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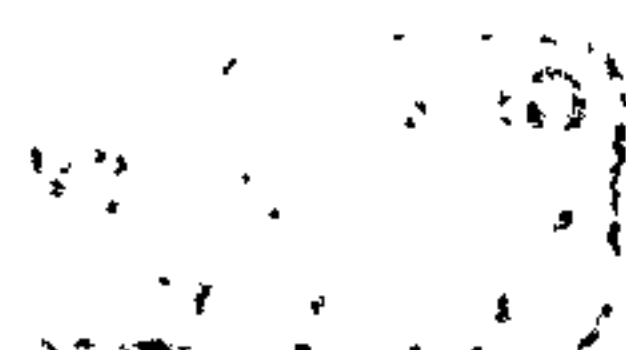
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'I wish they were all here'
Scottish Highlanders in Ohio
1802-1840

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of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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Abstract

This dissertation investigates the validity of three commonly held beliefs regarding British emigration to the United States after 1781. First, that Highlanders were predominantly loyalists and abandoned their homes in the United States after the American Revolution. Second, that Highland emigration must be defined in terms of landlord action and that it most affected the West Highland and Islands. Third, that nineteenth-century British emigrants did not form ethnic or cultural communities in the United States.

The first theme was examined primarily through secondary sources and modern loyalist studies. The next two themes have centered on Scotch Settlement, located in Columbiana County, Ohio. These Highlanders, who emigrated between 1801 and 1840, were predominantly from Strathdearn and Strathnairn near Inverness. They, and their descendents, left a rich resource of letters and local and family histories, which, together with other materials, have directed the research.

This dissertation firmly suggests that these beliefs regarding British emigration in the nineteenth century are inaccurate. Not only did many Highlanders remain in the United States after the Revolution, but they continued to emigrate there. Emigration significantly affected all regions of the Highlands, especially the parishes near Inverness. Highlanders from this region were not forced from their homes. They, like their landlords, lived in an economically depressed region and all classes used emigration as a coping mechanism. Finally, the Scotch Settlement Highlanders created and maintained a distinct cultural community for at least 50 years, indicating that it was possible for British immigrants to do so.

Table of Contents

Abstract.....2

Table of Contents.....3

List of Tables.....4

List of Figures5

Abbreviations and Notes6

Acknowledgements7

Introduction9

Chapter 1: Highland Emigration and Loyalism in the Eighteenth Century..... 18

Chapter 2: Steps on the Path Towards Departure.....41

Chapter 3: The Creation of a Scottish Settlement.....65

Chapter 4: Gaeldom in the Midwest.....90

Chapter 5: A Highland Church in Ohio.....116

Conclusion.....137

Appendix A: List of Scotch Settlement Residents, 1801-1840.....140

Appendix B: Tables153

Appendix C: Figures.....164

References.....174

List of Tables

Table 1. Population of the Scots-born residents as recorded in the 1850 census for five counties..... 154

Table 2. Major Ports of Arrival in Canada and the United States 155

Table 3. Numbers of ships crossing the Atlantic eastwards as derived from Dobson (1998)..... 156

Table 4. Actual and estimated passenger totals as calculated from Bumsted (1982) and Dobson
(1998). 157

Table 5. Population of Strathnairn and Strathdearn, 1755-1841 158

Table 6. Price per acre paid for previously rented land in Scotch Settlement 159

Table 7. Given Names in the Settlement as compared to a sample of names from the 1850 US Census . 160

Table 8. Books owned by Scotch Settlement Highlanders, from estate inventories and a private
collection..... 163

List of Figures

Figure 1. Cultural Groups in Ohio and their Settlement Patterns..... 165

Figure 2. Scotch Settlement ca. 1810 (top) and ca. 1840 (bottom). 166

Figure 3. Immigration to Scotch Settlement, 1801-1840 167

Figure 4. The Parishes of Strathdearn and Strathnairn, with the approximate location of emigration
clusters indicated. 168

Figure 5. Organization of Ranges and Townships (top); Division of Townships into Sections (bottom
left); Possible Divisions of a Section (bottom right)..... 169

Figure 6. Land purchased directly from the US Government, 1802-1840. 170

Figure 7. Land purchased by speculators then by Settlement Residents, 1790-1840..... 171

Figure 8. Parish of Origin of Scotch Settlement Highlanders..... 172

Figure 9. Presbyterian Churches in the southern half of Columbiana County. 173

Abbreviations and Notes

HCA	The Highland Council Archives, Inverness
NAS	The National Archives of Scotland, Edinburgh
NLS	The National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh
OHS	The Ohio Historical Society, Columbus, Ohio
PHS	The Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
WRHS	The Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, Ohio

The spelling of all Settlement immigrant surnames have been standardized to facilitate analysis.
The names of landed families in Scotland have not been.

‘Canada’ has been used in preference to ‘British North America’.

Standard American spelling and grammar have been used throughout.

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Introduction

Mo chreach, nach iad a bha uille dhos

Charles Rose, 1830¹

There are two truisms of emigration history: that the United States is a nation of immigrants and that Scotland is a nation of emigrants. However, in-depth knowledge of the migration relationship between these two countries all but stops in 1783. The reasons that the Highland experience in post-colonial America remains unknown are deeply embedded in the historiography of emigration on both sides of the Atlantic. One, common to both sides, is that the end of the Colonial Era, whether taken as 1776 or 1783, is an excellent stopping point for any study, from economics to emigration. Several excellent studies of Scottish emigration to the American colonies exist, written by American, Scottish and Canadian scholars. However, those studies which extend past 1783 do not consider emigrants who may have gone to the newly created United States.²

A shortcoming common on the Scottish side is the belief that Highlanders, and indeed Lowlanders as well, were overwhelmingly loyal to the British Government and consequently left the new United States after the Revolutionary War. It has been stated that most of the Highlanders living in the Mohawk Valley went to Canada and that up to half of those living in North Carolina left as well.³ Several authors do state that emigration to North Carolina continued, but it is not elaborated upon or pursued, in part because it occurred after 1783. Studies that do examine post-1783 emigration to North America focus on movement to Canada.⁴

Academic loyalist studies in the United States have only really developed within the past 50 years. Therefore, many who have studied Scottish emigration have not had a ready body of

¹ Alas, I wish they were all here. Charles Rose as quoted in WRHS, Columbiana County Description, Mss V.F. C, No. 1247. Translation Dr. Sheila Kidd.

² Bernard Bailyn, *Voyagers to the West: A Passage in the Peopling of America on the Eve of the Revolution* (New York: Random House, 1986); David Dobson, *Scottish Emigration to Colonial America, 1607-1785* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994); David Hackett Fischer, *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989); Ned C. Landsman, *Scotland and Its First American Colony, 1683-1765* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985); Marianne McLean, *The People of Glengarry. Highlanders in Transition, 1745-1820* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991); Duane Meyer, *The Highland Scots of North Carolina, 1732-1776* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1957); Anthony W. Parker, *Scottish Highlanders in Colonial Georgia: The Recruitment, Emigration, and Settlement at Darien, 1735-1748* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1997).

³ Ian Charles Cargill Graham, *Colonists from Scotland: Emigration to North America 1707-1783* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1956); James Hunter, *A Dance Called America: The Scottish Highlands, the United States and Canada* (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publications, 1996), p. 80.

⁴ Two examples of this research are McLean, *People of Glengarry*. and J. M. Bumsted, *The People's Clearance: Highland Emigration to British North America, 1770-1815* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1982).

material about loyalists after the Revolution with which to compare their "Scottish facts." However, this does not excuse those writing within this time period. Even in American historiography, there are no known studies of loyalism (or even patriotism) within the Highland communities, but enough studies of other communities exist to make some valid comparisons. Current thought concerning the fate of loyalists in the United States suggests that at least ninety percent remained in the country after the war, and this may apply to Scots as well.⁵

A fault on the American side is an apparent lack of interest in immigration during the years 1783-1815, since only about 250,000 people came to the United States in this period. Those that came before 1783 hold interest as they are the groups that settled New England, the Mid-Atlantic, the Upland South, and the South, which in turn are the basis for four American regional cultures. The quarter million that arrived in the next twenty-five or so years were completely dwarfed by the scale of immigration that took place after 1815.⁶ Approximately 35 million people reached the United States between 1815 and 1915.⁷ Yearly figures for these two time periods were about 2,000 per annum between 1783 and 1815 and about 300,000 per annum between 1815 and 1915. Most studies of nineteenth-century immigration begin with 1815.⁸ Understandably, the assimilation of these groups into American culture and the massive social problems caused by immigration at the end of the nineteenth century have fascinated scholars.

A problem unique to American immigrant literature concerning this post-1815 period is that it tends to focus almost exclusively on any immigrant group that is not Scots or English.⁹ Although Scots and emigrants from the rest of the British Isles are recognized as having created cultural communities in the eighteenth century, new communities established by these groups are overlooked in the nineteenth century. As British culture was the basis of most American regional cultures, the two are not seen as being overwhelming different. It is believed, even among British scholars, that the British groups, with the exception of the Irish, do not truly qualify as "ethnic groups" since they had few problems adjusting to American culture, and they assimilated very quickly.¹⁰

⁵ William A. Nelson, *The American Tory*, 2nd ed. (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1961), p. x.

⁶ Maldwyn Allen Jones, *American Immigration*, 2nd ed., *The Chicago History of American Civilization* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), p. 54.

⁷ Robert P Swierenga, *Faith and Family. Dutch Immigration and Settlement in the United States, 1820-1920*, ed. Ira Glazier and Luigi de Rosa, *Ellis Island Series* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 2000), p. 11.

⁸ Examples include: Dudley Baines, *Emigration from Europe 1815-1930* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1991); Charlotte J Erickson, *Invisible Immigrants: The Adaptation of English and Scottish Immigrants in 19th Century America* (Coral Gables: Cornell University Press, 1972); Fischer, *Albion's Seed*; Jon Gjerde, *The Minds of the West: Ethnocultural Evolution in the Rural Middle West, 1830-1917* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997); Robert Clifford Ostergren, *A Community Transplanted: The Trans-Atlantic Experience of a Swedish Immigrant Settlement in the Upper Middle West, 1835-1915* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988).

⁹ Two notable exceptions to this are Charlotte Erickson and Maldwyn Allen Jones who have both examined British emigration. However, the focus of their work is those who left England.

¹⁰ Gordon Donaldson, *The Scots Overseas* (London: Robert Hale, 1966), p. 124; Erickson, *Invisible Immigrants*, p. 5; Wilbur Stanley Shepperson, *British Emigration to North America: Projects & Opinions in the Early Victorian Period* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1957), p. 29. Erickson acknowledges the difficulties that British emigrants had adjusting to American ways. She suggests that these migrants accommodated themselves to the United States.

The final problem identified is that Scottish emigrant literature is almost wholly focused on the West Highlands and Islands and the enormous social and economic upheaval which resulted in the Highland Clearances. However, out-migration was endemic not only to the entire Highlands, but the whole of Scotland. This fact is clearly recognized by Marjory Harper and Ned Landsman, both of whom have examined emigration from the North-East of Scotland.¹¹ However, their work can not completely redress the imbalance in the literature especially in a Highland context. This imbalance has created two difficulties. First, it has almost totally excluded the United States as a destination as most of those known to be cleared from the West Coast and Islands and who then emigrated went to Canada. Second, it has minimized the rest of Scotland as a source of emigrants, although Scots from regions other than the Western Highlands and Islands certainly did not settle only within the Empire. The emphasis on this region of the Highlands has a long and established history and is apparent in several early nineteenth century texts.¹²

The social and economic upheaval in the Highlands forms the backdrop to understanding their motives for departure. While scholars do not suggest that Highland emigrants were forced to depart, the strong emphasis placed on the push factors caused by landlord action implies that they were given no choice but to leave. Landlords and their factors were ultimately responsible for the kelp industry, agricultural improvement, the establishment of villages, military recruitment, the consolidation of farms for sheepwalks, rent rises and evictions. While these actions did significantly impact on those who emigrated, it equally affected many who chose to stay. Consequently, the explanation of the roles of these developments in defining and understanding the causes of Highland emigration seem unsatisfactory.

It is the aim of this dissertation to question several long held assumptions concerning British emigration to the United States in general and Highland emigration in particular which are embedded in the above discussion. These are:

- That nineteenth-century British emigrants did not form ethnic or cultural communities in the United States.
- That Highlanders were predominantly loyalists and abandoned their homes in the United States after the American Revolution.
- That Highland emigration must be defined in terms of landlord action and that it most affected the West Highlands and Islands.

¹¹ Marjory Harper, *Emigration from North-East Scotland: Willing Exiles*, vol. 1 (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1988); Marjory Harper, *Emigration from North-East Scotland: Beyond the Broad Atlantic*, vol. 2 (Aberdeen 1988); Landsman, *First American Colony*.

¹² NLS, State of Emigration from the Highlands of Scotland, 1803, Adv. Ms. 356.18; NLS, Emigration from the Scottish Highlands and Isles, Ms. 9646; Thomas Douglas Selkirk, *Observations on the Present State of the Highlands of Scotland, with a View of the Causes and Probable Consequences of Emigration by the Earl of Selkirk* (London: Longman, 1805).

In order to address these questions several research strategies have been adopted. Initially, the fate of the Highlander during and after the American Revolution was re-examined through the use of secondary evidence which included county and local histories as well as modern loyalist studies. This exploratory investigation, which comprises Chapter One, suggests that the Highland experience vis-à-vis the United States was the complete opposite of currently held views. The next two steps were contingent on identifying a Highland community established in the nineteenth century America. Once identified, this community served as the catalyst for the investigation of Highland experience in Scotland and the United States.

The community chosen was Scotch Settlement, located in the State of Ohio near the Pennsylvania border. Ohio was selected as the states of the Northwest Territories (Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan and Wisconsin) were extremely popular with British immigrants well into the nineteenth century.¹³ Although many Britons favored Canada, the United States did offer distinct advantages. Canada may have been believed to be a better destination for those with a family, but those who desired a good wage, cheap land and a "sumptuous" meal were better off in the United States. The two best destinations in this country, as noted by Robert MacDougall in his *Emigrant's Guide*, originally published in Gaelic in 1841, were Ohio and Michigan.¹⁴

Adding to Ohio's importance is that it was the first state where the several regional cultures of the United States, in addition to various European cultures, most notably of Germany and Ireland, mixed together in any significant way. Migrants poured into Ohio from many of the eastern states, but in a definable pattern. Those from New England went to two main regions, the Connecticut Western Reserve in northeastern Ohio and Marietta in southeastern Ohio. Migrants from the mid-Atlantic states, although the most widely dispersed group, settled in highest concentrations in the middle of the state. Migrants from the southern states were most numerous in the southern half of Ohio. (Figure 1) In the multi-cultural environment of nineteenth century Ohio, migrants, although living in ethnic communities, were not culturally isolated. Consequently, a concerted effort would have been necessary to maintain a unique cultural identity.¹⁵

Scotch Settlement, although the most populous, was not the only Scottish community in Ohio during the nineteenth century. The Scots-born population of Ohio, 4,110 in 1850, was second only to New York and Pennsylvania. Small communities existed in several counties, but the largest were in Washington County, Wood County and on the border of Richland County and Ashland Counties.¹⁶ In spite of the fact that by 1850 over half of Ohio's rural population was Ohio born, it has been argued that since the migrants and immigrants listed in the 1850 census

¹³ Erickson, *Invisible Immigrants*, pp. 14, 62.

¹⁴ Robert MacDougall, *The Emigrant's Guide to North America*, ed. Elizabeth Helen Thompson (Toronto: Natural Heritage Books, 1998), p. 66.

¹⁵ Hubert G.H. Wilhelm, *The Origin and Distribution of Settlement Groups: Ohio: 1850* (Athens: Ohio University, Department of Geography, 1982).

¹⁶ The community which straddled the Ashland-Richland border attracted many settlers from Aberdeen in the 1830s and has been investigated by Marjory Harper. Harper, *Willing Exiles*, pp. 250-254.

likely settled near “their own kind” they would reflect earlier settlement patterns.¹⁷ While this is doubtless true, relying solely on the 1850 census will likely under represent the entirety of an ethnic community as it would not include those who were born in America to immigrant parents and indeed those who had died by the 1850 census.

Another reason for selecting Scotch Settlement is that it furnishes a unique record in the form of letters and local and family histories of why the emigrants left, their motivations, and what they thought of their adopted country.¹⁸ Specifically these sources include: a collection of letters written from the Settlement to Scotland which date from ca. 1811 to 1835; two letters written from Scotland to the Settlement, one in 1811, the second in 1838; four family histories from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; three brief historical sketches of the Settlement written in the 1870s; and three histories of Columbiana County.¹⁹

The most important aspects of the county histories are the township histories and biographies. The compilers of these works depended heavily on local informants and previously collected material. In the first history for Columbiana County, published in 1879, the entry for Scotch Settlement and its church, Yellow Creek Presbyterian, relies heavily on a sketch of the Settlement written ca. 1876 for the Columbiana County Centennial Committee.²⁰ The two county histories published after 1879 simply rehash the earlier version adding little, if any, new information. Although stylized, the biographies are extremely useful and are comparatively accurate. They often include, not only details of the subject and his wife, but also those of their parents, especially if they were county pioneers. This is true for Columbiana County as well. Although most of the original Highlanders who had immigrated as adults had died by the time of the first history, many were documented in the biographies of their children and grandchildren. Biographical information commonly included place of birth, though this is rarely more specific than the “Highlands of Scotland,” name of parents, name of spouse, date of marriage, names of children and siblings, date of immigration, occupation, and birth and death dates.²¹

While these letters and histories provide an unparalleled glimpse of Scotch Settlement, they do so for only a few families. In order to gain an understanding of the entire community, a variety of sources was examined, including census manuscripts, property records, probate records, cemetery inscriptions, tax duplicates, marriage records, as well as compiled genealogies. Each of these sources provided valuable insight into different aspects of the community, including life span, marriage year and partner, names of children, date or approximate date of

¹⁷ Wilhelm, *Settlement Groups*, p. 26.

¹⁸ Burnsted, *People's Clearance*, p. xiv.

¹⁹ County histories began to appear in large numbers nationwide in the 1870s, although earlier examples are known. The surge in interest in local history has been attributed to the Centennial Exposition of 1876. These works are most common in the states of the Old Northwest due to its large population and prosperity. These volumes, usually subscription books, contained a history of the country, state, county and individual townships as well as biographies of the subscribers. Archibald Hanna, “Every Man His Own Biographer,” *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* (1970), pp. 293-294.

²⁰ WRHS, Columbiana County Ohio Scrapbook: Clippings Mounted in Old Ledger, ca. 1870-1911, F34X C726C.

²¹ Hanna, “Every Man His Own Biographer,” p. 296. Personal observation, 1999-2002.

arrival in the United States, family relationships and relative wealth. Monumental inscription lists and marriage records were invaluable for uncovering the names of women immigrants, many of whom never appeared in government records. Unfortunately, very little of this material covers the period 1802-1810, the formative years of the Settlement.

Columbiana County, one of the first settled regions on the Ohio frontier, had a substantial population by 1820. Among these first settlers were families of Scots-Irish descent, some of whom shared surnames with the Highlanders. There were also "American" families who, not only lived among the Highlanders, but also attended the same church, Yellow Creek Presbyterian. Due to these circumstances it was often difficult to determine who was, or was not, part of Scotch Settlement. Consequently, rules which defined Settlement membership were developed. To be considered a resident of Scotch Settlement an individual must have met the following four criteria:

- The individual must be Scottish, of Scottish descent or married to such a person
- The individual should be associated with Yellow Creek Presbyterian Church
- The individual should live in the Settlement, which expands with time, but in a limited way (Figure 2)
- The individual must have settled in Ohio by 1840²²

The second and third criteria permit some room for maneuvering. They allow the inclusion of several people who meet criteria one and four and who also have strong provable links to the Highland community in Scotch Settlement. One example is Andrew Smith, a cobbler in New Lisbon, the county seat located a few miles north of the Settlement. Smith was the son of John and Christian Smith who immigrated in 1804. At his death in 1820 his estate, which was settled by Highlanders, included a Gaelic Bible.²³ Further examples are the David Rose family and the Daniel Smith family. Both of these families lived in the Settlement and had close ties to Highland families, but are not buried in the Yellow Creek Presbyterian churchyard or one of the other Settlement cemeteries. Daniel Smith's family was buried at Bethel Presbyterian and David Rose's family at Highlandtown Methodist Episcopal. It is not known when the Roses changed religious affiliation, but it is probable that they were originally associated with Yellow Creek Presbyterian Church. Only those who resided in the Settlement are considered here. Many who came from Strathnairn and Strathdearn are also known to have settled in Baltimore, Maryland; Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; and Wooster, Ohio.

Data from all the above mentioned sources was entered into an Access database. From a practical standpoint, this was the only feasible way of collecting, storing and analyzing the vast amounts of data accumulated during the course of this project. The key to relational databases is

²² The majority of the emigration from the Highlands to Scotch Settlement was completed by 1835. Since there was a property map and a census for 1840 the time period for the study was extended to this date.

²³ Columbiana County Probate Court, Estate Records, 1803-1900 (Salt Lake City, 1996), Microfilm.

record linkage. Everyone in the database was assigned a unique number which was associated with them in every table in which they appeared. Linkage was done manually as the number of individuals was comparatively small, and many only appear in one or two sources.²⁴ The key data in record linkage has been property ownership, marriage records, census records, probate records, and cemetery data. Biographical data from county histories and compiled genealogies has also been relied upon, and double-checking this data has shown that most of it is accurate.

Avoiding false linkage for residents of Scotch Settlement has proved challenging as many of the adults bore the same name. There were four Philip Smiths, seven Andrew Smiths, six Alexander McIntoshs and three William McIntoshs. To further complicate the matter, the wives of some of these men had the same given name. For example, two William McIntoshs had wives called Isabella. These men, and others, were even more difficult to identify and link when they resided in the same township. Generally family members and neighbors helped to identify men, especially when comparing one census with the successive one. However, when even this additional data did not permit the identification of individuals across a number of records, they were deemed to be separate individuals.

It is only through the consultation of primary sources and monumental inscription lists that immigrants to Scotch Settlement have been identified. There are no known passenger lists or similar rosters of residents. Unfortunately, the session records for Yellow Creek Presbyterian Church are no longer extant. These records would have provided key insights, not only about who belonged to the Settlement, but on how its members adapted to life in Ohio. That being said, the search of the available sources has yielded 1243 individuals born by 1840 who meet the criteria to be considered residents of Scotch Settlement. Of these, 515 are known to have been or are presumed to have been born in Scotland.²⁵ Both of these figures are likely under representations of the Settlement population for three reasons. First, because documents from before 1810 are rare. Second, because many people may have come and gone between censuses. Third, women and children frequently do not make it into written and/or government records.

These Highlanders, who emigrated between 1801 and 1840, were predominantly from Strathdearn and Strathnairn. The investigation of their reasons for departure proved rather complicated. The main stumbling block was that they came from a region of the Highlands that has been neglected academically. This obstacle was substantial as, in general, the Highland experience is written from the vantage point of the West Coast and Islands. Secondly, emigrants' origins in the Highlands were diverse and they came from numerous estates, and to investigate each of them would have been beyond the scope of this dissertation. The final problem was that

²⁴ For a discussion of record linkage and pros and cons of automatic and manual linkage please see Charles Harvey and Jon Press, *Databases in Historical Research: Theory, Methods and Applications* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996), pp. 234-253.

²⁵ Those individuals presumed to have been born in Scotland are Settlement residents who were born before 1800. Please see Appendix A for a list of the residents.

many of the immigrants could not be traced to a Scottish origin. For these reasons it was decided to focus on one parish, Moy and Dalarossie. This parish, which encompasses the whole of Strathdearn, was chosen because most of the immigrants whose origins have been identified had lived in this parish. There also exists a reasonable amount of estate evidence and secondary literature concerning the strath. Although the economic situation was the most extreme in Moy and Dalarossie, many of its hardships were doubtless felt in the surrounding parishes. Where possible, reference will be made to the other home regions of the emigrants.

In order to understand their motivations for departure, as discussed in Chapter Two, an inter-disciplinary approach was adopted. As many of the parishes in Strathdearn and Strathnairn were land-locked, they faced unique economic challenges and may never have experienced the boom brought by kelping and fisheries. Estate and kirk session records confirm this for Moy and Dalarossie. However, this poor economy was coupled with a history of emigration which began in the first quarter of the eighteenth century. These circumstances, which did not exist on the West Coast, may have led to a different attitude and mechanism for emigration. To better understand the mechanics and theories of population movement, investigations from the field of sociology have been explored to see if they can shed light on the Highland situation. The application of these theories to the evidence provided by Scotch Settlement emigrants, and records relating to Moy and Dalarossie, suggest that J.M. Bumsted's notion of a "people's clearance" may be more apt than previously realized.²⁶

The main thrust of this investigation is to ascertain whether emigrants to Scotch Settlement maintained a Highland identity. Cultural or ethnic communities consist of those who exhibit the six main characteristics of an *ethnie*: a common proper name, a myth of common ancestry, shared historical memories, elements of common culture, a link or symbolic attachment to a homeland, and a sense of solidarity among some sections of the population.²⁷ According to this definition the Highlanders could be considered a separate ethnic group within the United Kingdom. If this is the case, it is only to be expected that they had the potential to form a distinct community in the United States. However, members of these communities must do more than just share these traits. Association with an ethnic community is voluntary, so a conscious sense of belonging must exist among the participants in order for the community to qualify as "ethnic."²⁸ Emigrants to the United States did not have to live near their countrymen, marry endogamously, or retain the religion of their homeland. It was entirely within their power to merge more fully into the dominant American culture. Consequently, the Highlanders who settled in Scotch Settlement and other Highland communities were making a conscious decision to be identified

²⁶ Bumsted, *People's Clearance*, p. xvi.

²⁷ John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith, eds., *Ethnicity*, Oxford Readers (Oxford, 1996), pp. 6, 7.

²⁸ Orlando Patterson, "Context and Choice in Ethnic Allegiance: A Theoretical Framework and Caribbean Case Study," in *Ethnicity. Theory and Experience*, ed. Nathan Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan (Cambridge, MA, 1975), p. 309.

with a cultural group. Furthermore, once these groups were established they frequently fostered the differences between them and the surrounding cultural groups.²⁹

Cultural traits or "folkways," whether American or European in origin, are more likely to persist in a rural community as opposed to an urban one. This is one reason why Scotch Settlement was selected as opposed to the growing communities of Scots in Cleveland or Pittsburgh. The investigation of cultural persistence in their community was guided by the characteristics listed above. It can hardly be disputed that Highlanders shared all the above-listed traits, especially when they were resident in Scotland. What is not certain is how long they were preserved in the United States. Chapter Three examines their settlement pattern and how their cohesive community eased adjustment to the United States. In the next chapter several aspects of common culture are examined, including language and marriage patterns. How their church, Yellow Creek Presbyterian, was the central point of their community is addressed in the fifth and final chapter. The survival of Gaelic, ethnic-endogamous marriage, and an ethnic-based church well into the nineteenth century strongly suggests that Scotch Settlement residents did maintain a sense of ethnic or Highland identity for several decades after their arrival in the United States.

Scotch Settlement has provided a window through which to view the complexity of emigration from the Highlands and the communities they created in the new world. This is not a story of despair, but one of action and hope. The view from this window also suggests that Highlanders were less tradition bound than previously thought as not only were they willing to settle outside the British Empire, but they also readily adapted to their new situation.³⁰ Residence in a large ethnic community allowed them to adjust to the United States at their own pace and increased their chances of success. Scotch Settlement residents seemed remarkably pleased with their decision to emigrate, their new circumstances and their new country. Charles Rose wished his entire family were in the United States, not only because he missed them, but so that they too could take advantage of the abundant opportunities.

²⁹ Gjerde, *Minds of the West*, pp. 226-227.

³⁰ McLean, *People of Glengarry*, p. 98.

Chapter 1: Highland Emigration and Loyalism in the Eighteenth Century

It has been the fashion with a certain description of persons in this country to praise the American constitution to the skies, and to represent America as the land of freedom and of plenty, the only land where men could live happy and independent. These unmerited praises at one time produced a considerable effect in this country – they invited emigration, they encouraged men to leave their native homes in search of this promised land of liberty and ease...

Inverness Journal, 1807¹

Although it is impossible to know precisely to which region this quote from the *Journal* applies, it clearly relates to emigration from the Highlands to the United States.² These few lines seem to contradict several widely held assumptions concerning emigration from the Highlands of Scotland after 1775. Scots, and Highlanders in particular, are thought to have been overwhelmingly loyal during the American Revolution and to have left the United States after the war.³ Furthermore, it is currently believed that Highlanders tended to go to Canada after the American Revolution. So strong is the association between Highland emigration and Canada that Marianne McLean stated unequivocally that Highlanders preferred to remain within the Empire.⁴

The editors of the *Inverness Journal* were correct to state that Highlanders continued to migrate to the United States, as they did well into the nineteenth century, but how much it had to do with the American Constitution is questionable. Economic opportunity and the presence of friends and family were two significant factors which pulled emigrants to the United States. Studies of other emigrant communities have shown that once started, emigration from certain villages continued in higher rates than that from the surrounding area.⁵ Moving from the known in Scotland to a community in America where there were friends and family would have been a slightly less terrifying prospect than moving somewhere completely unknown. Migration chains

¹ "Inverness Column," *Inverness Journal and Northern Advertiser*, 30 October 1807.

² The United States Constitution became effective in March 1789.

³ Dobson, *Scottish Emigration*, p. 193; Graham, *Colonists from Scotland*, p. 177; Andrew Mackillop, *More Fruitful Than the Soil: Military Recruitment in the Highlands* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2000), p. 179; McLean, *People of Glengarry*, p. 98.

⁴ McLean, *People of Glengarry*, p. 98.

⁵ Sune Åkerman, "Towards an Understanding of the Emigration Processes," in *Human Migration: Patterns and Policies*, ed. William H. McNeill and Ruth S. Adams (Bloomington, 1978), p. 294; Baines, *Emigration from Europe*, p. 28.

do bend and break, but the importance of family and friends in the decision making process to emigrate appears constant.

The vast majority of Scots who had settled in the Colonies, irrespective of their real or apparent loyalist leanings, did not abandon their homes for Canada or other destinations within the Empire after the Revolution. At least two new Highland communities were established in the new United States: Caledonia in western New York in 1799 and Scotch Settlement in eastern Ohio in 1802. Although it is never denied that Highlanders continued to emigrate to the United States, it is implied that their numbers were insignificant and therefore not worth comment or investigation. However, it now seems certain that Highland migration to the United States was significant. In order to understand this continuing migration, it is important to re-examine the Highland experience in the United States before, during and after the American Revolution.

While the Scots did not have full access to the English Colonies until 1707 they had been settling there and trading with them since the seventeenth century. Scottish prisoners of Cromwell were transported to the American colonies as were Covenanters in the 1650s and 1680s, respectively.⁶ The first successful Scots colony, established in East Jersey in 1680, retained its Scottish character well into the eighteenth century.⁷ After 1707, Scots had free access to what were now, in theory, British Colonies. Highland emigration to the Colonies was limited until the 1730s. After this date, Highlanders began to take an interest in the opportunities available in North America, an interest which coincided with changing social conditions in the Highlands.

The root of these changing conditions was economic. As the lairds and clan chiefs of Scotland were becoming progressively more integrated with a British-elite based in London, they had an ever-increasing need of funds. In the seventeenth century, this need had been met by wadsetting property to kinsmen. While this practice did continue into the eighteenth century, it did not keep pace with escalating expenses. The clan chiefs soon recognized that if they rented farms directly to their tenants, rather than to their tacksman who were essentially middlemen, they would realize an increased income from their estates, immediately and with very little effort. Rather than accept a decreased social status many tacksmen chose to emigrate and frequently took their tenants with them. This was the stimulus for emigration from Islay to New York in 1738 and from Argyll to North Carolina in 1742. While clan chiefs might not have regretted the departure of the tacksmen, they were not pleased about the loss of the sub-tenants.

The social position of the tacksmen was weakened even further after the Rising of 1745, when clans were no longer permitted to be organized along military lines. This left the tacksmen, who had been the traditional lieutenants of their chiefs, without a *raison d'être*. Not only were a growing number of chiefs viewing them as hindrances to economic gain, but also their historic role in Highland society had been removed. Consequently, tacksmen-led emigration was

⁶ Dobson, *Scottish Emigration*, p. 39.

⁷ Landsman, *First American Colony*, p. 103.

common until the start of the Revolution, one of the most well documented being the McDonnell-led party from Glen Garry to New York in 1773.⁸

Not all emigration from the Highlands during this period matches the tacksmen-led model, for example the Clan Chattan migration to Darien, Georgia in 1735. These emigrants were recruited directly by agents of James Oglethorpe.⁹ While many of those who left had family ties to the Mackintosh, chief of Clan Chattan, they went with his blessing. His clansmen had suffered for their involvement in the Rising of 1715 and he felt that the economic opportunity available in the New World might benefit them. Whether his decision was altruistic or pragmatic is unknown.¹⁰ There was also a little-known community of people from Perthshire and the Breadalbane estates in the Mohawk Valley. Some of the emigrants from Perthshire were glovers who had been recruited by Sir William Johnson in the 1760s.¹¹ These glovers are unlikely to have been tacksmen-led. Additional emigrants from Perthshire reached New York between 1773 and 1775.¹²

Emigration continued from the late 1730s but the numbers departing from the Highlands do not seem to have caused concern. It was not until the late 1760s that the Government and elites began to panic about the numbers leaving not only the Highlands, but Great Britain as a whole. British emigrants in general attributed their departure to rising rents, depressed local industry and absentee landlords.¹³ Also, by this time more and more people in Britain, and indeed Europe, might have been emigrating simply to join family and friends who had already settled in the American colonies.

There were two main reasons the Government and elite were concerned over the apparently massive departures. The first was economic, as those leaving were thought to have been taking large amounts of capital with them. The loss of this capital to the country was an uncomfortable thought in a world enthused with a mercantilist theory of economics. The second concern was the actual loss of the people. This concern was two-fold. In mercantilist theory, people were as much a part of a nation's wealth as money. It was believed if the population declined too much, so too would the nation's wealth, power and prestige. Furthermore, the Government was none too comfortable with a significant portion of the population traveling to colonies that were verging on open rebellion. They had no desire to see the cause of the rebellious colonists strengthened by new arrivals.

⁸ For a detailed account of the Highland settlement at Glengarry see McLean, *People of Glengarry*.

⁹ James Oglethorpe was the founder of Georgia, which was formally established in 1733.

¹⁰ For a detailed account of the recruitment of these Highlanders and their early years at Darien see Parker, *Scottish Highlanders in Colonial Georgia*.

¹¹ The knowledge of the movement of these glovers to New York appears to have been lost. Their emigration was only added to the history of the Perth Glovers guild in 1985, after it had been discovered in the history of the Worshipful Company of Glovers of London published in 1982. George Wilson, *Annals of the Glover Incorporation of Perthshire*, 3rd ed. (Perth 1985), p. 41.

¹² Bailyn, *Voyagers to the West*, pp. 216-217 (Table 6.4).

¹³ Bailyn, *Voyagers to the West*, pp. 43, 44.

The Europeans who reached the Colonies in the ten years up to the Revolution did so during a turbulent time. While new emigrants struggled to adapt to and understand their new home, Americans of all types were debating the consequences of British acts and how best to have their grievances redressed. In addition to debate over British policy, there was a growing sense of American national identity, that was viewed as separate and, by many, as superior.¹⁴ Consequently, as recent arrivals like the Highlanders were simply trying to adjust to their new surroundings, much of the rest of the nation was choosing sides.

By the time of Lexington and Concord in April 1775, there was a sizable Scottish population in the Colonies, consisting of Highland and Lowland settlements. Regional divisions among national groups were common as local culture from the homeland was often more important than a national identity.¹⁵ Scots were over-represented in Colonial Government and administration. Many of the most successful tobacco merchants, based primarily in the Chesapeake and James River, were primarily Lowland Scots. Both of these groups had a tendency to keep to themselves in part because their status in Colonial society.¹⁶ More permanent Lowland settlements, some established before 1707, were located in East Jersey, the Carolinas, Vermont and New York.¹⁷

Like their compatriots, the Highlanders had settled all along the eastern seaboard. There was a sizable, though geographically dispersed, settlement of Highlanders in the Mohawk and Upper Hudson River Valleys in New York. These settlements were comprised of people known to have come from Argyll, Skye, Perthshire, and mainland Invernesshire.¹⁸ There were also many men who had been decommissioned from the British Military in 1763 and who had received land grants near present-day Fort Edward, New York. In order to keep their grants, they were required to settle a certain number of people on their land within a specific time frame. The Scottish origins of these men are not known, but they undoubtedly recruited emigrants from their home areas.¹⁹ There was a large and cohesive settlement of Highlanders in Cumberland County, North Carolina. They came principally from Skye, Jura, Knapdale, Kintrye and Kintail.²⁰ Within Cumberland County there was some segregation by parish, but it was not absolute. The earliest settlers to this region had come in 1739, while others came in late 1774. The earliest settlers at Darien, Georgia were connected with Clan Chattan and were from Moy and Dalarossie

¹⁴ George Brown Tindall and David Emory Shi, *America: A Narrative History*, 5th ed. (New York: Norton, 1999), pp. 130-131.

¹⁵ Linda Dégh, "Folk Religion as Ideology for Ethnic Survival: The Hungarians of Kipling, Saskatchewan," in *Ethnicity on the Great Plains*, ed. Frederick C. Luebke (Lincoln, 1980), p. 129.

¹⁶ Thomas Martin Devine, *The Tobacco Lords: A Study of the Tobacco Merchants of Glasgow and Their Trading Activities, C.1740-90* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1975), pp. 77, 83, 84.

¹⁷ Bailyn, *Voyagers to the West*, p. 604; Dobson, *Scottish Emigration*, pp. 41, 44-47, 63-66; Landsman, *First American Colony*, p. 103.

¹⁸ Bailyn, *Voyagers to the West*, p. 504; James MacNaughton, *The Argyle Patent and Its Early Settlers* (Hopkinsville, KY: Sleeper Co., 1999), pp. 18, 27, 28; McLean, *People of Glengarry*, pp. 136, 137.

¹⁹ Dobson, *Scottish Emigration*, p. 139.

²⁰ Douglas F. Kelly and Caroline Switzer Kelly, *Carolina Scots, an Historical and Genealogical Study of over 100 Years of Emigration* (Dillon, SC: 1739 Publications, 1998), p. 87.

Parish and the surrounding environs. There were also small Highland communities in Savannah, Georgia and Charleston, South Carolina.

So not only were the Highlanders from diverse regions of the Highlands, but their arrival in the United States covered a time span of over forty years. This time span allows for at least one complete Highland-American generation to be born and grow to adulthood before the Revolutionary War. This significant time frame also reveals that the Scots who left in the 1760s and 1770s were leaving a very different Scotland than those who had left in the 1730s and 1740s. Not only had they left different Scotlands, but they also arrived at, and lived in, very different Americas. Those who had arrived earlier, though smaller in number, would have had time and opportunity to become "Americanized."

No matter how large and interdependent these communities might have been, it was impossible for them to remain completely isolated whether economically, socially or culturally.²¹ Although Gaelic might have been used in the home and in the church in these communities, some members would have had to have had proficiency in English in order to purchase goods not obtainable locally, to pay taxes, purchase land and utilize the law. It is reasonable to surmise that those who had been in the country longer or who had been born there would have been more familiar with "Yankee" ways and the political problems of the late colonial period. While these facts do not guarantee that they would have sided with the patriots, it does suggest that some Highlanders and their children might not have been so quick to obey the commands of their social superiors or British military officers they encountered.

The Highlanders in eastern New York, though significant in number, were interspersed with settlements of Dutch, Germans, English and New Englanders, a circumstance which would have increased opportunities for intercultural contact.²² The settlement at Darien was meant to be isolated from other colonists in Georgia, but this isolation seems to have dissipated. By the 1760s many Scots had become slave-owning rice plantation operators and the town of Darien suffered.²³ The Cape Fear Highlanders, also thought to have been an isolated community, in actuality only comprised about 50% of the Cumberland County population. Cross Creek and Campbelltown became significant trading centers for the Upper Cape Fear Valley and Carolina Piedmont region to the west of Cumberland County. Merchants, many of them Gaels, in these towns also traded with Wilmington at the mouth of Cape Fear on the Carolina Coast, thus permitting cultural contact.²⁴

The rate of assimilation of the Highlanders during the colonial era is outside the scope of this dissertation. However it is unwise to treat them as a single unassimilated mass all with the same Scottish and Colonial experiences. Each community should not simply be viewed as

²¹ Hubert G.H. Wilhelm, *The Barn Builders: Pennsylvania Settlers in Ohio*, 2nd ed. (Athens: Ohio Landscape Productions, 1994), p. 8.

