohio pioneer history: the military expeditions of the North West Territory*. [U.S.]: [s.n.], [18??]. *Sabin Americana: History of the Americas, 1500-1926* (accessed May 23, 2020). https://link-gale-com.ezproxy.liberty.edu/apps/doc/CY0108551787/SABN?u=vic_liberty&sid=SABN&xid=3ba59ef2.

²⁷⁹ Gates, William. *Proceedings of a general court martial, held for the trial of Major William Gates ...* [New-York]: [s.n.], [1837]. *Sabin Americana: History of the Americas, 1500-1926* (accessed May 23, 2020). https://link-gale-com.ezproxy.liberty.edu/apps/doc/CY0101939559/SABN?u=vic_liberty&sid=SABN&xid=169c0794.

named Edward Nugent (among others). Nugent was party to the assassination of a local chief named Wingina under a flag of truce at the behest of Lane²⁸⁰. Thomas Harriot, a scholar and witness at the time, remarked that Nugent charged into the forest after a wounded and fleeing Wingina, only to return with Wingina's head²⁸¹. This barbarism was encouraged by local military leaders like Lane, who felt that the Native Americans were of the baser form of humanity. The use of Irishmen in such military capacities was common because of their experience in Ireland with local conflict. This barbarism and violence were nothing new to the Irish.

Historian Henry Ford remarked that wars with the Native Americans were not systematic military operations, but were successive military raids induced as a result of the poor organization of the colonial governments, in addition to their lack of resources.²⁸² In 1706, Chief Justice Samuel Penhallow gave a first person accounting of the recruitment of Irish and Scots Irish, as well as the direction of immigration and settlement to areas that were rife with conflict and in need of military intervention. He discussed the colonial government resolved for a "more vigorous prosecution of the war, to grant the following encouragement".²⁸³ This encouragement

²⁸⁰ Oberg, Michael Leroy. *The Head in Edward Nugent's Hand: Roanoke's Forgotten Indians* /. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011. 52.

²⁸¹ Harriot, Thomas, and John White. *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia*. New York: Dover Publications, 1972.

²⁸² Ford, Henry Jones. *The Scotch-Irish in America*. Reprinted for Clearfield Company, Inc. by Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 2000. 288.

²⁸³ Penhallow, Samuel and Benjamin Colman. *The History of the Wars of New-England, with the Eastern Indians, Or, A Narrative of their Continued Perfidy and Cruelty, from the 10th of August 1703, to the Peace Renewed 13th of July, 1713, and from the 25th of July, 1722, to their Submission 15th December, 1725, which was Ratified August 5th 1726*. Boston: Printed by T. Fleet, for S. Gerrish at the lower end of Cornhill, and D. Henschman over-against the Brick meeting-house in Cornhill, 1726.

was in the form of monetary compensation for those who would go to the relief of any town or garrison.

The Irish settlements in Virginia were established around 1710 and the majority of them were located in the Blue Ridge Mountains.²⁸⁴ By 1737, a substantial Irish colony was incorporated into a township in the Waxhaws, on the Santee River in South Carolina. Its name was taken from the local tribe. Another township on the Black River was established in 1734, and a third in Camden, on the Wateree River. A state historian noted that “Of all other countries, none has furnished the province with so many inhabitants as Ireland. Scarce a ship sailed from any of its ports for Charleston, which was not crowded with men, women, and children.”²⁸⁵

Despite the prevalence of Irish settlers in these colonies, they were still subject to British law in America, and one colony in the South Carolina Lowcountry provided an example of the fickle conditions of settlement rights for the Irish in the frontier settlements. Historian David Ramsay chronicled:

“The Council having announced, in England and Ireland, that the land of the ejected Yemasseees would be given to the actual settlers, five hundred persons from Ireland transported themselves to South Carolina, to take the benefit of it. But the whole project was frustrated by the proprietors, who claimed those lands as their property, and insisted on the right of disposing of them as they saw fit. Not long afterwards, to the utter ruin of the Irish emigrants, and in breach of the provincial faith, these Indian lands were surveyed, by order of the proprietors, for their own use, and laid out in large baronies. Many of the unfortunate Irish emigrants, having spent the little money they brought with

²⁸⁴ McGee, Thomas D'Arcy. *A History of the Irish Settlers in America, from the Earliest Period*. Dublin: J. Mullany, 1870. 27.

²⁸⁵ Ramsay, David. *Ramsay's History of South Carolina: From Its First Settlement in 1670 to the Year 1808*. Spartanburg, SC: Reprint Co., 2009.

them, were reduced to misery and famished. The remainder removed to the northern colonies.”*²⁸⁶

The intrepid Irish moved on to northern and western territories in a bid to establish their fortunes anew, but the recent experiences had instilled a further distrust of government and laws in the colonies. After all, they had legal rights to the lands in the Lowcountry that they had settled, only to have the law stand behind a removal of their assets. Perhaps this was a driving force in the squatting movement. Their continuous removal from lands throughout their history in Ireland and America proved that the law was subjective when it came to British interests. Why should they follow the law if its terms could be changed on a whim?

The encroachment on the western borderlands by increasing white populations led to extreme conflict, not only with the Native Americans, but with British diplomats and governors who struggled to maintain a peace and accord, while dealing with the very difficult issue of being too distant to enforce their own laws upon European populations in the backcountry. In 1729, James Logan lamented that “the Indians themselves are so alarmed at the swarms of strangers and we are afraid of a breach between them, for the Irish are very rough to them.”²⁸⁷

Yet, a more complicated dynamic to explain frontier tensions existed between the Natives and the Irish and Scots Irish. A historical discourse gathered by George Howe and delivered at a meeting in the city of Spartanburg, South Carolina gave a thorough eyewitness overview of life

²⁸⁶ Ramsay, David. *Ramsay's History of South Carolina: From Its First Settlement in 1670 to the Year 1808*. Spartanburg, SC: Reprint Co., 2009.

²⁸⁷ Logan, James. “Letter to Proprietors”. Logan Family Papers (Collection 2023), 1698-1842. Historical Society of Pennsylvania. 1730.

on the frontier. The areas that were discussed in the discourse were considered frontier homesteads and communities (largely inhabited by Irish and Scots Irish). These homesteads were subject to geographic isolation, where the homesteaders relied on itinerant preachers, as well as traveled to towns to have some religious interaction. The areas were also subject to some of the most brutal and heavy Native American attacks. This narrative is helpful in supporting the assertion that geographic and social isolation put the Scots Irish and Irish at greater risk for Native American attack and the development of Irish frontier or Indian fighters. The only real entity that the Irish could count on was their church community, in which some congregations would stop their ceremonies after being interrupted with news of an attack, and the pastor and congregation would run to the aid of the afflicted homestead²⁸⁸. It was due to all these factors that the profession of Indian fighting was born.

The history of conflicts and background of the Irish and Scots Irish in Ireland and Scotland contributed to attitudes of backcountry settlers at the time. This militant conditioning resulting from hostile living environments and border skirmishes prepared the Irish for frontier life and conflict. Militant Christianity and other fighting attitudes also served as a conditioning catalyst for challenges that lay ahead in America.

The hard exterior of these “Irishmen”, their capabilities for adaptation to guerilla warfare in the challenging and unfamiliar environment of the North American frontier, and their precision with weaponry led colonial leaders like James Logan to conclude that they were not merely potential buffers, but also deterrents to Native American raids. But their military value, still didn’t gain them admission to mainstream society. He wrote in 1731 that he had been

²⁸⁸ Kennedy, Billy. *Heroes of the Scots Irish In America*. Greenville: Emerald House Group, Inc, 2000. 17.

intentionally settling the undesirable Irish to the west of the settlements “as a *frontier* in case of any disturbance.”²⁸⁹

The Indian fighters, as many frontiersmen became known, were highly coveted because of their acquired knowledge of Native American warfare, tracking, weaponry, language, and even for friendships that they had cultivated. All these skills would serve the British Empire’s interests to meet its desired ends. Many of the customs on the frontier were indicative of the conditions in that place. The people who lived on the frontier were often anxious, rough, and quick to act.

Their dress was another aspect that reflected conditions on the frontier. Dress of the European preference was simply not practical and was in some sense unattainable on the frontier. As far as practicality went, adoptions of Native American styles of dress served in durability for frontier living. European settlers often viewed the Scots Irish and Irish adaptation of native dress with a biased perspective. It made a statement that they were substandard, poor, or even feral on the frontier. But the truth was that like the adaptation of Native America farming patterns, weaponry, and fighting tactics, the adoption of Native American clothing was about survivability in a land that was hostile.

One account of Western Pennsylvania frontier conditions by someone who lived on the frontier discussed the characteristic adoption of this aspect of frontier life:

“The hunting shirt was universally worn. This was a kind of loose frock, reaching half way down the thighs, with long sleeves, open before, and so wide as to lap over a foot or more when belted. The cape was large and sometimes handsomely fringed with a raveled piece of cloth of a different color from that of the hunting shirt itself. The bosom of this dress served as a wallet to hold a chunk of bread, cakes, jerk, tow for wiping the barrel of the rifle, or any other purposes besides that of holding the dress together. In cold

²⁸⁹ James Logan to John, Thomas and Richard Penn, 17 April 1731, Penn Papers, Official Correspondence, historical Society of Pennsylvania.

weather the mittens, and sometimes the bullet bag, occupied the front part of it. To the right side was suspended the tomahawk, and to the left the scalping knife in its leathern sheath. The hunting shirt was generally made of linsey, sometimes of coarse linen, and a few of dressed deerskins. These last were very cold and uncomfortable in wet weather. The shirt and jacket were of the common fashion. A pair of drawers, or breeches and leggings, were the dress of the thighs and legs; a pair of moccasins answered for the feet much better than shoes. They were made of dressed deerskin. They were mostly made of a single piece with a gathering seam along the top of the foot, and another along the bottom of the heel, without gathers as high as the ankle joint or a little higher. Flaps were left on each side to reach some distance up the legs. These were nicely adapted to the ankles and lower part of the leg by thongs of deerskin, so that no dust, gravel or snow could get within the moccason.

The moccasins in ordinary use cost but a few hours labor to make them. This was done by an instrument denominated a moccason awl, which was made from the back spring of an old-clasp knife. This awl, with its buck's horn handle was an appendage of every shot pouch strap, together with a roll of buckskin for mending the moccasins. This was the labor of almost every evening. They were sewed together and patched with deerskin thongs, or whangs, as they were commonly called. In cold weather the moccasins were well stuffed with deers' hair or dry leaves, so as to keep the feet comfortably warm; but in wet weather it was usually said that wearing them was a 'decent way of going barefooted'.²⁹⁰

But Native American dress was not just for the men. Women and children also adopted Native American folkways in dress. Doddridge remarked that the women "usually went barefooted in warm weather. Instead of the toilet, they had to handle the distaff or shuttle, the sickle or weeding hoe, contented if they could obtain their linsey clothing and covered their heads with a sunbonnet made of six or seven hundred linen."²⁹¹ Doddridge's recollections convey the use of buckskin for moccasins in place of shoes, and for other forms of clothing as needed on the frontier because it was durable and suited to the harsh environment, where European clothing performed poorly.

²⁹⁰ Doddridge, Joseph. *Notes, on the Settlement and Indian Wars, of the Western Parts of Virginia & Pennsylvania, from the Year 1763 Until the Year 1783 Inclusive: Together with a View, of the State of Society and Manners of the First Settlers of the Western Country*. Wellsburgh, Va: Printed at the office of the Gazette, for the author, 1824.

²⁹¹ *Ibid.*

This duality of border existence reflected the empiricist values of usage of the Irish as weapons, as a means to an end. Historian David Hackett Fischer reflected that the experiences that the backcountry Irish had contributed to a distrust of outsiders or others and created attitudes of Xenophobia demonstrated through these actions still permeate to this day.²⁹² He noted:

“Behind these attitudes lay the same deep feelings of cultural anxiety and insecurity that had existed in most other colonial societies. These emotions were specially intense among the first generation. They reached their climax in the violent movement called the Regulation, which swept through the back settlements of the North and South Carolina from 1765 to 1771. In both colonies, the Regulators were backcountry vigilantes who sought to impose order by force upon their region, and also attacked outsiders. Their actions were part of a cultural process which was common to all new colonies—an expression of feelings of cultural danger and loss.”²⁹³

The British had long considered people of Irish background “indolent in high degree, unless roused to war.”²⁹⁴ The British had assessed that the clan mentalities held among these ethnic groups meant a tight-knit community, which responded in revenge for slights, dishonor, and other more grievous offences.²⁹⁵ In addition to being geographically isolated and insulated from threat through communal unity, social stratification and law and order were also subjective in the absence of government authority. One historian asserted that “there were official sheriffs and constables throughout that region, but the heaviest work of order-keeping was done by ad-hoc

²⁹² Fischer, David Hackett. *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America*. New York: Oxford University Press, Incorporated, 1989. 650.

²⁹³ Miles, Emma Bell. *The Spirit of the Mountains*. LaVergne, TN: Nabu Public Domain Reprints, 2011. 137.

²⁹⁴ Pennant, Thomas, and Benjamin White. *A Tour in Scotland, MDCCLXIX*. London: Printed for Benj. White, 1790. 740.

²⁹⁵ Fischer, David Hackett. *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America*. New York: Oxford University Press, Incorporated, 1989. 644.

groups of self-appointed agents who called themselves regulators in the eighteenth century, vigilantes in the nineteenth, and nightriders in the twentieth.”²⁹⁶

This facet of border independence in the New World was problematic for European political rule. The lack of adequate military enforcement and protections from the Crown with regard to Native American and banditti attacks resulted in backcountry settlers taking the law into their own hands. Fischer wrote that:

“During the eighteenth century the back settlements suffered much from ‘banditti’ whose depredations were punished by the summary justice of these self-styled ‘regulators.’ When, for example, one robber gang grew so bold that it tried to steal the horses of an entire congregation as they sat in church, the backcountry rose spontaneously. In retaliation, a ‘posse’ of regulators reported it had ‘pursued the rogues, broke up their gangs, burnt the dwellings of all their harborers and abettors- whipped em and drove the idle, vicious and profligate out of the province, men and women twithought distinction.’²⁹⁷ Conflicts such as these between bandit groups who sought to take advantage of the lax enforcements and protections of settlers and the Regulators continued for generations. But the improvised authority of the Regulators would in turn earn the ire of the British Government. These vigilante events were prominent in the southern backcountry during the 1760s.²⁹⁸ Their authority was validated by the vacuum created through the absence of direct imperial rule, the approval of the backcountry citizenry, and what Fisher discusses as a “legitimacy” resting upon the doctrine of ‘Lynch’s law’.²⁹⁹ He noted that the “idea of retributive justice was also reflected in common forms of disorder throughout the southern backcountry. One example was the prevalence of the blood feud in the southern highlands.”³⁰⁰

Hence, the cultural inheritance of social justice was transplanted and implemented on the American frontier. The frontiers were sparsely policed by the military, which left settlers vulnerable to Native American attacks, bandits. Political tensions between European continental

²⁹⁶ Fischer, David Hackett. *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America*. New York: Oxford University Press, Incorporated, 1989. 766.

²⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁹⁸ Brown, Richard M. “The American Vigilante Tradition,” in the *History of Violence in America*. 154-226.

²⁹⁹ Fischer, David Hackett. *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America*. New York: Oxford University Press, Incorporated, 1989. 767.

³⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

powers such as Spain and France had the direct effect of exacerbation of frontier violence through the usage of Native American alliances to inflict violence. Tensions were further inflamed with the booming frontier populations and western migrations across boundary lines that had been agreed upon in treaties. These invasions of the Native hunting grounds resulted in violence from both sides. Sometimes crimes and murders were committed against helpful Natives by drunk or ornery European settlers. Other times the Natives took vengeance or advantage of encroaching settlers. Many times, revenge was a prime motivator on both sides.

Just as the British saw a military application for the Scots Irish and Irish as militia and Indian fighters in the New World, so too did they understand the importance of alliances with Native Americans and their networks for winning territory and supremacy on the North American continent. They employed Indian Agents to act as a diplomatic go-between and peacekeepers. Many Irish men were employed as interpreters by colonial governments. One famous one in Detroit was Henry Conner, who received many commendations for his service.³⁰¹ They were often men, like Sir William Johnson (sometimes referred to as General Johnson), who straddled both the European and Native American worlds. Another such man of northern Irish stock was William Whitley. Whitley was credited as a noted Indian fighter who killed Chief Tecumseh during a battle. He has been honored by noted dignitaries and American presidents as a pioneer of the West and a defender of his country³⁰². These accounts of Indian fighters have inspired American tall tales and legends for generations.

The frontier Irish and Scots Irish were accustomed to violence and historical accounts detail stories of ministers who preached in the wilderness with a firearm next to the book of

³⁰¹ Parkman, Francis. *History of the conspiracy of Pontiac, and the war of the North American tribes against the English colonies after the conquest of Canada*. Boston: C.C. Little and J. Brown; [etc., etc.], 1851.

³⁰² Whitley, Trevor. "William Whitley, Pioneer and Indian Fighter." *North Irish Roots* 11, no. 2 (2000): 10–12.

prayer, or of rifles being stacked outside the Church for services; for Indian attack during church services was a literal reality.³⁰³ Communal pooling of resources for the defense of the community was also a way in which the settlements prepared themselves for attack. In Rowan County, North Carolina, settlers gave 500 pounds called “proclamation money” to the pool to purchase weapons and ammunition.³⁰⁴ The settlers of Rowan County were some of the settlers furthest into the backcountry and they were under constant threat of attacks from the Cherokee tribes until after the 1750s and 1760’s when the French and Indian Wars were over, and they concentrated on fortifying and building up their communities.³⁰⁵

Other homesteaders, who would later go on to become high-ranking and influential persons in the government saw the value in these homegrown Indian fighters. Countries like England, France, and Spain also recruited Native Americans to conduct raids and wreak havoc on homesteads in the hopes of sowing unrest. One such man was killed on a homestead and leaflets promising land grants from England for defection were left all over his body by Native Americans³⁰⁶. There were many factors that contributed to need for Indian fighters, and these were some of the main causations.

Attacks on homesteaders were not uncommon on the western frontiers. At the modern day city of Camden, near Pine Tree Creek, an entire family, to include mother and young

³⁰³ Hoefling, Larry J. *Scots and Scotch Irish: Frontier Life in North Carolina, Virginia, and Kentucky*. Oklahoma: Inlandia, 2009. 52.

³⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁰⁵ Kennedy, Billy. *The Scots Irish in the Carolinas*. Npl: Causeway Press, 1997. 108.

³⁰⁶ Kennedy, Billy. *Heroes of the Scots Irish In America*. Greenville: Emerald House Group, Inc, 2000. 100-101.

children were “cut down” and their homestead destroyed in 1736.³⁰⁷ There were demands made to the council for necessary protections and it is quite obvious that most residents of the area at the time lived in a state of perpetual fear. Yet through this adversity, there were also tribes and chiefs that were friendly towards the settlers and even sided with them against other tribes. When the Cherokee made an attempt for an alliance against the settlers in the South Carolina Piedmont and Midlands, the Catawbas chose to decline the alliance in favor of the settlements. One chief of the Catawbas, King Haigler, was responsible for prosperous trade and diplomatic relations with the settlers. The Catawbas of the Carolinas had lived in relative peace with the settlers until the mid-1700’s when influxes of backcountry settlers came to the region and tensions as a result of encroachment rose.

In 1746, the Kentucky territory was explored, and settlements were established under Daniel Boone, who was accompanied by other Irish frontiersmen.³⁰⁸ Conflicts with the natives in the early history of Kentucky was well-documented and unfavorable to the European position.

Historian McGee chronicled the misadventures of Simon Kenton, who was also known as Butler.

“His active and enterprising spirit has induced him to join Colonel George Rogers Clark, and he was with him at the capture of Kaskaskias. After the fall of that place, Butler with others, was sent to Kentucky with dispatches. On their way they fell in with a camp of Indians with horses. They broke up the camp, took the horses, sent them back to Kaskaskias, and pursued their route by post to St. Vincennes. Entering that place by night, they traversed several streets, and departed without discovery, or alarm, after taking from the inhabitants, who were hostile, two horses for each man. When they came to White River, a raft was made on which to transport the guns and baggage, while the

³⁰⁷ Kirkland, Thomas J., and Robert MacMillan Kennedy. *Historic Camden*. 1. Vol. 1. 2 vols. Salem, MA: Higginson Book Co., 1905. 44-45.

³⁰⁸ McGee, Thomas D'Arcy. *A History of the Irish Settlers in America, from the Earliest Period*. Dublin: J. Mullany, 1870. 27.

horses were driven in to swim across the river. On the opposite shore there lay a camp of Indians, who caught the horses as they rose the bank.

“Butler and his party, now finding themselves in the utmost danger, permitted the raft to float down the stream, and concealed themselves till night; when they made another raft, at a different place, on which they crossed the river, returned safe to Kentucky, and delivered the letters, as they had been directed. Some of them were intended for the seat of government.

“This part of his duty being discharged, Butler made a tour to the northern part of the country, and in the same year was made prisoner by the Indians. They soon after painted him black, and informed him that at Chillicothe, where they were going, he should be burned”.³⁰⁹

Butler’s disregard for the Natives by attempting to rob them exhibited an attitude of superiority and indifference to the Natives. They simply felt that they wanted the horses and should take them. He was captured later that year and made prisoner by the Indians. During this time, he was tortured through several avenues, but the most memorable was the gauntlet that he was forced to endure, which included rocks and food being thrown, as well as blows from weapons.³¹⁰ He was paraded throughout several towns in this manner. This gauntlet was traditional in Native American society for the captives and gives historians insight into the corporal punishment of captives, both Native American and European in early America.

The Scots Irish are often lauded for their achievements as frontiersmen and Indian fighters. But the Irish had their experiences too. As discussed previously, many of the poor Irish, Redemptioners, and other bonded servants tended to stay on the Eastern seaboard, in fairly well-

³⁰⁹ Marshall, Humphrey. *The History of Kentucky. Including an Account of the Discovery, Settlement, Progressive Improvement, Political and Military Events, and Present State of the Country*. 2. Vol. 1. 2 vols. Frankfort Ky.: Printed by Henry Gore, 1974.

³¹⁰ *Ibid.*

populated towns and cities. However, there was another type of Irish, the kind who enlisted in the service of the English Crown. One such example is Sir William Johnson, who became famous as a military commander, Indian agent, and diplomat in New York. He came from a somewhat aristocratic, if somewhat crestfallen, background in Ireland. His uncle had done well in service of the English Navy and offered William a chance to try his hand in America.

In order to hold any station, job, political, or military position in Ireland or in British Affairs, the Catholic Irish were required to renounce their faith and take an oath of fealty to the Crown publicly.³¹¹ His conversion was not publicly recorded, and so it seems that he did not go through the public process of renouncing his old faith.³¹² This process was meant to stamp out the Irish rebelliousness that was perceived to permeate through Catholic ranks and extinguish the Irish/Scots-political identity aligned with such a faith. Other Irish wishing to work in service to the Crown or in any sanctioned office, were required to undergo the same process, no matter their station.

William Johnson (1715-1774) was a man of two worlds. He had grown up the son of a Jacobite rebels who had returned vanquished. They had found redemption in their military exploits, and Johnson found great opportunity and recognition in his work in New York. Over time he became one of the richest men in America and be perceived as one of the most loyal British subjects, even gaining the approval of the King and being titled. But there was another

³¹¹ O'Toole, Fintan. *White Savage: William Johnson and The Invention of America*. Albany: Excelsior Editions - State University of New York Press, 2009. 38.

³¹² *Ibid.*

side to Johnson, what biographer Fintan O'Toole describes as “the Noble White Savage”.³¹³ This side of his life may have felt more tangible and sincere to him than his European side. He had been brought up in Ireland to understand the veils of subterfuge and had been schooled in politics by his uncle and acquaintances. It is fair to say that his experiences as an Irishman prepared him for life on the frontier.

William Johnson was so respected among Native populations that he was given a Native American name.³¹⁴ He held the title of Colonel of the Six Nations because of his adeptness at trading and dealing with natives; learning and adopting as well as learning their customs, languages, and dress.³¹⁵ When Johnson was called into military service by the Brits, his role was to lead a militia that was trained in the Native American guerilla-style warfare and the Mohawks in raiding parties across boundaries and into skirmishes. He was tasked with keeping Indian alliances intact and to repel the French.³¹⁶

Johnson's reputation with many of the tribes of the Iroquois Confederacy was reflected in his close relationship with them. For example, a Tuscarora sachem and war chief named Isaac sent some correspondence to Johnson that expressed loving regard, but also carried a request for a luxury European item. The note read: “Sarah the wife of Isaac Gives her kind love to your honour. And Desires the favour of a little Chocolate if you please”.³¹⁷ Such exchanges were not

³¹³ O'Toole, Fintan. *White Savage: William Johnson and The Invention of America*. Albany: Excelsior Editions - State University of New York Press, 2009. 348.

³¹⁴ *Ibid*, 3.

³¹⁵ *Ibid*, 73.

³¹⁶ O'Toole, Fintan. *White Savage: William Johnson and The Invention of America*. Albany: Excelsior Editions - State University of New York Press, 2009. 77.

³¹⁷ O'Callaghan, E.B., ed. *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*. Vol. 4. Albany 1853-1887. 312.

uncommon, as Johnson remarked to a Swedish naturalist who was his guest in 150, named Peter Kalm. Kalm remarked that Johnson had apprised him that “several of the Indians who lived close to the European settlements had learned to drink tea”.³¹⁸ Johnson made use of consumerism at diplomatic gatherings, where he made gifts to chiefs and guests of tea and teapots. He also served tea, punches, and made sugar available at the gatherings.³¹⁹ Johnson’s career as a trader was bolstered by such exchanges but he also believed that the transference of certain things from European civilization were corruptions. He told his brother that the Mohawk were “moderate until we corrupted them, & now love Rum Excessively, & very troublesome, when drunk.”³²⁰

These examples illuminate the intricate relationships and expectation of reciprocity on the parts of the Natives and the British. The natives went to war and traded with the British in friendship, expecting the same loyalty from the British as they gave in their turn. The “love”, such as mentioned by the wife of Isaac, that was given to traders and agents such as Johnson reflected the emotional attachments that accompanied their respect. This reflects the close relationships, as seen from the native standpoint, between people like Johnson and the natives. The British traded and gave gifts with the expectation of loyalty and profit. From Johnson’s remarks about corruption through trade of such things as rum, his thoughts explain the influence of European inventions in a derogatory manner. It is evident from his position on the subject that he felt that Natives were of an innocent temperament based on honor and respect, before the corruption of white civilization affected them. This example may also illuminate Johnson’s true feelings about methods of British imperialism.

³¹⁸ Sullivan, James, Alexander C. Flick, Milton W. Hamilton, Albert Corey, eds. *The Papers of Sir William Johnson*, Volume 2. University of the State of New York, Albany. 1921-1965. 576-618.

³¹⁹ *Ibid.*

³²⁰ Sullivan, James, Alexander C. Flick, Milton W. Hamilton, Albert Corey, eds. *The Papers of Sir William Johnson*, Volume 13. University of the State of New York, Albany. 1921-1965. 194.

In 1746 he was named Indian Commissioner of New York.³²¹ He was given successive military titles, from Colonel to later General. He was also given the name Warraghiyagey and the position of a Mohawk war captain.³²² The waning power of Native American supremacy on the continent became evident to Mohawk leaders and the Indian Council respected Johnson and recognized that his European background granted him power in European society. Therefore, they gifted him a large tract of land while it was still in their power to gift.³²³ Johnson made use of these ties, alliances, and respect to incorporate his Indian intelligence network, for the benefit of British interests against the French.³²⁴

By 1746 Johnson organized and supplied raiding parties, which were often small but effective. Each party had about 24 men in it. He also sent wampum belts to outlying nations in an urgency to join the war, and fed the wives and children of the warriors so that the lack of warrior hunt contributions did not cripple them.³²⁵ Johnson was instructed to “send out as many Party’s of the said Indians as your possibly can against the French & their Indians in Canada to harass and Alarm their Quarters in all Parts and to take Prisoners for Intelligence as soon as may be, likewise Scalps...”³²⁶

His first raiding party into Canada in 1746 was divided into a war party who went to the North of Montreal and the other half to a Caughnawaga tribe led by Hendrick on an issue of

³²¹ O’Toole, Fintan. *White Savage: William Johnson and The Invention of America*. Albany: Excelsior Editions - State University of New York Press, 2009. 106.

³²² *Ibid*, 144.

³²³ *Ibid*, 176-177.

³²⁴ *Ibid*, 209.

³²⁵ Sullivan, James, Alexander C. Flick, Milton W. Hamilton, Albert Corey, eds. *The Papers of Sir William Johnson*, Volume 9. University of the State of New York, Albany. 1921-1965. 15ff.

³²⁶ Sullivan, James, Alexander C. Flick, Milton W. Hamilton, Albert Corey, eds. *The Papers of Sir William Johnson*, Volume 1. University of the State of New York, Albany. 1921-1965. 60-61.

diplomacy “to stop their mouths”.³²⁷ On the way home, they attacked French carpenters who were working on Isle la Motte, killing, and imprisoning them. One Canadian alleged that he was tortured by the burning of hand “in the presence of some Englishmen and Dutchmen, and not Indians.”³²⁸ In December 1746 he sent scalps to other nations to trade for a belt of wampum or for a different scalp.³²⁹

In April 1747 Johnson sent two war parties to a French Fort St. Frederic, known to the British as Crowne point. The parties had a trek of 125 miles and the small parties were effective at guerilla attacks. This attack was carried out by only 13 Mohawk warriors against 27 French outside the fort, resulting in the death of 8 of them. In August 1747, Johnson sent 3 more war parties, two which went to Canada, and one to Crowne Point. The parties were “firmly resolved to Destroy whatever they meet of the Enemy either French or Indians.”³³⁰ The Crowne Point party found the fort to be poorly defended but assessed that there was somewhere between 500-600 soldiers making ready to march into New York. Alarmed at this impending attack, Johnson headed a war party of 318 natives and around 400 colonial volunteers towards Lake Champlain.³³¹ However, the war party did not achieve their objective of finding another war party and the failure of the compensations that a successful operation would have brought led some to believe that the allegation had been entirely fictional.³³²

³²⁷ O’Callaghan, E.B., ed. *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*. Vol. 6. Albany 1853-1887. 488.

³²⁸ O’Callaghan, E.B., ed. *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*. Vol. 6. Albany 1853-1887. 488.

³²⁹ Johnson, Sir William. *The Papers of Sir William Johnson*. Vol. 9 Albany: University of the State of New York. 1921-65. 15-30. 10 March 1747, 13 December 1746, 23 June 1747.

³³⁰ Sullivan, James, Alexander C. Flick, Milton W. Hamilton, Albert Corey, eds. *The Papers of Sir William Johnson*, Volume 1. University of the State of New York, Albany. 1921-1965. 107.

³³¹ Sullivan, James, Alexander C. Flick, Milton W. Hamilton, Albert Corey, eds. *The Papers of Sir William Johnson*, Volume 9. University of the State of New York, Albany. 1921-1965. 29.

³³² Sullivan, James, Alexander C. Flick, Milton W. Hamilton, Albert Corey, eds. *The Papers of Sir William Johnson*, Volume 1. University of the State of New York, Albany. 1921-1965. 113n.

Since the war parties were comprised of natives and colonists, the colonists donned native attire and war paint, which proved abhorrent to the French. The Marquis de la Galissoniere described the captives taken by the French as “some Dutchmen...disguised like Indians”.³³³ His revulsion was clear when he asserted that such costume was “a masquerade...unworthy of Englishmen and of all civilized nations, and can have no other object than to commit with impunity all sorts of cruelties and treacheries.”³³⁴

The raiding parties that he conducted were in the traditional Native American fashion. He understood that war had a repugnant nature, but that the nature of his mission would result in atrocities that would be abhorred by European powers. The directions from a superior were to “endeavour to send out as many Party’s of the said Indians as you possibly can against the French & their Indians in Canada to harass and Alarm their quarters in all Parts and to take Prisoners for Intelligence as soon as may be, likewise Scalps....”³³⁵ Scalps were initially abhorrent to Europeans in North America, because of their mutilative nature. It was viewed as an affront to the dignity assigned to the dead. But in Native American culture the scalp was perceived to be a vestige of spiritual power. The hair from the crown of the head was often braided and/or decorated and was representative of the soul of a person. It was the container of personal identity, and the taking of such a token represented a possession of the soul. Author Fintan O’Toole surmised that:

“The scalp was thus an analogue of captivity. If a prisoner could not be taken to enhance the size of the nation, the scalp was a good substitute. When the Iroquois painted pictographs on trees or marked the handles of their hatchets, the same human figure symbolized both a prisoner captured, and a scalp taken. As emblems of power, scalps

³³³ O’Callaghan, E.B., ed. *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*. Vol. 6. Albany 1853-1887. 739.

³³⁴ *Ibid.*

³³⁵ Johnson, Sir William. *The Papers of Sir William Johnson*. Vol. 1 Albany: University of the State of New York. 1921-65. 60-61.

could be worn as trophies, given to a family as a replacement for a dead member, sacrificed to the war god or offered to another nation as an inducement to go on the warpath”.³³⁶

Johnson and other Irish Indian Fighters adopted Native American patterns of warfare. The guerilla tactics were not so far removed from traditional Gaelic and even Jacobite war folkways, where the environment was used for camouflage and ambushes. O’Toole noted that Johnson used scalps in at least 3 traditional Iroquois manners, though it appears he did not endeavor to display them in his own household. He did, however, supply ribbons by which the warriors could tie their scalps and hang them from their belts. He also used scalps in the Native American manner of storytelling, whereby his legendary character was enhanced. He also listed a catalogue of captured scalps in accounting correspondence with Governor Clinton to substantiate the result of his raids. In some instances, he proffered scalps to represent lost warriors to loved ones and sent a scalp in June 1747 to the Oneida’s sachem.³³⁷

Native American allies were also encouraged for the capture of enemies, or their scalps as can be seen in the bounties paid out by Indian agent, Irishman Sir William Johnson. He paid out bounties for the scalps of men, women, and children who were deemed enemies on the frontier. It is also surmised by his biographer that he paid out on scalps of fellow countrymen as well.³³⁸

³³⁶ O’Toole, Fintan. *White Savage: William Johnson and The Invention of America*. Albany: Excelsior Editions - State University of New York Press, 2009. 80.

³³⁷ Johnson, Sir William. *The Papers of Sir William Johnson*. Vol. 9 Albany: University of the State of New York. 1921-65. 15-30. 10 March 1747, 13 December 1746, 23 June 1747.

³³⁸ *Trappers of New York, Or, A Biography of Nicholas Stoner and Nathaniel Foster : Together with Anecdotes of Other Celebrated Hunters, and some Account of Sir William Johnson, and His Style of Living*. Albany, N.Y.:

The way in which Johnson used the captured scalps was authoritative and derived from the cultural use that the Native Americans traditionally employed as a collective. Johnson's adaptation of these ceremonious uses assimilated the Native American cultural value of the scalps with European purposes.³³⁹ The European tradition of offering bounties for scalps was a further example of the amalgamation of American cultural symbolism with European machinations. Traditional Native American warriors did not take scalps for payment, but for honor. Therefore, the payment of bounties in exchange for scalps was in direct conflict with tradition. The call for scalps in exchange for bounties was in violation of honor, but also promoted violence along the frontiers, many times engulfing innocent settlers (most unfortunately unarmed women and children).³⁴⁰

These actions were abhorred by European governing bodies but were seen as the necessary means to repel and retaliate against the French, who were employing the same methods in frontier warfare. This attitude was set down in a letter to Johnson from a New York official, Goldsbrow Banyar:

“I abhor a cruel Thought but Mercy itself in many Cases is Cruelty, and lenity to a few the Destruction of thousands. If we must continue skirmishing with them...we should deal exactly with them as they do by us, destroy and scalp as they do: They set their Indians to scalping of our poor defenceless Inhabitants, in this the necessity pleas an Excuse for following so inhuman an Example, as the shortest way too perhaps put an End to such Barbarities.”³⁴¹

³³⁹*Trappers of New York, Or, A Biography of Nicholas Stoner and Nathaniel Foster : Together with Anecdotes of Other Celebrated Hunters, and some Account of Sir William Johnson, and His Style of Living.* Albany, N.Y.:

³⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

³⁴¹ Johnson, Sir William. *The Papers of Sir William Johnson.* Vol. 1. Albany: University of the State of New York. 1921-65. 772.

In an attempt to assuage guilt and reduce violence against defenseless citizens, the Governor's Council attempted to exclude the payment of bounties for the "Scalping or taking poor women or Children Prisoners" in the Scalp Act of 1747.³⁴² Yet Johnson replied to Governor Clinton that "The Money shall be paid when it so happens, If the Indians insist upon it."³⁴³ This created a moral dilemma, as Johnson was aware of the precarious nature of frontier diplomacy and the primal honor that would not do well to be insulted, especially as the natives were the primary engine for warfare on the continent. So, women and children in these contentious regions were doomed to become victims when caught in the crossfire and the colonial authorities sanctioned such actions. But ultimately, they wrote off these acts as the Native Americans, who were rewarded for their scalps with money, as a dog is with a biscuit when it has pleased its master.³⁴⁴

Accounting records from that Johnson paid 365 pounds for captives and scalps in July of 1747. Of the sixteen captives, 9 of them were deemed to be underaged. The scalps of women were paid out at the same rate as that of men.³⁴⁵ The evasion of moral guilt was assuaged on both sides of the argument. The whites would blame the native for the violence, but the Natives blamed the Europeans for directing them to do so.³⁴⁶ It is likely that Johnson, having grown up in Ireland under British rule, would have experienced his share of violence and trauma, not only among the male populations, but upon innocent women and children as well. It was most likely

³⁴² O'Toole, Fintan. *White Savage: William Johnson and The Invention of America*. Albany: Excelsior Editions - State University of New York Press, 2009. 81-82.

³⁴³ Johnson, Sir William. *The Papers of Sir William Johnson*. Vol. 1. Albany: University of the State of New York. 1921-65. 87.

³⁴⁴ O'Toole, Fintan. *White Savage: William Johnson and The Invention of America*. Albany: Excelsior Editions - State University of New York Press, 2009. 81.

³⁴⁵ Johnson, Sir William. *The Papers of Sir William Johnson*. Vol. 9. Albany: University of the State of New York. 1921-65. 8, 25.

³⁴⁶ Pound, Arthur and Richard Edwin Day. *Johnson of the Mohawks: A Biography of Sir William Johnson, Irish Immigrant, Mohawk War Chief, American Soldier, Empire Builder*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1930.

that he was able to reconcile those past experiences with frontier warfare based on their similarities. This compartmentalization and tolerance for perceived savagery most likely stemmed from his youthful experiences when he would have had to guard his emotions in the face of distasteful conduct.

The fragile diplomacy that was paramount to a successful campaign in America was tempered with a delicate balance. William Johnson was often handicapped by the British governing authorities when it came to military affairs. The Native American people did not understand the complicated bureaucratic system that stalled their revenge because it did not serve the imperialist agenda and this sometimes-caused issue for people like Johnson on the frontier. For instance, when a Mohawk was captain named Gingego was contemptuously murdered, the Mohawk's were affronted that the British troops were not mustered to support a retributive raid. This put the alliance in jeopardy when they announced to Johnson in March 1748 that:

“Since we Can see no prospect of Your going against the Enemy to destroy them, as we Expected this long time You may no longer feed us with Promises of Assistance, but now give us Men who are fitt to go with Us, & we will endeavour what we Can, to revenge the Cruel and barbarous Usage we have (through Your Means) received from the French, & their Indians lately & lett them feel the effect of our resentment- Then we shall be thoroughly Convinced you have a Brotherly love for Us, as we have for you.”³⁴⁷

Johnson often sympathized with the Mohawk and other tribes on their frustration with European encroachment and reversal of accords. The more time he spent on the frontier and among the Native populations, he gained an understanding of the inner workings and values of the people. He, himself was often frustrated with the European dismissal of these values. Over time, he became resentful, and even disgusted by the Scots Irish who were settling on the

³⁴⁷ Johnson, Sir William. *The Papers of Sir William Johnson*. Vol. 9. Albany: University of the State of New York. 1921-65. 903.

frontier, further upsetting the delicate balance of diplomacy. Through his good relations with the Mohawk (another pleasant benefit from his marriage to Molly Brant), many chiefs and warriors respected Johnson and strove to keep in good graces with the British.

Political tensions with other European powers on the American continent, inflamed frontier violence through the use of Native American alliances for warfare. The French and Indian War, or Seven Years' War, from 1754-1763 between the English and French was sparked by conflicting claims on to specific area of trade near the Allegheny and upper Ohio River areas. Pennsylvania traders had long been in the area for exploitation of natural resources for trade, when in 1749 the Governor-general of New France ordered the trading outposts to lower their British flags. This was because France regarded the Pennsylvania traders as trespassers on the disputed territory. The traders were further ordered to move themselves back eastward near the Appalachian Mountains.

Naturally, the traders were reluctant to accede to such demands, and as a result hostilities commenced in 1752, when the British Trading Centre at Pickawillany was attacked and destroyed. In addition to destruction of the outpost, all English speaking subjects were ordered to be captured or killed throughout the entire upper Ohio Valley. To commence such a campaign, the French relied on their Native American allies for the attacks and also for the scouting and skirmishing with any English or related parties along the way.³⁴⁸ The French and Indian War was not the first time that colonists had engaged in war and included Native American allies on the North American continent. Previously, conflicts such as the Powhatan Wars (1610-1646), the Pequot War (1636-1637), King Philip's War (1675-1676), and King William's War (1688-1697),

³⁴⁸ Doughty, A. G. (Arthur George), et al.. *An Historical Journal of the Campaigns In North America: for the Years 1757, 1758, 1759, And 1760*. Toronto: The Champlain society, 191416. 69.

as well as rogue raids and attacks on settlements throughout settlement had caused colonists to become accustomed to Native American warfare. Such experiences in warfare, and in alliance with Native Americans, had equipped Indian fighters with the knowledge of weaponry, tactics, and other facets of guerilla warfare on the North American continent.

The English alliances with the Iroquois Confederacy, Catawba, and Cherokee tribes provided support on the frontier to counter the French alliances with the Wabanaki Confederacy (Abenaki and Mi'kmaq) and the Algonquin, Wyandot or Huron, Ottawa, Shawnee, Ojibwa, and Lenape tribes.³⁴⁹ Natives were often tasked with attacking settlements on the frontier to remove encroachment of foreign invaders, but also to provoke fear and panic amongst the people of the frontier. The methods were often gruesome.

During the Seven Years' War, William Johnson commanded several raids in cooperation with native allies against the French and their allies. In 1755, he commanded the military offensive expedition against Crown Point, where French forces were defeated, and the Baron Dieskau was captured at Lake George.³⁵⁰ Both Dieskau and Johnson had been wounded during the expedition. While recuperating in Johnson's field tent, both men were in the company of one another nine days, which they spent conversing and bonding. The character of Johnson, as well as his prowess as a military commander were greatly admired by Dieskau, who reflected that Johnson was "a Man of Quality, a Soldier & a Gentleman" for whom he felt sincere attachment.³⁵¹

³⁴⁹ Hall, Richard. "The Causes of the French and Indian War and the Origins of the 'Braddock Plan': Rival Colonies and Their Claims to the Disputed Ohio". (2016). *Atlantic Politics, Military Strategy and the French and Indian War*: 21–49.

³⁵⁰ Wallace, W. Stewart, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Canada*, Vol. III. Toronto: University Associates of Canada, 1948. 304-305.

³⁵¹ Sullivan, James, Alexander C. Flick, Milton W. Hamilton, Albert Corey, eds. *The Papers of Sir William Johnson*, Volume 2. University of the State of New York, Albany. 1921-1965. 185.

On the 8th of September 1755, Johnson's Lake George battle. Hendrick who had been his friend and ally was killed. Dieskau "Several Indians entered his tent soon after, who regarded me with a furious look, and spoke to him a long time, and with much vehemence. When they had departed, I observed: 'Those fellows have been regarding me with a look not indicative of much compassion.' 'Anything but that.' He answered; 'for they wished to oblige me to deliver you into their hands, in order to burn you in revenge for the death of their comrades, and of the three Chiefs who have been slain in the battle, and threatened to abandon me if I do not give you up. Feel no uneasiness. You are safe with me.'³⁵²

The same Indians returned some time after to the tent. The conversation appeared to me animated at first, and became more moderate at the close, when smiling, they took my hand in token of friendship and retired. General Johnson afterwards told me that he had made my peace with them, and that they had abandoned all their pretensions. I observed that as he was wounded himself, I was afraid I incommoded him, and requested to have me removed elsewhere. 'I dare not,' he answered, 'for were I to do so, the Indians would massacre you. They must have time to sleep.'³⁵³

Johnson's concerns were well placed. Casualties that the natives accrued were deeply felt and retribution was not swift. Chief Gingeo had been grievously killed in March by ambush and his death had not been avenged, they warned Johnson: "since we can see no prospect of your going against the Enemy to destroy them, as we expected this long time you may no longer feed us with Promises of Assistance, but now give us Men who are fit to go with Us, & we will endeavour what we can, to revenge the Cruel and barbarous Usage we have (through Your

³⁵² "Dialogue between Marshal Saxe and Baron de Dieskau in the Elysian Fields" in O'Callaghan, E.B., ed. *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*. Vol. 10. Albany 1853-1887. 34off.

³⁵³ *Ibid.*

Means) received from the French, & their Indians lately & lett them feel the effect of our resentment- Then we shll be thoroughly Cinviced you have a Brotherly love for Us, as we have for you.”³⁵⁴

This quotation exhibits a distrust not of Johnson necessarily, but of the intentions of the British empire to compensate the natives for their service and sacrifices. This concern was a consistent and unfortunate theme in the career of Johnson, because the government in New York especially was inconsistent in their promises and in giving Johnson the monies and tools that he needed to operate as an effective agent on the frontier. This experience did not endear Johnson to the British cause, and for a time he resigned his government position as a result. His hiatus was short-lived because his successors found that the natives would not listen or cooperate with anyone, except for Johnson.³⁵⁵ The reason behind this was that they had a profound respect and personal relationship with him in many cases.

The Battle for Fort Niagara in 1759 was one that Johnson had long felt was necessary for the security of the British frontier in North America. The location was a strategic stronghold and proved to be decisive as some of the Seneca tribe was allied with the French. Yet Johnson used his diplomacy with the Senecas to secure an alliance with most of the Senecas for their assault on Fort Niagara. Johnson later told prime minister William Pitt, “We kept our Designs so secret, that we had embarked all our Artillery, and remained a Night at Niagara before the Enemy had any notice of our Arrival.”³⁵⁶ Despite Johnson’s alliance with part of the Seneca nation, there

³⁵⁴ Sullivan, James, Alexander C. Flick, Milton W. Hamilton, Albert Corey, eds. *The Papers of Sir William Johnson*, Volume 9. University of the State of New York, Albany. 1921-1965. 903.