²² Dobson, *Scottish Emigration*, p. 139.

²³ Parker, *Scottish Highlanders in Colonial Georgia*, p. 97.

²⁴ Meyer, *Highland Scots of North Carolina*, p. 110.

“Highland” but the same as any other late colonial community. That is one that not only had mixed social classes, but also had varying degrees of allegiance towards Congress or the Crown.

Loyalism or toryism as a movement or personal belief is incredibly hard to pin down, both today and in the eighteenth century. In a Canadian or United Empire context it is quite simple: those who left the United States after the war to settle in what remained of the British Empire were loyalists. However, in the United States there were varying degrees of loyalism as people acted and reacted to the changing circumstances of the war.

Before the Revolution there were those who agreed with many of the grievances regarding the taxation policy of the British Government, but felt that these problems should be worked out while remaining within the Empire. These same individuals also had a healthy and legitimate disdain for the mob rule they associated with the patriot cause.²⁵ It was only after war broke out they became enemies of Congress; prior to this they were simply another voice in the debate. During the war actions that could brand a person a loyalist included refusing to take an oath of allegiance to Congress and taking arms against neighbors who were patriots.²⁶

There is, however, some uncertainty about the people so branded. Traditional accounts define the Revolution in class terms and state that loyalists were elites who fought to protect their privileges.²⁷ More recent scholarship, on the other hand, shows that such a simple view is not appropriate, that loyalists and patriots were “virtually indistinguishable” from each other.²⁸ Similarities between the groups exist no matter which background variable is used, whether it be cultural, economic, occupation, race, ethnicity, class, religion or age. The one common denominator shared by most loyalists was that they were from minority groups that felt more threatened by an American majority than by the British.²⁹

There are additional factors to consider when assessing why people chose the sides they did. Sometimes it was based on local animosities which existed before the war. If Mr. Brown and Mr. Smith had been at odds before 1775 and Mr. Brown became a patriot, then Mr. Smith invariably became a loyalist.³⁰ The American Revolution was a civil war as much as it was for a war for independence from Great Britain. Civil wars by their very nature engender divided loyalties within families and communities. Also a great number of people in the colonies simply wanted to be left alone and did not actively choose a side in the war unless it came to their doorstep. Consequently, those who had a passive allegiance might have an “active” allegiance for only a short time. The side they chose was often dictated by the enlistment tactics of either

²⁵ Philip Ranlet, *New York Loyalists* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1986), p. 61.

²⁶ Carole Watterson Troxler, *The Loyalist Experience in North Carolina* (Raleigh: North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, Division of Archives and History, 1976), p. 1.

²⁷ Nelson, *American Tory*, p. 83.

²⁸ Troxler, *Loyalist Experience*, p. viii.

²⁹ Nelson, *American Tory*, p. vi.

³⁰ Nelson, *American Tory*, p. vi.

the patriots or the British. Although, the patriots seem to have been almost as content with neutralizing their opponents by securing their good behavior with bonds, as they were in enlisting them, the British, in most cases, demanded enlistment.³¹

Several episodes of Highland loyalism during the Revolution, including the Battle of Moore's Creek and skirmishes in the Mohawk Valley, are well known.³² In general, Highlanders in New York and North Carolina are said to have been loyalist and those of Georgia to be patriot. The McDonnells of Glen Garry and associated emigrants joined forces with Sir John Johnson, heir to Sir William Johnson, and other loyalist landowners in New York.³³ The battles in the Mohawk Valley were some of the most bitter of the entire war. In 1776, General Schuyler gave parole to Johnson and asked for hostages to guarantee the good behavior of the Scottish residents of Tyron County. They were also to deliver up their arms. Although the document includes, in theory, all of the Scots in the county, the terms of the parole were addressed to "Sir John Johnson, the inhabitants of Kingsborough and the neighborhood adjacent."³⁴ The Kingsborough region was the area in which the Glen Garry emigrants of 1773 settled. Among the hostages provided were Allan Macdonell of Collachie and Alexander Macdonell of Aberchalder, both prominent members of the 1773 emigrant group.³⁵ In 1777, John Johnson and many of the Highlanders who had supported him went to Canada. Here they joined the Loyal Emigrant Regiment and took part in New York campaigns.

It is not clear how, or if, these terms and animosity were directed towards the other Highlanders living in the region, namely those from Perthshire and Islay. The Americans had a healthy respect for the Highland soldier and tended to view the "Scotch" with dread and suspicion.³⁶ It is possible that they were included and no one then or since differentiated between those from Glen Garry and those from Perthshire and Islay; or they were not included because they were either not there, e.g. they had retreated or they were in arms for the American side. At any rate, the Glen Garry Highlanders' association with the loyalists in this region was absolute and lasted in local memory until the late nineteenth century.³⁷

³¹ Ranlet, *New York Loyalists*, p. 107.

³² Dobson, *Scottish Emigration*, p. 162; Graham, *Colonists from Scotland*, pp. 154, 158-61, 175-6; Hunter, *Dance Called America*, p. 12; McLean, *People of Glengarry*, pp. 90-6; Meyer, *Highland Scots of North Carolina*, pp. 156-60.

³³ William Johnson went to the colony of New York from County Down, Ireland at the age of 23 to act as land agent for his uncle, Sir Peter Warren, who owned land in that colony. Johnson made a name for himself by being friendly with the local Native Americans, dealing in land, acting as a justice of the peace, and opening a trading post and mill. He eventually acquired much land in his own right and actively encouraged people to settle on it. Many of those who settled on his land were Germans from the Palatinate and Dutch who had moved north from Schenectady. He also invited Highlanders to settle on his land, including the Macdonells of Glen Garry.

³⁴ F.W. Beers & Co., *History of Montgomery and Fulton Counties, N.Y., with Illustrations and Portraits of Old Pioneers and Prominent Residents* (New York: F.W. Beers & Co., 1878), pp. 41, 46.

³⁵ McLean, *People of Glengarry*, pp. 231, note 45.

³⁶ Americans at this time did not seem to make a big distinction between Highlanders and Lowlanders, both were described as "Scotch".

³⁷ F.W. Beers & Co., *Montgomery and Fulton Counties*, pp. 41, 46.

The fact that a few Highlanders, for example Generals Alexander McDougal and Lachlan McIntosh, did make significant contributions to the Revolutionary cause is mentioned in the literature, but it is not put into a larger context of debate about the Revolution within the Highland communities. David Dobson in *Scottish Emigration to Colonial America, 1607-1785* is the only historian to mention divided loyalties within the communities in Charlotte County, New York.³⁸ Divided loyalties in Cumberland County, North Carolina are more widely known, but it is the loyal aspect that is stressed.³⁹ As discussed above none of the Highland settlements constituted a homogenous group to which blanket statements can be applied. It is important to realize that these were well established and diverse communities like any other within the colonies and the same opinions would not be held by each of its members. If there were loyalists in New England and Virginia, long recognized as two of the most patriotic colonies, there were, most likely, patriots in the Highland communities.

Can the above-mentioned theories about who the loyalists were provide any insight about why various Highland communities may have had loyalist leanings? It is often said that Highlanders were loyal for many reasons: oaths of loyalty to the government, because of their religion, their newly arrived status, a fear of the British government instilled after Culloden, a failed rebellion and previous loyalty to the House of Hanover.⁴⁰ Future studies may find that the minority status of the Highlanders was the primary factor in deciding their stance during the Revolution. The Highland communities about which anything substantial is known were minorities on at least three fronts: culturally, ethnically, and religiously. Certain members of these communities, the tacksmen and many merchants, were also minorities due to their class.

The largest influx of Highlanders to the colonies occurred after 1768, so they would have been relatively unassimilated and new immigrants of all nationalities were overwhelmingly represented in tory ranks.⁴¹ While those who left Scotland might have been a sizable portion of the Scottish population, they were quite a small proportion of the American. Thus, whether Highland or Lowland, they would have represented a cultural minority. Many Scottish emigrants were also a religious minority. The McDonnell emigrants of 1773 were Catholic and the Highlanders in Cumberland County were Presbyterian in a region where Anglicanism was the official church.⁴² Most Highland communities probably retained Gaelic to some degree which would have made them a linguistic minority as well. So even those who had been in the United States for some time, or even born there, would have had strong and perhaps unbreakable ties to a minority community.

³⁸ Dobson, *Scottish Emigration*, pp. 141, 162.

³⁹ Dobson, *Scottish Emigration*, p. 162; Hunter, *Dance Called America*, pp. 12, 18, 22, 44, 46.

⁴⁰ Dobson, *Scottish Emigration*, pp. 140, 162; Hunter, *Dance Called America*, p. 46; Meyer, *Highland Scots of North Carolina*, pp. 147, 151, 154; Ranlet, *New York Loyalists*, pp. 114, 121.

⁴¹ Graham, *Colonists from Scotland*, p. 21; Nelson, *American Tory*, p. 89; Ranlet, *New York Loyalists*, pp. 107-8.

⁴² Hugh Talmage Lefler and Albert Ray Newsome, *North Carolina; the History of a Southern State* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1954), p. 53.

Patriots and loyalists both actively courted the support of the Highlanders in Cumberland County in the months leading up to the Revolution. Like many in the colonies who would eventually declare for the loyalist side, those of Cumberland County were opposed to the Stamp Act.⁴³ Members of the Highland community signed a protest condemning the treatment of Boston in 1774, attended the First Provincial Congress, and were given commissions in the Cumberland County Minutemen. However, their support was also necessary to Governor Martin's plans to keep North Carolina for the king. Newly arrived officers like Allan McDonald and others were also urging loyalty to the king. There must have been intense debate, rivalry and heated feelings within the Highland community due to the conflicting loyalties and intense lobbying by both patriots and loyalists. Duane Meyer suggests that ultimately the majority of those in the Highland settlement in Cumberland County were swayed to the king's banner for many of the reasons listed above. The major reason, according to Meyer, and this was unique to the Highlanders in the colonies, was fear of British reprisals if the rebellion went badly. The British had mercilessly pacified the Highlanders after the failed Rising of 1745. Even though not all Highlanders would have been subject to this pacification, they would have been aware of its manner and effects. Highlanders who had spent several decades hewing a farm from the wilderness had no desire to forfeit their land, which had been required by many followers of Prince Charles.

There are a few examples of patriotism and divided loyalties among families in Cumberland County, North Carolina. Alexander McAllister, who emigrated in 1739, was prominent in local government and held a commission in the North Carolina Minutemen⁴⁴. He was made a colonel in February 1776, but resigned his commission in May of that year. He does not seem to have taken an active part for either side, and was most likely a passive patriot. Perhaps he felt that while he could not openly support the rebellion, he would not hinder it either.⁴⁵ In 1788, he was a member of the state convention which ratified the Constitution. McAllister's son, Neil, however, was an active patriot and an officer in the Congressional Army. Two loyalist families, the Smiths and the McKays, each had one member who was firmly with Congress. Only one person from these families, Alexander McKay, permanently left the United States after the war. Another member of the McKay family left for Nova Scotia then London, but eventually returned to North Carolina. The Martin family who came from Skye in 1771 had a tory father, who returned to Scotland, and at least one patriot son. After the war, this son, William Martin, championed the rights of any tory who took an oath of loyalty. These few

⁴³ The Stamp Act required a revenue stamp to be attached to various printed materials and legal documents from ship clearances to playing cards. This Act affected all colonists, but especially the most influential: merchants, planters, lawyers and printers. It is the debate over the Stamp Act that gave birth to the famous phrase "no taxation without representation." Tindall and Shi, *America*, pp. 134, 135.

⁴⁴ Kelly and Kelly, *Carolina Scots*, p. 151; Meyer, *Highland Scots of North Carolina*, p. 146.

⁴⁵ While McAllister held his commission in the Minutemen during the Battle of Moore's Creek, which took place in February 1776, there is no evidence that he took part. Kelly and Kelly, *Carolina Scots*, p. 151; Meyer, *Highland Scots of North Carolina*, pp. 156-160.

examples reveal that even a loyalist stronghold like Cumberland County could produce patriots among long-time residents and new arrivals.⁴⁶

Like others in the country, many Highlanders just wanted to be left alone. Many living in or near the Argyle patent retreated to Albany to escape the battleground their home had become.⁴⁷ Donald McIntyre and David Walker, Scottish emigrants in Tyron County, New York, also waited out the war in Albany.⁴⁸ They were unlikely to have been the only people to escape the war in the Mohawk Valley in such a fashion. There are no specific reports of neutrality in Cumberland County, but since North Carolina was not an active theatre of war between Moore's Creek in 1776 and the arrival of Cornwallis in 1780, there was little opportunity to take part in the war locally. When the war was not local, most people simply carried on with daily life. However, there were those who either joined local militias or the Continental army or snuck off to join the British. But to actively fight with one side or the other one had to leave North Carolina.

Two sizable Highland communities about which little is known are the Argyle Patent and surrounding area in present-day Washington County, New York and the Perthshire emigrants in present-day Fulton County, New York.⁴⁹ Dobson states that those in Washington County, in common with many middle colonies, had divided loyalties.⁵⁰ A number of Highlanders who settled in this region were half-pay officers or former soldiers who had been decommissioned in the colonies after the French and Indian War and offered land grants. This land was located near Fort Edward. Others settled here would have been those enticed to New York by offers of land by the grantees.

The core of the Argyle Patent settlement, which first came to New York with Lachlan Campbell between 1738 and 1742, was soon disbanded due to problems with the land promised to them. They settled in diverse places: New York City; Long Island; Columbia, Orange, Rockland and Ulster Counties, New York and New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, South Carolina, Cuba and Jamaica.⁵¹ Land was not granted to the original emigrants or their descendants until 1764 and only a few of the original colonists settled on their allotment. Those that sold their land invariably sold to someone with a Scots name. Therefore, the community which developed in the Argyle Patent after 1764 had a decidedly Scots character. Those who purchased the allotments were probably friends, relatives or acquaintances of the original emigrants. The dispersal of this large colony into several smaller ones for over twenty years would have provided many opportunities for assimilation. Relatives that might have joined

⁴⁶ All examples from Kelly and Kelly, *Carolina Scots*, pp. 150, 151, 161, 169, 245, and 247.

⁴⁷ Everts & Ensign, *History of Washington County, New York* (Philadelphia: Everts & Ensign, 1879); F.W. Beers & Co., *Montgomery and Fulton Counties*, p. 57.

⁴⁸ F.W. Beers & Co., *Montgomery and Fulton Counties*, p. 239.

⁴⁹ Washington County was part of Charlotte County in the eighteenth century and Fulton was part of Tryon County, which was renamed Montgomery after the War.

⁵⁰ Dobson, *Scottish Emigration*, p. 141; Nelson, *American Tory*, pp. 87, 92.

⁵¹ MacNaughton, *Argyle Patent*, p. 3.

them in the intervening years would have also joined these smaller Highland communities. Therefore perhaps those who eventually settled at Argyle did not feel like minorities because they had not lived in an isolated ethnic settlement and therefore felt a bit more like Americans. Of course, even if it did happen this way, it would not necessarily be true for everyone, but may account for why such a predominantly Highland settled area had easily recognizable divided loyalties.

Even less is known about the Perthshire emigrants who, in the 1760s and 1770s, settled near the villages of Perth and Johnstown in Tyron County, New York.⁵² As mentioned, at least two Scots, and perhaps others, withdrew to Albany during the war to escape persecution by Tories and Native Americans.⁵³ Whether they were accosted by the patriots is unknown. At least two men from Perthshire, one born in the Breadalbane district, served in the Continental Army and took part in the campaigns in the Mohawk Valley. One of these men, John McMartin who came to New York in 1775, was present at the Battle of Johnston in October of 1781 and in his pension claims describes eating a dinner of roasted cattle *inside* Sir William Johnson's Hall and how they fired volleys at the enemy from the house before they finished their meal.⁵⁴ McMartin obviously felt no loyalty to the Johnson family, and perhaps by extension the MacDonells and other tacksmen who came to the Mohawk Valley.

While the behavior of Highlanders during the American Revolution is more complex than previously thought, what happened to them after the war is probably more important. It is thought that most, if not all, of the Highlanders in New York left and up to half of those in North Carolina.⁵⁵ The corollary to this belief is that the majority of Highland emigration was then directed towards Canada.⁵⁶ Christopher Moore in *The Loyalists: Revolution, Exile, Settlement* specifically states that there was no future in the new republic for people who had been branded a loyalist and offers as proof the harsh laws passed against and harsh treatment of the loyalists after the war.⁵⁷ On the other hand, William Nelson in *The American Tory* states that at least 90% of the loyalists remained in the United States after 1783. Can both of these seemingly contradictory statements be true?

The treatment of loyalists was a sticking point during the peace negotiations in London. The British were anxious to ensure that their supporters were permitted to retain their property

⁵² There were two groups of Perthshire emigrants. Several who appear in postwar accounts were from the Breadalbane district of Perthshire. Others were glovers from Perthshire, presumably Perth, who were recruited by Sir William Johnson in the 1760s. There is no known connection between the two groups.

⁵³ F.W. Beers & Co., *Montgomery and Fulton Counties*, p. 239.

⁵⁴ Maryly Barton Penrose, *Mohawk Valley Revolutionary War Pension Abstracts* (Bowie, MD: Heritage Books, 1989), p. 47. Italics mine.

⁵⁵ Graham, *Colonists from Scotland*, pp. 176-7. Graham does not argue that they all left New York immediately after the war, but gives the impression that they did.

⁵⁶ Dobson, *Scottish Emigration*, p. 193; Graham, *Colonists from Scotland*, p. 177; Mackillop, *More Fruitful Than the Soil*, p. 179; McLean, *People of Glengarry*, p. 98.

⁵⁷ Christopher Moore, *The Loyalists: Revolution, Exile, Settlement* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1984), pp. 110, 112.

in America and to be treated well. This goal was probably not as altruistic as it sounds. If the king's supporters stayed in the United States, they would not be eligible for compensation or resettlement packages. A clause supporting the loyalists was eventually included in the peace treaty.⁵⁸ Due to the weak central government created under the Articles of Confederation the enforcement of this clause was left up to the individual states. Feelings against the loyalists were at an extreme high immediately following the war, although they subsided within a couple of years.⁵⁹ It cannot be denied that many loyalists, who had suffered alongside patriots during the war, continued to suffer after the war. And what is more, this harsh treatment was not uniformly applied so some suffered badly and others did not. The uncertainty of their reception and the randomness of patriot "justice" towards returning tories made their situation even more unfortunate.

Loyalists, long a hidden aspect of American history, have been the subject of numerous studies in the past fifty years, many inspired by the Bicentennial in 1976.⁶⁰ The studies that have been consulted for this dissertation have as part of their focus, the treatment of those who remained in the United States. In an excellent article, Joseph S. Tiedemann uses the sociological concept of conflict resolution to investigate the strongly loyal county of Queens on Long Island. Tiedemann reasons that if loyalists were subject to excessively harsh treatment in New York evidence would be found in this county.⁶¹ His ideas are appropriately applicable to the Highland settlements as they were located in areas where some degree of conflict resolution would have been necessary: the Mohawk Valley region where the struggle between loyalists and patriots had been especially fierce, and Cumberland County where there were a high percentage of loyalists. The four types of resolutions that can occur at the end of a conflict, either singly or in combination are:

Withdrawal: A defeated party may simply withdraw its demands, or it may physically remove itself from the arena of combat and refuse all (or nearly all) association with its adversary.

Imposition: A winning party may impose its aims on an adversary, but a pure victory of this sort rarely occurs.

⁵⁸ The Paris Peace Treaty of September 20, 1783 (The Avalon Project at the Yale Law School, 17 August 2002 [cited 17 August 2002]); available from <http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/diplomacy/britian/paris.htm>. Article 5.

⁵⁹ David E. Maas, "The Massachusetts Loyalists and the Problem of Amnesty, 1775-1790," in *Loyalists and Community in North America*, ed. Robert M. Calhoon, Timothy M. Barnes, and George A. Rawlyk (Westport, CT, 1994), p. 68.

⁶⁰ Paul H. Smith, "The American Loyalists: Notes on Their Organization and Numerical Strength," *William & Mary Quarterly, Third Series* 25 (April, 1968), p. 259; Troxler, *Loyalist Experience*, p. ix.

⁶¹ Joseph S. Tiedemann, "Patriots, Loyalists, and Conflict Resolution in New York, 1783-1787," in *Loyalists and Community in North America*, ed. Robert M. Calhoon, Timothy M. Barnes, and George A. Rawlyk (Westport, CT, 1994), p. 77. Tiedemann does caution that since Queens County was occupied by the British during the Revolution, his finding may not be valid for areas which were Patriot controlled.

Compromise: This alternative is probably most typical, for at the end of a conflict there is frequently a need or use for mutual concessions.

Conversion: An antagonist can convince its adversaries that its position is the correct one. In such situations there is generally some degree of compromise to ease acceptance of the new consensus.⁶²

Tiedemann estimates that 5% or 6% of the prewar population of Queens County physically removed themselves and became loyalist exiles. This figure is considerably less than Nelson's outside estimate of 10%. Those who withdrew from Queen's county were those who had no use for a republican government, those who served in a military capacity or who collaborated with the British. These last two, those who served the king in the military or as a collaborator, quite rightly feared retribution.⁶³ Among the Highland Scots who settled in the American colonies, both of these reasons likely applied to those who left. Many Highlanders, especially those who fought along side Sir John Johnson, openly and actively allied themselves with the king throughout the war. Alexander McKay, of Cumberland County, North Carolina, exiled himself to the West Indies because of his disdain for Republican government.⁶⁴

Most loyalists in Queens County and throughout the country, including Highlanders, decided to stay and face charges of treason rather than abandon their homes.⁶⁵ Since most remained and segregation of loyalists and patriots was impractical, as was imposition, they had to find a way to live together. Loyalists who did not withdraw implicitly stated their acceptance of the new political order and explicitly placed themselves at the mercy of the patriots. Another factor which ameliorated the return of the loyalists was the belief of some patriots that loyalists were simply deluded republicans who should be welcomed back. Those who urged the repatriation of loyalists argued "that, by allowing the loyalists to return, Americans would prove their humanity, increase their economic and human capital, and demonstrate America's national honor by fulfilling its treaty obligations."⁶⁶ A further element in favor of many loyalists was that in some areas, like New York and Cumberland County, they were a large percentage of the population; the safety of numbers prevented overly severe terms or treatment.

The harsh laws passed against the loyalists were part of the "plan" for living together. Some of the harshest were passed in New York, where it is believed that upwards of half of the

⁶² Louis Kriesburg, *The Sociology of Social Conflicts* as cited in Tiedemann, "Conflict Resolution," p. 76.

⁶³ Maas, "Massachusetts Loyalists," p. 67; Tiedemann, "Conflict Resolution," p. 77. Mass has found that Massachusetts adopted a lenient policy of amnesty by 1779, readmitting those who were "moderate or inconspicuous Tories", but did not readmit those who had borne arms for the king.

⁶⁴ Kelly and Kelly, *Carolina Scots*, p. 169.

⁶⁵ MacNaughton, *Argyle Patent*, pp. 20, 54; Tiedemann, "Conflict Resolution," p. 78; Troxler, *Loyalist Experience*, p. 38. Troxler states that "extant correspondence and known activities suggest that most of the Loyalists who left North Carolina considered it home and wanted to return." At least three Loyalist soldiers settled in the Argyle Patent, although two are known to have migrated to Ontario.

⁶⁶ Marilyn C Baseler, *"Asylum for Mankind" America 1607-1800* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998), p. 9.

population had tory sympathies.⁶⁷ New Yorkers and other Americans had no wish to always be alert to those who would scheme to re-unite with Great Britain. These acts let returning loyalists know what could happen to them if they did not accept independence. Acts passed by the legislatures of North Carolina and New York specifically named loyalists who were to be permanently banished. The legislature of New York found that it was not possible to decide legally what a tory act was, but they did know whom they did not want back. The Act of Oblivion and Forgiveness of North Carolina, denied pardon to three men as well as those who had committed certain acts. However, those who had committed such unforgivable acts probably had exiled themselves anyway.⁶⁸ Although the legislation passed by the New York legislature was unforgiving, it was not enforced by the State, but by local government. This regional enforcement permitted local officials to decide who should be prosecuted.⁶⁹

The plight of loyalists, overall, was not too bad after the war and they did have a future in the new country. That is not to deny that some people were run out of town, unfairly deprived of their estates, could not get debts repaid, or were simply given a hard time. The loyalists and patriots seem to have adopted a policy of "least said soonest mended." Loyalists, while potentially subject to harsh treatment under the law, were rarely prosecuted. If loyalists in general were able to remain in the United States, it is plausible that Highland loyalists in particular could have stayed as well. It has been suggested that not more than 10% of the loyalists left the country. If it is possible that a higher percentage of Highlanders left simply because they had served so noticeably in the British armed forces, it is clearly incorrect to assume that the majority of Highlanders abandoned their homes in the United States.

The first census of the United States taken in 1790 indicates that a large percentage of the Highland population remained. Since it only lists the head of household by name it is of limited value as it does not include place of birth or citizenship. Consequently, the cultural background of the population must be based on name only and this is always problematic. The census of Cumberland County shows that up to 31% of the heads of families were of almost certainly of Highland origin and an additional 13% of possible Highland origin. In the census of Moore County, which was struck off from Cumberland in 1784, the percentages were 21% almost certain and 9% possible.⁷⁰ Such a large population is unlikely to have been formed entirely between 1783

⁶⁷ This traditional figure has been challenged by Philip Ranlet in *New York Loyalists*. He suggests that the Tory strength was much less than has been assumed.

⁶⁸ Troxler, *Loyalist Experience*, p. 30.

⁶⁹ Tiedemann, "Conflict Resolution," pp. 79, 80.

⁷⁰ To establish the Highland names of the residents a list of most prominent names from the Highland community was used in tandem with my own judgement. The main problem is the possible inclusion of colonists of Scots-Irish origin. Meyer was able to omit them by using strict geographical barriers, but this was not possible with the census. For those surnames common in the Scots-Irish and Highland communities, given names not common to the Highlands decided which were Scots-Irish families. When there were several men with the same name, for example William Campbell, half of them were deemed Scots-Irish and the other half Highland. These techniques, while not terribly scientific, were also used for extremely common names like Smith and Johnston. Meyer divided his lists into people who were definitely

and 1790. The 1790 Census for Montgomery and Washington Counties in New York reveals similar results, although not as strongly.⁷¹ Highland surnames are still present in these counties, but there is not, at present, any way to compare them to the pre-war population.

A list of Highland surnames compiled by Meyer, does suggest that several families did leave Cumberland County before 1790, although exactly when and why is not known. His data covers the period 1739 until 1776, and several surnames may have been represented by just one individual. Moreover, some surnames or families by 1790 may only have been represented by female members who had changed their names upon marriage. That being said 28% of the surnames included in his Highlander and Probably Highlander categories are not represented in the 1790 census for either Cumberland or Moore counties.⁷² Only additional research can determine if any of these families became loyalist refugees. Two recent works also indicate that Meyer omitted several Highland families/surnames from his study.⁷³ Whether this is because they did not own land before 1776 or they had settled outside the geographical boundaries of Meyer's study is not known at this time.

Highland men were prominent among the early residents of Moore County. Malcolm McNeill and Malcolm Monroe were among those who laid out the town of Carthage in 1796. Murdoch Bethune was postmaster from 1801 until 1808. Between 1792 and 1840 all county sheriffs had Highland surnames. Highlanders are dominant among those who belonged to the local Masonic lodge established in 1793. Of the 36 original members, 28, including the eight presiding officers, were probably of Highland origin. There were at least 15 loyalist officers from Moore County, three of whom were not Scottish. Six of the loyalists or their children are believed to have stayed in the county.⁷⁴

There was still a sizable Highland population at Albany Bush near Johnstown, Montgomery County, New York in the early 1790s.⁷⁵ Patrick Campbell, who visited the region in 1792, wrote an account of meeting people whom he had known in Breadalbane. During

Highland, surnames that were probably Highland and those who were possibly Highland. This last group included surnames common to both the Highlands and Lowlands. I have combined the first two categories as "almost certainly Highland." With the exception of McIntosh, those surnames listed in Kelly, but not Meyer, were included in the "possible" category. This last method, though prudent, most assuredly under represents the Highland population. Dobson, *Scottish Emigration*, p. 155; Kelly and Kelly, *Carolina Scots*; Meyer, *Highland Scots of North Carolina*, pp. 162-5.

⁷¹ United States Bureau of the Census, *Heads of Families at the First Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1790: North Carolina* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1908); United States Bureau of the Census, *Heads of Families at the First Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1790: New York* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1908).

⁷² Surnames not represented in 1790 were: Bug (very likely Beag or small), Darah, Douglas, Duncan, Earl, Gordon, Forbes, Frazier, McBeth, McBraine, McCrainie, McFatters, McKisak, McLaughlin, McNair, McRoy, McVey, McVicar, Menzies, Ross and Sutherland. Also missing is Campley, which is probably Campbell, so it has not been included in the percentage of names not represented.

⁷³ Names omitted by Meyer include: Bethune, Johnson, McIntosh, McIver, Murchison, McKenzie, and McKinnon

⁷⁴ Blackwell P. Robinson, *A History of Moore County, North Carolina 1747-1847* (Southern Pines, NC: Moore County Historical Society, 1956), pp. 104, 146-151, 203-208, 224, and 226.

⁷⁵ Tyron County was renamed Montgomery after the Revolution.

Campbell's visit local elections were held and fifty or sixty Highlanders, some wearing kilts, went into Johnstown to vote. That many of them voted in kilts, a form of dress uniquely identified with Highlanders and Highland regiments is suggestive. Those who stayed in this region of New York apparently felt no need to conceal their heritage. Furthermore, the mere fact that they were voting indicates that they had a stake in the community at-large. This in turn suggests, that community residents were able to differentiate between the Highlanders who supported the crown and those who did not. It was not Highlanders or Scots in general they disdained, but only certain ones. In fact, Campbell makes no mention that his compatriots were ever mistreated and since his publication was aimed at a British audience one would think such descriptions would potentially have had a receptive audience.⁷⁶

The Highlanders whom Campbell met in Albany Bush affirmed that they were glad to have left Scotland and had no desire to return. When it was suggested that they might be happier living under British government in Canada and that the land was better there, some of the people replied that they had heard that and "had a mind to go and see it as they could dispose of their lands in New York easily."⁷⁷ Graham, in his work, *Colonists from Scotland*, uses this exchange to imply that these people did eventually go to Canada, although there is no concrete reason to suspect that they did, in fact, depart.⁷⁸

Emigrants from the Highlands continued to settle in the Mohawk and Upper Hudson River Valleys region throughout the 1780s and 1790s. John McKinlay, a blacksmith born in 1751, came to the United States in 1783.⁷⁹ James Stewart, aged two, came in 1796 with his parents.⁸⁰ John McGregor's father and two uncles left Perthshire in 1785.⁸¹ The Montgomery County histories do not record any visible animosity towards Scots or Highlanders. Many Highlanders became prominent citizens in the towns of Perth, Broadalbin, and Florida. Daniel McIntyre, who came to America with his brother Duncan before the Revolution, named Broadalbin for his native place in Scotland. This suggests that one, enough people agreed with the name as he was not over-ridden and two, he had some standing in the community. The "Scotch element" in the town was able to secure the name of Broadalbin for the post-office established in the hamlet of Fonda's Bush ca. 1804, again suggesting that the Scots, and one would imagine a fair number from the Breadalbane District, were residing in the area. The town of Perth was not established until 1838 and was originally part of the town of Broadalbin. The name of the town and one of the villages, Perth Center, obviously owe their names to settlers from Perthshire.

⁷⁶ Patrick Campbell, *Travels in the Interior Inhabited Parts of North America in the Years 1791 and 1792*, H.H. Langton trans. (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1937), pp. 221-232.

⁷⁷ Campbell, *Travels in the Interior*, p. 232.

⁷⁸ Graham, *Colonists from Scotland*, pp. 176-7.

⁷⁹ F.W. Beers & Co., *Montgomery and Fulton Counties*, p. 229.

⁸⁰ Washington Frothingham, *History of Montgomery County: Embracing Early Discoveries, the Advance of Civilization, the Labors and Triumphs of Sir William Johnson, the Inception and Development of Manufactures, with Town and Local Records, Also Military Achievements of Montgomery Patriots* (Syracuse, NY: D. Mason, 1892), p. 192.

⁸¹ Everts & Ensign, *Washington County*, pp. between pp. 321-2.

A new party of emigrants from Breadalbane reached the United States in 1798. Their destination was Johnstown, where many had friends. They purchased land in western New York and established the Highland settlement of Caledonia in present-day Livingston County.⁸² The 1798 emigrants moved further west to settled land offered to them by a Scottish speculator at three dollars an acre, plus maintenance for their first year, as well as land for a church and glebe. Some moved west in the spring of 1799 and others in the following year. There is no suggestion in the available histories that they suffered at the hands of the Americans in eastern New York because they were from the Highlands. In the ensuing years, the settlement at Caledonia attracted additional emigrants from Perthshire, Invernesshire and Argyll.

Some members of the Glen Garry emigrant party of 1773, and perhaps other Scots as well, had settled in present-day Delaware County, New York. Scottish settlement in this county remained low until 1800 when there was a virtual deluge of new arrivals which lasted until the 1820s.⁸³ These Scots settled in the already established communities of Kortwright, Delphi, Adena and Bovina. By 1820, Bovina had become a primarily Scottish settlement. The Scots who settled here were predominantly Lowlanders, although there were several Highland families.⁸⁴

Emigrants also continued to settle in the Highland district of North Carolina. The first member of the McIver family came in 1772 and the last in 1802. Archibald McFadyen, John Gillis and Daniel McKinnon all came in the mid-1780s. At least ten ships with passengers reached North Carolina from Scotland between 1784 and 1804.⁸⁵ Four of these ships, two of which sailed from Skye and two from Argyll, certainly carried Highlanders to the United States. The *Duke of Kent* sailed in 1802 from Bracadale on Skye with 600 passengers, mainly from the parish of Sleat. This is the largest recorded group of passengers and shows vividly that North Carolina remained a desired destination for Highland emigrants.

⁸² This is the closest known Highland settlement to Scotch Settlement. There were a few connections between the communities, but no evidence to suggest that Scotch Settlement was established by those who had first settled at Caledonia. James Hadden Smith, *History of Livingston County, New York, with Illustrations and Biographical Sketches of Some of Its Prominent Men and Pioneers*, ed. Hume H. Cale (Syracuse: D. Mason & Co., 1881), pp. 448-9.

⁸³ David Murray and John J. Tyne, *Delaware County, New York; History of the Century, 1797-1897. Centennial Celebration, June 9 and 10, 1897* (Delhi, NY: William Clark, 1898), p. 50; W.W. Munsell & Company, *History of Delaware County, N.Y.: With Illustrations, Biographical Sketches and Portraits of Some Pioneers and Prominent Residents*, Reprint of 1880 edition published by W.W. Munsell & Company ed. (Salem, MA: Higginson Book Company, 2000), p. 106.

⁸⁴ The origins of many of the settlers given in county biographies are Lowland counties. Several families with Highland names were identified in monumental inscription lists. At least one family, that of David Rose from Nairnshire, settled here first before later moving to Scotch Settlement. May-Jean Warren Howard, *Burials in the Town of Stamford and Vicinity Delaware County, New York, 1767-1990* (New York: Banner Printing Center, ca. 1991), p. 226; W.W. Munsell & Company, *Delaware County*, pp. 18, 131.

⁸⁵ These ships include the *Robina*, the *Duchess of Argyle of Campbelltown*, the *Fame of Greenock*, the *Mary Ann*, the *General Washington*, the *Fortune*, the *Duke of Kent of Greenock*, the *Pandora*, the *Isabella*, and the *Alexis*. Please see, David Dobson, *Ships from Scotland to America 1628-1828* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1998).

A brief survey of the 1850 Census of the United States was conducted to look for continued migration to the United States.⁸⁶ This census was the first to include the birthplace and age of each person enumerated. Anyone born in Scotland and younger than 69 must have emigrated after 1781, when the British surrendered at Yorktown. This survey, which tallied the age of all Scottish born identified in counties associated with Colonial Highland settlements, yielded some surprising results. As expected, emigration continued to Cumberland and Moore Counties, North Carolina and the townships of Broadalbin, Johnstown and Perth in Fulton County, New York and the township of Caledonia in Livingston County, New York (Table 1). However, emigration does not seem to have continued to McIntosh County, Georgia where Darien is located. These results of course can only include those emigrants who had not died by 1850 and those who had not moved out of the core Highland Settlements examined. Furthermore, this survey did not attempt to differentiate between Highland or Lowland surnames. However, it is unlikely that settlements that were traditionally Highland would suddenly be inundated with settlers from the other group. It is entirely possible that the North Carolina settlement became the first stop in step-migration for many Highlanders. It is here they would work to earn money to enable them to purchase land further west. Many who emigrated to the northern States were able to earn money in the farms and industrializing cities near the eastern seaboard.

One very important question concerning continuing emigration to the United States after 1783 is whether or not they could they get there. If there were no trade between Britain and the United States it is unlikely that emigration would have been significant, even if people had wanted to go. After the American Revolution emigration *was* made difficult due to disruption of shipping and general chaos caused by European wars and the active discouragement of emigration by European governments. Even in Scotland, it is thought that little emigration occurred between 1793 and 1801 and only minimal amounts between 1804 and 1815. This belief is founded on the fact that many would-be emigrants were absorbed by the military.

From the end of the Revolutionary War there was constant debate between the United States and Great Britain about shipping rights. The trading relationship between the two countries had been advantageous to both and many wanted this situation to resume as quickly as possible. Despite all the problems with the drafting of a commercial treaty, trade began anew almost as soon as the war ended, out of habit, if for no other reason. During the 1790s British

⁸⁶ United States Census Office, Seventh Census of the United States, 1850 : Population Schedules, Livingston County, New York (Washington, D.C.), Microfilm; United States Census Office, Seventh Census of the United States, 1850 : Population Schedules, Fulton County, New York (Washington, D.C.), Microfilm; United States Census Office, Seventh Census of the United States, 1850 : Population Schedules, Moore County, North Carolina (Washington, D.C.), Microfilm; United States Census Office, Seventh Census of the United States, 1850 : Population Schedules, Cumberland County, North Carolina (Washington, D.C.), Microfilm; United States Census Office, Seventh Census of the United States, 1850 : Population Schedules, McIntosh County, Georgia (Washington, D.C.), Microfilm.

imports increased as British merchants were denied access to Continental ports. By 1800 it was estimated that the United States provided the market for 25% of British goods, double the amount in 1793.⁸⁷

During this time of turmoil in Europe, Great Britain was almost completely reliant on North American shipping for trade and raw materials.⁸⁸ Shipping from the United States, though frequently beset by impressment gangs, provided opportunities for transatlantic travel from 1783 until 1812. Only a new war between the United States and Great Britain stopped emigration from the latter to the former. It is known that Scots-Irish, Germans and French settled in the United States between 1783 and 1815, but it is likely that a large proportion of the estimated 250,000 immigrants to the United States during this period were from Scotland, England and Wales.

The growth in American shipping, due in part to its neutral status, was at the expense of the British. In order to protect their shipping markets and to strike at the French economically, the British government placed restrictions on the cargo that could be carried by non-belligerents in 1805. The French responded with a similar decree. The United States struck back with the Embargo Act of 1807 and the Non-Importation and Non-Intercourse Acts of 1809. The former forbade trade with all foreign ports; the latter permitted trade anywhere that was not a French or a British possession. These acts were largely unenforceable and evaded. The British began to ship goods to Canada and the goods were then smuggled across the border. The Acts of 1809 were rescinded briefly in 1810 and 1811 when vast amounts of goods were imported to the United States within a matter of months. All trade stopped when war broke out between Great Britain and the United States in June of 1812. During the war goods were again smuggled in through Canada, and trade resumed immediately after the war ended in December 1814.⁸⁹

In spite of the trouble, there was a constant stream of traffic back and forth across the Atlantic. Merchants realized, even if those in government did not, the importance of trade with the former colonies and their market potential. Ships traveling eastbound carried bulky raw goods such as timber, cotton and tobacco. Ships traveling westbound carried finished goods like cotton which took up less space, thus leaving room for passengers. In Scotland ships of this sort were concentrated in the Clyde ports. The only time shipping may have been hindered was after 1805 when the economic war between the United States and Great Britain began to escalate. However, during this time many merchants went to Canada instead and their goods would then move southwards across the border. The same probably happened with people as well: those desiring to go to the United States may have had no choice but to sail to Canada first and then find local shipping to complete their journey or travel by foot or horseback. During the small

⁸⁷ Judith Blow Williams, *British Commercial Policy and Trade Expansion, 1750-1850* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), pp. 218, 219, and 228.