³⁵⁵ *Ibid*, 903.

³⁵⁶ Sullivan, James, Alexander C. Flick, Milton W. Hamilton, Albert Corey, eds. *The Papers of Sir William Johnson*, Volume 3. University of the State of New York, Albany. 1921-1965. 271.

were about 100 Senecas in alliance with the French at Fort Niagara when the Fort came under siege in from July 6-26th, 1759.

French reports that a Seneca chief named Kaendae went to speak with Johnson's Seneca allies. Reports said: "Kaendae's council with the Iroquois had been held in the presence of Johnson, to whom that chief spoke boldly, reproaching him with having plunged his Nation into bad business. Johnson smiles, and took this reproach as a joke."³⁵⁷ After three days of debate, Kaendae's Senecas withdrew from fort peacefully and on July 25th, the French reported 334 killed at least, 150 scalps and 96 prisoners taken. This was a stark contrast to the British losses of 60 English and 3 Native Americans, along with 180 English and 5 Native Americans wounded.³⁵⁸ On July 26, 1759, the French capitulated in a momentous victory for Johnson.

Afterwards, the French allied Chippewa sachem Tequakareigh called for a meeting with Johnson and promised him a foothold in the area north of Lake Superior down the eastern shore of the Mississippi and Ohio valley. The sachem invited them to return for talks at Niagara in the spring. Johnson took from the neck of the sachem the French medal and replaced it with an English one and a gorget of silver, "desiring whenever he looked at them, he would remember the engagements he now made."³⁵⁹ The gorget had the arms of the king as a cypher of Johnson's own device. The medal was a mark of loyalty, to Sir William as well as the British.³⁶⁰ Johnson's

³⁵⁷ O'Callaghan, E.B., ed. *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*. Vol. 10. Albany 1853-1887. 982.

³⁵⁸ William Johnson's Niagara Diary in Stone, William. *The Life and Times of Sir William Johnson, Bart.* Vol. 2. Albany [N.Y.]: J. Munsell, 1865. 395-396.

³⁵⁹ William Johnson's Niagara Diary in Stone, William. *The Life and Times of Sir William Johnson, Bart.* Vol. 2. Albany [N.Y.]: J. Munsell, 1865. 397-398.

³⁶⁰ Sullivan, James, Alexander C. Flick, Milton W. Hamilton, Albert Corey, eds. *The Papers of Sir William Johnson*, Volume I. University of the State of New York, Albany. 1921-1965. 523.

last expedition was to Montreal, with 691 Native allies to join other British forces at Fort Levi under the direction of General Jeffrey Amherst to topple the French. On September 8, 1760, the French surrendered.³⁶¹

With the return of relative peace to the region among European and Native American allies, a return to commodities of trade and business commenced. Along with these facets of life in Johnson's world, the culture of his homemade community became more pronounced. The community that William Johnson founded contained a diaspora of ethnicities. There was German, French, Dutch, English, Irish, Scottish, Welsh, and Mohawk settlers. But he actively encouraged the proliferation of Gaelic settlement and culture. He was said to have made matches with local girls with Irish men he kept around his house.³⁶²

While he was welcoming to well-behaved settlers, he had concerns about the increasing movements of white settlers into the frontiers. He worried that these encroachments would ignite conflicts that would upset the very difficult balance he had long maintained on the Northern frontier. In January 1766, a Mohawk was murdered and alarmed him that "this Spirit, which has so often shown itself of late amongst the Inhabitants, will not stop here, and that this ill-timed rage of their must doubtless rouse the resentments of a People prone to Revenge."³⁶³ The local Native Americans had long suspicioned that the Europeans were on a path to exterminate them, and these bouts of sporadic violence did nothing to deter those fears. Johnson wrote "Had this been the first or second Instance, I might have pacified the Injured, but at present I am somewhat

³⁶¹ O'Toole, Fintan. *White Savage: William Johnson and The Invention of America*. Albany: Excelsior Editions - State University of New York Press, 2009. 241.

³⁶² *Trappers of New York, Or, A Biography of Nicholas Stoner and Nathaniel Foster : Together with Anecdotes of Other Celebrated Hunters, and some Account of Sir William Johnson, and His Style of Living*. Albany, N.Y.:

³⁶³ O'Toole, Fintan. *White Savage: William Johnson and The Invention of America*. Albany: Excelsior Editions - State University of New York Press, 2009. 268.

at a Loss how to speak to or take upon me to promise them a Redress.”³⁶⁴ The attacks and animosity of some white settlers undermined the peace and justice he had promised to uphold. He wrote that his promises were “contradicted by these Unjustifiable Actions” making it “almost unsafe for me to continue my assurances of redress, for where will this redress come from, or will it come at all?”³⁶⁵

These issues hardened his heart towards settlers, as he shared the frustration of the Native Americans. He continued to hear grievances of crimes against Native Americans. He wrote that one Mohawk was “causelessly and treacherously murdered by a White man.” The slow and perfunctory response of the colonial justice system did little to bring justice to the Natives, even though governmental leaders throughout America had lamented at the issues emerging between frontiersmen and Natives. Johnson determined that “Neither our Laws, nor our People are much Calculated for redressing Indians, and we are in the utmost want of some method for doing them effectual Justice without leaving it to the decision of those whose prejudices will not permit them to see the necessity there is for relieving them in these cases”.³⁶⁶

Many of the frontier settlers were Scots Irish and it seems that old prejudices from Johnson’s youth in Ireland played a role in how he perceived the incoming settlers. As a traditional Gaelic, Catholic, Irishman, Johnson would not have been most kindly disposed towards what were perceived to be invasive Protestant Scots Irish. In his correspondence, he referred to them as “these ignorant People”, “banditti”, “Country People, who think they do good Service when they Knock an Indian in the Head”, “the very dregs”, “low”, “Idle Persons”

³⁶⁴ Johnson, Sir William. *The Papers of Sir William Johnson*. Vol. 12. Albany: University of the State of New York. 1921-65. 52-53, 116, 130.

³⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶⁶ Johnson, Sir William. *The Papers of Sir William Johnson*. Vol. 12. Albany: University of the State of New York. 1921-65. 53, 74, 115.

under “no Landlord or Law”, “persons worse than savages”.³⁶⁷ He charged them with “Anarchy”, “riotous Conduct”, and “turbulency.”³⁶⁸ The language used in these descriptions is reminiscent of Ireland, where prejudicial opinions noted that the Scots-Irish were “the crafty, thieving, false set of Calvin”, “the contemptuous brood”, “churls”, “stupid people”, and a “blind ignorant crew”.³⁶⁹ While in mainstream American society at the time there was little to no differentiation between Scots Irish and Irish, or the Gaelic Irish, it is clear that there were socio-political and religious differences within the ethnicity.

Together with this distaste for the Scots Irish people, both Johnson and Thomas Gage corresponded on the issue of border settlements. Johnson wrote that “Englishmen who so wantonly Continue to Violate public Treatys, regardless of the Consequences to their Neighbours, scarcely deserve pity.”³⁷⁰ Thomas Gage, a general who had served during the Battle of the Monongehela in the French and Indian war, where he argued for the assembly of a unit that was fit for woodland warfare. Consequently, he was tasked with recruitment for such a unit, resulting in the creation of the 80th Regiment of Light-Armed Foot. Gage became the military governor of Montreal following its surrender, and was appointed the commander-in-chief of British Forces in North America from 1763, during Pontiac’s Rebellion until 1775. He was not an exceptional soldier but was known as a competent manager of British affairs in North America.³⁷¹ He wrote of an incident near Fort Pitt where two white men had been in dire straits and were rescued by an Indian hunting party, only to be murdered and robbed by the very men

³⁶⁷ Johnson, Sir William. *The Papers of Sir William Johnson*. Vol. 12. Albany: University of the State of New York. 1921-65. 74-75, 130.

³⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 53.

³⁷⁰ Johnson, Sir William. *The Papers of Sir William Johnson*. Vol. 12. Albany: University of the State of New York. 1921-65. 92.

³⁷¹ Alden, John R. *General Gage in America*. Baton Rouge, Louisiana. Louisiana State University Press. 48.

that they had rescued.³⁷² Gage lamented, “I most Sincerely Wish, that the Indians had killed them that we might Shrew them our approbation in the Punishment of Such Execrable Villains.”³⁷³ It is clear that both Johnson and Gage were in sympathy for the Natives and that they were vexed by the moral turpitude of Europeans on the frontier.

Gage’s correspondence reflected the lack of proper law enforcement in the backcountry. He wrote that he was “realy vexed at the Behaviour of the Lawless Banditti upon the Frontiers, and what aggravates the more, is, the Difficulty to bring them to Punishment. The true Cause of which, is not he Excuses we get when Complaints are made...(but) the Weakness of the Governments to enforce obedience to the Laws, and in some, their Provincial Factions run so high, that every villain finds some powerful Protector.”³⁷⁴

Johnson and other frontier colonials constantly wrote letters to the Board of Trade asking for reforms and assistance.³⁷⁵ In 1764, it was agree that there would be “the fixing a Boundary between the Settlements of your Majesty’s Subjects and the Indian Country...by compact with the Indians.”³⁷⁶ Even with an established boundary, there was already the issue that the white settlers were continuing to push west and that the line should be extended even further west, so that the European side was owned by the British and therefore enforceable by the Crown, but the

³⁷² Alden, John R. *General Gage in America*. Baton Rouge, Louisiana. Louisiana State University Press. 48.

³⁷³ *Ibid.*

³⁷⁴ Johnson, Sir William. *The Papers of Sir William Johnson*. Vol. 5. Albany: University of the State of New York. 1921-65. 201.

³⁷⁶ Brodhead, John Romeyn, and E. B. O’Callaghan. *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New-York: Procured in Holland, England and France, by John Romeyn Brodhead, Esq., Agent, under and by Virtue of an Act of the Legislature ...* 8. Vol. 8. 15 vols. Albany, N.Y.? 1855. 20-22.

reality was that Johnson and other colonial leaders simply did not have the manpower to enforce laws in so vast a wilderness. He wrote that:

“These frontier People were daily pushing into that fertile country and would continue to do so without any title whatsoever (a circumstance they little regard) &...(since the) Colonies would not, or could not, prevent them, this would have been such a disgrace to Government, (so) that I judged it most politick to purchase it for His Majesty, (rather) than to further discover our weakness to the Indians by admitting their Title to Lands which were daily settling without any title at all.”³⁷⁷

The effrontery was not all one-sided, however. In 1764, a white family who was held captive by Chief Pontiac of the Ottawas, suffered horrible conditions, and starvation. A young, sick toddler named Betty Fisher was suffering from diarrhea and the cold air when she walked by the chief and accidentally brush against his blanket. He was so enraged that he ordered her taken to the river and drowned.³⁷⁸ This incident highlights the realities of frontier living and the risks associated with it. Young Betty Fisher and her family were kidnapped as spoils of war, but there was such disregard for their keeping because of Pontiac’s discontent with white settlers. Pontiac was wholly disenchanted with white settlement and viewed the killing of women and children, in addition to male settlers, to be a means of eradication of invasive white settlers.

Without proper law enforcement, the conditions on the frontier continued to deteriorate and in 1766 Johnson had realized that even with instating his proposed reforms “I see plainly how it is now throughout the Continent. People expect to do now as they please...I have wrote home so often on all these Subjects that I am heartily tired of it.”³⁷⁹ This reflection of Johnson’s

³⁷⁷ Brodhead, John Romeyn, and E. B. O’Callaghan. *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New-York: Procured in Holland, England and France, by John Romeyn Brodhead, Esq., Agent, under and by Virtue of an Act of the Legislature ...* 8. Vol. 8. 15 vols. Albany, N.Y.? 1855. 20-22. 180.

³⁷⁸ O’Toole, Fintan. *White Savage: William Johnson and The Invention of America*. Albany: Excelsior Editions - State University of New York Press, 2009. 241.

³⁷⁹ Johnson, Sir William. *The Papers of Sir William Johnson*. Vol. 12. Albany: University of the State of New York. 1921-65. 105-106, 162-163.

highlights the challenges of frontier diplomacy as more settlers pushed into the frontier. Johnson had taken great pains to create a bond and trust with Native American allies, and had adopted so many of their customs and lifeways that he could not help but commiserate with them over the plight of land rights and of crimes committed against them at the hands of settlers who had no regard for the laws of the region.

While Johnson was concerned about the influx of settlers on the frontier, he welcomed many Irish and Scottish immigrants warmly. Many of the servants and tenants on his lands were also Irish and he was always seeking to employ Irish immigrants. He hired a gardener and his wife from Dublin and inquired after more Irish servants in 1772.³⁸⁰ A large amount of the tenants on his increasingly large landholding were Irish. At present day, as least 17 percent of the population in Johnstown still claims Irish ancestry.³⁸¹

This support of Irish in the New World, and the close-knit community that cultivated are very similar in comparison with the Scots Irish backcountry settlements. This idea of insulation, retention of cultural heritage and weariness of outsiders was transplanted from Ireland. In addition to employing servants in his home and lands, he also built a free school in Johnstown, which allowed attendance by Native American and European children, but he insisted upon an Irish schoolmaster “who received a liberal education in Europe”.³⁸² Not only is the hiring of an Irish teacher an act of culture, but also one of religious and political origins. In Johnson’s youth, the Irish schoolmasters were outlawed, and hedge schools were necessary. The suppression of Catholic education implied that there was something clandestine about it, but Johnson’s

³⁸⁰ O’Toole, Fintan. *White Savage: William Johnson and The Invention of America*. Albany: Excelsior Editions - State University of New York Press, 2009. 8.

³⁸¹ *Ibid*, 283-284.

³⁸² Johnson, Sir William. *The Papers of Sir William Johnson*. Vol. 7. Albany: University of the State of New York. 1921-65. 693.

continuance of the tradition of Catholic scholarship, and the idea that they had “liberal” education, implies that he felt the British educational methods of the time were obstructive.

There were other Irish and Gaelic traditional influences that Johnson insisted on cultivating in the New World. He encouraged a polyglot community, where European and Native American languages, as well as Latin and Greek were spoken.³⁸³ His halls were filled with Irish musical instruments, and he often sought musicians to travel to his home.³⁸⁴

Following the Seven Years War, he continued to add tenants of Gaelic origins by establishing a Highland community. He invited several Scots, and Jacobites to settle on his land. They were all united in the aspect of suffering under oppression and many were Catholic, Gaelic, and educated.³⁸⁵ Through these examples, it is evident that religion was a cultural force that determine political loyalties in Ireland, Scotland, and later in the New World.³⁸⁶

In 1774 William Johnson passed away under debatable circumstances. Historians such as Francis Parkman believed that Johnson was distraught at the coming Revolution and the destruction of British America and the amalgamated world that he had helped to build.³⁸⁷ It seems that America was evolving too quickly for men like Johnson, who would have no place in the one that emerged.

These assessments appear to be well-founded, when one looks at the attitudes of the new leaders of America. Johnson had been in favor with the British empire and his people but had

³⁸³ Johnson, Sir William. *The Papers of Sir William Johnson*. Vol. 7. Albany: University of the State of New York. 1921-65. 289.

³⁸⁴ *Ibid*, 304.

³⁸⁵ O'Toole, Fintan. *White Savage: William Johnson and The Invention of America*. Albany: Excelsior Editions - State University of New York Press, 2009. 308.

³⁸⁶ *Ibid*, 310.

³⁸⁷ *Ibid*, 314.

sometimes straddled the line of loyalties when it came to incorporating Native American sympathies. By August 19, 1777, it is evident that the favor of Johnson had completely shifted when John Adams wrote to Abigail Adams: “In the Northern Departments they begin to fight. The Family of Johnson, the black part of it as well as the white, are pretty well thinned. Rascals! They deserve Extermination.”³⁸⁸

In feudal fashion, when Johnson died, his followers pledged allegiance to Sir John Johnson, his son. At the time of William’s death, he had been disheartened and conflicted on impending hostilities and tensions between colonists and the English. For so many years he had fought to keep peace and stability in the region, but he was also an Indian agent for the English. There is ample evidence that he was proud of his Irish ethnicity and even sought to transplant Irish traditions, culture, and people to his property in an effort to populate the land with Gaelic blood. He also thumbed his nose at the English more than once through his invitation for Irish harpers (who had been outlawed and executed in Ireland to suppress Irish nationalism) to reside at his estate. It is clear from the men that he did business with, to the men that he went to war with, that he trusted the Mohawk, Scots and Irish more than he ever did the English. He straddled two worlds, but sadly knew that the English empire would use his beloved allies as it needed them and discard them once it was in the interest of the empire. Many Indian agents and frontiersmen like Johnson thought in similar contexts with regard to their Native American relations.

The dualism of Johnson and men like him were significant to the identity of emerging national culture because he represented a cohesion of culture, tradition, politics, and values. Yet

³⁸⁸ Adams, John. Letter to Abigail Adams, 19 August 1777. Adams Family Papers: An Electronic Archive. Massachusetts Historical Society. <http://www.masshist.org/digitaladams>

the emergence of America would mean expansion and the annihilation of the Native American world as it was known. The advancement of a westernized American civilization would eventually mean the death of the existing western civilization. The Indians represented a savage or uncivilized, yet liberal aspect of the New World, who were primal in representation, but honor bound in their existence. Author Fintan O'Toole remarked that a third race, an amalgamation of the two worlds, was a threat to the emerging identity. He wrote:

“The existence of a third race, neither black nor white, complicated and threatened to undermined the racial determinism that justified slavery. The way through this confusing, cultural landscape lay in the figure of the White Savage, the virile racially pure embodiment of American values who is yet at home in the wilderness because he had adopted the best of Indian culture. An American with white skin but Indian dress, Christian decency but Indian simplicity, European accomplishments but Indian skills, would have the right to take the West”.³⁸⁹

Yet, the idealistic image and respect for frontiersmen like Johnson was portrayed consistently in works such as the Leatherstocking novels by James Fennimore Cooper that became popular in the 1820's.³⁹⁰ The idea of the triumph of western civilization over primal savagery was idealized and romanticized. What is important to remember is that the convergence of the two cultures did not result in a massive disappearance of one culture or another. However, frontiersmen over the next 2 centuries would continue to live in a diaspora that was deeply influenced by the amalgamation of weaponry, fighting style, culture, and even prejudices. An Irish deserter in the British Army, as well as 3 other comrades, escaped from ten Indian Sentinels

³⁸⁹ O'Toole, Fintan. *White Savage: William Johnson and The Invention of America*. Albany: Excelsior Editions - State University of New York Press, 2009. 339.

³⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

near Tioga point and were also thought to have furnished subject material for the *Leatherstocking Tales*.³⁹¹

Another unit of Irish and Scots Irish Indian fighters that merits attention is Roger's Rangers. Throughout the French and Indian war, an elite unit known as Roger's Rangers consisted of mainly Scots Irish and Irish Indian fighters. Their leader, Major Robert Rogers, was himself Scots Irish. Most of these men had been acclimated to frontier warfare from a young age and had adopted Native American dress, weaponry, and merged the guerilla tactics that they had brought with them from Ireland. Some had learned the languages of certain tribes; their customs and social habits. With this litany of knowledge, the men who joined Roger's Rangers were a formidable foe to counter their foes. One of the rangers who served under Rogers was Captain John Stark, who would later take his impressive martial experience to make a name for himself under General Washinton. As the son of a Londonderry immigrant, Stark had been brought up with a distaste for the English and with martial training.³⁹²

Roger's Rangers was an elite fighting force, comprised of mostly Scots Irish and Irish colonists. Most of the soldiers within the unit were Scots Irish or Irish (as was their commander) and many obtained their fighting ways, weaponry, and clothing from the Stockbridge tribe³⁹³. In 1756, Governor William Shirley wrote that the "best of their men (were)Irish Roman

³⁹¹ McGee, Thomas D'Arcy. *A History of the Irish Settlers in America, from the Earliest Period*. Dublin: J. Mullany, 1870. 42.

³⁹² Ross, John F. *War on the Run: The Epic Story of Robert Rogers and the Conquest of America's First Frontier*. New York: Bantam Books. 2011.

³⁹³ Zaboly, Gary S. *American Colonial Ranger: The Northern Colonies, 1724-64*. Oxford: Osprey, 2004. 4-50.

Catholics.”³⁹⁴ When it came time to fight, the Mohawk and Stockbridge Mohegan tribesmen joined in as part of the unit and constituted a formidable force. Their fighting skills were adapted to their environments, unlike the orderly British troops, who fought in formations that were not beneficial to their position on the frontier. Additionally, their weaponry was not as fit for the territory and close quarter combat. The standard-issue rifle was a Brown Bess, had one shot and was timely to reload, with up to 3 rounds able to be fired in a minute. Some rangers carried non-issue Jaegar rifles that were similar in loading capacity and accuracy³⁹⁵. These rifles were used as well as the bayonets for close combat, which were cumbersome. The Indian fighters were sharpshooters who used their surroundings for cover and camouflage, and in close quarters their tomahawks and knives were easily maneuvered. Roger’s Rangers held within its ranks Indian fighters who would play important military roles in the Revolution. These rangers were highly respected and narrowly escaped the disaster that was Buford’s Massacre in 1780.

Another important member of Rogers Rangers, and an important commander in the later American Revolution was. John Stark. The Scots Irish Indian fighter John Stark was an explosive leader and subordinate. It was said that his “battlefield bravery and leadership redeemed a fierce independence that upset his superiors as much as it did the enemy.”³⁹⁶ Stark’s family had lived in an Irish settlement in New Hampshire but had eventually migrated to the

³⁹⁴ Correspondence of William Shirley, Governor of Massachusetts and Military Commander in America 1731-1760. Vol II. New York: The MacMillan Company. Reprint 1912. 378-578.

³⁹⁵ Smith, Robin. “Military History Matters.” Warrior-Roger’s Rangers, April 10, 2012. <https://www.military-history.org/feature/warrior-rogers-rangers.htm>.

³⁹⁶ Rose, Ben Z. *John Stark: Maverick General*. Waverley, MA: TreeLine Press, 2007. Xi-160.

wilderness and erected: Stark Fort” as a safeguard against impending Indian attacks. Stark grew up in a hostile environment and was even at one time a captive of the Abenaki.

John Stark was abducted on April 28, 1752, by Abenaki warriors while he was hunting and trapping on a trip along with his brother William and other colonists on the Baker River (a tributary of the Pemigewasset River). He had just enough time to warn his brother William to use their canoe to paddle away, while their companion David Stinson was killed. John and Amos Eastman, another prisoner, were taken to a village on the St. Lawrence River, called St. Francis and was all but certain that he would be tortured to death. However, the cunning Stark was able to build a relationship with his captor, eventually earning their esteem through a successful completion of the gauntlet ritual, in which he would run through a line of warriors that pummeled him with rocks, trash, weapons, and their fists. Stark was able to fend off the attacks and to even land blows of his own that resulted in knocking several of the warriors down. Stark defiantly wrested one of the warriors stick and attempted to beat him with it, which surprised the other warriors and impressed the chief to the extent that Stark was adopted into the tribe, and spent the winter with them.³⁹⁷ After his completion of the gauntlet and acceptance into the tribe, he earned the name “Young Chief”.³⁹⁸

During his time as an adopted member of the Abenaki, Stark was schooled in Native American customs, culture, language, warfare and diplomacy. He also garnered a genuine respect for them. He valued the simple and honor bound lives that they led. When he returned to

³⁹⁷ Stark, Caleb, and John Stark. *Memoir and Official Correspondence of Gen. John Stark: With Notices of Several Other Officers of the Revolution ; Also a Biography of Capt. Phinehas Stevens and of Col. Robert Rogers, with an Account of His Services in America during the "Seven Years' War"*. Concord: GP Lyon, 1860.

³⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

European civilization, he carried with him the knowledge and skills that he had learned. When hostilities along the frontier broke out, he joined Roger's Rangers. These aspects would give him a valued perspective on warfare with the Native Americans, and also served him well as a second lieutenant under Major Robert Rogers during the French and Indian War. Stark served in Roger's Rangers and used his skills to combat the French and their Native American allies. During his time with the rangers, Stark gained valuable experience of the northern frontier as well as combat experience. The rangers were valuable for scouting and stealth missions, but not all of them were successful. In 1757, Stark and his men were ambushed near Fort Carillon while on a scouting mission.

Stark had served admirably in Rogers Rangers, and as scout, it appears he was afforded more of a say in the conduction of military offenses than the typical militiaman might have been given. For instance, in 1759 when General Jeffrey Amherst commanded Rogers Rangers to march from Lake George to the village of St. Francis, an Abenaki village deep in the heart of Quebec, Stark refused to command nor accompany any of the forces out of respect for his adopted relations that still lived in the area. Not only does this signify the deep respect that he had for the Abenaki, but also the familial attachment that he gained as a captive. Stark was another man of Irish stock who appears to have walked between two worlds, the European and the Native American. After his refusal to accompany the rangers to raze the Abenaki village, Stark returned to New Hampshire and retired as a captain at the end of the French and Indian War.³⁹⁹ His captivity with the Abenaki and combat experience during the French and Indian war

³⁹⁹ Stark, Caleb, and John Stark. *Memoir and Official Correspondence of Gen. John Stark: With Notices of Several Other Officers of the Revolution ; Also a Biography of Capt. Phinehas Stevens and of Col. Robert Rogers, with an Account of His Services in America during the "Seven Years' War"*. Concord: GP Lyon, 1860.

taught him about the benefits of collaborative warfare with the Natives. He would later apply these lessons to his military experience in the American Revolution.

At the end of the French and Indian war, he went back to a simple life, running a sawmill in New England. However, after being given word about the battles of Lexington and Concord, he immediately joined up with the First New Hampshire Regiment. Stark was very inspirational to his men, and one of his speeches to his men encouraged them to “Live free or die—death is not the worst of evils.” This particular phrase was written in a letter to toast the anniversary of the Battle of Bennington at a commemoration dinner on July 31, 1809.⁴⁰⁰ He was a beacon of pride to his people and honored his ancestry. It was noted that his “parents were Presbyterian Irish, and he inherited their stern, uncompromising nature [. . .] the Irish in New Hampshire honored his ancestry by rallying to him”.⁴⁰¹ Even though he honored his Scots Irish roots, he also remembered his experiences with the Abenaki, and paired his Irish cunning with his Native American guerilla tactics. In one instance, he ordered his troops to conceal their position by building a stone fence. The men were instructed to camouflage the fence with handfuls of hay that they appropriated from neighboring fields and farms. They also used thick underbrush taken from the river’s edge. In front of the defensive stone wall, Stark erected pikes in the ground to add an extra layer of defense. Stark positioned his sharpshooters into three rows or firing ranks: standing, kneeling, and a reserve in the rear, in order to provide a continuous volley of fire. From that point, Stark and his men laid in wait for approaching British lines, until they were in as close a proximity as possible, when Stark gave the order: “Boys, aim at their waistbands!”⁴⁰²

⁴⁰⁰Stark, Caleb, and John Stark. *Memoir and Official Correspondence of Gen. John Stark: With Notices of Several Other Officers of the Revolution ; Also a Biography of Capt. Phineas Stevens and of Col. Robert Rogers, with an Account of His Services in America during the "Seven Years' War"*. Concord: GP Lyon, 1860. 313.

⁴⁰¹ Humphreys, David. *Life of Putnam*. Boston: Samuel Avery, 1818. 229-30.

⁴⁰² Brumwell, Stephen. *White Devil: A True Story of War, Savagery, and Vengeance in Colonial America*. New York: Da Capo Books, 2006. 11-131, 277.

Once Stark's men exhausted their ammunition, and the British sent a third wave of offense over the pikes and wall, Stark's men fought in close quarters. His meticulous planning and tactics had cost the enemy dearly and had bought the rest of the Continental precious time. At the Battle of Trenton, Stark led a thundering charge of one of Washington's columns against the Hessian brigade and the troops in the township of Trenton, New Jersey. These contributions set the board for Gate's victory at Saratoga.

The continuing Indian Wars illuminated the fierce and militant nature of Irish and Scots Irish colonists in warfare. One eyewitness recollected that they were "fighters- wherever courage, activity, and force were wanted- they had no equals."⁴⁰³ Historian and Irish immigrant McGee noted that the Indian fighter was a "bold fighter, quick-tempered, God-fearing, righteous, defender of the faith, was the Scots-Irish frontiersman".⁴⁰⁴ The ferocity of the Indian fighters, especially in the repellant of raids that gained them invites as newcomers to a colony. They were suddenly permitted to settle in communities that had never been open to them before. The colonies began to see them as a first line of defense against attacks.

While they were applauded for their fighting skills and positive military assets, they were still problematic in the community so far as their mannerisms and interactions were concerned. Historian Thomas D'Arcy McGee wrote that "The Scots-Irish demeanor- although liable at times to provoke confrontations- was respected when the protection of the settlements was concerned, and it served to lessen the time the Scots-Irish were cast as interlopers in the British colony".⁴⁰⁵

⁴⁰³ Hoefling, Larry J. *Scots and Scotch Irish: Frontier Life in North Carolina, Virginia, and Kentucky*. Oklahoma: Inlandia, 2009. 49-50.

⁴⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰⁵ McGee, Thomas D'Arcy. *A History of the Irish Settlers in America, from the Earliest Period*. Dublin: J. Mullany, 1870.

To this end, many of the Scots-Irish and Irish were permitted in the colonial settlements because of their military value, while others preferred to reside in their backcountry settlements.

Indian fighters were highly skilled and valued for their use in frontier warfare, but the melancholy reality is that they and the Native Americans were both victims of imperialism. They were both used for what they gained for the imperial powers. They both came from tribal and clan origins, both fought to preserve or retain ancestral lands and rights, but in the end, they were both victims of some of the most insidious machinations of warfare. They were essentially fighting dogs at the heels of their imperial masters.

The Indian wars were spurred on by French aggression but were not conducted in the spirit of traditional European warfare. They were successive raids and guerilla operations that were often surprise attacks. The best defense that the colonial governments had on the frontiers was the frontiersmen themselves. Henry Ford asserted that the colonial governments were so poorly organized, deficient in resources and stubborn that they were incapable of competent and consistent exertion of public authority that was required to protect the frontier.⁴⁰⁶ The forts and outposts that had been erected served as stronghold, in the fashion of the bawns of Ireland. The provinces could not effectively use regimental warfare in the dense forests and brush of the frontier and relied on local militias for the protection of the settlement. These militia were comprised of landholding men on the frontier. But warfare wasn't restricted to just the men. Children were sometimes used for defensive purposes and sharpshooting if they had skill and even women were sometimes forced to pick up a rifle if needed.⁴⁰⁷

⁴⁰⁶ McGee, Thomas D'Arcy. *A History of the Irish Settlers in America, from the Earliest Period*. Dublin: J. Mullany, 1870.

⁴⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

Some colonies, such as Pennsylvania, further aggravated the tumultuous frontier position. Through inaction and unwillingness to provide for the safety of the province, the fires of impatience and anger burned white hot. Benjamin Franklin wrote in awe of the inertia of the Quaker Assembly and its refusal to pass a militia law and to make other provisions. When public pressure was pressed to them, they enacted “a variety of evasions to avoid complying, and modes of disguising the compliance when it became unavoidable.”⁴⁰⁸ This meant that when they were finally forced to fund the militia or provide for munitions, they tried to mask the action because it was in direct opposition to their religious beliefs.

The Quaker colony believed that it had always had peaceful relations with the native tribes and suffered few, if any hostilities pending the French and Indian war in 1754. Some reasons for this peace weren't necessarily a veneration of the Quakers, but more likely the facts that inter-tribal warfare had decimated the Pennsylvania tribes so completely that they had no choice and wished no further humiliations of defeat. They had submitted to the powerful Iroquois and were directed by them in many affairs.⁴⁰⁹

One letter to the Pennsylvania Provincial Secretary by Reverend Thomas Barton, an Irish clergyman, on August 22, 1756, described the abdominal actions of a raiding party that ambushed a funeral and killed many of the attendees. But the most shocking part of the account recalled:

“...on Friday last, at a Place call'd Salisbury Plains, as a Number of People were accompanying the Corps of a young woman to her grave,...they were fir'd upon by a Party of Indians, who kill'd five the first fire, upon which

⁴⁰⁸ Franklin, Benjamin. *The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin: 1706-1757*. Auckland: The Floating Press, 2009; 2008.

⁴⁰⁹ Egle, William Henry. *History of the Counties of Dauphin and Lebanon: In the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania; Biographical and Genealogical*. Philadelphia: Everts & Peck, 1883.

they dispers'd and fled...And what is unparallel'd by any Instance of Brutality, they even open'd the Coffin, took out the Corpse, and scalp'd her."⁴¹⁰

Such accounts were understood and sympathized with by the secretary, but the bureaucratic conflict between him and the Assembly left the colony in a state of inaction. This episode occurred at the end of the French and Indian war when the Shawnees had begun to settler in the region. There was no mention of tribal affiliation of this raiding party, but motives for such incidents were driven by opportunity, and directives from European alliances, at times. These raids and massacres in keeping with this event were extremely commonplace in Carlisle and Cumberland County at the time. Barton wrote in correspondence:

“.. within three miles of Patterson's Fort was found Adam Nicolson and his wife, dead & scalp'd; ... William Wilcock & his wife, dead & scapl'd; Hugh Micheltree, & a Son of s Nicolson, dead & scalp'd, with many Children, in all about 17 ... one Sherridan, a Quaker, his wife, three Children & a Servant, were kill'd & scapl'd, together with one Wm. Hamilton, & his Wife, his Daughter, & one French”.⁴¹¹

Barton felt that such occurrences were commonplace and noted that he felt they were so easily slaughtered because of their lack of resources. He wrote, “Not a Man in Ten is able to purchase a Gun. – Not a House in Twenty has a Door with either Lock or Bolt to it. So that a very small number of Indians might totally destroy the whole Inhabitants (in their present Circumstances) without the least Opposition.”⁴¹² He also remarked that such conditions had

⁴¹⁰ Barton, Thomas. “A Thomas Barton Letter - Collections.lancasterhistory.org.” A Thomas Barton Letter. Lancaster County Historical Society. Accessed June 19, 2022. https://collections.lancasterhistory.org/media/library/docs/vol10no5pp162_168_183317.pdf.

⁴¹¹ Barton, William. *Memoirs of the Life of David Rittenhouse*. Philadelphia: N. P., 1813. 431.

⁴¹² *Ibid.*

contributed to the militancy of the local population. He noted, “Tho’ my Churches are Churches militant indeed, yet I have the pleasure every Sunday (even in the worse of Times) to see my people crowding with their Muskets on their Shoulders; declaring that they will dye Protestants and Freedmen sooner than live idolaters and Slaves.”⁴¹³

Magistrates in York County were so abhorred by the inaction of the Provincial government that they applied their own pressure through the following dispatches:

“We believe there are Men enough willing to bear Arms & go out against the Enemy, were they supplied with Arms, Ammunition, & a reasonable Allowance for their Time, but without this, at least Arms, and Ammunition, we fear little to purpose can be done.

If some Measures are not speedily fallen upon, we must either sit at home till we are butcher’d without Mercy, or Resistance, run away, or go out a confused Multitude destitute of Arms & Ammunition & without Discipline or proper Officers or any way fixed to be supplied with Provisions.”⁴¹⁴

Robert Hunter Morris, who was then the Governor of the Province, understood the precarious plight on the frontiers, and sympathized with their plight but was hindered in his action by the Assembly. In a letter to the Governor of Massachusetts on August 27, 1756, he explained, “I am unfortunately linked with a set of men that seem lost to a sense of duty to their Country, or decency to their Superiors, who will oppose whatever I recommend, however beneficial to the public.”⁴¹⁵ The Assembly constantly opposed any recommendation of militia formation and instead argued that an effort should be made to treaty with the natives and address their grievances. They truly believed that these measures would induce them to change

⁴¹³ Barton, William. *Memoirs of the Life of David Rittenhouse*. Philadelphia: N. P., 1813.

⁴¹⁴ Letter from the Magistrates of York County, to the Govr. “York Saturday 11 o’clock, P.M., 1st Novr. 1755.

⁴¹⁵ “Extract of a *Letter* from the Lieutenant *Governor* of Pennsylvania to Mr. Penn” [dated 1754], Penn Manuscripts, Indian Affairs 1754-1756, II, 20. Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

allegiances from the French to British, but their calculations were quite wrong. Adding insult to injury, while the Assembly refused to provide provisions and protection for their province, they continued to tax their subjects. Unsurprisingly, many citizens took Umbridge to this, including the Governor.⁴¹⁶

Eventually, the Penn family made a monetary contribution to the Province in place of taxes, some of which was used to erect forts along the frontier boundaries, where settlers under attack could seek protection when hostilities were imminent.⁴¹⁷ The issue of an organized military force for the control resistance of Native American incursions was still an issue, and so Pennsylvania adopted the policy of scalp bounties (this was already in place in New England) to induce independent frontiersmen to assist in the culling of the frontier. On April 9, 1756, the government announced the rates as follows:

“For every Male Indian prisoner above ten years old, that shall be delivered at any of the Government’s Forts, or Towns \$150

For every Female Indian Prisoner or Male Prisoner of Ten years old and under, delivered as above \$130

For the Scalp of every Male Indian of above Ten years old \$130

For the Scalp of every Indian woman \$50”⁴¹⁸

⁴¹⁶ "Extract of a *Letter* from the Lieutenant *Governor* of Pennsylvania to Mr. Penn" [dated 1754], Penn Manuscripts, Indian Affairs 1754-1756, II, 20. Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

⁴¹⁷ Ford, Henry Jones. *The Scotch-Irish in America*. Reprinted for Clearfield Company, Inc. by Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 2000. Chp 10

⁴¹⁸ *Several Conferences between some of the Principal People Amongst the Quakers in Pennsylvania and the Deputies from the Six Indian Nations in Alliance with Britain : In Order to Reclaim their Brethren the Delaware Indians from their Defection, and Put a Stop to their Barbarities and Hostilities : To which is Prefix'd (as Introductory to the Said Conferences) Two Addresses from the Said Quakers : One to the Lieutenant-Governor, and the Other to the General-Assembly of the Province of Pennsylvania*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Printed by I. Thompson, 1756.

While the provincial government found it necessary to employ savage methods of warfare on the frontier, the more embarrassing aspect of the issue was that it conflicted with their beliefs in pacifism, while also adopting methods of purported “savages”. With the addition of mercenary violence, the cycle of violence on the frontier against Irish settlers was perpetuated for generations. The natives would sometimes ambush isolate homesteads during the night while they were asleep or while they were working in the fields and would take the scalps. If the homesteaders fled to the fort, it was only a small amount of time before they were forced to go back to their homesteads or risk losing everything and a state of destitution would ensue. Small militia groups sometimes avenged these attacks, taking scalps of their own for monetary gain, and sometimes for show.

Meanwhile in the Carolinas, when issues of violence arose on the part of the Native Americans, King Haigler would discipline his people for their crimes and expected the European settlers to do the same. This was a mutual alliance and respect for sovereign government on both parts, American and European. Collaboration and a sense of community existed uniquely in the Camden area in the 18th century. When a Dutch family was murdered and their homestead ransacked, the local tribes were so offended that they sent a party to find the culprits and bring retribution.⁴¹⁹

When white settlers harmed the Natives, it was also a matter of great concern as noted in the letter to the Lieutenant-Governor of South Carolina from Mr. Joseph Kershaw. It read that “at Cambden informing him that the Catawba Indians had lately been interrupted in their Hunting by some of the back settlers, which had given them great uneasiness, and that some

⁴¹⁹ O'Toole, Fintan. *White Savage: William Johnson and The Invention of America*. Albany: Excelsior Editions - State University of New York Press, 2009. 241. 53-55.

persons, about six weeks ago had come to their camp*, destroyed their skins and beat them severe, which usage could not fail to inflame their minds.”⁴²⁰ These issues were a constant plague in the backcountry, and often led to a straining of ties. Yet, these examples show that there were also great instances where the communal relationship that the Natives and the settlers shared in this area was symbiotic and productive. This allowed for the settlers to learn certain skills, language, and other information from their Native American counterparts, and vice versa. This would be helpful in the coming frontier conflicts.

Governor Dobbs was perturbed by the mounting hostilities and ordered a fort for protection to be built just to the west of the town of Salisbury.⁴²¹ The fort was three-stories high and was completed by January 1757. A company of 46 soldiers was garrisoned there to deter the Cherokees from attacks on the settlements.⁴²²

With the garrison at Fort Dobbs and the diplomatic efforts of local Indian agents and colonial leaders, militiamen began to return to their homes on the frontier. In November of 1758, only 2 members remained at the fort. But this de-escalation of military force resulted in a resumption of attack on settlements by the Cherokees.⁴²³

On February 27, 1760, an estimated number of 70 Cherokee warriors attacked the commanding officer, Captain Waddell and his contingent of 46 soldiers at Fort Dobbs. Captain

⁴²⁰ Kirkland, Thomas J., and Robert MacMillan Kennedy. *Historic Camden*. 1. Vol. 1. 2 vols. Salem, MA: Higginson Book Co., 1905. 58.

⁴²¹ Ramsey, Robert Wayne. *Carolina Cradle: Settlement of the Northwest Carolina Frontier, 1747-1762*. Chapel Hill, 1964.

⁴²² Hoefling, Larry J. *Scots and Scotch Irish: Frontier Life in North Carolina, Virginia, and Kentucky*. Oklahoma: Inlandia, 2009. 43.

⁴²³ *Ibid.*

Waddell later accounted that despite the superiority in number of the Cherokee, only 2 of his men had been wounded and 1 was killed. Waddell further accounted the Cherokee had lost between an estimated 10 and 12 men, with an unknown number of wounded.⁴²⁴ This episode highlights the critical need for forts and enforcement on the western frontiers during the French and Indian war especially. The attack on the fort led to a response from the colonial militias, who responded with a vengeance.⁴²⁵

The issues that spurred such measures occurred in the aftermath of the French and Indian war, and when the French had been removed as a competitor for Native American alliances. The British took a different approach to their relationships not only with their own Native allies, but with the newly acquired Native allies who had been aligned with the French. General Jeffrey Amherst, who became the Commander of British forces in North America, deemed it unnecessary to continue such symbolic and ceremonious gestures as gift giving and meetings with which diplomats like William Johnson had excelled and built firm foundations with their allies. As a result, tensions between Native allies and the British were high.

One area where these tensions boiled over was in the Carolinas, where the Cherokee were displeased with continuing attacks upon tribal members by European settlers, encroachment upon Cherokee lands and political betrayal. The resulting fallout was that the Cherokee retaliated with violence upon some frontier settlements from 1759-1761. This conflict became known as

⁴²⁴ Waddell, Alfred Moore. *A Colonial Officer and His Times, 1754-1773: A Biographical Sketch of Gen. Hugh Waddell*. Spartanburg, 1973.

⁴²⁵ *Ibid*, 54.

the Cherokee War. The instability of the frontier region at this time resulted in British troops and military in the region engaging and subduing the tribe.⁴²⁶

Another issue that led to the ensuing violence occurred at the end of 1758 in Virginia when the Cherokee warriors were returning to their homes following the defeat of the French. At that time, the settlers on the frontier attacked and killed several of the Cherokee warriors.⁴²⁷ This prompted retaliatory attacks in the Spring of 1759, when Cherokees attacked settlements in North Carolina, and continued to attack settlements throughout the South.⁴²⁸ These hostilities and the resulting conflicts are referenced as the Cherokee War (1759-1761).

The conflict snowballed as militiamen in Fort Prince George, South Carolina abused local Cherokee women in the area, to which the Cherokee answered with further attacks upon South Carolina settlements. South Carolina Governor William Lyttleton attempted to broker a treaty in Charleston on December 22, 1759, where he treated with Cherokee headmen Oconostota and Osteneco, along with almost thirteen hundred warriors. The Cherokee headmen remained hostage at Fort Prince George pending the surrender of several accused murders from the Cherokee. This act increased hostile attitudes and resentment among the Cherokee.

However, this treaty did not ensure peace, and hostilities still occurred. On February 1, 1760, Cherokee warriors attacked a group of refugees around Long Cane Creek. About two

⁴²⁶ Klink, Karl, and James Talman, ed. *The Journal of Major John Norton*. Toronto: Champlain Society, 1970. 62.

⁴²⁷ Affidavits of Virginia Citizens, S. C. I. A. 6, 153-162.

⁴²⁸ Corkran, David H. *The Cherokee Frontier: Conflict and Survival, 1740-1762*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962.

weeks later, one of the Cherokee headmen, Onostota (who had signed the treaty and had been a hostage at Fort Prince George), used intelligence that he had monitored during his time at the fort and set an ambush for the commander, Lieutenant Richard Cotymore (who was accused of entering the one Cherokee household along with another man, and accosting the women there). Onostota cunningly lured the commander and garrison from the fort and attacked them. The commander was killed and in retaliation, the Fort Prince George Garrison executed the remaining Cherokee hostages at the fort.⁴²⁹

Governor Lyttleton realized that the situation was incendiary, and called for the British troops in North America to assist the war. Upon his return to England, Lieutenant Governor William Bull Jr. was left to manage the Cherokee war. Shortly thereafter, around sixteen hundred British soldiers under the command of Colonel Archibald Montgomery arrived in South Carolina in April 1760, where they defeated and subdued the Cherokee.

To debilitate the Cherokee's ability to make war, Montgomery had the Cherokee village of Estatoe and other towns lower in South Carolina burned. He then arranged for the garrison at Fort Prince George to be relieved. However, Montgomery's provisions for debilitation of the Cherokee were not entirely effective, as the Cherokee continued to make war in the South Carolina upcountry. Eventually they held Fort Loudoun on the French Broad River under siege.

The commander of the fort, Captain Paul Demere held up under siege to the best of his ability in a hopeless condition. His men were reduced to rodents, mules, among other things.

⁴²⁹ Hatley, M. Thomas. *The Dividing Paths: Cherokees and South Carolinians through the Era of Revolution*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.

Some of his men (William Shorey, Chas. McLemore and John Watts, among others) had married Cherokee women, who risked their own lives to smuggle supplies to their husbands. These women were often threatened by Willenawah “Great Eagle”, who was the besieger of the fort and nephew of Old Hop. The women cleverly threatened that their relations would seek revenge upon Willenawah should the women be killed. This brave standoff of the Cherokee women in the face of possible execution, illuminates the unique relationship of frontier inter-marriage between the Cherokee and Irish and Scots Irish settlers.

In 1760, Governor William Bull of South Carolina sent a force of regulars against a Cherokee force in order to relieve attacks on Fort Loudon in Tennessee. The mission failed and the Cherokees took retributive vengeance upon the troops and their entourage in response for an earlier slaying of hostage of Keowee. Captain John Stuart, a militia captain and the Superintendent of Indian Affairs in the South, was married to a half-Cherokee daughter of an old and beloved Cherokee trader named Ludovic Grant, arrived at the fort to arrange terms of surrender to Willenawah. Oconostota, who commanded the Cherokee offered the garrison of the fort safe passage to Fort Prince George on August 8, 1760.

However, once the garrison left the fort, they were summarily attacked, and the commander of the fort, Captain Paul Demere, along with twenty three others were killed. Stuart escaped but Captain Demere was wounded by gunshot, then scalped while he was still alive. Torture continued as his body parts were amputated until he died. His mouth had been stuffed

with dirt and the Cherokee warriors were said to have taunted him by saying, “The English want land, we will give it to you.”⁴³⁰

An eyewitness reported to the *South Carolina Gazette* of October 27, 1760, that:

“On the morning of October 10th, just after beat of reveille, the garrison being ready to march, two guns were suddenly fired at Captain Demere, who fell. Lieut. James Adamson, standing beside him, instantly returned the fire and brought down an Indian. In a moment the war-whoop rose, and a shower of bullets and arrows from 700 warriors fell upon the garrison. All officers except Stewart were killed, also thirty privates and three women. Stephens (the writer of the account) was wounded in the side with an arrow. He states that the prisoners were horribly tortured. He, having a Cherokee wife and children, was spared and allowed to be ransomed. Captain Stewart, ancestor of the Beaufort family, was released through the personal friendship of their Atakullkulla.”⁴³¹

The number of troops killed directly matched the number of Cherokee hostages killed at Fort Prince George. Additionally, the troops and civilians who were not killed in the attack were held captive. This action led Governor Bull to order an expedition to subdue the Cherokee, and he also arranged for a ransom of the hostages.

From May through June 1761, a Scotsman named Colonel James Grant led an expedition with over 2400 soldiers against the Cherokee. Colonel Grant requested that Rogers Rangers accompany him, as they had earned a reputation as effective Indian fighters in previous conflicts. The expeditionary unit was responsible for the defeat of the Cherokee and for the destruction of their supplies, crops, and towns. Grant’s troops were responsible for the destruction of more than

⁴³⁰ Timberlake, Henry. *Lieut. Henry Timberlake's Memoirs, 1756–1765*. Annotation, introduction, and index by Samuel Cole Williams. Marietta, Ga.: Continental Book Company, 1948.

⁴³¹ Kirkland, Thomas J., and Robert MacMillan Kennedy. *Historic Camden*. 1. Vol. 1. 2 vols. Salem, MA: Higginson Book Co., 1905. 64-65.

15 towns and over fifteen thousand acres of crops by July 1761. These actions not only crippled the Cherokee ability to make war, but it also made it difficult for them to survive.⁴³²

As a result, the Cherokee signed a treaty at Charleston on September 23, 1761.⁴³³ Both the Cherokees and the English agreed to exchange hostages, and a Cherokee headman named Little Carpenter was named emperor of the Cherokee. Little Carpenter's pro-British allegiance provided that the remaining French in the Cherokee territory were to be expelled.⁴³⁴

By July, with the Cherokees defeated, a treaty was signed in Charleston on September 23, 1761. By these treaty terms, both Cherokees and colonists agreed to exchange captives. Little Carpenter, a pro-English headman, was named emperor of the Cherokees, and all Frenchmen in Cherokee territory were to be expelled. Finally, a dividing line was established that separated the Cherokees from South Carolina lands. In the division, the lower towns lost much of their hunting lands to Carolina settlers. James Adair, an Indian trader and sympathizer, noted in 1775 that after the war the Cherokee population had been reduced to 2,300 warriors or about 6,900 in number.⁴³⁵

⁴³² Alden, John Richard. *John Stuart and the Southern Colonial Frontier: A Study of Indian Relations, War, Trade, and Land Problems in the Southern Wilderness, 1754–1775*. 1944. Reprint, New York: Gordian, 1966.

⁴³³ Grant, James. Col. James Grant's Journal. *British Colonial Papers*. Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville.

⁴³⁴ Oliphant, John. *Peace and War on the Anglo-Cherokee Frontier, 1756–1763*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2001.

⁴³⁵ Adair, James. *The History of the American Indians : Particularly Those Nations Adjoining to the Mississippi, East and West Florida, Georgia, South and North Carolina, and Virginia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

The most contentious periods between white settlers and the Natives occurred during the French and Indian War in the early part of the 1760s and in the early days of the Revolution when Natives were obliged by alliances with the European powers to make war upon the settlements. These raids were responded to with decimation of native American villages. One of the most vicious retributive expeditions was commanded by General Griffith Rutherford, himself an Ulsterman, accompanied by other Scots Irish soldiers and even a clergyman, traveled to the Blue Ridge Mountains to exact vengeance and remove the threat of future Indian attacks.⁴³⁶

The story of the Irish in America is often overlooked in terms of the contributions that they made in building America. Both the Irish and the Scots Irish were instrumental in settling the frontier borderlands and carving out new paths to European-style civilization. While socio-economic issues, prejudices, and other factors were to blame for pushing them to settlement in the frontier, the hearty stock that they were came from made the most out of their lot. Due to their proximity to Native Americans and the manner of their homesteading (they employed a slash and burn land clearance, and preferred homesteads that were isolated), many of the tribes found their encroachment and altering of the landscape to be threatening. The continuing geopolitical realignment of the Western frontier and seizure of Native American ancestral lands became a continued sticking point in Anglo-Native American relations. The breakdown of diplomacy on both sides, and the inevitable violence on the frontier that followed, birthed a cycle of violence that would continue for over one hundred years.

⁴³⁶ Blethen, Tyler, and Curtis Wood. *From Ulster to Carolina: The Migration of the Scotch-Irish to Southwestern North Carolina*. Raleigh, NC: North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, Office of Archives and History, 2013. 49.

Chapter 4: Aftermath of the French and Indian War, Pontiac's War, Frontier Grievances, the Paxton Boys and Duplicitous Incitement by Imperial Powers

The Irish and Scots Irish on the frontiers were exposed to hostilities and conditions that lawmakers and governments of their provinces were not. The trepidation, fears, and horrors experienced by frontiersmen and their families were conveyed through representatives and petitions to colonial leadership, but bureaucracy slowed (and in some cases ignored) the government redress to such issues. There were other facets that influenced government action, or lack thereof, in cases of frontier violence upon settlers. One of those was that the Irish and Scots Irish were thought of as pests to some, and their removal through any means saved the Government many headaches. Another reason involved the religious policies of Assembly leaders of certain religions. These representatives were against violence against Native Americans due to their religious adherences. Whatever the reason for limited protections and frontiersmen and government apathy, the previous events that took place during the Indian Wars and the French and Indian War, seeds of distrust were sowed between British colonial governance and the Irish settlers, as well as Native American populations on the frontier. It also necessitated a role of action for Irish frontiersmen in the form of Indian fighters.

As previously discussed, law enforcement was non-existent in many parts of the backcountry and the courts that did exist were faced with many challenges. The courts tended to be made up of prominent citizens, but their judgements were only good so far as they were enforced by the community. Backcountry courts punished property crimes most severely, but ironically were somewhat lenient towards crimes that involved personal violence.⁴³⁷ This may

⁴³⁷ Fischer, David Hackett. *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America*. New York: Oxford University Press, Incorporated, 1989. 768.

have stemmed from a desensitization towards a culture of violence that they had lived with in Ireland and the violence that they faced on the frontiers. Fischer asserted that “this system of order created a climate of violence in the American backcountry which remained part of the culture of that region to our own time.”⁴³⁸

In the absence of direct British Rule there was extensive political improvisation in the backcountry settlements.⁴³⁹ Charles Lee discussed in detail, the induction of “macocracy”, or “rule by the race of the Macs.”⁴⁴⁰ This form of political rule was a structure of intimate person politics without deference to social rank. In a way, this form of political rule helped form many of the democratic ideas that would lead to the American Revolution and the founding of the Early American Republic. The British were displeased and Governor’s such as Willaim Byrd with the familiar way in which the backcountry people regarded everyone regardless of their rank and title.⁴⁴¹ Another hallmark of macocracy was that it reflected personal influences and strong personal leadership.⁴⁴² In other words, merit played a role in who ruled the community and how they implemented law and order.

Those who conducted law and justice enforcement in these areas also had to walk a fine line. Without troops to fortify authority, the mob or the majority ruled. For instance, in 1767 in South Carolina, several gentlemen justices attempted to try a group of “banditti” before the court,

⁴³⁸ Fischer, David Hackett. *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America*. New York: Oxford University Press, Incorporated, 1989. 769.

⁴³⁹ *Ibid*, 773.

⁴⁴⁰ Bridenbaugh, Carl. *Myths and Realities: Societies of the Colonial South*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1981. 132.

⁴⁴¹ Fischer, David Hackett. *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America*. New York: Oxford University Press, Incorporated, 1989. 772.

⁴⁴² *Ibid*, 773.

however, the magistrates were arrested and tried before a kangaroo court by the intended defendants. One of the poor justices was dragged from a horses' tail for 80 miles.⁴⁴³

These actions were possible because of the natural liberty that these backcountry settlers afforded themselves. One visitor to the backcountry noted that the Scots Irish shunned “everything which appears to demand of them law and order, and anything that preaches constraints, They hate the name of a justice, and yet they are not transgressors. Their object is merely wild. Altogether, natural freedom...is what pleases them.”⁴⁴⁴ This was a byproduct of border hostilities and natural wishes.

Every colony in early America had its own Indian wars, and they kept settlers in newly cleared lands on constant watch. One historian noted that these Indian wars were “the constant schools of the future soldiers of the Revolution”.⁴⁴⁵ The first-hand experience that the settlers gained in fighting skirmishes and repelling attacks and raiding parties taught them the unique manner of Native American warfare, how to employ and repel it.

Despite these pervasive attacks, wars, and boundary conflicts, there were also instances of peaceful interactions between settlers and the Native Americans⁴⁴⁶. Many of the settlers were able to learn valuable planting methods, language, hunting and fighting techniques from their

⁴⁴³ *South Carolina Gazette*, 19 Oct. 1767.

⁴⁴⁴ Schoepf, J. D. *Travels in the Confederation, 1783-1784*. II. Vol. II, 1822. 238-9.

⁴⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴⁶ Lee, Wayne E. "Peace Chiefs and Blood Revenge: Patterns of Restraint in Native American Warfare, 1500-1800." *The Journal of Military History* 71, no. 3 (07, 2007): 701-41. This article provides a perspective of the Native Americans regarding frontier settlement and conflict, as well as responses to perceived or intentional acts of warfare. The slash and burn manner of homesteading that the Europeans such as the Scots Irish and Irish employed on the frontiers was an affront to the native populations and they felt the need to eradicate the threat. Hunting grounds and displacement of game was also a point of contention.

Indian allies⁴⁴⁷. Some settlers, such as William Johnson, adopted the Indian lifestyle, as well as tactics of warfare, and employed them for the defense of their homesteads, as well as the expansion of the western frontier, and war with enemy nations⁴⁴⁸. Many local government officials felt that the Irish were born for the guerilla warfare in which they found themselves, due to their contentious history of warfare with England and with warring clans⁴⁴⁹. But it is also clear that many of the government officials did not much care what the fate of the Irish were because they were plagues themselves and with any luck the Indians and the Irish would annihilate each other, solving the problem for other ethnic groups wishing to settle the region⁴⁵⁰.

In the aftermath of the French and Indian war, there were still issues on the frontier, and especially with Native Americans, that remained unsettled. When Johnson was alive, he was able to maintain open diplomatic relations and political dominance, but with his passing, the peaceful cohesion that he had worked so hard to maintain began to crumble. As hostilities boiled to the surface, frontier vigilantes were angered by the raids that had continued after the French and Indian War, and were carried out independently through what some settlers regarded as Pontiac's Uprising. This rebellion was an attempt to eradicate white settlement and return to traditional Native American ways. This effort resulted in an eruption of frontier violence against all British

⁴⁴⁷ Cohen, Kenneth. "A Mutually Comprehensible World? Native Americans, Europeans, and Play in Eighteenth-Century America." *American Indian Quarterly* 26, no. 1 (Winter, 2002): 67-93.

⁴⁴⁸ O'Toole, Fintan. *White Savage: William Johnson and the Invention of America* 1st American ed. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2005.

⁴⁴⁹ Kennedy, Billy. *Heroes of the Scots Irish In America*. Greenville: Emerald House Group, Inc, 2000. 24.

⁴⁵⁰ Winthrop, John. "Letter from Thomas Lechmere". Winthrop Papers. Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1992.

settlements throughout the Eastern frontier. The brutality of such concentrated efforts created a climate of terror.⁴⁵¹

A Choctaw tribal leader named Alibamo Mingo, spoke of his impressions on the effects of White civilization on the North American continent, and what he believed the future for his land and his people looked like. These reflections came on the heels of the Seven Years War which polarized many Native American communities. The French were defeated, and with their departure from colonial affairs in the sense of tribal alliances, the Native Americans were forced to examine a new political position with the British, especially in Mingo's backyard of what is today known as Mississippi.

Chief Mingo's recollections focused on the entrance of the White settlers to the frontiers and how symbiotic relationships had proved beneficial in the past, and could remain so in the future. He said:

“When I was Young the White Men came amongst us bearing abundance along with them, I took them by the hand & have ever remained firm to my Engagements, in return all my wants & those of my Warriors & Wives & Children have been Bountifully Supplied. I now See another Race of White Men Come amongst us bearing the Same abundance, & I expect they will be equally Bountiful which must be done if they wish equally to gain the affection of my people”⁴⁵²

⁴⁵¹ Silver, Peter. *Our Savage Neighbors: How Indian War Transformed Early America*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2008.

⁴⁵² Rowland, Dunbar, ed. *Mississippi Provincial Archives: 1763-1766, English Dominion, Letters and Enclosures to the Secretary of State from Major Robert Farmar and Governor George Johnstone, Volume I*. Nashville, TN: 1911. 240-241.

This assessment indicated that the previous White settlers who held alliances with the tribal community had set a precedent for how the leadership and people were to be respected, and how the results of those relationships had brought progress and prosperity to the tribes. He remarked, “I and my Men have used the Guns of France these Eighty Winters Back, I wish I was Young to try the English Guns & English Powder both of which I hope will flourish & rejoice the Heart of the Hunters thro’ the Land and Cover the Nakedness of the Women”.⁴⁵³ From these sentiments, it is evident that this particular tribal leader felt that the clothing and weaponry that were introduced by western powers were indisputably valuable to the natives.

But the price which they paid over land disputes appeared to have been a much stickier topic. Mingo recalled,

“With respect to the Land I was not Consulted in it, if I was to deliver my Sentiments evil disposed People might impute it to Motives very different from those which actuate me, it is true the Land belonged chiefly to those who have given it away; that the Words which were Spoken have been written with a Lasting Mark, the Superintendent marks every word after word as one would count Bullets so that no variation can happen, & therefore the words have been Spoken and the eternal marks traced I will not Say anything to contradict, but, on the Contrary Confirm the Cession which has been made. What I have now to Say on that head is, to wish that all the Land may be Settled in four years that I may See it myself before I die.”⁴⁵⁴

It is clear that a cultural difference with regards to treaties was one of the great issues in the disputes over lands. The Native Americans had long existed in treaty with other tribes on the continent through verbal agreements and deeds. But the introduction of written contracts

⁴⁵³ Rowland, Dunbar, ed. *Mississippi Provincial Archives: 1763-1766, English Dominion, Letters and Enclosures to the Secretary of State from Major Robert Farmar and Governor George Johnstone, Volume I*. Nashville, TN: 1911. 240-241.

⁴⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

concerning the ceding of land and hunting rights was something disagreeable to the honor-based societies of Native Americans. The idea that “eternal marks” recorded the treaties according to European interpretations of the treaty, made several tribal leaders uneasy and distrustful. The fact that the marks were considered permanent, also troubled Mingo in particular.

The relationship of Mingo and his belief in the progress of the White settlers as a path forward for his people made him unpopular with other leaders and with some of his own people. The yoke of paternalism about his neck from the Europeans also weighed heavily on his heart because the Europeans had attached a sort of badge of honor to tribal leaders when they bestowed medals upon them. The fact that they would take them away from Native leaders at their will for perceived misbehavior, much the way that a naughty child was corrected, is a classic example of imperial paternalism. The Native leaders were a means to obtain allegiance, and maintain order and compliance among local tribes so that the relationship could be exploited for the benefit of the empire.⁴⁵⁵

Mingo was not blind to the implications and said,

“I Listened to all the parts of the Talks and Liked them exceeding well, except that part from the Superintendent, where he reported that those Medal Chiefs who did not behave well Should be broke & their Medals given to others. The Conversation I have held with Faver, in private, has rung every Night in my Ear, as I laid my Head on the bear Skin & as I have many Enemies in the Nation, I dreamed I should be the Person, which would break my heart in my Old Age, to Loose the Authority I have so long held.”⁴⁵⁶

⁴⁵⁵ Rowland, Dunbar, ed. *Mississippi Provincial Archives: 1763-1766, English Dominion, Letters and Enclosures to the Secretary of State from Major Robert Farmar and Governor George Johnstone, Volume I*. Nashville, TN: 1911. 240-241.

⁴⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

The loss of a position of authority that had been held since before western interference was so concerning to Mingo that it kept him awake at night and shrouded his trust in the white settlers. Yet for the sake of progress for his people and for the return of peace, he wanted to believe in the good of the Europeans. He said,

“I cannot imagine the Great King could send the Superintendent to deceive us. In case we deliver up our French Medals & Commissions we expect to receive as good in their place, and that we Should bear the Same Authority & be entitled to the Same presents, If you wish to Serve your Old Friends you may give New Medals & Commissions & presents, but the worthy cannot bear to be disgraced without a fault, Neither will the Generous Inflict a Punishment without a Crime.”⁴⁵⁷

While Mingo had no qualms with his treatment thus far by the Europeans, he did have concerns that with the English in control of his territory that there might be issues with the treatment of many of his people, especially of the women who encountered frontiersmen. At many times the men who settled the frontier were uncivilized in their treatment of the natives, and Mingo discussed the many stories that had traveled from the English colonies and reflected the treatment of tribes like the Cherokee and the Creeks at the hands of settlers under English jurisdiction. He said:

“wherever the English went they caused disturbances for they lived under no Government and paid no respect either to Wisdom or Station. I hoped for better things, that those Old Talks had no truth in them. One thing I must report which has happened within my own knowledge, that often when the Traders sent for a Basket of Bread & the Generous Indian sent his own wife to Supply their wants instead of taking the Bread out

⁴⁵⁷ Rowland, Dunbar, ed. *Mississippi Provincial Archives: 1763-1766, English Dominion, Letters and Enclosures to the Secretary of State from Major Robert Farmar and Governor George Johnstone, Volume I*. Nashville, TN: 1911. 240-241.

of the Basket they put their hand upon the Breast of their Wives which was not to be admitted, for the first maxim in our Language is that Death is preferable to disgrace.”⁴⁵⁸

It is evident that the molestation of Native Americans at the hands of frontiersmen was common enough throughout the colonies to warrant the concern of chiefs up and down the eastern seaboard. These abuses garnered the ire and exhausted the patience of tribal societies that were honor driven and were quick to revenge injustices. Such examples as this demonstrate the tensions between the Native Americans and European powers on the North American continent.

Lastly in his reflections, Mingo did not insist that the British leave, but that they would address the issue. He truly believed that whites and Native Americans could live together in harmony and mutual beneficence. He noted,

“I am not of opinion that in giving Land to the English, we deprive ourselves of the use of it, on the Contrary, I think we shall share it with them, as for Example the House I now Speak in was built by the White people on our Land yet it is divided between the White & the Red people. Therefore we need not be uneasy that the English Settle upon our Lands as by that means they can more easily Supply our wants.”⁴⁵⁹

This last opinion further illuminates the position of the tribal elders in the earnest belief that they could find equal footing with their European counterparts. But the trust in the Superintendent, other agents, and the British empire, proved to be too blind. The management of the empire was first concerned with land and material acquisition. The British and the Native

⁴⁵⁸Rowland, Dunbar, ed. *Mississippi Provincial Archives: 1763-1766, English Dominion, Letters and Enclosures to the Secretary of State from Major Robert Farmar and Governor George Johnstone, Volume I*. Nashville, TN: 1911. 240-241.

⁴⁵⁹*Ibid.*

American societies were each in alliance for the benefits for their people, but their metrics for measuring honor were at odds.

Fred Anderson's elucidative text *Crucible of War: the Seven Years' War and the fate of empire in British North America, 1754-1766*, accounts for the hostilities between France and England in the North American colonies and pinpoints the end of the conflict in 1766, where the story of the engagements ends, but where the stage was set for further conflict between Britain and her colonies. Anderson asserted that a myriad of blunders by the British in the Seven Years' War and especially at the close of the war, left the colonies in a position vulnerable for conflict with Native Americans and the colonists of British North America.⁴⁶⁰ The infantilization of powerful Native American leaders through the stripping of French medals and diplomatic faux pas discussed by Chief Mingo, align with this assertion.

In 1763, Chief Pontiac, a war chief from the Ottawa tribe called for war on the frontiers, and for a return to the traditional ways of the Native Americans that had preceded the introduction of European powers to the continent. Just as many tribal leaders preferred to sue for peace when unpleasant situations arose, in favor of progress in technology and friendship, Pontiac and other contemporaries were repulsed by disease, lewdness, and corruption of their societies by negative additions as a result of white settlement. He told them, "I do not like that you drink until you lose your reason, as you do; or that you fight with each other; or that you

⁴⁶⁰ Anderson, Fred. *Crucible of War : the Seven Years' War and the Fate of Empire in British North America, 1754-1766*. 1st ed. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2000.

take two wives, or run after the wives of others; you do not well; I hate that. You must have but one wife, and keep her until death.”⁴⁶¹

The driving force for Pontiac’s aspirations for a return to traditional life was the instruction of the Native American prophet Neolin. Pontiac drew on these teachings and used his zealotry to inspire revolt against western powers and their contributions to the North American continent. He said,

“This land, where you live, I have made for you and not for others. How comes it that you suffer the whites on your lands? Can you not do without them? I know that those whom you call the children of your Great Father supply your wants, but if you were not bad, as you are, you would well do without them. You might live wholly as you did before you knew them. Before those whom you call your brothers come on your lands, did you not live by bow and arrow? You had no need of gun nor powder, nor the rest of their things, and nevertheless you caught animals to live and clothe yourselves with their skins, but when I saw that you inclined to the evil, I called back the animals into the depths of the woods, so that you had need of your brothers to have your wants supplied and I shall send back to you the animals to live on. I do not forbid you, for all that, to suffer amongst you the children of your father. I love them, they know me and pray to me, and I give them their necessities and all that they bring to you, but as regards those who have come to trouble your country, drive them out, make war on them. I love them not, they know me not, they are my enemies and the enemies of your brothers. Send them back to the country which I made for them. There let them remain.”⁴⁶²

With these proclamations, Pontiac believed that the land could be cleansed of things that had corrupted the Native Americans and had altered their way of life. All these resentful feelings

⁴⁶¹ *Collections of the Pioneer Society of the State of Michigan together with Reports of County Pioneer Societies, Volume VIII, Second Edition.* Lansing, MI: 1907. 270-271.

⁴⁶² *Ibid.*

were sparked from Native American experiences with frontier settlers. This further demonstrates the complicated nature of two separate cultures converging with one another.

Chief Pontiac of Ottawa's campaign to eradicate European settlement in the Ohio River Valley and Great Lakes in 1763 and the conquest soon expanded into Virginia. Tensions had been fueled between the Algonquian, Iroquois, Muskogean and Sioux over land encroachment on the frontier, trade restrictions, and additional diplomatic conflict. Pontiac's Rebellion, sometimes called Pontiac's Uprising targeted British forts and frontier settlements.⁴⁶³ The conflict lasted two years and resulted in a cessation of land to the Native Americans.⁴⁶⁴ However, peace was not universal and fear and resentment on the frontier between the Native Americans and settlers continued to permeate.

Due to these cycles of violence that never really found resolution, the wars raged on for years while the nearly non-existent government intervention did little to quell them. In 1760, the Ulster Synod sent a collection of monies for the relief of the Irish and Scots Irish Presbyterians on the frontier after hearing of the alarming conditions. Pontiac and a confederacy of warriors set the frontier ablaze with attacks. At one point in 1763, the forts in Shippensburg Pennsylvania were crowded with around 1,384 refugees of the Indian wars, who had lost their homesteads, livestock, and possessions. Their fortunes had been tied up in their homesteads and with no government relief, they became beggars.⁴⁶⁵

⁴⁶³ Dixon, David. *Never Come to Peace Again: Pontiac's Uprising and the Fate of the British Empire in North America*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2013..xiii.

⁴⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶⁵ *Several Conferences between some of the Principal People Amongst the Quakers in Pennsylvania and the Deputies from the Six Indian Nations in Alliance with Britain : In Order to Reclaim their Brethren the Delaware Indians from their Defection, and Put a Stop to their Barbarities and Hostilities : To which is Prefix'd (as Introductory to the Said Conferences) Two Addresses from the Said Quakers : One to the*

A point of contention was that the duplicitous nature of colonial leadership. Following the French and Indian conflict imperialism over all Native tribes, not just the allies, became a dominant force. The natives who had been allied with the French were given terms and medals for behavior. But natives who had been allied with the British were also treated as children to be watched and unspoiled under the umbrella of paternalism. Traders who moved westward into Native American held territories conflicted with local tribes and violence sometimes erupted. Inaction on the part of the government for defense was bad enough, many settlers took issue with the fact that Native Americans were still allowed to reside in or near areas of European settlement. Considering that some of the attacks had come under the guise of friendship initially, there was little trust and increasing hatred towards all natives, friendly or not. Official reports to the General Assembly in October 1763 confirmed that certain tribes in the Western area and on the upper Susquehanna were supplying other tribes with weapons that were used to massacre settlers.⁴⁶⁶

With these charges, it was ordered that the natives of concern, especially in Northampton County be removed for the safety of the residents.⁴⁶⁷ They were ordered to relinquish their lands and renounce any claims to it. Sometimes there was resistance, and in these cases the government used Indian agents and more powerful tribes who had subdued the tribe in question

Lieutenant-Governor, and the Other to the General-Assembly of the Province of Pennsylvania. Newcastle upon Tyne: Printed by I. Thompson, 1756.

⁴⁶⁶ *Several Conferences between some of the Principal People Amongst the Quakers in Pennsylvania and the Deputies from the Six Indian Nations in Alliance with Britain : In Order to Reclaim their Brethren the Delaware Indians from their Defection, and Put a Stop to their Barbarities and Hostilities : To which is Prefix'd (as Introductory to the Said Conferences) Two Addresses from the Said Quakers : One to the Lieutenant-Governor, and the Other to the General-Assembly of the Province of Pennsylvania.* Newcastle upon Tyne: Printed by I. Thompson, 1756.

⁴⁶⁷ Governor John Penn's Address to the Pennsylvania General Assembly. October 15, 1763. *The Penn Papers.* Assembly and Provincial Council of Pennsylvania circa 1681-1765.

to dictate terms of removal to them.⁴⁶⁸ In the initial cases of government Native American removal, the tribes were ordered to be brought further into the colony where they could be watched and controlled. This created another problem, as struggling settlers who had suffered extreme losses watched them receive aid that was desperately needed on the frontier.⁴⁶⁹

Native American removals were not compulsory, however. They required evidence and considerable pressure. In the case of the Conestoga tribe, who were allied with the British, they were not removed until a disastrous attack took place. In the wake of such devastation, tempers flared to such a point that pressure on the governors of the province demanded action at their peril. Frontiersmen began to form mobs and parade through the streets demanding action when their representatives' claims and requests were dismissed.⁴⁷⁰

The frontiersmen on the western frontier of Pennsylvania especially bore the brunt of actions such as Pontiac's Uprising. These hostilities contributed to perpetual cycles of revenge and violence. The frontiersmen felt unprotected and underrepresented in the Eastern portion of the state, where the Assembly met and ignored their pleas for assistance in the form of military support and ammunition. To add insult to the rejection of their grievances, the western frontiersmen believed that the specific members of the Conestoga people were responsible for

⁴⁶⁸ *Several Conferences between some of the Principal People Amongst the Quakers in Pennsylvania and the Deputies from the Six Indian Nations in Alliance with Britain : In Order to Reclaim their Brethren the Delaware Indians from their Defection, and Put a Stop to their Barbarities and Hostilities : To which is Prefix'd (as Introductory to the Said Conferences) Two Addresses from the Said Quakers : One to the Lieutenant-Governor, and the Other to the General-Assembly of the Province of Pennsylvania.* Newcastle upon Tyne: Printed by I. Thompson, 1756.

⁴⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

butchering of innocents on the frontier, and were being harbored by the Pennsylvania government.

Kevin Kenny's monograph on the Paxton Boys asserted that the persecution of the Native Americans was continued in the service of self-interest and expansion of land holdings.⁴⁷¹ While this may have been true in many cases, there are also several journals, letters, and first-hand accounts from settlers in the regions such as James McCullough, who legally purchased their land from the provincial government, and lacked the protection of that government, while they were attacked, butchered, and their own children were kidnapped; many never to be seen again.⁴⁷² While it is clear that many of the frontiersmen had no choice but to expand in the frontier, one might question why the provincial government continued to settle people on the land through land purchases. It appears that the ones truly profiting from the situation were the landholding and governing elites, while the frontier settlers and the Native Americans bore the brunt of expansional conflict.

It was clear by these actions that the frontiersmen were tired of having to fight in the Indian wars with massive loss and suffering, only so that aid and comfort which they needed and desired was enjoyed by those who would not even supply them. Companies of militia were organized for frontier defense and commanders were made of citizenry in leadership positions. One Scots Irish company was led by a Reverend John Elder, a Scots Irish transplant himself.

⁴⁷¹ Kenny, Kevin. *Peaceable Kingdom Lost: The Paxton Boys and the Destruction of William Penn's Holy Experiment*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009. 230-231

⁴⁷² *James MacCullough Journal, 1748-1758*. James McCullough Journal, 1748-1758. Accessed February 20, 2022. <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/fulcrum.p5547t64t>.

There was a belief that the proximity of Native American villages allowed for ambushes and atrocities on the frontier because the war parties would take shelter as “guests” of the resident tribe and slip in and out under obscurity. Reverend John Elder, serving as a Colonel, and having discovered this possibility through reconnaissance scouts that had suggested strange and unfamiliar natives were seen coming and going from the village, dispatched pleas for the Governor John Penn, to take remedial steps to eradicate the threat. He wrote on September 13, 1763, “I suggest to you the propriety of an immediate removal of the Indians from Conestoga and placing a garrison in their room. In case this is done, I pledge myself for the future security of the frontiers.”⁴⁷³

As the Penn family wielded a benevolent hand with the Conestoga tribe, John Penn replied that the “Indians of Conestoga have been represented as innocent, helpless, and dependent upon the Governor for support. The faith of this Government is pledged for their protection. I cannot remove them without adequate cause.”⁴⁷⁴ Thus, atrocities continued to be committed upon Irish settlers in the province, for which the perceived protection of the perpetrators by the very Government that was supposed to be providing defense for its citizens, and yet failing invoked outrage and a decision to act.

The settlement of Paxton, which had a large Scots Irish population continued to be an area of discontent, and on December 31st, an anonymous warning was sent to the Governor:

“Many of the Inhabitants of the Townships of Lebanon, Paxton & Hanover are Voluntarily forming themselves in a Company to March to Philadelphia, with a Design to Kill

⁴⁷³ John Elder to Governor Hamilton. September 13, 1763. Commemorative Biographical Encyclopedia of Dauphin County, Containing Sketches of Representative Citizens, and Many of the Early Scotch-Irish and German Settlers. Chambersburg, Pa.: J. M. Runk & Company, 1896, 24-32.

⁴⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

the Indians that Harbour there.”⁴⁷⁵ This alarming pattern of eradicating Native Americans completely spread like wildfire through the settlements and the Governor meant to act at once to stop the bloodshed. On January 3, 1764, he notified the General Assembly of the what he termed the “cruel Massacre” at the Workhouse and warned them that something must be done because “the part y who perpetrated this outrage do not intend to stop here, but are making great additions to their numbers, and are actually preparing to come down in a large Body and cut off the Indian seated by the Government on the Province Island; and it is difficult to determine how fare they may carry their designs, or where the mischief may end.”⁴⁷⁶

The emergent situation was so concerning to the British government, that General Gage sent a detachment to guard Native American lodgings. They had been placed in barracks in a stronghold complete with artillery. Historian Henry Ford pointed out that the motivation of the frontiersmen was not solely to attack the Indians, because they would have given up when faced with such heavy firepower. The fact that they persisted in their marching through the streets and were undeterred in their march to Philadelphia to protest lackadaisical leadership in the government proved that they were set on a solution to their complaints. They consequently met with the commissioners and peacefully departed after they were heard.⁴⁷⁷

All along the frontier, blitz attacks and atrocities were committed upon settlers at the behest of British commanders, who would in turn continue the practice of paying a bounty on every scalp and would incorporate Native Americans into their Army regiments. This not only set certain tribes on the war path against European settlers, but upon other tribes as well. Yet, Irish and Scots Irish settlers who had lived for generations on the frontier and had incorporated

⁴⁷⁵ “A Narrative of the Late Massacres, [30 January? 1764],” Founders Online, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Franklin/01-11-02-0012>. [Original source: The Papers of Benjamin Franklin, vol. 11, January 1, through December 31, 1764, ed. Leonard W. Labaree. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1967, pp. 42–69.]

⁴⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷⁷ Smith, Matthew. *A Declaration and Remonstrance of the Distressed and Bleeding Frontier Inhabitants of the Province of Pennsylvania: Presented by them to the Honourable the Governor and Assembly of the Province, Shewing the Causes of their Late Discontent and Uneasiness and the Grievances Under which they have Laboured, and which they Humbly Pray to have Redress'd*. Philadelphia: s.n., 1764.

Native American fighting, tracking, and knowledge into their daily lives put their skills to the test against the British and their native allies, proving a ferocious foe.

The duality of British Indian agents created quite a few problems within the colonies. The operations of the agents were to ensure that there was peace, understanding, trade, and allegiance of local Native American tribes to the Crown and its interests. Yet the fact that the main body of government was located across the Atlantic Ocean, and the distance of the colonial governors from the borders, made oversight difficult; and some Indian agents took advantage of this fact to promote their own interests.

There was also the issue that the colonial government was promoting itself and interests in a more nefarious purpose. Frontier settlers had long straddled and crossed the Proclamation Line which stood to separate Native American lands from those of the colony. The conflicts between settlers (who were largely of Irish or Scots Irish lineage) threatened the delicate peace and alliances with local tribes. In some cases, the colonial agents may have encouraged the slaughter and cleansing of the frontiersmen by natives, if not directly through command (as would happen during the Revolution), then by their indifference to the plight of the frontier settlers.

The grievances of the Paxton Boys were submitted in two parts. On February 6th, a declaration of loyalty was written to explain why they had marched into the capital and avoid being charged for rioting. They hoped to avoid prosecution, as the Governor John Penn threatened in a proclamation on the 2nd of January.⁴⁷⁸ The second presentation written by the

⁴⁷⁸ *Proclamation 2 January 1764* (Philadelphia), Archive of Americana, Early American Imprints, Series I: Evans, 1639 – 1800 number 9783, (hereafter Evans).

Paxton Boys detailed the violence and atrocities suffered by settlers on the western frontier.⁴⁷⁹ However, many of the solutions were tabled by the legislature.⁴⁸⁰

Disputes over tax rates of proprietary lands delayed the supply bill for a large amount of money that was to have been used for the defense of settlements on the western frontier. Some supporters of the Paxton Boys believed that this stall tactic was a political tactic to preserve trade with the Native Americans.⁴⁸¹ The Assembly was exceedingly slow in addressing frontier grievances and from January 2nd through September 11th, the western settlements sent more than eighteen petitions to the Assembly. A committee was assigned to address the complaints in May, but did not even gather to meet until September. Furthermore, they delayed the addressing of the issues, pending the October elections.⁴⁸² Around the 17th of February, two representatives for the western counties submitted their grievances to the House and were summarily dismissed without a hearing. David James Dove accused the Quakers in the Assembly as having enriched themselves at the expense of the frontier settlers.⁴⁸³ As the debate over poured over into printed literature, the provincial government polarized opinions on both sides of the debate over the lack of prosecution of the Paxton Boys, and for their severe delay in funding and protecting western settlements. In March, the House passed twenty-six resolutions condemning the delay of the

⁴⁷⁹ Kenny, Kevin. *Peaceable Kingdom Lost: The Paxton Boys and the Destruction of William Penn's Holy Experiment*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009. 161 – 163.

⁴⁸⁰ *Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania*, ed. by Samuel Hazard, 10 vols (Harrisburg; Theo. Fenn & Co., 1852), IX, p. 142 (hereafter MPCP). *Pennsylvania Province, Votes and Proceedings of the House of the Representatives of the House of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia; Franklin and Hall, 1764), Evans 9787, p. 47.

⁴⁸¹ Williamson, Hugh. *The Plain Dealer: Or Remarks Upon Quaker Politics in Pennsylvania Numb III To be Continued*. Philadelphia: [William Dunlap], 1764. Evans 9878, 15.

⁴⁸² *22 Votes and Proceedings*, 104.

⁴⁸³ Dove, David James. *The Quaker Unmask'd; or, Plain Truth*. Philadelphia: Andrew Steuart, 1764. Evans 9646. 13.

supply and militia bills by the provincial executive. These resolutions were ordered to be made public, as the issues at hand were so concerning to the mass citizenry.⁴⁸⁴

The frontiersmen of Pennsylvania were inadequately represented in colonial government, with only a fraction of the representatives assigned to their area (despite their population size of nearly 75,000). Representatives for the frontier settlers petitioned that:

“First We apprehend that as Freeman and English subjects, we have an indisputable title to the same privileges and immunities with his Majesty’s other subjects who reside in the interior counties of Philadelphia, Chester, and Bucks, and, therefore, ought not to be excluded from an equal share with them in the very important privilege of legislation; nevertheless, contrary to the Proprietor’s charter and the acknowledged principles of common justice and equity, our five counties are restrained from electing more than ten Representatives, viz., four for Lancaster, two for York, two for Cumberland, one for Berks, and one for Northampton; while the three counties and City of Philadelphia, Chester, and Bucks, elect twenty-six. This we humbly conceive is oppressive, unequal, and unjust, the cause of many of our grievances, and an infringement of our natural privileges of Freedom and equality; wherefore, we humbly pray that we may be no longer deprived of an equal number with the three aforesaid counties, to represent us in Assembly.”⁴⁸⁵

The representatives that they did have were not consistently representing their interests, and it is clear from some of the statements of certain members of government, that their inaction had an end goal of ethnic cleansing of the land. This attitude is similar to the earlier sentiments of leaders at Plymouth Colony who would not admit the Irish to their settlements but would allow them to settle on the outskirts so that the Indians might attack the Irish instead of the colonists. The sentiment of antipathy for the fate of the Irish continued to be shared throughout other colonies in the New World for generations.

⁴⁸⁴ *Votes and Proceedings*, p. 74.

⁴⁸⁵ The Paxton Boys to the Pennsylvania Assembly. “A Remonstrance of Distressed and Bleeding Frontier Inhabitants.” February 13, 1764.

Despite the impression that the Frontiersmen were often uncivilized brutes, there is evidence prior to events like the Paxton riots, that supports the role of the frontiersmen in attempting to resolve grievances with their colonial governments. They repeatedly brought forward grievances in the form of petitions, which were often dismissed, or ignored entirely. The frontiersmen presented themselves as loyal and respectful subjects of England. For example, one petition of frontier grievances was presented by two representatives on “behalf of ourselves and his Majesty’s faithful and loyal subjects.”⁴⁸⁶ These two representatives had come to represent 5 counties that were severely underrepresented despite their population sizes.

The representatives vocalized not only the violence on the frontier, but also their lack of representation and the attention to their urgent matters that was continuously costing themselves, their friends, and families lives and livelihoods. The settlers petitioned laws that were to be enacted preventing what they considered to be a trial by their peers (fellow colonists in Pennsylvania) for the killing of Native Americans.

“Secondly, We understand that a bill is now before the House of Assembly, wherein it is provided that such persons as shall be charged with killing any Indians in Lancaster County, shall not be tried in the County where the act was committed, but in the Counties of Philadelphia, Chester, or Bucks This is manifestly to deprive British subjects of their known privileges, to cast an eternal reproach upon whole counties, as if they were unfit to serve their county in the quality of jurymen, and to contradict the well-known laws of the British nation in a point whereon life, liberty, and security essentially depend, namely, that of being tried by their equals in the neighborhood where their own, their accusers, and the witnesses’ character and credit, with the circumstances of the fact, are best known, and instead thereof putting their counties can be of prejudices against Indians; and this, too, in favor of Indians only, against his Majesty’s faithful and loyal subjects. Besides it is well known that the design of it is to comprehend a fact committed before such a law was thought of. And if such practices were tolerated, no man could be secure in his most valuable interest. We are also informed, to our great surprise, that this bill is actually received the assent of a majority of the House, which we are persuaded could not have been the case, had our frontier counties been equally represented in

⁴⁸⁶ The Paxton Boys to the Pennsylvania Assembly. “A Remonstrance of Distressed and Bleeding Frontier Inhabitants.” February 13, 1764.

Assembly. However, we hope that the Legislature of this Province will never enact a law of so dangerous a tendency, or take away from his Majesty's good subjects a privilege so long esteemed sacred by Englishmen".⁴⁸⁷

The fact that this bill was put forward highlighted the consistency of the problem on the frontiers. The removal of a trial to a more populous and "civilized" city, where such threats hardly existed for the people who would be judging the accused was unfair to the settlers. They wished to be tried by their peers, who had shared in their experiences on the frontier, and could understand the complexity and danger of frontier life. They also complained that their interests were underrepresented in the Legislature. In this exercise, it appears that they were considered citizens in matters of state when it benefited the government and its interests.

Alden Vaughan wrote in the article "Frontier Banditti and the Indians: The Paxton Boys' Legacy, 1763-1775" that the inability of the eastern Pennsylvania authorities to enforce law in the west was hindered to the point that it became impossible to prosecute the Paxton Boys, and also that it was next to impossible to protect Native Americans in the region from the frontier settlers who attacked them.⁴⁸⁸ This perspective is interesting because there had been years of documented attacks upon settlers on the frontier that had been unanswered, and even when petitions for funding to erect protective forts and weaponry were requested, they were always voted down. There was animosity from both Native Americans and the frontier settlers, but the high visibility of the Paxton Boys massacre put the issues on display. Vaughan went on to explain that the legacy substantiated by the Paxton Boys for violence against Native Americans

⁴⁸⁷ The Paxton Boys to the Pennsylvania Assembly. "A Remonstrance of Distressed and Bleeding Frontier Inhabitants." February 13, 1764.

⁴⁸⁸ Vaughan, Alden. "Frontier Banditti and the Indians: The Paxton Boys' Legacy, 1763 – 1775". *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies* 51, no 1 (1984). 1 – 29.

explained the readiness of so many Native tribes to align themselves with the British in the Revolution.⁴⁸⁹ While this might have been a factor in the decision to make war at the behest of the British against certain frontier settlements, it still highlighted the fact that the frontier settlers were not seen as a citizenry to be protected by the British, but were seen as a problem. The article also appears to have an oversight in the alliances that some natives made in fighting alongside the French and Continental Armies.

On the colonial frontiers, it appears that there were several players, all with different agendas. The frontiersmen had their agenda of carving out a new life for themselves and their families and lived largely isolated from any public aspirations in civilization. Some of their frontiersmen had fire in their hearts at the losses of themselves and their friends, and there were some rogue settlers who committed hostile and unwarranted attacks upon natives, just as there were natives who did the same. The petitioners were aggrieved in the losses of family and friends, while the government sheltered a suspected number of over 120 natives from the wrath of the bereaved frontier families. In a petition the realities of frontier living were described:

“During the late and present Indian War, the frontiers of this Province have been repeatedly attacked and ravaged by skulking parties of the Indians, who have with the most savage cruelty murdered men, women, and children, without distinction, and have reduced near a thousand families to the most extreme distress.”⁴⁹⁰

To add salt to the wound, the frontiersmen were taxed, some portions of which went to the expense of maintaining these offenders in a state of relative luxury that many frontiersmen had not experienced in their lifetime. In the eyes of the frontiersmen, their families and friends

⁴⁸⁹ Vaughan, Alden. “Frontier Banditti and the Indians: The Paxton Boys’ Legacy, 1763 – 1775”. *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies* 51, no 1 (1984). 1 – 29.

⁴⁹⁰ The Paxton Boys to the Pennsylvania Assembly. “A Remonstrance of Distressed and Bleeding Frontier Inhabitants.” February 13, 1764.

had been mercilessly slaughtered and mutilated, and their own colonial government, who was supposed to protect them (and had failed marvelously) then had the audacity to provide protections and luxuries to the very criminals who had committed the offenses upon the settlers.

While the British had their own schemes and operations in the New World, with a decided role of duality in its dealings; so too did the Native Americans. Many of the tribes were at war with other tribes and sought out colonial alliances for their own ends. However, they also had schemes to remove white settlements from their lands and would operate under the guise of friendship if they could arrange a successful raid or massacre and remove the threat to their livelihoods. Some tribes, such as the Conestoga, Lenape (Delawares), and Susquehannocks, were even converted to Christianity, which afforded them a level of protection from the Anglican church and a standing in the colonial community. War chiefs and native leaders understood this and made power plays for their own ends, just as did the colonial powers.