⁸⁸ Anthony McFarlane, *The British in the Americas 1480 - 1815* (London: Longmans, 1994), p. 286.

⁸⁹ Gary M Walton and Hugh Rockoff, *History of the American Economy*, 7th ed. (Fort Worth: The Dryden Press, Harcourt Brace College Publishers, 1994), p. 148; Williams, *British Commercial Policy*, pp. 229, 233, 234, and 235.

breaks in the trade war in 1810 and 1811, the westward bound merchant ships were probably too full with a backlog of goods to accommodate passengers.

In order to assess the level of transatlantic shipping available, 520 sailings were identified for the period 1783 to 1815.⁹⁰ Although this is an under representation of sailings during that period, it is large enough to denote trends in the transatlantic trade and travel. Of the total number of sailings identified 335 are recorded as traveling with passengers, although this does not preclude the fact that many of the other sailings traveled with passengers as well. The sample reveals significant trends in transatlantic traffic. The dominant one is that there was ample opportunity to cross the Atlantic throughout the period, although opportunities were at their height in 1802 and 1803. Whatever the limitations, Dobson's ship list can provide some insight to transatlantic travel between North America and the Scottish ports for the period 1783 to 1815.

Destinations in the United States seem more easily accessed before 1805 than after. There are at least two reasons for this decline in sailings to the United States. First, tensions between the United States and the United Kingdom increased significantly during this time period and trade with foreign ports was banned by Congress in 1807, as discussed above. Second, it may have to do with the sources consulted by Dobson, which only includes one American newspaper that covers the post-1788 period and few other sources for American port cities. If Dobson's list is representative of shipping between the entire United Kingdom and the United States it stopped completely after March of 1812 and did not resume until after 1815.⁹¹ The decrease in sailings to the United States was matched, however, by an increase in those to Canada.

Another clear trend is the dominance of the Clyde ports, especially in travel to the United States. Just over half of the identified sailings departed from the Clyde; and over half of these ships went to the United States. The sample clearly shows that almost all travel to the United States originated on the Clyde. The only other port with large numbers of sailings to the United States was Leith. The situation was much different for Canada. The largest numbers of sailings to Canada did depart from the Clyde, but the remainder were from a larger number of ports, many in the Western Highlands and Islands. Of the 59 ships that left Aberdeen, 50 are known to

⁹⁰ The data from *Ships from Scotland to America* was entered into an Access database to facilitate interpretation. The data selected for inclusion was: ship name, port of departure, port of arrival, and departure month and year. This close examination of the work revealed many duplications in data. There are a few other problems with using Dobson, but they are not necessarily related to his methodology. He consulted a wide range of publications and documents for this work, but obviously he could not look at them all. Many of the newspapers he examined for sailings to what are now ports in the United States were not published for the entire period under review, and he did not consult many newspapers from the early national period. Furthermore, not all sailings were recorded, on either side of the Atlantic. At least three sailings and ship names recorded in connection with Scottish settlers in New York and Ohio that are not recorded by Dobson. Bernard Bailyn also identified sailings that Dobson does not. So his work, though a great accomplishment, is an under representation of transatlantic sailings to both the United States and North America.

⁹¹ The last sailing recorded from Scotland to the United States in Dobson left from the Clyde in March 1812. War was declared in June 1812. Presumably Scottish ships were able to make their first yearly sailing, which generally occurred between March and June, but not the second sailing, which occurred after August.

have gone to Canada and only four to the United States.⁹² Six ships did leave the Western Highlands and Islands for the United States, but this figure is dwarfed by the 50 ships either left this region or stopped there before continuing to Canada. (Table 2)

Arrival ports are much more diverse and trends are harder to identify as many ships called at more than one port. It was not uncommon for ships sailing to Halifax to carry on to Shediac, Miramichi and Pictou. To facilitate analysis ports were grouped by first port of call and ports that had less than five arrivals for the entire period under review were not considered. The leading North American port of arrival was New York, with 104 ships throughout the period. The second largest port of call was Quebec, with 69. Canadian sailings seem not only to have more varied ports of departure but more varied ports of arrival. Additionally, no one Canadian port dominates the others. The second most prominent American port was Charleston with 41 arrivals, more than 60 less than those going to New York. The only period in which New York was not the dominant American port was in the period 1783-1793 when three more ships went to North Carolina. (Table 2)

The results show numerous ships sailing to the eastern seaboard of the United States, but also larger numbers going to Canada than have been identified by Bumsted.⁹³ (Table 3) Transatlantic shipping continued, although at a reduced rate, throughout the Wars with France. This shipping data suggests that not only were more people traveling to the United States to settle than previously thought, but that perhaps the emigration numbers from Scotland as a whole are higher, especially after 1793. It would be hard to overestimate the importance of the Clyde ports in transatlantic shipping. If an emigrant party was not too large it would be easy enough to simply turn up and find a ship. Organized, chartered sailings appear to have continued for emigrants destined for Canada. This was either due to the large size of the emigrant parties or the fact that fewer ships sailed to Canada.

The mixing of emigrants and cargo ships in the Clyde ports, especially post-1793, probably was reminiscent of the situation on the Thames before the American Revolution. The Thames, the principal main port of the British empire, was swarming with ships. At any given time, some ships were already laden with merchandise bound for the colonies, others were empty and looking for cargo. Emigrants could be valuable to captains of both ships. A few emigrants could add to the profit of a laden cargo ship. A large party of emigrants could provide the entire cargo for an empty ship. Bernard Bailyn found that both phenomena occurred in London. Furthermore, he argues that London acted as a conduit through which people from all

⁹² Two of these ships sailed to "America" and three went to the West Indies. This preference for Canada in Aberdeen and other North-East ports continued well into the nineteenth century. Marjory Harper found that this preference was in part due to the importance of the Canadian timber trade to the port of Aberdeen. Ships bringing timber into Aberdeen would take emigrants on their return voyage to Canada. Emigrants from the North-East preferred Canada as a destination in percentages greater than in Scotland or Britain as a whole. Dobson, *Ships from Scotland*; Harper, *Willing Exiles*, p. 26.

⁹³ Bumsted, *People's Clearance*, pp. 228-9. Bumsted identified 102 ships carrying more than 5 passengers travelling to Canada from 1783-1815. Dobson identified 253, 164 of which are said to have passengers for the same period. Not all of the sailings identified by Bumsted were found by Dobson.

over the United Kingdom departed. Many left their home regions to seek work in the metropolis. It was only after they reached London that they decided to emigrate.⁹⁴

The west of Scotland was well placed for trade with the United States. A ship could make two sailings per year from the Clyde and similarly situated ports and did not have to traverse the English Channel. This latter fact became important during the wars with France. So, the number of ships coming into and departing the Clyde ports was expanding. At the same time it appears that many more small groups of emigrants were leaving the Highlands and other regions of Scotland and going to the Clyde to find passage to North America. The increased travel to the Clyde could be based on several factors: reduction of shipping in local Scottish ports, a decreased size in emigrant parties and the increased opportunities for passage from the Clyde. The growing industrial city of Glasgow also was a magnet for migrants, who may at a later date have decided to emigrate. In this way, Glasgow and the Clyde ports became a conduit for Scotland in the same way that London had become for the entire United Kingdom.

Except for ships leaving from Highland ports, one can not make too many assumptions about what kind of Scots were aboard these ships. Unfortunately, very few ships that reported sailing with passengers recorded how many there were. Of the 335 sailings with passengers identified for this period, only 75 recorded the number of passengers. More passenger figures were recorded by Canadian sources than by American. That being said the emigrant totals are 10,509 for the entire period, most of whom went to Canada. A reasonable estimate of total emigrants to the United States can be made. All but one of 150 sailings to the United States, without a passenger total, sailed from the Clyde. Of the fifteen that had passenger totals, those that sailed from the Clyde had much smaller passenger numbers than those from the Western Highlands and Islands. The average number of passengers per vessel embarking from the Clyde to the United States was just 33. This number has been used to estimate the number of passengers all other sailings with passengers to the United States. A similar estimate of passengers sailing to Canada was not possible as these crossings had huge variations in the numbers of passengers, no matter from which port they sailed. (Table 4)

The total number of emigrants to Canada during this time period is considerably less than that identified by Bumsted.⁹⁵ However, these figures are about the same as, and definitely more accurate than, the numbers he suggests went to the United States. Bumsted, who uses slightly different time periods than Table 4, suggests that 23,000 people went to the United States during three of the periods. He neither explains or clarifies these figures, but they are likely to be estimates as it is unlikely that the same round number of people traveled to America during each time period. For two other time periods he records "no data." The estimated passenger totals to the United States are significantly higher than Bumsted's estimate of between 2,000 and 3,000. It

⁹⁴ Bailyn, *Voyagers to the West*, pp. 94, 95, 98, 102, 103, 114, and 125.

⁹⁵ Bumsted, *People's Clearance*, pp. 228-229. For two of his periods, 1794-1800 and 1804-1815, he recorded "no data."

is also important to remember that the ultimate destination of many of those sailing to Canada after 1805 was the United States. This trend continued well into the nineteenth century.⁹⁶

Highlanders had settled in all sections of the Colonies, but in the largest numbers in New York, North Carolina and Georgia. These areas of significant Highland settlement, while able to retain many aspects of their Gaelic culture, would not have been immune to the inevitable forces of assimilation. All regions in the Colonies faced divided loyalties during the Revolution, including the Highland settlements. While they may have been predominantly loyal it was not a mindless loyalty but rather a result of complex social and political factors. Many in these communities either had mixed loyalties or were outright patriots. Despite the seemingly and reportedly large numbers of Scots who left the United States after the Revolution, the majority of them remained. Although they may have faced some hard times, the fact that they, and other loyalists, stayed signaled their acceptance of the Revolution and the "new order."

Since the majority of the Highland communities remained intact, the emigration links between these new world settlements and the old world remained strong. Emigration to North Carolina and New York continued well into the nineteenth century. The only place where it does not seem to have continued is to Darien, Georgia. Not only did these original Highland settlements grow, but new ones were created, for example Caledonia, New York and Scotch Settlement, Ohio. Shipping remained constant, though reduced, throughout the period of wars between 1783 and 1815. Transatlantic trade allowed many people to leave Scotland on merchant ships as well as chartered emigrant vessels.

Those who continued to go to the United States after the American Revolution, in the main, were from the Highland/Lowland boundary: southern Argyllshire, Highland Perthshire, eastern Invernesshire and Nairnshire. These regions, on the receding edge of the Gaidhealtachd, had greater access to the growing Scottish cities of Glasgow, Edinburgh and Inverness and greater opportunity of seasonal work outside the Gaelic-speaking area. The ease of mobility outside this region and exposure to Lowland Scottish culture, in addition of the incursion of English language and culture, may have meant that people from these regions were more willing to take on the vastness of the United States as opposed to the denser Highland settlements in Canada. For them emigration may have just been another step after a series of temporary internal migrations. Those living in the more isolated Western Highlands and Islands did not have so many opportunities for exposure to other aspects of Scottish culture.⁹⁷

⁹⁶ Richard L. McBane, ed., *A History of the McBane-McKenzie Clans* (1955), p. 28; William N. McLennan, *A Short History of the Family of Kenneth McLennan, Sr.* (Mansfield Valley, PA: C. Knepper, 1880), p. 3.

⁹⁷ These of course are only generalities, and there are examples of people from Moy and Dalarossie parish, in eastern Invernesshire, settling in Canada.

Chapter 2: Steps on the Path Towards Departure

...you may depend on a better way of living here, if providence permits, than any tenant at will in the estate of Culloden and wholly more independent. Therefore it would be my earnest desire that you all would come, find freedom in your own mind, and I hope you will never rue it.

Charles Rose, 1822¹

Charles Rose, his wife Catherine McBean, and their children left Scotland in 1804 to seek a new life in the United States. When they reached Scotch Settlement it was already a small, but growing community of Highland émigrés. The main focus of this dissertation is to investigate cultural persistence among them. However, since they left a region of the Highlands rarely studied in-depth, a survey of their situation within Scotland may provide a deeper and broader understanding of the forces behind Highland emigration prior to 1815. In general, reasons for departure are explained in “push” terms and at the root of the push are estate policies of rent increase and consolidation of farms for sheep.² While these phenomena did occur and were outwith the average Highlander’s control, they are an inadequate mechanism for describing or defining their departure.

Additionally, Highland emigration, as mentioned in the previous chapter, is almost always discussed in terms of the West Coast and Islands. The Scotch Settlement Highlanders indicate that the experiences of those in the West were not universal, just the best documented.³ American scholars have long recognized that the state, county and even parish are too large to adequately discuss emigration. It was an extremely local phenomenon and perhaps can only be understood at a village level. It has been shown that while emigration rates may be high from one village, a similar village in the same parish and with the same conditions may have low rates or no out-migration at all. Generally, the differing factor was networks. The village with high rates of emigration had extensive migration networks which provided increased migration opportunities and caused further migration. However, since villages were uncommon in the Highlands, the center of migration was most likely the strath or estate, but this is yet to be

¹ WRHS, Columbiana County Description, Mss V.F. C, No. 1247.

² Margaret I. Adam, “The Causes of the Highland Emigrations of 1783-1803,” *Scottish Historical Review* (1920, 1920), p. 78; Bailyn, *Voyagers to the West*, p. 44; Bumsted, *People’s Clearance*, p. xiii; McLean, *People of Glengarry*, p. xii.

³ For examples of works from which almost all evidence is from the West Coast and the Islands see Bumsted, *People’s Clearance*; Robert Mathieson, *The Survival of the Unfittest: The Highland Clearances and the End of Isolation* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2000); NLS, Adv. Ms. 356.18; NLS, Ms. 9646; Selkirk, *Observations*.

determined. Although the Highlands constitute a distinct region within Scotland, both culturally and geographically, it is too large to adequately understand migration in the entire region as each district would have had a unique set of conditions and opportunities. The emphasis on "Highland emigration," which has hitherto been defined in terms of only a portion thereof, has obscured and marginalized movements which may have been equally significant.

Scotch Settlement was established by Spring 1802 when the first land purchases were made and the first church services held. The first pioneers had left Scotland aboard the *Curlew* which embarked from Isle Martin for Baltimore, Maryland in August 1801.⁴ It is probable that they spent the winter in either Baltimore or Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. The community grew by the arrival of a few families a year; there was no deluge of arrivals which swamped the community and its resources as occurred occasionally in Canada.⁵ This steady arrival of new settlers is born out by the tentative data collected for immigration years. (Figure 3)

The data presented in Figure 3 can only be used as a guide to the movement of people to the Settlement for several reasons. First, the arrival year is not known and cannot be estimated for 230 of the immigrants. Second, very few sources relate an exact date of immigration for Settlement residents. For immigrants without a known date, their arrival has been estimated by other sources: the first census in which they appear, when they purchased land or when they married.⁶ Third, there are a few families whose date of arrival is known to be after a certain year and it is this year that is included in the table as representing the earliest at which they could be present. For many families a probable year for their arrival can be estimated from the recorded birthplaces of their children, the oldest of which were born in Scotland and the youngest in the United States.

In most cases the year of immigration is also the year that the immigrant reached the Settlement. However, in some instances individuals or entire families remained on the east coast or in Pittsburgh for several years before journeying further west. In this discussion no difference has been made between these two dates. In the context of Highland emigration it is the date of departure from Scotland which is key. Furthermore, it is assumed that if the immigrants later came to the Settlement, they probably never intended to remain "in the east," but rather stayed there to earn money to purchase land. Additionally, in almost all cases it is impossible to know how much time was spent in the cities or in the east, due to the paucity of records.

⁴ Horace Mack, *History of Columbiana County, Ohio: With Illustrations and Biographical Sketches of Some of Its Prominent Men and Pioneers* (Philadelphia: D. W. Ensign, 1879), pp. 189-190; NLS, Ms. 9646.. Bernard Bailyn and David Dobson, who both consulted "Emigration from the Scottish Highlands and Isles," interpreted the *Curlew* as the *Andrew*.

⁵ McLean, *People of Glengarry*, pp. 115, 130, 170.

⁶ Although individuals who appear in land, census and marriage records were probably in the Settlement prior to being noted in these documents, I have not attempted to back-project their arrival.

Despite the hesitation with which these immigration patterns must be viewed, they do dovetail with what is currently known about Highland emigration patterns in the early nineteenth century. Relatively high immigration to the Settlement was seen during the period of the Peace of Amiens, 1801-1804. Movement then tapered off to a slow but steady rate until 1812. The reason for this peak is uncertain, but may be due to inadequate data. Immigration does continue during the War of 1812, but it is likely that these arrivals were either misreported or that they came to the United States via Canada. Numbers were negligible in 1815 and 1816. They then increased dramatically in 1817 and 1818. This increase, however, may be influenced by the fact that all members for these families have been identified. In spite of this, emigration is known to have increased at this time due to the impact of the recession which affected the United Kingdom at the end of the European and American wars. Numbers remain low until the late 1820s and early 1830s. The years 1830 and 1831 were a time of peak emigration from Scotland and England.⁷

Evidence from Settlement sources also indicates the continued importance of the Clyde as the port of embarkation. The *Curlew* is the only known sailing of future Scotch Settlement residents to have called in Highland ports. Emigrants for the same destination are also known to have sailed aboard the *Brandywine* in 1804, the *George Yorke* in 1807, the *Frances* in 1812, the *Jane* in 1818, and the *Crookston Castle* in 1832, all of which departed from the Clyde.⁸ Others who left Strathnairn and Strathdearn went on to Liverpool to seek passage.⁹ These facts suggest that a significant amount Highland emigration may be masked because the emigrants ultimately sailed from Lowland or English ports.

The *Jane* and the two ships which brought the McLennan and the McBean families who sailed in 1817 were all bound for Canada. The McIntosh family which traveled aboard the *Jane* was in Pittsburgh by 1819, but how they made their way there is unknown. The McBean family landed at Quebec where they acquired passage to Baltimore. Here they found relatives of Elizabeth McDougal McBean, with whom they presumably stayed, and then made their way to Pittsburgh and finally Scotch Settlement.¹⁰ The McLennans stayed with family in Nova Scotia before taking passage to Alexandria, Virginia and from there traveled overland to the Settlement.¹¹ Passage to North America on a foreign vessel could be costly as they were permitted fewer passengers per tons burden than British vessels. This policy was to encourage emigration to British possessions, but it did not work out as envisaged because many who sailed to Canada simply continued on to the United States.¹² When Alexander McIntosh tried to find

⁷ Erickson, *Invisible Immigrants*, p. 16.

⁸ Mack, *Columbiana County*, pp. 188, 256, 257; Private Collection, McIntosh Family Letters, Alexander McIntosh, aboard the *Jane*, Glasgow to John McIntosh, Midmorile 1 July 1818; Private Collection, McIntosh Family Letters, James McKenzie, Scotch Settlement to John McIntosh, Midmore, June 1832.

⁹ Private Collection, McIntosh Family Letters, July 1818; WRHS, Mss V.F. C, No. 1247.

¹⁰ McBane, ed., *McBane-McKenzie Clans*, p. 29.

¹¹ McLennan, *Family of Kenneth McLennan*, pp. 2-3.

¹² Oliver MacDonagh, *A Pattern of Government Growth, 1800-1860: The Passenger Acts and Their Enforcement* (London: MacGibbon and Kee, 1961), p. 64. As discussed in Chapter 1, the United States was the primary

transportation for his family and friends, the cost of travel to the United States was over 12 guineas each and these ships were not allowed to carry more than thirty people. When McIntosh finally booked passage he did so to Quebec for £4 10s per person.¹³ Although passage to Canada was cheaper, by the time travel and provisions were obtained for the journey to one of the American ports it could end up being more expensive. Charles Rose warned his nephew of this fact in 1822.¹⁴

Unlike the large scale emigrations and sailings that departed the Highlands in the 1770s and then again in the 1790s, emigration from Strathnairn and Strathdearn was in small parties. The classic image of departure from the Highlands was a large emigrant party, often upwards of 300 people, who would charter a boat and sail together to America taking with them large reserves of capital. The idea that emigration involved only large parties was also indicated by the Minister of Tain: "There have been no emigrations from this parish, but several young people go yearly to London, Edinburgh, Glasgow, the West Indies and North America, some of whom have prospered well, and been of service to their relations."¹⁵ It is clear from his statement that people were emigrating; it simply was not seen as such.

Although large parties became less common on the west coast after 1803, they may never have been common in Strathnairn and Strathdearn.¹⁶ By all accounts the largest parties ever to leave Moy and Dalarossie and surrounding parishes were those which were transported after the Rising of 1715 and those who migrated to Darien, Georgia in the mid-1730s.¹⁷ The Alexander McIntosh party of 1818 included not more than 15 people, although the party that traveled to Glasgow may have been about twice as large. The James McKenzie party of 1832 seems to have been limited to his wife, children, son-in-law and two small grandchildren. This small group overtook and was joined by two other people known to them. While they did not plan to emigrate together, they did all sail on the *Crookston Castle*.¹⁸

Although the make-up of these parties is difficult to uncover, they appear to be dominated by family groups. Generally, single men who traveled to the Settlement were either connected to others in the party or had relatives already in the Settlement. For example, Andrew Smith, who emigrated in 1804, traveled with a larger party and probably had some connection to its members. He was certainly related to the many Smith families who migrated to the Settlement in the first decade of the nineteenth century. On the other hand, a James McKenzie, who emigrated as a bachelor in 1801, had no known connections with other Settlement

trading partner of the United Kingdom during the European Wars, consequently there was likely a significant number of American vessels coming and going from British ports.

¹³ Private Collection, McIntosh Family Letters, July 1818.

¹⁴ WRHS, Mss V.F. C, No. 1247.

¹⁵ OSA III p. 392.

¹⁶ McLean, *People of Glengarry*, p. 148.

¹⁷ Parker, *Scottish Highlanders in Colonial Georgia*, pp. 15, 49, 51. Of the 608 transported in 1716 about 200 were from Inverness and surrounding parishes; 165 people from the same region comprised the first Darien party.

¹⁸ Private Collection, McIntosh Family Letters, July 1818; Private Collection, McIntosh Family Letters, June 1832.

residents.¹⁹ In addition to single men and families, these parties included the elderly as well as newly married couples. Alexander Smith and Margaret Johnson were both in their seventies when they migrated and Alexander McGillivray was in his early sixties. These elderly people may have found it difficult to support themselves without the aid of younger family members and emigrated to remain with them. David and Isabella Rose and Alexander and Janet Rose Dallas left Scotland in 1812 together shortly after their marriages.²⁰ Young couples frequently emigrated soon after marriage, as their union was dependant upon land and opportunity available in the United States.²¹

Despite the fact that Scotch Settlement became a cohesive and intra-dependent community, its Highland origins were varied, although most of the settlers appear to have left the same region of Scotland. As suggested in Chapter One, the immigrants from Scotland to the United States after 1781 may have been predominantly from the Gaidhealtachd border region. The majority of those who went to Scotch Settlement were no exception. Connections have been made between 156 emigrants and several Highland parishes near Inverness.²² Those from Inverness-shire came mainly from the parishes of Moy and Dalarossie, Croy and Dalcross, and Daviot and Dunlichity. Those from Nairnshire, which borders Inverness-shire to the east, came from a reasonably productive region of the Highlands, namely the parishes of Ardclach, Cawdor, and Nairn. (Figure 4)

Immigrants have also been traced to Ross and Cromarty, Moray, Sutherland, and Ayrshire. One family is known to have come from Strathnairn, but not which specific part, and at least one of Highland descent came to the Settlement by way of Nova Scotia. It must be admitted that Highland origins for 357 immigrants are unknown and that 46 of those with known origins immigrated as children.²³ Despite this lack of knowledge it is plausible that most of the other immigrants came from the Strathnairn and Strathdearn. On the other hand, it is entirely possible that their origins more closely resemble those of the settlers of Caledonia, New York. In that community there were immigrants from Perthshire, Invernesshire and Argyll. There is, as yet, no evidence linking anyone from Scotch Settlement with Perthshire or Argyll, but this does not mean that these links do not exist.

The few migration networks uncovered for the Settlement suggest a loose system that was dominated by family, friends and kin. The functions of a migration network are varied, but

¹⁹ McKenzie sailed aboard the *Curlew* and was from the parish of Dyke in Moray; the only known migrant from this parish. Mack, *Columbiana County*, p. 189; James Woodrow. Personal communication, 26 August 2000.

²⁰ David and Janet Rose were siblings.

²¹ Jon Gjerde, *From Peasants to Farmers : The Migration from Balestrand, Norway to the Upper Middle West*, ed. Robert Fogel and Stephan Thernstrom, *Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Modern History*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), p. 138.

²² Included in this calculation are those who have been traced to a Scottish parish and those with a strong likelihood of coming from a specific parish.

²³ Children are those under the age of 16.

fall into two main categories: an adaptive network lowers the cost of migration financially and socially and a selective one determines who migrates and their destination. As migration networks expand, the cost of emigration is lowered even further, frequently causing additional migration.²⁴ However, inclusion of emigrants from outside the core region of Strathnairn and Strathdearn allowed for increased emigration not only to the community but to North America. Since emigration to North America clearly continued from those parishes nearest the Lowlands there would have been established multiple networks in multiple destinations. These expanding networks allowed potential emigrants to choose which destination would suit them best. There could also be movement between destinations. For example John McBean of Scotch Settlement traveled to Caledonia, New York to marry Janet Orr. Highlanders from Nova Scotia traveled to Scotch Settlement to settle, to visit, and to find employment.²⁵ These networks in North America might have then created new networks in the Highlands as relatives of émigrés in the different destinations met at holy fairs, cattle trysts, rousps and the like.

Migration networks among the emigrants from Croy and Dalcross are tenuous and difficult to discern in part because fewer Settlement emigrants have been documented here. The Calder-Forsythe and McIntosh families were both at Cantraybruich until the mid-1770s.²⁶ After this time the Calder-Forsythes migrated to Boath in Ardclach parish and the McIntoshes to the farm of Culdoich. Both of these families were among the first to reach the Settlement in the early 1800s. At present no other families are known to have come from these farms. However, Culdoich is adjacent to Daltulich which at the turn of the nineteenth century was two farms, Easter and Wester, part of the land of tacksman Alexander Fraser of Jamaica. At least one family is known to have left Easter Daltulich after 1801.

The migration networks are much more visible among the emigrants from Dalarossie as slightly under half of the immigrants with identified origins in Scotland, 70 individuals, were from this parish. The first two families from this parish to reach the Settlement were Andrew McPherson, his wife Elizabeth Smith and their four children in 1802 and Andrew Noble, his wife and children in 1806. Andrew would be joined by four of his siblings, Angus, Lachlan, Janet and Alexander, and their families by 1817. Another sister and her husband settled in Nova Scotia. Two other Noble families, presumably relatives of Andrew, also went to the Settlement.

²⁴ Douglas T. Gurak and Fe Caces, "Migration Networks and the Shaping of Migration Systems," in *International Migration Systems: A Global Approach*, ed. Mary M. Kritz, Lin Lean Lim, and Iania Zlotnik (Oxford, 1992), pp. 152-154.

²⁵ PHIS, Records of the Presbytery of Hartford. Volume 1 1808 - 1820, F MI45 H24m v.1; Private Collection, Scotch Settlement Papers, A Communication from Scotch Settlement, by Isabelle Fraser Leitch; Private Collection, Scotch Settlement Papers, MacDonald Family History, Biography of John C. MacDonald.

²⁶ Isobel McLean Calder Forsythe's last child was born at Cantraybruich in 1775, and she had no further children. Ann Noble McIntosh had a child born at Cantraybruich in 1773 and her next child at Culdoich in 1776. The fact that both these families left at about the same time suggests eviction. In 1817 Cantraybruich was part of the Forbes of Culloden estate. Church of Scotland, Parish Registers (Salt Lake City, 1977), Microfilm; NAS, Forbes of Culloden Papers, 1816-1843, GD128/26/4/1.

Further examples relate to the web of networks in Dalarossie. Lachlan Noble was a witness at the baptism of the son of Duncan Forbes and Elizabeth Cattanach of Invereen who emigrated with Elizabeth's brother John in 1811 or 1812. Farquhar Shaw, possibly the son of John Shaw of Dell of Morile, emigrated by 1811. His wife Janet was probably sister to John McIntosh tenant of Midmorile. This John McIntosh was married first to Marjory McIntosh daughter of Alexander McIntosh and Janet Davidson, tenants at Brecriemore. In 1818, Janet Davidson and seven of her nine children emigrated to the Settlement. After his first wife's death, John McIntosh, Midmorile, married Isabella McKenzie and in 1832 her father, mother and siblings emigrated. Donald McDougal, a Kirk elder, was a witness for the baptism of at least two of Alexander McIntosh and Janet Davidson's children. McDougal's son Andrew, his daughter Elizabeth and son-in-law Lachlan McBean emigrated between 1815 and 1817.

These networks show not only connections between the emigrants, but also denote two clusters of origins among those who went to Scotch Settlement. The first, and smaller one, was centered on Culloden Muir and included the farms of Clava, Cantraybruich, Culdoich, Easter Daltulich and Balvraid of Culloden. This area straddles the border of Cawdor and Croy and Dalcross parishes. Most of the emigrants known to be associated with these farms went to the United States before 1810. The second, and larger cluster, was in Moy and Dalarossie Parish. The section of the parish which supplied the most emigrants to Scotch Settlement stretched roughly from Tomatin to Glen Mazeran and included the farms of Press, Tombeg, Del of Morile, Midmorile, Brecriemore, Knockandoo, Drumbain, Heights of Tomatin, Banchoruan, and Balvlair. A few families did come from outside this area, for example Invereen and Coignafearn, but they had ties with families within this small district of the parish. Most of the emigrants from this parish left for Scotch Settlement after 1810. Other farms in the region which are known to have provided emigrants to Scotch Settlement are Urchany in Nairn Parish, Inchyettle in Cawdor Parish, and Achagour in Ardclach Parish.

Population figures reveal that there had been considerable out-migration from this region beginning no later than the mid-eighteenth century. The western half of the Highlands was characterized by massive population growth, especially in the kelping regions, well into the nineteenth century.²⁷ However, only two parishes in the catchment region, Nairn and Inverness and Bona, saw significant population increases during the same time period. These increases were probably due to the growth of the towns of Nairn and Inverness. The other three parishes, Cawdor, Ardclach and Auldearn, in Nairnshire had stagnant or extremely slow-growing

²⁷ The different population structures of the regions north and south of Glen Mor are not unknown, but it rarely discussed in detail and when it is all examples given are from Perthshire. Malcolm Gray, *The Highland Economy, 1750-1850* (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1957), pp. 59-60; Andrew Mackillop, "Highland Estate Change and Tenant Emigration," in *Eighteenth Century Scotland: New Perspectives*, ed. Thomas Martin Devine and John R. Young (East Lothian, 1999), p. 254.

populations. The population of several Invernesshire parishes (Kirkhill, Dores, Petty, Croy and Dalcross, Moy and Dalarossie, and Daviot and Dunlichity) reveal a different story. (Table 5)

Between 1755 and 1801, the Highland population is estimated to have increased by 20%. The average growth during this period for the whole of Scotland was 5.4% per decade.²⁸ The Invernesshire parishes contrast starkly with the Highland estimate. Only one parish, Kirkhill, saw a population increase between 1755 and 1801 and it was just 14%. The other five parishes declined between 4% and 25% percent. The parish with the steepest decline was Moy and Dalarossie. However, there was some growth in this parish during the late eighteenth century as it witnessed a greater population decline, 34%, between 1792 and 1801, than it had for the entire period.

All these parishes, except Moy and Dalarossie, saw a second decline between 1801 and 1811. In this decade the average increase of the population in the five Highland counties was 6.3%.²⁹ Conversely, the population decline of the Invernesshire parishes ranged between 7% and 11%; the increase in Moy and Dalarossie parish was well above the Highland average at 9%. After 1811, all the parishes, again except Moy and Dalarossie, began to recover lost population. However, only in Dores did the increase exceed the Highland average of 12.6%.³⁰ The remaining parishes had much more modest gains of between 5% and 8%. Moy and Dalarossie on the other hand suffered a decline of 11% between 1811 and 1821. What makes this decline exceptional is that it happened during a nationwide increase largely attributable to returning servicemen. In fact, it was only one of two Invernesshire parishes to see a population decline during this decade.³¹ The population of Moy and Dalarossie continued to plummet and by 1841 its population had declined by 50%.

In many regions of the Highlands there had been significant emigration in the 1760s and 1770s, but by all accounts it was minimal from 1781 until 1801. However, an examination of the population of the parishes in eastern Invernesshire and Nairnshire suggests that out-migration did not diminish in this particular region. In fact, it was constant and considerable. The out-migration in four of the parishes, Croy and Dalcross, Daviot and Dunlichity, Moy and Dalarossie, and Auldearn, was so great that they never again equaled their 1755 population. Although there is population growth in most of these parishes, it is negligible. Obviously, something very different was happening in this region of the Highlands when compared to the west coast and

²⁸ M W Flinn, *Scottish Population History from the Seventeenth Century to the 1930s* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), pp. 33, 305.

²⁹ Flinn, *Population History*, p. 305.

³⁰ Flinn, *Population History*, p. 305.

³¹ The other parish with a decline was Laggan whose population declined by 20 between 1811 and 1821. A second parish, Alvie, had a population of 961 in both censuses.

the islands. Nowhere is this difference more apparent than in Moy and Dalarossie, which is the only parish in Invernesshire or Nairnshire to see such early and permanent population loss.³²

One of the greatest problems of studying the massive international migration of the nineteenth century is that it was done by exactly the sort of people who rarely enter the historical record or leave documents. These factors make it challenging to determine why they chose to leave their homeland. Nowhere is this more true than in the Scottish Highlands. Therefore most knowledge of emigration from this region is formed by the landed class and estate records. In general, works on the subject have stressed the push factors mainly concentrating on landlord action and the land pressure placed on tenants.³³ While obviously some landlords did create a situation over which tenants had no control, such action cannot explain all emigration from the Highlands, especially as not every one in the same situation responded in the same manner.

Additional evidence can be gleaned from a corpus of literature, mostly in Gaelic, written by those who stayed behind. This evidence, while emotive, tends to exaggeration and must be judged accordingly.³⁴ In spite of the limitations, the poetry does exemplify the deep sense of loss felt by those who did not emigrate. William McKenzie, schoolmaster at Leys in Croy parish, wrote 'Caoidh air son chairdean a chaidh iom-rugadh as an tìr so a dh'America' ca. 1805. The second stanza of McKenzie's poem expresses his sadness at the loss of his friends whose farms had been coveted and taken by "two ecclesiastics."³⁵

S mòr mo mhì-ghean, 's mo mhulad,
 'N uair a theid mi air thuras,
 Sios na suas troimh Sgior' DHURRAIS,
 Bidh mo shuilean gun fhuran,
 Aig amhairc gach tulaich,
 Air 'm bu ghnath leo bhi thunaidh;
 'S chì mi 'n laraichan uile mar fhasaich
 'S chì mi 'n laraichan uile mar fhasaich

Great is my discontent and my sadness
 In time I will go on a journey

³² The apparent discrepancy in Moy and Dalarossie's population pattern may be due to the simple fact that the 1801 census figures are incorrect. However, since it is impossible to know either way, I have assumed that they are correct.

³³ Thomas Martin Devine, "Landlordism and Highland Emigration," in *Scottish Economic and Social History. Proceedings of the Scottish Historical Studies Seminar University of Strathclyde, 1990-91*, ed. Thomas Martin Devine (Edinburgh, 1992); Mackillop, "Highland Estate Change."; McLean, *People of Glengarry*.

³⁴ Burnsted, *People's Clearance*, p. xiv.

³⁵ Another religious poet from Strathnairn, Donald McRae of Petty, wrote a "letter" to friends who had gone to America: "Litir gu U— F— ann an America." Although the poems are in Gaelic, the biographical sketches and commentary are in English. John Rose, ed., *Metrical Reliques of "the Men" in the Highlands: Or Sacred Poetry of the North* (Inverness, 1851), pp. 29-33, 153-158. Translation mine.

Upwards and downwards through Sgior Dhurrais
 The sight will be unwelcome to my eyes
 To look at each knoll
 Where they used to live
 And I will see the ruins each like a wilderness
 And I will see the ruins each like a wilderness

While this focus on push does redress the balance of American-centered "pull" scholarship noted by Frank Thistlethwaite in 1960, it does, perhaps, go too far.³⁶ Focusing on push factors, of which there were unarguably many, reinforces the image of the Highlander as "victim;" that he was incapable of "rationally considered actions and decisions." The thoughts and motives of the emigrants themselves are seldom taken into consideration, if only because they rarely left such a record.³⁷ Those who emigrated to Scotch Settlement left a comparatively rich written record which indicates that their motives for emigration were much more complex than simple "push" factors. While the emigrants themselves indicate, in the main, that they were pulled to America, their descendants related that they were pushed and "were driven (from Scotland) by poverty and oppression."³⁸ However, the latter view may relate to the common belief that America was not only a land of opportunity but a safe-haven for the oppressed.³⁹

All migration occurs when human needs are not being met. In addition to the basic necessities of survival these needs include "group inclusion, trust, security, symbolic and material gratification, self-conception ... power and the ability to achieve goals through negotiation and feedback."⁴⁰ Migrations which take place in order to satisfy these needs have been found to be a constant theme in history.⁴¹ In fact, migration should be considered a normal component of human societies – it is neither good nor bad, but simply is.⁴² In high migration districts, such as the Scottish Highlands, Württemberg, Germany, or western Sweden, one must assume that the needs of numerous individuals were not being met which suggests extreme structural stress and few support mechanisms for the dispossessed.

Although push and pull are convenient terms for discussing motives for migration, they are not sufficient for understanding the process which makes a person "ripe for emigration." An excellent way for understanding this process is the value-added process of emigration devised by

³⁶ Frank Thistlethwaite, "Migration from Europe Overseas in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries" (paper presented at the XIe Congres International des Sciences Historiques, Stockholm, 1960), p. 38.

³⁷ Bumsted, *People's Clearance*, p. xiv.

³⁸ Private Collection, Communication from Scotch Settlement.

³⁹ Baseler, *Asylum for Mankind*, p. 10.

⁴⁰ Anthony H. Richmond, "Sociological Theories of International Migration: The Case of Refugees," *Current Sociology* 36 (Summer, 1988), p. 16.

⁴¹ Åkerman, "Emigration Processes," p. 288.

⁴² Jan Lucassen and Leo Lucassen, eds., *Migration, Migration History, History: Old Paradigms and New Perspectives* (Bern, 1997), p. 9.

J.E. Ellmers in 1964.⁴³ This process comprises five steps or building blocks with a trigger. First, in the home area there must be structural stress which makes life difficult, although the potential emigrant may not realize it as such. Second, the stress must be perceived. Third, there must be an opportunity presented to leave, which in many cases is a communication from a friend or relative in the potential receiving country. Fourth, the potential emigrant must have a personality type that is willing to take risks and able to start life anew elsewhere. Fifth, the social controls must not be so strong as to prevent the emigrant from leaving. But before the emigrant will actually leave there must be a trigger, in essence "the straw that breaks the camel's back."

Sune Åkerman and his associates who refined this model in the early 1970s did have slight criticisms of it. Åkerman highlights the fact that the model is highly simplistic, which even Ellmers acknowledged, and none of the blocks can occur in isolation; some may weight more heavily than others. Other criticisms of the model were based on which variables, for example age, occupation, previous migrations, should relate to which building blocks. This was important to Åkerman and his team as they were trying to use this process in to create a statistical model which would indicate which factors were the most important. Despite these difficulties, they did find correlation between Ellmers' model and rates of emigration and persistence in Köinge parish in western Sweden.⁴⁴

Whatever the statistical viability of the Ellmers' model, its strength is that it provides a framework in which to discuss emigration without resorting to "push and pull" factors, which will also help redress the balance of "push" literature, without emphasizing "pull" which, as discussed above, is unsatisfactory. That there was extreme structural stress in the Highlands is widely recognized; what is not recognized is that this stress affected different regions of the Highlands at different times. The period 1790-1815 was generally seen as one of optimism and economic growth. This mood was largely based on the development of the kelping industry, fisheries, weaving and large scale public works projects like the Caledonian Canal.⁴⁵ Additionally, many parts of the east coast had rich arable land which was greatly improved during this period.⁴⁶ In general, extreme economic hardship was not experienced in the Highlands until after 1815.