The settlers asked for redress against several grievances in their singular petition:

“Some of these Indians, now in the barracks of Philadelphia, are confessedly a part of the Wyalusing Indians, which tribe is now at war with us, and the others are the Moravian Indians, who, living with us under the cloak of friendship, carried on a correspondence with our known enemies on the Great Island. We cannot but observe with sorrow and indignation, that some persons in this Province are at pains to extenuate the barbarous cruelties practices by these savages on our murdered brethren and relatives, which are shocking to human nature, and must pierce every heart but that of the hardened perpetrators of their abettors; nor is it less distressing to hear others pleading that although the Wyalusing tribe is at war with us, yet that part of it which is under the protection of the Government, may be friendly to the English, and innocent. In what nation under the sun was it ever the custom that when a neighboring nation took up arms, not an individual should be touched but only the persons that offered hostilities? Who ever proclaimed war with a part of a nation, and not with the whole? Had these Indians Disapproved of the perfidy of their tribe, and been willing to cultivate and preserve friendship with us, why did they not give notice of the war before it happened, as it is known to be the result of the long deliberations and a preconcerted combination among them? Why did they not leave their tribe immediately, and come among us before there was ground to suspect them, or war was actually waged with their tribe? No, they stayed amongst them, where privy to their murders and revenges, until we had destroyed their

provisions, and when they could no longer subsist at home, they come, not as deserters, but as friends, to be maintained through the winter, that they may be able to scalp and butcher us in the spring”.⁴⁹¹

The settlers recognized that there was a threat of double-agency and insurgency within the ranks of Native American allies, as the high cost of experience had taught them. They warned the colonial governments of this double agency on the part of the natives and warned that just as it had turned to the settlers, it would turn on the more populous areas if the insurgency were allowed to foster roots:

“We humbly conceive that it is contrary to the maxims of good policy, and extremely dangerous to our frontiers, to suffer any Indians, of what tribe soever, to live within the inhabited parts of this Province while we are engaged in an Indian war, as experience has taught us to act as spies, to entertaining and given intelligence to our enemies, and to furnish them with provisions and warlike stories. To this fatal intercourse between our pretended friends and open enemies, we must ascribe the greatest of the ravages and murders that have been committed in the course of this and the last Indian war. We, therefore, pray that this grievance be taken under consideration and remedied.”⁴⁹²

The petitioners further argued that those who they felt had done so little for the colony (the Native American allies), and yet so much to its detriment as far as they were concerned, were afforded provisions, while those who had been wounded in keeping the frontier safe had had no provision made for their sacrifices. The petitioners argued that redress should be given to these veterans of Indian wars and skirmishes along the frontier.⁴⁹³ After all, the government had a duty to keep its citizens safe within its borders and to provide for those who had acted in its services.

⁴⁹¹The Paxton Boys to the Pennsylvania Assembly. “A Remonstrance of Distressed and Bleeding Frontier Inhabitants.” February 13, 1764.

⁴⁹² *Ibid.*

⁴⁹³ *Ibid.*

There were other grievances associated with the bounties of war, to which the frontiersman had been rewarded in the past, and yet of which they were not in the late Indian wars. Previously, the British government had Indian agents promoting the taking of scalps, which was worth a bounty, to serve as an inducement to enter such dangerous ventures as frontier warfare. Yet, prior to the Revolution, they stopped encouraging scalps and bounties. One petition read that:

“In the late Indian war, this Province, with others of his Majesty’s colonies, gave rewards for Indian scalps, to encourage the seeking them in their own county, as the most likely means of destroying or reducing them to reason, but no such encouragement has been given in this war, which has damped the spirits of many brave men, who are willing to venture their lives in parties against the enemy. We, therefore, pray that public rewards may be proposed for Indian scalps, which may be adequate to the dangers of attending enterprizes of this nature.”⁴⁹⁴

The frontier settlers were also affronted that the Native Americans who had sought protection under the British government, had participated in the kidnapping and torture of settler families. There had been promises made that the local natives would work within their networks to set captives free; but many remained in captivity for years or were tortured to death before they could escape. The frontiersmen thought that cessation of trade would induce the natives to make good on their promises. The settlers lamented that numbers of their relatives were continued to be held in captivity, with an added concern that they were being trained and influenced in barbarity, or were being tortured to death in cruel manners for attempting to escape. The settlers further lamented that solemn promises that their families and friends would

⁴⁹⁴ The Paxton Boys to the Pennsylvania Assembly. “A Remonstrance of Distressed and Bleeding Frontier Inhabitants.” February 13, 1764.

be returned from captivity were unfulfilled, and asked that trade with the Native people cease until the captives were returned.⁴⁹⁵

Many of the players in the colonies had different perspectives and different agendas; some were sanctioned, and some were of a more enterprising nature. The role of duality among Indian agents had long been exploited by the Crown in the interests of its own agenda, but sometimes pay was late or not what was promised (as we saw in the case of William Johnson). Some agents freelanced to make their own ends meet, and most of them used their elevated and sanctioned position in order to do so. While many frontiersmen were inhibited by laws or regulations in trade, Indian agents and those with societal standing were a law unto themselves. The frontiersmen complained that:

“a certain society of people in this Province, in the late Indian War, and at several treaties held by the King’s representatives, openly loaded the Indians with presents, and the J.P., a leader of the said society, in defiance of all government, not only abetted our Indian enemies, but kept up a private intelligence with them, and publicly received from them a belt of wampum, as if he had been our Governor, or authorized by the King to treat with his enemies. By this means the Indians have been taught to despise us as a weak and disunited people, and from this fatal source have arose many of our calamities under which we groan. We humbly pray, therefore, that this grievance may be redressed, and that no private subjects be hereafter permitted to treat with, or carry on a correspondence with, our enemies.”⁴⁹⁶

As discussed in previous chapters, the frontier settlers often lived on isolated homesteads, miles from the nearest neighbor. Some lived in little towns in a cluster, that were equally isolated from other parts of civilization. All these homesteads were under protected against unknown amounts of warriors and ambuscades that would set upon them. Sometimes the nearest fort or

⁴⁹⁵ The Paxton Boys to the Pennsylvania Assembly. “A Remonstrance of Distressed and Bleeding Frontier Inhabitants.” February 13, 1764.

⁴⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

point of protection was several days away. Some of the most disappointing frontier occurrences were that the Forts that were under governance of the British government and garrisoned with soldiers for the supposed purpose of protecting the territory and its citizens, maintained a general attitude of inaction where frontier settlers were concerned. Frontier petitioners lamented:

“We cannot but observe with sorrow, that Fort Augusta, which has been very expensive to this Province, has afforded us but little assistance during this or the last war. The men that were stationed at that place neither helped our distressed inhabitants to save their crops nor did they attack our enemies in their towns, or patrol on our frontiers. We humbly request that proper measures may be taken to make that garrison more serviceable to us in our distress, if it can be done,

“N.B.--We are far from intending and reflection against the commanding officer stationed at Augusta, as we presume his conduct was always directed by those from whom he received his orders.”⁴⁹⁷

From the postscript, the representatives attempted diplomacy regarding the frontier commander, most likely to avoid even further inaction in the future. But their notation also alludes to a suspicion that the provincial government had directed the garrison commander not to act on these frontier attacks. This may have been for lack of forces (outposts were notoriously undermanned), scarcity of weaponry and provisions, and/or a general disregard for the settlers of less desirable origination (such as the Irish, Scots Irish, Dutch, and Germans).

Colonel Elder wrote to the Governor on October 16th that:

“On receiving intelligence, the 13th inst. That a number of persons were assembling on purpose to go & cut off the Connestogue Indians, in concert with Mr. Forster, the neighboring Magistrate, I hurried off an Express with a written message to that party, entreating them to desist from such an undertaking, representing to them the unlawfulness & barbarity of such an action, that its cruel & unchristian in its nature, & wou’d be fatal in its consequences to themselves & families; that private persons have no right to take the lives of any under the protection of the Legislature; that they must, if

⁴⁹⁷ The Paxton Boys to the Pennsylvania Assembly. “A Remonstrance of Distressed and Bleeding Frontier Inhabitants.” February 13, 1764.

they proceeded in that affair, lay their accounts to meet with a Severe prosecution, & become liable even to capital punishment; that they need not expect that the Country wou'd endeavour to conceal or screen them from punishment, but that they would be detected & given up to the resentment of the Governm't. These things I urged in the warmest terms, in order to prevail with them to drop the enterprise, but to no purpose; they push'd on, & have destroyed some of these Indians, tho' how many, I have not yet been certainly informed; I, nevertheless, thought it my duty to give your Honour this early notice, that an action of this nature mayn't be imputed to these frontier Settlements. For I known not of one person of Judgm* or prudence that has been in any wise concerned in it, but it has been done by some hot headed, ill advised persons, & especially by such, I imagine, as suffer'd much in their relations by the Ravages committed in the late Indian War."⁴⁹⁸

In effect, Colonel Elder was attempting to warn the Governor that a campaign of retribution was percolating throughout the minds of frontiersmen and that he had done all in his power to dissuade such actions. He recommended a lawful approach for justice and investigation of Native American collusion. The problem was that the frontiersmen had sent many pleas to their lawful representative to represent the desperate situation on the frontiers, to little effect. They had experienced an apathy in the government's intent or ability to help them and had finally decided that something must be done. They were tasked with the defense of their homesteads and the frontier as militiamen. Their family, and in some cases their own, experiences in Scotland and Ireland had educated them as to the patterns of imperial government, especially when it concerned the Gaelic ethnic groups.

The identities of the individuals of the Paxton Boys mob are mostly unknown. The ethnic identities have been assumed by eyewitnesses and deduced from their areas of habitation; such areas as Donegal and Derry, for instance. How much death, mutilation, terror, and destruction

⁴⁹⁸ John Elder to Governor Hamilton. October 16, 1763. Commemorative Biographical Encyclopedia of Dauphin County, Containing Sketches of Representative Citizens, and Many of the Early Scotch-Irish and German Settlers. Chambersburg, Pa.: J. M. Runk & Company, 1896, 24-32.

where they expected to endure when all avenues of redress were exhausted? Members of the Conestoga tribe had been accused of treachery, and of assisting rogue Indian raiders by harboring them for shelter. Some had even been accused of partaking in tortures.⁴⁹⁹ However, the Conestoga were allies of the English, and were generally well-regarded by the Provincial Government.

General Gage, who was in chief command of the British forces in America before Lord Dunmore, supplied a detachment of regulars to guard the barracks in which the Indians were lodged. Cannons were posted and the place was strongly fortified. If an attack upon the Indians had been the controlling purpose of the frontiersmen they would now have desisted, as such an undertaking was plainly hopeless, but they were not deterred from continuing their march toward Philadelphia, as the main object was a redress of grievance. After meeting with the commissioners, they disbanded and went home.

But their trust and hopes for redress were misplaced, as the Assembly refused to remedy the matter and diverted petitions to a committee for consideration. The committee proceeded to advise on a conference between the Governor and backcountry representatives. The conflict between the Governor and the Assembly was played out when the Governor declined to enter into such a conference and wrote his excuse that “the House will take into Consideration such parts of the Remonstrance as are proper for their Cognizance, and do therein what in their

⁴⁹⁹ “A Narrative of the Late Massacres, [30 January? 1764],” Founders Online, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Franklin/01-11-02-0012>. [Original source: The Papers of Benjamin Franklin, vol. 11, January 1, through December 31, 1764, ed. Leonard W. Labaree. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1967, pp. 42–69.]

Wisdom and Justice they think Right, as he will with Regard to such other parts as Relate to the executive Branch of the Government.”⁵⁰⁰

On December 13, 1763, some of the Pennsylvania frontiersmen set upon the Conestoga tribe. There are varying accounts of the intentions of the frontiersmen from the outset, but the conclusion was that a massacre had occurred. Some accounts attributed this to a provocation of the frontiersmen who were only investigating strange natives stalking in and out of the village, when they were confronted by warriors with tomahawks.⁵⁰¹ The Governor was outraged at this attack on what he felt was a barbarous murder of a helpless and innocent tribe who were dependent upon the Governor. He denounced the frontiersmen as a “party of Rioters” and railed against the brazen attack.⁵⁰² The powder keg of delicate issues surrounding the harboring of Native Americans, some who had been accused of butchering frontier families, combined with the apathy of the provincial government to provide redress to the frontiersmen’s concerns, led to the massacre of the Native Americans by a group of vigilantes known as the Paxton Boys.

On December 14, 1763, fifty-seven European colonists, largely of Scots Irish and Irish origin or descent traveled from the frontiers of Western Pennsylvania to Conestoga manor and massacred six Native Americans who had been under the protection of the provincial government. By providence, fourteen other Natives who had been residing at the manor, had

⁵⁰⁰ “Pennsylvania Assembly Committee: Report, 21 February 1764,” Founders Online, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Franklin/01-11-02-0017>. [Original source: *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, vol. 11, January 1, through December 31, 1764, ed. Leonard W. Labaree. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1967, pp. 80–87.]

⁵⁰¹ “*A Narrative of the Late Massacres*, [30 January? 1764],” Founders Online, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Franklin/01-11-02-0012>. [Original source: *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, vol. 11, January 1, through December 31, 1764, ed. Leonard W. Labaree. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1967, pp. 42–69.]

⁵⁰² *Ibid.*

been absent from the premises, as they had been away selling baskets. When word reached them of the massacre, they fled to Lancaster, where local elites offered them refuge at the county jail.

The December 16th raid on the Conestoga encampment resulted in only six deaths, but the survivors were removed to Lancaster and lodged in the Workhouse for their protection from the threat of further mob violence. But the precarious political situation and the hatred that was now boiling over in the settlers was evident when men from the settlements of Donegal and Paxton stormed the workhouse and slaughtered the remaining natives on December 27th.⁵⁰³ Just as it was with the initial attack earlier in December, there was a variance of accounts on the intentions of the mob. One account asserted that the intent was merely to seize one of the natives who had previously been charged with murder. The plan was to escort him to the jail where he would be detained pending his trial, but that there was resistance by the natives in the workhouse and that shooting began. Fourteen of the Conestoga were killed, three of which were women, and another 8 who were children. It turns out that there were only 3 men lodged in the workhouse.⁵⁰⁴ The demographics of Conestogas in the workhouse did not seem to indicate a significant threat.

But nearly two weeks later, on December 27, 1763, fifty Pennsylvanians, known as the Paxton Boys, travelled to Lancaster for the sole purpose of eradicating the surviving Conestoga refugees. They stormed the barracks of the jail where they were housed and massacred each of the natives. The attacks were said to have been quite brutal and the stories of the carnage traveled quickly throughout the province. Such stories terrified neighboring Native American

⁵⁰³ John Elder to Governor Hamilton. October 16, 1763. Commemorative Biographical Encyclopedia of Dauphin County, Containing Sketches of Representative Citizens, and Many of the Early Scotch-Irish and German Settlers. Chambersburg, Pa.: J. M. Runk & Company, 1896, pages 24-32.

⁵⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

communities, which resulted in over one hundred and fifty natives having sought refuge with the Pennsylvania government in Philadelphia for fear of reprisal.

The actions of the Paxton Boys led to a polarization of opinion within the Province. Citizens within the relative safety of the eastern settlements were more shocked and concerned at the violence that had accompanied the attacks. This was most likely because they had not been exposed to atrocities on the frontier as the frontier settlers had. As natives sought refuge in the capital, rumors persisted that similar attacks to those in Lancaster were imminent, and several times citizens of Philadelphia barricaded the streets and volunteers with the militia organized themselves in preparation to receive the threat that they believed the Paxton Boys to be. From January through the month of February, alarms were repeatedly sounded and on the 4th of February 1764, rioters arrived in Germantown, which was just outside the city of Philadelphia.

While panic ensued among the citizens of the city, several members of the ruling elite comprised a diplomatic delegation to meet with the rioters and discuss the issues at hand. One of the more notable members of this delegation included Benjamin Franklin. Following the meeting with the delegation, the “rioters”, dispersed and returned to their home with both parties reportedly resigned to address the grievances through the established legal protocol.

Again, Colonel Elder corresponded with the Governor, and placed blame on the government for not having removed the natives in question from the area completely. Elder was clearly disgusted and disapproved of the massacre, but also tried to explain the mindset of the frontiersmen who had been metaphorically pushed to the point of mob violence. Elder wrote that

he was powerless to stop such a massacre and asked: “What could I do with men heated to madness”?⁵⁰⁵ He noted that “I expostulated, but life and reason were set at defiance.”⁵⁰⁶

The Governor and others who had an altruistic interest in protecting the Conestoga were outraged and the audacity of the frontiersmen who attacked the Conestoga encampment, but there was also a hint of fear at the ability of a mob to commit such acts without being checked. These fears unnerved the government, but the public did not seem to care about the massacre of the Conestoga or the rule of the mob on that day. It could have been that they had experienced hostilities themselves, or that they were aware and sympathized with the frontier settlers, or that they did not care about the situation at all.

Upon receipt of the Governor’s rejection to confer, the Assembly let the matter be. However, they did appear to sympathize with the frontiersmen who had attacked and killed the Native Americans in Lancaster when they passed an act to dismiss the trials of those who had committed the murders. This clearly was at odds with the wishes of the Governor but may have been an attempt to assuage the tempers of the frontiersmen, at least temporarily. In the end, no one was convicted of the murders of the natives.

The decision of the Assembly was most likely an attempt to expend capital on the prosecution of settlers and risk the upset and further hostilities of their relatives and sympathizers. The account of one clergyman in a letter to Joseph Reed in London, John Ewing laid out the terms of situation in the colony in 1764:

“There are twenty-two Quakers in our Assembly, at present, who, although they wouldn’t absolutely refuse to grant money for the King’s use, yet never fail to contrive

⁵⁰⁵ John Elder to Governor Hamilton. October 16, 1763. Commemorative Biographical Encyclopedia of Dauphin County, Containing Sketches of Representative Citizens, and Many of the Early Scotch-Irish and German Settlers. Chambersburg, Pa.: J. M. Runk & Company, 1896, pages 24-32.

⁵⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

matters in such a manner, as to afford little or no assistance to the poor distressed frontiers; while our public money is lavishly squandered away, in supporting a number of savages, who had been murdering and scaling us for many years past. This has enraged some desperate young men who had lost their nearest relatives by these very Indians, to cut off about twenty Indians, that lived near Lancaster, who had, during the war, carried on a constant intercourse with out other enemies; and they came to Germantown to inquire why Indians, known to be enemies, were supported, even in luxury, with the best that our markets afforded, as the public expense, while they were left in the utmost distress on the frontiers, in want of the necessaries of life. Ample promises were made to them, that their grievance shall be redressed, upon which, they immediately dispersed and went home. These persons have been unjustly represented as endeavoring to overturn the Government , when nothing was more distant form the matter, you may be assured that ninety-nine in a hundred of the Province are firmly persuaded that they are maintaining our enemies, while our friends, who are suffering the greatest extremities, are neglected; and that few, but Quakers, think that the Lancaster Indians have suffered anything but their just deserts.”⁵⁰⁷

Despite Governor Penn’s abhorrence of the native American massacres by the Scots Irish, there is evidence that he did find their complaints substantiated and valid; he may even have commiserated with their plight. However, for one reason or another, he did not feel he was in a position or that the route open to him could answer the complaints of the frontiersmen. There is ample speculation into why this happened.⁵⁰⁸ It could have been because of the long-held belief that the Native Americans were one of the lost tribes of Israel, or that the Scots Irish were so troublesome to the colony that a depopulation could do no harm.

What is evident is that the empirical pattern of paternalism was alive and well in the situation. Penn repeatedly remarked that the natives were child-like, in need of benevolent acts,

⁵⁰⁷ Letter from John Ewing to Joseph Reed, undated, recto. Joseph Reed papers, 1757-1874. Part I, 1757-1776. [New-York Historical Society, American Manuscripts. Joseph Reed papers, 1757-1874. Part I, 1757-1776 - New-York Historical Society, American Manuscripts - New York Heritage Digital Collections \(oclc.org\)](#)

⁵⁰⁸ Egle, William Henry. *History of the Counties of Dauphin and Lebanon: In the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania; Biographical and Genealogical*. Philadelphia: Everts & Peck, 1883.

protection, and provision. Through the establishment of paternalism, dependency and veneration of the British empire was instilled, thus guaranteeing a cooperation and foothold in the war for the continent against competing powers. Once again, the government realized that to win a guerilla war in North America, they were going to have to work with the native tribes in order to win.

So, it was more likely the fear of reprisal from other tribes who held an alliance with the English than a genuine love for the Europeans. In fact, this subordinate social positioning may have also incited some of the raids on settlers, or at least the harboring of those involved in them. It is also quite probable that their subordinate position within the Iroquois confederacy put them in a position to be commanded to commit such acts. In the meantime, they were more than welcoming to any conferences where they might have sumptuous feasts and receive gifts of tribute.

However, many of the settlers resented these practices of the government as rewarding poor behavior and violence upon the settlers while at the same time emptying the coffers of the government who in turn taxed the very citizens who were victims of such warfare. Thomas Gordon wrote that:

“Their hostility has been rewarded rather than chastised by Pennsylvania; every treaty of peace was accompanied by rich presents, and their detention of the prisoners was overlooked upon slight apologies, though obviously don’t to afford opportunities for new treaties and additional gifts.”⁵⁰⁹

⁵⁰⁹ Gordon, Thomas. *The History of Pennsylvania, from its Discovery by Europeans, to the Declaration of Independence in 1776*. Philadelphia: Carey, Lea & Carey, 1829.

When the French began to stir up hostilities along the frontier, the behavior of this subservient group of natives was incited to outrage and consequently misdeeds against the government and the settlers. Unfortunately, the inauguration of John Penn as governor in November 1763 during the height of hostile raids on the frontiers, such as those at Carlisle, Bethlehem, and Salisbury Plain, threw him into an impossible situation. In November 1763 he wrote to Thomas Penn:

“I have had petitions every day from the Frontier Inhabitants requesting assistance against the Indians, who still continue their ravages in the most cruel manner, and as they say themselves, are determined not to lay down the Hatchet till they have driven the English into the Sea. We had new yesterday of two families being murdered near Shippensburg. I have not yet heard the particulars, but the fact may be depended upon. We have been obliged to order the Moravian Indians down to Philadelphia to quiet the minds of the Inhabitants of Northampton County, who were Determine either to quit their settlements or take an opportunity of murdering them all, being suspicious of their having been concerned in several murders in that County. These Indians came down two days ago & were immediately sent to the Pesthouse, where they were quartered.”⁵¹⁰

It is obvious from the letter that he understood the plight of the frontier settlers to be genuine and sympathized with them but was somewhat powerless to help them. He also didn't necessarily believe that the Conestogas were entirely innocent. This is evident in his careful wording that they “have been represented as innocent.”⁵¹¹ This statement also alluded to the fact that someone was representing them as innocent and working on behalf to given them protection.

However, when it came to the murder of the Conestogas, his feelings towards the settlers took a decidedly different perspective:

“...You will see by the commotion the Province has been in for a long time past, the Impossibility of apprehending the murderers of the Conestoga Indians. There is not a

⁵¹⁰ John Penn to Thomas Penn, November 15, 1763, Penn Papers, Official Correspondence, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

⁵¹¹ *Ibid.*

man in the County of Cumberland but is of the Rioters' Party. If we had ten thousand of the King's troops I don't believe it would be possible to secure one of these people. Though I took all the pains I could, even to get their names, I could not succeed, for indeed nobody would make the discovery, though ever so well acquainted with them, & there is not a magistrate in the County would have touch'd one of the me. The people of the Town are Inveterate against the Indians as the Frontier Inhabitants, for it is beyond a doubt that many of the Indians now in Town have been concerned in committing murders among the back settlers; & I believe, were it not for the King's troops, who are here to protect them, that the whole power of the Government would not be able to prevent their being murder'd. Nothing can justify the madness of the people in flying in the face of Government in the manner they have done , although what they have suffer'd from these cruel savages is beyond description. Many of them have had their wives and children Murder'd and scalped, their houses burnt to the ground, their Cattle destroy'd, and from an easy, plentiful life, are now become beggars. In short this Spirit has spread like wildfire, not only through this Province, but the neighboring governments, which are to the full as Inveterate against the Indians as we are. The 14th of this month we expect two thousand of the Rioters in Town to insist upon the Assembly's granting their request with regard to the increases of Representatives, to put them upon an equality with the rest of the Counties. They have from time to time presented several petitions for that purpose, which has been always disregarded by the House; for which reason they intend to come in person."⁵¹²

The end of his letter where he addresses the validity of the suffering of the frontiersmen provides the impression that the reason for his disdain was their methods. As an aristocrat, Penn would naturally have had an abhorrence for the lack of deference and the rule of the mob in opposing the government and taking the law into their own hands. Surely, if the settlers could breach houses of sanctuary and murder the natives, they could also do so to the government officials. This perspective can be substantiated through the further examination of correspondence to Thomas Penn about information that he had on the Conestoga Indians. He wrote, "The Conestoga Indians, but also those that lived at Bethlehem and in other parts of the

⁵¹²John Penn to Thomas Penn, November 15, 1763, Penn Papers, Official Correspondence, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Province, were all perfidious-were in the French interest and in combination with our open enemies.”⁵¹³

With such information, it seems that the accounting of the settlers that the Conestoga were complicit in the murders committed upon their families on the frontier was correct. But someone in the government was protecting the natives at the expense of the Irish on the frontier. The Assembly was also suppressive of any criticism of their leadership or motives. But the Irish and Scots Irish had had enough. A Mr. Barton published and dissemination a pamphlet on June 16, 1764, entitled “The Conduct of the Paoctons Impartially Represented”.⁵¹⁴ It laid out a litany of complaints concerning the handling of frontier hostilities, squandered spending, and lack of defense in the province. It also charged that the deaths of the frontiersmen and their families were of little account because they were Irish. To push things a step further, argues that the benevolence and pampering of the offending tribes was an affront while they committed atrocities upon the Irish. This argument inferred that the Irish were on a lower social rung than “savages”.

Governor Penn was well aware of the pamphlet and confirmed that it was anonymously written for fear of persecution. He wrote, “it is a secret; for it seems the Assembly have vow’d vengeance against all who have ventur’d to write anything, that may have a tendency to expose their own iniquitous measures.”⁵¹⁵ A pamphlet disseminated by Penn in March 1764 criticized the Quaker Assembly’s policies and charged that the outcome of violence and the atrocities

⁵¹³ John Penn to Thomas Penn, November 15, 1763, Penn Papers, Official Correspondence, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

⁵¹⁴ Barton, Thomas. *The conduct of the Paxton-men, impartially represented: with some remarks on the Narrative. June 16, 1764.* Evans Early American Imprint Collection.

⁵¹⁵ John Penn June 1764, Penn Papers, Official Correspondence, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

committed on the frontiers were the results of that iniquitous policy. The true feelings of the victims of frontier violence, most especially the Irish were reflected in a passage that read:

“When a Waggon Load of the scalped and mangled Bodies of their Countrymen were brought to Philadelphia and laid at the state House Door, and another Waggon Load brought into the Town of Lancaster, did they rouse to Arms to avenge the Cause of their murder’d Friends? Did we hear any of those Lamentations that are now so plentifully poured for the Connestogoe Indians? -- O my dear Friends! Must I answer--No? The Dutch and Irish are murder’d without Pity.”⁵¹⁶

The Reverend Thomas Barton was an Irishman who had migrated to Pennsylvania and witnessed the outrage of the settlers. He disapproved of the “rioters” but was sympathetic to their plight and blamed the Provincial Assembly for the conditions that induced such atrocities to take place. His charges of racial preference in the conflict also point out some glaring prejudices against the Irish.⁵¹⁷

Peter Silver argued that the violence transformed society with the province and that the experiences of the Indian wars and attacks upon settlers led to a cooperation among the colonists to insulate themselves from the exterior Native American threat to all of white settlement. A result of this was the development of “an anti-Indian sublime”, or a political ideology that emerged from the Paxton Boys experience. Silver argued that this psychological imperative was harnessed during the American Revolution to undermine British authority.⁵¹⁸

⁵¹⁶ Barton, Thomas. *The conduct of the Paxton-men, impartially represented: with some remarks on the Narrative. June 16, 1764.* Evans Early American Imprint Collection.

⁵¹⁷ Barton, Thomas. *The conduct of the Paxton-men, impartially represented: with some remarks on the Narrative. June 16, 1764.* Evans Early American Imprint Collection.

⁵¹⁸ Silver, Peter. *Our Savage Neighbors: How Indian War Transformed Early America.* New York, NY: W. W. Norton & Company, 2008. xix – xxii.

The Paxton Boys were so named because of their reported origins from the town of Paxton. The massacre committed by these citizens was purported to have precipitated one of the “most prolific and disruptive printed debates in colonial American history”.⁵¹⁹ This was due to feverish opinions on both sides of the argument within the province. The province was so divided on the issue, that historian Kevin Kenny pinpointed the actions of the Paxton Boys as the end of William Penn’s dream of a Peaceable Kingdom, in which he had desired European settlers and Native Americans to live in communities together in complete harmony.⁵²⁰ The Paxton boys were never arrested, nor punished for their crimes, and public opinion at the time was divided staunchly on both sides of the argument. The opinion of elites and lawmakers was also starkly divided, and so activists advocated for their respective arguments on the issues through the medium of print.

Historian A.L. O’Donnell argued that the Paxton boys continued their behavior of attacking Native American communities through the decade preceding the American Revolution, where “violence against Native Americans became a patriotic duty”.⁵²¹ However, this assessment does not seem to leave room for any examination of why the Paxton Boys had continued violence, nor does it include the countless frontier settlers who were not associated with the Paxton Boys that participated in Indian fighting as a means of survival. Conversely, O’Donnell appears to have failed to account for the Native American attacks on frontier settlement, when assessing that violence against Natives was seen as a patriotic duty. Lastly, the complicated alliances that the British government held with Native American tribes, and the encouragement

⁵¹⁹ Kenny, Kevin. *Peaceable Kingdom Lost: The Paxton Boys and the Destruction of William Penn’s Holy Experiment*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.

⁵²⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵²¹ O’Donnell, Angel-Luke. “The Politics of the Print Medium: The Professional Code and the 1764 Paxton Boys Debate.” *Book History* 22 (2019): 66 - 99.

to attack settlements in some cases, might also prove the point that for the Natives, attacking frontier settlements was also seen as a patriotic duty.

What the Paxton Boys' actions did was to bring violence out into the open in provincial view. Most of the settlers who lived in the city had never seen such violence, but those who lived on the frontier lived through such actions every day of their lives. The public aspect of the massacre served as a visual and tangible reminder of what was happening on the frontiers. The barbarity of the massacre turned some citizen further against the Scots Irish and Irish on the frontiers, for there were social prejudices already in place, and for some, their low opinion of these immigrants was further cemented. Yet for others, the realization of what was happening on the frontiers was made more evident by the event. It was not only the mass population that was abuzz with heated debate on the subject, but there was a shift in political power in Pennsylvania as a result. Some of the politicians, such as Benjamin Franklin and Joseph Galloway were unseated from their offices, which signaled a disapproval for the manner of management of provincial affairs.⁵²²

Evidence in the form of printed material suggested that the debate on the validity of the Paxton Boys grievances and their consequences was grandiose in scale. Between the months of January and November of 1764, printers in Pennsylvania produced one hundred and nine editions of texts in two languages, English and German, that specifically discussed the Paxton Boys, or refuted arguments that had discussed them previously.⁵²³ One historian estimated that the amount of material produced on the subject increased production of printed material by forty

⁵²² Bankhurst, Benjamin. "A Looking-Glass for Presbyterians: Recasting a Prejudice in Late Colonial Pennsylvania". *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 133, no 4 (2009). 317 – 48.

⁵²³ O'Donnell, Angel-Luke. "The Politics of the Print Medium: The Professional Code and the 1764 Paxton Boys Debate." *Book History* 22 (2019): 66 - 99.

percent in the year 1764, with the subject of the Paxton Boys accounting for twenty percent of that material.⁵²⁴

In addition to the watershed moment in American printed debate, O'Donnell suggested that the Paxton Boys debated heralded the ascendancy of previously marginalized groups, such as the Scots Irish, Irish, Germans and western frontier interests. O'Donnell further asserted that cooperation within these disenfranchised groups led to a "shared white identity that emboldened crowds during the Revolution".⁵²⁵ This assessment suggested that the Paxton Boys, those who sided with them, and those who were inspired by their fervor directly had an influence on the future generation of citizenry that would later rebel against the Crown in the American Revolution.

Despite the perceived influence on the citizenry, the Paxton Boys massacre and their march on Philadelphia was the result of sectional divisions within the province over an extended period of time.⁵²⁶ Early analyzation referred to the Paxton Boys massacre as a result of underrepresented classes in the western population of the province who were challenging eastern authority.⁵²⁷ This referred back to their minimal representation for their population size in the Assembly and the failure to adequately redress their grievances. Further examination of this situation was narrated by John Dunbar, who assessed the sectional divides of the "urban and commercial east and the rural and agricultural west".⁵²⁸

⁵²⁴ Olson, Alison. "The Pamphlet War over the Paxton Boys". *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 123 no 1/2 (1999). 31 – 55.

⁵²⁵ O'Donnell, Angel-Luke. "The Politics of the Print Medium: The Professional Code and the 1764 Paxton Boys Debate." *Book History* 22 (2019): 66 - 99.

⁵²⁶ O'Donnell, Angel-Luke. "The Politics of the Print Medium: The Professional Code and the 1764 Paxton Boys Debate." *Book History* 22 (2019): 66 - 99.

⁵²⁷ Hindle, Brooke. "The March of the Paxton Boys". *William and Mary Quarterly* 3 no 4 (1946). 461 – 86.

⁵²⁸ The Paxton Papers, the first collection of Paxton Boys printed material. John Dunbar, ed., *The Paxton Boys*. The Hague; Martinus Nijhoff, 1957.3.

Historian Patrick Griffin argued that the Paxton Boys conflict challenged British imperial standing on the Continent and set a precedent in the conflict (and by extension the violence involved) enabled the Paxton Boys to change policy in the eastern settlements.⁵²⁹ John Smolenski asserted that the entire Paxton affair substantiated white sovereignty in the region and defined the Native Americans as a threat to the British realm. Smolenski discussed the ideology that the natives were defined as an alien threat to the realm and that the eradication of them in the settlements was committed dutifully for the good of the realm.⁵³⁰ Yet, when the frontier grievances and solutions were proposed by the frontier settlers, their problem wasn't with all Natives, but with select members and tribes who provided aid to assassins on the frontier. The solutions advocated for legal repercussions, such as trial and subsequent punishment, as well as removal, rather than for genocide. In the same vein as Smolenski, Patrick Spero argued that the Paxton Boys created a "racial frontier" between settlers and Native Americans.⁵³¹

In May 1764, the issue regarding the rate of proprietary taxation that had long delayed the passage of defense funding for the western settlements was granted by the House to the sum of £55,000 to protect against "barbarous invasions" of Native Americans in the western frontier.⁵³² But the schism between the frontiersmen, as well as a portion of the eastern population, and the eastern elites had become permanent. Pamphlets were printed warning of civil disunion. One particular author under the Nomme du Guerre "Philanthropos" highlighted the demise of ancient

⁵²⁹ Griffin, Patrick. *American Leviathan: Empire, Nation, and Revolutionary Frontier*. New York, NY: Hill and Wang, 2007. 49 – 50.

⁵³⁰ Smolenski, John. "Murder on the Margins: The Paxton Massacre and the Remaking of Sovereignty in Colonial Pennsylvania". *Journal of Early Modern History* 19, no 6 (2015). 513 – 538.

⁵³¹ Spero, Patrick. *Frontier Country the Politics of War in Early Pennsylvania*. Philadelphia: University Of Pennsylvania Press, 2016. 165-166.

⁵³² Mitchell, James T. and Henry Flanders, eds. *The Statutes at Large of Pennsylvania from 1682 to 1801*, 18 vols. Harrisburg, PA: William Stanley Ray, 1899. VI. 344.

and modern empires that had resulted from this disunion.⁵³³ The literature pointed to the social stratification as the catalyst, whereby the elites pursued their own interests at the expense of the population. The elites were considered arrogantly dismissive to their fellow citizens within the province and refused to allow them a seat at the table. They regarded the representatives of the western frontiers to be “Some of the most contemptible creatures [...] yet think themselves sufficient to direct Statesmen, dictate to Legislators, and teach Doctors and Divines.”⁵³⁴ The author further indicated that these socially mobile citizens who had attempted to interfere in government affairs should not be “puffed up with pride” as to interfere in the governance of affairs to which they had little or no experience.⁵³⁵

These prejudices amidst social and political stratification were detrimental to the peaceability of the colony and the resolution of grievances. Ben Franklin wrote a condemning narrative surrounding the events entitled “A narrative of the late massacres, in Lancaster County, of a number of Indians.”⁵³⁶ Franklin had written from a position of bias, as he had been on the delegation that had negotiated with the Paxton “mob” when they had marched to Philadelphia with their grievance. Following the Paxton riots, he did not seem sympathetic to the sufferings, nor to grasp the seriousness of the grievances to which the frontier settlers had been subjected. Many of the populace who did understand were affronted by the narrative, and one man, Andrew Steuart, printed a pamphlet in response to Franklin entitled “The Distresses of the FRONTIERS,

⁵³³ *Universal Peace-Maker; or a Modern Author's Instructor*. Philadelphia: Anthony Armbruster, 1764, Evans 9797. 6.

⁵³⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵³⁵ Barton, Thomas “The Conduct of the Paxton-men, impartially represented: with some remarks on the Narrative.” Philadelphia: Printed by Andrew Steuart., 1764. (America’s Historical Imprints, Early American Imprints. Series 1, no. 9594). 16.

⁵³⁶ *Ibid.*

and the COMPLAINTS and SUFFERINGS of the PEOPLE fully stated; and the Methods recommended by the wisest Nations, in such Cases, seriously consider'd.⁵³⁷

The pamphlet was prefaced with loaded quotations from Cato, Lucreta and Martyn's Timolson:

“The impious Man who fells his COUNTRY’S FREEDOM,
Makes all the Guilt of Tyranny his own.-----
His are her SLAUGHTERS, her OPPRESSIONS His.____Martyn’s Timolson”⁵³⁸

This quotation implies that there is a general attitude of grievance and a suspicion of tyranny among the victims on the frontier. This attitude is even more pronounced in subsequent quotation printed:

“Whoever will pretend to govern a People without regarding them, will soon repent it. ---Such feats of Errantry may do perhaps in ASIA---But in Countries where the People are FREE, it is Madness to rule them against their Wills.---They will know that Government is appointed for their Sakes, and will be saucy enough to expect some regards and some Good from their own DELEGATES.---Those Nations who are govern'd in Spite of themselves, and in a Manner that bids Defiance to their Opinions, their Interests, and their Understandings,----are either SLAVES, or will soon cease to be SUBJECTS.

CATO LETTERS⁵³⁹

It is clear that the citizens of the province had tired of the provincial inaction and in the treatment of some of the frontiersmen. The purported author of the pamphlet, Thomas Barton lobbed a slew of charges in support of these feelings: that the Quakers inaction was a policy of war-making and elitism, and that it also may have been a form of extermination of the unwanted

⁵³⁷ Barton, Thomas “The Conduct of the Paxton-men, impartially represented: with some remarks on the Narrative.” Philadelphia: Printed by Andrew Steuart., 1764. (America’s Historical Imprints, Early American Imprints. Series 1, no. 9594). 16.

⁵³⁸ *Ibid.*, 1.

⁵³⁹ *Ibid.*

Irish and Scots Irish. At the beginning of the pamphlet, Barton made clear that the writer of the letter received in Philadelphia was from a “GENTLEMAN” in one of the Back-Counties to a friend in Philadelphia, in the hopes that it would carry more weight in the realm of public opinion.

“THE PAXTON RIOT (as it is called) makes so great a Noise, and is so much the general Topick, that a Man must be but little in Conversation, without having his Opinion ask’d concerning this Affair.----In Truth, Matters are now come to such a Pass, that some People are of Opinion, that an Endeavour to make them worse may probably be the Way to make them better. Resentment rages high, and gathers thick from every Quarter;”⁵⁴⁰

The gentleman’s assessment in the backcountry was that tempers had reached a fever pitch over their conditions and ill-treatment and disregard of their government for their situation. The gentleman also noted that he was no politician and that he seldom involved himself in affairs beyond the reading of a newspaper. However, he lamented it “has long been my unhappy Lot to be a Spectator of the Distresses and Sufferings of my Fellow Subjects; my Heart has often bled for them; ___ and I should still have continued a secret Mourner for what I had not Power to redress, had not the unaccountable Conduct of your City Quakers provoked me to speak my Sentiments, and unburthen myself to my Friend.”⁵⁴¹ Such sentiments from a bystander portrayed a lamentable firsthand account of the injustices suffered by the backcountry settlers at the hands of certain Native Americans and at the hands of their own government. The inaction on behalf of the government to quell the attacks and defend their people, and the further protection of accused perpetrators of such barbarous crimes, lent to the belief that the government was complicit in

⁵⁴⁰ Barton, Thomas “The Conduct of the Paxton-men, impartially represented: with some remarks on the Narrative.” Philadelphia: Printed by Andrew Steuart., 1764. (America’s Historical Imprints, Early American Imprints. Series 1, no. 9594). 1.

⁵⁴¹ *Ibid.*

them, or at least culpable for the negligence of the safety of their citizens. Either way, the hostile conditions on the frontier necessitated preparation for and knowledge of Indian fighting.

The gentleman continued to establish his character as one that had no need for or interest in party connections or politics of any kind. But he continuously expressed distress at witnessing so much suffering in his region. He wrote, "I can have no other View in troubling you with this Letter than to rescue the miserable Frontier People, who lately rose in Arms, from the Infamy and Odium thrown upon them, by *those* whose unfeeling Hearts have never suffered them to look beyond their own private Interest and Party."⁵⁴² The last statement implies that political parties and dispositions did affect the consideration of the frontiersmen's positions and petitions.

The pamphlet which laid out claims that were critical of the government and its action, or lack thereof, did incur the wrath of the Governor of Pennsylvania. The government of the province had been very strict on the publishing of incendiary material, and Governor Morris was vexed at the existence of the pamphlet. The pamphlet was published anonymously but was attributed to Thomas Barton and was published by Andrew Steuart. Both men were Irish immigrants.

On March 17, 1764, Thomas Barton published *Conduct of the Paxton Men* in direct counter argument to Franklin's work. Barton's argument was supported with printed material that had been circulated and depositions from witnesses.⁵⁴³ Most of the pamphleteers published their work anonymously. Eighty-seven pamphlets contained omissions of the author's names, or the author used a pseudonym to protect their identity. Through the work of bibliographic

⁵⁴² Barton, Thomas "The Conduct of the Paxton-men, impartially represented: with some remarks on the Narrative." Philadelphia: Printed by Andrew Steuart., 1764. (America's Historical Imprints, Early American Imprints. Series 1, no. 9594). 3.

⁵⁴³ *Ibid.*

scholars, a total of fifteen authors have been attributed to anonymous publications, and sixty three printers were attributed.⁵⁴⁴ Much of this was done by bibliographic scholars who studied the codes on the documents and were able to decode the information.⁵⁴⁵

One of the most prevalent printers of pamphlet literature at the time in Pennsylvania was Andrew Steuart. Steuart was an immigrant from Belfast, Ireland (and one may deduce from his trade, social rank, and last name that he was of Scots Irish stock). He had learned the printing trade from James McGee in Belfast before migrating to Philadelphia where he set up shop. His printing practices were well-regarded, with Governor Dobbs of North Carolina eventually wooing him to open a shop in Wilmington, by which government documents could be printed on demand. However, rising tensions with both the government and colonists following the Stamp Act, put Steuart in the awkward position of printing material that was considered inflammatory to either party, or both.⁵⁴⁶

The author of the *Conduct of the Paxton Boys* was purported to be Thomas Barton who was considered one of the most learned men of Pennsylvania at the time. He was born in County Monaghan and educated at Trinity College in Dublin. He had initially made his living as a schoolmaster. At one point returned to England for instruction and ordination in the Church of England. When he returned to minister in Pennsylvania, he and his growing family became acutely aware of Native American incursions and the plights of frontier colonists in the western settlements. Barton was popular among his followers and even led local militias in the French

⁵⁴⁴ O'Donnell, Angel-Luke. "The Politics of the Print Medium: The Professional Code and the 1764 Paxton Boys Debate." *Book History* 22 (2019): 66 - 99.

⁵⁴⁵ Hall, Stuart. "Encoding/Decoding". *Culture, Media, Language: Working Papers in Cultural Studies*, 1972 – 79, ed by Stuart Hall, Dorothy Hobson, Andrew Lowe, and Paul Willis. London; Routledge, 1996. 128 – 38.

⁵⁴⁶ Bowers, Thomas. "Andrew Steuart" in *Dictionary of North Carolina Biography*. University of North Carolina Press, 1994.

and Indian war at the behest of his neighbors, who had vowed to follow him if he would lead. In a circumspect view of the issues with the Paxton Boys, Barton had found that the actions of the Paxton Boys were quite similar to what many civilizations and empires had done before in many parts of the world.⁵⁴⁷

Despite his appearance of sympathy for the plight of the western frontiersmen, Barton remained a loyalist throughout the American Revolution (and eventually had to leave his children behind in America when he was forced to depart). Prior to the Revolution, he had made the acquaintance of Sir William Johnson, and they eventually became close confidants. Barton had previously been a schoolmaster before his ordination and sought to continue his mission work by establishing three Indian schools. Johnson even sent one of his sons, who was half Mohawk, to be educated in one of the schools. Johnson and Barton were both similar in the aspect that they understood their government (Great Britain) to be fallible in many respects, but despite their differences and misgivings, were always loyal to it. They pointed out hypocrisy and shortcomings, they did their best to address them and to build a new life in North America that brought two worlds, that of the Natives and the whites, together. Johnson accomplished this through miscegenation, diplomacy, and alliances. Barton accomplished this through ministry and political advocacy.⁵⁴⁸

⁵⁴⁷ Jeffries, Theodore. "Thomas Barton (1730-1790) Victim of the Revolution." Lancaster History. The Research Center & Historic Collections, August 19, 2022. https://collections.lancasterhistory.org/media/library/docs/edit_vol81no1pp39_64.pdf.

⁵⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

The pamphlet and the view of Barton were representative of the vast population of people within the province. Steuart readily lamented the loss of Native American and Christian lives but sought to balance elitist criticism of the Paxton Boys with a tempered examination of the conditions and corruption which led to the massacre of the Natives under government protection. Barton's claims were substantiated with examples and citations of quotes from Assemblymen and from witnesses at settler massacres.

Despite his sympathy for the frontier settlers, he still referred to them as "INSURGENTS"; which exhibited a lack of agreement with the violence they had committed. It also implies that frontier settlers were in a rebellious mood and that they had begun to act in such a way that was contrary to the governing institution. The gentlemen wrote that the insurgents "themselves hand about a Kind of *Manifesto*, which contains the following Declaration, Grievances, Complaints, &c.---viz."⁵⁴⁹

This manifesto was considered a "trifling Dispute" between the settlers and French traders on the *Ohio* was neglected when petitioned for redress. It is important to consider that while this landed and secure gentleman wrote the letter and considered the dispute trifling, it was not so to the frontiersmen. A dispute over fur or bounty rights could adversely affect the fortunes and ability to survive of a frontier family. What is more, is that these rights had been in play during the French and Indian War, where the government allowed these booties to the Indian fighters in exchange for their services. To have such a complaint ignored by their government

⁵⁴⁹ "The Conduct of the Paxton-men, impartially represented: with some remarks on the Narrative." Barton, Thomas. Philadelphia: Printed by Andrew Steuart., 1764. (America's Historical Imprints, Early American Imprints. Series 1, no. 9594). 1.

after services had been rendered was an affront to their honor. And since the culture of the Irish and Scots Irish based itself largely on honor, the affront was grievous.

Frontier petitioners requested a proprietary allotment offer of 400 pounds to erect a small fortification over the disputed area and a maintenance of 100 pounds years toward the support of the fort. However, Thomas Barton argued that the proposition was “contemptuously rejected till it kindled the Flames of War, which at last spread and raged over half the Globe”.⁵⁵⁰ The construction of a fort to maintain the boundaries of hunting, trapping, and trading areas that had previously been agree upon was not just about profit, but also about security. Without the security of a fort, the settlers were on their own for protection. But the settlers didn’t just have the French to worry about, other enemies took notice of the lack of fortification, protection, and government apathy where frontier settlements were concerned.

The observer, Barton, chronicled that:

from the Neglect of the *Legislative Part* of this Province, and the horrid Doctrines of *Non-Resistance* at the Time so strenuously maintain’d such Calamities ensued, that near *one Hundred Miles* of as thrivin a Settlement as any in Pennsylvania has been reduced to Desolation; many of the Inhabitants murdered or carried into Captivity, and the Rest often drove from their Habitations in the utmost Distress and Want.--And besides these particular Effects of this War, some of the best Blood in Christendom has been spilt in it- whole Kingdoms have been almost depopulated; and Misery and Ruin entail’d upon Millions of their Fellow Creatures.”⁵⁵¹

The gentleman affirmed the complaints of the frontiersmen that whole families had been butchered, homesteads and crops were destroyed and plundered, and many of those who resisted

⁵⁵⁰ “The Conduct of the Paxton-men, impartially represented: with some remarks on the Narrative.” Barton, Thomas. Philadelphia: Printed by Andrew Steuart., 1764. (America’s Historical Imprints, Early American Imprints. Series 1, no. 9594). 2.

⁵⁵¹ *Ibid.*

the onslaught and lived, were crippled for life. The kidnapping of settlers was one of the main grievances listed by the frontiersmen. Such settlers as farmer James Macculough survived many attacks, but in one instance two of his sons were kidnapped. One son returned from captivity after nearly two decades of captivity, but the other son was never heard from again.⁵⁵² His position was not uncommon, as many of his neighbors suffered similar hardships.

They couldn't understand why there was inaction for years about returning their loved ones. The government was giving aid and protection to the Natives but couldn't be troubled to do the same for the settlers. The gentleman author revealed the suspicion (which the settlers also expressed) that there was deliberate delay or inaction on the part of the government.

He wrote:

“That even in the Midst of this Desolation and Carnage, every publick Measure was clogg'd- the King's Demands for Men and Money procrastinated- unnecessary, or at least ill-timed Disputes, about *Proprietary Instructions and Taxes*, were brought upon the Carpet, in Order to divert the Reproach and Dishonour which the Province, thro' Quaker Measures, had incurr'd and thow the whole Blame of the War at the *Proprietary Doors*”.⁵⁵³

This accusation that the back counties who had petitioned were scapegoated in the legislative chambers, and by those means deprived or delayed in receiving assistance is nefarious. The idea of such operations may have seemed far-fetched if the author had not given

⁵⁵² *James MacCullough Journal, 1748-1758*. James McCullough Journal, 1748-1758. Accessed February 20, 2022. <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/fulcrum.p5547t64t>.

⁵⁵³ “The Conduct of the Paxton-men, impartially represented: with some remarks on the Narrative.” Barton, Thomas. Philadelphia: Printed by Andrew Steuart., 1764. (America's Historical Imprints, Early American Imprints. Series 1, no. 9594). 4.

the example of a Native American leader who was used as a pawn to muddy the waters. He wrote:

“And that this villainous Scheme might carry with it a better Face, the late infamous TEDYUSCUNG was treated with, and employed to chard the Proprietaries with having defrauded the Indians of some Lands, and to declare that this was the Occasion of all their Uneasiness and Enmity to the *English*.- But infamous as TEDYUSCUNG was, he own’d at last that his Complaints were unjust; publickly renounc’d his Claim, and declared in open Treaty⁵⁵⁴ that he was urged to act this base Part, and that he was only the *Mouth of some Persons* in *Philadelphia* whom he did not chuse to name.”⁵⁵⁵

While the settlers in the backcountry awaited reinforcements, aid, and the return of their loved ones as agreed with the natives, more desolation and warfare were made between them. The lives of frontier settlers meant little to those some of those in the legislative chamber, and if accusations are to be believed, this was an art of warfare used by elite Quakers to meet their own ends.

Thomas Barton, the pamphlet author, later went on to piggyback the letter of the backcountry gentleman with affirmations of the grievances and sufferings of the people as unjust. He wrote:

“That tho’ born to Liberty, and all the glorious Rights and Privileges of BRITISH SUBJECTS, they were denied Protection, at a Time when the Cries of Murder and Distress might have made the very Stones relent; and tho’ roused to Vengeance and eager to maintain and defend their Lives and sacred Rights, their Hands were basely tied up!’

They could obtain nor proper Law to collect their Strength; nor any sanction or Encouragement to pursue the Enemies of their Country!’

⁵⁵⁴ “The Conduct of the Paxton-men, impartially represented: with some remarks on the Narrative.” Barton, Thomas. Philadelphia: Printed by Andrew Steuart., 1764. (America’s Historical Imprints, Early American Imprints. Series 1, no. 9594). 4.

⁵⁵⁵ “A TREATY, Held at the Town of *Lancafter*, in PENNSYLVANIA, By the HONOURABLE the Lieutenatn-Governor of the PROVINCE, the Commiffioners for the PROVINCES OF VIRGINIA and MARYLAND, WITH THE INDIANS OF THE SIX NATIONS, In *JUNE, 1744*.” *Indian Treaties Printed by Benjamin Franklin, 1736–1762*. Philadelphia, PA: The Historical Society of Pennsylvania. 1744. 41-79.

That they have suffered and bled in the Cause of the Country, and have done more to protect it from the Violence of a rapacious Enemy than any other in the Province.’

That agreeable to the Command of the Prophet, they have “fought for their Brethren, their Sons, and their Daughters, and their Wives and their Houses.”---That in this Contest, many of them have lost their dearest Relatives; their Houses, their Lands, their all; and from a plentiful independent People have been reduced to *Misery* and *Want*.”⁵⁵⁶

This indignation at the sufferings of the frontiersmen in the face of an uncaring government practicing paternalism over them is acute. The author made special note of the fighting history of the frontiersmen. Having acted as Indian fighters in the late French and Indian war, and then as veterans returning to homesteads decimated in times of supposed peace, these people had been forced into a permanent state of guerilla warfare and survival. The problem was that their homesteads were permanent in placement and were therefore easy targets for mobile raiders. It was not as easy to strike back against Native Americans, and it was forbidden by the governments. To make matters worse, those who were accused of murdering Natives who were considered by the government to be peaceful, were extradited to a city to be judged by peers who were not privy to hardships and conditions surrounding the combat of these frontier Indian fighters.

The pamphlet also addressed the exact menial number of representatives in the legislative chambers that the back counties had:

“That they have been treated as *Aliens* of the Commonwealth, and denied a just and *proportonable Share in Ledigslations*: For that out of 36 Members which the eight Counties in the Province sead to the Assembly, the three Counties of *Philadelphia*, *Chester* and *Burke*, where the Quakers are chiefly settled, return 26 of that Number;

⁵⁵⁶ “The Conduct of the Paxton-men, impartially represented: with some remarks on the Narrative.” Barton, Thomas. Philadelphia: Printed by Andrew Steuart., 1764. (America’s Historical Imprints, Early American Imprints. Series 1, no. 9594). 4.

where the 5 remaining Counties, where there LORDLY RULERS could have no Chance of getting elected, are suffered to send but the Ten.”⁵⁵⁷

This statement highlighted the issue that the frontier settlers had little to no say in the laws which governed them. What it also reveals is that the class of legislators in office had political agendas and their own interests to serve. It also alludes to the probability that the election system was rigged in such a way as to deny adequate and competent representation of the back settlements. In short, the authorities in power had purposefully crafted a system that excluded the frontier settlers and their interests.

The system of government under which the frontier settlements fell appeared to set them up for failure, not only by ignorance of their grievances, but also by tying their hands when they needed to fight to defend themselves. Barton to argue:

“That by this inquisitous Policy, the Inhabitants of these five Frontier Counties, altho’ a great Majority, have been rendered⁵⁵⁸ unable to act in Defense of their Lives and Properties; and therefor have lain for above eight Years at the Mercy of a cruel Savage Enemy and an unrelenting Quaker Faction; Whereas had they been justly represented in Legislation, instead of presenting PACIFIC ADDRESSES to the Assembly, telling them that “the raising large Sums of Money, and putting them into the Hands of COMMITTEES, who might apply them to Purposes inconsistent with their PEACAVLE TESTIMONY, was in its Consequences destructive of RELIGIOUS LIBERTY’. Instead of doing this, UI say, the first great Law of Nature, that of SELF-DEFNCE, would have been administer to the People upon the first Alarm of Danger, and the Hands of the HARDY and the BRAVE would have been set at Liberty til they had taken ample Vengeance of their MURDERERS.”⁵⁵⁹

⁵⁵⁷ “The Conduct of the Paxton-men, impartially represented: with some remarks on the Narrative.” Barton, Thomas. Philadelphia: Printed by Andrew Steuart., 1764. (America’s Historical Imprints, Early American Imprints. Series 1, no. 9594). 5.

⁵⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

This accounting of petitions to the proper authorities in a respectful manner is filled with argumentative material about why the frontiersmen were not to receive help. When the subject was addressed, the typical Quaker answer was that it was ungodly to approve of warfare, let alone fund it, yet there are several cases where this was done in order to protect certain settlements. Time and again, multiple petitions were ignored, and so the Indian Fighters then stood between a rock and a hard place. Once the Province had needed their protection (during the French and Indian War). Even after the treaties, Indian wars still took place. This happened for a variety of reasons. But Native Americans were not blind to the disunion of the colonies with their outlying settlements. The frontier settlers were an invisible people to the government. This was not just because they had been pushed to the farthest reaches of British American civilization, but also because they were Irish and Scots Irish.

In support of this, Barton pointed in his pamphlet to one lawmaker who burst out on the House floor with his true feelings on the frontier settlers:

“That they have often, in the most suppliant Manner, laid their Grievance before the Assembly, and instead of being redress’d, have been abused, insulted, and even by some Members of the *venerable House*, deem’d as unworthy of Protection, as “A Pack of insignificant SCOTCH-IRISH, who if they were all *killed*, could well enough be spared.”⁵⁶⁰

This speech was made by an elitist Quaker on the House floor and similar remarks were made by other members of the House. The fact that the speaker felt comfortable enough on the House floor to spew such unchristian sentiment about an entire ethnicity of citizenry under the governance of the Crown speaks volumes. It shows the utter disregard that the government had

⁵⁶⁰ “This unchristian and ungenerous Speech was made by N__L G__n, a Quaker, Member of Assembly for *Chester County*, and from others”. “The Conduct of the Paxton-men, impartially represented: with some remarks on the Narrative.” Barton, Thomas. Philadelphia: Printed by Andrew Steuart., 1764. (America’s Historical Imprints, Early American Imprints. Series 1, no. 9594). 6.

for the Scots Irish as a people. It also shows that the loss of their lives, properties, and livelihoods was of little, if any, consideration to several representatives in that House. Most profoundly, it rejects the Quaker belief of pacifism in the extermination of a people who were viewed as inferior and expendable. In short, this speech made it seem a relief that many of the people in the region might be wiped out. The morose part of the scheme was that these settlers had been the barriers that allowed such an elitist to spew such callous venom in response to their grievances. These Scots Irish had carved out civilization and continued to push the frontier further back on the continent. And when war had broken out, it was the Scots Irish and Irish Indian fighters who engaged the enemy and served as a barrier for eastern settlements.

Among other grievances, there were times when the settlers were forbidden to trade with the Native Americans, and yet Indian agents were permitted to continue to do so. The agents made a great profit, while backcountry settlers were left wanting. The more sinister aspect of the trade that the Indian agents were enabled to complete was the trade of weapons and ammunition; that were sometimes used upon the frontier settlers. On top of this, their families were never entreated for release from captivity as promised. This had been one of the things holding back further bloodshed and warfare made by the Irish and Scots Irish Indian fighters.

But as Barton said:

“That at a Time when their ungenerous and mericless Enemies, had again, without the least provocation, invaded the Province, with the *very* Arms and Ammunition which they received at the late Treaties; and when the Frontiers were yet reeking with eh Blood of their slaughter’d inhabitants; and the murdered Ghosts of their Friends and Relatives cry’d aloud for Vengeance, a Number of Indians (many of which were concerned in this horrid Butchery) were escorted, cherished, and maintained in Luxury and Idleness, whilst they, the poor Sufferers, were abandoned to Misery , and left to starve, or beg their Bread.

That upon seeing themselves thus abused and thus neglected, and considering that the Influence of a *Quaker Faction* was the Source from whence all these Evils flow’d; and

that *pretended* Scruples against War and Fighting were the Root from whence all their Calamities and heavy Sufferings sprang, and if yet permitted, might produce worse and more heavy, they were determined to bear no longer.”⁵⁶¹

After years of peaceful petitioning, and even traveling en masse to Philadelphia to protest, the frontier settlers had had enough. Those among them who were most aggrieved and incensed took matters into their own hands and determined to rid the Province of Native Americans in totality; whereby the threat of espionage and betrayal would be eliminated. The ancient ways of war that were endemic to the Irish and Scots Irish people after centuries of borderland fighting both on the North American and European continents were applied. If the government would not give redress, then it was evident no help would be forthcoming, and a people that were used to helping themselves prepared for war. It was not a total war upon a nation, but it was a war to eliminate a threat and to secure their own region.

It was just the frontiersmen who acted that had these feelings. There was evidence that the majority of the affected counties shared the same mindset and were fed up with the government and their lackadaisical management. The pamphlet author noted that “Nine tenths of the Back-Counties either tacitly, or openly, approve and support them--Every cool and well thinking Man, as well as Men among themselves, are feasibly that they were reduced to the Necessity of having Recourse to such Methods as might be dem’d an Insult to the Government and Laws of their King and County”.⁵⁶²

⁵⁶¹ “The Conduct of the Paxton-men, impartially represented: with some remarks on the Narrative.” Barton, Thomas. Philadelphia: Printed by Andrew Steuart., 1764. (America’s Historical Imprints, Early American Imprints. Series 1, no. 9594). 8.

⁵⁶² *Ibid.*

The frontier settlers had concluded that “Quakers were never against arms and fighting so long as they believed their cause was just. Given examples of Cromwell that they were good soldiers”.⁵⁶³ This cements the collective belief that there was an empiricist faction, which the pamphleteer had accused as being the “Quaker faction” who made war solely if it benefitted their interests and could be written off as a noble cause. In essence, they were “cafeteria Quakers” picking and choosing what scruples they would maintain at certain junctures.

In fact, after the Native Americans in question in Pennsylvania were brought into the town, witnesses remarked that the Quakers had soldiers at the location and that they might have been called to the assistance for defending the natives from the Paxton Boys. However, the eyewitnesses also alleged that the rage and number of people with the Paxtonians, would have been too overwhelming to have made a difference. Witnesses noted that even if there had been 10,000 soldiers, it would have been impossible for them to retrieve and properly draw up their arms before the Paxtonians executed their purpose. This relayed how swift, decisive, and overwhelming was the action against the natives.⁵⁶⁴

The author argued that the Narratives were also misrepresented by saying that they drug the bodies out of the street, where he had good authority that they were never removed until they had been taken to their graves.⁵⁶⁵ Noted that their conduct of late had been suspicious, having spies and corresponded with their enemies.⁵⁶⁶ The author also argued that three quarters of the population were affected by the frontier violence and displacement due to Native American

⁵⁶³ “The Conduct of the Paxton-men, impartially represented: with some remarks on the Narrative.” Barton, Thomas. Philadelphia: Printed by Andrew Steuart., 1764. (America’s Historical Imprints, Early American Imprints. Series 1, no. 9594). 9.

⁵⁶⁴ *Ibid*, 22.

⁵⁶⁵ *Ibid*.

⁵⁶⁶ *Ibid*, 23.

hostilities. To eschew their petitions without redress and to top it off harbor the supposed perpetrators behind government shielding was just too much to be borne. These settlers were being taxed, being assaulted, murdered, kidnapped, tortured, and disfigured, only to watch the people that they believed (and had intelligence to assert) perpetrated these atrocities, hide behind the protection of the very government that was supposed to be protecting the frontiers people. Also, if three quarters of the population were truly affected, their dismal representation in the House was indeed fixed. The author even compared the Provincial government to that of other colonies and countries to make the point that what was happening in the Province of Pennsylvania at this point was in stark contrast with the traditional rules of war and peace for an empire.

Thomas Barton went on to plead the case of the frontier people:

“Is it any Wonder then if the unhappy Frontier People were really *mad with Rage*, (as they express themselves) under such cruel Treatment?---Shall *Heathens*, shall *Traytors*, shall *Rebels* and *Murderers* be protected, cloathed and fed?”⁵⁶⁷

Barton pointed out that the Natives were greatly cared for and received food, clothing, medicine and entertainment in various houses whenever they should “complain”, yet the frontier settlers were often left in rags, or as Barton described “naked”. He asserted that the poor settlers who were subjects of Britain were forced to beg for bread and necessaries when they were left in a state of want.

⁵⁶⁷ “The Conduct of the Paxton-men, impartially represented: with some remarks on the Narrative.” Barton, Thomas. Philadelphia: Printed by Andrew Steuart., 1764. (America’s Historical Imprints, Early American Imprints. Series 1, no. 9594). 23.

The last statement rings of ethnicism. The Dutch may have been placed higher on the social rung, but the Irish were lowest on the social scale. They had been troublesome to Governors of the provinces because of their temperament and their tenacity and determination in settling land. This tenacity and determination sometimes put them into direct conflict with British troops, Native Americans, and other colonial powers on the North American continent. But there was something deeper there. Just as many of the Irish despised the British for their historical subjugation of both Scottish and Irish lands, the British brought their own long term prejudices and dislike for the Irish and the Scots Irish to the North American continent. The case was even more poignant where Irish Catholics were concerned.

Thomas Barton went on to paint the picture of the lives that these Indian fighters on the frontiers were living for generations, and how the spark of wars and the breaking of treaties directly affected them first and foremost:

“O what a Scene does it discover---The Husband lamenting his murder’d faithful Wife’---The Wife tearing her Hair in all the Horror of Distress, shrieking, and calling upon her breathless Husband to hasten to her Relief!--*Rachael* weeping for her dear Children, who are now no more’---*Here* lies the provident Father welt’ring in his own Blood, his Scalp tore off, his Body ript up, his Bowels dragg’d out, and his private Parts stuffed into his Mouth! --- *There* the virtuous tender Mother lies stretched on her Bed, dreadfully mangles, with her new-born Infant scalp’d and placed under her Head for a Pillow, and a Stake drove into her. - - - Modesty forbids me to say more! ---On *this side* lie the Bodies of a numerous Family, half devoured by Wolves and Swine! ---On *that Side* lie the mangled Limbs of Men, Women, Children, and Brute Beasts, promiscuously scattered upon the Earth, Scare to be distinguished from one another’---Or perhaps the Bodies of these unhappy People, with their Horses, their Cattle, their Houses and their Grain, all burnt to Ashes in one general Falme!”⁵⁶⁸

⁵⁶⁸ “The Conduct of the Paxton-men, impartially represented: with some remarks on the Narrative.” Barton, Thomas. Philadelphia: Printed by Andrew Steuart., 1764. (America’s Historical Imprints, Early American Imprints. Series 1, no. 9594).

These glimpses into the daily lives of frontier settlers paint to life the horrors that frontier settlers lived in compared to the relative ease that the Quakers enjoyed in the city. Were they subject to these sorts of raids? Generally speaking, it was highly uncommon; especially as the frontier expanded ever westward, thanks in part to these very frontiersmen. In closing to Stuart's pamphlet he wrote that in "short, it appears that they would have been safe in any Part of the known World---except in the Neighbourhood of the RELENTLESS and OBSTINATE QUAKERS OF PENNSYLVANIA!"⁵⁶⁹ The last sentence brought home the failures of the British empire and particularly the Quakers in the collective governance of North America. It also gave rise to the idea that the atrocities were somehow composed as a form of ethnic cleansing by the Quaker faction.

These rebellious, and some might argue, seditious pamphlets became more common, and word spread up and down the frontier. The parallel experiences of frontiersmen and Indian fighters all over the North American continent fostered a spirit of rebellion among the Irish and Scots Irish that had remained dormant since their days in Ireland. Some had never forgotten their or their forefathers' disdain for the British, but it must have been there always, lying just below the surface. No one could argue that these now law-abiding British citizens did not do everything in their lawful power to find a solution to the problem of repeated attacks upon themselves. For many of these citizens their faith went hand in hand with their ethnicity (most Scots Irish were Presbyterian, while many of the Gaelic Irish were Catholic). Representatives spoke to Presbyterian churches and leadership regarding the issues at hand and their faith fused their purpose.

⁵⁶⁹ "The Conduct of the Paxton-men, impartially represented: with some remarks on the Narrative." Barton, Thomas. Philadelphia: Printed by Andrew Steuart., 1764. (America's Historical Imprints, Early American Imprints. Series 1, no. 9594). 32.

With these heightened animosities among the triangle of frontier participants, the Provincial Government, the frontiersmen, and the Native Americans, the colonies slipped into an ever more precarious political state. There was distrust and suspicion on all sides and all these tensions culminated in cyclical atrocities on every side, but that of the government. The British government's duplicitous role in the situation in the colony. The government's inaction evoked a feeling of no confidence amongst the Irish settlers and even resentment. The Irish settlers began to believe that by their military prowess and fortitude, that they had a hand to play in civil affairs. By this time, the seeds of revolutionary spirit had been planted and were on the cusp of breaching the surface.

Chapter 5: Frontier Ablaze: Fallout with Imperial Britain, Dunmore's War, the Watauga Settlement, and Native American and European Settler Conflict through the American Revolution

Tensions between frontier settlers and the British government grew more strained with the increase of the Irish and Scots Irish population. Social prejudices against the Irish and Scots Irish were heightened and commonplace to the point that certain lawmakers and members of government were suspicioned of condoning the killing of frontier settlers through antipathy and inaction. Frontier grievances remained unredressed, while accused perpetrators of hostilities were often treated with great concern. As tensions and distrust of the British government on the frontier increased, so too did hostilities between Native Americans and frontier settlers. What's more, as the British government became more alarmed at the attitudes and behaviors of its citizens in America, it encouraged attacks upon frontier settlements that were thought to be hotbeds of insurgency. These conditions led to heightened political tensions and distrust of the British government by the Irish and Scots Irish frontiersmen.

King George III believed the root cause of the Revolution in America was the Irish and Scots Irish. He was said to have had an outburst in which he remarked: Those pestiferous Presbyterians are always in unrest and will be until they are wiped out."⁵⁷¹ While the displeasure of the British establishment for the Irish was clear, there was something to their claim that the Irish were a threat. As frontier tensions heightened, British agency also increased. Native Americans were incentivized to attack settlements in some cases and were driven farther into the continental interior in other cases. These power plays came at the expense of the frontier

⁵⁷¹ King George III in McCarthy, Karen Frances. *The Other Irish: Scots-Irish Rascals That Made America*. New York, NY: Sterling, 2011. 96.

communities, who not only took the brunt of violence, but were also compelled to fight in the militia for their King and their homes. The utilization of the frontier militia for empirical ambitions was never clearer than in the case of Lord Dunmore's War in 1774. The expansion of European settlements had compressed Native American tribes to the point of great discontent and a confederacy was formed among the Shawnee, Mingo, and Delaware tribes, which numbered over 1,000 warriors to push back against encroachment in the Ohio Valley. Lord Dunmore had an eye to expand western boundaries for further European settlement.

The militia of Virginia was called up to meet the threat and was hastily assembled. It numbered over 1,000 of settlers from the backcountry from the Shenandoah Valley who were of Irish, Scots Irish, or German lineage. Many of them had adapted Native American warfare tactics, weaponry, and dress; and many were skilled in the use of their adapted long rifles, which afforded them more accuracy. They were not adherent to traditional military standards and would sometimes even answer Native American war-whoops with a "halloo" that they used for hunting.⁵⁷² They were also indoctrinated into a warrior class culture that had existed for generations before their forebearers had left Ireland and they were accustomed to a culture of border violence from the old times. Skilled and formidable warriors they may have been, yet they also carried with them the stubbornness and intense distrust in authority figures. Military commanders remarked that they were almost impossible to discipline but that they were cunning and destructive soldiers when motivated.⁵⁷³ It is fitting that the militia was led by Militia

⁵⁷² Luu, Chi. "The Legendary Language of the Appalachian 'Holler' - Jstor Daily." JSTOR Daily, August 8, 2018. <https://daily.jstor.org/the-legendary-language-of-the-appalachian-holler/>.

⁵⁷³ Campbell, Charles, Andrew Lewis, and Virginia infantry. 6th regiment (1776-1778). *The Orderly Book of that Portion of the American Army Stationed at Or Near Williamsbury, Va., Under the Command of General Andrew Lewis, from March 18th, 1776, to August 28th, 1776*. Richmond, Va: Priv. print, 1860.

General Andrew Lewis, and Irishman from a Presbyterian background who had significant command experience, and an understanding of the Irish and Scots Irish countenance.⁵⁷⁴ The *Orderly Book of General Lewis* painted his men as staunch and reliable soldiers.

Dunmore's war was an extremely violent and drawn-out campaign with imperial ends. It cost the frontiersmen and their families dearly. Casualties were exorbitantly high, and many settlers never left the battleground. Elizabeth Crawley, the widow of a militiaman killed in action was left destitute along with her many children, as the government never disbursed any sort of compensation or pension in lieu of the loss of her husband.⁵⁷⁵ Other frontiersmen were seriously wounded and disabled for life, unable to tend to their farms, or provide for their families. This in turn left the families in a poor state. These cases demonstrate that the Irish and Scots Irish frontiersmen were drawn upon for their military utilization in an ideological conflict where Britain stood to gain territory. Their skill was needed to sharpshoot and for hand-to-hand combat in terrain that was not conducive to traditional regimental warfare. But the catch was that they were expendable and only seen as pawns. There was no compensation for those who were called to comprise the militia. The only reasons that they had to go to war were to eradicate the Native American threat, or to sate a bloodthirst of revenge from a previous loss.⁵⁷⁶

Once the smoke cleared from Dunmore's War, word of the conflict began to spread throughout the colonies and Great Britain. It was met with extreme criticism and as tensions

⁵⁷⁴ Campbell, Charles, Andrew Lewis, and Virginia infantry. 6th regiment (1776-1778). *The Orderly Book of that Portion of the American Army Stationed at Or Near Williamsbury, Va., Under the Command of General Andrew Lewis, from March 18th, 1776, to August 28th, 1776*. Richmond, Va: Priv. print, 1860.

⁵⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷⁶ Macfarlane, R O. "The Indian Wars of Pennsylvania: An Account of the Indian Events in Pennsylvania, of the French and Indian War, Pontiac's War, Lord Dunmore's War, the Revolutionary War, and the Indian Uprising from 1789 to 1795: Tragedies of the Pennsylvania Frontier." *Canadian historical review*. 11, no. 4 (1930): 163-164.

became more inflamed with the British rule in the colonies, Dunmore's War became one more mark against England. The Irish and Scots Irish had a long memory and a cultural spitefulness when they were slighted. Many Virginians accused Dunmore of instigating the war for advancement of personal interests. One veteran of Dunmore's War, Colonel John Stuart remarked that "Dunmore acted as a party to British politicians who wished to incite an Indian War which might prevent or distract the Virginia colony from the growing grievances with England."⁵⁷⁷ Such instances as this exhibit the role of the Irish Indian fighters as pawns in a larger game.

While his remarks may certainly have been true, some other critics also accused Dunmore of collusion with the Native Americans and duplicitously inciting hostilities to exterminate the Militia General Lewis and his Army. Some believed that Dunmore had assessed them to be numerous and skilled enough to pose a considerable threat with the volatile conditions in the colony, and that he took a page from Lord Chichester's book in Ireland on dismantling the warrior class. It worked for the most part in Ulster and was certainly a motivation for Dunmore in his precarious situation. If he instigated Dunmore's War for personal, and certainly imperial gain, isn't it possible that he could also dismantle a threat to British Colonial rule at the same time? For his part General Lewis eventually came to believe that it was the Royal Governor's aim to remove Lewis and his men as a threat.⁵⁷⁸ General Lewis had been responsible for the success at the Battle of Point Pleasant, where Shawnee Chief Cornstalk had been conquered, as he brought troops comprised of militia and Cherokee allies from the southern

⁵⁷⁷ Stuart, John, Charles Stuart, and Virginia Historical Society. *Standing Committee. Memoir of Indian Wars and Other Occurrences*. Richmond, Va.: The Society, 1833.

⁵⁷⁸ Campbell, Charles, Andrew Lewis, and Virginia infantry. 6th regiment (1776-1778). *The Orderly Book of that Portion of the American Army Stationed at Or Near Williamsbury, Va., Under the Command of General Andrew Lewis, from March 18th, 1776, to August 28th, 1776*. Richmond, Va: Priv. print, 1860.

route to join Dunmore's forces. Lewis was an Irish-born frontiersman and soldier whose family was forced to flee Ireland after a dispute with their landlord had turned physical, resulting in the landlord's death.⁵⁷⁹ Lewis's family history along with his Irish and military identity may have been concerning to Dunmore. Even more concerning was his alliances with Cherokee warriors, who might have turned against Dunmore. Later in Revolutionary history, Lewis routed Dunmore from the Norfolk region.⁵⁸⁰

The Scots Irish frontiersmen had expanded the frontier into present-day Virginia and Tennessee's Holston River by 1772. Further west from that site was where Captain Evan Shelby surveyed a site in Tennessee, and other Scots Irish came to form the collective Watauga Association.⁵⁸¹ However impressive such a collective was, it was still not averse to frontier hazards. In 1774 Daniel Boone and Michael Senter were tasked by Virginia authorities to warn the Watauga settlement and surrounding areas of Dunmore's War. On September 24, 1774, the cabin of John Roberts on Reedy Creek was attacked. Roberts, his wife, and three out of his four children were killed. One of his sons, who was the lone survivor, was taken captive.⁵⁸² The boy was later found, but had been scalped, and the troops carried him to a nearby home where he detailed the massacre and apologized for not having been able to save his mother. He lingered in agony for some time and later died of his wounds, while lamenting and apologizing that he could not save his mother.⁵⁸³

⁵⁷⁹ Tyler, Lyon Gardiner. *Encyclopedia of Virginia Biography*, Vol 1. 1915. 277.

⁵⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸¹ Hoefling, Larry J. *Scots and Scotch Irish: Frontier Life in North Carolina, Virginia, and Kentucky*. Oklahoma: Inlandia, 2009. 62.

⁵⁸² *Ibid.*, 63.

⁵⁸³ *Ibid.*

The Watauga Settlement was considered a dangerous example to the rest of the colonial settlements in America by Lord Dunmore, who was the Governor of Virginia at the time. He said, “It is an encouragement to the people of America of forming governments distinct from and independent of His Majesty’s authority”.⁵⁸⁴ In a 1774 report to London, he wrote that “a set of people in the back part of the colony, bordering on Cherokee country, who finding they could not obtain the land they fancied have set up a separate state”.⁵⁸⁵

The Wataugans were in violation of the colonial laws of King George III and ignored all edicts from the Governor. They formed their own militia and negotiated with the Indians. They came to an agreement to lease their lands from the Cherokees initially and then later to make the purchase permanent. This exclusion of the British government from western frontier affairs and shunning of attempts to rule them concerned the government. On the other side of the perspective, the colonists began to question the proprietary rights and demand of the British government.⁵⁸⁶

The superintendent of Indian Affairs in North Carolina, Governor Martin wrote that:

“The Cherokee Nation is still extremely uneasy at the encroachment of the white people on their hunting grounds at Watauga River, where a very large settlement is formed upwards of fifty miles beyond the established boundary, and , as I am apprehensive that it consists of emigrants from your Province to which it is continuous, I must beg your excellency’s interposition to endeavor to prevail on them to remove; otherwise, the serious consequences may in a little time prove very fatal...should they then neglect to move off, I am much afraid it will be impossible to restrain the Indians from taking redress themselves by robbing and perhaps murdering some of the me”.⁵⁸⁷

⁵⁸⁴ Johnson, Sir William. *The Papers of Sir William Johnson*. Vol. 9. Albany: University of the State of New York. 1921-65. 231.

⁵⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸⁶ Williams, Glenn F. *Dunmore’s War : the Last Conflict of America’s Colonial Era*. Yardley, Pennsylvania: Westholme Publishing, 2017. 51.

⁵⁸⁷ Proclamation of Governor Martin of North Carolina, March 1774. Colonial Records of North Carolina. Vol. IX. 982.

For the first two years that the Watauga Association was in existence, they lived in relative tranquility with their Cherokee neighbors, but the blood feud earlier discussed became a catalyst for conflict when some white settlers refused to forgive previous attacks on their kinfolk in earlier days. This resulted in an Indian being shot and killed in 1774 while he was attending sports games that had been organized by the settlers at Sycamore Shoals. The fallout was immediate and nearly catastrophic. However, James Robertson was able to intervene with a companion who helped him speak directly with the Cherokee chiefs to communicate displeasure at the actions of the rogue who attacked the Indian and offered to make amends. The Cherokees in attendance were amenable, but the Shawnees waged merciless attacks that continued through the Revolutionary War.⁵⁸⁸

The feelings of discontent with the Wataugan settlements were further exacerbated by the fact that Governor Dunmore had given lands to the volunteers of the French and Indian Campaigns that were in direct violation of treaties that had been negotiated with the Native Americans previously.⁵⁸⁹ The Shawnees were most affected by these actions and lashed out by attacking the new settlements. As a result, Dunmore sent more volunteers to reinforce the settlements. Another group of militiamen was further dispatched in April of that year.

Dunmore further called more Scots Irish militiamen to repel the Shawnee raiders along the settlements and assigned several companies to be dispatched under General Andrew Lewis. These military actions during Dunmore's War lasted but a short time, but were vicious. Over

⁵⁸⁸Williams, Glenn F. *Dunmore's War: the Last Conflict of America's Colonial Era*. Yardley, Pennsylvania: Westholme Publishing, 2017. 212.

⁵⁸⁹ Kennedy, Billy. *The Scots Irish in the Carolinas*. Npl: Causeway Press, 1997. 55.

1500 militiamen faced the Shawnees, who had failed to recruit the Iroquois to their cause since their allegiances laid with the British according to their alliances forged with William Johnson.

While distrust among colonists on the American frontier grew, so did the displeasure of certain Native American tribes. In 1775, an ambitious judge and speculator from North Carolina named Richard Henderson partnered with Daniel Boone and brokered a deal with the Cherokee for the purchase of 20 million acres of land in modern day Kentucky and Tennessee. This land had been valuable hunting land for the Cherokee, and the deal was not well-received by the son of Little Carpenter, Dragging Canoe. He vehemently protested the deal. Despite his aspersions, Oconostota and Little Carpenter signed the deal. After the ceremonies were concluded, Dragging Canoe told Henderson, "You have bought a fair land, but you will find its settlement dark and bloody."⁵⁹⁰

Dragging Canoe and other young warriors carried the resentment of the land sale with them and plotted revenge. One year later, as attacks commenced across the frontier, Dragging Canoe led the majority of the Chickamauga forces that were based in the Overhill towns in attacks on the Watauga settlements.⁵⁹¹ Dragging Canoe employed an effective tactic of ambush attacks and stealthy retreats to inflict maximum fear and damage while incurring minimal casualties.

Over the next decade after 1775, Indian raids were commonplace, as were retributive atrocities committed by frontiersmen. There were also conflicts over trapping, hunting, trading,

⁵⁹⁰ Brown, John P. *Old Frontiers: The Story of the Cherokee Indians From Their Earliest Times to the Date of Their Removal to the West*. 1838.

⁵⁹¹ Haywood, *Civil and Political History of Tennessee*, Appendix.

and land encroachment which fueled attacks on both sides. As the American Revolution came in to focus, the Irish and Scots Irish fought in higher numbers than colonists of British descent and they composed a hefty amount of the Continental Army. Indian fighters of Irish ethnicity who joined the Continental ranks applied their knowledge of guerilla warfare and tactics that they had gained through frontier experience, to warfare against the British and their native allies.

Despite the stereotypical role of the Irishman as a mercenary, their role in the American Revolution was the complete opposite. They were among the staunchest volunteers, and many of them stayed long after conditions had forced others to desert. The Irish and Scots Irish who joined the ranks of the Continental Army were from the populous eastern towns and cities, but the secret weapon that the Continentals had in their pocket were the Irish and Scots Irish Indian fighters who had joined because they were tired of being ignored and they wished to protect the lives that they had built for themselves. They literally hauled their lives out of the wilderness with their own two hands. They had endured sufferings and hardships beyond measure. The relentless attacks on their homesteads, and the failure of the government to intervene had made mortal enemies of men who were prone to isolation and rarely involved themselves in the daily politics of the colony. However, when the frontier began to expand and the British government threatened to expand and enact certain laws and measures (such as the Stamp Act) upon the Irish and Scots Irish frontiersmen, they reacted unfavorably and many joined the Patriot cause, while others pushed further into the West.

These men (and women) were a hearty breed. Some had been on the frontier for generations; others had freshly arrived within a lifetime. When hostilities broke out on the frontier, the first thing that the British and their Indian agents did was to take advantage of their Native American alliances by setting the frontier ablaze with unmitigated guerilla warfare.

Native allies, most notably the Cherokee, were given free license, and even encouraged to wreak havoc among the troublesome frontiersmen. Rather than have the effect of subduing the frontiersmen, it only served to fire their resolve to topple British colonial rule.

One historian noted that though the Irish Scots Irish in America were most likely to serve in higher numbers and for more extensive periods of time, that this was because many of them were poor, disadvantaged, and uneducated. He surmised that this made them more likely to serve in Washington's Army for extended periods of time.⁵⁹² This historian also noted that the makeup of colonial society during the Revolutionary era consisted of more Irish Catholics, and even larger proportion of Irish and Scots Irish Presbyterian than at any other time in American history.⁵⁹³

The Native American tribes like the Stockbridge Mohegan went on to play important roles on the frontier. Continental commander Daniel Morgan (of Scots Irish background) directed them to skirmish General Burgoyne's (British commander) forces for weeks on end. The consistent attacks played a role in wearing down the force, depleting morale, and heightening anxieties. Burgoyne's wearied force was not in top shape for battle, and on October 17, 1777, they were defeated and surrendered at Saratoga.⁵⁹⁴

As mentioned in previous chapters, the frontier fostered a lot of different types of relationships. There were relationships of enmity, there were commercial relationships, and there were marital relationships. As afraid of many of the east coast elite were of the newly arrived

⁵⁹² Hunt, Owen B. *The Irish and the American Revolution: Three Essays*. Philadelphia: O. Hunt, 1976. 22-26, 101.

⁵⁹³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹⁴ Cubbison, Douglas R. "Petite Guerre: Saratoga's Small War". *Patriots of the American Revolution*, vol. 4, issue 5 (Spe

Irish blood mixing with the British, there was not much of a threat there. However, the marital relationships fostered on the frontiers produced a new type of assimilated ethnicity: that of the “Irish Indian”. Intermarriage between the two ethnicities was met with little prejudice on from the natives as well as the frontier Irish and Scots Irish. Members of Rogers Rangers intermarried with some of the Mohawk.⁵⁹⁵

Children who were born to parents of both ethnicities walked between two worlds, though they were sometimes shunned by European settlers in the New World. However, they were often most helpful in diplomacy on the frontier, as well as interpretation. The case of one Charles Murphy bore witness to this fact. He was an interpreter for the Creek Indians during the American Revolution. Unfortunately, patriot militia forces were not inclined to appreciate his serves and attempted to hang him, although he was later released.⁵⁹⁶ Before the Revolution, there were periodic stories of people who had assimilated into native tribes and did not care to return to European civilization. During the Revolution, some Irishmen found desertion of the British Army in order to live with the Cherokee in relative peace more enticing⁵⁹⁷.

The Irish and Scots Irish who fought in the Revolution made indelible impressions on visiting dignitaries who had the opportunity to see them in action and to observe their manner. The Marquis de Chastellux, Francois Jean, who had served as a Major General under

⁵⁹⁵ Zaboly, Gary S. *American Colonial Ranger: The Northern Colonies, 1724-64*. Oxford: Osprey, 2004. 26.

⁵⁹⁶ Buchanan, John. *Jackson's Way: Andrew Jackson and the People of the Western Waters*. Edison, NJ: Castle Books, 2005. 44.

⁵⁹⁷ *Ibid*, 45.

Rochambeau with French expeditionary forces and had served in the American Revolution, wrote in his memoir that:

“An Irishman, the instant he set foot on American ground becomes, ipso facto, an American; this was uniformly the case during the whole of [the American Revolution]. Whilst Englishmen and Scotsmen were regarded with jealousy and distrust, even with the best recommendation [by revolutionary Americans in regard to their] zeal and attachment to their cause, a native of Ireland stood in need of no other certificate than his dialect [brogue]; his sincerity was never called in question, he was supposed to have a sympathy of suffering, and every voice decided as it were intuitively, in his favour. Indeed their conduct in the late revolution amply justified this favourable opinion; for whilst the Irish emigrant was fighting the battles of America by sea and land, the Irish merchants, particularly in Charleston, Baltimore, and Philadelphia, laboured with indefatigable zeal, and at all hazards, to promote the spirit of enterprise, to increase the wealth, and maintain the credit of the country; their purses were always open, and their persons devoted to the common cause. On more than one imminent occasion, Congress and their existence, and America possibly her preservation to the fidelity and firmness of the Irish”⁵⁹⁸.

This observation of the Irish manner of immigration not only notes the zeal of the Irish warrior, but also the roles of the Irish who were not soldiers. In the major cities, the Irish established themselves and merchants and were a tightly knitted community. While the merchants prospered, they also donated to the cause of liberty in the best way that they were able.

It is evident that the contributions of the Irish in the Revolutionary war were significant enough to garner the attention of King George III. His decision to make war upon the insurgents in America was based on intelligence that was submitted to him. There was a fear that if

⁵⁹⁸ Marquis De Chastellux. *Travels in North-America in the Years 1780-81-82*. New York: n.p.1828. 225-6.

Americans were successful in their rebellion, that Ireland would shortly follow suit. There was undoubtedly the fear that the Irish would turn the empire on its head.⁵⁹⁹

On June 19, 1775, the Oneida nation, one of the Six Nations of the Iroquois, declared neutrality to the Governor of Connecticut, Jonathan Trumbull following the revolt of many of the colonial citizens prior to the Declaration of Independence. The Oneida believed that they maintained their independent sovereignty among their tribal counterparts, and they further believed that the issues between Britain and her colonies was a war “between two brothers”.⁶⁰⁰ The Oneida declaration was addressed not only to Trumbull but to fellow Native American chiefs by Oneida sachems, female governesses of the Oneida and the warriors. This speech translated and penned by a missionary who lived among them named Samuel Kirkland. The context of the address was quite familial, with the term “brother” used in description of relationships held with fellow tribes and English Governors alike. They said,

“Brothers! We have heard of the unhappy differences and great contention betwixt you and old England. We wonder greatly, and are troubled in our minds.

Brothers! Possess your minds in peace respecting us Indians. We cannot intermeddle in this dispute between two brothers. The quarrel seems to be unnatural; you are two brothers of one blood. We are unwilling to join one other side in such a contest, for we bear an equal affection to both of you, Old and New-England. Should the great King of England apply to us for our aid, we shall deny him. If the Colonies apply, we will refuse. The present situation of you two

⁵⁹⁹ Tucker, Phillip Thomas. *How the Irish Won the American Revolution: The Forgotten Heroes of America's War of Independence*. New York, NY: Skyhorse Publishing, 2020. 20.

⁶⁰⁰ *American archives : consisting of a collection of authentick records, state papers, debates, and letters and other notices of publick affairs, the whole forming a documentary history of the origin and progress of the North American colonies; of the causes and accomplishment of the American revolution; and of the Constitution of government for the United States, to the final ratification thereof...*, Force, Peter, ed. Washington: M. St. Claire Clark and Peter Force, 1837. 1116-1117.

brothers is new and strange to us. We Indians can not find nor recollect in the traditions of our ancestors the like case or a similar instance.”⁶⁰¹

The Oneida begged for understanding from their addressees for the refusal of the Oneida to join in the fighting between the white settlers and the tribes that they were allied with, because of their wish for peace. They remarked that “was it an alien, a foreign Nation, which struck you, we should look into the matter. We hope, through the wise government and good pleasure of God, your distresses may soon be removed, and the dark cloud be dispersed.”⁶⁰² This notation was made to ensure that peace treaties between the Oneidas in the precarious political contest would remain intact. This shows a mature realization of the danger of the situation and a great level of diplomacy in maintaining good relations on their borders. As they believed that this declaration was for peace, they beseeched the addressees (especially other native tribal leaders) not to seek the involvement of other tribes. They wished that “Indians be all of one mind, and live in peace with one another, and you white people settle your own disputes betwixt yourselves.”⁶⁰³ This further illuminates the close regard in which many of the Native American leaders held their European counterparts, and the complicated nature of Native American alliances, when they were attempted for martial use in warfare throughout the colonies.

⁶⁰¹ *American archives : consisting of a collection of authentick records, state papers, debates, and letters and other notices of publick affairs, the whole forming a documentary history of the origin and progress of the North American colonies; of the causes and accomplishment of the American revolution; and of the Constitution of government for the United States, to the final ratification thereof...*, Force, Peter, ed. Washington: M. St. Claire Clark and Peter Force, 1837. 1116-1117.

⁶⁰² *Ibid.*

⁶⁰³ *Ibid.*

In conclusion, this chapter provides an understanding of the residual effects of the French and Indian War and how they set the stage for conflict leading into the Revolutionary period. Rather than problems dissolving in the colonies with the exit of the French, a disdain for the English and white settlement occurred. This moment in time appears to have been a moment where Native American tribes realized their independence from European politics and in some cases, civilization on the North American Continent was crucial to identity, survival, and the retention of Native lands and rights. Additionally, the military application of Irish Indian fighters as weapon of imperial conquest became more apparent. The intrinsic value of these fighters not only gave strength in military numbers, but expanded the scope of frontier warfare through guerilla tactics and diplomatic alliances. In the years prior to the American Revolution, resentment grew because Britain viewed the lands vacated by the French as prize by conquest, but the lands in fact already belonged to tribes such as the Shawnee and the Cherokee. From these events, a cycle of violence continued as frontier settlers and Native Americans attacked one another in what they deemed as retributive justice. The role of mobs exemplified the emerging American spirit of Independence from corrupt government rule and the belief that some of the settlers and Indian fighters received the results they wanted by taking matters into their own hands. This situation laid the foundation for the Chickamauga Wars and the role of Indian fighters in the American Revolution.