It cannot be denied that the processing of kelp and introduction of fisheries had an enormous impact on a significant region of the Highlands. Profits from turning kelp into an alkaline ash greatly enriched many landlords during the years of European wars. Also during this time cattle prices were at an all time high. The wage economy brought about by the kelp boom on many estates allowed tenants to pay their rents, cultivate less land, marry early and

⁴³ Sune Åkerman, Per Gunnar Cassel, and Eric Johansson, "Background Variables of Population Mobility: An Attempt at Automatic Interaction Detector Analysis. A Preliminary Research Report," *The Scandinavian Economic History Review* 22 (1974), p. 34.

⁴⁴ Åkerman, Cassel, and Johansson, "Background Variables," pp. 35-36, 40, 59-60.

⁴⁵ Mackillop, "Highland Estate Change," p. 237; Eric Richards, *A History of the Highland Clearances. Vol. I. Agrarian Transformation and the Evictions 1746-1886* (London: Croom Helm, 1982), pp. 420, 429.

⁴⁶ Gray, *Highland Economy*, p. 83.

support large families. While rents rose during this period, in most cases they were met by cash earned by kelping.⁴⁷ Though arduous work, kelping did provide additional employment for many and enabled them to stay in Scotland.

However, Strathdearn, and parts of Strathnairn, may never have experienced an economic boom and consequently languished in a constant state of structural stress. This situation may have meant that people in this region always had difficulty meeting basic needs, a situation that was not necessarily the fault of the landlords. "Trendy" Highland industries like kelping and fisheries could not be developed in several of the parishes because they were landlocked. Improved agriculture, although doubtless beneficial, would only have made a limited impact due to poor soil, minimal arable land, and small farms.⁴⁸ Furthermore, climate conditions in Moy and Dalarossie and Daviot and Dunlichity parishes meant that their growing seasons were shorter than in the surrounding areas and the harvest was subject to early frosts. Additionally, the former had no manufactures and everyone, except for the odd craftsman, was a farmer.⁴⁹ This region was hard hit during the famine of 1782-83 and tenants in much of Moy and Dalarossie had not recovered by 1790.⁵⁰

The limited opportunity and the small estates in these parishes, especially Moy and Dalarossie, affected the landlords as well as the tenants. The several parishes which provided immigrants to Scotch Settlement were characterized by having several heritors each. Moy and Dalarossie parish had the most with thirteen and Croy and Dalcross, and Daviot and Dunlichity, had ten each. On the other hand, there were only two heritors in Cawdor. Some heritors held land in more than one parish, but there were those like Ludovick MacBean of Tomatin, John Mackintosh of Kyllachy, John Mackintosh of Corrybrough-mor and Donald McQueen of Corrybrough who only held small estates in Moy and Dalarossie parish.⁵¹ The largest land holder in the parish was Mackintosh of Mackintosh, but even his property was small when compared to other large land holding families such as Forbes of Culloden and Campbell of Cawdor. Consequently, revenue enhancement was difficult for many landlords in this region because they held extremely small properties. The large number of heritors implies disparate holdings, even though total holdings for some landlords could be quite large. This would then indicate that the policy of one estate would not affect an entire parish or strath.

Since the landlords could not increase their income through industry other methods had to be devised. These supplementary sources of income were diverse and included the introduction of sheep and forests as well as enlistment in the army, out-migration and increases in rent. Ludovick McBean of Tomatin appears to have enhanced his income by acting as factor for John Mackintosh of Corrybrough.⁵² At least two of his sons left Tomatin to earn their living,

⁴⁷ Gray, *Highland Economy*, pp. 131, 138.

⁴⁸ OSA XIV p. 75.

⁴⁹ OSA VIII p. 506.

⁵⁰ OSA VIII p. 502.

⁵¹ OSA VIII p. 507.

⁵² NAS, GD128/22.

Angus to the West Indies and Duncan to London. The earliest example of the Mackintosh selling timber is in 1732 from his land in Glen Feshie.⁵³ By 1776, he had moved his timber enterprise to his home parish. In this year he began improving Kenmore, a small farm near Loch Moy which had rent of only one pound in 1771. The land was “ditched and dyked” and planted in fir trees. When the sole tenant was obliged to leave is uncertain, but the farm itself had disappeared from the rent toll by 1779.⁵⁴ By 1771 the Mackintosh was already renting out land from his estate for grazing, very likely for sheep given that they numbered around 12,000 in the parish by 1791.⁵⁵ These lands included the grazings at Elrig, Elkin, and Croclach.⁵⁶ These grazings had disappeared from the rent roll by 1819 indicating that perhaps they had been incorporated with other holdings.⁵⁷

Military enlistment was a key factor in the estate economies in many parts of the Highlands, the advantages of which were seized by proprietors.⁵⁸ Three future lairds of Mackintosh had served in the military as had many others from the region including: John Mackintosh of Corrybrough-mor, John Mackintosh of Kyllachy, Duncan McQueen of Corrybrough and Lachlan Mackintosh of Raigmore, all of whom served in the 1770s and 1780s.⁵⁹ While the ultimate motivations for Mackintosh of Corrybrough and of Raigmore are unknown, Mackintosh of Kyllachy definitely enlisted to increase his income. Not only was the rental of the Kyllachy estate relatively small, it had been willed to his grandmother, Anne Mackintosh for life.⁶⁰ What is not known, however, is the extent to which these proprietors used their tenants as a commercial crop. However, since no one from the parish appears to have reached a rank above Captain, it unlikely that recruits were used as a means of advancement. In any case, most of these estates were too small to provide many recruits to any particular individual.⁶¹ The

⁵³ Parker, *Scottish Highlanders in Colonial Georgia*, p. 31.

⁵⁴ The rentals for 1777 and 1778 are not extant. In 1771 and 1772 the tenant, John Johnston, a smith, had no tack. The tenant in 1776 was John MacGillivray. One would imagine that he could not have known the plans for this land as it was set in motion in 1776 and the work done in 1777. Kenmore reappears in the rent roll by 1796 when Kenmore Park and was held by Rev. Hugh McKay for a rent of £2. NAS, GD176/1581/1, GD176/1581/2, GD176/1581/4, and GD176/1581/13.

⁵⁵ OSA VIII p. 502.

⁵⁶ NLS, Acc.7909 (i)

⁵⁷ NAS, GD176/1527.

⁵⁸ Mackillop, *More Fruitful Than the Soil*, pp. 130-167.

⁵⁹ Charles Fraser-Mackintosh, *Letters of Two Centuries: Chiefly Connected with Inverness and the Highlands, from 1616 to 1815* (Inverness 1890), p. 192; Alexander M. Mackintosh, *The Mackintoshes and Clan Chattan* (Edinburgh: Printed for the author, 1903), pp. 322, 331, and 354.

⁶⁰ Anne Mackintosh lived until 1790, consequently every Kyllachy from the death of her husband until this date held the estate, but derived little financial benefit from it. John Mackintosh of Kyllachy held the farm of Dell of Morile. Since he lived in Inverness he likely sublet the farm to one or more sub-tenants. John Mackintosh lived most of his life in debt. When his son, James Mackintosh, who constantly outstripped his income, finally sold the estate in 1801 for £9,000 he himself only saw £300, the remainder going to his creditors. Patrick O'Leary, *Sir James Mackintosh: The Whig Cicero* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1989), p. 54.

⁶¹ Mackillop, *More Fruitful Than the Soil*, pp. 145-146. Norman McLeod of Macleod advanced to the rank of lieutenant-colonel without the purchase of a single commission solely based on his ability to provide recruits. His move from major to lieutenant-colonel required a quota of 70-80 men. Furthermore, other proprietors engaged in military activity saved on bounty money by recruiting men from their own estates and by paying the bounty in rent reductions over a number of years. It is highly unlikely that any of the

Mackintosh, who had the largest estate in the parish, had retired from active duty in 1783.⁶² Because of this, and the fact that he had no sons who might need employment, military recruitment was unlikely to be part of the financial plan for his estate.

While military service could directly impact upon the tenants, either because they were given little choice but to enlist or they were left under the care of a factor, the other methods of increasing income thus far discussed had a lesser impact. The turning over of marginal land to trees or grazings was perhaps distressing to the few tenants who may have been displaced, but would have minimal impact on the entire region. This is perhaps support for the argument that much land put into sheep before 1800 had little effect on the tenants as it was wasteland.⁶³ However, the consolidation of farms for sheep and increase in rents did directly impact upon the tenants. This process had begun before 1790 and would only intensify after 1800, thus creating additional stress for the tenants.

Limited rental data restricts comprehensive statements about the entire region. The rents on the Mackintosh estate were relatively stable from 1771 until 1801. After 1801 the rents increased significantly, as illustrated in the following examples. The rent of Achnagal was £3 10s in 1771 and 1781. In 1790 it had increased to £6 11s 10d and in 1801 to £7 13s 4d. These increases seem moderate compared with the rent of 1811 which was £32 7s 4d. A similar situation is seen for the rent of Dalriach which was £5 in 1771 and 1781. The rent was doubled in 1790 and was £11 5s 6½d in 1801. By 1811 the rent of this farm had increased to £34 10s 8d. The most dramatic increase on the entire estate was at Coignafearn which was a joint tenancy until 1804. The rent in 1771 and 1781 was £16. From 1790 the rent was £24 10s. When the tack expired in 1804 it was taken over by a single tenant, Alexander McIntosh, for a rent of £105 11s 3d, a sum which surely indicates that the former tenants were removed and sheep installed in their place.⁶⁴

While Æneas Mackintosh of Mackintosh tried to accommodate both his own needs and those of his tenants for 30 years, other landlords in Moy and Dalarossie may not have been so generous.⁶⁵ Estate evidence for this period is scarce, but Rev. William McBean clearly stated in his entry for the *Statistical Account* in 1791 that the parish had experienced depopulation due to the introduction of sheep.⁶⁶ Sheep had also been introduced into Daviot and Dunlichity by the early 1790s.⁶⁷ One estate that was clearly reorganized before 1790 was that of Mackintosh of Kyllachy. In 1778 this estate had been 44 tenants and a rental of just over £145. In 1786 the

small proprietors in Moy and Dalarossie parish could have raised so many men from their own estates or had enough income to pay bounties to recruits from other properties.

⁶² Aeneas Mackintosh had, however, raised a company of men for the Fraser's Highlanders and sailed with them to the colonies in 1776. They served in America during the American Revolution, and were disbanded in the United Kingdom in 1783. Most of Mackintosh's recruits undoubtedly had come from parishes where he held land which included Lochaber as well as Strathnairn and Strathdearn. Mackintosh, *The Mackintoshes and Clan Chattan*, p. 354.

⁶³ Adam, "Causes of Highland Emigration," p. 81.

⁶⁴ NAS, GD176/1522, GD176/1527; NLS, Acc.7909 (i).

⁶⁵ Captain Æneas Mackintosh, later Sir, was the laird of Mackintosh from 1770 until 1802.

⁶⁶ OSA VIII p. 502, 506.

⁶⁷ OSA XIV p. 73.

number of tenants has been reduced to 21, but the rental had increased to slightly more than £230.⁶⁸ The two largest rents were for consolidated farms and were many times more than that paid by the rest of the tenants. One of these new tenants, James McIntosh, held the farms of Garbole, Kyllachy and Mill for a rent of £56. Previously these three farms had been held by eight tenants with a total rent of under £20. While it cannot be known for certain, it is very likely that these new tenants introduced sheep and displaced the previous tenants. The estate of Pollochaig, held in wadset by the MacQueens of Corrybrough until 1804 when it was redeemed by the Mackintosh, was probably in sheep before 1800.⁶⁹

In the late eighteenth century tenants in Moy and Dalarossie parish, and in nearby parishes, were facing increasing rents and competition from sheep while at the same time trying to recover from the disastrous harvest of 1782-1783. Conditions were so severe on the Kyllachy estate that in 1784 the factor had only been able to collect £29 in rent. Several tenants were contemplating emigration, although this may have simply been a maneuver to have their rent abated.⁷⁰ Between 1790 and 1815 prices for cattle, wool and produce were high and allowed many, one would assume, to meet the increased rents. However this may have not been enough to off-set potential subsistence crises and the over all poor circumstances in the parish.

The situation became even more critical after 1800. Even benevolent proprietors began to increase their rents. As discussed, rents on the Mackintosh estate skyrocketed. The rents on the McBean of Tomatin estate increased more than 50% between 1796 and 1813. The tenant numbers decreased by half during the same period.⁷¹ Additionally, the harvest failed again in 1812, and the situation was so bad that the kirk session thrice distributed money to those on the poor-roll in 1813.⁷² Moy and Dalarossie had always had an extensive poor roll numbering on average 32 people between 1792 and 1799 inclusive. This roll, consisting of cottars, widows, and the infirm, numbered 53 in 1802 and fell to 42 in 1810. Due to another severe season in 1816-17, two disbursements were made, one to 63 people and the next to 52 people.⁷³ Yet again in 1821 the frost had practically destroyed the entire crop, but the appeal to the heritors was almost completely ignored. Until 1822, the heritors and gentry of the parish had diligently responded to the distress of the poor and many had left money in their wills to be distributed among the needy

⁶⁸ NAS, GD128/48/16, GD128/48/10/23.

⁶⁹ This advertisement for the setting of Pollochaig states that the estate had been "occupied as a sheep farm for some time." The Mackintosh made his intention of redeeming the wadset known to McQueen by 1801 and it is unlikely that he would have invested in sheep if knew he would soon be losing the property. However, even if under sheep, it was not a large scale operation, for in 1811 the tenant, Duncan MacKay, only paid £44 2s ½d in rent. NAS, GD128/48/2, GD176/1527; Campbell Mackintosh, "Lands, Grazings, and Shooting Quarters to Be Set. Whitsunday Next Upon McIntosh's Estate," *Inverness Journal and Northern Advertiser*, 18 September 1807.

⁷⁰ NAS, GD128/48/14.

⁷¹ HCA, AG/INV/16/3. The decrease in tenants is not quite as severe as it sounds as there were only four in 1796, and one of them died in 1805. The rent for the largest farm in 1796 was £6 2 7d and in 1813 it stood at £14 15s 3d

⁷² HCA, AG/INV/16/1b; NAS, CH2/684/2 pp. 17-23.

⁷³ NAS, CH2/684/1 pp. 227-257 and CH2/684/2 pp. 1, 42-44. The increases in the numbers on the poor roll in 1802 suggest either low cattle prices or a minor harvest failure.

in the parish. Why the response to the kirk session's call for alms in 1822 was ignored is uncertain, but perhaps the heritors were beginning to feel that distributing money and food to the poor was no longer an appropriate solution to the parish's poverty. And if ten years of subsistence crises coupled with nationwide recession after 1815 was not bad enough, the River Findhorn flooded in August 1829, not only destroying crops, but also some of the best arable land in the parish.⁷⁴

Perhaps more important than the existence of structural stress is personal experience of the stress. Åkerman et al., combined stress and the experience of stress in their statistical analysis as they believed them to be one and the same thing.⁷⁵ However, they are different and can be separated to a degree. Despite the obvious problems in Moy and Dalarossie parish and the surrounding area, the difficulties would not have been experienced by each tenant or each member of the a family in the same way. The twenty-one Kyllachy tenants who were evicted by 1786 obviously experienced the estate reorganization differently than those who were able to keep their farms. A long tack could provide great security for its duration and the tack holder could be relatively immune from the economic changes in the community.

Although everyone in the parish would feel the effect of a bad harvest, the cottars, often the least likely to emigrate, probably felt the effects more as they had fewer resources than the tenants.⁷⁶ However, their distress was eased by the kirk session. Tenants, on the other hand, would have had no such safety net and would have seen their cash reserves dwindle through the purchase of imported meal. Consequently, tenants, due to their social standing, may have perceived that their needs were no longer being met, while the cottars did not. Allan Macinnes questions the impact of famine in the Highlands because it was "essentially localized and occasional."⁷⁷ Three crop failures in ten years would have a huge impact on all residents of Moy and Dalarossie parish and put them under different pressures than people leaving parishes where the harvest had not failed. This case of repeated crop failures in Moy and Dalarossie exemplifies why local circumstances must be taken into consideration as directly relating to the causes of emigration.

The difference in experience of stress within the same family is exemplified by the McIntosh family in Moy and Dalarossie and the Dallas family in Cawdor parish. John McIntosh of Midmorile and his brother-in-law John McIntosh of Brecriemore both appear to have been eldest sons and to have inherited the tenancies of their fathers on the Kyllachy estate. John McIntosh Midmorile never left the parish and John McIntosh Brecriemore was still there in 1834

⁷⁴ At its peak the Findhorn, which wreaked devastation all along its course to the Moray Firth, was 17 feet above normal. Sir Thomas Dick Lauder, *Account of the Great Floods of August 1829, in the Province of Moray and Adjoining Districts* (Edinburgh: Adam Black, 1830), pp. 35-36; *The New Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. XIV Inverness & Ross and Cromarty (Edinburgh: William Blackwell & Sons, 1845), p. 101.

⁷⁵ Åkerman, Cassel, and Johansson, "Background Variables."

⁷⁶ It is clear from the session records that these cottars did not leave the parish as they appear on the poor rolls for many years in succession. NAS, CH2/684/1, CH2/684/2.

⁷⁷ Allan I Macinnes, "Scottish Gaeldom: The First Phase of Clearance," in *People and Society in Scotland, 1760-1830* (Edinburgh, 1988), p. 75.

and probably remained as well. However, Brecriemore's mother and his seven siblings emigrated in 1818. His siblings, four sisters and three brothers, likely felt that they had little future in Scotland especially in a time of economic recession and repeated crop failures. A similar situation is seen with the Dallas family. This family, descended from Hugh Dallas, had held the farm of Inchyettie since 1749.⁷⁸ Duncan Dallas, who was born in 1779, inherited the farm upon his father's death. In spite of the family's secure tenure, between 1812 and 1833 four of Duncan's brothers had emigrated to Scotch Settlement where they became farmers.⁷⁹ They were more affected by consolidation and industrialization than their eldest brother as their chances for obtaining land were slight. The series of letters from Scotch Settlement indicates that many of their friends and relations remained in Scotland, suggesting that not everyone felt obliged to leave.

Even if structural stress is personally experienced, that in and of itself, will not cause a person to migrate. The third building block was a migration offer. This could probably take many forms, for example an offer to join a party of neighbors, or a report from friends already settled in the potential destination.

...Donald McIntosh who will give you an account of the country better than I can do and he will not tell you a lie he is going home for his familie and he is coming back again if God spares and it is a good opportunity to any that wishes to come with him

I have 3 pounds 16½ shillings per months of your currency. ... Jannie send her compliments to Isobel Gow and tells her if she here she would get 4(?) dollars per month which will come to 10 pounds 16 shillings in the year of your currency.

Farquhar Shaw, before 1812⁸⁰

McDonald has made a fortun already.

Alexander Dallas, 1815⁸¹

⁷⁸ Charles Fraser-Mackintosh, *Antiquarian Notes: Historical, Genealogical and Social (Second Series)* (Inverness: A & W McKenzie, 1897), p. 436. Fraser-Mackintosh stated, in 1897, that the Dallas family had been at Inchyettie for 250 years, suggesting that they came to the property in 1647. However, evidence for this particular Dallas family is only available from 1749/50. Church of Scotland, Parish Registers.

⁷⁹ Columbiana County Recorder, Deed Records and Mortgages 1803-1881 (Salt Lake City, 1973), Microfilm; NLS, Dallas Family Letters, Acc. 10623; United States Census Office, Fourth Census of the United States, 1820 : Population Schedules, Columbiana County, Ohio (Washington, D.C.), Microfilm; United States Census Office, Fifth Census of the United States, 1830 : Population Schedules, Columbiana County, Ohio (Washington, D.C., 1949), Microfilm.

⁸⁰ Private Collection, McIntosh Family Letters, Farquhar Shaw, Pittsburgh to Alexander McIntosh, Dalarossie, ca. 1811.

⁸¹ NLS, Acc. 10623.

The opportunity to travel with someone who had already made the journey and knew the lay of the land, may have proved irresistible. As economics was one of the most compelling reasons to migrate it is not surprising that wages and the cost of land and goods featured prominently in the letters. Land was another common theme in the letters. Almost all contain a reference to land, indicating its importance to the senders as well as the receivers.

This country is something similar to the remarks you have made respecting that country, except in one particular, that is the price of land. It is reduced here like other property, this is the best time that ever was for any person who has money to come here. ... and once you pay that no man can dispossess you again like those tyrants in that country.

Charles Rose, 1822⁸²

About the farmers in this place, I am given to understand, that a man with a strong family, ... can do well. Perhaps he'll not clear much money, because he has to lay out a good deal on improvements, for the first while, but he may have for himself & his family, plenty of the necessities of life, if they be industrious.

Hugh Rose, 1830⁸³

Janet Davidson, upon hearing of proposed removals on the Kyllachy estate ca. 1822, encouraged her son to come to Ohio and related the favorable terms for land purchase.⁸⁴ To those facing dispossession, whether real or imagined, land that could be owned outright would be a strong inducement to migration. Furthermore, concrete knowledge of conditions in the destination from a trusted source would ease the uncertainty over emigration.

Economic considerations, whether escaping a bad situation or going to a better one, were not the only compelling reasons for emigration. A reason, just as potent, was to join family and friends who had already departed. This is the probable motive for the emigration of Janet Davidson and Margaret McIntosh. Janet Davidson, mother of John McIntosh Brecriemore, left behind two children but was able to emigrate with seven others.⁸⁵ One would think that she could have found a home with either her son or son-in-law, but chose instead to travel with the larger part of her family. Margaret McIntosh, mother of Duncan Dallas Inchyettie, emigrated ca. 1830 with her son Lachlan. By this time three of her sons had already emigrated and all had married. While it can never be known for sure, Margaret Dallas probably saw Lachlan's departure as an opportunity to see her other three sons, and their families. There is nothing to indicate that her eldest son, Duncan, could not have continued to provide for her.

⁸² WRHS, Mss V.F. C, No. 1247.

⁸³ WRHS, Mss V.F. C, No. 1247.

⁸⁴ Private Collection, McIntosh Family Letters, Janet Davidson, Scotch Settlement to John McIntosh, Midmorile, 30 January 1822.

⁸⁵ Janet Davidson's husband, Alexander McIntosh, had died before she and her children left Scotland.

In this region of the Highlands, which had seen continuous out-migration since the mid-eighteenth century, there would have been plenty of migration offers due to extensive migration networks both within and outwith Scotland. However, even if the first three conditions were met not everyone in similar circumstances would migrate. The most indefinable building block in Ellemers model is personality structure. Despite this fact, it is certain that there were people who would be more willing to relocate than others. The last block in the model is social structure which could be configured against migration. Families exerted control over their members, and death or marriage often preceded emigration.⁸⁶ Social controls also bulked larger than the family, and this was certainly the case in the Highlands. Landlords and the government were both, generally speaking, opposed to emigration before 1815.

In the region south and east of Inverness, however, landlords may not have had the same desire to keep their tenants on their estates, especially since there was no kelp to work. How they felt about military recruits is unknown. Two other factors may have lowered social controls in this region. First, many of the landed gentry or their sons had either emigrated or spent significant time outside the Highlands. If migration was a economic technique adopted by this class, they were unlikely to criticize when it was utilized by less socially prominent members of the parish. Second, as mentioned earlier the first large-scale departures from this region were in 1716 and the mid-1730s. These migrations were significantly earlier than the Highland exodus of the 1770s. Studies of other countries have shown that when emigration starts early in a particular area it will provide more emigrants for a longer period of time than others, even in high migration districts.⁸⁷ The likely reason for the constant emigration from "early start areas" was that in these areas emigration became an accepted part of the culture, while increased migration offers and networks facilitated further movement. Once communities had been established in North America or even in other regions of Scotland, people may not have seen themselves as migrating or even leaving Scotland, simply moving to another Highland community.⁸⁸

At this stage a person was fully "ripe" for migration: his experience of structural stress was so great that his needs were no longer being met. He had an opportunity to migrate, was possessed of an adventurous personality, and finally, there was nothing compelling him to remain in Scotland. All this, would still not, according to Ellemers' model, cause a person to migrate. What was necessary was a trigger. In the Highlands two very common triggers may have been rent increase and eviction which usually preceded the introduction of sheep. As discussed above, rent increases became common in Moy and Dalarossie parish in the early nineteenth century. The tenants of Easter and Wester Daltulich, in Croy parish, were served with

⁸⁶ Dirk Hoerder, "Segmented Macrosystems and Networking Individuals: The Balancing Functions of Migration Processes," in *Migration, Migration History, History: Old Paradigms and New Perspectives*, ed. Jan Lucassen and Leo Lucassen (Bern, 1997), pp. 76-77; Kevin Schurer, "The Role of the Family in the Process of Migration," in *Migrants, Emigrants and Immigrants: A Social History of Migration*, ed. C.G. Pooley and Ian D. Whyte (London, 1991), p. 233.

⁸⁷ Åkerman, "Emigration Processes," p. 292.

⁸⁸ Hoerder, "Segmented Macrosystems," p. 83.

a sentence of removal in 1801. Some tenants must have negotiated with the tacksman, Alexander Fraser of Jamaica, as at least one of them was still present on the estate in 1811. However, the continuance on the estate probably entailed a rent increase:

Ye thought it two [sic] much to pay the rent of (Easter) Daltulich and so we do all of us, but by all appearance again the first year it will be more.

Hugh Fraser, 1811⁸⁹

Hugh Fraser wrote this to John McPherson whose father had been a joint tenant at Easter Daltulich. Whether John McPherson and his family left in 1801 or stayed through at least one rent increase is unknown, but he was in Scotch Settlement by 1808.

Unfortunately, the extent of rent increases faced by Settlement emigrants is unknown, mostly due to limited estate records. What is known is that several estates in Moy and Dalarossie parish changed hands, and this was often precursor of change. A selling proprietor might clear tenants to attract a buyer and thus a higher selling price. An inheriting proprietor might raise rents and/or consolidate farms for sheep in order to enhance revenue to reduce debt or increase personal income. The Mackintosh of Kyllachy estate was sold in 1801. Four other estates sold were: Corrybrough-beg and Corrybrough-mor, both in 1791, Dalmigavie in 1819, and Corrybrough ca. 1820. In addition to the sales, other estates changed hands due to the death of the proprietor: Mackintosh of Mackintosh in 1820, Kyllachy in 1815, and McBean of Tomatin in 1817. Lachlan McBean, who had been a tenant at Heights of Tomatin since 1798, had met every rent increase, but left Scotland in the same year that his proprietor died.⁹⁰

A trigger rarely discussed in the literature was the constant call for men to join the military.⁹¹ As discussed above the army, or more precisely the money the British government provided for it, became a key feature in estate economics. Proprietors used the military to obtain a steady income and recruited their own tenants to reduce bounty and advancement costs. The tenants benefited from recruitment, either into the regulars or the volunteers, as it provided them with a fixed income which helped pay the rent. Those tenants who served in the army long enough also benefited from a pension which enabled them not only to pay their rent, but to have a choice farm. However, in the 1790s the Highlanders' attitude began to shift, and some chose to ignore recruitment and face eviction.⁹²

Emigration to avoid military service is recorded in Scotch Settlement and Caledonia and it led to the belief among the emigrants' descendants that "it was almost impossible for anyone fit for a soldier to leave the country."⁹³ The situation in Caledonia, New York is better documented

⁸⁹ Private Collection, Scotch Settlement Papers, Hugh Fraser, Easter Daltulich to John McPherson, Scotch Settlement, June 1811.

⁹⁰ The rental list for the McBean of Tomatin is only partially extant from 1796 to 1813. HCA, AG/INV/16/3; McBane, ed., *McBane-McKenzie Clans*, p. 28.

⁹¹ Mackillop, *More Fruitful Than the Soil*, p. 76.

⁹² McLean, *People of Glengarry*, p. 133.

⁹³ Private Collection, Communication from Scotch Settlement.

and some of these emigrants, who were predominantly from Perthshire, left to escape a levy to recruit soldiers in 1797, when fear of invasion was high.⁹⁴ The Breadalbane Fencibles were recruited between 1793 and 1795 and many men did leave the estate to avoid the levy.⁹⁵ The seeming three year delay can possibly be explained by the fear of further recruitment.

The growing Evangelical movement in the Highlands may also have contributed to the break down of the Highland affinity for the military, because the movement's focus on personal salvation encouraged an indifference to secular affairs.⁹⁶ The disdain felt for the army, at least by some in Moy and Dalarossie parish, is best shown by an anecdote recorded by William McDougall regarding his uncle, Andrew McDougall:

Andrew and his cousin Alexander McBean had gone to the southern markets with a drove of cattle, and in returning, in accordance with an iniquitous practice that then prevailed in Badenoch and Lochaber, they were seized and forced to enlist through some over zealous and unscrupulous officers. The captain of the company to whom they were handed over seems to have been a humane person, and he sent word to the grieved parents that he would meet them at Inverness and give them intelligence regarding their sons. On their way back Benjamin McBean asked Donald (McDougall), "What religion or persuasion do you think the commanding officer is of?" To which Donald replied, "Oh, of no persuasion but simply a captain."⁹⁷

Whatever the local feelings were towards the military, there was no move to disengage young McDougall or McBean from the recruiters' clutches. Recruiting agents or "crimps" commonly used under-handed methods to gain recruits.⁹⁸ In spite of their undesired entry into the army, McDougall, and presumably McBean, both completed their tour of duty. McDougall was discharged in 1815 and went to Scotch Settlement shortly afterwards.⁹⁹ That recruitment was something that happened outside Moy and Dalarossie, further suggests little of it actually occurred in the parish. Landlords were known for keeping out recruiters in order to preserve the working tenants on their estates; the only recruitment sanctioned was their own.¹⁰⁰ The Mackintosh, who was not only the largest landowner in the parish but also a resident landlord, was successful in excluding recruiters from the parish.

⁹⁴ Lockwood Lyon Doty, *A History of Livingston County, New York: From Its Earliest Traditions, to Its Part in the War for Our Union: With an Account of the Seneca Nation of Indians, and Biographical Sketches of Earliest Settlers and Prominent Public Men*, ed. Augustine Joseph Hickey Duganne (Geneseo, N.Y.: Edward L. Doty, 1876), pp. 278-9; Smith, *History of Livingston County, New York, with Illustrations and Biographical Sketches of Some of Its Prominent Men and Pioneers*, pp. 448-449.

⁹⁵ Mackillop, *More Fruitful Than the Soil*, pp. 113-114.

⁹⁶ Mackillop, *More Fruitful Than the Soil*, p. 208.

⁹⁷ McBane, ed., *McBane-McKenzie Clans*, p. 9.

⁹⁸ Burnsted, *People's Clearance*, pp. xii, 162.

⁹⁹ McBane, ed., *McBane-McKenzie Clans*, p. 28.

¹⁰⁰ Mackillop, *More Fruitful Than the Soil*, p. 141.

The sequence of events which caused Scotch Settlement immigrants to depart Scotland suggests that they were voluntary emigrants. While this region, especially Moy and Dalarossie parish, was under structural stress caused both by proprietors and by nature, there is little evidence of callous disregard for the tenants.¹⁰¹ Although the Mackintosh consolidated several farms, he left others, like Ruthven and Invereen, divided among joint tenants. Based on the limited evidence available it seems as if one family member was generally able to secure land, but that his siblings had to migrate in order to provide for themselves, or had to emigrate to obtain land. If they remained in their home parishes, they likely faced a future as landless laborers. Migration of this sort was probably much less noticeable than Clearances which affected every household in a particular strath. On the face of it, then, emigrants to Scotch Settlement seem to have taken part in the people's clearance and left Scotland in a aura of rising expectations.¹⁰² The fact that they chose to leave Scotland is underscored by the difficulties they faced in departing; in the rush to escape the military they left behind belongings and then dodged press-gangs in port and the open sea.¹⁰³ Surely under such trying circumstances they would not have left unless they were determined.

However, the concept of a people's clearance has been questioned and found wanting by scholars.¹⁰⁴ They argue that landlord action, including the raising of rents which preceded the incoming of sheep, severely limited the ability of small tenants to provide for themselves. Indeed, the above discussion has also suggested that Moy and Dalarossie parish, and perhaps by extension the surrounding parishes, were under extreme structural stress, had limited economic opportunity both for tenants and proprietors, and that tenants were being edged out to make way for sheep. While some proprietors may have maintained the status quo for as long as possible, eventually their control and manipulation of the land meant limited opportunities for tenants. These factors would suggest that those who went to Scotch Settlement were involuntary emigrants.

Bumsted's notion of a people's clearance and voluntary migration was probably an understandable reaction to the long-standing perception that Highlanders were forced out by unscrupulous proprietors who cared more for their pocketbooks than for their clansmen.¹⁰⁵ Since *The People's Clearance* was published in 1982, scholars, like those discussed above, have looked for flaws in Bumsted's argument. While they have not gone so far as to declare that Highland emigrants left involuntarily, they do suggest that they did not leave voluntarily. Bumsted clearly

¹⁰¹ NAS, GD128/22/2.

¹⁰² Bumsted, *People's Clearance*, p. 62.

¹⁰³ Mack, *Columbiana County*, pp. 189-190; Private Collection, Communication from Scotch Settlement, p. 1; Smith, *History of Livingston County, New York, with Illustrations and Biographical Sketches of Some of Its Prominent Men and Pioneers*, p. 468.

¹⁰⁴ Devine, "Landlordism and Highland Emigration," pp. 84, 100; Mackillop, "Highland Estate Change," pp. 238, 245; McLean, *People of Glengarry*, pp. 5, 126.

¹⁰⁵ An early example of this view can be found in: J Cameron Lees, *A History of the County of Inverness* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons, 1897), p. 261.

underestimated the impact of sheep in some regions of the Highlands and perhaps misinterpreted the motives for departure.¹⁰⁶ However, his primary argument may be more correct than heretofore realized, that many Highlanders did indeed choose to leave, in effect “clearing” themselves, and that only his use of the phrase “voluntary migration” was flawed.

The main divisions between migrants are free and forced, and voluntary and involuntary. Free and voluntary are used to describe “normal” emigrants, who are often economically motivated. Forced and involuntary traditionally have been used with reference to slaves and refugees. However, the division between voluntary and involuntary has been challenged by Anthony Richmond of York University, Toronto.¹⁰⁷ His work suggests that even within a refugee situation there are frequently economic considerations on the part of those who become refugees. Other scholars have shown that when one examines the characteristics and motivations of refugees they differ little from those who would be considered “normal” migrants.¹⁰⁸ A new paradigm which Richmond puts forward is that of a continuum of emigration with proactive and reactive at polar ends. As all human action is constrained and choices are never limitless, decisions must be made within current circumstances. Even those emigrants who leave “voluntarily” are often reacting to a situation over which they have no control. In Richmond’s view proactive migrants evaluate their choices and get out quickly, while reactive migrants wait until their choices are limited to starvation, death, or flight. In between the two extremes are all other types of migrants, including economic ones.

The application of proactive and reactive migrants to the Scottish Highlands is very appropriate, in part, because it restores power and action to many Highland emigrants and suggests that they were aware of what was happening around them and so took action. Unfortunately, many of the external circumstances were outwith their control and they were not in a position to alter the situation. Consequently, they voted with their feet and abandoned the situation altogether. In regions of the Highlands, like Moy and Dalarossie parish, where there had been continuous out-migration, choosing to emigrate may have been an acceptable option, both to them and their landlords.

The southern and eastern Highlands have been seen as more stable and more technically advanced. This may very well be true for much of this region, especially that which was geographically Lowland. However, parishes like Moy and Dalarossie may not have been so blessed. The significant out-migration from these parishes may not necessarily be due to accessible employment opportunities as described by Eric Richards, but because of the lack of opportunity in their home parishes.¹⁰⁹ However, the long history of migration from this area

¹⁰⁶ See Chapter 4.

¹⁰⁷ Richmond, “Theories of International Migration,” p. 17. This article was written to provide better understand of refugee situations, but is well suited to all migration, especially from the Highlands.

¹⁰⁸ Lucassen and Lucassen, eds., *Migration History*, p. 16.

¹⁰⁹ McBane, ed., *McBane-McKenzie Clans*, p. 46.

and the many opportunities nearby, especially in Inverness, may have meant that the residents of this region were better able to cope. There seem to have been fewer social pressures keeping them in their parishes while well-established migration networks meant that they had many more opportunities to depart. The Scotch Settlement emigrants, faced with disheartening circumstances not of their own making, decided that to best provide for themselves and their families it would be necessary to emigrate to the United States where they could obtain “a better way of living” than they could in Scotland.

Chapter 3: The Creation of a Scottish Settlement

"... according to all the account I get it was never so easy to buy land as it is now ... if you had as much of the world as would bring you here I make no doubt but yourself and your family would make provision enough for yourselves and perhaps in course of if times would believe here you might purchase a piece of land if you had (after) your coming here of money £22-10 ... You could purchase 80 acres of land only without clearing."

Janet Davidson, January 1822¹

Janet Davidson, in this passage, acknowledges two truths about land acquisition in Ohio: before 1822 it was difficult and after 1822 it was much easier. From the late 1780s, Congress embarked on a plan of trying to raise money from the sale of public lands. Since they needed funds quickly, they created a system whereby only the wealthy could purchase land. In turn these speculators would then sell small tracts to individual settlers. Political squabbling about the cession of western lands held by some of the former colonies, most notably Virginia, brought settlement of the region to almost a complete halt. By the time of Davidson's letter, land prices had finally dropped after an inflationary period in the 1810s and the federal government had lowered the price for public lands.

The Scotch Settlement Highlanders reached Ohio when land sale policy first began to ease. This easing did permit three presumably wealthier settlers, Angus McBean, Andrew McPherson and Hugh Rose, to purchase land. However, how did the other emigrants acquire land, especially if they all wanted to live near each other? The solution at which they arrived was uniquely Highland. The men who were able to purchase land apparently rented land to their fellow emigrants on fixed terms. At the end of the "lease" the renters purchased their land outright at a price little more than what had been originally paid. In using a system where their countrymen could remain together, these Highlanders established Scotch Settlement. As later emigrants arrived they settled near the earlier arrivals. In this way they created a thriving Highland community that would provide essential benefits as well as drawbacks.

Although Ohio did not become a state until 1803, it figured in trading, military and land speculation activities during the Colonial era. French and Colonial traders were active in the region by 1747 and in 1748 the first land speculation company, the Ohio Company, was formed

¹ Private Collection, McIntosh Family Letters, January 1822.

by a group of Virginians. This company would ultimately fail in its objectives, but its existence illustrates the early interest in the settlement of Ohio. Ohio was also a theatre for military action in every decade from 1750 to 1780. George Washington was sent there to harass the French in the region in 1754; and Lachlan McIntosh, a favorite of Washington's who grew up in the Highland settlement at Darien, Georgia, led a campaign into Ohio to establish a base for future attack on Detroit in 1778.² Ohio, and other western regions like Tennessee and Kentucky, would have been well known to Colonists from the mid-eighteenth century. A primary motivation of settlement was economic as land speculation could be an extremely lucrative enterprise.

The boundaries of the United States established in 1783 included not only the 13 colonies but all of the land north of present-day Florida and between the Appalachians and the Mississippi.³ Many factors delayed the settlement of much of the newly acquired land. The Native Americans to whom this land belonged, especially those near the Great Lakes, did not accept that they had been defeated. There were also conflicting claims among the new states about how the territory should be controlled. The charters of Virginia, Massachusetts and Connecticut contained "sea to sea" clauses, meaning that, in theory, those states, not the federal government, had rights to the land. New York based its questionable claims to Ohio on deeds granted to them by the Six Nations.⁴

These rights were relinquished by 1786, but with reservations.⁵ Virginia requested that territory in Ohio be reserved as military land bounties for its Revolutionary War veterans. This grant became known as the Virginia Military District and was bounded by the Scioto, Miami and Ohio Rivers. Connecticut required a portion of land in Ohio to be offered to its citizens who lost land and goods during the Revolution. This grant, known as the Connecticut Western Reserve, was located in Northeastern Ohio along Lake Erie. Unlike Connecticut and Virginia, New York and Massachusetts retained no control over any of the land they ceded.

When the United States government had gained authority over the land in 1786, they had to determine how best to divide, distribute and govern it. The result of their debates was the Land Ordinances of 1785 and 1787, two of the most important pieces of legislation enacted by the United States Congress.⁶ The 1785 act established the system of land distribution and the 1787 one instituted the governmental system and path to statehood for the territories. Together these acts not only created the plan for the organization of the Northwest Territories, but the blueprint for the organization and government of all future territories. The second land act also disallowed slavery, prohibited entail and primogeniture, permitted religious tolerance, and set aside Section

² Hunter, *Dance Called America*, p. 44; Thomas I. Pieper and James B. Gidney, *Fort Laurens, 1778-1779: The Revolutionary War in Ohio* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1976), p. 31.

³ Paris Peace Treaty, Article 2.

⁴ Albion Morris Dyer, *First Ownership of Ohio Lands*, reprint of 1911 ed. (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1982), p. 4.

⁵ George W. Knepper, *Ohio and Its People*, 2nd ed. (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1997), p. 50.

⁶ Knepper, *Ohio and Its People*, pp. 55, 60. The Land Ordinance of 1787 is also known as the Northwest Ordinance.

16 of every township in support of education.⁷ The Northwest Territories, also known today as the Old Northwest, included present day Ohio, the first to become a state, as well as Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, and Wisconsin.

Various Native Americans groups laid claim to land in Ohio at this time. Many of these had only entered the region during the early eighteenth century having been pushed further west by Euro-American settlement on the eastern seaboard or by the Iroquois Wars in New York. Euro-American settlement was not truly possible until the Native American land had been ceded to the United States. The treaty of Fort McIntosh was signed in 1785, and though it was not universally accepted by all tribes in Ohio, Congress proceeded as if it now had clear title to develop the land ceded in the treaty, which included all of southern and eastern Ohio. Pioneers who ventured north of the Ohio River to settle in Ohio faced a precarious existence as many Native Americans did not acknowledge the treaty and did not hesitate to defend themselves against encroachments on their lands.⁸

After renewed Indian Wars in the late 1780s and early 1790s the Treaty of Greenville was signed in 1795. General Anthony Wayne led the American party at the peace council and negotiated with one of the largest ever contingents of Native American tribes including representatives of the Miamis, Wyandots, Shawnees and Delaware. This treaty ceded the land east of the Cuyahoga River and south of a line drawn from Fort Laurens southwest towards the present Ohio-Indiana state line. The land east and south of the treaty line, very similar to that ceded in 1785, was finally open to unobstructed and peaceful settlement. Despite the acceptance of this treaty, Native American lands within the reservation in Northwestern Ohio were continually encroached upon. Group after group, in the coming years, saw no alternative but to leave their land and migrate further west. The last Native American group in the region, the Wyandots, was removed in 1842.⁹

The Ordinance of 1785 called for a regular system of land survey that, with minor variations, was used in every territory of the United States except Texas and Hawaii. The system devised by the government consisted of ranges, townships and sections. (Figure 5) The final plan consisted of sections that were one mile square, 640 acres, and townships of six square miles or 36 sections. Ranges were used to define groups of townships and were numbered from east to west, while townships were numbered south to north, beginning at the Ohio River. The base line for the Ohio surveys was the Pennsylvania state line. This orderly system of land division is evident in fields and farms, most being a regular division of a section; the regular system of survey was chosen over traditional metes and bounds or indiscriminate survey which was

⁷ Land Ordinance of 1785 [Website] (Indiana Historical Bureau, [cited 18 August 2002]); available from <http://www.statelib.lib.in.us/www/ihb/resources/docldord.html>.

⁸ Knepper, *Ohio and Its People*, pp. 52-3.

⁹ Knepper, *Ohio and Its People*, pp. 79, 116.

extremely chaotic and led to conflicting and non-precise claims.¹⁰ Metes and bounds, prevalent in the southern states, was, however, adopted in the Virginia Military District.¹¹

The Seven Ranges, the first government survey, was begun in 1785 by Surveyor-General Captain Thomas Hutchins and included the southern-most portions of Columbiana County. The survey proceeded quite slowly due mostly to resistance by the Native Americans, but Hutchins and his crew had completed their work in summer 1787, and this land was offered for sale between 21 September and 9 October 1787. The land sold was priced at one dollar per acre plus surveying expenses. The terms of purchase were quite strict, a minimum purchase of one section at 640 acres with one-third down at the time and the remaining two-thirds due in two months time. Based on the patent issue date there may have been some leniency about the final payments. Unfortunately, the sale was not a resounding success as only 148 parcels of land were sold. Six sections in Yellow Creek Township, Columbiana County were purchased by Richard Platt, Joshua Mercerau, Robert Johnson and John Foulks. The majority of land purchased in 1787 was in Jefferson and Belmont counties.¹²

Although the price per acre was quite low, the smallest purchase allowed was 640 acres, making the minimum purchase price just over \$640. This placed the purchase of farmland in Ohio out of the reach of the average American. Only speculators and the wealthy, who typically obtained the best land in a region, were able to finance such large purchases.¹³ Consequently, the only legal way a poor farm family could obtain land in Ohio was to purchase it from a speculator. The price per acre would be higher, but the lot size would be smaller and the price more manageable.

One might ask why the federal government made it so difficult for the bulk of its citizens to purchase land in Ohio. The reasons for this were caused by two factions, those who favored western interests and those who favored the east. An east/west divide was to dominate many issues in the United States for years to come. Those who favored the west believed that the land should be made available cheaply, or even freely, to small farmers. Others felt that the sale of land should benefit the coffers of the United States Treasury. This debate would last into the nineteenth century until the Homesteading Act of 1862, when the western interests finally had a complete victory. The act permitted citizens or foreign-nationals who had declared their intent to become US citizens to claim up to 160 acres of unappropriated government land; the only cost was a filing fee of \$18.¹⁴

¹⁰ Robert Leslie Jones, *History of Agriculture in Ohio to 1880* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1983), p. 20.

¹¹ Many deeds in Columbiana County, although reflecting the sale of a regular survey division, are described as though they were metes and bounds, perhaps an indication of the cultural heritage of many settlers here from Virginia.

¹² Dyer, *First Ownership of Ohio Lands*, pp. 53-57.

¹³ R. Douglas Hurt, *The Ohio Frontier. Crucible of the Old Northwest 1720-1830* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996), p. 168.

¹⁴ National Park Service, 140th Anniversary of the Homestead Act of 1862 [Website] (National Park Service, 4 August 2002 [cited 19 April 2002]); available from http://www.nps.gov/home/140th_anniversary.html.

The first land acts demonstrate that the interests favoring land sales as an income-generating venture were dominant. With each successive act smaller acreages could be purchased, although the price was not lowered until 1820. Before 1801, only land speculators and companies could afford to purchase lands at the price and quantity offered by the government. Some speculators would offer free or cheap land to settlers to encourage settlement and then raise the price of the rest of the land.¹⁵ However, there is no evidence of this practice in Columbiana County; what is noticeable is that much of the land in the county changed hands two or three times before anyone actually cleared it and lived on it.¹⁶

All surveying and land sales halted during the period of renewed warfare in the 1790s. They did not begin again until the Treaty of Greenville was signed in 1795. The Land Act of 1796 stated that land had to be purchased in 640 acre lots at two dollars per acre, or \$1,280. This represented an increase of 100% in ten years, further catering to the eastern interests who hoped to reduce the national debt with the proceeds of the land sales. This act made it even more difficult for individuals to purchase land. The 1796 act also opened land offices in Pittsburgh and Cincinnati.¹⁷ A list of land sold at Pittsburgh between 1796 and 1801 when the Land Office at Steubenville was opened has not been located, but deeds and tax records indicate that Sections 23 and 24 in Yellow Creek Township and Sections 24, 25 and 33 in Madison Township were purchased before 1801. Hence this left a sizable chunk of land, especially in Yellow Creek Township, that was not available for settlement.

The Harrison Frontier Land Act of 1800 altered the government's land sale policy significantly. It enabled settlers to purchase a minimum of 320 acres of public lands west of the Muskingum River; the minimum purchase east of the River, which included Columbiana County, remained 640 acres.¹⁸ The price remained two dollars per acre, but the act created a system of credit. It required that one-twentieth of the purchase price was due when a person applied for the land and one-quarter of the purchase price, including the previous down-payment, was due within forty days. If this second payment was not met, the land reverted to the United States. The remainder was due in yearly installments over the following four years. Interest was charged at 6% on the remaining three installments. To encourage early payment, a discount of 8% was allowed if any of the installments were made before they were due. If the final payment was not made within one year after it was due, the land was to be auctioned and if not sold, it reverted to the United States.

¹⁵ Jones, *Agriculture in Ohio*, p. 20.

¹⁶ Several changes in ownership for many parcels of land is clear from early deeds which include the succession of owners. The person recorded in the Columbiana County deed book is in most cases the one who settled the land.

¹⁷ Ginette Aley, *Land Policy in the New Nation - the Major Legislation* [Website] (Department of History, Virginia Tech, 2002 [cited 23 April 2002]); available from <http://www.majbill.vt.edu/history/aley/landpol.htm>.

¹⁸ Hurt, *Ohio Frontier*, p. 173; Knepper, *Ohio and Its People*, p. 89.

In 1804, the minimum acreage was reduced to 160 acres at two dollars per acre, making lands in Ohio attainable for small-scale farmers for the first time as a farm of 160 acres could be acquired for a down payment of eighty dollars.¹⁹ This change in policy is readily visible by examining government land sales for four townships in Columbiana County.²⁰ In 1802, there was one land purchase and in 1803 there were two, in 1804 the number of men purchasing land jumped to 15 and to 29 in 1805. The next change to the government land sale policy was in 1820, when the price per acre was reduced to \$1.25 and the minimum acreage to 80 acres. This act also abolished the credit system, which, combined with easy credit terms available in the west, had created a land boom and inflationary period which resulted in the Panic of 1819.

Despite the careful work of the land acts and the surveys, the first official sale of land and increased pacification of the Native population through treaties, very little permanent Euro-American settlement occurred in Ohio during the late eighteenth century. Aside from missionaries, trappers, supply-post merchants and squatters, the Euro-American population was quite small. The biggest impediment to settlement was the high cost of purchasing land. Furthermore, government land had to be purchased in New York, Philadelphia or Pittsburgh. Not until 1801 were local government land offices established in Ohio.

As we have seen the land sale policy of the federal government made it difficult for the average farmer to settle in Ohio. Consequently, a potential settler had two options, to purchase land from a speculator or become a squatter and hope that the government would allow pre-emption rights. In some sections in Ohio, purchasing land from a speculator did not necessarily guarantee a valid title as some landowners frequently sold land they did not technically own.²¹ Consequently, settlement of the state was quite slow until the land act of 1804 reduced the amount of land purchased from the government. From this date, and especially from 1815, migrants flooded into Ohio. The state's population in 1810 was 231,000. By 1820 it had more than doubled to 581,000.²²

The investigation of land sale and transfer has been made possible by examining the Columbiana County Deed Records, the records of the Land Office at Steubenville and a small abstract of the first volume of deeds.²³ The principal problem with the first two sources is the incompleteness of the records. Having a deed recorded at the court house was not a legal requirement of land sale. In several cases the deed for the original purchase of the land was not

¹⁹ Hurt, *Ohio Frontier*, p. 173.

²⁰ Wayne, Washington, Madison and Yellow Creek Townships.

²¹ The most spectacular examples of this were William Durer, Joel Barlow and William Playfair, who sold land to French who settled at Gallapoli and John Cleves Symmes who claimed the Miami Purchase in southwestern Ohio. Knepper, *Ohio and Its People*, pp. 66-67, 68-69.

²² Knepper, *Ohio and Its People*, p. 112.

²³ Columbiana County Recorder, Deed Records and Mortgages 1803-1881; Leila S. Francy, *Death Records in Steubenville, Ohio Newspapers* (Apollo, PA: Clossen Press, 1992); OHS, Receiver's Journal (Credit System), 1800-1831, State Archives Series 422.

recorded until the land was sold, perhaps decades later. The records of the Land Office at Steubenville also greatly vary in completeness. In general the records span forty years, but they are inconsistent and data recorded in one volume book may not be recorded in the next. Also deed of ownership for some government land is included in the Columbiana Deed Records, but not in the Land Office records, indicating that not all contracts for sale were recorded or survived.

The search for property records revealed 251 deeds executed between 1807 and 1840 where a resident of the Settlement, a possible Settlement resident, or someone associated with the Settlement was either a grantee, grantor or both. Fifty-six entries were found for Settlement residents in the Land Office at Steubenville records, although not each transaction resulted in a deed being issued. At first this information was collected in two separate tables. Later the data was collated to facilitate analysis and non-Settlement residents were removed. This table includes 293 property transactions for the years 1802-1840. The discrepancy in the numbers results from the fact that some property transfers were recorded in both the deed book and the land office records.

Three other sources were valuable in assessing land ownership and transfer: census records, tax duplicates, wills and family and oral histories. With the exception of wills, each of these sources is fraught with difficulties. Wills, after the person is identified, are relatively straightforward, although copying errors are possible. Family and oral histories are notorious for information that is not entirely accurate. Where possible the information has been verified and in most cases, especially the nineteenth century histories, they have proved reliable.

Census records, while extremely useful in some ways, are quite limited in others. The first five censuses for the United States were tallies; only the head of household was listed and the members of the household were simply grouped together in age bands. This can make it difficult to follow families through from one census to the next. Households were defined broadly and could include wards, employees, and extended family members. It was often up to the enumerator to define what constituted a separate household. If two families shared the same dwelling, were they the same household? In several instances in Columbiana County, single women or widows with children are listed next to the household of a male relative suggesting they were separate households. However, it is probable that they were actually a part of the male relative's household. For example, in 1830 Margaret Watson was living next to her brother Malcolm McPherson in Madison Township, then in 1840 she was listed next to her son Hugh Watson in Washington Township.²⁴ Since her brother Malcolm never married, it is likely that she shared his house. When her son married and purchased land in the late 1830s, she left her

²⁴ United States Census Office, *Sixth Census of the United States, 1840 : Population Schedules, Columbiana County, Ohio* (Washington, D.C.), Microfilm; United States Census Office, *Columbiana County, 1820 Census. Estate Records*, vol. 13, pp. 226-227.

brother's home and went to her son's. These nebulous and changing households can make comparisons between censuses difficult, if not impossible.²⁵

The main problem with the Ohio census with regard to the early years of the Settlement, is that the data for 1810 is not extant.²⁶ The 1800 census is for the entire Northwest Territory, and Jefferson County, the parent county of Columbiana, encompassed most of what is now eastern Ohio, rendering the census information almost useless. The territory covered by this census is vast, so even though the population was relatively small, it is not possible to fix a person geographically. Consequently, the first Ohio census available for comparison and analysis is 1820, when the Settlement was almost twenty years old. Data collection for the census records prior to 1850 included all residents of Madison and Yellow Creek Townships, but only selected residents of Wayne, St. Clair and Washington Townships and the town of Wellsville²⁷ in Columbiana County and, for the 1840 census only, selected residents of Saline and Brush Creek Townships in Jefferson County.²⁸

Although the first census schedule comes quite late in the history of the Settlement, the tax duplicates can be used as a partial substitute. The first duplicate is from 1806, and records all property owners required to pay tax. An important factor to keep in mind when using the tax duplicates is that property owners were not liable for tax on their property for five years from the time they made their down payment.²⁹ Hugh Rose, who purchased property in March 1804, was not liable for tax until 1809. Those men who purchased property after the Land Act of 1804 took effect in July of that year, were liable for tax in 1810. The most significant problem with the tax duplicates is that they only record property owners. However, they are useful tools for gauging the value of property, stability of families on certain tracts of land, and percentage of property owners. Tax duplicate data was collected for all extant years from 1806 to 1819, inclusive and the year 1838.³⁰

The residents of Scotch Settlement reached Ohio before the "land rush" began in 1815, although they were not the first. The first residents, mostly squatters, reached Columbiana County before the American Revolution.³¹ However, settlement before 1795 was precarious.

²⁵ This difficulty of defining households was not solved until the 1850 census, when family and dwelling numbers were introduced. Consequently, families living in the same dwelling would have the same dwelling number, but different family numbers.

²⁶ The 1810 census is believed to have been destroyed by fire when the British attacked Washington, D.C. in 1812. Carol Willsey Bell, *Ohio Lands: Steubenville Land Office, 1800-1820* (Youngstown, OH: C.W. Bell, 1983), p. ii.

²⁷ Wellsville, located in Yellow Creek Township, was enumerated separately in 1830 and 1840.

²⁸ In 1833 the boundaries of Columbiana and Jefferson counties were redefined and the southernmost portions of Yellow Creek and Washington townships in the former became Brush Creek and Saline townships in the latter.

²⁹ William T. Utter, *The Frontier State 1803-1825*, ed. Carl Wittke, vol. 2, *The History of the State of Ohio* (Columbus: Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, 1942), p. 131.

³⁰ Years collected were 1806, 1807, 1808, 1809, 1810, 1811, 1812, 1813, 1814, 1816, 1817, 1818, 1819 and 1838. OHS, Tax Duplicates, by County, 1801-1838, Microfilm.

³¹ Jones, *Agriculture in Ohio*, p. 18.

Many of these earliest settlers in this region of Ohio and those who came later had originally settled in Western Pennsylvania or Virginia. For them, migration to Ohio was a matter of simply crossing the border. Although the existence of Ohio and its fertile lands were well known during the Colonial and Early National periods, how the Highlanders learned of the particular spot in which they settled is unrecorded.

The first member of Scotch Settlement to reach it, according to all accounts, was Angus McBean. After seeing the fine land in Ohio, he wrote to his friends and neighbors and encouraged them to join him. No one knows when McBean came to the United States, but it is generally believed to have been in 1800.³² However, there is some evidence to suggest that Scots were in Columbiana County by 1798. In the autumn of that year a "bewhiskered Scotsman," Duncan McBean, sued Michael Bannan, an Irishman. The trial descended into a brawl and four of McBean's countrymen were deputized to assist the Scots constable to bring order to the courtroom.³³ It is entirely possible that Duncan McBean and the other Scots present at this trial were related or known to Angus McBean and the Highlanders who came after 1800.³⁴

Highland emigration to the United States after 1775 is virtually unstudied. Therefore, emigrant chains or movement beyond the hearth areas of New York, Georgia and the Carolinas are unknown. In the twenty-six years between the outbreak of war and the arrival of those in Scotch Settlement, many people left the Highlands and settled in the new United States. As we have seen, a Highland community at Caledonia in western New York was established by 1799. This is the closest known Highland settlement to the one in Ohio, but no connections between it and Scotch Settlement are thought to exist before ca. 1805.³⁵ Men with names later associated with the Settlement, McLean, Shaw, Watson and McDonald, were living in Pitt Township, Allegheny County, Pennsylvania in 1790.³⁶ Scots were also found in Washington County, Pennsylvania which borders West Virginia. Among these settlers were Rev. Colin McFarquhar from Inverness and Andrew Frazier from Sutherland. A McIntosh family, who had settled in West Finlay Township, was massacred by Native Americans ca. 1790.³⁷ These few examples suggest that Highlanders, along with the native-born, moved into western Pennsylvania during

³² James Woodrow. Personal communication, 26 August 2000.

³³ Robert Wilson Schilling, *The Yellow Creek Stories* (Toronto, OH 1947), pp. 70-71.

³⁴ Though Schilling definitely refers to these men as Scotch and Bannan as Irish, it is entirely possible that the "Scotch" were in fact Scots-Irish. Schilling's book is a collection of oral tales and he does not site any sources. Schilling, *The Yellow Creek Stories*.

³⁵ In 1805, Rev. Alexander Denoon emigrated from Dores Parish to Caledonia. Several people in Scotch Settlement wanted him to leave Caledonia and minister to the Yellow Creek congregation, implying a connection between the communities. This topic will be examined further in Chapter 5.

³⁶ Pitt Township was formed in 1789 and encompassed all of Pennsylvania north of the Ohio River and west of the Allegheny River. Che Zuro Whiting, Transcription of Heads of Families at the First Census of the United States taken in the Year 1790, Pitt Township, Allegheny County, Pennsylvania [Website] ([cited March 2002]); available from <ftp://ftp.rootsweb.com/pub/usgenweb/pa/allegheny/census/1790/1790pitt.txt>; Thomas L. Yoset, Crawford County, Pennsylvania [Website] (1998 [cited March 2002]); available from <http://www.alltel.net/~yoset/CCo/census/1790US.html>.

³⁷ Boyd Crumrine, F. Ellis, and A. N. Hungerford, *History of Washington County, Pennsylvania: With Biographical Sketches of Many of Its Pioneers and Prominent Men* (Philadelphia: L. H. Everts, 1882), pp. 481, 759, 982.

the latter part of the eighteenth century. Later immigrants, like Angus McBean, perhaps after joining friends already established in western Pennsylvania, liked the look of the land in eastern Ohio and recommended this new region to potential immigrants.

The first three known land purchases by Settlement residents were full sections of government land, one a year in 1802, 1803 and 1804. These sections were subdivided into smaller parcels and eventually sold, in all but one instance, to other Highlanders.³⁸ Only one of these men remained on the land he had purchased. In mid-1804, as discussed above, the minimum amount of land purchased from the government was reduced to 160 acres. This enabled many more men, including Highlanders, to purchase land in their own right from the government. The land settled in this way over the next several years was found in Sections 29, 30, 35, and 36 in Yellow Creek Township; and Sections 26, 27, 28, 34, and 35 of Madison Township. (Figure 3) Highlanders purchased government land in other sections in these townships as well as in St. Clair, Wayne and Washington Townships, but they did not dominate them as they did the aforementioned sections.

The available records suggest that the majority of Settlement residents only made one land purchase in their lifetimes. The few men who did purchase additional land did so several years after their initial purchase. For example Farquhar Shaw purchased land in 1812 and 1844;³⁹ Philip McLean in 1821, 1822, 1834 and 1835; and Andrew Smith in 1805, 1822 and 1835.⁴⁰ Only two men who purchased land directly from the government purchased more than the minimum of 160 acres. Daniel McCoy purchased 160 acres in both Section 34 and 25 of Madison Township in 1805.⁴¹ William Monroe purchased 175 acres of Section 34 and 159 acres of Section 12 in Washington Township in 1818.⁴² When the minimum purchase acreage was further reduced to 80 acres in 1820, they rarely purchased more than this at any one time. Peter Ross made three purchases of 80 acres in Section 27 of Yellow Creek Township, one in 1825, one in 1830 and a third in 1832.⁴³ Conceivably, he could have purchased these three lots of land at once as opposed to spreading the purchase out over seven years.

This evidence suggests that the Scots land purchase patterns were different from those of the native-born. This pattern of small purchases spread out over a number of years contrasts greatly when compared with the average American, who tended to acquire more land than could possibly be managed.⁴⁴ The practice of buying large expanses of land also affected more than

³⁸ The one man who was not a Highlander, Robert Martin, had close ties to the Settlement throughout his life. He has been described as a Scots and as Scots-Irish and is believed to have been born in Pennsylvania.

³⁹ *Deed Records*, vol. 9, p. 272 and vol. 36, page 608.

⁴⁰ *Deed Records*, vol. 23, p. 230; vol. 8 pp. 8, 89 and 165; and vol. 21 p. 523; OHS, Register's Ledger (Credit System), 1804-1816, State Record Series 431, p. Certificate no. 1834.

⁴¹ OHS, State Record Series 431, p. Certificate nos. 1196 and 1197.

⁴² OHS, State Record Series 431, p. Certificate nos. 6997 and 6981.

⁴³ *Deed Records*, vol. 104, pp. 206-208.

⁴⁴ Paul W. Gates, "The Role of the Land Speculator in Western Development," in *The Jeffersonian Dream: Studies in the History of American Land Policy and Development*, ed. Allan G. Bogue and Margaret Beattie Bogue (Albuquerque, 1996), p. 8.

farmers, but also settlement patterns as farms were more dispersed. A dispersed and vacant landscape meant that services such as roads were more expensive, taxes to support services were proportionally higher, and schools and churches were further away.⁴⁵ Acquisition of large estates was facilitated in part due to easy terms of credit available in the west.

The easy credit and ensuing inflation were fuelled by the over-issue of bank notes which gave the impression that money was more readily available than it was. The system of credit, created in the Land Act of 1801, encouraged speculation and inflated land values. Then in 1816, the federal government ruled that it would no longer accept notes from local banks for payment on debt owed to the government. Land Office officials had been accepting local notes for payment on government land, but this practice was halted by the act of 1816, which came into effect in 1817. Specie was rare in Ohio, due mostly to the unfavorable balance of trade with eastern states; more specie left Ohio than came into it. The situation reached a crisis point in 1819 and land values plummeted.⁴⁶

The Highlanders seem to have avoided the temptation to purchase more land than they or their families could reasonably handle. This also meant that, other than not being able to afford land during the boom, they were not adversely affected by it.⁴⁷ This lack of panic in Scotch Settlement may also be due in part to the fact that many Highlanders had purchased their land before the boom started and tended to purchase land from the government, which had a fixed price. In the early nineteenth century land was about the only investment available, either to hold on to for sale at a higher price or for renting.

Only one Highlander, John Cameron, seems to have been negatively affected by the Panic of 1819. Cameron emigrated from Invernesshire in 1801 and, though he remained in Pittsburgh, his son, also John Cameron, settled in Scotch Settlement in the 1820s. Cameron Sr. purchased Section 24 in Madison Township in 1818 from Daniel and Martha McCook for \$5,000, approximately \$7.89 per acre. In 1819, he was unable to meet his obligations, especially that due to the minor heirs of William McBean of whom he was guardian. Either to meet these obligations or to protect his land from seizure, he sold the property to Daniel Pride for one dollar. In 1824, Cameron must have regained his financial footing as he redeemed his land from Pride. Over the next six years, Cameron sold quarter sections of Section 24, but only realized \$2,910 from these sales.

Cameron was lucky; although he lost money, he was able to keep his land. More unfortunate men who had purchased government land found themselves over-extended, faced not only losing their land but the equity they had invested in it. This problem was seen as so severe that the legislation was quickly enacted to allow men to keep the land in which they had

⁴⁵ Gates, "The Role of the Land Speculator in Western Development," p. 9.

⁴⁶ Utter, *Frontier State*, pp. 263-264, and 278.

⁴⁷ Private Collection, McIntosh Family Letters, Alexander McIntosh and Farquhar Shaw, Pittsburgh to John McIntosh, Midmorile, December 1819; WRIIS, Mss V.F. C, No. 1247.

equity (or had paid for), the rest reverting to the Government.⁴⁸ This would allow the farmer to be free of debt and save his home and improvements. If this act had not been passed in 1820 the crisis in the west would likely have been greater.⁴⁹

Utter suggests that there was little outright despair in Ohio communities since they were largely self-sufficient, especially after the act of 1820 allowed many families to keep at least some of their land. However, market prices plummeted so low that it did not pay to ship the goods to market, which must have been a severe setback to a region that was remote from markets in the first place. Land values plunged, as can clearly be seen in the case of John Cameron Sr. Other Settlement Highlanders faced some difficulty, but not due to debt. Farquhar Shaw remarks simply that "time is altered here very much in regard to money it is very scare, we can not get what is due to us..."⁵⁰ It is not clear, but since he was living in Pittsburgh at the time he wrote the letter and intended to stay there until spring 1820, it is reasonable to believe that he was working there but his employers could not pay him.

Direct and indirect evidence suggest that many men and families rented a farm in the Settlement before saving enough money to purchase one. Many of these men rented land that they later did buy and this may have been a formal agreement similar to a Highland tack. Kenneth McLennan, who came to the United States in 1817, rented farms from Andrew McIntosh and James McKenzie until 1823 when he purchased government land in Jefferson County.⁵¹ James McKenzie wrote to his daughter in 1835 that he did not have "as much as one foot of land"⁵² although, since he also mentions that he had pasture for a cow and reaped 20 bushels of Indian corn, he obviously rented land.⁵³

The more intriguing evidence for rentals comes from the tax records and the register of deeds. When comparing these documents it is evident that several men were paying tax on property for which they did not yet hold a deed. The existence of rentals cannot be dated before 1806, as that is the first year in which tax was due on government land. Three of the sections on which rentals occurred were purchased before the Land Act of 1804 took effect. Section 6 of Yellow Creek Township was purchased by Angus McBean in June 1802, Section 18 of the same township by Hugh Rose in March 1804, and Section 36 of Madison Township by Andrew McPherson in January 1803. The fourth, Section 18 in Yellow Creek Township, had been purchased by an out-of-state speculator.

⁴⁸ Utter, *Frontier State*, p. 291.

⁴⁹ Utter, *Frontier State*, p. 291.

⁵⁰ Private Collection, McIntosh Family Letters, December 1819.

⁵¹ McLennan, *Family of Kenneth McLennan*, p. 3.

⁵² Private Collection, McIntosh Family Letters, June 1832. This is not the same James McKenzie who rented land to Kenneth McLennan.

⁵³ Private Collection, McIntosh Family Letters, June 1832.

The following men each paid tax on 180 acres of Section 6 of Yellow Creek Township beginning in 1806: John Calder, Alexander McBean, Alexander McDonald and Alexander McIntosh. At present the relationship between these men and Angus McBean is unknown. Alexander McDonald and Alexander McIntosh, both of whom were elders in the church, received their deeds in 1809. John Calder received his deed in 1818, his land later being sold to the Boyce family.

Further evidence of a rental arrangement comes from the case of Alexander McBean, who died ca. 1808. He paid tax on the northwest quarter of Section 6 in 1806, 1807, and 1808. His widow, Ann McBean, paid tax on the entire 160 acres in 1809, but on only 80 acres in 1810. The tax on the other 80 acres was paid by James Johnson. The Alexander McBean family did not sell half their land to Johnson, as the grantor for both deeds was Angus McBean in 1826.⁵⁴ Although Ann McBean probably had several other family members in the area, as a widow with five young children she must not have felt she could not manage the entire 160 acres on her own. Even if her husband had been on the land since 1802, it is unlikely that much more than 35 acres of land had been cleared by the time of his death. Alexander and Ann's son, also Alexander McBean, took over operation of the farm at some point before 1830 when he is listed as head of household in the census, so it is possible that the deed was issued to him and not his father.

Daniel McElheron, a speculator from New Jersey, purchased Section 18 of Yellow Creek Township before 1801. Through his representative in Steubenville, Benoni Wells, he sold 320 acres to Hugh Rose and 160 acres to George Ogilvie on 19 March 1807.⁵⁵ The 1807 tax duplicate also shows Finlay Smith and Alexander Calder paying tax on land that had been deeded to Rose. Smith and Calder's deeds to the land were not executed until 13 April 1825.⁵⁶ Ogilvie, Rose and Calder were brothers-in-law but Finlay Smith's relationship to these three, if any, is not known.

Hugh Rose also purchased Section 30 of Yellow Creek Township from the land office at Steubenville in 1804. In 1809, the first year tax was due on the property, the following men were paying tax there: John Smith, William Fraser, Daniel McIntosh, Daniel Smith, William McIntosh and Robert Martin. Except for Martin, they received deeds to their land in March 1812. Martin received his in August of the same year.

There is little evidence to suggest that Andrew McPherson rented any of his land in Section 36 before it was sold in 1808, although it is probable. McPherson sold quarter sections, 160 acres, to Alexander McDonald and John McIntosh and 120 acres to John McPhail. He retained one quarter section for himself. Alexander McDonald sold half of his land to John McPherson and John McIntosh sold half his land to Alexander McIntosh. The division of these

⁵⁴ Legally a married man could buy land by himself, but he could not sell it without the consent of his wife. The grantors would always be a couple, for example, in this case it was Angus and Catherine McBean. However, for simplicity's sake only the husband's name will be used in the dissertation.

⁵⁵ *Deed Records*, vol. 1 pp. 274-275. The witnesses, Thomas Elliot and Hugh McBean, were the same for both deeds.

⁵⁶ *Deed Records*, vol. 9 pp. 317-318.

two farms into smaller ones suggests some form of joint tenancy or sub-rental. All deeds for this land were issued on 26 February 1808.

The only evidence for rental on McPherson's property comes from the forty acres owned by William McIntosh. William McIntosh first paid tax on this land in 1809, and he included this property along with the 160 acres he purchased from the government in 1813 in his will dated 6 February 1821⁵⁷. McIntosh died in 1824, but the deed for the land in Section 36 was not issued until 1828. Unlike the McBean case, the deed could not have been made out to a son, as McIntosh did not have a son called William.

In most cases the deeds were issued on the same day with the same witnesses. Andrew Smith and Thomas Armstrong witnessed all the 1808 sales of the McPherson property. All but one of the sales on the Rose property in Section 30 in 1812 were witnessed by George Clark and the same Andrew Smith. The remaining deed was witnessed by Alexander Calder and Daniel McIntosh. The McBean property in Section 6 and the Rose property in Section 18 were less consistent with witnesses. In the former case, the McBean deeds were spread out over a longer period. That alone makes it less likely for the witnesses to be the same. The deeds on the second Rose property were both dated 13 August 1807. One witness, Andrew Smith, was the same; but the second witness in each case was different, Daniel Smith in one and William Calder in the other.

That so many deeds on the same properties were issued on the same day suggest a formal rental agreement entered into at the same time by the participants. That the witnesses were also the same suggests organization on the part of the participants. They knew what they were doing and when they were doing it. The presence of Andrew Smith in all these deeds is easily explained. He acted as an attorney for the Settlement and as such probably wrote out the deeds himself. Whether the other men were witnesses because they were known to and chosen by the participants or simply happened to be at Smith's on the day is uncertain. The fact that three witnesses were different on the Rose properties suggests the former. Perhaps Smith always had a stand-by witness ready in case one was needed.

The terms that these men agreed to over the land are not available. Whether rent was paid in money or in-kind and services, it is not reflected in the final purchase price. Common payments in kind in the Highlands were fowls, wedder, kids, butter and cheese.⁵⁸ Services could include cartage, harvest work and general estate labor. These would have been types of payments familiar to the Highlanders. On the frontier they may also have helped with farm clearing. Most Highland estate owners had converted to money rents in the late eighteenth century. However, the laird of the Mackintosh estates was still accepting payments in kind of wedders and hens for partial rent in 1794. Although very few of the immigrants came from the Mackintosh estate, other landlords may also have continued collecting payments in-kind.

⁵⁷ *Deed Records*, vol. 12 p. 538; *Estate Records*, vol. 5, pp. 530-1; OHS, State Record Series 431, Certificate no. 4371.

⁵⁸ NAS GD176/1516; NLS, Acc. 7909 (i).

The price paid by these men for their Ohio land is shown in Table 6. The price they paid per acre, in most cases, is not significantly higher than what the original owner paid for the property. The data collected does not permit much comparison with the cost of other land sales, especially for the years in question. One other sale is known from 1812 when Alexander Chisholm purchased 160 acres for \$900 or approximately \$5.62 per acre. All but two men who purchased land from Hugh Rose in this year paid half of this amount per acre. Two other men in the Settlement purchased land in 1813 and in 1814 at five dollars per acre. The price of the land rose due to inflation as well as through clearing.

The extent of rentals within the community after 1810 is unclear. In the 1820 census 99 Settlement households were enumerated. However, the deed records indicate that not more than 76 people had purchased land between 1802 and 1803,⁵⁹ although this low number may be due to deeds not being recorded at the Columbiana County Court House. This fact suggests that even if farms were not rented, then some families were sharing the same land and/or the same house. Two examples from Madison Township may be instructive: John McKenzie is listed between landowners Andrew Smith and Daniel McCoy; and Alexander McQueen and Daniel McIntosh between landowners John Bailey and Alexander Noble.⁶⁰ There is no record that McQueen purchased land, but both McIntosh and McKenzie may have purchased land in Yellow Creek Township in 1824 and 1827 respectively.

It must also be kept in mind that some separately enumerated households may actually have been a single one. Due to this factor, establishing a household to landowner ratio is difficult as the landowner is not made clear in the census and frequently is not the male relative. An excellent example of this is the Calder-McIntosh family. Isabella Calder McIntosh, her son Evan McIntosh, and her sister Ann Calder are listed as three separate households in the 1820 census. What the census does not say is that Isabella McIntosh was widowed in 1812 and still had the care of her minor children and the control of the property, her sister had never married and Evan had wed in 1818 and had his first child by the time of the census. These facts perhaps explain why they were listed as three separate households, but it is also reasonable to suggest that they were one extended household, and if not that they were definitely living on the same land.

English immigrants were known to rent farms immediately upon arrival. Their motivation for this action was connected to their notions of independence and a desire not to work for someone else. Charlotte Erickson, in her study of English emigration to the United States after 1830, found evidence for various forms of payment. Land was rented in exchange for labor, either agricultural or industrial, and sharecropping. However, the purchase of the rented farm does not seem to have occurred. A tenant of George Courtauld, an English migrant who settled in Athens County, expected the farm to be deeded to him after he had rented for five

⁵⁹ This includes those who rented land and did not obtain a deed before 1820.

⁶⁰ United States Census Office, Columbiana County, 1820 Census.

years. Courtauld refused and the tenant abandoned farming.⁶¹ Erickson does not state whether or not the tenant was English, but the episode does illustrate that some English immigrants were unwilling to relinquish their property. Native-born Americans rented farms as well; it was a common practice, especially for young men saving to buy their first farm. Rentals were known in Ohio, as well as Indiana and Illinois, by 1820 but were not common for another twenty years.⁶²

What differentiates the rentals in Scotch Settlement is that these men rented land to which they later obtained deed. Furthermore, it is very likely that some of them began renting land between March 1802 and June 1804, the years when it was quite difficult to obtain land due to government policy. Since a system of fixed leases was the normal system of land tenure in Scotland, especially in the Highlands, it was a form of landholding they would have understood and been comfortable with. The men who became landlords, Hugh Rose and Andrew McPherson, likely had some wealth they were able to bring from Scotland in order to fund the land purchases. Only Angus McBean may have been in the country long enough to earn the necessary funds. What is not known is whether the landlords purchased land and then encouraged people to come and live on it or whether the landlords and tenants came to the United States together. However, they did devise a uniquely Highland solution to the difficulties of obtaining land in Ohio, which at the same time adapted a new reality, that the vast availability of land in America meant that few would continue to rent once they had the money to purchase their own property.

The American frontier was sprinkled with small isolated communities of pioneers who shared a common cultural past. This settlement pattern was as true for American migrants as it was for European immigrants. This pattern provided benefits for the settlers, especially immigrants, but immense downsides when land in a region became scarce. When land became hard to obtain one of the most obvious solutions was to move west in search of new land, although this weakened the ethnic community which faced disintegration through "perpetual diaspora."⁶³

Scotch Settlement is representative of both trends. The community grew from a few sections of Columbiana County to later encompass a region ten miles long and between three and five miles wide.⁶⁴ This expansion permitted the Highlanders to insulate themselves from their surroundings and limit the effects of assimilation. The growth of the Settlement was due as much to increased immigration as to the younger members of the Settlement establishing their

⁶¹ Charlotte J. Erickson, *Leaving England. Essays on British Emigration in the Nineteenth Century* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994), pp. 70-71.

⁶² Paul W. Gates, "Frontier Estate Builders and Farm Laborers," in *The Frontier in Perspective*, ed. Walker D. Wyman and Clifton B. Kroeber (Madison, Wisconsin, 1957), p. 26.

⁶³ Gjerde, *Minds of the West*, p. 97.

⁶⁴ Mack, *Columbiana County*, p. 187.

own farms. However, as time wore on, the availability of land within Columbiana County became restricted. This factor probably made many choose between their desire to remain within a Highland community or to move elsewhere in search of land and opportunity.

There were many benefits to choosing to be identified with a cultural group in an immigrant situation. The most important was that a good number of the community members may have been family and friends of the migrant. The encouragement of chain migration was one way to mitigate the loneliness of beginning a life in a new land. Many rural communities on the frontier were likely a repatterning of communities in Europe and the eastern United States.⁶⁵ Charlotte Erickson has found that British immigrants who lived in British communities were the most successful in adapting to their new circumstances in the United States. Those who had more frequent contact with Americans were the least content. Small communities of 30 – 40 families, many of whom were related, “was enough to stave off the worst loneliness and to provide adequate social satisfactions.”⁶⁶ Ethnic communities provided an opportunity to become acquainted with the new land at one’s own pace.

Although almost all of Erickson’s evidence is from English immigrants, living in an ethnic community was an advantage for all groups including those at Scotch Settlement.⁶⁷ Dutch, Swedish and Norwegian immigrants settled in cohesive ethnic communities where they enjoyed the support and friendship of their countrymen.⁶⁸ A study of urban Irish immigrants in Philadelphia suggests that those immigrants who could be near family were the most successful, in part because the adjustment process was easier.⁶⁹ Though limited is evidence available, most Settlement residents appear to have been content with their decision to immigrate.

Charles Rose, who immigrated at the age of 48, was still pleased with his decision. In 1822, eighteen years after he left Daviot and Dunlichity parish he wrote to his nephew John Rose:

You have mentioned that you heard good account of this country, and likewise indifferent accounts.—You must undoubtedly, both from your own experience and the history of other times, know that all men do not see alike even the same object and some excuse their own faults will blame the country or charge the defect to some other cause rather than acknowledge it to be in themselves. ...This is a good

⁶⁵ Erickson, *Invisible Immigrants*; Gjerde, *Minds of the West*.

⁶⁶ Erickson, *Invisible Immigrants*, p. 64.