Chapter 6: Awakening a Ghost Army: Frontier Warfare during the Revolution, Assembly and March of Watauga Forces, “Fire and Sword”, and the Battle of Kings Mountain

In the summer of 1776, when hostilities were considered most imminent, the British gave the green light to their Indian agents to give the word to their Cherokee allies to wreak havoc on the frontier. The Cherokee had been provided with provisions, ammunition, and weaponry. The frontier was naturally the first place to unleash havoc, because the settlements were isolated, largely unprotected, and they were mostly Scots Irish or Irish and heavily Presbyterian.⁶⁰⁴ As many of the British authorities had believed that the Presbyterian faith had given rise to insurgency within the continental empire, the natural course of action was to attack those bastions of insurgency. The British also sent their naval forces to Charleston to secure the port, but troops on the eastern seaboard were also used in a pincer position to crush frontier opposition between themselves and the Cherokee to the west.

The Cherokee nation was set upon the vulnerable Irish Presbyterian populations of Pennsylvania and other outpost along the frontier as early as a decade before the Revolution by British encouragement. This was a tactic to quell a riotous, seditious, and multiplying population that was unpalatable in British opinion. One young Irishman recalled how their entire colony of Irish Presbyterians were forced to fort against rampaging Cherokees a decade before the Revolution.⁶⁰⁵

⁶⁰⁴ Swisher, James K. *The Revolutionary War in the Southern Back Country*. Gretna, LA: Pelican Pub. Co, 2008. 78-84.

⁶⁰⁵ *Ibid*, 469.

The Cherokee and Tory attacks upon the settlers during this precarious time reignited a hatred for the English in many young hearts. It almost appears that this ember had been passed from generation to generation, it was so deep seated. One teenage Scots Irish fighter remarked that “my brother, John Young, was murdered [by Loyalists and] I shall never forget my feelings when told of his death . . . and swore that I would never rest till I had avenged his death.”⁶⁰⁶ He made good on his vow and was said to have killed hundreds of Tories during his time.⁶⁰⁷

The British had used their Cherokee allies in an attempt to subdue rebellious populations of the Irish and Scots Irish on the frontier, but the Cherokee War of 1776 may have served the purpose of American rebellion in more ways than one. The atrocities committed by the Cherokees on perceptibly innocent settlers (to include women and children) infuriated anyone who witnessed, heard, or read about them. This garnered support against the Cherokee, and disdain for the British powers for not protecting countrymen who were their responsibility to protect. Furthermore, when it was suspicioned that the British had sanctioned these attacks, sparks of hate were ignited in the hearts of many an American. People who might have remained Loyal to the Crown could not conscionably align themselves as Loyalists. In essence, the wielding of the Cherokee on the frontier backfired on the British, as it became one of the largest recruiting tools for the patriots. From the Cherokee war, as well as the preceding French and Indian war, frontier Indian fighters got a swift and thorough education in Native America guerilla warfare, that they would turn and use on the British during the Revolution. Many of

⁶⁰⁶ Southern, Ed. *Voices of the American Revolution in the Carolinas*. Winston-Salem, NC: John F. Blair, Publisher, 2009. 86-87.

⁶⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

these young men who were educated in this manner became important leaders for the American cause. A few of these men were Francis Marion, Andrew Pickens, and Thomas Sumter.

However cleverly devised such a plan was, it had failed to account for the fires of passion in the hearts of veteran Indian fighters. These Indian fighters had lived through generations of their homesteads having been attacked. And they knew just how to make war upon the Cherokee who had allied themselves with the British oppressors. Through the rest of summer and fall of 1776, the frontier fighters destroyed a large number of Indian villages, crops, and storehouses in response in kind to the attacks upon frontier homesteads.⁶⁰⁸ The devastation was crippling and total. Many Cherokee villages were unable to recover from the attacks and were unable to support long-term warfare in the future. In early 1777, the Cherokee sued for peace and signed a peace treaty at Charleston to end the attacks upon their settlements.⁶⁰⁹ This treaty granted a level of peace and a small reprieve from Native American attacks in great volume. With this relative calm, the Indian fighters pushed further west into the frontier, and into newly opened lands, where warfare with other tribes who acted independently, or in tandem with European powers continued.

Conditions in the Revolution, especially upon the frontier, were far from comfortable, even with the Cherokee neutralized. The Scots Irish and Irish who had been victims of repeated devastation on the frontier remained. One observer wrote that the Irish and Scots Irish were well-suited to the frontier because they knew how to suffer. “ideal frontier people because they knew

⁶⁰⁸ Swisher, James K. *The Revolutionary War in the Southern Back Country*. Gretna, LA: Pelican Pub. Co, 2008. 78-84.

⁶⁰⁹ *Ibid*, 28.

how to suffer. There were always hardships that resulted in an abandonment of settlement, but most of the Irish and Scots Irish who migrated to the frontier, remained and persevered.⁶¹⁰ Even the warring Creek Indians were amazed at the resiliency of the Indian fighters and their families who had settled on the frontier. One remarked that they had a “restless disposition”.⁶¹¹

This restless disposition was confirmed in the examples of the James Collins family, who were Scots Irish immigrants and had been Indian fighters in the French and Indian War. The father once professed “I have . . . determined to take my gun and when I lay it down, I lay down my life with it . . . We must submit and become slaves, or fight [and] For my part, I am determined”.⁶¹²

Wealthy elitists, who often had a hand in colonial government affairs, and had little or no risk in martial matters, detested the Irish and Scots Irish while they “were comfortable members of the establishment living safely east of the mountains.”⁶¹³ After all, most of the upper crust in society were still of British stock and held onto traditional British values and prejudices throughout the Revolution. No matter what part of the colonies that the Irish and Scots Irish were in, they were second-class citizens, if considered at all, and as new influxes of Irish immigrants arrived, they were often treated with disdain and jeers of insults such as “St. Patrick’s Vermin.”⁶¹⁴

⁶¹⁰ Buchanan, John. *Jackson's Way: Andrew Jackson and the People of the Western Waters*. Edison, NJ: Castle Books, 2005. 34.

⁶¹¹ *Ibid.*

⁶¹² *Ibid.*, 78.

⁶¹³ *Ibid.*, 34.

⁶¹⁴ Dolan, Jay P. *The Irish Americans: A History*. New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2010. 19.

Such men as Samuel Clowney were hailed as Irish heroes. Like most Irish and Scots Irish, he had been obliged to leave the eastern cities after arriving and had gradually migrated across the Carolinas, until he settled in a place in South Carolina. He built a typical log cabin in the “settlement on the waters of Fair Forest, known as Ireland or the Irish Settlement, on account of the large number of settlers from the Emerald Isle.”⁶¹⁵ It wasn’t just the Irish fighting-spirit and martial prowess that gained victory, but the Irish wit and psychological warfare that they applied. Clowney was lauded for capturing five soldiers by feigning command of a detachment on orders to shoot, unless they surrendered. The small squad of Loyalists laid down their arms. Upon their return to camp with the prisoners, one officer asked, “Why Paddy [the popular name for an Irishman for the non-Irish], how did you take all these men?”⁶¹⁶ Clowney was said to have smiled and answered, “May it please yer honor by me faith, I surrounded them.”⁶¹⁷

Another Irish commander and folk hero was Anthony Wayne, who was a veteran Indian fighter and one of the most generals vigorous under Washington’s command. Stubborn to a fault, he sometimes infuriated his superiors, but he and his faithful Irish and Scots Irish soldiers could be counted on to complete the most daunting missions with the utmost tenacity. Wayne was given command of two elite units, the First and Second Pennsylvania Brigades.⁶¹⁸ Prior to his military career, he had served as a politician in the Pennsylvania Legislature from 1774-1775. He had no traditional military training, but through his determination and grit, rose through the ranks. He was known for assembling some of the most elite of Washington’s troops, the Line of

⁶¹⁵ Draper, Lyman C. *King's Mountain and Its Heroes*. GENEALOGICAL Pub. CO, 1983. 128.

⁶¹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶¹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶¹⁸ McGuire, Thomas J. *Battle of Paoli*. Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 2000. 17-18.

Ireland.⁶¹⁹ Wayne’s tenacity off of the battlefield included direct orders for his men to appear in good appearance, with shaved face, and well-groomed and with their hair “dress(ed)”.⁶²⁰ With his rigid standards on and off the field of battle Wayne commanded as “one of the largest units in the Continental army [and] was known as the Line of Ireland [because] well over half its officers and enlisted men were back country Irish”⁶²¹.

General Wayne was known for using a traditional native Irish tactic, which had been employed since ancient times, of attacking the foe in close quarters. Wayne noted that his troops were to give “a close fire [and they] then give them the bayonet under the cover of the smoke”.⁶²² General Wayne advocated for the morale of the mostly Irish Pennsylvania line, which had been in decline.⁶²³ He bragged that his “lads” could best any of the troops on earth, and it appears through rigorous training and Wayne’s strict standards, that they were able to back up much of his assessment.⁶²⁴

Even though Wayne’s intensity was irksome at times for Washington and other commanders, he was known to be fearless and reliable. Washington relied heavily on Wayne not only on the battlefield, but in matters of military reconnaissance.⁶²⁵ When Washington discussed a new mission to the General, he eagerly replied to Washington: “General, if you only plan it,

⁶¹⁹ Tonsetic, Robert L. *1781*. Casemate, 2022. 16-17.

⁶²⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶²¹ *Ibid.*

⁶²² Stille, Charles J. *Major-General Anthony Wayne and the Pennsylvania Line in the Continental Army*. Nabu Press, 2010. 54.

⁶²³ Wayne, General Anthony. *Memorandum On Executive Council and Continental Army in Pennsylvania*. June 20, 1777-October 21, 1780. Anthony Wayne Family Papers, William L. Clements Library, The University of Michigan.

⁶²⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶²⁵ *Anthony Wayne Reporting on Military Engagements and Requesting Further Support*, 1776.

I'll storm Hell!"⁶²⁶ This highly entertaining exclamation was answered by Washington with an amused smile and the reply that "Perhaps, General Wayne, we had better try Stony Point first."⁶²⁷ Wayne's unit was filled with veteran Irish Indian fighters, who were well-acquainted with the use of close arms such as tomahawk and knives, but he intensely drilled his infantrymen in the use of bayonets at close quarters as well. These drill measures made close combat with the British, who had the same weapons, most effective.

Wayne had a tough demeanor and brought his tenacity to the battlefield. His men were loyal, despite the squalid conditions in 1777. Despite Wayne's can do attitude and tough exterior, he was a leader who cared deeply about the condition of his men. Funds were low for the Continental Army, but Wayne complained on June 3, 1777 that "they never Rec'd any Uniform except hunting Shirts which are worn out—and Altho a body of fine men—yet from being in rags and badly armed—they are viewed with Contempt by the Other Troops."⁶²⁸ It was not just because of the Irish infantry's poor condition that they were looked down upon, there was a general sentiment of dislike for the Irish by non-Irish troops.

Another veteran Irish Indian fighter was Daniel Morgan. Morgan was an impressive specimen, venerated by his soldiers not only for his leadership, but for his endurance of war-time atrocities. He regaled his men with recollections of how he had lost all the teeth on one side of his mouth with a bullet from an Indian had been shot at him. He also inspired sympathy for his cause and hatred of the British and their perceived cruelty when he revealed the cause of his 499 lashes on his back, which had been given him as a punishment for striking a British officer

⁶²⁶ Tucker, Glenn. *Mad Anthony Wayne and The New Nation: The Story of Washington's Front-Line General*. Harrisburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 1973. 143-163.

⁶²⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶²⁸ *Anthony Wayne to Elliot & Williams Asking for Suppliers*, 1792.

during the French and Indian war. But Morgan would get his revenge at the Battle of Cowpens on January 17, 1781, when the British were defeated. He would recount the battle as a “severe flogging” in a jest of dark humor in remembrance of his punishment.⁶²⁹

The military exploits of Scots Irishmen John Stark and Daniel Morgan, as well as their men, at Saratoga were key to the victory at Saratoga because the British had not considered the Scots Irish and Irish backcountry people could be so competent and collected on the battlefield. They did not have formal military educations, and there was no foreseeable reason that these country commanders should be able to outfox a seasoned military General like Burgoyne. Yet Stark’s military mind, tactics, and his popularity with his servicemen helped garner the appropriate forces to make Saratoga a success.⁶³⁰ The prior Battle of Bennington set the stage for Saratoga and one witness argued that the formidable Irish and Scots Irish warriors “fought more like hell-hounds than soldiers.”⁶³¹

As generations of Indian fighters joined the Continental militias and battlefields during the Revolution, the skills that Irish Indian fighters from the frontier possessed were still of high value. Timothy Murphy’s parents were Irish Catholics who had migrated and settled in New Jersey on what was then the frontier. They remained there through the French and Indian war, afterwards removing to Pennsylvania. He had very little formal education, but gained an education in Indian fighting from his upbringing on the frontier. In 1775, Timothy and his

⁶²⁹ Graham, James. *The Life of General Daniel Morgan of the Virginia Line of the Army of the United States, with Portions of His Correspondence; Comp. from Authentic Sources*. New York: Derby & Jackson, 1859. 228.

⁶³⁰ Stone, William L. *Letters of Brunswick and Hessian Officers During the American Revolution*. Cranbury, NJ: Scholar’s Bookshelf, 2005. 100-101.

⁶³¹ Whittemore, Henry. *The Heroes of the American Revolution and Their Descendants: Battle of Long Island*. Salt Lake City, UT: Genealogical Society of Utah, 2001. 45.

brother John enlisted in the Northumberland County Riflemen in the company of Captain John Lowdon where they participated in the Siege of Boston, Battle of Long Island and were used for skirmishes in Westchester. His valuable efforts earned him a promotion to the rank of Sergeant in the 12th Pennsylvania Regiment. With this unit he fought at the battles of Trenton and Princeton. Like many frontiersmen, Murphy was an expert marksman and his skills earned him a place with Daniel Morgan's rifle unit known as Morgan's Riflemen in 1777.⁶³²

As part of the elite unit, he and 500 others were selected by Morgan to travel to the upstate of New York to impress a halt upon General John Burgoyne's advancements there. The Battle of Saratoga took place on October 7, 1777. Generals Benedict Arnold and Daniel Morgan had come to the determination that an opposing General named Simon Fraser needed to be removed from the ranks to cripple the British Army. During the pitched battle, General Arnold was reported to have told General Morgan that Fraser was worth a regiment and "I admire him, but it is necessary that he should die, do your duty."⁶³³ Morgan order Murphy to climb a large tree and to snipe Fraser at a distance of around 300 yards. Morgan fired 3 shots, the first two nearly missing their mark, but the third hitting Fraser and resulting in his demise later that evening. The removal of both men of station unnerved their men and crushed morale. Consequently, the troops removed from the field. Murphy was but a drop in the bucket to the supreme skill of the Irish frontiersmen. Even General Burgoyne was accosted with several musket balls through his waistcoat. One British soldier was shocked by the accuracy and

⁶³² Rose, Alexander. *American Rifle: A Biography*. New York: Random House Publishing Group. 2008. 46.

⁶³³ Sigsby, William. *Life and Adventures of Timothy Murphy, the Benefactor of Schoharie: Including His History from the Commencement of the Revolution, His Rencontres with the Indians, the Siege of the Three Forts ... Anecdotes of His Adventures with the Indians, &C.* Middleburgh, NY: Middleburgh gazette, 1832.

devastation of the marksmen.⁶³⁴ Both Stark and Morgan's units did majority of fighting on the battlefield during the Revolution. They were highly valued for their tracking, ambush, camouflage, and marksmanship skills. They were also valuable counter-opponents to Natives who fought for the British.

Morgan's actions at Saratoga deeply unnerved British General Burgoyne. The use of their guerilla warfare and sharpshooting made them a formidable foe that could not easily be estimated, simply because of their tactics in camouflage, hit and run, and tenacity. The use of sharpshooters up in trees was a new twist to battlefield warfare that the British Army was not necessarily equipped to combat. Burgoyne relayed to General Morgan on that October day, "Sir, you command the finest regiment in the world."⁶³⁵ This high compliment was bestowed upon a Scots Irish Indian fighter and his regiment that consisted of those of the same frontier background, with no formal military training. The American frontiersman innovated upon traditional warfare.

After the Battle of Saratoga, Murphy's unit was ordered to old Schoharie, where natives had been conducting raids and carrying off captives to Canada. They remained in this region throughout the winter, engaging in small skirmishes and acting as scouting parties. Murphy continued to act as a sniper, using camouflage and his environment for strategic benefit throughout the war.

⁶³⁴ Thacher, James, and Samuel X. Radbill. *Military Journal of the American Revolution: From the Commencement to the Disbanding of the American Army: Comprising a Detailed Account of the Principal Events and Battles of the Revolution with Their Exact Dates, and a Biographical Sketch of the Most Prominent Generals*. Hartford, CT: Hurlbut, Williams & Company, 1862. 103.

⁶³⁵ *Ibid.*

Murphy was purported to have often used dress, weaponry, and tactics that he had adopted from the Native Americans during his days of frontier living. His skill was such that he often advised commanders on matters of frontier warfare and though he was not generally a commander, directed all of the scout movements of the parties that were sent scouting. His “fleetness either in retreat or pursuit, made him an object both of dread and of vengeance to the Indians. He fought them in their own way and with their own weapons”.⁶³⁶ He also learned to speak the language of the tribes early on, and it came in handy for him, as he was able to pass for a native. Witnesses wrote that he “Sometimes habited in the dress of the Indian, with his face painted, he would pass among them, making important discoveries as to their strength and designs without detection.”⁶³⁷ He was ordered to go among the Mohawk at one point for the purpose of spying and for defraying any threats to the lives of citizens.

Murphy was also reported to have a propensity for brutality and violence that had characterized European fears of the Native Americans. His brutality was not just reserved for the British, but was especially harsh towards natives, most notably a warrior from the First Nations who he had killed in battle. It was reported that the “Indian was very large and powerful and Murphy being exceedingly angry, skinned his legs and drew it over his long stockings. ... But the skin of the Indian having shrunk, began to gall his legs, whereupon he took his hunting knife and ripped them off.”⁶³⁸ It is possible that Murphy had believed that wearing the skin of his defeated foe would transfer power, much the same way that some Native Americans believed in the

⁶³⁶ Sigsby, William. *Life and Adventures of Timothy Murphy, the Benefactor of Schoharie: Including His History from the Commencement of the Revolution, His Rencontres with the Indians, the Siege of the Three Forts ... Anecdotes of His Adventures with the Indians*, &C. Middleburgh, NY: Middleburgh gazette, 1832.

⁶³⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶³⁸ *Ibid.*

possession of certain human body parts would grant certain attributes to them. However, in this case it is extremely likely that the reduction of a mighty warrior to a pair of stockings was a denigration of the warrior, as well as meant to inspire fear and shock. For most of the Revolution, he took lessons previously learned from frontier war experience and Indian-fighting, and applied them to fight the British and their Native allies on the battlefield.

General Hand was given the role of meeting the Iroquois Confederacy in battle and ceasing their ability to continue to make war upon the western frontier along with veteran Indian fighter General Sullivan and his distinguished Irish force. Sullivan was tasked with leading ranger forces into the frontier, and he tasked his trusted subordinate, General Hand, with leading an expedition with the Light corps as a vanguard into the wilderness to provide support for Sullivan's men. About two thousand and five hundred Continental soldiers and five hundred additional militia participated in this offensive, which was the patriots' largest offensive mission⁶³⁹.

Both expeditions were about more than just neutralizing Native American forces that had British alliances, there was an element of revenge for all of the raids on vulnerable frontier homesteads. The Iroquois had devastated the western frontier of Pennsylvania in 1778 at the behest of the British. Washington countered with orders for the Indian fighters to wreak "total destruction" upon enemy Indian villages and Sullivan, who was known for his meticulousness, did just as he was directed.⁶⁴⁰

⁶³⁹ Hand, Edward, Alfred James Bowden, and George Herbert Richmond. *The Unpublished Revolutionary Papers of Major-General Edward Hand of Pennsylvania, 1777-1784; Catalogued with Preliminary Note by A.J. Bowden. the Property of and Offered for Sale by George H. Richmond ..* New York, 1907. 23-24.

⁶⁴⁰ Calloway, Colin G. *The American Revolution in Indian Country: Crisis and Diversity in Native American Communities.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995. 51-53.

Sullivan's troops campaigned throughout the frontier, dismantling Native American forces and destroying villages. Throughout 1778 they swept through Pennsylvania and New York, removing the threat of Native American forces allied with the British and seeking retribution for atrocities committed against them, their families, friends and neighbors during previous raids, and the French and Indian War. One Continental officer described that the devastation upon the natives was wreaked "by an industrious sett of Inhabitants tho' Poor [and Irish and Scotch-Irish], yet happy with their situation, untill [sic] . . . the British Tyrant, let loose upon them, his Emissaries, the Savages of the Wood, who not only destroy'd & laid waist [sic] those Cotages [sic], but in cool blood masacred [sic], and cut of[f] the Inhabitants, not even sparing the gray locks or helpless Infant."⁶⁴¹

Even though the Indian fighters had followed orders, they were not elevated in the opinions of their contemporaries, and their legacy was blotted with blood and shame. Fintan O'Toole wrote that: "What matters is that the Irishman, in his slaughter of the Indians, has become himself a savage."⁶⁴² The truth is that General Sullivan may have razed Indian villages, but he did not lay waste to the Native populations entirely. Women and children had been spared, but the villages that provided a base of operations for continued attacks were decimated.⁶⁴³

Decisive and timely judgement in such high pressure situations, such as those in Sullivan's case became increasingly common among Irish fighters on the frontier. The history of

⁶⁴¹ Cook, Frederick, and George Stillwell Conover. *Journals of the Military Expedition of Major General John Sullivan: Against the Six Nations of Indians in 1779. with Records of Centennial Celebrations. Prep. Pursuant to Chapter 361, Laws of the State of New York.* Auburn, NY: Knapp, Peck & Thomson, 1887. 5-279.

⁶⁴² O'Toole, Fintan. *The Lie of the Land.* Dublin: Gallery of photography, 1995. 23.

⁶⁴³ Stephens, Karl F. *Neither the Charm nor the Luck: Major-General John Sullivan.* Denver, CO: Outskirts Press, Inc., 2009. 124.

Irish warfare as border people who had been conditioned by hundreds of years of conflict prepared them for the quick adaptations and decision-making they encountered on the American frontier. Some of the established society in the eastern cities was that the Irish were quick to adapt to their harsh environment in the wilderness of the frontier because they were lowly, poor, and that their background made them fit for such adaptations.

However, the adoption and incorporation of certain Native American lifeways, warfare, and dress, was simply a necessity for survival in such unforgiving terrain. It was also a reflection of the circles which the Irish moved around in, trading and living in close contact with Native Americans on the frontier. Without these adaptations, it is probable that the “Overmountain men” as they were known, would not have been as successful in their fighting endeavors and Kings Mountain might have turned out quite differently. The Overmountain men were a group of men, mostly from the Watauga Association who had previously moved over the Blue Ridge Mountains for land and freedoms that they believed were constantly being snuffed out by corrupt bureaucrats in the East.

The use of the name “Paddy” was quite common when addressing someone of Irish background. It was also used when referring to someone of the same in description. The Irish Indian fighters were known for their ferocity in battle, and as has been treated in previous chapters, they were endeavored through generational warfare to be apt at war and violence. One such Irishman was named “Paddy” Carr and he was described as “quite as reckless and brutal as the worst specimens among the Red Men”.⁶⁴⁴ He was a famed Indian Fighter who had decided to apply his frontier experience to warfare in Georgia against the British.

⁶⁴⁴ Draper, Lyman C. *King's Mountain and Its Heroes*. GENEALOGICAL Pub. CO, 1983. 124-125.

Other commanders for the patriot cause recognized the importance of the Scots Irish and Irish. In the Southern campaign, General Gates sought out support from the mostly Irish and Scots Irish population in the Piedmont for the Battle of Camden.⁶⁴⁵ These seasoned frontier fighters were valued for their guerilla hit and run tactics which successfully unnerved and wearied the British Army. It was reported that the British troops were “every day harassed by the inhabitants, who did not remain at home . . . but generally fired from covert places to annoy British detachments [and] they continued their hostilities with unwearied perseverance.”⁶⁴⁶ These tactics were not just American frontier tactics but had long been in use in Scottish and Irish warfare. Lord Charles Cornwallis was said to have been disgusted at the brazenness of the action, as well as conviction of those who committed them.⁶⁴⁷

Despite the high number of American patriots who were of Scots Irish or Irish extraction, the South Carolina Rangers, under Colonel William Thompson began the Revolutionary war with more Irish immigrants than those that had been born in the state of South Carolina.⁶⁴⁸ Irish fighters rose through the ranks, thanks to their tenacity and cunning. A young man name Thomas Brandon, who was a first generation American born to Irish parents near Newberry South Carolina, was remembered as a “a burley rough-and-tumble fighter from the Irish settlement along Fair Forest”⁶⁴⁹. He served under General Sumter and saw action in the Battles of Cowpens

⁶⁴⁵ Higgins, David R. *The Swamp Fox: Francis Marion's Campaign in the Carolinas 1780*. New York: Osprey Publishing, Ltd. 2013. 20-21.

⁶⁴⁶ Southern, Ed. *Voices of the American Revolution in the Carolinas*. Winston-Salem, NC: John F. Blair, Publisher, 2009. 135.

⁶⁴⁷ *Ibid.* Xxi-135.

⁶⁴⁸ Bass, Robert D. *Gamecock*. Orangeburg, SC: Sandlapper Pub., Co, n.d. 33.

⁶⁴⁹ Draper, Lyman C. *King's Mountain and Its Heroes*. GENEALOGICAL Pub. CO, 1983. 469.

and at Kings Mountain. He was lauded for his besting of three of Colonel Banastre Tarlton's dreaded dragoons, meeting their sabers with his. Tarlton and his Dragoon's were the scourge of the South Carolina countryside, harassing civilians with contempt. The dispatchment of three of these elite, yet formidable horsemen earned him a hero's welcome.⁶⁵⁰

South Carolina had many Irish settlements, and many Irish Indian fighters who had been reared in an age of perpetual war. The Scots Irish had long existed on the Carolina Piedmont, and the Irish had sporadically populated the area. But in 1737 the influx of Irish settlers to this part of the country led to an area on the Wateree River to be nicknamed Ireland and the Irish Settlement. Offshoots of Irish communities were established all over the frontier as more settlers poured into the frontier.⁶⁵¹ Just as in other cases on the frontier, sporadic placement and frontier living had made these settlers vulnerable not only to Native American raids and attacks, but also to the mercilessness of British troops.

Tarleton believed that South Carolina was a "hornet's nest" of sedition and treason. His methods, both in warfare and in his dealing with civilians, were often somewhat draconian. Through his methods, it might safely be said that Tarleton recruited soldiers for the patriot cause, by inducing revulsion at the British conduct in the colonies. One such case is that of William and Hugh O'Neal, who lived on a homestead. Hugh was off serving in the patriot army, and Tarleton summarily evicted the women and children of the homestead into the forest, while he burned their whole farm down.⁶⁵²

⁶⁵⁰ Draper, Lyman C. *King's Mountain and Its Heroes*. GENEALOGICAL Pub. CO, 1983. 469.

⁶⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵² O'Brien, Michael J. "South Carolina, Newberry-Some Account of the Irish Settlers and Revolutionary Soldiers". *American Irish Historical Society Journal*, vol. 12 (July 1913). 167-175.

As a result, men such as Francis Marion, the famed “Swamp Fox” recruited the South Carolina frontiersmen from the rishi settlements where he found “the bitter heritage of hate to the English”.⁶⁵³ Three quarters of his officers were Scots Irish. Even after crushing defeats at Camden, followed by Sumter’s defeat at Fishing Creek, and other losses, the South Carolina forces were all but depleted...except for the Scots Irish. One of the men in Marion’s camp spoke of the remaining fighters: “from the Santee to the Pedee [because the] inhabitants of it were generally of Irish extraction; a people, who at all times during the war, abhorred either submission or vassalage.”⁶⁵⁴

Whatever their reasons for service, an inveterate hate for the British, tyranny, a fear of being subjugated in this new land of Canaan, the Irish and Scots Irish, both immigrants and children of immigrants were committed to the patriot cause. It was said that “the best blood of Ireland, has been freely shed to serve the good cause of ‘The Land of the Free and the Home of the Brave’.”⁶⁵⁵ Even those from an outside perspective were impressed at the iron fortitude of the Irish and Scots Irish. The Marquis de Chastellux had travelled through America and was impressed by one Irish soldier in particular. He wrote, “He was an Irishman, who but lately arrived in America, had made several campaigns, and received a considerable wound in his thigh by a musket ball; which, though it could never be extracted, had not in the least affected either his health or gaiety. He related his military exploits [and had originally] settled in North Carolina. . . .”⁶⁵⁶

⁶⁵³ James, William Dobein. *Swamp Fox: General Francis Marion and his Guerilla Fighters of the American Revolutionary War*. St. Petersburg, FL: Red and Black Publishers, 2009. 31.

⁶⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵⁵ Walters, Fred B. *John Haslet: A Useful One*. Philadelphia, PA: F.B. Walters, 2005. 8.

⁶⁵⁶ Marquis de Chastellux. *Travels in North-America in the Years 1780-1781 and 1782*. Reprint, London: G.G.T. and J. Robinson, 1787. 225-226.

While many officers looked down on indentured servants in the ranks of the Continental army, it was a lucrative market for recruitment. They were the lowest and the poorest class of immigrants and undoubtedly possessed some degree of enmity against the British. The recruiters for Washington's Army promised each one of the servants one hundred acres of land to sweeten the deal. The prospects of liberty, and the possession of fertile land, away from the subjugation they had likely lived under all of their lives was all the enforcement that they needed.⁶⁵⁷ One elitist remarked that these ranks were "something of an embarrassment to many Americans [and t]he decrepit state of this particular assemblage of lower-class men and boys was particularly shameful".⁶⁵⁸

Daniel Morgan was given the Eleventh Virginia Continental Regiment Command which was composed mostly of Irish and Scots Irish from the frontiers of Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and other Blue Ridge Mountain areas. Forty-six percent of Morgan's regiment consisted of soldiers who were Irish immigrants or were of Scots Irish and Irish descent. All of them were excellent marksmen. The ranks included men who were veteran Indian fighters, and minutemen. One had been one of the Culpeper Minutemen, who were largely Scots Irish and known for their exceptionalism marksmanship under pressuring conditions.⁶⁵⁹ One of the Culpeper Minutemen was John Marshall, a cousin of Thomas Jefferson, would become one of the Revolution's great commanders. Marshall began his soldiering when he was just a teenager but was quickly chosen to be a captain of a company of frontier soldiers and Indian fighters.

⁶⁵⁷ Cox, Caroline. *A Proper Sense of Honor: Service and Sacrifice in George Washington's Army*. Chapel Hill (N.C.): University of North Carolina Press, 2004. 1-8.

⁶⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵⁹ Wright, Robert K. *The Continental Army*. Washington, DC: United States Government Printing Office, 1983. 289-290.

These men dressed for battle in their frontier dress of buckskin and fur caps with tails; some even painted the phrase “Liberty or Death” on their hunting shirts. They were known as the Fauquier Rifles from Fauquier County in Virginia and were an elite marksman unit.⁶⁶⁰ This glimpse at the operations of Irish Indian fighters at this time elucidate the effectiveness of camouflage and stealth in military operations at the time, as well as an understanding of the culture of the fighters themselves.

The Continentals were not the only force to have veteran Indian fighters at their side. The leadership of Sir William Johnson’s son in New York following his death, allied the surrounding settlements of his property, the Mohawk and their allies with the British. These are among a few of the rangers that the British exploited to meet their own ends. One of these units, known as Butler’s rangers, was commanded by Colonel John Butler, an Anglo-Irishman, who was an Indian fighter. His rangers were formidable in their own right. Many of his rangers were of Scots, Irish, and Scots Irish extraction and they were dangerous because they had all of the same skills that the patriot Indian fighters had. As a matter of fact, Butler’s rangers had just returned to Fort Niagara from raiding the Wyoming Valley⁶⁶¹. Their bounty was a whopping 227 scalps.

Butler then used his position on the frontier to camouflage his troops along with hundreds of Native America allies in a trap set for Sullivan’s expedition. A sharpshooter with Daniel Morgan’s regiment had spotted the trap in the foliage and was able to warn Sullivan in time for him to avoid the trap and move into a more defensible position. Sullivan’s men were so enraged

⁶⁶⁰ Marshall, John, Charles F. Hobson, Susan Holbrook Perdue, and Robert W. Smith. *The Papers of John Marshall*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press in association with the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, 2000.

⁶⁶¹ Cruikshank, E.A. *The Story of Butler’s Rangers and the Settlement of Niagara*. Welland, Canada: Tribune Printing House, 1893. 11-35.

with a desire for revenge that they met the British forces and their allies in a fiercely heated battle. One Indian fighter with Sullivan recalled that they fought and yelled “our war whoop in the American style” as they entered the fray.⁶⁶²

Sullivan’s routing of these forces was highly successful and on September 12, 1779, in Washington’s letter to the Marquis de Lafayette, he wrote that “General Sullivan who is now in the heart of their Country with 4000 Men and . . . he advanced to their Intrenchments [sic] at a place called Newtown, where the Warriors of Seven Nation’s [and] some [British] regulars—& Tories [and their] position was well chosen and disposition well made but on finding themselves hard pressed in front and their left flank in danger of being turned they fled in great confusion & disorder”.⁶⁶³

After the defeat of Butler, Sullivan continued his campaign further to smash the Iroquois Confederacy and to follow Washingtons orders that the Native American “cruelties are not to pass with impunity”.⁶⁶⁴ Having witnessed the destruction of his nation firsthand with Butler’s rangers at Newton and after Sullivan had razed several villages with precision, Chief Cornplanter ruefully commented to the patriots: “When your army entered the country of the Six Nations, we call you Town Destroyer; and to this day, when that name is heard, our women look behind them and turn pale and our children cling close to the neck of their mothers.”⁶⁶⁵ At least 40 villages

⁶⁶² Cruikshank, E.A. *The Story of Butler’s Rangers and the Settlement of Niagara*. Welland, Canada: Tribune Printing House, 1893. 11-35.

⁶⁶³ Cook, Frederick, and George Stillwell Conover. *Journals of the Military Expedition of Major General John Sullivan: Against the Six Nations of Indians in 1779. with Records of Centennial Celebrations. Prep. Pursuant to Chapter 361, Laws of the State of New York*. Auburn, NY: Knapp, Peck & Thomson, 1887. 5-279.

⁶⁶⁴ Brumwell, Stephen. *George Washington: Gentleman Warrior*. New York: Quercus, 2016. 355.

⁶⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

were destroyed by Sullivan in the Finger Lakes region, along with 160,000 bushels of corn, fields, and orchards. As this region was one of the most fertile, the impacts were exponentially far-reaching.

On September 13, 1779, a scouting party of rangers attached to Butler's Pennsylvania regiment and led by Irish Lieutenant Thomas Boyd, was ambushed and mercilessly slaughtered by warriors of the Seneca tribe under the leadership of Little Beard. Lieutenant Boyd was temporarily kept alive for sadistic torture. A section of Boyd's intestine was removed from his abdomen and nailed to the trunk of a tree. Then the poor Lieutenant was forced to walk around the tree and back again repeatedly to the entertainment and delight of his captors. His end was especially torturous and gruesome.

On September 12, 1779, General Sullivan and his advisors ordered scouts to pinpoint the exact location of Genessee Castle (another word for village) on the Genessee River, so that his army could raze what they believed to be a small Indian village. Lieutenant Thomas Boyd was tasked with this mission and was ordered to accompany for riflemen and an Indian guide to observe the location and report its coordinates back to the command. However, conflicting reports show that he took somewhere between 20-30 men on this particular mission. They left under cover of night and encountered some Senecas with firearms on the trail. A brief volley of bullets was exchanged between the two parties, before Boyd ordered his men to retreat. Shortly thereafter, a larger host of natives engaged Boyd's party and most of Boyd' men were killed.⁶⁶⁶

⁶⁶⁶ Cook, Frederick, and George Stillwell Conover. *Journals of the Military Expedition of Major General John Sullivan: Against the Six Nations of Indians in 1779. with Records of Centennial Celebrations. Prep. Pursuant to Chapter 361, Laws of the State of New York.* Auburn, NY: Knapp, Peck & Thomson, 1887.

Following the exchange of gunfire, a skirmish ensued and Seneca reinforcements that had been situated along the river bank retreated from their position because they realized that Boyd's force was so minute. They had anticipated ambushing Sullivan's entire army, but had mistakenly engaged Boyd's small scouting group. One of Boyd's men had escaped the skirmish and made it back to Sullivan's camp to warn them of the ambush. Following word of the ambush, Sullivan's army set out toward the site of the ambush.⁶⁶⁷

Boyd and any survivors of his party that were found along the trail were taken back to Little Beard's Town. Chief Little Beard interrogated Thomas Boyd and Sargent Michael Parker, Joseph Brant (Mohawk, related to Molly Brant, who had been the wife of William Johnson), and John Butler (Loyalist, American, and a ranger himself). Their alliances with the British left little sympathy in their hearts, and both Boyd and Parker were taken to "the Torture Tree", where they were subjected to cruel and drawn out torture, whereby their fingernails and toenails were ripped from their bodies, they were whipped, and they were stripped naked, and their genitals were mutilated. Their tongues and noses were cut off, as well as their right ears. In one of the most gruesome acts, each of their right eyes had been gouged out, but was left hanging from the captivity by strands of sinew. Lastly, both men had their abdomens cut open, and one end of each of their intestines was tied to the Torture Tree, as a sort of tether. From this point, Boyd and Parker were forced through prodding and violence to walk circles around the trunk of the tree.

⁶⁶⁷ Cook, Frederick, and George Stillwell Conover. *Journals of the Military Expedition of Major General John Sullivan: Against the Six Nations of Indians in 1779. with Records of Centennial Celebrations. Prep. Pursuant to Chapter 361, Laws of the State of New York.* Auburn, NY: Knapp, Peck & Thomson, 1887.

When the men could endure the pain and had no more strength, they collapsed to the ground, where their hearts were ripped from their chests, and they were finally beheaded.⁶⁶⁸

On September 14, 1779, Sullivan's army arrived at the village to find Boyd's head placed upon a stick, where a victory dance had been danced around it. The army could not find Parker's head. Both Boyd and Parker were given proper burials near the Torture Tree. In retribution Sullivan's men razed every part of the village in scorched earth tactic, and the Seneca's who returned following the exit of Sullivan's army were horrified that all the food stores had been destroyed, so that not even a single child could be fed for one day.⁶⁶⁹

Upon the return of Sergeant Murphy (the sole survivor) to the camp and the conclusion of the expedition, General Hand put on a sumptuous feast for the men. Although no feast could adequately reward the men for the horrors they had witnessed and inflicted, the Irish were said to have been in good humor, with periodic toasts. One toast was made by General Hand: "May the Enemies of America be metamorphos'd into pack-horses, and sent on a Western Expedition against Indians."⁶⁷⁰ Evidently, the expeditions against the Native Americans were so rigorous and daunting, that being even a packhorse was undesirable. The evening of celebration with General Hand and the Indian fighters also included "two or three Indian Dances [were] led

⁶⁶⁸ Cook, Frederick, and George Stillwell Conover. *Journals of the Military Expedition of Major General John Sullivan: Against the Six Nations of Indians in 1779. with Records of Centennial Celebrations. Prep. Pursuant to Chapter 361, Laws of the State of New York.* Auburn, NY: Knapp, Peck & Thomson, 1887.

⁶⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷⁰ *Ibid*, 5-279.

down” by General Hand.⁶⁷¹ Such episodes in military camps, endeavored upon by leaders especially, give a glimpse into the culture of the military unit and the interchange of Native American customs, dress, warfare, and celebration adopted and employed by the Irish Indian Fighters during the Revolution.

There were many instigations by the British which induced the Scots Irish and Irish to join up with the patriots. There were stories of how British and Loyalist forces burned down Presbyterian Churches, especially in South Carolina.⁶⁷² The belief that the Irish Presbyterian churches in the colonies was so prevalent among the British was further confirmed through intelligence by Colonel Banastre Tarleton. He referred to Presbyterian churches as “sedition shops” and consequentially burned several of them to the ground. Reverend John Simpson presided over the Fishing Creek Church in South Carolina.

On June 11, 1780, Captain Christian Huck, a Loyalist with a penchant for ruthlessness burned down the church at Fishing Creek, turning the Reverend, his wife, and children out into homelessness. Scenes like this were not uncommon and were a tactic of Tarleton’s to raze the bases of support for the rebel cause, just as Europeans had employed the same methods against enemy Native American villages. However, actions like this only strengthened the resolve of the patriots among the Irish and Scots Irish. Tarleton believed that the Irish were “the most adverse of all other settlers to the British government in America.”⁶⁷³

⁶⁷¹ Cook, Frederick, and George Stillwell Conover. *Journals of the Military Expedition of Major General John Sullivan: Against the Six Nations of Indians in 1779. with Records of Centennial Celebrations. Prep. Pursuant to Chapter 361, Laws of the State of New York.* Auburn, NY: Knapp, Peck & Thomson, 1887. 5-279.

⁶⁷² Tonsetic, Robert L. *1781.* Casemate, 2022. 11.

⁶⁷³ Southern, Ed. *Voices of the American Revolution in the Carolinas.* Winston-Salem, NC: John F. Blair, Publisher, 2009. 15-19.

The devastation that Tarleton and his crony Huck reeked upon both military and civilian targets in the Carolinas was legendary. But Huck's day soon came, when a Scots Irish Indian fighter named Thomas Carroll marked Huck with a well-placed shot from his long rifle. During Huck's time in South Carolina, he had wreaked utter devastation on his victims because of "his intense hatred for the Scotch-Irish populace."⁶⁷⁴

Perhaps the most important contribution that the Scots Irish and Irish Indian fighters made to the Revolution, was the collective mustering and subsequent Battle of Kings Mountain. This battle was issued as a challenge to the Scots Irish and Irish Indian fighters as a means to bring them into the open, where their "rebellion" would have been crushed once and for all. As usual the British commander who had issued the challenge severely underestimated his opponents. This crucial battle turned the tide of the Revolution to the Patriots favor and dealt a crushing blow to Britain's southern army, making way for the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown.

After the defeat of the Cherokee in 1761 during the Cherokee war, the frontier became a much safer place to settle in, due to less threat of Native American attacks. As a result, an influx of Scots Irish and Irish settlers continued to push into the frontier.⁶⁷⁵ They did not stay long in the ports that they had arrived in, nor the big cities. Life in a city for the Irish was a challenging thing to say the least. The arriving Irish were looked down upon, even despised, and were relegated to boroughs of inequity in many cases. They moved out to where there was open land, fit for settlement and filled with the promise of freedom. Seventy-Nine percent of the upcountry

⁶⁷⁴ Swisher, James K. *The Revolutionary War in the Southern Back Country*. Gretna, LA: Pelican Pub. Co, 2008. 184-188.

⁶⁷⁵ Dykeman, Wilma. *The Battle of Kings Mountain: With Fire and Sword*. Washington, DC: National Park Service, Us. Department of the Interior, 1978. 83.

of South Carolina, and fifty percent of the total population of the colony were located in the mountainous region.⁶⁷⁶

A fierce point of contention was the use of the hefty taxes to build Governor Tryon's palace in North Carolina in 1770. After suffering grievous attacks for years on the frontier, only to be ignored when their pleas were put before governmental leaders, this frivolous building was denounced by the westerners as "visible and permanent symbol of eastern rule."⁶⁷⁷ The expense of the palace had all but drained the colonial treasury's coffers and additional taxes were to be levied for the completion of its accoutrements. These came in the form of a poll tax, which affected the cash strapped settlers in the west, far more than those in the east. The western settlers argued, "We want no such House, nor will we pay for it."⁶⁷⁸

When there has been clear lack of defensives and policing, criminals have been known to take advantage, and the frontier became rife with roaming banditti who committed thefts, robberies, kidnappings, and throughout the colonies, especially around the year 1767. As a result, in the lack of faith in the government to put a halt to these crimes, certain citizens formed a group known as "Regulators" who took it upon themselves to take the law into their own hands. An estimated five to six thousand citizens joined the Regulator cause and acted within their own

⁶⁷⁶ Dykeman, Wilma. *The Battle of Kings Mountain: With Fire and Sword*. Washington, DC: National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1978. 91.

⁶⁷⁷ *Ibid*, 93.

⁶⁷⁸ Harris, Tyree. *Deposition of Tyree Harris Concerning the Resolutions of the Regulators, Volume 07. Documenting the American South: Colonial and State Records of North Carolina*, 1768. 798.

code, rather than the laws of the land. Some of the punishments for criminals, who were often tried in a kangaroo court, if any, were whippings and arson.⁶⁷⁹

Eventually, the colonies each tried to correct the lack of local courts in the backcountry, but every colony viewed these actions differently. In North Carolina, the Regulator movement began as a way to circumvent excessive interference of unjust courts and sheriffs when it came to local issues. One of the goals of the movement in 1768 was to correct the corruption of honest and ensure they completed their duties "under a better and honester regulation."⁶⁸⁰ But the Regulator movement only served to create more havoc as riots and violence broke out. Governor Tryon assembled the militia and at Alamance on May 14, 1771, marched on 2,000 Regulators (only half of whom bore arms), proclaimed that they were "in a state of rebellion against your King, your country, and your laws", crushed and disbursed them. The Regulators who fled after Alamance went to the backcountry, mostly to the Watauga settlement. It is estimated that after Alamance, over 1,500 families, most of Scots Irish extraction, fled.⁶⁸¹

Between the removal of the Irish and Scots Irish frontier settlers to frontier settlements like the Watauga Association in 1771 and the Battle of Kings Mountain in 1780, the politics of the eastern settlements in America were altered considerably. Many colonists were disenchanted with the mismanagement of the colonies at the hands of British bureaucrats, and there were other areas of discontent. Prior to when the Revolution kicked off in 1776, the frontiers were inflamed with Native American raids by the Cherokee and Iroquois Confederacies, at the behest of the

⁶⁷⁹Dykeman, Wilma. *The Battle of Kings Mountain: With Fire and Sword*. Washington, DC: National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1978. 103.

⁶⁸⁰ Saunders, William L. *The Colonial Records of North Carolina, Vol. VII*. Raleigh: 1886-1890. 699-700.

⁶⁸¹ Bassett. "The Regulators of North Carolina". *AHA Annual Report*, 1894. 208.

British. However, Overmountain settlers were largely spared regimental warfare while war raged on in the colonies. Yet, news travelled to the frontiers about atrocities and injustices at the hands of the British and their Native American allies. Some of the frontiersmen fought in militias near frontier borderlands, and were often involved in skirmishes.