⁶⁷ Gjerde, *Peasants to Farmers*; Ostergren, *A Community Transplanted*.

⁶⁸ Gjerde, *Peasants to Farmers*, p. 140; Ostergren, *A Community Transplanted*, pp. 168, 184; Swierenga, *Faith and Family*, p. 6.

⁶⁹ Deirdre M. Mageean, “From Irish Countryside to American City: The Settlement and Mobility of Ulster Migrants in Philadelphia,” in *Migrants, Emigrants and Immigrants: A Social History of Migration*, ed. C.G. Pooley and Ian D. Whyte (London, 1991), p. 58.

country, let who will say to the contrary, but every good has its own evil in this world when there is no perfection.⁷⁰

His animosity towards Scotland was still strong despite having left it many years previous to writing this letter. He described the landowners as tyrants and despaired of his old friends and neighbors encountering “disasters ... in that land of bondage and thralldom.”⁷¹ It is impossible to say whether Rose was so unhappy with Scotland that his contentedness in America could not mitigate it; or that his contentedness in America served to intensify his negative feelings towards his homeland.

Alexander Dallas told his brother in 1815 that he was also content with America, but of all the immigrants whose letters exist he seemed the most lonely and homesick as he states:

Dear Brothers As I never heard anything from either of you I (s)hall say nothi(n)g about your coming to this Continant till I hear from you ... I nedd not exort you to be particular in letting me know Peter and James (are) doing and how my mother stands in her health and looks – or if ther(e) is any Deaths Births or Marriages amongst either mine or my wife frein(d)s or intimate acquaintance.⁷²

His homesickness was perhaps because the Scottish community in which he lived was small and his nearest relatives were 200 miles away.⁷³ He had relocated to Scotch Settlement by 1820 by which time two of his brothers and his brother-in-law had also moved there. Farquhar Shaw and Janet Davidson also expressed their satisfaction with the country to their relatives at home.⁷⁴

Only one emigrant, Mary Ann Smith, who returned to Scotland, is known to have done so because she did not find Ohio to her liking.⁷⁵ Why she was not happy is unknown, but emigration was often hardest on the women emigrants, especially when leaving their family behind.⁷⁶ However, evidence from the extant emigrant letters overwhelmingly suggested that the authors were happy in the new home. It is also likely that the size of the community itself mitigated the downsides of immigration. While the number of family groups in the Settlement is hard to define accurately, it did attract over 500 immigrants who arrived in a thirty year period,

⁷⁰ WRHS, Mss V.F. C, No. 1247.

⁷¹ WRHS, Mss V.F. C, No. 1247.

⁷² NLS, Acc. 10623.

⁷³ NLS, Acc. 10623.

⁷⁴ Private Collection, McIntosh Family Letters, December 1819; Private Collection, McIntosh Family Letters, January 1822.

⁷⁵ Mary Ann Smith came to Ohio ca. 1868. Her brother's obituary, dated 6 August 1878, states that he built her a house in Columbiana County, but she was dissatisfied with the country and returned home to Brechen (sic). Only two additional emigrants who returned to Scotland are known: Donald McIntosh who intended to return to Ohio with his family and was discussed in Chapter 2, and May Rose who had returned to Scotland before 1811. Her reasons for returning are unknown and it was thought by some that she might go back to America. Francy, *Death Records in Steubenville, Ohio Newspapers*, p. 159; Private Collection, Scotch Settlement Papers, June 1811.

⁷⁶ Erickson, *Invisible Immigrants*, pp. 65-66.

many of whom remained permanently in Columbiana County. Therefore this community was probably larger than and likely provided more isolation from the forces of Americanization than the small communities examined by Erickson.

The size of the Settlement indicates that, like the adjusted emigrants found by Erickson, the Ohio Highlanders did not have to move much outside their own circle if they did not so wish. By 1820 the Settlement consisted of 583 residents of whom 305 were adults over the age of 16. Consequently, it would not have been too necessary to venture into the outside world for everyday socialization or marriage partners. The population increased to 723 by 1830, suggesting that due to the growth of the community people were still not required to venture outside it for contact. By 1840, the population had increased again to just over 1,000 individuals, who by this time were a mix of first, second, and even third generation Highlanders. The surviving Settlement letters make no mention of interaction with Americans in the region, suggesting it either did not happen to a great degree or was not of interest to the home audience. Interaction is known to have occurred in at least two ways: through Yellow Creek Presbyterian Church and non-Settlement residents appear as witnesses to deeds and wills.

While an ethnic community, like Scotch Settlement, that is close physically and socially can have great benefits for the immigrants, namely protecting them from culture shock and loneliness, there could be drawbacks. The main drawbacks were conflicts within the community, which will be addressed elsewhere, and the limited availability of land. Options for those unable to obtain a farm were restricted. Those within the Settlement used all of them: not marrying and not leaving the parental farm; moving further west or moving to the nearby towns and cities. There are two other circumstances that may have encouraged the younger Settlement residents to move further west. The first was that many of the farms established by their parents were smaller than 160 acres. Secondly that the land opening up in the west was more fertile and less expensive.

As time wore on land within Columbiana was no longer available in sufficient amounts. This happened not only within the Settlement, but throughout the county. As Columbiana was one of the earliest settled regions of Ohio, it is not out of the question to think that land scarcity became a problem earlier here than in other parts of the state. In a study of the effect of land pressure on fertility in the State of Ohio, Don Leet presents an estimate for the potential farmsites that became available between 1850 and 1860.⁷⁷ He states that only 1,697 farms became available through death and sale in Columbiana County during this decade. In this same period he estimates that 3,389 young men competed for them. Consequently, 50% of men who might have wanted a farm would not get one. Those who could not obtain a farm had to make other arrangements for their livelihoods.

⁷⁷ Don R. Leet, *Population Pressure and Human Fertility Response: Ohio, 1810-1860*, ed. Stuart Bruchey, *Dissertations in American Economic History* (New York: Arno Press, 1978), pp. 98-100.

Evidence for population turnover and land acquisition within the Settlement is inadequate. On the surface the evidence indicates that those in Scotch Settlement were able to acquire land relatively easily until the 1850s. However, on closer examination the evidence suggests that only a select few were able to acquire land, namely those who had been born in Scotland and the generation of Ohio born either never obtained land or moved west to do so. This fact would suggest that land pressure existed prior to the 1850s. Furthermore, until the 1840s, almost all land purchases were made by immigrants and their Scottish-born children.

The overwhelming number of property transfers occurred before 1830 about which time the Settlement began to take its final shape. Those able to purchase property or looking to purchase property during this time were heads of immigrant households and young men who had come over to the United States as children. Of the 194 deeds executed prior to 1840 to known Settlement residents, only 35 were to men known to have been born between 1790 and 1810 inclusive. This included Scots and American born. This number is small when compared to the identified children in the Settlement, only twenty-nine percent of the 119 male Settlement residents born between 1790 and 1810.

Difficulties associated with using the deeds indicate that they were poorly recorded and that interfamilial transfers were not registered at the court house. Many men, who were a great deal older than their wives, died and left the farm to them for their natural lives. This provided the widow with a home, but meant that the children could not inherit the property until their mother's death. In many cases, the elder son had established his farm before the death of the father. Younger sons, however, may have had to wait until the death of the mother to obtain property. In this case it would have been to their benefit to stay on the home farm. In many cases, these deed transfers occurred after the established cut-off date for this study. It is also apparent from the 1850 census, that many individuals solved the land scarcity problem by not marrying and living with parents or siblings; the number of unmarried children over the age of twenty still living at home is striking. One example is Richard McPherson, who lived with his sisters Margaret and Isabella. None of them ever married. A second example is the James and Isabella McDonald family. Living with them in 1850 were their four children, Ann, James, John and William all aged between 23 and 36.⁷⁸

The Settlement residents showed a clear preference for purchasing public lands. Government land, although unimproved, was attractive because the purchase price and terms were fixed and these factors were not affected by the inflationary spiral of the 1810s. Property owned by speculators or other residents would have prices which would vary with market forces. Furthermore, land owned by others was frequently partially improved, and that in and of itself would raise its price. The Highlanders shared their preference for inexpensive land with

⁷⁸ United States Census Office, *Seventh Census of the United States, 1850: Population Schedules*, Columbiana County, Ohio (Washington, D.C.), Microfilm.

other British immigrants. Charlotte Erickson's research has found that most preferred cheap, unimproved government land.⁷⁹ The Highlanders, as discussed earlier, only purchased the minimum required acreage. However, the land acquisition strategies adopted by Settlement residents caused problems later on. Government land, while a cost effective purchase, was often not the best land available. Small farms were less valuable than large ones and meant that many more families could settle in a region and thus increase later competition for land.

Of the 74 property transactions identified for Settlement residents prior to 1820, 40 were purchased from the United States government and 23 from other Highlanders. The remaining purchases were from speculators or other Columbiana County residents. At least thirteen of the twenty-two Scottish grantors had purchased their land from the government. This dependence on government land by the Scots reveals that the price of the land was their primary consideration. Such dependence increases after 1810. Between 1802 and 1810, 24 property transactions were identified for first time property buyers. Of these, half were purchased from the government. Thirty-three transactions were identified by first time property buyers between 1811 and 1820. Of these, 16 were purchased from the government. Several purchases at this time, especially at the height of the boom in 1818 and 1819, were in Washington Township, at the western edge of the Settlement.⁸⁰

Acquisition of land became slightly more difficult for all Settlement residents in the late 1810s due to inflation, but this was soon alleviated. Alexander McIntosh, writing to his brother-in-law John McIntosh, said that "all the land that is about the Scotch Settlement is taken unless a man could by (buy) a pice (piece) upon there is some improvement made on it will come higher it is from 4 dollars to 12 dollars according to the [fertility] of the land and likewise what [improvement] is made on it."⁸¹ Alexander McIntosh was referring to government land and it is clear by his statement that in 1819 the Settlement was a much more confined area than it would become decades later.

At this time there was government, e.g. unimproved land, but it was farther to the south in Yellow Creek Township and to the west in Wayne and Washington Townships. A comparison with the land records shows that all but one lot of government land purchased after 1817 was well outside the "confines" of the Scotch Settlement. Some of these men were making their second land purchases, perhaps for their sons; some were sons of earlier settlers; some were newer arrivals without close links to the first emigrants. McIntosh's statement also suggests that there was land for sale within or near the settlement, but that it had been improved and was, as far as he was concerned, too expensive.

However, depending upon the extent of the improvements, it might actually have been money well spent. Geological evidence reveals that much of the land within southern

⁷⁹ Erickson, *Leaving England*, p. 50.

⁸⁰ OHS, State Archives Series 422, Certificate Numbers 6976, 6981, 6997, 6998, 7113, 7114.

⁸¹ Private Collection, McIntosh Family Letters, December 1819.

Columbiana County might not have been favorable. The boundary of the glaciated till plain and the Allegheny plateau runs right through Columbiana County. Due to the till deposited by glaciers, this type of land is highly fertile. The unglaciated plateau is much less so, but has abundant coal deposits. Madison, Yellow Creek, Wayne and Washington Townships are all within the unglaciated till plain.

As discussed previously, speculators often purchased the best land, and since so much government land was available in the area, it suggests that much of the land in what became the Settlement was relatively undesirable. Men who bought government land may have acquired it inexpensively, but it may have been less fertile than that purchased by speculators. The latter purchased by speculators included Sections 1, 5, 10, 12, 17, 18, 23 and 24 in Yellow Creek Township and Sections 24, 25 and 33 in Madison Townships. (Figure 6) These sections are in the valley of the Yellow Creek and other Creeks and the Ohio River frontage. Those men who were able to save or come with money to buy the slightly pricier land of the speculators were actually buying better land. So while their initial outlay was higher, the eventual outcome was greater.

Evidence from the 1838 tax duplicates supports this view. Beginning in 1824 taxes were based on an estimated value of the farm. Before this date, the tax was based on the estimated fertility of the land. The earlier system of taxation was meant to benefit actual settlers, who tended through necessity to settle on less fertile land, to the detriment of speculators who could afford the best land.⁸² The 1838 tax duplicate shows that almost all the most valuable farms were located on land that had been purchased by speculators before 1800. (Figure 7) In general, throughout the settlement farms of 160 acres were more valuable per acre than farms of 80 acres, suggesting that to some extent bigger was better. But some smaller farms on the better land had a higher value per acre than comparably sized, and sometimes larger farms, on less fertile land.

It is possible that those in the Settlement wishing to buy land in the mid-nineteenth century might have felt it was a better option to move further west as they could obtain better land cheaply, as opposed to the cleared but perhaps less productive farms in Columbiana County. There is no doubt that residents of Scotch Settlement moved further west, but they also found employment in nearby Wellsville and slightly more distant Pittsburgh. Columbiana County and family histories relate that families went to Iowa, Illinois, Kansas and Wisconsin. What is not known is how many families from the Settlement went to each of these new communities, although there is some evidence to suggest that several went to these new places together.

One of the primary reasons for the migration was the search for affordable land. In 1834 James McKenzie wrote: "For several miles around here there is hardly any land for sale out of the woods but there is some land that has been cleared for sale but they ask such high prices say from 5 to 12 dollars per acre but there is plenty land from 150 to 200 miles from here that can be bought for 80(?) acres for 100 dollars and there is several families from here going to move there

⁸² Leet, *Population Pressure and Human Fertility Response: Ohio, 1810-1860*.

in the Spring.”⁸³ He was likely referring to the Urquhart family. Robert Urquhart and his brother James reached the Settlement about 1813. James remained, but Robert sold out and moved to Scioto County, Ohio in 1834. Three decades later at least two families, the Fogos and McDonalds, relocated to Richland County, Wisconsin.

The available census records reveal that only 54% of households established by 1820 still existed by 1840. Obviously, some of the turnover was due to death and differing definitions of households by census enumerators. This turnover seems high for a community that appears stable. This stability, however, is more apparent than real. The appearance of stability is due in part to several families and individuals appearing over and over in the records. These families owned land and were still present in the county when the county histories were written beginning in 1879. What these do not take into account are the many people who either did not purchase land, died early, or did not remain long enough to be counted in a census. One example is that of the several McGillivrays who appear only in the 1840 census, coming into the county after 1830 and leaving before 1850. This fact would suggest that acquiring land was already a problem by this time. The McGillivrays and others like them may have used the Settlement as their first stop in step-migration, perhaps working as farmhands and saving money within the safe confines of an ethnic community. By doing so they would gain several advantages. First, they would be able to learn about the United States from countrymen who had lived there for some time. Second, they would be able to take time to learn about where they could acquire good land, whether in Ohio or further west.

Young couples moved away from the Settlement as early as the 1820s, although the distance was not great. In 1810, John Rose took his bride, Margary McLean, to Wooster in Wayne County, about 80 miles west of the Settlement. Here they lived near his brother James and the Armstrongs, a family that had had connections with Settlement residents. Joseph Barclay and Janet Noble settled in Carroll County, which was adjacent to Columbiana, after their marriage in 1823. However, the vast majority of couples who married in the 1820s and 1830s were still living in Columbiana County by the time of the 1850 Census. It is not until the time of the 1860 census that many people seem to have left.

Limited availability of land did not necessarily mean one needed to leave the county. Many opportunities were available in the growing town of Wellsville on the Ohio River, about seven miles from the Settlement. When the Lisbon-Wellsville Road was completed ca. 1827 property values doubled in Wellsville. This road continued on to Cleveland and as Wellsville was the closest point on the Ohio River to Lake Erie, its location gave it a sizable advantage in market terms. When this road was completed goods could be brought to Wellsville and carted

⁸³ Private Collection, McIntosh Family Letters, James McKenzie and Janet McDonald, Scotch Settlement to John McIntosh, Midmorile, January 1835.

overland to Cleveland, then shipped to points east and west via Lake Erie.⁸⁴ In 1820, the city was not enumerated separately from Yellow Creek township, so its population cannot be determined. Beginning in 1830, there was a separate enumeration, so the Highland population can be discerned. There were no people associated with the Settlement living in Wellsville, but there were 11 households associated with the Settlement there by 1840. This number increased to 26 households by 1850.

Of the 44 Settlement individuals born before 1830 listed in Wellsville in 1850, 32 were under forty years of age and 29 had been born in the United States. Four of the Scottish born were clearly couples who had retired from farming. Two within the Scottish-born group were under 30, indicating that they had come to the United States after 1820. The occupations in 1850 were varied: merchant, physician, sawyer, stone mason, drayman, gunsmith, clerk, boatman, and laborer. So it seems that the young people of the Settlement were moving into the town either because land was not available or because they chose not to farm. Movement into the town would provide some relief to the land pressure and enable those who could not obtain land to remain close to home. Obtaining land was probably more important for those who moved further west, than remaining in or near an ethnic community.

The desire for land led in part to the disintegration of Scotch Settlement. As people moved out of the area their land was taken by those who remained or by recent incomers. Other changes also helped to bring about the end of the Settlement as a Scottish community. The epidemic of 1851 reduced the number of original settlers and many of their children. Since many of the Highlanders solved the land problem by not marrying, the next generation was much smaller. A community that cannot or does not reproduce itself is doomed. April 1861 saw the beginning of the Civil War and many young men joined the Union Army. A few who did died in battle. For those who returned their tour of duty introduced them and other rural men to the world outside Columbiana County. More marriages occurred between members of the Settlement and outsiders. But perhaps the most noticeable change is in the graveyard of Yellow Creek Presbyterian Church. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century an increasing number of people of non-Highland origin were buried there.

The Highlanders who settled in Scotch Settlement were part of the massive migration into Ohio seen in the early nineteenth century. Here despite difficulties in purchasing land from the United States government, they were able to create a ethnic community based on the common past they all shared. This community conferred upon its residents the benefit of an eased adjustment to the United States. This was important to many who came to the community as it expanded to include new land purchases made outside the core area. However, despite the

⁸⁴ Edgar Stanton Davidson, *Before the Memory Fades: An Effort to Capture, Record and Preserve Some of the Events of the Past That Made Wellsville an Important Trade and Industrial Center in Early Ohio, 1795-1950* (Wellsville, OH: Wellsville Historical Society, 1981), p. 6.

desire of many to live within a Highland community, land became scarce. This factor was in part mitigated by migration to the town of Wellsville, only seven miles away. Those who valued land ownership over ethnic community had no choice but to move.

Chapter 4: Gaeldom in the Midwest

This region is settled principally by ... emigrants from the north of Scotland and I am sure they must feel quite at home for the face of the country, I think, is as wild, rustic and romantic as any part of their native land – They need only the sound of the bugh (burr) or bagpipe to give them Scotland in the south of Ohio.

Rev. Randolph Stone, April 1822¹

Reverend Stone's image of the Highlands, however misguided, seems to be similar to that held by many Americans today. The Highlands were wild and romantic and filled with loyal clanspeople dressed in colorful tartans. However, while these symbols or images have some basis in truth, they are, in the main, the product of a Romantic ideal of the Highlands which became fashionable in the 1760s. The restructuring of the Highlands from a place of perceived barbarism to one of Romance was part of the concerted effort of British elites to assimilate the Gaidhealtachd to the wider British community. The most significant attack was on their language, but the reduction of vital elements of Gaelic culture to mere symbols and stock imagery effectively made this region "safe." At the same time certain aspects of Highland culture and history became regarded as a living embodiment of Scotland's past. Sir Walter Scott believed that the best of the Highlands resided in the Highland gentry and it is this image that was promoted in his novels.² In this sense Scott and others were treating the Highlands as an "old country" in much the same way that immigrant communities did. Their adoption of symbolic ethnicity, through which they sought to maintain a connection to their ethnic heritage without impacting day-to-day living, was distinguished by nostalgia and an imagined past stripped of historical complications.³

By adopting the Highland culture and past as representing the whole of Scotland, elites were co-opting many of the distinctive features of Gaelic culture, albeit selectively. This adoption of a symbolic ethnicity by Lowlanders and Scottish elites is especially relevant within the context of Scotland's assimilation within the United Kingdom and the Empire. For centuries Lowland Scotland had been accepting of influences of its southern neighbor, becoming increasing "English" in manner and custom. The adoption of selected aspects of Highland culture in the

¹ WRHS, Account Book and Diary of Randolph Stone, 1811-1825, Ms. 2260. Reverend Stone was a Presbyterian minister from the Western Reserve.

² Robert Clyde, *From Rebel to Hero: The Image of the Highlander, 1745-1830* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1995), p. 121.

³ Herbert Gans, "Symbolic Ethnicity," in *Ethnicity*, ed. John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith, Oxford Readers (Oxford, 1996), p. 146.

late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, in addition to the embracing of Robert Burns as the national poet, probably helped many Lowlanders maintain their own sense of a Scottish identity, even if they had appropriated many images from another cultural group. The application of a Highland ideal and Gaelic past for the whole of Scotland served to re-emphasize the cultural barriers between England and Scotland. Seen in this light, the "tartanization" (to use the modern term) of Scotland was not only beneficial, but perhaps essential, to the safeguarding of a separate Scottish identity.

This idealized and Highland image of a Scottish past, though necessary perhaps within the United Kingdom, had unintended consequences outside the country.⁴ Since the work of Scott, who partly aimed his work at the expatriate market, and others, was in English it was accessible to Americans. For many Americans, both with Scottish ancestry and without, these novels and images were often all they knew about Scotland. The fact that much of this material was produced within Scotland, lent it an aura of authenticity. Many Americans, therefore, very likely developed an impression of what Scots *should be* like before they had actually experienced a Scottish community. However, much of what was relayed in these materials had no bearing on the reality of what life or culture in Scotland actually was like, whether Highland or Lowland.

Current scholarship is rather ambiguous about the cultural or ethnic persistence in Scottish settlements, especially in nineteenth century America. Because the majority of Scots who came to the United States were English-speaking Protestants, there were fewer barriers to their complete acceptance in, and assimilation, to America. British immigrants, including the Scots, are reputed by several scholars to have assimilated quickly, an assumption which glosses over cultural differences between the United Kingdom and the United States.⁵ Charlotte Erickson, recognizing these different cultures, suggests that British emigrants accommodated themselves to the United States, adapting only as much as necessary.⁶ Despite this penchant for assimilation, it is also suggested that Scottish immigrants maintained some sense of a Scottish identity, but how is not discussed. This lack of knowledge or interest in ethnic Scottish settlements may be because "Scottishness" is difficult to define without using symbolic imagery, which since the Second World War has become increasingly identified with Scotland through the renewed Scottish heritage movement in the United States.⁷

However, what is not discussed in the literature is the circumstances in which Scots did *not* readily assimilate into the greater American culture. Ned Landsman argues that in the Scots colony in East New Jersey, founded in the 1680s, Presbyterianism became the chief identity factor

⁴ Tartanization has serious repercussions in the Scotland of today, but they are outside the scope of this dissertation.

⁵ Donaldson, *Scots Overseas*, p. 124; William C. Lehmann, *Scottish and Scotch-Irish Contributions to Early American Life and Culture, 2nd Edition* (Washington, D.C: Lehmann-Spohr, 1980), pp. 91-2; Shepperson, *British Emigration*, p. 29.

⁶ Erickson, *Invisible Immigrants*, p. 5.

⁷ For a description of this heritage movement see Celeste Ray, *Highland Heritage: Scottish Americans in the American South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001).

for Scots.⁸ Immigrants, who had been Quakers or Episcopalians in Scotland, eventually became Presbyterian in the New World in order to assert their Scottish identity. However, during the eighteenth century, Presbyterianism went through significant changes. With time the Presbyterian Church became closely associated with the Congregational church, and the two enacted a plan of Union in 1801.⁹ This greater assimilation of the Scottish tradition with that of New England was unacceptable to some. Before 1782, the dissenting traditions had been established in the United States: the Reformed (Covenanter) and Associate (Anti-Burgher Seceder) Churches. In 1782, many congregations of both dissenting persuasions united to form the Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church. Those that did not unite continued as before. Thus, by the 1780s there were four Presbyterian denominations in the United States, one aligned with New England Congregationalism, and three dissenting churches which maintained Scottish practices and doctrine long after they had been abandoned in Scotland. The latter three churches were essentially ethnic churches and were mainly attended by Scottish and Scots-Irish immigrants.¹⁰

At the same time as Presbyterianism was changing in the United States, it was also experiencing transition in Scotland. This change was especially notable in the Highlands wherein there developed an intensely evangelical Presbyterianism which was encouraged from above to incite loyalty to the government, but later embraced from below in order to cope with the immense social upheaval of the region in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.¹¹ The Highland church was characterized by the use of Gaelic and the leadership of spiritual laymen. While the doctrinal differences may have been slight, the character of the Gaelic Presbyterian church was distinct. Highland emigrants from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century would therefore have had a somewhat different religious outlook than their compatriots to the south or their co-religionists in the United States.¹²

When the future Scotch Settlement immigrants reached Ohio, they were not the first pioneers, since permanent settlement had begun in the 1790s. In the northern half of Columbiana County were native-born, Quaker and German communities. The southern half of Columbiana County and most of Jefferson County were first extensively settled by migrants moving in from western Pennsylvania and Virginia. These two regions were renowned for widespread Scots-Irish settlement and strong Presbyterianism.¹³ There were nine Presbyterian churches in the four

⁸ Landsman, *First American Colony*, pp. 254-255.

⁹ Under this plan the two churches could ask for ministers of either denomination and the two denominations would not intrude into each other's territories. These tactics were a direct reaction to the stark realities of 'churching' the western frontier.

¹⁰ William Lyons Fisk, *The Scottish High Church Tradition in America: An Essay in Scotch-Irish Ethnoreligious History* (Lanham: University Press of America, 1995), pp. ix-x.

¹¹ Douglas Ansdell, *The People of the Great Faith. The Highland Church 1690-1900* (Stornoway: Acair Limited, 1998), p. 39; James Hunter, "The Emergence of the Crofting Community: The Religious Contribution 1798-1843," *Scottish Studies* 18 (1974), pp. 96, 97.

¹² See Chapter 5.

¹³ Leigh Eric Schmidt, *Holy Fairs: Scottish Communion and American Revivals in the Early Modern Period* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1989), pp. 62, 66.

townships associated with the Settlement by 1840: five "standard", two Associate, and two Associate Reformed.¹⁴ Like many immigrant groups, their church was the focus of identity for Scotch Settlement Highlanders, but in the environment in which they had settled it was not a sufficient identity marker. The Highlanders could not identify themselves solely as Presbyterian or even Scottish Presbyterian, as suggested by Landsman, as it might have caused them to be identified with nearby Presbyterian groups who had a different cultural background.

When two ethnic groups share a similar religion the dissimilarities between the groups may be heightened to maintain the boundaries between them.¹⁵ An emphasis on differences between the Highlanders and other Presbyterian groups, ultimately of Scottish origin, is seen in Columbiana County. The most significant was the simple fact that the Highlanders were from Scotland, not just of Scots descent. The emphasis on this birthright can be seen in the many monumental inscriptions in the Yellow Creek Presbyterian Church cemetery which bear the inscription "a native of Scotland" or "a native of Inverness Shire Scotland." Additionally, other residents of Columbiana County viewed them as different. Very little immigration occurred to the United States between 1783 and 1815 and few people of foreign birth reached Ohio during this period; many of those who did had immigrated before the Revolution.¹⁶ Consequently, the Highlanders who reached Ohio before 1815 would have stood out simply because there were few immigrants in the region. That they were seen as "foreign" is exemplified by their name "Scotch Settlement" or in other words, the place where the Scots lived. Although they themselves used this term for their community as early as 1811, it sounds like a name that was applied to them as opposed to one they chose themselves. Their origins are further highlighted as their congregation, Yellow Creek Presbyterian, was originally referred to as "Scotland" in the Hartford Presbytery Records of 1812 and 1813.¹⁷

Besides the emphasis on their recent Scottish past, the Highlanders used additional methods to maintain their identity. Although many of the emigrants knew at least some English, they maintained Gaelic as the language of their church, and perhaps of the home, until the 1830s, maybe longer. This use of a separate language, even if only occasionally, may have maintained the boundaries between them and the other Presbyterians in the region. They also marked their difference from the other groups by not marrying "out" of the Highland settlement and by an emphasis on Scottish family names. Boundaries between communities are created by both sides – not only does a group view itself differently, it is viewed as different by the others. It is clear that this was the case in Scotch Settlement and the Highlanders chose not to integrate as fully as they might have.

¹⁴ Mack, *Columbiana County*, pp. 190, 191, 232, 233, 269 and 280.

¹⁵ Cynthia Enloe, "Religion and Ethnicity," in *Ethnicity*, ed. John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith, Oxford Readers (Oxford, 1996), p. 199.

¹⁶ Hurt, *Ohio Frontier*, p. 250.

¹⁷ PHS, F Mi45 H24m V.1.

While scholars such as Marianne McLean and J.M. Bumsted have argued that Highlanders emigrated to maintain their traditional way of life, there is no evidence of this at Scotch Settlement.¹⁸ They did retain a strong sense of Scottish identity, but there is no evidence to suggest that they went to Ohio specifically to preserve their culture. In fact, when the situation warranted they quickly adopted prevailing American practices. As will be discussed below, they wholeheartedly embraced American agricultural methods and crops, as did most immigrants to the United States. Also, in common with other immigrants, the Highlanders at Scotch Settlement adopted the dispersed settlement plan of the Americans. While it could be argued that they settled in something resembling farmtouns in the earliest years of the nineteenth century, there is no visible evidence remaining today to suggest this. Extant Settlement homes seem quintessentially American and date from after 1850. The 1838 tax duplicate records only six houses owned by Settlement residents valued at over \$282, suggesting that most still lived in log homes at this date and probably beyond. Such houses were reasonably sized and an improvement on the housing conditions in many Highland parishes. In the early 1780s the Mackintosh described his tenants at Moybeg as living in "rural huts."¹⁹ So, by the time they constructed more substantial homes the emigrants built in a typically American form doubtless because their style and construction were viewed as superior and because it was realized that such structures were well adapted to the climate and environment.²⁰

This chapter will explore two facets of Scotch Settlement: the ways in which they maintained their identity as Highland Presbyterians and their adoption of the American system of agriculture. This path towards a hyphenated identity was trod by almost all immigrants in the United States, but is most noticeable in those who settled and remained in ethnic communities. This new identity, whether it be Highland-American or Scottish-American, allowed these new residents to embrace the advantages of American citizenship and freedoms as well as maintaining links with their homeland. This ability to keep their native language, customs, and religion, often served to reinforce an immigrant community's loyalty to the United States.²¹

Language is a defining characteristic of ethnicity and a key factor in shaping group relations.²² Therefore, if Gaelic survived in Scotch Settlement it would be substantial evidence for the endurance of a Scottish identity among the immigrants. However, the assessment of the

¹⁸ Bumsted, *People's Clearance*, p. 70.

¹⁹ Sir Aeneas Mackintosh, *Notes Descriptive and Historical, Principally Relating to the Parish of Moy in Strathdearn and the Town and Neighborhood of Inverness* (privately printed for Alfred Donald Mackintosh of Mackintosh, 1892), p. 11.

²⁰ Only three extant houses within the Settlement seem particularly "Scottish": the Peter Ross home built in 1838, the Hugh Rose home built in 1841, and the Daniel McBean home built in 1845. The Ross home is distinguished by its shape; the Rose and McBean homes by their stone construction. Frame and brick construction are much more common in Ohio, almost ubiquitous. Personal observation, 2001, 2002.

²¹ Gjerde, *Minds of the West*, pp. 8, 53.

²² Gillian Stevens and Gray Swicegood, "The Linguistic Context of Ethnic Endogamy," *American Sociological Review* 52 (February, 1987), p. 73.

persistence of Gaelic in the United States is not as straightforward as the persistence of other languages such as French, Polish or German. This is because Gaelic was a minority language within Scotland and there had been a resolute effort to eradicate it since the early seventeenth century. In order to understand the use and survival of Gaelic in the United States, and the implications for cultural persistence if it had not been used, it is first necessary to understand the use of Gaelic in the Highlands during the eighteenth century.

During the eighteenth century, Gaelic was seen as the defining attribute of Highland distinctiveness.²³ British officials and elites essentially understood that the language served as an ethnic barrier between the Gaelic world and that of the rest of Britain. An oft repeated belief was that the Highlands could never be "civilized" until Gaelic was replaced by English.²⁴ A minority language, even if not used by all group members, can act as an identity marker for the group and keep it united. The elites realized that the only way to fully assimilate the Gaels with the rest of the country would be to destroy their language, as those Gaels who maintained Gaelic would retain a connection with their unique cultural heritage and, very likely, would continue to strongly identify with the Gaelic world as opposed to the British one. Although many ethnic characteristics, such as dress and foods, may alter with time, language is one of the primary identifiers distinguishing ethnic groups and is crucial to maintaining boundaries between them. Abandonment of a group's mother tongue in favor of the language of another, usually larger, group is one the first steps towards assimilation.²⁵

In order to facilitate the language shift the Scottish government and charity organizations resolved to educate the Highlanders, but only in English. The first education act, passed in 1696, forbade the use of Gaelic in parochial schools and on school grounds. The Scottish Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge (SSPCK), when it was established in 1709, also enacted an English-only policy in its schools. These acts, specifically aimed at the Gaelic language, were put into place decades before the proscriptions of 1746. The proscriptions, which forbade the kilt, often seen as attacking Highland culture, in actuality, only affected symbols or cultural artifacts, which frequently change of their own accord. Given the connection between language and identity, the attack on Gaelic had the potential to inflict as much harm to Gaelic culture as did the massive emigrations, especially in the border parishes of the Gaidhealtachd, as the language shift could have affected those who stayed as greatly as depopulation. However, the hoped for assimilation was not as complete as desired because there were great problems with English-only education and the Gaels were reluctant to completely abandon their mother tongue completely.²⁶

²³ Clyde, *From Rebel to Hero*, p. 22.

²⁴ Clyde, *From Rebel to Hero*, p. 22.

²⁵ Gillian Stevens, "Nativity, Intermarriage, and Mother-Tongue Shift," *American Sociological Review* 50 (February, 1985), p. 74; Stevens and Swicegood, "Linguistic Context," p. 73.

²⁶ Clyde, *From Rebel to Hero*, p. 49; Charles W. J. Withers, *Gaelic in Scotland 1698-1981: The Geographical History of a Language* (Edinburgh 1984), pp. 102, 120; Charles W. J. Withers, *Gaelic Scotland, the Transformation of a Culture Region* (London 1988), p. 328.

The SSPCK had a relatively strong presence in the parishes which provided emigrants to Scotch Settlement. At various times in the eighteenth century, there were schools in the parishes of Auldearn, Moy and Dalarossie, Daviot and Dunlichity, Croy and Dalcross, and Inverness and Bona. SSPCK schools were not thought necessary in some Nairnshire parishes as they were regarded as primarily English-speaking, although there is evidence from the Statistical Accounts to contradict this belief.²⁷ In its first years the SSPCK forbade Gaelic books, but permitted the Gaelic language to be used for religious purposes, but only until the students had mastered English. However, flaws were soon evident in this English-only program. The students learned to read and speak English but only by rote; they had no comprehension of the language, which was the ultimate teaching objective. Throughout the eighteenth century the SSPCK gradually allowed Gaelic books into the classroom, but only as a tool towards greater comprehension of English. This emphasis on English in the SSPCK schools not only increased usage of the language, but prejudiced the Highlander against Gaelic as a suitable medium for education.²⁸

Other factors affected the use of English in the Highlands. English had always been known in the Highlands by at least a few people, but it was adopted fastest by those living along the Highland/Lowland border. Temporary migration into the Lowlands meant that English was needed to gain employment, but also that a greater proficiency was achieved. As education in the Highlands was almost solely the domain of boys, men were more likely to be able to speak English than women. In Moy and Dalarossie, an extreme example, the ratio of boys to girls in the SSPCK school in 1731 was about 3:1 and in 1774 was 8:1. Not only was there a gender gap in the knowledge of English, but there was a generational one as well. By the end of the eighteenth century, it was the young men, and some young women, who knew English in greater numbers than their parents and grandparents.²⁹

However, the story of Gaelic in the Highlands is not completely one of doom and gloom. Perhaps without realizing it, the Highlanders themselves seem to have thwarted attempts to assimilate them. Since Presbyterianism played an equal part in the assimilation plan, no matter how important the adoption of English was, it was accepted that the effective medium of religious discourse was Gaelic. With time, Gaelic was not only used in the home, but remained the preferred language of the church. Even men fluent in English preferred to hear sermons in Gaelic. Furthermore, there was always a significant percentage of the population, the elderly and women, who probably could not have understood sermons in English, even if they could use that language in the market. Furthermore, the strategy of the SSPCK to use Gaelic texts for the purpose of translation into English, meant that students became literate in both languages. The

²⁷ NSA XIII pp. 23, 33.

²⁸ Withers, *Gaelic in Scotland*, pp. 129, 130, 131, 132.

²⁹ Withers, *Gaelic in Scotland*, pp. 98, 128, 129, 131.

increased literacy in Gaelic spurred a demand for more Gaelic texts, mostly religious in nature, and encouraged further Gaelic literacy.³⁰

The use of Gaelic in Scotch Settlement likely mirrored the situation in the border region of the Gàidhealtachd. Unlike the Highland communities in Canada, the Settlement was never a monoglot Gaelic enclave; there was from the beginning a certain degree of bilingualism. Therefore, it would be a mistake to assume that the use of English in the Settlement was a sign of assimilation into American culture. The degree of fluency in English among the men and women of the Settlement varied greatly. This is most evident in the letters that they wrote home. In some the English is so excellent that it is not readily apparent that the author was not a native speaker. In others the English is so tortured that it is difficult to make much sense of the author's intent. Based on the available evidence those with better English came from the parishes of Nairn, Croy and Dalcross, and Daviot and Dunlichity. Some of those who were less fluent, including women who knew no English, were from Moy and Dalarossie parish.³¹

This maintenance of Gaelic in Ohio was due in part to necessity and in part to preference. Gaelic remained the preferred language of the religion, and this will be discussed below. Gaelic also remained necessary in many social circumstances as there was likely a significant portion of the population that spoke little or no English. As stated before, women and the elderly were less likely to speak English. Margaret and Janet McIntosh who emigrated in 1818 and several members of the McBean family who emigrated in 1817 knew only Gaelic when they reached the United States.³² Margaret and Janet soon learned English in order to obtain work in Pittsburgh and it is possible that other young women did the same. Whether Gaelic was the preferred language of the home, or was used there out of necessity is uncertain, as there is very little evidence concerning the domestic use of language. However, those who were not confident about their English skills probably spoke in Gaelic when possible, especially with friends.

That Gaelic was important as the language of religion is evident from many sources. The few references to Gaelic made in the county histories are to religious books and to its use by several of their ministers.³³ It is clear, that many of these ministers would never have known Gaelic, but what is important here is the association between Gaelic and Yellow Creek Presbyterian Church. It is also known that from as early as 1812 the congregation employed English speaking ministers, Alexander Cook, Clement Vallandigham, and Robert Dilworth.³⁴ Settlement residents probably realized that a Gaelic speaking minister would be hard to obtain, especially since there were not enough even in Scotland. Dilworth, perhaps the best documented

³⁰ Withers, *Gaelic in Scotland*, pp. 98, 161.

³¹ NLS, Acc. 10623; Private Collection, Scotch Settlement Papers, June 1811; Private Collection, McIntosh Family Letters, January 1822; Private Collection, McIntosh Family Letters, Janet Davidson, Scotch Settlement to John McIntosh, Midmorile, 21 April 1830; Private Collection, McIntosh Family Letters, June 1832; Private Collection, McIntosh Family Letters, Margaret McIntosh and family, Scotch Settlement to John McIntosh, Midmorile, 10 March 1834; WRHS, Mss V.F. C, No. 1247; WRHS, Mss V.F. C, No. 1247.

³² McBane, ed., *McBane-McKenzie Clans*, p. 29; Private Collection, McIntosh Family Letters, December 1819.

³³ Mack, *Columbiana County*, p. 191.

³⁴ PHS, F Mi45 H24m V.1.

minister, served Yellow Creek Congregation regularly from 1824 to 1829.³⁵ Born and bred in western Pennsylvania, Dilworth would have known no Gaelic, but he never recorded in his journal that the congregation could not understand him, perhaps indicating that at least those who attended his services and catechisms were fluent in English.