The number of guerilla skirmishes between the patriots and British forces and allies in the Southern theater was estimated as "dozens, possibly hundreds."⁶⁸² Many of the "Overmountain men" had not taken a side or played any role in the Revolutionary war, preceding the Battle of Kings Mountain.⁶⁸³ But the conduct of Tarleton and the British forces upon the Continental forces was brutal, and some would argue inhumane. One surgeon with the Continentals, Dr. Robert Brownfield recalled:

"Not a man escaped. Poor Pearson [a lieutenant in the patriot rear guard] was inhumanely mangled on the face, as he lay on his back. . . The demand for quarter, seldom refused to a vanquished foe, was at once found to be in vain. Not a man was spared, and it was the concurrent testimony of all the survivors that for fifteen minutes after every man was prostrate, they [the British] went over the ground, plunging their bayonets into everyone that exhibited any signs of life, and in some instances, where several had fallen one over the other, these monsters were seen to throw off on the point of the bayonet the uppermost, to come at those beneath."⁶⁸⁴

Scenes like this earned the enmity of people who had not thought about entering the war. The Fall of Charleston in May 1780 allowed for sweeping attacks by British along the countryside, which further enraged settlers as word spread.

⁶⁸² Dykeman, Wilma. *The Battle of Kings Mountain: With Fire and Sword*. Washington, DC: National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1978. 183.

⁶⁸³ Stajdohar, Lorraine Marie. "The Part Played By Certain Regulators in the American Revolution". *Master's Thesis*. 1952. 89-92.

⁶⁸⁴ James, William Dobein. *A Sketch of the Life of Brigadier General Francis Marion, and A History of His Brigade*. NP, November 1821. Appendix.

Scots Irishman Colonel Charles McDowell was in command of the North Carolina militia and sent word to the over mountain country to send as many riflemen as they could spare. When word spread to Kentucky, where fellow Scots Irishman Colonel Isaac Shelby had been surveying land claims, he immediately quit Kentucky for Tennessee because he was "determined to enter the service of the Country, until her independence was secured."⁶⁸⁵ He brought 200 riflemen of his own on horseback from Sullivan County to meet with McDowell on the Broad River. A third Colonel, Elijah Clarke, who was a native son of North Carolina that had transplanted to Georgia, and who had command of the Georgia militia that had been involved in skirmishes with the British since June, also joined them.

This combined force took on the British on July 30 at Thicketty Fort where Shelby and Clarke were able to take the British force on the Pacolet River without firing a single shot. At Cedar Spring on the 8th of August, these patriot forces engaged the Tory and British forces as they attempted to cut off scouts and foragers under Major Patrick Ferguson's command. Ferguson had thought to clean up the countryside's of opposition forces and restore order.

As most of Clarke and Shelby's men were veteran Indian fighters, they employed the skills that they had survived on the frontier with to the battles. At the conclusion of the skirmish at Cedar Spring, the patriots led the Tory forces through a chase in the forest and fought them in "Indian style", with war whoops, camouflaged attacks and tomahawks. Although Ferguson's men were victorious in the skirmish in the open field, they were unable to hold much of their

⁶⁸⁵ Shelby, Isaac. *Autobiography*. Chicago, IL: Filmed by the Library Department University of Chicago, n.d.

own in the forests and even failed to recapture Tory prisoners captured at the onset of the skirmish.⁶⁸⁶

The battle at Musgrove's Mill on August 18th, 1780, took place on the Enoree River in South Carolina, and all three commanders brought their full forces against Ferguson. They had attempted to surprise their target but had failed. However, they were still able to obtain a sweeping victory by killing 63, wounding 90 and capturing 70 men from the British. The cost of victory was surprisingly low, at only 4 deaths and 8 wounded on the American side.⁶⁸⁷

These recent victories had inspired the patriots to attempt to take the British post and Ninety-Six, in South Carolina. They believed this outpost to be a base of support for raising Loyalist militias and garnering support from the civilian population. Colonel Shelby recalled that as they were packed up and headed north, "an express [messenger] came up from McDowell in great haste with a short letter in his hand."⁶⁸⁸ The letter contained intelligence notifying Shelby that on August 16th, 2 days before the victory at Musgrove's Mill, a battle had taken place just 7 miles north of the strategic town of Camden, South Carolina. General Gates, who was still coming off his high after winning at Saratoga, in his posting of commander of the newly gathered Southern Army, was crushed by Cornwallis and successfully routed. The battle was a crushing blow to the patriot forces and Gates never recovered from the loss.⁶⁸⁹ News of this defeat, altered the plans of Shelby and Clarke to take Ninety-Six. They took their units and

⁶⁸⁶ Dykeman, Wilma. *The Battle of Kings Mountain: With Fire and Sword*. Washington, DC: National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1978. 293. Primary !!!

⁶⁸⁷ Walker, Melissa. *The Battles of Kings Mountain and Cowpens: the American Revolution in the Southern Backcountry*. New York, N.Y: Routledge, 2013. 75

⁶⁸⁸ Shelby, Isaac. *Autobiography*. Chicago, IL: Filmed by the Library Department University of Chicago, n.d.

⁶⁸⁹ Kirkland, Thomas J., and Robert MacMillan Kennedy. *Historic Camden*. Camden, SC: Kershaw County Historical Society, 1994.

headed back towards the mountains, to relative safety from British pursuit. However, Ferguson decided that the time was right to pursue them, and he followed them at a close distance with Cornwallis's blessing. He took the left wing of Cornwallis's army and pursued them.⁶⁹⁰

Initially, Ferguson had differed from his contemporaries as far as punishing the Americans in the revolution. Cornwallis had ordered "that all the inhabitants of this province, who have subscribed and taken part in this revolt, should be punished with the greatest rigor, and their whole property taken away from them or destroyed."⁶⁹¹ He had also ordered that "every militia- man, who has borne arms with us, and afterwards joined the enemy, shall be immediately hanged."⁶⁹² Yet, Ferguson displayed a remarkable patience and gentility with some of the civilians whose family were "outliers". He had asked the women on homesteads and in townships to implore their husbands to submit to the Crown and to give up the rebellion.

Lyman C. Draper, a historian who painstakingly chronicled the actors at the Battle of Kings Mountain wrote that Ferguson would "sit down for hours, and converse with the country people on the state of public affairs, and point out to them, from his view, the ruinous effects of the disloyalty of the ring- leaders of the rebellion— erroneously supposing that it was the leaders only who gave impulse to the popular uprising throughout the Colonies. He was as indefatigable in training them to his way of thinking, as he was in instructing them in military exercises. This condescension on his part was regarded as wonderful in a King's officer, and very naturally went far to secure the respect and obedience of all who came within the sphere of his almost magic

⁶⁹⁰ Dykeman, Wilma. *The Battle of Kings Mountain: With Fire and Sword*. Washington, DC: National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1978. 394.

⁶⁹¹ *Charles Cornwallis Orderly Book*. The University of Michigan, 1780-1781.

⁶⁹² *Ibid.*

influence."⁶⁹³ These perceptions of Ferguson's upstanding military record and interaction with the colonists support an argument that Ferguson had a respect for the colonial populations and wished only to restore order. However, his denunciations of the Scots Irish and Irish frontiersmen could be interpreted as prejudicial.

Major Ferguson had assessed that the frontiersmen were barbarians and that he would make short work of them all at once by drawing them out into the open. He used the memory of Culloden, a pin prick into the hearts of every Jacobite, and a wound so deep and long remembered to evoke the fiery tempers of the Scots Irish and induce them into a fight where he felt that he would have the upper hand. He issued the challenge that he would meet them with "fire and sword", a phrase reminiscent of the actions at Culloden.⁶⁹⁴

The response was massive and when the British were met on the battlefield by these "barbarians" with their Native American dress, war whoops, and tactics, one British officer deemed them "more savage than the Indians, and possess every one of their vices, but not one of their virtues."⁶⁹⁵ Even with their valorous and impressive battlefield victories, the Scots Irish and Irish were still perceived to be subhuman. By this British major's assessment, they were lower on the social scale even than Native Americans.

⁶⁹³ Draper, Lyman C. *King's Mountain and Its Heroes*. GENEALOGICAL Pub. CO, 1983.

⁶⁹⁴ Major Patrick Ferguson to Robert Timpany. October 6, 1780. Kings Mountain National Military Park Archives, Kings Mountain, South Carolina.

⁶⁹⁵ Draper, Lyman C. *King's Mountain and Its Heroes*. GENEALOGICAL Pub. CO, 1983. 70.

Ferguson was Scottish and the son of Lord Pitfour, who despite Jacobite proclivities had been elevated to the Judges Bench as Senator for the College of Justice in Scotland. His background was highlighted through acquaintances with Enlightenment thinkers, but his dedication to military service and duty was paramount. He and his fellow officers were not alone in their prejudice against the Irish and Scots Irish. Common merchants in the towns, especially in the South, as well as the high command of the Washington's Army were also nonplussed throughout the Revolution. One witness wrote that the Irish were sneered at by the rich merchants of the lowlands [and] was held in contempt by the Continental army's high command, and he was considered less than human by the British [and] Major Patrick Ferguson called him a bandit, a barbarian, a mongrel."⁶⁹⁶ One of the British soldiers captured at Kings Mountain admired the martial quality of the Indian Fighters but admitted: "This distinguished race of men are more savage than the Indians."⁶⁹⁷

Though the martial contributions of the Irish and Scots Irish, and especially the Indian fighters, to the Revolutionary cause were immense, the most important of their contributions was at the Battle of Kings Mountain in October of 1780. General Henry Clinton lamented that "Kings Mountain was the first link in a chain of evil events that followed each other in regular succession until they at last ended in the total loss of America."⁶⁹⁸ The truth is that Kings Mountain was largely a frontiersman's affair. There were several factors which had influenced

⁶⁹⁶ Messick, Hank. *King's Mountain: The Epic of the Blue Ridge "Mountain Men" in the American Revolution*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1976. 9.

⁶⁹⁷ Foss, Michael. *Undreamed Shores: England's Wasted Empire in America*. London: Phoenix Press, 2000. 104-110.

⁶⁹⁸ DePeyster, John Watts. *The Affair at King's Mountain 7th October, 1780*. New York, 1880.

the participation of the largest number of frontiersmen, nearly all of Scots Irish or Irish ethnicity in any battle of the war. Of course, liberty stood at the top of the list, but the conditions which the frontiersmen and their fore fathers had faced not only in America, but in Ireland and Scotland played a large role in their actions. Too long had their grievances remained unattended to and their populations ignored; even despised by those acting on behalf of the British government. But the last straw was a challenge from a fellow Scot, from Aberdeenshire, the commander of the British forces at Kings Mountain, Ferguson. Perhaps the only thing that mattered more to these Indian fighters than their freedom, was their honor. And Ferguson knew this, as well as where to strike in order to pick a fight. All over the frontier, and in nearly every battle, veteran Indian fighters exacted massive casualties wherever they were deployed, whether it be by their sharpshooting from camouflaged surroundings, or their skill in hand to hand combat with their tomahawks and knives. The bayonet tactics which British soldiers employed were slow and cumbersome compared to the Indian fighters smaller and more deadly weapons.

As Ferguson's army made its way through the Carolinas, he proclaimed that: "We come not to make war on women and children, but to relieve their distresses."⁶⁹⁹ The skirmishes prior to the Battle of Camden had given some concern, but with Cornwallis's victory that August, the British remained sure that they had crippled the rebellion entirely. Most of Piedmont had been pacified, but the hotbed from the Blue Ridge Mountains to even further west, remained a hotbed and sanctuary for rebel militiamen. Ferguson had witnessed how they had swiftly gathered, fought incredibly, and had disbursed. He decided to call out all of the rebels at once and crush them.

⁶⁹⁹Major Patrick Ferguson to Robert Timpany. October 6, 1780. Kings Mountain National Military Park Archives, Kings Mountain, South Carolina.

His challenge to the frontier fighters was one that he knew would evoke extreme anger at the memory of the Battle of Culloden, where the British laid waste the Jacobite Scotsman “with fire and sword”⁷⁰⁰. Ferguson’s use of the terminology “With Fire and Sword” was reminiscent of the harsh British policies enacted following the Battle of Culloden. This phraseology was termed in correspondence of the commanding officer at Culloden, Major John La Fausille, who was acting on behalf of the Duke of Cumberland. He wrote: “ One days march with Fire & Sword & subdued the inhabitants of Lochlie contrary to expectation of all their Neighbors”.⁷⁰¹ He also wrote that “against all offenders as above I will proceed with fire and sword” a few days later, on April 4th, 1746.⁷⁰² There was no safe quarter and the uprising changed Scotland forever. Many of the over mountain men had been affected in one way or another by the events at Culloden, and any man hearing of the atrocities committed on that battlefield could not help but to have anger well up inside of him.

After the Battle of Culloden in Scotland, many Scots Highlanders fled to America, and in particular the upper Cape Fear Region. It is estimated that from 1763-1775 around 20,000 Scots emigrated to America. The laws enacted by the British following the Battle were designed to subdue and destroy the Highland clan system. Along with these stringent laws, there was abject poverty, decline in agriculture, and civil unrest that made life in Scotland undesirable. These factors encouraged many Scots to try their hand at a better life in America. The British government was alarmed at the rate of migration and in September 1775 directed the Commissioners of the Customes to direct all customs officials to disallow clearance papers to

⁷⁰⁰ Major John La Fausille, 8th (Kings) Regiment of Foot. By Major John La Fausille commanding a detachment of his Majesty’s forces under his Royal Highness the Duke William Angus, Duke of Cumberland. March 28, 1746.

⁷⁰¹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰² *Ibid.*

vessels which carried emigrants headed to America, for fear that anti-British sentiment that permeated throughout Scotland at the time might encourage radical anti-British sentiment in America, where there were already whispers of discontent.⁷⁰³ While Scots emigration was at its peak in 1773, an anonymous author who used the name “Scotus Americanus” as a pseudonym published *Informations Concerning the Province of North Carolina Addressed to Emigrants from the Highlands and Western Isles of Scotland*, which outlined the grievances of the Scots Highlanders and highlighted the benefits of life in North Carolina. This pamphlet was disseminated throughout Scotland to entice emigration to American settlements for a new beginning. After the Battle of Culloden in April 1746, large groups of Highland Scots migrated to North Carolina especially with the aim of becoming farmers. Over time, some of them and their relations moved west over the Blue Ridge Mountains, but they maintained their connections. These people were directly impacted by the fighting during the Revolutionary war and were especially aggrieved at the challenge from Ferguson, which drew upon memories of Culloden.

Ferguson had hoped that this factor would draw his opponents out into the open, where a well-trained provincial militia could extinguish the threat. Ferguson selected a man named Samuel Phillips, who had been captured at Musgrove’s Mill, for parole and to carry the message to Colonel Shelby. The note read that they were to "desist from their opposition to the British

⁷⁰³ Americanus, Scotus. *Informations Concerning the Province of North Carolina: Addressed to Emigrants from the Highlands and Western Isles of Scotland*. New Delhi, India: Isha Books, 2013.

arms and take protection under his standard".⁷⁰⁴ He wrote: "If you do not desist your opposition to the British Arms, I shall march this army over the mountains, hang your leaders, and lay waste your country with fire and sword."⁷⁰⁵ The message of British Major Patrick Ferguson was sent all over the Blue Ridge Mountains and the wilderness, in a direct warning that contained a veiled challenge. Through Ferguson's words of "fire and Sword" he had recalled the Jacobite defeat at Culloden, a battle that many Scots Irish had felt the effects of.

The frontier leaders assembled their best sharpshooters and Indian fighters immediately and pressed them to the task of marching across the wilderness and mountains to answer Ferguson's challenge. Colonel William Campbell who was on the Clinch River in Virginia and Colonel McDowell were dispatched to bring their best warriors. Campbell had initially given a disappointing response to the call to arms and the other leaders did not know if his forces would be joining them. Due to the uncertainty of force numbers, the frontier leaders decided to choose the best and most defensible position on the frontier for defense and that was to the advantage of their fighting style.⁷⁰⁶ They awaited Ferguson's approach.

Ferguson's position on the frontier separated him from the safety of Cornwallis's reinforcements in a timely manner. Shelby realized this and propositioned Campbell once again. Shelby discussed the position of Ferguson and the proximity of Campbell's men. With these considerations in mind, Campbell decided to join the other commanders in South Carolina. The

⁷⁰⁴ Hankia, Mel S. "The Battle of Kings Mountain". Revolutionary War Archives. <http://www.revolutionarywararchives.org/kingsmtfall05.html> (accessed September 20, 2022).

⁷⁰⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁰⁶ Dykeman, Wilma. *The Battle of Kings Mountain: With Fire and Sword*. Washington, DC: National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1978. 536.

four leaders decided to rendezvous their forces at Sycamore Shoals on the Watauga River on September 25th. McDowell's forces had been bivouacked nearby, recuperating from their skirmishes in the Piedmont. They relayed stories of the atrocities being committed by the British forces and their accounts cemented the over mountain men's resolve to halt the British forces from coming over the mountain and suppressing their liberty.⁷⁰⁷

The frontiersmen brought their wives, and some even brought their children with them to fight. The trek through the wilderness to the rendezvous was taxing, but the fighters carried on and kept their spirits up through exchanges of wit and humor, as well as trading stories: some that were happy, and many that were sad. More than 1,000 frontiersmen had assembled at the rendezvous point. This was one of the largest assemblages in the South to that date.⁷⁰⁸ This army had no official uniforms, and they were not commanded by some lofty American who had been trained in warfare in the East. They were commanded by men of their own ethnicity, heritage, and communities. They came as they were, in hunting shirts made of the common fringed buckskin, and some wore "clumsily made, blouse fashion, reaching to the knees and gathered up, tied around the waist. In the fulth [fullness] was often carried heavy burdens, as much as a bushel of corn at one time."⁷⁰⁹ Their breeches were a rough, home-dyed cloth, and their long and sometimes unkempt hair had been tied back beneath their hats.⁷¹⁰ The mountain men were

⁷⁰⁷ Dykeman, Wilma. *The Battle of Kings Mountain: With Fire and Sword*. Washington, DC: National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1978. 574.

⁷⁰⁸ Campaign 1776. "Battle of Kings Mountain History". Campaign 1776. <http://www.revolutionarywararchives.org/kingsmtntfall05>. (Accessed September 20, 2022).

⁷⁰⁹ Dykeman, Wilma. *The Battle of Kings Mountain: With Fire and Sword*. Washington, DC: National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1978. 555.

⁷¹⁰ *Ibid.*

shocking to behold because of their rough appearance. They "composed of patriot riflemen of the farmer, hunter, and Indian fighting class from the frontiers of the two Carolinas and Virginia."⁷¹¹

The army traveled quickly, and lightly, with no baggage or supply train. Each man carried a blanket, cup and "a wallet of provisions, the latter principally of parched corn meal, mixed, as it generally was, with maple sugar."⁷¹² If they were well enough off, a skillet might also have been in tow. They would often cook any game that they had had the fortune to kill along the way. Otherwise, they would stir up cornmeal in hot water for sustenance.⁷¹³

Every man had a long rifle in excellent working condition; for it was his lifesaver both in war and in daily life on the frontier. The long rifles, sometimes known as Deckard or Dickert rifles were the tool of choice for frontier marksmen. One man was said to have "rejoiced in its possession".⁷¹⁴ The men also carried their gunpowder in powder horns around their necks. Many of the horns had carvings that had been whittled by their owners. Whittling wasn't just for the horns, sometimes the rifles had the names of their owners carved into them.⁷¹⁵ There were few horses that accompanied these hearty men, but they were precious, as many of the horses had been lost in an Indian raid.⁷¹⁶ Historian Lyman Draper drew his sources from correspondence, papers, and media.⁷¹⁷ His compilation of frontier data illuminates the hardships that the Overmountain men experienced in this case. From this data, it may be deduced that the fortitude

⁷¹¹ Draper, Lyman C. *King's Mountain and Its Heroes*. GENEALOGICAL Pub. CO, 1983. 563.

⁷¹² *Ibid.*, 175.

⁷¹³ *Ibid.*

⁷¹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷¹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷¹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷¹⁷ Draper corresponded with early settlers in the Trans-Allegheny region, as well as survivors of the Indian wars Revolution. The resulting "Draper Collection" is nearly 500 volumes and is now housed with the Wisconsin Historical Society.

needed for such a trek was great, and it may also be argued that frontier living, with its hardships, had conditioned these Indian fighters to make such a daunting 300 mile trek over some of the most challenging terrain on the continent under the greatest secrecy and speed. It also highlights the fact that although the Cherokee had essentially been neutralized, raiding Indian parties on the frontier were still a threat during the Revolution.

As the troops arrived, the patriot force grew, 240 Washington County men arrived with John Sevier; Isaac Shelby brought the same number from Sullivan County; Campbell brought 400, and McDowell brought 160 seasoned men who were veterans of the skirmishes with Ferguson, and so already knew what opponent they were facing. As this now sizable party made its path through the mountain wilderness, they attracted more patriots to their cause, and they joined up with the over mountain men. An additional 350 men came with Joseph Winston from Wilkes and Surry Counties in North Carolina, and James Williams brought in 400 South Carolinians. Even with an impressive collaboration, this force still made up less than half of Ferguson's total manpower.⁷¹⁸

The trek through the wilderness had to be made in the utmost secrecy, for there were even spies on the frontier. The men followed obscure Indian trails that sometimes took them through the most rugged and treacherous terrain in the region. During this march, two of the men John Sevier had brought deserted, and once it was discovered that they were missing, it was believed that they were going to inform the British of the plans and the whereabouts of the

⁷¹⁸ Dykeman, Wilma. *The Battle of Kings Mountain: With Fire and Sword*. Washington, DC: National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1978. 601.

Patriot forces. It became a race against time for the Overmountain men to arrive at their planned destination.⁷¹⁹

One witness cited that:

"Two problems now confronted the mountaineers. They must increase the speed of their march, so that Ferguson should not have time to get reinforcements from Cornwallis; and they must make that extra speed by another trail than they had intended taking so that they themselves could not be intercepted before they had picked up the Back Country militia under Colonels Cleveland, Hambright, Chronicle, and Williams, who were moving to join them. We are not told who took the lead when they left the known trail, but we may suppose it was Sevier and his Wataugans, for the making of new warpaths and wild riding were two of the things that distinguished Nolichucky Jack's leadership. Down the steep side of the mountain, finding their way as they plunged, went the over-hill men. They crossed the Blue Ridge at Gillespie's Gap and pushed on to Quaker Meadow."⁷²⁰

Reinforcements from the Carolinas arrived, but the patriot force was just under 1400 men in number. Most of the leaders who joined the patriot cause had been Indian fighters and were of Irish or Scots Irish extraction, save for Shelby (of Welsh extraction) and Sevier (of French Huguenot extraction). One leader who joined the patriots from North Carolina was Benjamin Cleveland, who had been a frontier Indian fighter.⁷²¹ William Chronicle was a veteran of the Indian skirmishes in 1780 and settled on the Catawba river which had been rife with attacks. Joseph Winston hailed from North Carolina and had been Indian fighting since the age of 17. Edward Lacey had had joined up when he was only 13 years of aged to serve with Braddock's army in the Indian campaigns⁷²². These were hardened and seasoned Indian fighters, some who

⁷¹⁹ Dykeman, Wilma. *The Battle of Kings Mountain: With Fire and Sword*. Washington, DC: National Park Service, Us. Department of the Interior, 1978. 622.

⁷²⁰ Skinner, Constance Lindsay. *Pioneers of the Old Southwest: a Chronicle of the Dark and Bloody Ground*. Np. 1919.

⁷²¹Ganyard, Robert L. "North Carolina during the American Revolution: The First Phase" (Ph.D. diss., Duke University, 1962).

⁷²² O'Kelley, Patrick. *Blood and Slaughter - the Revolutionary War in the Carolinas*, Volume Four, 1782. Np. 2005.

had been politicians, and other who had been lifelong enemies of the Tories. Their experiences strengthened their resolve.

Though the militia was rough in appearance, the commanders were quite proud of them. One wrote that: "All our Troops being Militia and but little acquainted with discipline, we could wish him [the general officer] to be a Gentleman of address, and able to keep up a proper discipline without disgusting the soldiery."⁷²³ For all of the confidence that the commanders had in their men, they sent word to commanding General Gates for direction on command and battle plans. Gates never responded to them. It is unclear whether this was because they were seemingly wastrels in the eyes of a military officer like Gates, or whether Gates was still reeling from his embarrassment at Camden.

Shelby insisted that they could not delay operations to wait for Gates, and submitted Campbell as the officer for the job, since he was the only officer from North Carolina. This choice excluded the many Overmountain men from Tennessee, and therefore avoided any infighting due to jealousy. On October 2nd they moved to within 16 miles of Fergusons fort and Colonel Cleveland drew all the troops into a circle so that he could "tell them the news". He told them: "The enemy is at hand, and we must up and at them. Now is the time for every man of you to do his country a priceless service—such as shall lead your children to exult in the fact that their fathers were the conquerors of Ferguson."⁷²⁴ Both Cleveland and Shelby put it to the troops

⁷²³ Patriot Letter to General Gates, October 4, 1780 in White, Katherine Keogh. *The King's Mountain Men: The Story of the Battle, with Sketches of the American Soldiers Who Took Part*. Baltimore, MD: Reprinted for Clearfield Company by Genealogical Publishing Co., 2007.

⁷²⁴ Cleveland's Speech in Draper, Lyman C. *King's Mountain and Its Heroes*. GENEALOGICAL Pub. CO, 1983.

that if anyone wished to back out of their commitment to fight against Ferguson, that they were to step three paces back. No one took them up on the offer. So, Shelby told the men: "When we encounter the enemy, don't wait for the word of command. Let each one of you be your own officer, and do the very best you can, taking every care you can of yourselves, and availing yourselves of every advantage that chance may throw in your way."⁷²⁵

While the frontiersmen received motivational speeches and prepared for war, Ferguson was also was preparing his men by regaling them with tales of these barbarians of the Indian fighters. On October 1, 1780, he wrote:

“Gentlemen: Unless you wish to be eat up by an inundation of barbarians, who have begun by murdering an unarmed son before his aged father, and afterwards lopped off his arms, and who by their shocking cruelties and irregularities, give the best proof of their cowardice and want of discipline; I say, if you want to be pinioned, robbed, and murdered, and see your wives and daughters, in four days, abused by the dregs of mankind—in short, if you wish to deserve to live, and bear the name of men, grasp your arms in a moment and run to camp. The Back Water men have crossed the mountains; McDowell, Hampton, Shelby, and Cleveland are at their head, so that you know what you have to depend upon. If you choose to be degraded forever and ever by a set of mongrels, say so at once, and let your women turn their backs upon you, and look out for real men to protect them. Pat Ferguson, Major 71st Regiment.”⁷²⁶

In truth, with the intelligence flooding in about the gathering forces, Ferguson may have become uneasy. He had 1,000 Tory militia and marched from Gilbert Town before the Patriot forces could strike. But the Indian fighters were adept at tracking, and they followed his trail, but were confounded by the indecisive route.⁷²⁷ It is unknown whether Ferguson did this intentionally, or if he was just trying to buy time to send for reinforcements. By October 5th, the

⁷²⁵ Draper, Lyman C. *King's Mountain and Its Heroes*. GENEALOGICAL Pub. CO, 1983. 196.

⁷²⁶ *Virginia Gazette*. November 11, 1780.

⁷²⁷ Dykeman, Wilma. *The Battle of Kings Mountain: With Fire and Sword*. Washington, DC: National Park Service, Us. Department of the Interior, 1978. 731.

commanders held a council and decided to send their best mounted rifleman to track down Ferguson. By morning, 700 of these riflemen set out in search of Ferguson.⁷²⁸ They were armed with the typical frontier tools of survival, Dickert Rifles (later known as the Kentucky rifle) and Pennsylvania long rifles, as well as tomahawks and hunting knives in leather belts. Most of the soldiers were clad in typical frontier dress, simple cotton, and muslin, or buckskin and moccasins.⁷²⁹

When they had tracked him down on the ridge of Kings Mountain, they captured a boy, John Ponder, who had been dispatched with what had been Ferguson's last correspondence with Cornwallis. They used the opportunity to ask about the appearance of Ferguson and how to distinguish him from amongst his ranks. They also knew that they would be able to identify him by the wound he had suffered at the Battle of Brandywine, leaving his right arm a dangling, useless appendage.

The terrain of Kings Mountain was sloped, rugged with boulders and timber peppering the ridges. Ferguson had no doubt believed his position on the slope to be secure, with any enemy coming from below and with plenty of boulders and trees to fortify his defenses. It would have been a formidable feat for anyone to have to run up the slope to attack his forces. However, he underestimated the sure shot soldiers that were hunting him. The trees and boulders provided plenty of cover for them and they had been running up hills all their lives.

⁷²⁸ Dykeman, Wilma. *The Battle of Kings Mountain: With Fire and Sword*. Washington, DC: National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1978. 731.

⁷²⁹ Tucker, Phillip Thomas. *How the Irish Won the American Revolution: The Forgotten Heroes of America's War of Independence*. New York, NY: Skyhorse Publishing, 2020. 29.

As the Indian fighters made ready for their attack upon Ferguson, they were directed "that when the center columns were ready for the attack, they were to give the signal by raising a regular frontier war-whoop, after the Indian style, and rush forward, doing the enemy all the injury possible."⁷³⁰ These tactics of Native American warfare were meant to unnerve them enemy psychologically, and in such terrain war-whoops would be magnified not only by the sheer number of men making them, but also by the terrain echoing the sounds. During this battle, vengeance was meant to had for all the wounds inflicted by the British on them. Their countersign was the word "Buford" in homage to the commander and his troops that were murderously slain by Tarleton and his men, despite their surrender and request for quarter.⁷³¹

Conditions on the battlefield were harsh. One teenager of 16 from Chronicle's regiment name James Collins prepared for battle by jamming "four or five balls in his mouth to prevent thirst, also to be in readiness to reload quick."⁷³² Several families and generations joined side by side for the anticipated defeat of Ferguson and smashing of his army. The Presbyterian reverend Samuel Doak read from the Book of Judges prior to the battle to the frontiersmen and emphasized the "sword of the Lord and Gideon".⁷³³

"My countrymen, you are about to set out on an expedition which is full of hardships and dangers, but one in which the Almighty will attend you. The Mother Country has her hand upon you, these American colonies, and takes that for which our fathers planted their homes in the wilderness—OUR LIBERTY. Taxation without representation and the quartering of soldiers in the homes of our people without their consent are evidence that the crown of England would take from its American Subjects

⁷³⁰ Draper, Lyman C. *King's Mountain and Its Heroes*. GENEALOGICAL Pub. CO, 1983. 246.

⁷³¹ Harris, C. Leon. "AMERICAN SOLDIERS AT THE BATTLE OF WAXHAW SC, 29 MAY 1780". South Carolina Department of Archives and Histories. 11 August 2021.

⁷³² Collins, James P. *Autobiography of a Revolutionary Soldier*. Feliciana Democrat: Clinton, LA, 1859. 52.

⁷³³ "Sycamore Shoals Where Rev. Samuel Doak Preached His Famous Sermon on 'The Sword of the Lord and of Gideon' to the Heroes of King's Mountain" (BH-295). September 1780. Archives of Appalachia. Box 2, Folder 17.

the last vestige of Freedom. Your brethren across the mountains are crying like Macedonia unto your help. God forbid that you should refuse to hear and answer their call - but the call of your brethren is not all. The enemy is marching hither to destroy your homes. Brave men, you are not unacquainted with battle. Your hands have already been taught to war and your fingers to fight. You have wrested these beautiful valleys of the Holston and Watauga from the savage hand. Will you tarry now until the other enemy carries fire and sword to your very doors? No, it shall not be. Go forth then in the strength of your manhood to the aid of your brethren, the defense of your liberty and the protection of your homes. And may the God of Justice be with you and give you victory.

“Let Us Pray”

Almighty and gracious God! Thou hast been the refuge and strength of Thy people in all ages. In time of sorest need we have learned to come to Thee—our Rock and our Fortress. Thou knowest the dangers and snares that surround us on march and in battle. Thou knowest the dangers that constantly threaten the humble, but well beloved homes, which Thy servants have left behind them. O, in Thine infinite mercy, save us from the cruel hand of the savage, and of tyrant. Save the unprotected homes while fathers and husbands and sons are far away fighting for freedom and helping the oppressed. Thou, who promised to protect the sparrow in its flight, keep ceaseless watch, by day and by night, over our loved ones. The helpless women and little children, we commit to Thy care. Thou wilt not leave them or forsake them in times of loneliness and anxiety and terror. O, God of Battle, arise in Thy might. Avenge the slaughter of Thy people. Confound those who plot for our destruction. Crown this mighty effort with victory, and smite those who exalt themselves against liberty and justice and truth. Help us as good soldiers to wield the SWORD OF THE LORD AND GIDEON. AMEN.”⁷³⁴

This is episode lent truth to the suspicion that Presbyterianism had been used to nurture sympathies of insurgency against the Crown. After all, Doak was leading the masses to believe that they were involved in a Holy war and were set about doing the Lord’s work in this battle.

Colonel William Campbell had been elected to be the commander of this formidable force and his rallying cry to his men was “my brave boys, shout like hell and fight like devils”.⁷³⁵ The war whoops that the men had decided to invoke before their attack in the early hours of the October day had been learned from their experiences on the frontier. At one time or another, they

⁷³⁴ Draper, Lyman C. *King's Mountain and Its Heroes*. GENEALOGICAL Pub. CO, 1983. 247.

⁷³⁵ *Ibid.*

had been on the receiving end of those war whoops, and they knew exactly the effect it would have. It began to unnerve the British soldiers and Loyalist volunteers, and the sight of the Indian fighters was also something unnerving. With their primitive dress, their grizzled hair and appearance, and their ferocity of spirit on the battlefield, much of the psychological spirit of the British troops had been damaged. The Indian fighters also knew how to use their position and how to advance using nature as a cover. The trees and boulders served as adequate cover for their sharpshooting and their dress acted as camouflage of sorts. The frontiersmen were some of the best sharpshooters in the world because they had no choice but to be. An inaccurate shot on the frontier could cost one's life.

The Battle of Kings Mountain took place in the northwest corner of South Carolina On October 7, 1780. When they finally attacked, it was so rapid that Ferguson and his men were surprised. The first shots to be fired were not by the Indian fighters, but by Tories who had spotted Shelby's men approaching. Even though they had been fired upon, Shelby did not let his men return fire because they were not yet in a defensible position.⁷³⁶

Shelby was still moving into position when Campbell took off his coat and directed his men to attack. "When we encounter the enemy, don't wait for a word of command. Let each of you be your own officer, and do the very best you can...If in the woods, shelter yourselves and give them Indian play; advance from tree to tree...and killing and disabling all you can."⁷³⁷

Campbell's men let loose their war whoops and Shelby's men followed, to be followed in turn by all of the other men successively. One British officer who had fought against Shelby at

⁷³⁶ J. G. de Rouillac Hamilton. "King's Mountain: Letters of Colonel Isaac Shelby." *The Journal of Southern History* 4, no. 3 (1938): 367-77. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2191295>.

⁷³⁷ *Ibid.*

Musgrove's Mill remembered these Indian fighters from his previous encounter and informed Ferguson that some of the fighters in the ranks were "the damned yelling boys!"⁷³⁸

One of the young boys described how "the mountain appeared volcanic; there flashed along its summit, and around its base, and up its sides, one long sulphurous blaze."⁷³⁹ While sharpshooters took cover and took aim, Ferguson's men answered their attack with uniform volleys of musket balls. Amongst the war whoops surrounding the troops, the silver whistle that Ferguson always employed could be heard. Shelby and Campbell advanced up the rocky slope in "Indian fashion", zig zagging and making use of nearby boulder, bush, and tree for cover. When they were close enough, Ferguson called for a bayonet charge, and Campbell's men broke their ranks and ran down the mountain again. Some British officers on horseback took advantage in the break in lines and chased down some of the militiamen.⁷⁴⁰ Campbell's men had run down the mountain, jumped a ravine and had started up a slope across the way. It was clear that "everything depended upon successfully rallying the men when first driven down the mountain."⁷⁴¹

Campbell was able to rally his men to their senses and to inspire them with the fortitude to rejoin the battle and run back of the mountain. The layout of the terrain and the fashion of fighting on the mountain broke the battle up into several smaller and more isolated fights. Shelby and Campbells men attempted and were repulsed from taking the ridge three times, but their nerves of steel and true grit held true, and they were eventually able to succeed. As they got

⁷³⁸ Statement of Colonel George Wilson (1844) in Draper, Lyman C. *King's Mountain and Its Heroes*. GENEALOGICAL Pub. CO, 1983. 247.

⁷³⁹ Young, Major Thomas. "Memoir of Major Thomas Young". *Orion Magazine*. October/November 1843.

⁷⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴¹ Draper, Lyman C. *King's Mountain and Its Heroes*. GENEALOGICAL Pub. CO, 1983. 255.

closer to Ferguson's riflemen, it was clear that the bullets were going over their heads and were now an ineffective method of defense for Ferguson. While several men attempted to take the mountainside, deadly sharpshooters camouflaged in trees and behind boulders claimed heavy casualties from the British and Tories.⁷⁴² It became apparent that Ferguson's men would then have to fight in close quarters with bayonets.

A 16-year-old Private Thomas Young under the command of Colonel Williams, and who had fought his way up the slope during the battle, remembered that "Ben Hollingworth and myself took right up the side of the mountain, and fought our way from tree to tree, up to the summit. I recollect I stood behind one tree and fired until the bark was nearly all knocked off, and my eyes pretty well filled with it. One fellow shaved me pretty close, for his bullet took a piece out of my gun stock. Before I was aware of it, I found myself apparently between my own regiment and the enemy, as I judged from seeing the paper the Whigs wore in their hats, and the pine twigs the Tories wore in theirs, these being the badges of distinction."⁷⁴³

Ferguson's troops employed some psychological warfare of their own at this point in the battle. They had begun yelling that Tarleton and his dreaded dragoons had arrived to reinforce Ferguson, and the word quickly spread along the battlefield, affecting Sevier's troops. While this was most likely an attempt to frighten the Indian fighters, it may also have been an effort to steel the British forces with fortitude. To stop this rumor in its tracks, Sevier rode amongst his ranks and assured that that Tarleton was nowhere near "and if he were, they could make him, like Ferguson's Rangers, turn their backs and flee up the mountain."⁷⁴⁴ This remark from Sevier reaffirmed the hardened resolve of the Overmountain men to remove the British threat, and

⁷⁴² Young, Major Thomas. "Memoir of Major Thomas Young". *Orion Magazine*. October/November 1843.

⁷⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

affirmed their hard-won success, whereby establishing it as a model for any subsequent threats. They had already fought and won a challenging battle on Kings Mountain, and by logic could do it again.

Despite his disability, Ferguson made a valiant stand on his steed, wielding his saber and remarked that he would never yield "to such a damned banditti."⁷⁴⁵ Ferguson had lost two horses in the battle and mounted a third. In the midst of the fray his sword broke. He drove his horse forcefully and ended up in from of Sevier's men. He was a marked target, and a volley of shots were leveled at him. He was hit between 6 and 8 times. One even went through his head, but he did not die immediately. He was said to have slumped over in his saddle, with both arms now broken, and his clothes and hat filled with shot. As the Indian fighters lobbed him out of his saddle, one of his feet became entwined in the stirrup and laid at an unnatural angle. He was dragged along the battlefield and shot several more times before his steed was halted. Once he was let loose, he was laid on a blanket and carried away from the fighting. They propped him up against boulders with additional blankets while both British and patriot soldiers took turns looking in on him.⁷⁴⁶

The death of Major Ferguson was anything but dignified. He had earned the ire of every Scots Irish and Irishman in the middle and southern colonies, even though he himself was Scottish. In all probability, the colonists may have been more discontented with him and his actions because of the fact that he was Scottish. In America, the Irish and Scots Irish had all shared a collective memory of the "auld country" and had built several support networks based

⁷⁴⁵ Skinner, Constance Lindsay. *Pioneers of the Old Southwest: a Chronicle of the Dark and Bloody Ground*. Np. 1919.

⁷⁴⁶ Dykeman, Wilma. *The Battle of Kings Mountain: With Fire and Sword*. Washington, DC: National Park Service, Us. Department of the Interior, 1978. 880.

on their common ethnicity and shared history. The fact that a Scot would continue to subdue his own ethnic people (as the colonists saw it) would have given more affront than an Anglo in the same position. Though he was shot down quickly, his body was celebrated as a trophy of war. Scots Irish soldier John McQueen recalled the bloodstained body of Ferguson and that “there was 6 or 7 bullet holes through him. . . .”⁷⁴⁷ They danced Irish jigs around the body and celebrated their victory with cheers⁷⁴⁸.

Ferguson’s treatment of the Scots Irish and Irish frontiersmen in his letters betrayed airs of contempt when he referred to them as “Backwater men”, “dregs of mankind” and “mongrels.”⁷⁴⁹ Ferguson’s views were in keeping with his fellow officers who believed that the frontier Indian fighters were a “pack of beggars.” The opinion of the pedigree of the Overmountain men that Ferguson and his contemporaries held was a mixture of ethnicism and social positioning. Throughout the study of Irish and Scots Irish men who were on the English side of the colonial debate, they all held a low opinion of the Scots Irish and border people of the frontier. William Johnson referred to them in much the same terms, citing their barbarism against natives on the frontier and their problematic and combative attitudes.⁷⁵⁰ Another colonial

⁷⁴⁷ McQueen, John. Federal Pension Application (S30577). Revolutionary War Record, National Archives, Washington, DC.

⁷⁴⁸ Keller, S. Roger. *Isaac Shelby: A Driving Force in America's Struggle for Independence*. Shippensburg, Pa: Burd Street Press, 2000. 43.

⁷⁴⁹ Buchanan, John. *Jackson's Way: Andrew Jackson and the People of the Western Waters*. Edison, NJ: Castle Books, 2005. 43.

⁷⁵⁰ O’Toole, Fintan. *White Savage: William Johnson and the Invention of America*. 1st American ed. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2005.

contemporary that differentiated the frontier Irish from their eastern counterparts was James Logan, who related that they were problematic and caused border disputes.⁷⁵¹

Despite the low opinion of titled military men about the low social stature of the frontiersmen, some of the fighters opposites were slightly more realistic and humbler in retrospect of the battle. Fighter John Copeland wrote remarked, that he “did his part upon the occasion as far as he was able.”⁷⁵² A captain who had fought on the patriot side wrote that it was “the most decisive, the most glorious fought [and] was of the greatest importance of any one battle that [was] ever fought in America.”⁷⁵³

Whilst at this moment time seemed to stop, the battle on the mountain raged on. Though Ferguson had been killed and there were calls to halt the killing, all of the anticipation and vengeance that led to such intense fighting kept the momentum of the fight moving on. Several of the fighters ignored the message to halt, and instead yelled "Give them Buford's play!"⁷⁵⁴ This rallying call reminded the men of Tarleton’s lack of mercy for Buford when he needed quarter, as well as all of the pain and suffering that he had inflicted in the Carolinas. Sadly, it appears that Ferguson and his men were to pay for many of the crimes of Tarleton, who would never answer

⁷⁵¹ Leyburn, James G. “The Scotch Irish.” *American Heritage* 22, no. 1, 1970.

⁷⁵² Copeland, John. Federal Pension Application (S30966). Revolutionary War Record, National Archives, Washington, DC.

⁷⁵³ Messick, Hank. *King's Mountain: The Epic of the Blue Ridge "Mountain Men" in the American Revolution*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1976. 101.

⁷⁵⁴ M., Carpenter Stanley D. *Southern Gambit: Cornwallis and the British March to Yorktown*. S.I.: University Of Oklahoma Press, 2020. 127.

for his. One eyewitness said that "the slaughter continued until the Americans were weary of killing."⁷⁵⁵

Even John Sevier's son Joseph, who was still fighting, had somehow heard report that his father had apparently been killed. As a result, he continued to fire on the British forces, yelling "The damned rascals have killed my father, and I'll keep loading and shooting till I kill every son of a bitch of them!"⁷⁵⁶ He was only halted in his anger when his father, who had not in fact been killed, appeared before him on his steed, and told him to lay down his arms.⁷⁵⁷ This surge of passion was not unique to Joseph Sevier. One other Indian fighter Charles Bowen had entered the battle with his brother Reece. Near the end of hostilities, Charles had heard reports that his brother had been killed and was seized with such anxiety that he stepped out into danger, oblivious to it, until he stumbled upon Captain Williamson who was dead or dying. This sight unnerved him further and he continued fighting in a frenzy, unable to hear or to remember the countersign, which was "Buford".

Colonel Cleveland was in a similar frenzy of fighting and Charles Bowen was unable to recite the call sign to him and proceeded to advance upon him. Consequently, Cleveland and Bowen became engaged when Cleveland leveled his rifle at Bowen, suspecting him to be a foe, and Bowen then grabbed Cleveland's collar and wrested his tomahawk from him, attempting to split Cleveland's head with it. Luckily, an officer Buchanan, having recognized both parties,

⁷⁵⁵ DeMond, Robert O. *The Loyalists in North Carolina During the Revolution*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1940. 132.

⁷⁵⁶ Scheer, George F., and Hugh F. Rankin. *Rebels and Redcoats*. New York u.a.: New American Library, 1957. 194.

⁷⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

intervened.⁷⁵⁸ This scene is helpful to understanding the confusion and chaos on the battlefield that day. The clothing that both the Tories and the Rebels wore that day was their everyday clothing, and were not uniforms of any sort. This made distinguishment in the heat of pitched battle very difficult. Both sides were aware of this and so Ferguson's men wore pine straw in their hats, and the rebels wore pieces of paper.⁷⁵⁹ However, throughout battle many lost these plumes and distinguishment came only by the countersign for the Patriots. The scene is also useful in understanding that the Overmountain men were adept at using their Native American weaponry in close combat.

Of the American forces, only 28 were killed and 62 were wounded, after having killed 290, wounded 163, and captured 668 of Ferguson's 1100 men.⁷⁶⁰ The battle had only lasted one hour but had taken out the entire left flank of Cornwallis's army and shifted the fortunes of the Americans in their Revolution. These numbers bear testament to the spirit of the Indian fighters, as much as their skill with weaponry, and guerilla tactics.

Among the Indian fighters who participated in the decisive battle were 2 Scots Irishmen name John and Thomas McCulloch. Lieutenant Thomas McCulloch was killed while cresting the uphill forest slopes of Kings Mountain, but his son recalled the bittersweet moment when the Indian fighters had "driven the enemy, and had got on the top of the mountain [and] the enemy [then] surrendered".⁷⁶¹ Many of the British prisoners were had been unnerved in the blitz-style

⁷⁵⁸ Draper Manuscript Collection, 22 DD 28.

⁷⁵⁹ Allen, Thomas B. "THE OVERMOUNTAIN MEN." *Military History*, 11, 2010. 34

⁷⁶⁰ Dykeman, Wilma. *The Battle of Kings Mountain: With Fire and Sword*. Washington, DC: National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1978. 903.

⁷⁶¹ McCulloch, John. Federal Pension Application (S7204). Revolutionary War Record, National Archives, Washington, DC.

fighting tactics, the war whoops, and upon their capture, by the very appearance of the Indian fighters, who did not resemble traditional martial foes, but were dressed in the fashion of Native Americans. One Irish Indian fighter who was invaluable at the Battle of Kings Mountain was James Johnson, who was the son of an Irish immigrants who had settled just west of the Carolina Piedmont on the western frontier, and who was a veteran Indian fighter.⁷⁶² His expertise and employment of his training on the battlefield was exemplary.⁷⁶³

Another unit of frontier riflemen hailed from the Catawba region in South Carolina. This unit was known as the “South Fork Boys”. These men were called to action at the Battle of Kings Mountain. One of them, named James Collins, recollected his actions on that day: “I took the precaution to conceal myself as well as I could, behind a tree or rock of which there were plenty, and take as good aim as possible.”⁷⁶⁴ The use of camouflage and natural surroundings was a guerilla tactic learned in frontier warfare with the French and Indians, and proved most useful when fighting regimental soldiers and Loyalist militia.

Sir Henry Clinton, in hindsight, later claimed: “The instant I heard of Major Ferguson’s defeat, I foresaw most of the consequences likely to result from it. The check so encouraged the spirit of rebellion in the Carolinas that it could never afterwards be humbled.”⁷⁶⁵ And he pronounced it “the first link in a chain of evils that followed each other in regular succession until they at last ended in the total loss of America.” Years later, Thomas Jefferson called “that

⁷⁶² White, Katherine Keogh. *King's Mountain Men: The Story of the Battle, with Sketches of the American Soldiers Who Took Part.. (Classic Reprint)*. S.l.: FORGOTTEN BOOKS, 2022. 194.

⁷⁶³ Pension Application of James Johnson (Johnston) W7935.

⁷⁶⁴ Collins, James Potter, and John M. Roberts. *A Revolutionary Soldier*. New York: Arno Press, 1979.

⁷⁶⁵ DePeyster, John Watts. *The Affair at King's Mountain 7th October, 1780*. New York, 1880.

memorable victory” at Kings Mountain “the joyful annunciation of that turn of the tide of success, which terminated the Revolutionary war with the seal of independence.”⁷⁶⁶

While there were veteran Indian fighters at Kings Mountain, there were also women, and children involved in the battle.⁷⁶⁷ John Carswell was only 14 years old and went along with his father Alexander to the fight. His upbringings had given him the skills for rapid loading and expert sharpshooting with the Long Rifle, so that his contributions on the battlefield matched that of his fellow fighters.⁷⁶⁸ Another 14-year-old who participated and held his own on the battlefield was Silas McBee.⁷⁶⁹ One of the youngest on the battlefield was Thomas Gillespie Jr. who showed unmitigated bravery in scurrying up the slope towards Tory forces.⁷⁷⁰

The swift tactics of the Scots Irish and Irish at Kings Mountain were considered exemplary not only in their own time, but by current sources as well. James Swisher remarked that, “in a strange fashion, the over-the-mountain army, so swiftly assembled [then] abruptly vanished from American legend. But it was not a myth. It was a fighting force of hardy, physical men that, though lacking in training and discipline [won a remarkable victory at Kings Mountain and] then disappeared into the backwoods from which it had come.”⁷⁷¹

Although a great many Overmountain men returned to their homes, more had arrived after the battle. One such soldier was William Alexander who arrived after the battle and

⁷⁶⁶ Thomas Jefferson to John Campbell, 10 November 1822. Jefferson Papers.

<https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/98-01-02-3152>

⁷⁶⁷ Dunkerly, Robert. *The Battle of King's Mountain Eyewitness Accounts*. Edited by Robert Dunkerly. Charleston, South Carolina: The History Press, 2007. 7

⁷⁶⁸ White, Katherine Keogh. *King's Mountain Men: The Story of the Battle, with Sketches of the American Soldiers Who Took Part.. (Classic Reprint)*. S.l.: Forgotten Books, 2022. 157.

⁷⁶⁹ *Ibid*, 147.

⁷⁷⁰ *Ibid*, 174.

⁷⁷¹ Swisher, James K. *The Revolutionary War in the Southern Back Country*. Gretna, LA: Pelican Pub. Co, 2008. 241.

marched the prisoners General Greene.⁷⁷² Richard Allen also gave an accounting of having arrived following the battle and seeing the prisoner march.⁷⁷³ This march was particularly grueling and cumbersome, as the prison guards brutalized some of the prisoners who fell under the pace of the march. There were also instances where prisoners were strung upon trees.

The Battle of Kings Mountain was intended by Ferguson to crush the pestilential fly that was the American insurgents from pestering the empire further. He used all the right words and psychology to bring the foe to the field, but his underestimation of their strength and skill was fatal. It was not only fatal to his troops that day, but it was fatal to the stability of the British army in the southern theater. His challenge had alighted such sympathies within the hearts of the Irish and Scots Irish on the frontier, that it inadvertently assembled a force so formidable that the fall out would be catastrophic. This veritable ghost army of Indian fighters assembled from all directions and literally picked apart Cornwallis's left flank on that October day. Ferguson would pay with his life, and the loss of such a commander was devastating to the British as well.

The American Revolution saw a blending of various backgrounds of the Irish and Scots Irish in America with the cause of liberty. The recent influx of Irish during the decades preceding hostilities had brought in a new demographic of people who had new ideas and old grievances against the British. The veteran Irish Indian fighters from generations of fighting in America had entered the fray for liberty with various instigating factors at the root. But a great majority of the Irish and Scots Irish had been both socially and geographically isolated, whether by choice or by circumstance. The movement of war to their doorstep had moved them to action against the Cherokee and the Iroquois especially, but as the threat of subjugation in their newly founded

⁷⁷² William Allen Pension Application. Draper Manuscript Collection, 3 DD 23.

⁷⁷³ Richard Allen's Account. Draper Manuscript Collection, 3 DD 311.

homeland appeared imminent, many more of them were stirred to action. On the battlefield and in theater, the Irish Indian Fighters were a supreme force to be reckoned with. Homegrown skills and wisdom learned through living and warring alongside Native American populations conditioned the frontier fighters for a style of guerilla warfare that unseated the British regiments and their own native allies and rangers.

Conclusion

The conditions in the New World that created Irish Indian Fighters were fraught with adversity and complexity. To understand the conditions which created such formidable warriors on the American continent, one must understand the conditions that were endemic within the history and culture of the Irish and Scots Irish and their continuing experiences. Their historical prowess as warriors was culturally imperative. The conditions that they had consistently lived upon as a border people necessitated adaptation to a defensive way of living on the land, and sometimes an offensive way of living to extinguish threats. Whenever imperial intervention appeared in their history, there was always a cataclysmic transformation of the way of life of the people. Many of these adjustments were painful and destructive to the continuity of Irish identity; yet the Irish consistently found a way to adapt not only for their bodily survival but have maintained the sense of Irish identity through generations, and have contributed greatly to the Irish Diaspora in North America.

This analysis sought to understand how and why Irish and Scots Irish communities were formed. What necessitated their existence and why was it imperative for their creation? What social imperatives or barriers influenced the geolocation of their communities and what sort of demographic lived in these communities? Most importantly, what proof was there that such conditions that influenced the creation of communities, and by association, Indian fighters existed? Were there incentives, were there mandates? Or did the early sense of harvesting a destiny in a veritable promised land influence settlement?

As the previous chapters have shown, communities that the Irish and Scots Irish erected in the New World were created from necessity for survival early on. These pioneers who had survived centuries of warfare and subjugation in Ireland, turned their backs on everything that

they knew and traversed the foreboding Atlantic Ocean in search of a promised land. In fact, many immigrants regarded early America, as “a land of Canaan”, where an industrious person had a fair chance at harvesting a somewhat comfortable life for themselves in the land of milk and honey⁷⁷⁴. These same immigrants perceived Ireland as a “land of slavery” at the hands of the Anglo authorities who had deeply embedded themselves in Ireland and its government affairs. They compared themselves figuratively with the slaves of Egypt and understood that an exodus might be a way to leave behind their suffering.

Despite these feelings and the understanding that they might fare better in America, especially after relatives communicated through letters home of their successes on the continent, there was a longing for Ireland, and a pride in being Irish. Those who had left home, wished to be remembered to their loved ones and friends in Ireland and wrote as they could, many of them even encouraged emigration and offered their support.⁷⁷⁵ Those who had established themselves in America heartily welcomed strangers from the old country and recognized both Irish and Scots Irish in this way many times.

It is clear from correspondence and memoirs that the atrocities, pain, and injustice suffered in Ireland (and sometimes in Scotland prior), accompanied with rigid penal laws, rack-rents, crop failures, and the looming collapse of the once prominent linen trade later in the late 1700's had greatly influenced emigration from Ireland up to the eve of the American Revolution

⁷⁷⁴ Miller, Kerby A. *Irish Immigrants in the Land of Canaan Letters and Memoirs from Colonial and Revolutionary America, 1675-1815*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003. 5.

⁷⁷⁵ Johnston, Henry, Loughbrickland, County Down to Moses Johnson, Leacock Township, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. 28 April 1773 in Miller, Kerby A. *Irish Immigrants in the Land of Canaan Letters and Memoirs from Colonial and Revolutionary America, 1675-1815*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.

and beyond. But once such massive waves of Irish and Scots Irish immigrants arrived in American ports, the welcome was nothing if not frosty. The pilgrims at Plymouth Colony, and in neighboring Connecticut had received a shipment of much needed supplies given from Ireland a year prior to a massive influx of immigrants, but the Irish who arrived on their doorstep initially were not the subjugated servants that they had expected. Almost none of the initial Irish settlers were indentured servants; some were highly educated, some were not. But they all were independent.

There was a suspicion of their religion and their purpose in America, whether they were Presbyterian or Catholic. There was also a paranoia that they would tip the scales of survival by siphoning food rations from the colonies. Eventually, many colonies enacted legislation prohibiting the importation of Scots Irish or Irish, for which imprisonment and more generally severe fines were imposed. One citizen was forced to pay a hefty fine for the importation of Irish and was also obliged to beg forgiveness from the authorities for his crime, before being pardoned.⁷⁷⁶ On October 29, 1654 the General Court of Massachusetts Colony passed an act which levied a penalty of 50 pounds for each Irish person brought into the colony “on account of their hostility to the English nation.”⁷⁷⁷ The act also aimed to prevent the influx of “soe many Irish in the Country”.⁷⁷⁸ They were not welcome in the townships, but clever leaders had seen a solution to their problems of Indian warfare and demographic desirability, and consequently welcomed them to settle on the frontier to serve as a barrier against Native American attack. This

⁷⁷⁶ Symonds, David. “Declaration of Deputy Governor David Symonds” in the General Court of the Colony Massachusetts Bay. Essex County Court Records, Vol. 2. 295.

⁷⁷⁷ *Act of the General Court of the Colony Massachusetts Bay*. October 29, 1654. Essex County Court Records, Vol. 2. 295.

⁷⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

somewhat uncharitable arrangement echoed up and down the eastern seaboard as towns and eventually cities were planted.

The Irish settlements on frontiers was well-suited to the Irish and Scots Irish temperament as they were well-versed in warfare, adversity, and in many cases isolation. As recognized in Chapter 2, the Irish and the Scots Irish were a border people who were accustomed to hostility and the warrior ethic, since ancient times. This warrior ethic was so endemic that Lord Chichester, the Lord Deputy of Ireland at the time of the Ulster Plantation, realized that the only way to remove the hostilities in Ireland and truly press it into submission, was to dismantle the warrior class.⁷⁷⁹ This was done through conscription of warriors to foreign kingdoms in Spain, France, Sweden, and even Russia. But many of the warriors either returned from warfare further disillusioned, yet more well-educated for the experience, and either stirred up further dissent, or they outright refused to go fight (as in the case of Russia).

The Irish were a people accustomed to guerilla warfare and used their environments and weaponry available to them. The transition from Gaelic-tribal customs and warfare acclimatization to guerilla warfare was a product of settlement Indian fighting on the American frontier. But the long history of warfare in Ireland and Scotland had acclimated them to the use of strategy and environment previously. As they were not allowed to bear arms in many cases, some stored pikes, swords, and even blackthorn sticks in the roofs of their homes. So, insurgency continued on the Irish island. Many of these warriors eventually immigrated to the North American continent or were transported in some cases for real or imagined crimes.

⁷⁷⁹ O'Brien, Michael J. *Pioneer Irish in New England*. New York: P.J. Kennedy & Sons. 1937, 31.

When they arrived on the continent and were pushed to the fringes of civilization in the earliest days of settlement, their skill in warfare and their adaptability in both weaponry and guerrilla situations increased their survivability. But it was not just warfare that increased their ability to sustain settlements on the continent, but their knack for learning and for networking. Through living in close proximity to Native Americans, the Irish and Scots Irish were able to learn how to hunt, trade, communicate, and even fight in the style of Native Americans. From the Natives, the Irish and Scots Irish in America learned tracking capabilities, and the use of complex environmental surroundings, such as mountainous regions, camouflage, stealth attacks and raids, and the use of Native American weaponry (often fighting with both hands, with tomahawks and knives). They also learned how to use psychological warfare to intimidate the enemy by using war whoops, echoes, and the natural environment to conceal their true position. They also adopted customs, such as scalping that were sentimental to Native Americans, yet horrific to European settlers. This gave them the edge on the traditional European warfare tactics in the coming battles with the British, French, and Spanish who were more accustomed to regimental warfare.

As the military application of the Irish and Scots Irish warrior prowess was substantiated in the early colonies, the incoming immigrants were often required to submit to a requirement of service in the local militia. They were exceptional marksmen and were valued as sentries. As the eastern seaboard became more densely populated, the Irish and Scots Irish were pushed further out into the frontier, and into Native American lands. The most fertile lands near civilization were often staked out for absentee landlords in England and abroad, and the other land within a stone's throw of civilization was either unavailable, or unobtainable because of expense and discrimination. So, many enterprising Irish explorers pushed into the wilderness, and many

crossed lines of demarcation, that had been drawn up in treaties between colonial governments and local tribes. This naturally inflamed relations with the tribes who occupied those lands.

Even on the best of terms, Native American warfare was a facet of everyday life for Irish and other European settlers on the North American continent. These experiences made Indian Fighters of many of the settlers, especially on the frontier, from their earliest days. Men, women, and children were all versed in warfare on the frontier, because all of them were exposed to it. Generations of children grew up in fear of a warning of imminent attack, escaping their isolated homesteads in the dark hours of the night under a cloak of darkness and silence; having to trek miles to the nearest station, fort, or military outpost and huddle for days with other neighboring families. Some were not lucky enough to be warned of attack, or to find shelter in the safety of a fortress.

While it is true that sometimes Indian fighters and Native Americans were set upon one another by colonial powers through military means, revenge, or incentivization of bounties, the reality is that the majority of atrocities committed on both sides were generally upon people who had family and friends who were deeply affected at their loss. One Indian fighter, Thomas Neely, remarked that he carried such a deep hatred of Native Americans because of the pain of the loss of so many families and friends that he would kill all the Indians that he could.⁷⁸⁰ This sentiment was also echoed in the petition of frontier grievances submitted to the Pennsylvania Assembly.⁷⁸¹

From the Native American perspective, this sentiment was also affirmed in the quotation after the smashing of the Iroquois Confederacy, where the women and children would simply

⁷⁸⁰ *Sketch on the Life and Imprisonment of Mary (Neely) Spears*. Nashville: Tennessee State Library and Archives.

⁷⁸¹ The Paxton Boys to the Pennsylvania Assembly. "A Remonstrance of Distressed and Bleeding Frontier Inhabitants." February 13, 1764.

hear a word to remind them and deep fear would sink in.⁷⁸² Additionally, this upset was so deeply felt by the Cherokee at their subduction in 1771, that one leader remarked that the Europeans would have the land, but there would always be blood upon it and there would not be peace.⁷⁸³

Reflections like these highlight the measure of impact upon everyday populations that were warring upon the frontier, while European governments, and men in Ivory towers pulled the strings, never bearing the consequences for their endeavors. They didn't pay the consequences, but thousands of settlers and natives on the frontier did. This style of warfare was cyclical in the way that it created new enemies of upcoming generations. Children on both sides grew up avenging old hurts and fighting on the frontier became an everyday occurrence. Many times, innocents were killed for wrongs that others might have committed. Sometimes, chiefs sanctioned raiding parties in retribution, and likewise colonial leaders did the same. This practice continued into the American Revolution, where it was employed to remove the concentrated Native American alliances for the British.

Many settlers lost family and friends in raiding attacks, some right before their very eyes. Some of the most unfortunate ones were victims of torture and mutilation, with the visual horror of the practice of scalping forever seared into their memories. Some other unfortunate souls were spared and selected as captives by these raiding parties. These captives were sometimes subjected to horrific tortures and deaths in retribution, or as some observers had discussed for some sadistic entertainment. Some were taken for slaves and were made to tend to the needs of

⁷⁸² Brumwell, Stephen. *George Washington: Gentleman Warrior*. New York: Quercus, 2016. 355.

⁷⁸³ Tucker, Phillip Thomas. *How the Irish Won the American Revolution: The Forgotten Heroes of America's War of Independence*. New York, NY: Skyhorse Publishing, 2020. 126.

the tribe. Some were married into the tribe or adopted by the tribe. And some were taken leagues away from their homes, where a trek back to civilization would have been most prohibitive.

However, some captives grew to understand their captors, and even to respect them. Some even refused to come back to European civilization when given the chance. But the Irish and Scots Irish people who were kidnapped were not forgotten by their communities, and in many cases throughout early American history, it became necessary for ranger parties and militias to go into the wilderness in search of kidnapped community members, to entreat, and negotiate their release from Native American captors, or in some cases to kill the captors. Such raids and entreaties were not uncommon as evidenced in November 1764, when Colonel Henry Bouquet stormed the Muskingum River stronghold of the Shawnee tribe and demanded that they release hundreds of prisoners who had been taken captive from the frontier.⁷⁸⁴ Through these experiences, the rangers, or Indian fighters began to understand the Native American psyche, culture, and values. Some understood the purpose and gravity of scalping and the collection of scalps as trophies of war, and as proxies of loved ones.

In their role of adaptability, many Indian fighters carried out the practice of scalping as well. When the British government-initiated bounties on scalps, the practice became more mercenary. The British were quick to recognize the incentive for both Native American allies and citizens to make war upon their enemies in exchange for a few shillings or pounds. As evidence in previous chapters has illuminated, this was a very expensive practice for the British, but it was effective in inducing violence to an abominable point. Some of the victims who had

⁷⁸⁴ Henry Bouquet to Colonel Lewis, November 15, 1764, Bouquet Collection, A 21, Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa.

been scalped were not only warriors, but were innocent, men, women, and children (some were infants and newborns).

The historiographical and interpretive significance of the Irish Indian Fighters as discussed in previous chapters is that they played an important role in warfare and civilization on the North American continent since their arrival. While there have been historiographies which incorporated the actions and some history of Irish immigrants in America as Indian Fighters, there has not been comprehensive scholarship that seeks to examine the causation, evolution, and role of their contribution as an ethnic group in America. The comprehensive examination of them within this paper seeks to bridge this gap in historical scholarship.

It is the aim of this scholarship to provide a comprehensive understanding of the challenges, conditions, and players that created a new type of soldier among the Irish, and how their history and present circumstances at the time affected their transition as warriors on the North American Continent. Through this examination the role of imperial influence, designs, and actions concerning the weaponization of the Irish Indian Fighters is also important. The perspectives of colonial leaders concerning Irish Indian fighters varied from certain timeframes, and even though they may have been dehumanized in collective conscience of Anglo society, their martial worth still made them valuable. Furthermore, the dispensability of the Irish as Indian fighters is also important because their existence was a means to an end when it came to civilized populations. What this means is that the Irish were considered undesirable for settlements but could serve a purpose in buffering townships and Anglo homesteads. The annihilation of the Irish as buffers, or as soldiers was menial because they were undesirable and consequently removed a population that was considered pestilence by many colonial leaders. This manner of thinking was clear in the Pennsylvania Assembly concerning frontier grievances.

As competition for control of the North American continent between European Powers became more advanced, the Europeans recognized the critical role that the Native Americans had in obtaining that control. The Europeans realized that to be successful, they would need local alliances, and they employed Indian agents to act as diplomats, commanders, and governors between colonial governments and Native American leaders. Some of the agents that they chose were Scots Irish and Irish, and many of them had at one time or another been Indian fighters.

The most prominent account of such an Indian agent was Irishman Sir William Johnson. Johnson and men like him were forced to straddle two worlds. A part of Johnson identified with the Native Americans, and a part of him understood the European world that he had come from. But his sympathies were almost always with his Native American allies. There were many missions where Johnson was a ranger and warrior on the frontier in the service of his government, and there were times when he disavowed that same government for disagreements in their operations. Johnson's commune in New York was decidedly Gaelic; he readily welcomed Gaelic settlers, artisans, and musicians, and esteemed them to be insular and extremely loyal to him (not necessarily to the British Crown). This lent Johnson more protection and even independence in his position on the frontier.

It is important to recognize that while Johnson was welcoming to Irish and even Scots, he was disapproving of the Scots Irish who had encroached on Native land that had been protected by treaties, and he denounced the violence and carnage that some frontier settlers committed upon innocent Native Americans. His marriage to Molly Brant solidified his relations with the Mohawk, and through these relations he became one of the most important men on the Northern frontier. Johnson had readily adapted from a disgraced Gaelic, Catholic family, and had risen to become a distinguished British agent, as well as an Irish Indian Fighter on the frontier. Even with

the adaptations that William Johnson had been forced to make to ensure his survival, both in learning to live and make war in the Native American way, and serving Anglo interests, he never lost his identity as an Irishman. He merely applied his knowledge for survival.

Johnson's impact on the frontier may have been so profound in part because of his Irishness. This finding is impactful to my research so far as understanding the conditions that produced such Irishmen and how that affected their approach to challenges on the American frontier. After all, he had come from a family that had once been large landholders in Ireland, but had fallen in stature because of their Catholic adherence. Johnson's uncle had turned Protestant in service to the Crown, which had enabled him to achieve a high station, which in turn benefitted Johnson, as he followed his uncle's example. Once he was well-situated upon the American frontier, his adoption of Native American culture and his networking were in line with many of his counterparts on the American frontier, but were seen as distasteful in many Anglo circles. Johnson's adoption of Native American networks, lifestyle and alliances stabilized him on the frontier, much the same as many traders at trading stations on the frontier were able to establish. These relationships gave a sort of independence to frontiersmen, apart from the paternalism of the English crown.

While the position which Johnson had obtained was unique, his route as an Irish Indian fighter on the frontier was not. There were several other Irish and Scots Irish Indian fighters who obtained infamy through their exploits as Rangers, such as Major Robert Rogers of Rogers Rangers, John Stark, and many other men who would go on to fight in successive Indian wars and the Revolution.

Another facet of frontier warfare between Irish Indian Fighters and Native Americans that warrants examination is retributive warfare. Both civilizations committed atrocities against

one another. Some were sanctioned by leadership, others were done by rogue operatives, or in a moment of sudden passion. While warring European powers on the American continent sanctioned open and aggressive warfare against their enemies, much of the collateral damage on the frontier was suffered by innocent Scots Irish, Irish, German, and Dutch families. There are two benefits that a warring entity would get from exterminating such people, and those were depopulation of unwanted settlers (whether because of ethnicity or origin), and the subduction of a capable population of Indian fighters. These benefits were also suspicioned by critics of the Quaker government in Pennsylvania as a motive for indifference to frontier grievances. One critic even challenged that this negligence was a ploy of warfare upon the unwanted frontier population of Irish.⁷⁸⁵

As the British recognized the martial potential of the Indian fighters, they enlisted them as citizens in the militia and in the regular Army. The Irish had long been combative in Ireland, and their newly gained skills on the American frontier garnered them a competing prowess in martial campaigns. The standard of formation warfare was inadequate for the rugged paths of the American continent, and the need for hearty guerilla fighters to track, and fight Native American allies, as well as European enemies was paramount. So, units such as Rogers Rangers were formed to meet those needs, and they were critical to mission success, and often achieved maximum impact with minimal casualties, because of their skills. Some of the Indian fighters made a career out of fighting in the Army, while others turned their attentions to the West and to the opening lands over the Appalachian Mountains.

⁷⁸⁵ “The Conduct of the Paxton-men, impartially represented: with some remarks on the Narrative.” Barton, Thomas. Philadelphia: Printed by Andrew Steuart., 1764. (America’s Historical Imprints, Early American Imprints. Series 1, no. 9594).

These settlements, in what is now modern-day Tennessee, were out of bounds essentially for the British, as enforcing any sort of law on the frontier was nearly impossible because of scarcity of troops and the wide expanse of land. Because of the British inability to enforce the laws on the frontiers, the settlers there were also vulnerable to raids by banditti in addition to Native American raids. So, the settlers in the Tennessee region banded together and comprised the Watauga Association, which upheld several British laws, and dispensed frontier justice. However, they acted apart from the British as a recognized authority, and their mere existence was seen as threatening to the stability of the British foothold in North America.⁷⁸⁶

Similar conditions existed among the colonies, as the frontier settlers became increasingly dissatisfied with British rule. Never was there a more apt example than that of the Governor of North Carolina, who built Tryon Palace, an opulent home with the taxes of hard-working settlers. While corruption and mismanagement occurred at the governing level, settlers began to denounce such issues and took up the mantle of justice for themselves. These men became known as Regulators. Though the Regulator Movement was short-lived, the British response of crushing such movements that were deemed a threat was telling in how they viewed dissention and the threat of insurgency or sedition. The killings of unarmed citizens at Alamance became a cautionary tale that inflamed populations who felt disregarded by the British Government.

Such populations were comprised of people like the frontier settlers in Pennsylvania, who repeatedly petitioned the Assembly for redress of frontier grievances and were met with silence and in some cases dismissal. The cards were stacked against them, as they were mostly Irish and

⁷⁸⁶ Williams, Samuel Cole. "The Admission of Tennessee Into the Union." *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* Vol. IV, no. 4 (December 1945), p. 291.

Scots Irish. Prejudices against their ethnicity were vocalized on the floor, and the sentiment that the Province could stand to lose such a population was vocalized on the open floor by several members.⁷⁸⁷ The Irish frontiersmen were viewed as expendable, and even as pests. While their population size warranted more copious representation in the form of appointed representatives, they were only granted a small number, and those were subverted in their aims by the numerous representatives in the mostly peaceful Eastern side of the Province. These citizens grew complacent in their haven of safety and cared nothing for the slaughter and maiming that accompanied daily life on the frontier.

How could an Assembly that did not understand the issues of the frontier portion of the Province correctly govern and create legislation for them? The answer is that they couldn't. But they did not care either. In their minds, the slaughtering removed one problem, the population of Irish within the Province, while that very population served as a buffer for Native American attacks. The manner in which the Irish first came to the New World as explorers, and military enforcers under the imperial expansion to the New World, set the definition of their role and expendability in North America. The civilian settlements on the fringe of the frontier, where they were meant to serve as buffers, further highlighted the use of them as a military application, and their expendability was an acceptable loss. Subsequent regional legislation that required them to serve as sentries or militiamen for their regional settlements illuminated the importance of their military capabilities to the survival of civilian settlements.

⁷⁸⁷ "This unchristian and ungenerous Speech was made by N__L G__n, a Quaker, Member of Assembly for *Chester County*, and from others". "The Conduct of the Paxton-men, impartially represented: with some remarks on the Narrative." Barton, Thomas. Philadelphia: Printed by Andrew Steuart., 1764. (America's Historical Imprints, Early American Imprints. Series 1, no. 9594). 6.

The changing attitudes over the next century regarding the Irish frontiersmen also confirms that the British empire perceived them to be useful military assets, but pestilential in the aspect of civilization. This consistent them of expendability continued post-French and Indian war when hostilities on the frontier continued. The fact that testimony was given proving that certain Native Americans under the protection of the government had committed espionage and were involved in murders up and down the frontier, and that they were still sheltered because they had been baptized speaks volumes as to where the Irish and Scots Irish stood in the social hierarchy. After years of peaceful petitioning, while living in poor conditions on the frontier, and watching the very people who had committed atrocities against them live in luxury under the paternalistic protection of the government, citizens such as the Paxton Boys had had enough and charged the barracks holding the Native Americans.

Conditions such as these illuminate the precarious precipice on which the frontier settlers stood regarding their identity as British subjects. They could not understand why they had adhered to the laws of the Crown, and as citizens were entitled to the paternalistic protection, which was offered to their enemies, and yet not to the Irish. But as news traveled by mouth and by pamphlets throughout the colonies, many citizens sympathized with the Scots Iris and Irish who had suffered through such challenges with no recourse. Stories of atrocities endeared the plight of the frontier settlers to many sympathizers and fellow countrymen newly arrived in America. Some of the frontier settlers had decided to settle in Tennessee where the Watauga Association represented their interests more acutely, while others joined revolutionary movements aimed at ejecting the British and enemy allies from America.

A witness from North Carolina described the feelings of the settlers on the frontier and those in the east: "Those from the westward look upon the people in any of the commercial

towns, as little better than swindlers; while those of the east consider the westerners as a pack of savages."⁷⁸⁸ The easterners viewed the frontiersmen as uneducated, poor Irish, who were barbarous and socially inferior, while the people of the west resented the high taxes they were forced to pay, which profited the landholders of the east, and yet not themselves; nor gave them equitable representation in the government.⁷⁸⁹

Throughout the American Revolution, the Irish and the Scots Irish served in masses throughout every campaign and hardship. They were among the most loyal soldiers, with the lowest percentage of desertions during campaigns such as the Winter at Valley Forge. They were also heavily relied upon in ranging expeditions, as well as for sharpshooting. Many units were comprised of all Irish and Scots Irish Indian Fighters. While the Continental Army recognized the importance of the Irish and Scots Irish within their ranks, the British did as well. They also had ranger units comprised of Irish Indian fighters who were veterans of many campaigns in American and abroad. Some of these men had fought alongside their counterparts in the Continental Army at one time. In some cases, Irish brothers even fought on opposing sides (some with, and some without the knowledge of their fraternal opponent).

While the early results of battles in the American Revolution cast doubt on the viability of success for the Continentals, the ranks of the Army still held many staunch Irish Indian fighters. Some of these fighters like Anthony Wayne and John Stark became indispensable to Washington and were critical to his success. Without the ranging parties against the Iroquois Confederacy and the Cherokee nation, who were comprised mostly of Irish and Scots Irish Indian fighters, the results of the Revolution might have been very different. The subjugation of

⁷⁸⁸ Dykeman, Wilma. *The Battle of Kings Mountain: With Fire and Sword*. Washington, DC: National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1978. 71.

⁷⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

the Native American allies was a result of resourcefulness on the part of the Americans, but the brutality and permanent scars inflicted upon the natives was fueled by passions of past experiences with Native Americans.

American military commanders like John Stark, who had been taken captive and adopted into Native American tribes, were valuable because of the duality of their identity, rationale, and fighting abilities. Stark knew how to track, how to move his troops and camouflage them in stealth, and he knew how to lay ambushes that were devastating in nature to his enemies. His experience living with the Natives had taught him to think martially from the Native American perspective and to make war against both the English and their native allies in an effective manner. However, even in the Patriot cause, Stark's loyalties were defiant when orders were against his rationale. He backed out of one campaign out of respect for his adoptive Native American relations. Such sensibilities were defiantly independent, and exhibit the changing psyche of the frontiersman, as their lives became intertwined with Native Americans on the frontier; even if they were once captives.

As war raged on the North American Continent, and the Northern portion of the colonies came under Continental Control, British commanders redoubled their efforts for a foothold in the South. Commanders like Banastre Tarleton employed Draconian tactics on settlers in South Carolina. He believed it to be a hotbed of insurgency and had once remarked to Cornwallis that it was a "hornet's nest".⁷⁹⁰ Tarleton's brutality was well-known as he targeted Presbyterians and burned their churches. He had deduced that the Presbyterians were advocating insurgency and

⁷⁹⁰ Kirkland, Thomas J., and Robert MacMillan Kennedy. *Historic Camden*. Vol I. Camden, SC: Kershaw County Historical Society, 1994. 283.

had sought to crush the threat. But Presbyterianism itself didn't advocate insurgency. Rather, many of the settlers who subscribed to the faith had grown disgruntled with colonial rule and had issued calls to action. Naturally, a clergyman would have heard the complaints of his flock and would have discussed these matters and encouraged change. Many ministers did advocate for action against the British and the Tories.

But rather than quell any rebellious proclivities, Tarleton's actions served to inflame tempers and dissipate patience many settlers had for the British. His burning of homesteads and mistreatment of settlers was legendary, but the worst of his atrocities was committed upon Buford and his men when they were defeated and pled for quarter. The ensuing slaughter displeased commanders on both sides of the fight. Word of this episode crossed hundreds of miles, over mountains where it displeased the hardiest of men.

As the British struggled to maintain a foothold in the Southern theater, there was word that there would be an expansion of British territory over the Appalachians, where many settlers within the Watauga settlements feared that England might once again be coming to dispossess them of their lands and subjugate them. In Ireland, the iron rule through the ages had driven a distaste for subordination to the English, where many settlers had felt themselves akin to slaves in the land of Egypt. They had come to this Promised Land in America and had toiled through untold hardships. They were not willing to submit to such a position as had occurred in centuries past.

As a result, many settlers began to take up arms, and either participated in skirmishes, or joined up with the Continental Army. Within the Over mountain region, the settlers mostly remained out of the fighting, until they felt it was coming to their own front door. Indeed, it was, and in the usual guise of a civil war, it was Irishmen and Scotsmen, whether British born or

American, that took up arms against one another. The return of Major Patrick Ferguson to command in the Southern Theater after his serious injury at Brandywine, set the countdown for hostilities to come to a head with the Indian fighters. Ferguson was a valued commander for Cornwallis and sought to end the rebellion in the colonies by drawing the rebel forces out in full, where they might be crushed and a final end to the skirmishes that were constantly picking off large casualties in the ranks.

Ferguson, as a native Scot, understood the troubled history between the British Empire and those who held Jacobite sympathies and rebellious proclivities. Ferguson was a gentleman who knew how well-placed words could invoke emotion and he made use of them in his proclamation to the rebels. The invocation of the “fire and sword” scratch old wounds on Scots Irish and Irish frontiersmen. Just as the clever Major had expected, word traveled swiftly over hundreds of miles up and down the frontier, where it was received most concernedly. Not only was the challenge and the reminiscence of Culloden invoked, but it was evident to all Overmountain settlers that the British did intend to subjugate them. This last point was made with all urgency, and veteran Indian fighters who had been off carving new life on the frontiers, were halted in their civilian endeavors by the cool challenge.

In the pitched battle, the Irish and Scots Irish Indian fighters used their appearance to their advantage in psychological warfare. They accompanied it with Indian war whoops, which would have been unnerving, but the echoes through the mountainsides would also have disguised their locations behind natural barriers like rocks and trees. The fighting style used by the Indian fighters was referred to as “Indian play” which concealed their exact locations in many cases. Their sharpshooters would scale tall trees and fire consistently throughout the day, picking off an impressive tally of enemies. In hand-to-hand combat, it wasn't the bayonets that were solely

relied upon, but tomahawks and hunting knives, which gave them increased mobility and reaction times than the unwieldy rifle bayonets. When questions of quarter came into effect at the close of the battle, many Indian fighters invoked the reminder of Buford's Massacre at the hands of Tarleton by shouting that they should "give them Buford's play!"⁷⁹¹

Old wounds cut deep, and even after the battle had ended, there were those who had let their emotions run away with them, such as Shelby's son who erroneously believed that they had killed his father and said that he would kill every one of them, until his father stood before him, and he realized his error.⁷⁹² Many other British and Tory soldiers were killed after a cessation of the battle, and the prisoners that were taken were subjected to inhumane treatment in some cases. Just as fast as the Over mountain men had assembled and blazed a trail to Kings Mountain, they dissipated and went back to their homes. A select few remained behind to escort their prisoners to General Greene, who was in the process of taking over the Southern Theater following General Gates' removal.

The journey of the captives to General Greene's encampment was filled with pain, exhaustion, and uncertainty. Gentlemanly rules of quarter were not guaranteed, and the Indian fighters who accompanied the prisoners were often very gruff with them. They pushed them along, and if a weary prisoner stumbled, they were sometimes trampled. Water was not always guaranteed, and neither was security in unjust hangings. Throughout the journey several prisoners were hanged from trees, with one patriot commenting that he wished all trees would

⁷⁹¹ Dykeman, Wilma. *The Battle of Kings Mountain: With Fire and Sword*. Washington, DC: National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1978. 891.

⁷⁹² *Ibid*, 903.

bear such fruit.⁷⁹³ Commanders such as Shelby were aware that their men were depleting the supply of prisoners and gave guidance to stop such treatment, but these behaviors continued until they were handed over to General Greene. By the time they were turned over to Greene, he lamented at the pity of having such a small number of prisoners with which to exchange for prisoners held by the British.⁷⁹⁴

The reasoning behind such brutal treatment was not necessarily anger at anything that one prisoner did, but for years of abuses that the Scots Irish and Irish frontiersmen had suffered at the hands of the British and the Tories. All the atrocities committed upon the frontier settlers with no concern by the governing powers, not to mention the incitement of Indian war made upon frontier settlers by the very government that should have been protecting them was also a factor. The Irish and the Scots Irish came from long oral traditions, and oral histories were one way that stories were kept and passed along the frontier. It united them through the sympathies of their ethnicity. So, when stories of massacres, kidnappings, and other atrocities committed in the name of the British Government were relayed to them, they took it personally.

The cyclical adaptation to terror on the frontier had desensitized many Indian fighters when it came to their enemies and those that would see them perish. So when they finally had their enemies mercifully in their hands, their contempt for them took the shape of violence. Some of the escorts took sadistic pride in the fear of the prisoners that they might scalp them, for they

⁷⁹³ Dykeman, Wilma. *The Battle of Kings Mountain: With Fire and Sword*. Washington, DC: National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1978. 1015.

⁷⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

had heard tales of how these Indian fighters preferred to take them as trophies.⁷⁹⁵ In fact, this contempt was not relegated solely to prisoners. Following the Battle of Kings Mountain, the Scots Irish and Irish commanders were displeased to receive reports of the pillaging of homes in the area, with violence done upon the citizens by their fighting men.⁷⁹⁶

When one examines the frontier grievances, they might better understand that there were people who had suffered, who were designated as “made for suffering”, and who just happened to rise in an effective way. In the Northern campaigns, the Irish and Scots Irish came from different backgrounds in many ways, but they comprised the largest number of servicemen in the Continental Army. During the House of Commons inquest, Lord Mountjoy remarked that “the Irish language [Gaelic] was as commonly spoken in the American ranks as English.”⁷⁹⁷ Faith may have been a connecting point for many of the settlers in the Southern region, for they could share stories, and they made correlation betwixt themselves and biblical heroes. It appears that the suffering was what guided their actions more than anything. Their conditioning on the frontiers had made them prime to confrontation, especially where their freedom was concerned.

The Battle of Kings Mountain and the victory at the hands of the Scots Irish and Irish Indian fighters was the turning point in the Southern campaign. It is arguable that it may have changed the course of the war, and it was the death knell for the British going into the Battle of Yorktown, the siege of which would result in the capitulation of the British in the American Revolution. Kings Mountain was unique because it didn't involve regulars or reinforcements

⁷⁹⁵ Dykeman, Wilma. *The Battle of Kings Mountain: With Fire and Sword*. Washington, DC: National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1978. 996-1015.

⁷⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹⁷ Doyle, David Noel. *Ireland, Irishmen, and Revolutionary America, 1760-1820*. Dublin: Published for the Cultural Relations Committee of Ireland by Mercier Press, 1981. 150.

from the Continental Army, in fact the request to General Gates had never been answered. But because the Indian fighters interjected themselves into the Southern campaign, this decisive battle wiped out over one third of Cornwallis's army and crippled them. In an after-action report on the events at Kings Mountain, Lord Rawdon wrote that "A numerous Army now appeared on the Frontiers drawn from Nolachucki and other Settlements beyond the mountains whose very names had been unknown to us."⁷⁹⁸ The British assessment of Scots Irish and Irish Indian fighters on the bottom rung of society and grievous underestimations of their military capabilities would cost the British in the end.

It is true that the Irish fought on both sides, but the massive amounts of Irish and Scots Irish who had immigrated to the North American continent, who had suffered while trying to establish a life for themselves, had further fermented their dislike for the English empire and subjugation of their ethnicity. Old wounds from the Old World had followed them the New World, like the ghosts of ancestors past. And commanders such as Tarleton and Ferguson, who had different approaches and yet the same end goal, reopened them. What they unleashed was hellfire and fury.

It was the belief of many leaders and aristocrats that America owed her liberty to the Irish and Scots Irish; not just the ones who fought in Continental Army lines, but also the Indian fighters who made the ultimate sacrifices and contributions as well. In fact, many of them had much more to lose than their city counterparts, as their homes were continuously raided by natives and Tories alike. Military commanders remarked that the Scots Irish were an ethnic

⁷⁹⁸Third Rep. of Royal Comm. History MSS. 436.

group that were prideful, and vengeful if they felt that they had been slighted.⁷⁹⁹ Others described them as having been very stubborn. Yet their military service was valued and even admired in many circles. In a letter from Colonel Johnston to the Secretary of Board of War in October 1776, he wrote that it “appears to me that the Pennsylvanians were originally designed for Soldiers, their Vigilance, assiduity & resignation to bad Usage, fatigue & ye strictest Discipline convinces me—their bravery too & enthusiasm in the Service are equally remarkable.”⁸⁰⁰

The contributions of the Irish and Scots Irish Indian fighters weren’t entirely martial. As has been noted before, these men often straddled two worlds, and incorporated Native American lifestyles with their own. Many of them intermarried, established trade relations, and lived peacefully alongside their Native American counterparts. Others would go on to war with the natives well into the next century. The question of why the contributions of these valiant citizens to the birth of the American nation has been lost was answered by historian Owen B. Hunt. In his examination, he wrote that “the story has been lost under the weight of more recent immigrations, revisionist historians, and common ignorance.”⁸⁰¹

Through the examination of the history of their migration and development: the Irish Indian fighters were enterprising, formidable, capable, and resilient. For many, there was no longer a place for them in the land of their forefathers. They had essentially been pushed out of their country and when they had arrived in their new country they were just as despised. But

⁷⁹⁹ Brumwell, Stephen. *White Devil: A True Story of War, Savagery, and Vengeance in Colonial America*. Cambridge, MA: Da Capo Press, 2005. 11-131.

⁸⁰⁰ Francis Johnston Obituary. *Columbian Centinel*. Boston, Massachusetts, March 4, 1815.

⁸⁰¹ Webb, James. *Born Fighting: How the Scots-Irish Shaped America*. London: Mainstream Digital, 2011. 8-15.

there is no doubt that their martial contributions, which had evolved crucially as Indian fighters through appropriations of Native American warfare and culture, definitively contributed to the success of the American Revolution, and to the further development of the American nation.

There is still a large gap in the research of Irish Indian Fighters on the American frontier and how their actions and presence influenced the shaping of Early America, and the wars to follow. Though there are copious subjects within the realm of Indian fighting and frontier settlements among the Irish to yet explore, they are too expansive for this project. An area of importance to many of the Scots Irish and Irish settlers that should be considered in early America is religion, and how it influenced initial perceptions, perspectives, and actions. There is also the question of how it differed or was similar between the emerging hot debate over the ethnic origins between the Irish and the Scots Irish. One might look at how these religious adherences were received by the natives, and if they would have ethnically separated frontier settlers into sub-groups, the way that Sir William Johnson and Thomas Gage did.

From the humble beginnings of a “people made for suffering” in Ireland, through trials and tribulations of conquest, the Irish transformed into a people that were essentially subjugated by the British in Ireland, to a formidable foe which turned the tables and helped to shake off the yoke of Britain in North America. The networks that they formed with other traders, settlements, and Native Americans were entirely unique. A people such as the immigrant Irish and Scots Irish in the 17th and 18th century, who were distrustful of outsiders since ancient times, made amazing strides as frontier diplomats and adopted family members of various Native American tribes. Some even blended their own blood lines with Native Americans, and many of these familial relations saved Indian fighters on the frontier.

The major themes in the history of the development of Irish and Scots Irish Indian Fighters in early America were tribal mentality, guerrilla warfare applications, cultural exchanges, and subjugation and the resistance to it. The Irish had a long-standing history of warfare that was heavily influenced by border warfare and conflict. The Irish had been tribal and had retained a sense of clannishness through several generations and despite transplantation to the North American continent. They had a history of guerilla warfare, and some had regimental warfare experience; both of which prepared them for guerilla warfare in America. The cultural exchanges of dress, weaponry, knowledge, and languages that they were accustomed to in the Old World, allowed them to adapt to Native American folkways and warfare as it suited their purpose on the frontier. The continuing theme of subjugation under Anglo rule followed them to the New World, but warfare, alliances, and attitudes on the North American continent shifted as they adapted to their surroundings.

The conclusions that have been deduced from these developments in the history of Irish Indian Fighters is that they as an ethnic group traditionally had martial prowess in their homelands of Scotland and Ireland that were challenging for foreign invaders. They had been adept at using their environment to their advantage in warfare and they also had the ability to adapt as needed for survival. The circumstances of social stratification in the New World positioned the Irish and Scots Irish in a lowly caste, by which they were ostracized from interior settlements in many cases. These circumstances placed the Irish and Scots Irish in a precarious position on the frontier as buffers to Native American attacks. The role of the Irish in the New World as buffers was two-fold: their adeptness at warfare and sharpshooting would insulate the interior settlements and their societal position deemed them expendable.

From this point of adversity, the Irish and Scots Irish developed into adept Indian Fighters, allies, traders, and eventually patriots. They created an American identity through the amalgamation of their adopted methods of survival. The Irish and Scots Irish in early America subverted their own misfortune of circumstance, influenced warfare, and changed the way wars were fought on the American continent.

The origins of the Irish and Scots Irish were tribal, or clannish, in the Old World, but the interesting finality that their merger with Native American culture and warfare implied was that they created an identity unique to themselves in America. They also substantiated their warrior prowess in North America on the battlefield and in the forests. As much as the English desired the dismantlement of the Irish warrior class, the very position that Irish arrived in in the New World fostered a new breed of tribal warrior, detested and yet coveted by military powers. The Irish Indian Fighters emerged from mere pawns and military weapons for imperial conquest to becoming a military force for their own ambitions and identity. Their resilience in the face of adversity ushered in a new age of warfare on the Continent.

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