However, since the congregation could not afford a settled, full-time minister, they would rarely be required to listen to preaching in English. For example, Alexander Cook preached at Yellow Creek at least twice a month, while Robert Dilworth only preached at there once a month. There were several periods when the congregation had no stated pastor. Consequently, most worship services were probably led by local elders in Gaelic. Since these elder-led services out-numbered those led by an English-speaking minister, it explains the impression that all services and all ministers spoke Gaelic. According to a history written by a family of Lowland origin that resided in the Settlement, Gaelic was used during church services, by the elders, and sometimes during family worship.³⁶ Furthermore, almost all Gaelic books owned by those in the Settlement were of a religious nature, although this reflects the state of Gaelic printing as much as it does personal preference.³⁷ There were several copies of the New Testament; the Bible; *Cuairt an oilthrich* (*Pilgrim's Progress*) by John Bunyan, published in Gaelic in 1812; *Nadur an duine, 'na staid cheithir-fillte* (*Human Nature in its Four-Fold State*) by Thomas Boston, published in Gaelic in 1811; a vocabulary; and a Psalm book.³⁸ These books are indicated in the estate inventories by their English titles and all of the other books included are in English, suggesting that part of the community was completely bilingual. That Gaelic continued to be important, among at least some Settlement residents, is seen in the appearance of *An camadh 'sa chrannchur* (*Sovereignty and Wisdom of God*) by Thomas Boston.³⁹ This book was not published in Gaelic until 1837 and must have been brought by later emigrants or sent to Ohio.

Due to the paucity of data, it is difficult to assess how long Gaelic continued to be used in the Settlement. The community, throughout the first decades of the nineteenth century, was supplemented by new arrivals, many of whom spoke or preferred to speak Gaelic. Use of Gaelic in Yellow Creek Presbyterian Church survived until at least the 1830s.⁴⁰ The use of the language among the women probably also influenced its longevity. Ethnic endogamous marriages within the Settlement in the first half of the nineteenth century cannot be described as linguistically mixed since both partners had knowledge of Gaelic. However, since the mother was likely to be

³⁵ PHS, Robert Dilworth Journal 1820-1860, MF Pos 969 rolls 1-2.

³⁶ Robert J. McCready, ed., *The Robert McCready Family* (Pittsburgh, 1931), p. 37. The text is unclear which Robert McCready remembered hearing Gaelic in church as a boy. The two possibilities were Robert W. McCready who was born in 1830 (the most likely candidate) or Robert J. McCready who was born in 1850. The McCreadys were descended from Robert McCready who emigrated from the Lowland Scotland and settled in Cross Creek Township, Washington County in western Pennsylvania ca. 1772.

³⁷ D.S. Thomson, *The Companion to Gaelic Scotland* (London 1983), p. 245.

³⁸ *Estate Records*, vol. 4, pp. 163-5, 173, 310-12, 559-60; vol. 5, pp. 330-2; vol. 6, pp. 57-8.

³⁹ This book, *An camadh 'sa chrannchur*, belonged to a Philip Smith. There were several men in the community who bore this name, but the owner of the book may have been the Philip Smith (ca. 1770- 1851) who immigrated to the United States in 1805. Private Collection.

⁴⁰ McCready, ed., *The Robert McCready Family*.

more fluent in Gaelic than in English, the former was probably the language of the home. It has been shown that children of linguistically mixed backgrounds will usually learn the mother's tongue first as she is more involved in child rearing.⁴¹ Gaelic was widely used in the Highland communities in North Carolina until the 1860s; the last church to use the language abandoned it in the 1920s. Many families who settled in these communities maintained a knowledge of Gaelic, although not the ability to converse fluently, for about three generations after their arrival. Gaelic does not appear to have been actively taught to children born in the United States.⁴² Therefore, it is possible that use of Gaelic in some form survived until after the Civil War, when Scotch Settlement itself began to disintegrate and the last of the Highland pioneers had died.

There are two factors which might have negated the influence of Gaelic in the home and church. First, was that all immigrant groups shift away from use of their mother-tongue after arrival in the United States in order to adapt to the English speaking environment.⁴³ In some sense, the loss of the mother tongue was inevitable, and some of the Highland emigrants had started the shift towards English before they had even left Scotland. Second, was that fact that English was the language of instruction in the Settlement schools. The only evidence to support this presumption is several copies of arithmetic books and English readers which were owned by Settlement residents in the 1820s and 1830s. It is also probable simply due to the Highland prejudice against education in Gaelic.

Scotch Settlement residents followed a pattern of ethnic endogamy when selecting marriage partners. Marrying within one's own ethnic group was common among all immigrant groups in the United States. While "marrying-in" is not necessarily a sign of a shared common past like religion or language, it is a way of maintaining that shared cultural past and passing it on to the future generations. The more segregated or concentrated an ethnic group is, the more likely it is to practice endogamy.⁴⁴ As we have seen, Scotch Settlement was a rural community inhabiting a specific territory within Columbiana and Jefferson counties. Furthermore, the population was large enough that there was a number of suitable mates. If marriage within the ethnic group helped to maintain the common culture, then marriage outside the group led to its disintegration.⁴⁵ Extensive marriage outside the Highland group is not practiced until after 1840.

Endogamous and exogamous marriage was practiced in the Highlands, but it was of a different nature from that which developed in Ohio. Three types of marriage patterns were identified within Laggan Parish by Alan Macpherson.⁴⁶ Clan-endogamous marriage, where both participants had the same surname, strengthened the position of a clan within the parish. Clan-

⁴¹ Stevens, "Mother-Tongue Shift," p. 77.

⁴² Kelly and Kelly, *Carolina Scots*, pp. 110-111.

⁴³ Stevens, "Mother-Tongue Shift," p. 74.

⁴⁴ Stevens and Swicegood, "Linguistic Context," p. 73.

⁴⁵ Gjerde, *Minds of the West*, p. 239.

⁴⁶ Alan G. Macpherson, "An Old Highland Parish Register: Survivals of Clanship and Social Change in Laggan, Inverness-Shire, 1775-1854 II," *Scottish Studies* 12 (1968), pp. 81-93.

exogamous marriage fostered ties within the wider community. Farm-endogamous marriage was marriage between families who lived on the same farm and could either be clan endogamous or exogamous. This practice fulfilled the same purpose as clan exogamy, but on a smaller scale. These three practices had as their primary goal the regulation of heritable property rights to ensure access to land.

These practices are not seen among the Highlanders in Scotch Settlement, either because they were not familiar with them in their home parishes, which seems unlikely, or because they were unnecessary in their new environment. One of the driving factors of endogamy and exogamy in Laggan parish was the securing of property. This problem was not present in Ohio as there was, at least in the early nineteenth century, an abundance of land. When land within the Settlement began to become scarce in the 1840s, it is possible that property-based endogamy happened within families. There is evidence of close-cousin marriage, but not until 1840. Whether these marriages occurred due to personal preference or access to land is unknown as they fall outside the scope of this study. Marriage to secure property may not have been as important as it had been in the Highlands since a couple could simply move further west to acquire land. However, evidence from a late nineteenth-century Norwegian immigrant community suggests that a return to Old World patterns of property-based marriages, as well as late or no marriage, could occur.⁴⁷

To assess the occurrence of ethnic endogamy the marriage records of Columbiana County were examined. The marriages used in this analysis are only those included in *Columbiana County Ohio Marriages 1800 – 1870 and other evidence of marriages*, extracted from original records and local papers by Carol Willsey Bell. To be married in Ohio it was necessary to obtain a license, for which a fee was due. In order to avoid this fee many couples married in Pennsylvania which neither required a license nor the registration of the marriage. Consequently, a record of these marriages will only be found if a notice was published in the local newspaper.⁴⁸

The analysis of the marriages includes those that occurred between 1807 and 1840. The parents and residence of the bride and groom are not indicated in the marriage records so it is difficult to ascertain whether a couple is a member of the Settlement based solely on surname. Due to the difficulty of separating out those who, despite bearing Scottish surnames, were or were not part of the Settlement, the analysis was limited to the following surnames: Chisholm, Dallas, Elliot, Falconer, McBean, McDonald, McGillivray, McIntosh, McPhail, McPherson, Noble, Ogilvie, Rose, Urquhart. Within Madison, Washington, St. Clair and Yellow Creek townships these surnames are associated exclusively with the Settlement. While this process does omit many large Settlement families, for example the McLeans and the Smiths, it does safely eliminate

⁴⁷ Jon Gjerde and Anne McCants, "Fertility, Marriage, and Culture: Demographic Processes among Norwegian Immigrants to the Rural Middle West," *Journal of Economic History* 55 (December, 1995), pp. 870-871.

⁴⁸ Carol Willsey Bell, *Columbiana County, Ohio Marriages, 1800-1870: And Other Evidence of Marriages* (Youngstown, OH: Bell Books, 1990), p. 6.

those outwith the Highland community. The 71 marriages in which at least one partner bore one of the listed names reveal a strong preference for ethnic endogamy, which in turn suggests that there was considerable cultural persistence within the community. Only seven Highlanders married outside their culture; three women and four men. One of these men married a woman who had emigrated from Kilmarnock Parish with her family in 1820.

It must be noted again that this source only records those whose marriages occurred in Columbiana County. And this in turn may weight the evidence towards endogamous marriages. Those who married exogamously may have done so outside the county. Marriages which occurred outside the Settlement or for which there is evidence outside Bell's book were not included in the analysis, as in most cases specific details are unknown. At least one marriage took place at the White Kirk in Caledonia, the Highland settlement in Livingston County, New York and some may have taken place in the other cities where Settlement residents lived or worked before finally settling in Ohio. Knowledge of marriages outside the records comes from census records, personal correspondence and wills. It was impossible to assess the marriage patterns of many of those who left the Settlement since their destinations were so diverse.

Marriages within the Settlement were infrequent until 1820 when five unions were solemnized. After 1820, there was an average of three weddings per annum. The peak years for weddings occurred in 1831 with seven ceremonies and 1840 with six. Of the 142 persons involved in the 71 marriages under review, the place of birth is known for 116 persons. Of these people, 80 were born in Scotland. The 31 Ohio-born Highlanders did not begin to marry until 1825. These patterns reflect the demographics of the community. Most who emigrated in the first decades of the nineteenth century were either already married or too young to be married. Very few children were born in the Settlement prior to 1810 and they would not have reached marriageable age until the 1830s and 1840s. In this small sample the Ohio-born marry "out" less frequently than the Scottish-born. Parish endogamy is difficult to interpret among the Scots-born as the parish of origin is known for so few. Three examples are known for former residents of Moy and Dalarossie parish: Angus Noble and Christina Noble in 1827, Angus McBean and Elizabeth McKenzie in 1834 and James McKenzie and Margaret McIntosh in 1835.⁴⁹

The age at marriage is known for 57 of the 71 brides identified, two of which were second marriages.⁵⁰ Only two women were married before the age of 18, and these could admittedly be mistakes in recorded birth dates. Most of the women, eighty-seven percent, were married between the ages of 18 and 30 inclusive, with peaks at age 22 (n=8) and age 24 (n=7). Five women were married for the first time in their 30s and only three for the first time in their 40s. The age at marriage is known for 56 of the 71 grooms identified, one of whom was known to have married

⁴⁹ Bell, *Marriages*, pp. 177, 187, 218.

⁵⁰ Admittedly, this is a small sample size. However, when all possible and probable Settlement marriages (n=103) were used, the results were about the same as for the 71 individuals used here. A larger sample size did not dramatically alter the results.

for the second time. No men married before the age of 29, and all but five married for the first time before age 40. The peak age for marriage among the men was 29 (n=9).

The average age of marriage was stable for the men, but increased by three years for the women. The average age at marriage for the women throughout the entire period was 25.07 and for the men it was 31.74. The only time period when their average age was lower than this average for women was the decade 1811- 1820 when it was 22.5. Beginning in 1820 and continuing until 1840, the average at first marriage for women increases to slightly over 25. The average age for men was also at its lowest between 1811 and 1820, 30.1. In the next decade the age of the men increased by 13 months to 31.2. The age dropped in the next decade to 30.73. These marriage ages varied somewhat with those found by Macpherson in the parish of Laggan in eastern Invernesshire.

In Laggan men born before 1811 were married between the ages of 29 and 32; those born after between 26 and 28. The pattern of lessening age at first marriage was seen among the women as well: those born before 1800 were wed between the ages of 27 and 30, and those born after between 23 and 25. The pattern is not the same in the United States. Although these age ranges were calculated differently than the averages presented for Scotch Settlement, a general comparison can still be made.⁵¹ In Laggan parish, and perhaps other regions of the Highlands, a high age at first marriage is revealed. As time passed this age dropped on average by five years. In Ohio, the age at first marriage for women dropped significantly compared to those in Scotland, but then increased. This increase suggests that it became harder for women to find marriage partners. A different pattern emerges for the men in Ohio, the age at first marriage being roughly the same as that in Laggan parish, but it did not drop. This factor suggests that Highland men in Ohio were finding it difficult to break out on their own.

A high age at marriage is generally related to poor economic circumstances whether it be due to unfavorable employment factors or marginal agricultural land. In the first years of settlement, land was relatively easy to obtain and many of the Highlanders, especially the women, were able to marry and marry early. With time, as discussed in the last chapter, land within the Settlement became harder to obtain. To account for this change, many reverted to an old world practice which was to delay marriage. Native born tended to reduce family size within marriage as opposed to delaying marriage.⁵²

Settlement residents showed a strong preference for marrying on a Thursday. This day, associated with St. Columba, was traditional for weddings throughout Scotland. On Thursdays otherworldly beings, like witches and faeries, were powerless, making it an excellent day on which to begin journeys or other endeavors.⁵³ Forty-four, or 62%, of the marriages included in

⁵¹ Flinn, *Population History*, p. 279.

⁵² Gjerde and McCants, "Fertility, Marriage, and Culture," p. 861.

⁵³ Mary Macleod Banks, *British Calendar Customs: Scotland* (London: Pub. for the Folk-lore Society, W. Glaisner Ltd., 1937), p. 83; Mary Macleod Banks, *British Calendar Customs: Orkney & Shetland* (London: Pub. for the Folk-Lore Society, W. Glaisner, Ltd., 1946), p. 54; David Murray Lyon, *Ayr in the Olden Times* (Ayr:

this analysis occurred on Thursday. The second most common day for marriages of Settlement residents was Wednesday (n=13). Tuesday, a traditional day for weddings in some parts of the Highlands, does not seem to have been favored in the Settlement as only six weddings took place on this day.⁵⁴

Another example of a tradition maintained by Highlanders in Scotch Settlement can be seen in the names they bestowed upon their children. The analysis of names included those of children born to couples married in Ohio and those who were continuing a family begun in Scotland. Naming this wholly American-born group provided a unique opportunity for all parents. Child naming has always been an important undertaking for parents as it enables them to give voice to their own identity, beliefs and hopes. Emigrant parents could retain traditional naming customs which would affirm a connection to their Highland past or they could use names which looked forward to and embraced their new life in America. Although many Scottish and "American" names are the same, Settlement parents overwhelmingly gave their children family Scottish forenames, thus firmly binding them to their Highland ancestry and the local Highland community.⁵⁵ While it is not clear that the Scottish naming pattern was adhered to rigidly, it is clear that the bestowal of family names commemorated grandparents who emigrated, but also relatives who remained in Scotland.

The naming pattern traditionally associated with the whole of Scotland is: the first son is named for the paternal grandfather, the second son for maternal grandfather and the third son for father; the eldest daughter is named for the maternal grandmother, the second daughter for paternal grandmother and the third daughter for mother. There are at least three variations to this pattern. In the first, the eldest son and second daughter are named for the maternal grandparents and the eldest daughter and second son for the paternal. In a second, but rarely used variation, the second son and daughter are named for the parents instead of the third. A third variation applies to daughters only. A third daughter may on occasion be named for a great-grandmother and the fourth daughter will be named for the mother. There does not seem to be a settled pattern for the naming of subsequent children.⁵⁶

Alan Macpherson has argued that the naming pattern was not used by Highlanders. However, the only pattern he investigated was the second variation, which, as noted above, was not frequently used.⁵⁷ Consequently, Highlanders may have adhered to a naming pattern more

Ayr Advertiser, 1928), p. 8; Florence Marian McNeill, *The Silver Bough; a Study of the National and Local Festivals of Scotland*, vol. 2 (Glasgow: Maclellan, 1957), pp. 83-5. I am indebted to Lizanne Henderson for this information.

⁵⁴ Margaret Fay Shaw, *Folksongs and Folklore of South Uist* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1955), p. 15.

⁵⁵ Gjerde, *Minds of the West*, p. 239.

⁵⁶ Adapted from George Hamilton-Edwards, *In Search of Scottish Ancestry*, 2nd ed. (Chichester, Sussex: Phillimore & Co. Ltd, 1983), p. 71.

⁵⁷ Alan G. Macpherson, "An Old Highland Parish Register: Survivals of Clanship and Social Change in Laggan, Inverness-Shire, 1775-1854 I," *Scottish Studies* 11 (1967), p. 154.

regularly than previously thought. Macpherson is correct to recommend caution when using the naming pattern to reconstruct families. Even among families who were willing to use the pattern, certain factors could have thrown it off kilter. A relatively infrequent disruption occurred when a child was named for a new minister at his first baptism or a new doctor at his first birth. Two problems which must have occurred with some regularity arose when grandparents had the same name and when a third son/daughter was born to a third son/daughter. In these cases, if the pattern were used, two children would bear the same name. Baptismal records do show parents with children of the same name, but generally the first child had died before the birth of the second. However, in at least one instance in eastern Invernesshire two living children bore the same name. Isabel McLean and her first husband Donald Calder had a daughter Isabella who was baptized in 1760. With her second husband, William Forsyth, Isabel McLean had another daughter Isabella, baptized in 1775. All three women emigrated to Scotch Settlement in the early nineteenth century.

Assessment of naming customs within the Settlement can only be done in a limited manner due to the paucity of data. Of the 71 probable Settlement couples known to have married in the United States between 1807 and 1840, 49 of the families cannot be used in the analysis for one of three reasons. First, the names of all four grandparents are not known. Second, there is inadequate information available for the children born. Third, the couple had too few children or inadequate combination of sexes to determine whether adherence to a pattern existed. Of the remaining 22 families, only six fit the primary naming pattern, nine almost fit and seven do not fit at all.

Even though this group of families is too small to make any meaningful statements of the use of naming patterns, some insight into their customs can be gained. The six couples whose families fit the main pattern are from a range of parishes and were married between 1808 and 1834. Although this is a small group, it does suggest that the pattern was known throughout the Settlement for the entire period under review. Furthermore, the pattern was likely known throughout eastern Invernesshire and Nairnshire. Of the nine that do not conform to the main pattern, most seem to fit some alternative pattern or do not fit due to special circumstances. Three families gave preference to the paternal family when naming the first-born son and daughter; one family followed variation one, mentioned above; one family gave preference to the maternal family for first born. In one family, the son that "should" have been named for the father's father was instead named for his eldest brother.

In two families, the grandmothers had the same name so the girls' names do not fit, but the sons were named according to the pattern. In the last two families, that of Philip McLean and Isabella Noble and Daniel Smith and Eliza Noble, special circumstances may have applied.⁵⁸ Philip and Isabella McLean's mother had the same name, so the pattern in their family would have been off in any case. In March 1821, the first son of Philip and Isabella McLean was

⁵⁸ Isabella Noble and Eliza Noble were sisters.

baptized Norman. This is the only occurrence of this given name in the Settlement, and it is possible that Norman was named for the Separatist minister Norman McLeod. McLeod was called to the Settlement in 1819, but did not arrive. The McLeans' second and third sons fit the standard pattern. Isabella Smith was born to Daniel and Eliza in February 1836. In theory she should have been named for Eliza's mother, Janet, but she was not. She may have been named for Eliza's eldest sister, but she may also have been named for Isabella McGillivray who died in October 1835.

Of the seven families which do not fit the pattern, little can be said. Only one couple had a spouse who was outside the Settlement, and even they used several names that were common in Scotland. Two families whose sons may have benefited from the more unusual names of their grandfathers, Neal and Farquhar, did not receive them. Perhaps these parents, while wanting to bestow names which connected their children to their Highland past, did not want to use names that were distinctly "ethnic." The names Neal and Farquhar were not given to any children born within the Settlement.

In order to assess the names used by all the parents in the Settlement a frequency table for names given to 459 children born in Ohio between 1800 and 1840 was created.⁵⁹ It is clear from this table that the emigrants were drawing on a specific tradition of names. While the emigrants may not have used the Scottish naming pattern or a variation of it, they definitely favored Scottish names. Some families honored relatives who remained in Scotland. James Dallas named his first born son for his brother Duncan, who had remained in Scotland on the home farm. Margaret McIntosh McKenzie named her only daughter for her sister Margary who died shortly after Margaret left for America.

While a popularity list for nineteenth century names could not be located, a frequency table based on a sample of the 1850 census was. This sample, analyzed by Ben Buckner of Arizona State University, incorporates a 1% sample of forenames as transcribed in the manuscript population schedules.⁶⁰ The biggest problem with this source is that it has not been rationalized in any way to determine the use of names more accurately. For example, William, W.M, and Wm are all listed separately in Buckner's table of male names. There is even more variation among female names, as Isabella, Isabel, Isabell, Isabelle, and Isabela are each listed separately. If variant spelling of the names had been combined, they would have been placed higher on the list. However, a few names in the top 20 have such high scores that the order to the most frequently used names would be unlikely to change much. (Table 7)

⁵⁹ Although no children could have been born in the Settlement before 1802, as that was the year the first immigrants arrived, the year 1800 was used as the starting point as so many ages were recorded inaccurately in the census records and that is where many of the birth years were gathered.

⁶⁰ Buckner's work calculated the frequencies of personal names for 101,358 men and 96,320 women. Ben Buckner, 1850 US Census Name Frequencies [Website] ([cited May 2002]); available from <http://www.public.asu.edu/~tarchon/genea/1850freq.html>.

A further complication of the analysis of names used in the Settlement stems from the difficulty of assessing the translation of names from Gaelic to English, as well as common usage in the United States. All women who had been baptized Ann, Anna in Gaelic, in Scotland inevitably became Nancy in the United States. In English, Nancy which began as a nickname for Ann, eventually became a name in its own right. The translation of Domhnall varied in the two countries as well: in Scotland it was rendered Donald and in the United States, Daniel.⁶¹ There is some evidence, at least among the older and presumably Gaelic speaking emigrants, that the Gaelic forms of the names were maintained in the Settlement. In a few cases the same man is referred to as Daniel or Donald in different records. The female names Jane and Janet, and Ellen, Helen, Nelly, and Eleanor are used interchangeably, a convention which complicates the analysis because in English these names are regarded as separate, while in a Gaelic context these names, as well as Ann and Nancy, should perhaps be regarded as the same. However, for the purpose of this analysis they were regarded as distinct names.

A comparison of the American names from 1850 and the names used by the Settlement between 1800 and 1840 show that the Highlanders did not favor 'American' names. The 236 girls born during the period under review had names chosen from a pool of 25. That itself appeared to be a constrained name pool. But it was even more so as 205 of the girls shared just nine names. Several of the remaining names were variations of names in the top nine and could be included there as well. Only two names appear to be distinctly non-Scottish, Amanda and Elena.⁶² Many of the names given to the girls do appear in the American list, but the order is significantly different. Isabella, an extremely common name in the Settlement, only just makes the top 50 in the Buckner list. Common American names like Sarah, Susan, Hannah and Ellen, which all appear in the top twenty, are only rarely used in the Settlement.

The 223 boys born during this period were given one of 25 names. While this name pool was the same size as the girls, the names were more evenly distributed among the boys. The top seven names were shared by 162 boys. However, the difference between the names given in this Highland community and those given in the country at-large were even more divergent than the names given to the girls. The number one American name was John, which was second in the Settlement. The most popular Settlement name was Alexander, which just made the top 30 in the American list. Many names used frequently in the Settlement, Hugh, Angus, Laughlin, Duncan and Malcolm, were near the bottom of the American rankings or did not appear at all. Only three of the names used in the Settlement, Jacob, Michael and Milton, did not appear distinctly Scottish.⁶³

⁶¹ This change in name is evident from all sources examined, but especially *Estate Records*, *Deed Records*, and the *Parish Registers*.

⁶² Hamilton-Edwards, *In Search of Scottish Ancestry*, p. 69. His list is nation-wide and from 1861, but it seems reasonable to compare them, if only because there is nothing else.

⁶³ Hamilton-Edwards, *In Search of Scottish Ancestry*, p. 69. Three names do not appear on Hamilton's list, Philip, Evan and Kenneth. However, these were names that were used in the Highlands and borne by immigrants to Scotch Settlement. Personal observation.

The importance of Scottish and family names were important in other ways as well. Naming patterns were used to help maintain a community, but also specific individuals. That this view was held by residents in the Settlement is made clear by the cases of Hugh McBean and Andrew Smith. In his will dated 6 May 1842, Hugh McBean left one hundred dollars to four of his grandsons who also bore the name Hugh.⁶⁴ Daniel Smith died in 1834 leaving a widow and nine children. The minor sons, Philip, Alexander, William, Andrew and James, were placed under the guardianship of their mother and elder brothers, John and Daniel. Andrew Smith and his wife Catherine, took in and fostered Daniel's son Andrew. Andrew and Catherine's family was complete by 1824, and they had no son named Andrew.

Thus we can see that the Highlanders of Scotch Settlement placed a high value on using not only Scottish, but also family names. By doing so they fostered a sense of community and placed their children within a greater kinship network. By drawing from such a restricted name pool they placed the emphasis on the community rather than the individual.⁶⁵ This emphasis on the continuance of a Highland community may have been another factor in the disintegration of the Settlement in the late nineteenth century. As time wore on it is likely that many in the younger generations became aware of the supposed American reverence for individualism.⁶⁶ Those who desired greater personal autonomy may have felt obliged to seek it outside the Settlement.

In common with most Ohio residents, those of the Settlement were agriculturists, listed as the main occupation in both the 1820 and 1840 census. Although there is no documentary proof, agriculture was probably also predominant prior to 1820, offering support to Charlotte Erickson's argument that most people who left Britain before 1850 became farmers in the United States whether or not they had been farmers before they left.⁶⁷ Despite the dominance of farming, men and women were engaged in other pursuits as well. Many spent part of each year working in Pittsburgh and on various public works projects. The main point of this was to earn money in order to purchase a farm. Duncan Fraser, Angus McIntosh, Alexander McIntosh, Andrew Smith and Farquhar Shaw all worked in Pittsburgh. Shaw even continued to work there after he had purchased land. Hugh Rose, who reached the Settlement in the fall of 1829, went to Pittsburgh three days after his arrival to look for work. As the "season" was winding down he was unable to find any.⁶⁸ The employment they found could include brick laying, building projects (canal and railroad), and road building. Highland women were also known to work in Pittsburgh,

⁶⁴ *Estate Records*, vol. 11, pp. 341-343.

⁶⁵ Gjerde, *Minds of the West*, p. 239.

⁶⁶ Gjerde, *Minds of the West*, p. 197. European households were controlled firmly by the parents. In culturally American households, parents had less control of their children, giving them greater freedom, but oftentimes less support.

⁶⁷ Erickson, *Invisible Immigrants*, pp. 13, 16.

⁶⁸ WRHS, Mss V.F. C, No. 1247.

including Janet and Margaret McIntosh who both emigrated in 1818 and Ann McDonald who emigrated in 1832.⁶⁹ Their occupations are unknown, but were quite probably domestic.

Occupational data from the Settlement is available from the censuses of 1820 and 1840.⁷⁰ The data collected in 1820 were divided into three occupational categories: agriculture, commerce and manufacture. The 1840 census had seven occupational categories: in addition to the three categories in the 1820 census, there was ocean navigation, river navigation, learned professions, and mining. Neither of these censuses provides any detail about the type of occupation. That is, neither indicates whether a "manufacturer" made shoes or iron. Some occupational data recorded by Settlement residents themselves in estate records does exist. However, it is highly probable that they considered agriculture their primary occupation, especially since the census form permitted only one occupation to be enumerated. It was common in the Highlands for men to have more than one occupation, crofter, laborer when the weather was good, and tradesman when the weather was bad.⁷¹ It was also true on the frontier that a man had to be able to turn his hand to many tasks.

Although most of the Highland emigrants engaged in agriculture, or considered it their main pursuit, a few did not. Only one Settlement household, that of William McIntosh, in 1820 had a member employed in commerce. This household also had one person employed in agriculture. Nine households each had one member involved in manufacture. These households were those of James Stewart, James McIntosh, Daniel McIntosh, Daniel Campbell, Evan Fraser, Daniel Smith, Allan McDonald, Evan McIntosh, and Alexander Calder.⁷² Three of the households, James McIntosh, Daniel Campbell and Alexander Calder, also had members who were employed in agriculture. Three men were also known to have been tailors at some point, Daniel Smith, Philip Smith and William McIntosh.⁷³ However, only Daniel Smith seems to have regarded tailoring as his primary occupation as he indicated he was a manufacturer in the 1820 census.

The 1820 Census of Manufacturers for Columbiana County clearly indicates that there were no commercial industries in Madison Township. There were 37 industries enumerated and they were mostly in Unity, St. Clair and Yellow Creek Townships and the village of New Lisbon. The dominant industries were the distilling of rye whiskey and the processing of salt. By 1838 industries had grown in the townships associated with the Settlement. There were distilleries, sawmills, gristmills, tanneries and an oilmill. Only two of the Highland emigrants, Philip Smith and Daniel McBean, were taxed as manufacturers in 1838. Smith operated a distillery and McBean purchased a gristmill from Christian Brant and Joseph Ritter in 1828.

⁶⁹ Private Collection, McIntosh Family Letters, June 1832.

⁷⁰ Occupational data was not collected in 1830.

⁷¹ Kirkhill Trades included: shoemaker, tailor, carpenter and weaver. OSA IV p. 116.

⁷² United States Census Office, Columbiana County, 1820 Census.

⁷³ *Estate Records*. vol. 4, pp. 163-5, 310-2; vol. 6, pp. 506-9.

In 1840, the majority of Settlement families, 161 households out of 140, still considered agriculture their primary employment. The township with the largest number of Settlement families was Madison with 75 families involved in agriculture, lagging a distant second and third were Yellow Creek with 32 families and Washington with 23. In this census, however, the number of manufacturing households in the Settlement dropped to six: Jane Shaw McGillivray, Jane McCoy, Alexander Shaw, Andrew McGillivray, Andrew Johnson, and William Orr.

Alexander Shaw was living on the farm of his father, William Orr on the farm of his father-in-law William McBean. Andrew Johnson may also have been a son-in-law of William McBean as he was enumerated between William Orr and McBean's eldest son Alexander. On Andrew McGillivray's farm were himself and four sons, one being a manufacturer and four being agriculturalists. This perhaps indicates that these younger men, who were living on the property of their elders, were engaged in an occupation complementary to the main farm. Andrew Johnson and William Orr had both left Columbiana County by 1850. Alexander Shaw and Andrew McGillivray's sons still lived on the home farm. Alexander McBean had taken over the running of the farm as his father had retired. Manufacturing was seen as a sideline by those who stayed on the farm, a means towards raising extra cash for the home farm or for purchase of one's own.

Farming was the one area in which the Highland emigrants to Scotch Settlement appear to have completely adapted to the prevailing American practice. Not only did they adopt it wholesale, they did so soon after reaching in Ohio. The phenomenon of abandoning traditional farming practices was not unique to these Highlanders. The idea that immigrant farmers were more influenced by the land rather than their culture was first suggested by Frederick Jackson Turner in 1893. More recent studies suggest that Turner was correct. These studies reveal that farms operated by native born and foreign-born farmers were "essentially similar." In his study of farmers from the United States, Germany and Scandinavia living in Isanti County, Michigan, Robert Ostergren concluded that the new environment and new economy were so different from the Old World, that the migrants "probably did not even seriously contemplate farming in the same manner."⁷⁴ Indeed, Highland farming techniques were not suitable to conditions on the American frontier. Land in Ohio was plentiful and probably more fertile than in many parts of the Highlands. Much of Columbiana County was not suitable for sheep due to predation by wolves.⁷⁵ Secondly, there simply was a shortage of labor on the frontier and many chores to do. Furthermore, and perhaps most significant, the needs and motivations of the farmers in the United States were different from those in the Highlands.

To understand how profoundly conditions in Ohio differed from Scotland, it is necessary to briefly review Highland farming as practiced at the turn of the nineteenth century. Highland

⁷⁴ Robert P Swierenga, "Ethnicity and American Agriculture," *Ohio History* (1980), pp. 332, 333, 334.

⁷⁵ WRHS, Mss V.F. C, No. 1247.

farming was labor intensive and in many cases practiced on smallholdings with marginal fertility. Farming as practiced by small tenants in Strathnairn and Strathdearn was exceedingly traditional and little inclined towards improvement.⁷⁶ The Macintosh thought the problem with yields in the parish of Moy and Dalarossie was due to poor management, especially in "cold years."⁷⁷ The farming in this region was also practiced in farmtouns, essentially houses clustered together in a single location and surrounded by fields and pasture held in common by all the tenants.

Improvement encompassed a range of innovations aimed at increasing yields and the commercial viability of Scottish farms. The new practices included crop rotation, which improved soil condition and fertility, as well as the enclosure of fields, which protected crops from animals and prevented the indiscriminate breeding of livestock.⁷⁸ One of the main problems with improving a farm, at least from the point of view of a tenant-at-will, was that increasing the profitability of the land invariably meant that the rent would be raised, leaving the tenant no further ahead than before. Additionally, tenants often were not compensated for these improvements which benefited the landlord as much as himself. Because of these factors, Highlanders tended to raise only enough produce to support themselves and their livestock.⁷⁹

This lack of incentive was addressed by the drive for stability of tenure. Many in Scotland realized that improved farming could never be achieved until tenants could be assured of a secure lease, constant rent, and compensation for improvements.⁸⁰ Many landlords began to offer 19-year leases to tenants, although this practice was not universal and many Highlanders remained tenants-at-will.⁸¹ The Mackintosh, at least, began to arrange compensation for improvements.⁸² However, due to the large number of heritors in this region, the policies of one landlord would have a limited effect. Tenants on one farm could achieve a reasonable level of prosperity, while those living nearby might have struggled to keep their heads above water.

On his farm which he did not own and was slow to improve, the Highlanders practiced a highly labor intensive agriculture. In order to maximize productivity they developed a system of farming which divided the arable and pasture amongst the tenants. The divisions of land were the in-field, out-field and pasture.⁸³ The in-field, which was heavily manured, was used as a kitchen garden and farmed intensively. The out-field, which was manured moderately and could be shared with other tenants, was for the grain crops. The pasture for cattle was imperative as tenants in Strathnairn and Strathdearn were dependent upon cattle sales to pay their rent and

⁷⁶ OSA VIII p. 502, XIX p. 623.

⁷⁷ Mackintosh, *Notes Descriptive*, p. 12.

⁷⁸ Gray, *Highland Economy*, pp. 75-76.

⁷⁹ Parker, *Scottish Highlanders in Colonial Georgia*, p. 27.

⁸⁰ A.J. Youngson, *After the Forty-Five: The Economic Impact on the Scottish Highlands* (Edinburgh 1973), pp. 167, 192.

⁸¹ WRHS, Mss V.F. C, No. 1247.; OSA IV p. 153.

⁸² Mackintosh, *Notes Descriptive*, p. 11.

⁸³ Gray, *Highland Economy*, p. 7; G. Whittington and I.D. White, *An Historical Geography of Scotland* (Edinburgh: National Museums of Scotland, 1983), pp. 63, 64.

purchase what they could not produce themselves.⁸⁴ Only a few sheep, and sometimes goats, were kept by the average Highlander; just enough to provide wool for clothing and milk.⁸⁵ The main crops grown in the in-field and out-field were potatoes, barley, rye and oats.⁸⁶ Oats and potatoes, along with milk, were essential to subsistence. In Auldearn parish people were entirely dependent upon the potato for four months a year.⁸⁷ Those of Moy and Dalarossie were dependent on "bear and black oats" and milk during the summer.⁸⁸ Despite the animals kept, Highlanders rarely ate meat.⁸⁹

The differences between the Highlands and Ohio were so profound that the immigrants probably quickly realized that it would have been impossible to continue as before. In fact, if they were part of a migrant chain that had already reached America, they may have known this from correspondence before departure. It is said that Angus McBean encouraged his countrymen to join him and he almost certainly described the different sorts of crops sown in the Ohio valley. As we have seen farming in the Highlands was primarily concerned with subsistence of the family and the selling of enough cattle to pay the rent and purchase necessities. Drovers purchased cattle locally, so it was not necessary for Highlanders to find a market, although they were subject to the vagaries of the market. In Ohio, there was the same need for subsistence, but first one had to clear land in order to sow a crop. There were almost no local markets, the nearest was Pittsburgh, 50 miles up the Ohio River. Agricultural produce, not just cattle, did need to be sold, but in most cases not to pay rent, but to make payments on land purchases. After the farm was paid for, all profits, after taxes, were available to the farmer to improve his farm and situation. The frontier was characterized by a shortage of labor, whereas the Highlands had an over-abundance.

Clearing the land, the first task of all frontier farmers, was extremely slow work. Each settler might expect to clear between two and five acres per year.⁹⁰ Land clearing was a chore that could be done during the otherwise idle winter months.⁹¹ A settler near Marietta, Ohio hired six men to clear six acres and it took them almost three weeks to finish.⁹² If a farmer were lucky he either had sons or enough money to hire help for clearing. Charles Rose estimated that it would cost between four and six dollars to prepare one acre for planting, which he did not view as

⁸⁴ Mackintosh, *Notes Descriptive*, p. 12. OSA XVII p. 501; IV p. 153.

⁸⁵ Isabel F. Grant, *Everyday Life on an Old Highland Farm, 1769-82* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1924), p. 66; Parker, *Scottish Highlanders in Colonial Georgia*, p. 27.

⁸⁶ Mackintosh, *Notes Descriptive*, p. 13. OSA XVIII p. 74; VIII p. 501; IV p. 152; XIX pp. 662-3.

⁸⁷ OSA XIX p. 623.

⁸⁸ Mackintosh, *Notes Descriptive*, p. 13.

⁸⁹ Grant, *Everyday Life*, p. 107.

⁹⁰ Jones, *Agriculture in Ohio*, p. 28; Martin Primack, "Land Clearing under 19th Century Techniques: Some Preliminary Calculations," *Journal of Economic History* 22 (December, 1962), p. 484. Jones states that a settler might clear two acres per year; Primack suggests that a family might clear as many as five per year. Most of Primack's data came from post-1850 and what would be considered today the Upper Middle West. Jones data was confined to the first decade of the 19th century and solely Ohio.

⁹¹ Primack, "Land Clearing," p. 484.

⁹² Jones, *Agriculture in Ohio*, p. 28.

prohibitive.⁹³ Land clearing entailed killing the trees either by felling or girdling, then controlled burning of the dead trees.⁹⁴ Stump removal was nearly as arduous as clearing and they were often left to rot in the ground which made removal easier. Although this practice made cultivation difficult, farmers in the Settlement opted for leaving the stumps in the ground and cultivating around them.⁹⁵

The Highlanders in Scotch Settlement seem to have cleared their land successfully, although it is impossible to say how quickly. Alexander McIntosh had at least 17 acres of wheat cultivated by his death in 1812. He had likely cleared more land as harvested oats, hay and flax were included in his estate inventory.⁹⁶ Farquhar Shaw had cleared at least 10 acres by 1819, or just over an acre a year between 1813 and 1819.⁹⁷ Shaw, who came to the States as a young man, had no sons to help him with his land. He also appears to have spent a portion of each year working in Pittsburgh. By contrast, McIntosh had at least one grown son and two younger sons upon whom he could rely. Furthermore, the "wealth" included in McIntosh's estate inventory suggests he may have been able to hire additional labor. At present it appears that very few of the early settlers had grown sons who could have helped with clearing: another Alexander McIntosh had four, Alexander Calder had two; William McIntosh had between two and four.⁹⁸ Those who rented land from Hugh McBean, Angus McBean, or Andrew McPherson may have paid their rent in service, and that service may have been land clearing and/or harvest work.

Although labor was in short supply, there may have been a small Highland labor pool available as there were people who lived in the Settlement who are not known to have purchased land. They may either have hired themselves out or paid their rent in service. Two known examples are Daniel McPherson who died in 1819 leaving no agricultural items in his estate inventory; and Donald McDonald about whom little is known. There were also several McGillivray families who reached the Settlement in the 1830s, but had moved on by 1850. These families, and others, may have used Scotch Settlement as the first stop in the United States before moving to another location to settle permanently.

After a sufficient amount of land was cleared the Ohio pioneer farmer had two thoughts: planting crops or raising livestock for subsistence, and planting crops or raising livestock for profit. The first crop generally planted on a nearly cleared farm was corn (maize). This grain was easy to plant, grew well, could feed both man and beast, and could be sent to market.⁹⁹ Corn or maize was unknown in the Highlands, so it is impossible to say whether it was their first crop as

⁹³ WRHS, Mss V.F. C, No. 1247.

⁹⁴ Girdling, a process adopted from Native Americans, meant stripping the bark off the tree around the trunk. If done at the right time of year, the tree would be dead by summer and crops could be sown beneath it. As time passed the trees would fall, then be taken away for burning.

⁹⁵ Primack, "Land Clearing," p. 486; WRHS, Mss V.F. C, No. 1247.

⁹⁶ *Estate Records*, vol. 2, pp. 19-21.

⁹⁷ Private Collection, McIntosh Family Letters, December 1819.

⁹⁸ The ages of his children are unknown, but in his will, dated 1821, he left his property to two of them, presumably the eldest.

⁹⁹ Jones, *Agriculture in Ohio*, p. 50.

well. In those first uncertain years they may have relied on oats, barley and rye. The most important cash crop was wheat and farmers planted it as soon as possible. Wheat was not widely grown in the Highlands either. Other produce grown on an Ohio farm included: oats, rye, barley, buckwheat, flax, fruits, and vegetables as well as livestock. Some livestock probably would have already been present on the farm while it was being cleared. Oxen were used in clearing and were more efficient than horses in ploughing new and uncultivated land. Cattle and hogs were also present and were generally left to fend for themselves, the cattle on the little available pasture and the hogs in the woods where they fed on acorns and chestnuts.¹⁰⁰

Accessing markets was problematic for all early Ohio farmers as they were quite distant. The cash that could be raised from the sale of produce was important to pay for land and for imported goods like cutlery. Cattle and sheep could be driven east to market, even as far as Baltimore.¹⁰¹ Cattle were very valuable and were an excellent source of income to the farmer; as early as 1813, they were valued at up to \$13 a head.¹⁰² Since corn was bulky and heavy it was usually sent to market as pork or whiskey. However, this last practice is uncertain in Columbiana County specifically as all distilleries used rye instead of corn.¹⁰³ Ground wheat, packed pork and other produce could be sent down river to New Orleans. Many Ohio farmers flatboated down the Mississippi River, as did Angus McBean, William Moore, Henry Aten and George Wells, who made the journey together in 1808.¹⁰⁴ After the merchandise was sold, the flatboat was broken up and sold for scrap as it was not possible to sail up the Mississippi. The walk home, which could take up to six months, could be dangerous for men carrying sizable sums of cash.¹⁰⁵

Three enterprises, distilling of rye whiskey, pressing of flax seed oil, and brewing of "strong" beer, in the county would have required agricultural products, and would have provided a local market for produce. Three of the distilleries and one flax press were located in St. Clair Township. Each distillery consumed at least 300 bushels of rye per annum in addition to the malt and hops. Whether this demand was supplied entirely by farmers in St. Clair Township or the wider area is unknown. As time passed small towns like New Lisbon and Wellsville began to grow and more local markets became available. The greater amount of wheat grown necessitated the establishment of more mills, which in turn created an increased demand for wheat. The deployment of the United States Army likely provided a boon to many Ohio farmers as it needed to supply troops in northeastern Ohio and Detroit during the War of 1812. The Settlement and its neighbors were well placed to take advantage of the growth of Wellsville. This

¹⁰⁰ Jones, *Agriculture in Ohio*; WRHS, Mss V.F. C, No. 1247.

¹⁰¹ Jones, *Agriculture in Ohio*, p. 103.

¹⁰² *Estate Records*, vol. 2, pp. 19-21.

¹⁰³ WRHS, Mss V.F. C, No. 1247.; United States Census Office, *Records of the 1820 Census of Manufactures. Schedules for Ohio* (Washington, D.C., 1965), Microfilm.

¹⁰⁴ Davidson, *Before the Memory Fades*, p. 61; Jones, *Agriculture in Ohio*, p. 42.

¹⁰⁵ Davidson, *Before the Memory Fades*, p. 61.

town was the closest that the Ohio River came to Lake Erie and goods from Wellsville were ported overland to Cleveland.¹⁰⁶

It is likely that the Highland farmers behaved in much the same manner as the native farmers. Hugh Rose's description of the Settlement in 1830 could easily apply to a native born family. He related that they ate johnnycakes and pumpkins, did not grow turnips, fed oats to the horses, and each had a fruit orchard. The similarity in farming is not surprising. As suggested, soil and climate conditions, as well as the limited labor pool, would have greatly dictated not only what was farmed, but how. The Highland emigrants would have had the same need to raise produce and livestock for subsistence and sale. And although the evidence for the earliest years is scant, it is likely that they utilized the same sources. With the exception of corn, wheat and hogs and a few minor crops, the Highlanders would have been familiar with all the other crops grown in Ohio. Corn was a New World grain and not grown in the United Kingdom; wheat and hogs were seldom seen in the Highlands.¹⁰⁷ It is only these three main items, putting aside minor crops like pumpkins, that might have needed some getting used to. The other difference would have been quantity. The main crops in Ohio were corn and wheat; oats, rye and barley were minor in Ohio whereas in the Highlands they were the major crops.

Although Scots are reputed to have assimilated quickly into the greater American culture, it is clear that, when certain circumstances existed, they could indeed maintain a separate sense of identity for many decades. As will be discussed in the next chapter, the greatest focus of their identity was on their church, Yellow Creek Presbyterian. However, due to the other Presbyterian groups in the region, they found it necessary to assert their uniqueness in several ways. The most significant was through the use of Gaelic which would have presented an insurmountable barrier between the Highlanders and their neighbors. Another way they maintained their identity was through intermarriage. This was necessary perhaps due to their use of Gaelic, but it also provided an avenue to promote and retain aspects of their Highland culture. A final known way of preserving their identity was through the use of Scottish forenames, which firmly placed their children within a Highland community as opposed to an American one. Furthermore, the continued arrival of new emigrants from the Old World would have kept the links between Strathnairn and Strathdearn and Ohio fresh and real. There were undoubtedly additional Gaelic customs that have gone unrecorded.

However, their culture was not static. They did adopt the English language, especially since many of the immigrants, especially the men, had learned it before going to America. As in Scotland, it was the language of education and English textbooks were used in the Settlement by the 1820s. They also abandoned the use of the plaid as it disappeared from estate inventories by

¹⁰⁶ Davidson, *Before the Memory Fades*, p. 6.

¹⁰⁷ Among the parishes that sent emigrants to Scotch Settlement, wheat is only known to have been grown by the "better" tenants in Kirkhill parish. OSA IV p. 117; Mathieson, *The Survival of the Unfittest: The Highland Clearances and the End of Isolation*, p. 105.

1820.¹⁰⁸ They also adopted the diverse settlement pattern and building styles of the Americans. However, the most visible aspect of their changed culture was in farming.

The Highlanders of Scotch Settlement adjusted well to the demands of American agriculture. Bumsted has argued that Highlanders did not go to North America to try something new and that one tradition maintained was their semi-pastoral farming.¹⁰⁹ However, what Bumsted uses as evidence is the fact that Highland immigrants in Canada maintained this form of agriculture because it was suitable to their new surroundings as much of the land of Nova Scotia and Pictou was only moderately arable. However, it is more likely that these immigrants maintained an old form of agriculture because it was necessary and appropriate, not because they wanted to. The case of the Highland settlers in Ohio suggests that they were willing to try something different. They successfully cleared farms, even though they may have been unaccustomed to felling trees, and learned to grow and eat unfamiliar crops. The success of some immigrants can be estimated by the amount of bond posted when their estates went into probate. Between 1816 and 1840 the amount posted varied between \$200 and \$5,000 and the average was just under \$875.¹¹⁰ Alexander McIntosh and John Cattnach both died in 1812, and are the first Settlement estate records recorded by the Probate Court. McIntosh had an estate, exclusive of the land, valued at \$360.27 while Cattnach's estate was valued at \$195.62, again exclusive of the land. Their successful adaptation and willingness to adjust suggest that Highlanders may not have immigrated simply to continue their old way of life.

However, what is more significant about this community is what it was able to maintain. For at least 40 years, it preserved their Scottishness without resorting to symbolic ethnicity. A Romantic and Highland image of Scotland, essentially symbolic ethnicity, has existed for over 200 years. During this time, Americans, and perhaps even scholars, have had a preconception of what a Scottish community should be like, as if it should somehow be different from other immigrant groups. Furthermore, a tartanized image of Scotland has probably become more prevalent in the United States since the end of World War II. All these facts have combined to give the impression that ethnic Scottish communities, whether Highland or Lowland, did not exist - essentially, if there were no pipes, there was no ethnicity. If descendents of ethnic Scots must re-invent their Old World heritage, then the corollary is that it must have been lost. What the investigation of Scotch Settlement has revealed is that these Highlanders maintained their community in the same manner as other immigrant groups, through their language, religion, and customs. Reverend Stone was incorrect, they did not need a burr and bagpipes to create Scotland in the south of Ohio. It was already there.

¹⁰⁸ Private Collection; *Estate Records*, vol. 2, pp. 19-23; vol. 4, pp. 310-312.

¹⁰⁹ Bumsted, *People's Clearance*, pp. 65, 70.

¹¹⁰ *Estate Records*.

Chapter 5: A Highland Church in Ohio

All land in what is known as the "Scotch Settlement" was thus taken up by the people of the Presbyterian faith as practiced in the north of Scotland.

Margaret P. Smith, 1927¹

In rural nineteenth-century America the role of the church was crucial to many aspects of pioneer life. In fact, a sustainable ethnic church was key in maintaining a cohesive cultural community. Even for non-members churches were important as they were often the focal point of social activities. These churches allowed the immigrants to perpetuate familiar worship patterns, beliefs, and language. Furthermore, church leaders were not only among the first immigrants to reach a settlement, but also tended to have held leadership roles in the old communities before immigration.²

That Yellow Creek Presbyterian was a Highland or ethnic church is easily discerned from local histories or by a walk through the old section of its cemetery. Almost all the names are Highland and many of the monuments indicate that they had been born in Scotland. However, it need not have been so. They could have very easily been subsumed into one of the many Presbyterian churches in the United States. Instead, they made a concerted effort to maintain control of their church.

As discussed in Chapter 3, living in an ethnic community did have drawbacks. Boundaries and communities created by religious institutions were common on the frontier and were a feature of native- and foreign-born settlements. These communities were largely self-dependent and the boundaries between them were strictly defined. Due to this insular setting, conflict within the communities was common, but since the church was generally the center of these communities the disputes were "often framed in spiritual terms."³ The laity in many ethnic communities rebelled against the power of their clergy, who often maintained Old World standards. Religious freedom in the United States not only meant the freedom to adhere to a tradition that had been persecuted in Europe, but also the freedom to dissent from it.⁴

Scotch Settlement endured a decade and more of seemingly sustained conflict within its congregation. Unpicking these problems, especially the causes and determining who was on

¹ Margaret B. Smith, *History of the Yellow Creek Presbyterian Church. Read at the One-Hundredth Anniversary, August 24, 1927* (Wellsville, OH 1927), p. 7.

² Ostergren, *A Community Transplanted*, pp. 210, 235.

³ Gjerde, *Minds of the West*, p. 19.

⁴ Gjerde, *Minds of the West*, p. 19.

which side, is difficult due to the paucity of data. This patchy evidence, when supplemented with facts from other rural immigrant communities and their churches, can be combined to give some idea of what occurred between ca. 1812 and ca. 1825. Discord within the congregation was so severe that several members requested guidance from the Hartford Presbytery in 1812, 1816, 1817, 1820, and 1821. Then in 1823, Yellow Creek congregation was divided and Bethel Presbyterian established.

The roots of conflict within this community are doubtless tangled and stem from many sources. Origins recorded in the sources, both primary and secondary, were "the prophet" Charles McLean, the minister James Robertson, and the debate about where church services should be held.⁵ However, evidence from other rural ethnic communities reveals that tension within congregations was often caused by theological differences and arguments over Americanization – whether to adapt to new circumstances in the United States or to adhere to principles that were applicable in the Old Country.

The sides chosen in these debates often had one of two origins. First, lines of conflict were drawn between different groups in multi-national parishes, especially in Catholic churches which by their very nature could attract a diverse congregation. Second, conflict occurred between regional traditions within a single national group. For example, Catholics from Westphalia who had settled in Iowa, were later joined by Catholics from Bavaria. The later arrivals were made to feel so unwelcome by the Westphalians that they finally established their own parish.⁶ Regional conflict was also behind the division of the Crow River Congregation, a Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran church in Minnesota. Although the split was based on a theological controversy over predestination, those that broke away to form a new church were almost all from the same Norwegian parish, Gausdal.⁷ While Americans might have viewed both groups as "German" or "Norwegian", they saw themselves as distinct and separate.⁸

Evidence from the European immigrant communities formed in the Upper Middle West and Saskatchewan, Canada shows that almost all national communities were segregated by region or parish. Regional culture and dialect could be extremely divisive and long lasting.⁹ Within these groups, there were divisions based on wealth and length of time in the United States.¹⁰ In the Highland settlements of Cape Fear Valley in North Carolina, and in Glengarry, Canada segregation by parish has been noted, but not its consequences.¹¹ The effects of parish-based settlement within Scotch Settlement is difficult to determine since the Highland origin is

⁵ Mack, *Columbiana County*, p. 191; McCready, ed., *The Robert McCready Family*, p. 37; PHS, F Mi45 H24m V.1, pp. 105, 241, 254; Private Collection, Communication from Scotch Settlement; WRIIS, Ms. 2260.

⁶ Gjerde, *Minds of the West*, pp. 105-106.

⁷ Jon Gjerde, "Conflict and Community: A Case Study of the Immigrant Church in the United States," *Journal of Social History* 19 (Summer, 1986), pp. 689-690.

⁸ Gjerde, *Minds of the West*, pp. 106, 107.

⁹ Dégh, "Folk Religion," p. 129.

¹⁰ Gjerde, *Peasants to Farmers*; Gjerde, "Conflict and Community."; Gjerde, *Minds of the West*; Ostergren, *A Community Transplanted*; Swierenga, *Faith and Family*.

¹¹ Kelly and Kelly, *Carolina Scots*, p. 87; McLean, *People of Glengarry*, pp. 200-201.

known for so few. Additionally, many settlers either never purchased land or did so after the problems within the church had been resolved, so determining where they lived is almost impossible. Scotch Settlement began as two clusters of settlement at the east and west end of Madison and Yellow Creek townships. Current data suggests that immigrants from Croy and Dalcross parish dominated the east end and those from Moy and Dalarossie were divided between the middle and the east. It is likely that families from another of the Strathnairn parishes dominated the west end, but the evidence is not conclusive. (Figure 8)

Unfortunately, misconceptions regarding the Highland settlement in the region and who actually attended the church muddies the water. The conflict has been described as taking place totally within the Highland congregation. While such discord is likely, it is probable that the main dissent was between the Highland and non-Highland portions of the congregation. With time the idea that the Highlanders dominated the area for all time became stronger. Consider the original version of the opening quote:

Nearly all the boundary that was in Yellow Creek Congregation was taken up by persons who adhered to the tenets of Presbyterianism as was practiced in the North of Scotland.

Hon. John Reid, 1876¹²

Smith's quote reveals, not only the strong association between Scotch Settlement and Presbyterianism, but also the increased belief of total Highland settlement in the area. While this idea was gaining strength in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, many of the original Highlanders and their families had either died or migrated elsewhere. Reid, who was closer time wise to the events, did realize that many non-Highlanders lived in their midst. However, the thirty or forty years it had taken to create Scotch Settlement was slowly forgotten.

Many of the accounts regarding friction within the church, the most severe of which appear to be those that occurred in the late 1810s, were recorded by those who were children at the time or by descendants who received all their knowledge second hand. By the time of these histories, Yellow Creek Presbyterian had been an almost exclusively Highland church for several decades. In her brief history of Scotch Settlement, written ca. 1876, Isabel Fraser Leitch states:

They ... differed from their neighbors in one thing at least, - their firm adherence to the faith and religion of their fathers, who were Presbyterians, erecting with one exception, the first Presbyterian church in this part of Ohio. For more than 60 years not one Sabbath has passed on which they have not assembled for public worship.¹³

This quote not only indicates the importance of religion to their identity, but also gives the impression that these Highlanders were the only devout and faithful Presbyterians in the region.

¹² WRHS, Scrapbook.

¹³ Private Collection, Communication from Scotch Settlement.

This was most certainly not the case. Not only was Presbyterian settlement in the region exceptionally strong, there is evidence to suggest that many non-Highlanders attended Yellow Creek Presbyterian Church, especially after the arrival of the Reverend James Robertson in 1819.

As discussed in Chapter 4, Scotch Settlement was located on the western edge of one of the most fervently Presbyterian regions of the country and was strongly influenced by Scottish practice due to the large numbers of Scots and Scots-Irish immigrants. Among the reformed traditions present in the Upper Ohio Valley, which included eastern Ohio, western Pennsylvania and western Virginia (present-day West Virginia), were Presbyterian, Associate Reformed, Associate (Seceder) and Reformed (Covenanter). Western Pennsylvania was known for strong revivalism.¹⁴ By 1850, most counties in this part of this state had over 25 Presbyterian churches each.¹⁵ The “dissenting” traditions remained immigrant churches well into the nineteenth century.¹⁶ The “established” Presbyterian tradition was a mixture of English and Scottish Presbyterianism, and due to this mixed heritage was the most American version (or the least Scottish, depending upon your viewpoint) of the denomination.¹⁷

The vigor of religion in this region was strong enough to pull migrants from the eastern States to it. Robert McCready, who immigrated from the Lowlands ca. 1770, was repulsed by the secularism of New England and felt his faith could better be maintained on the frontier.¹⁸ John McLean, Sr. who was born in Northern Ireland, but of Scottish parents, emigrated to the Colonies about 1775. He first settled in eastern Pennsylvania, but then moved to Allegheny County, then moved yet again to Washington County as there was no organized Seceder congregation in the county in the 1770s. His son, John McLean, Jr. graduated from Canonsburg, Pennsylvania in 1796 and was minister at Mentour Presbyterian Church until he began medical studies in 1809.¹⁹ He moved to Wellsville, Ohio in 1825 and practiced medicine until his death in 1828.

From the establishment of Scotch Settlement in 1802, until about 1820, the four townships associated with the Settlement were almost exclusively Presbyterian. The only non-Presbyterian church in this small region before 1819 was the Methodist Episcopal Church of Wellsville established ca. 1800. Four additional Methodist churches were organized between 1819 and 1840.

¹⁴ Schmidt, *Holy Fairs*, pp. 60-61.

¹⁵ Edwin S. Gaustad, *Historical Atlas of Religion in America* (New York: Harper & Row, 1962), p. 90.

¹⁶ As best as I can make out the “dissenting” churches were only dissenting in that they had originally separated from the Church of Scotland. They never dissented from the Presbyterian Church in the United States, but were established as separate denominations from the beginning. By the early 20th century most congregations of the dissenting churches had merged with the Presbyterian Church.

¹⁷ Leonard J. Trinterud, *The Forming of an American Tradition: A Re-Examination of Colonial Presbyterianism* (Philadelphia 1949), p. 15.

¹⁸ McCready settled in Jefferson Township in Washington County, Pennsylvania in 1777. He purchased land in Columbiana County and his son Joseph settled on it. Several McCreadys attended Yellow Creek Presbyterian Church and are buried in its cemetery. Other members of the family favored Bethel Presbyterian Church. Crumrine, Ellis, and Hungerford, *History of Washington County, Pennsylvania: With Biographical Sketches of Many of Its Pioneers and Prominent Men*, p. 836; Pieper and Gidney, *Fort Laurens*, p. 26.

¹⁹ J.H. Newton, G.G. Nichols, and A.G. Sprankle, *History of the Panhandle, Being Historical Collections of the Counties of Ohio, Brooke, Marshall and Hancock, West Virginia* [Website] (J.A. Caldwell, 1879 [cited 22 May 2001]); available from <ftp://ftp.rootsweb.com/pub/usgenweb/wv/hancock/bios/mclanej.txt>.

Disciples of Christ Churches were set-up in Calcutta in 1827 and in Wellsville in 1838. This indigenous American denomination had been established by two former Presbyterian ministers in Washington County, Pennsylvania in 1811. The Presbyterian traditions represented in the four townships by 1840 included Associate Congregations at Calcutta and West Beaver; Associate Reformed Congregations at Madison, Middle Beaver, and Lebanon; and Presbyterian congregations at Yellow Creek (Scotch Settlement), Bethel, Wellsville and Long's Run.²⁰ (Figure 9)

It is clear that Leitch was overstating the uniqueness of Presbyterianism in Scotch Settlement. However, what was unique about her forebears was that their tradition of Presbyterianism differed not only from those that had developed in the United States, but even from those in Scotland. It is also possible that they firmly believed that *they* were the *only* true descendants of the Scottish Reformation in the area. Highland Presbyterianism was based on the Bible and the Westminster Confession and associated documents. Adherents also practiced strict Sabbatarianism and were deeply evangelical.²¹ Two other features unique to the Highland church were the use of Gaelic and the services of the "Men."²² The Men, or *na daoine*, were a lay order of men of strong convictions who were called upon to speak during the communion season. They were also known for a deep knowledge of the Bible, allegorical speech and interpretation of scripture, and capacity for prayer.²³ The Men, who formed an exclusive spiritual group, were frequently behind secession or separatist movements in the Highlands. These unique forms of dissent did not seek to leave the Church of Scotland, but simply to avoid an unacceptable minister, usually one who was moderate in his beliefs. The Highland secessionists simply would not "hear" their own minister and traveled to another parish to hear one that was acceptable. Separatists, on the other hand, set up separate services led by Men.²⁴

The separatist movement is thought to have begun in Kildonan parish ca. 1798, when either John Grant or Donald Macleod held rival services during Communion.²⁵ Separatists were extremely evangelical and dedicated to strict church discipline. Trouble frequently developed when a minister was viewed as too moderate in his views and his habits. John Macleod, who collected many traditions relating to the Separatists in the 1930s, suggested that there were also movements in the parishes near Inverness and in Assynt parish in Sutherland.

²⁰ Wellsville Presbyterian Church was the congregation to which the Alexander McBeth family belonged. They migrated to Ohio from Scotland after 1830. Alexander's daughters Sue and Kate became missionaries to the Nez Perce in the 1870s. For a greater description of the McBeths see: Allen Conrad Morrill and Eleanor Dunlap Morrill, *Out of the Blanket: The Story of Sue and Kate Mcbeth, Missionaries to the Nez Perces* (Moscow: University Press of Idaho, 1978).

²¹ Ansdell, *People of the Great Faith*, p. 110.

²² John MacInnes, *The Evangelical Movement in the Highlands of Scotland, 1688-1800* (Aberdeen: The University Press, 1951), p. 45.

²³ J. MacInnes, "The Origin and Early Development of the Men," *RSCIHS* (1944, 1944), pp. 34-36.

²⁴ MacInnes, "The Origin and Early Development of the Men," pp. 32-33; John MacLeod, *By-Paths of Highland Church History*, ed. G.N.M. Collins (Edinburgh: Knox Press, 1965), pp. 82-83.

²⁵ MacLeod, *By-Paths of Highland Church History*, p. 82.

Macleod discusses three men who were "Separatist leaders" in the Inverness area: William Fraser of Tomnahurich, William Mackay of Strathnaver and Peter Grant.²⁶ Mackay and Grant both worked as catechists in Strathnairn and Strathdearn. However, he does not detail how these movements were made manifest. Macleod also indicated that the movements of the northern and southern Highlands were joined to some extent by Norman Macleod of Assynt, the leader of the most famous Separatist movement. Interestingly, he states specifically that Moy and Dalarossie was affected by Separatism. This parish, from which most of the Highland emigrants have been traced, had a reputation for being intensely puritanical at the end of the eighteenth century.²⁷ There were definitely problems in this parish, but they occurred well before the beginning of the Separatist movement.

After being brought firmly into the Presbyterian fold by the Reverend James Leslie, who died in 1766, Moy and Dalarossie was presented with a new minister, James Mackintosh, who had previously been a missionary in the parish.²⁸ He appears to have been well received and ordained 23 elders shortly after he came into the living. However, ca. 1781 Mackintosh was found guilty of fornication and falsehood.²⁹ There are no session minutes for his trial, and indeed, the session seems to have met infrequently for the next eight years as there are few entries in the minute book. The elders, several heritors, and 61 heads of family spent this entire period trying to have Mackintosh removed from office. The Presbytery of Inverness had removed him in 1782, but he appealed to the Synod of Moray. They refused to either uphold or rescind the ruling of the Presbytery, effectively siding with Mackintosh and allowing him to return to his church. It is highly unlikely that those who opposed him in the parish would deign to be in the same room as him, let alone sit in his church. Mackintosh was finally removed from office in 1787, but only after the plaintiffs had presented their case before the General Assembly, almost yearly, beginning in 1782.³⁰

Relations with their next minister, William McBean, were not much improved. In 1788, he requested land in addition to his glebe as the latter was not enough to support him. He was granted land at Dalmigarry, but the previous tenant had been evicted in order to oblige McBean.³¹ The latter was transferred to Alves parish in 1792 and Hugh Mackay from Sutherland was appointed in his place shortly afterwards.³² Mackay was as evangelical as his congregation and was instrumental in bringing William McKay of Syre in Strathnaver and Peter Stuart into the parish as catechists.³³ These men also acted in a similar capacity in Croy parish. During

²⁶ MacLeod, *By-Paths of Highland Church History*, pp. 86-96, 129-133.

²⁷ McBane, ed., *McBane-McKenzie Clans*, p. 11.

²⁸ Rev. Robert MacDougal, "Notes on the Ecclesiastical History of Strathdearn," *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness* 19 (1895), pp. 59-60.

²⁹ NAS, CH2/684/1 p. 147, CH1/1/68 p. 96, 284.

³⁰ NAS, CH1/1/68, CH1/1/69.

³¹ NAS, GD128/13/39; MacDougal, "Notes on the Ecclesiastical History of Strathdearn," p. 60.

³² Hew Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae: The Succession of Ministers in the Church of Scotland from the Reformation*, vol. 7, Synods of Aberdeen and Moray (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1926), p. 476.

³³ For a discussion of these two men see: MacLeod, *By-Paths of Highland Church History*, pp. 86-96.

Mackay's ministry, many worthies came from Sutherland to communions in Moy and Dalarossie. The minister from 1806 was James McLachlan. His relationship with the parish is unknown, but he described them as having a religion that was "cold" and "rigid", so he may have had slightly more moderate tendencies than they, which might have caused some difficulty between him and the parishioners.³⁴

It seems clear from what little is known of the Separatist movement that in it are the roots of the Disruption of 1843. However, the origins of this movement, as well as its distribution, are murky and little understood. It seems unlikely that the men described by Macleod were all Separatists all the time. Additionally, William Mackay died in 1798, before the movement as described by Macleod had begun to develop. It seems probable that the evangelicals of the Highlands only acted when they disagreed with their minister. Their faith alone did not make them Separatists. In the case of Moy and Dalarossie under the Reverend Hugh Mackay and in Croy parish under the Reverend Hugh Calder, division between the parish and the minister was not an issue as they were of one mind. However, the training and zeal of *na doaine* gave them the strength and resolution to break with a minister if he was deemed unworthy.

It is this strong puritan belief and tradition of dissent that many immigrants from Strathnairn and Strathdearn would have brought with them to America. In the United States, however, their traditions would have come "face to face" with the several Presbyterian traditions already established in the Upper Ohio Valley. The Highland church and the three dissenting traditions in America shared several traits which included: evangelicalism, Sabbatarianism, the exclusion of musical instruments in worship, catechism, and the singing of Psalms (rather than hymns) exclusively in church.³⁵ Theologically, each church was based on the Westminster Standards, but unlike the Reformed Church the Associate Reformed Church did not try to apply the Covenants in the United States, nor was it as theologically conservative or strict as the Seceder Church.³⁶ Family worship and catechism were also common to American and Highland Presbyterian traditions. In America, the lack of ministers placed an increased importance on family worship.³⁷ Family prayer was maintained by the Scotch Settlement Highlanders and was

³⁴ NSA XIV p. 108; The next minister, James' son Thomas, was a noted Gaelic scholar and joined the Free Church in 1843.

³⁵ Ansdell, *People of the Great Faith*, pp. 109, 116; Roy S. Lautenschlager, "The Seceders: Who Import Scotland into America and Organize the First Ohio Presbytery in 1798," in *Buckeye Presbyterianism : An Account of the Seven Presbyterian Denominations with Their Twenty-One Synods and More Than Sixty Presbyteries Which at One Time or Another Have Functioned Wholly or in Large Part within the State of Ohio*, ed. E. B. Welsh (Wooster, OH, 1968), p. 25.

³⁶ William Lyons Fisk, "The Associate Reformed Church Marches Forward," in *Buckeye Presbyterianism : An Account of the Seven Presbyterian Denominations with Their Twenty-One Synods and More Than Sixty Presbyteries Which at One Time or Another Have Functioned Wholly or in Large Part within the State of Ohio*, ed. E. B. Welsh (Wooster, OH, 1968), p. 53; Lautenschlager, "The Seceders," p. 25.

³⁷ Julius Melton, *Presbyterian Worship in America; Changing Patterns since 1787* (Richmond: John Knox Press, 1967), p. 16.

one of the places that Gaelic was perpetuated.³⁸ The minister Robert Dilworth regularly catechized at Scotch Settlement in the mid-1820s.³⁹

One of the most notable customs that the Highland Presbyterians shared with American Presbyterians was the Holy Fair. In the seventeenth century the Church of Scotland settled on occasional communion as opposed to frequently held communion. Because communions were rarely held, they took on an immense importance which was lost when communion became more regular in the nineteenth century. Over time the festivals settled into a pattern: Thursday was a fast day, Friday was the day of examination, Saturday was the day of preparation, Sunday was the day of Communion and Monday was a day of Thanksgiving.⁴⁰ This same pattern was followed by Presbyterians in the American Colonies and later the United States.⁴¹

In America, as in Scotland, the festivals were held out of doors, were attended by people and ministers from neighboring parishes and congregations, and communion tokens passed out. Hospitality was provided by the members of the host parish or congregation, and the Holy Fairs provided an annual opportunity for religious revival. Western Pennsylvania became a center of evangelical Presbyterianism beginning in the 1780s when several "powerful" communions occurred in this region where Holy Fairs lasted into the nineteenth century.⁴²

Residents of the Settlement attended and hosted Communion Festivals.⁴³ At least one such was held on the farm of Alexander McIntosh and people came from as far away as Pughtown, Virginia.⁴⁴ Whether they attended festivals in Western Pennsylvania or Virginia is uncertain; many of the Presbyterian churches in this region practiced closed communion and may not have welcomed outsiders. The Yellow Creek congregation requested a communion service to be held in their congregation about once a year from 1815.⁴⁵ Reverend Robert Dilworth presided at a communion at the church in October 1828, along with Reverend Alexander Cook. Dilworth arrived at the Settlement on Friday evening, "attended at Yellow Creek Congregation" on the Saturday where he accepted new members into the church, communion was on the Sunday, and a service was held on Monday as well. Thus far these are the only mentions of Communion Festivals in the Settlement. If this were a traditional holy fair, Dilworth did not participate on the Thursday and Friday events.⁴⁶ Attendance at this event is not recorded by Dilworth, but the table was filled over three times to serve the communicants.⁴⁷

³⁸ McCready, ed., *The Robert McCready Family*.

³⁹ PHS, Mf Pos 969 Rolls 1-2.

⁴⁰ Ansdell, *People of the Great Faith*, p. 115.

⁴¹ Schmidt, *Holy Fairs*, p. 61.

⁴² Schmidt, *Holy Fairs*, pp. 61, 62.

⁴³ Private Collection, Communication from Scotch Settlement; Smith, *History of Yellow Creek Presbyterian*.

⁴⁴ Now New Manchester, West Virginia.

⁴⁵ PHS, F Mi45 H24m V.1; PHS, Records of the Presbytery of Hartford. Volume 2 1820 - 1832, F MI45 H24m v.2.

⁴⁶ PHS, Mf Pos 969 Rolls 1-2.

⁴⁷ One difference that did exist between Highland and Lowland Holy Fairs occurred on Question Friday. In the Lowlands the questions were prepared and the minister knew what was coming up, but in the

Books owned by Settlement residents reveal their continued devotion to the Westminster standards and the evangelical and reformed writings of the seventeenth and early eighteenth century. Sources such as estate inventories and a private collection include works by John Willison, Andrew Gray, Thomas Boston, Matthew Mead, John Bunyan and Richard Baxter, among others. (Table 8) Thomas Boston and John Willison appear to have been the most popular authors. Also represented were several Scotch Psalms, Gaelic Bibles and Testaments, and a Confession of Faith. Works by many of these authors were recommended by Associate ministers in Philadelphia that they might "prove of eminent usefulness to the pious of all denominations."⁴⁸ John McLean, the Seceder minister who became a doctor, and Settlement resident Isabella McGillivray, both owned the works of Alexander Peden.⁴⁹ This is just one example of the universality of many of these texts.

The books associated with Scotch Settlement lend support to Leigh Eric Schmidt's argument that devotional texts were commonly used among the laity.⁵⁰ The titles appear in early- and mid-nineteenth century editions, suggesting that they were of continued importance to the Settlement Highlanders. For example there is an 1805 and 1832 edition of *The Holy War* by John Bunyan. Many later editions were American imprints of The American Tract Society, a branch of which was established at Yellow Creek Congregation in November 1829.⁵¹ Several books had more than one owner, and often changed hands at estate auctions. Books sold by the executors of Isabella McGillivray's estate in 1820 included a Gaelic testament purchased by Andrew McIntosh, and a Bible and Psalm book purchased by Daniel Smith, Sr. An 1832 edition of *Human Nature in its Four-fold State* owned by Angus McIntosh was purchased by John Fraser in 1835.⁵² Since devotional texts and the Bible were used to help prepare for communion as well as for comfort in difficult times it is not surprising that they were widely read.⁵³ James McIntosh spent considerable time before his death in 1821 reading the Bible, *Four-fold State* and *Pilgrim's Progress*.⁵⁴

The first known conflict within Yellow Creek Presbyterian came to a head in April 1812, when several members of the Scotch Settlement congregation approached the Hartford

Highlands only the Men were allowed to ask or comment on questions and the ministers were unaware of them.

⁴⁸ William Marshall, *A Vindication of the Associate Presbytery of Pennsylvania, Respecting Their Constitution and Principles Being a Reply to the Reverend Mr. Robert Annan's "Concise and Faithful Narrative,"* &C (Philadelphia: John M'Culloch, 1791), pp. 2-4. This list included Boston's *Four-fold State*, the Shorter Catechism as explained by Fisher and Erskine, and several works by Willison, all of which had been published in United States by 1790.

⁴⁹ *Estate Records*, vol 4, pp. 310-12 and vol. 6, 506-09. These volumes are listed as "Book of Peddens" in the McGillivray estate sale and "Podens" in the McLean one.

⁵⁰ Schmidt, *Holy Fairs*, p. 141.

⁵¹ PHS, Mf Pos 969 Rolls 1-2.

⁵² The timing of the sale suggests that the first owner of this book was the Angus McIntosh who died intestate in 1834. Angus, the son of Janet Davidson and Alexander McIntosh, immigrated in 1818.

⁵³ Schmidt, *Holy Fairs*, p. 140.

⁵⁴ Private Collection, McIntosh Family Letters, January 1822.

Presbytery regarding discord. The main problem revolved around where to hold services as the congregation was much divided over this issue. At this time the Highland community was effectively two clusters of settlement separated by the Lisbon-Wellsville Road.⁵⁵ For many years services in the area had been held in private homes during the winter and in the open air in the summer. The first services were held in the home of Alexander McIntosh shortly after his arrival in Ohio in the spring of 1802, when there were few settlers in the region. McIntosh settled in the northeast quarter of Section 6 of Yellow Creek Township. Tents for summer worship were on the farm of Andrew McPherson in the southeast quarter of Section 36 of Madison Township. The first purpose-built meeting house and the first cemetery were on McIntosh's property, ca. 1808.⁵⁶ Also in these early years, services had been held in the home of William McIntosh, who had settled in Section 30 of Yellow Creek Township.

The Reverend Alexander Cook, a native of Fife, was asked by the presbytery to write a letter to the congregation as well as visit them.⁵⁷ In the meantime, the Reverend Clement Vallandigham was asked to preach at the Settlement some time before the next meeting of the Presbytery in June 1812. It was possible that Cook was sent as an emissary to the Highlanders since he himself was Scottish. The solution reached by Presbytery, in addition to requesting the parish to fast, was to require that preaching be held at both ends of the Settlement on alternating Sundays. The Settlement also obtained the services of Reverend Alexander Cook as a stated supply.

This first conflict was probably completely within the Highland community. Although, tradition states that services were held simultaneously on the farms of Alexander McIntosh and William McIntosh, it is possible that for the first several years they were only held on the farm of Alexander McIntosh at the east end of the Settlement. This fact would have given McIntosh and his fellows from Croy and Dalarossie an apparent, if not actual control, over the church. As the size of the community at the west end grew, they might have resented this dominance, especially if they were from a different parish. The services that were recorded as being held on William McIntosh's property may have only begun after the guidance of the presbytery was requested. Other studies have shown that congregations rarely divided over theological issues in the first twenty years of settlement. The overriding reason during these early years was that one portion simply wanted to hold services nearer their home. Additionally, Alexander McIntosh died in December 1812 which may have eased the conflict as one of its main causes was no more.

⁵⁵ PHS, F Mi45 H24m V.1, p. 105.

⁵⁶ Margaret Fraser Keister stated that they had no settled place of worship for the first 6 years after their arrival & went to Virginia. Mack, *Columbiana County*, p. 191; Private Collection, Communication from Scotch Settlement.

⁵⁷ Alexander Cook was born in St. Monance (St. Monans) parish in Fife. He emigrated to the American colonies ca. 1785. He worked as a silversmith and clockmaker in Canonsburg, Pennsylvania before studying for the ministry. He was ordained by the Presbytery of Erie in 1803. Teri A. Brown, *Men of the Cloth : Pastors, Preachers and Priests in Western Pa* [Website] (7 April 2002 [cited 12 August 2002]); available from http://www.rootsweb.com/~papastor/2a/alexander_cook.htm; PHS, F Mi45 H24m V.1; PHS, Minutes of the Presbytery of Erie, 1801-1811, VM145 ER46 v.1.

From 1815, and continuing for several years, Scotch Settlement had no settled pastor and was unable to support one. This fact suggests that, for whatever reason, the congregation did not have the financial resources to procure regular preaching of the Gospel. They were not alone in this situation, as in 1817 sixteen other congregations in the vicinity could not support a pastor either. The lack of funds did not stop those in Scotch Settlement from obtaining supply ministers who would preach at least once a quarter. They requested supplies from the Presbyteries of Hartford and Ohio. In 1818, the commissioners of the church asked permission to place a call to Alexander Denoon, the minister of the Presbyterian church in the Highland community in Caledonia, New York. He did not accept the call, although there were those in the Settlement who, as late as 1841, continued to hope that he would.⁵⁸ Shortly afterwards, ca. 1819, some residents of Scotch Settlement placed a call to Norman Macleod who at this time was settled at Pictou. Macleod accepted the call and prepared to travel with "his flock" in 1819. However, they encountered a storm and sought shelter in St. Ann harbor in Cape Breton. Here, they decided to stay. This call is not recorded in American sources, so it is possible that it was unofficial and done without the knowledge of the Hartford Presbytery.⁵⁹

The reasons for a renewed period of conflict, first recorded in the Presbytery Records in 1816, are unknown. In 1816 and 1817 committees were appointed by the Hartford Presbytery to try and solve the problems in the Yellow Creek congregation. Later histories stress the year 1815 as *the* year of conflict over the location of the church. However, these sources may be conflating two events. There was conflict over the location in 1812 and that is clear from the Presbytery records, but conflict began anew in 1816, though the location is never mentioned. Smith states that a general meeting was held in 1815 to arrange for a common meeting place, near the center "also to put up good sheds for the people and a tent for the minister" and that Mr. Cook was the pastor.⁶⁰ However, Reverend Cook left the Hartford Presbytery in October 1814, so this meeting must have occurred before that time.

According to an account recorded by the Reverend Randolph Stone, the chief antagonists during the period of renewed conflict were Charles McLean and his followers. One the face of it Stone's account explains the entire conflict and is worth quoting in full:

About fifteen years ago, a man by the name of McClane, who was reputed a prophet in the North of Scotland came and settled among this people. Here he called himself a prophet, and spoke to the people in prophecies, informing them that he received his

⁵⁸ Private Collection, McIntosh Family Letters, James McKenzie, Scotch Settlement, to John McIntosh, Midmorile, January 1841.

⁵⁹ MacLeod, *By-Paths of Highland Church History*, pp. 142-3; Neil Robinson, *To the Ends of the Earth : Norman Mcleod and the Highlanders' Migration to Nova Scotia and New Zealand* (Auckland: HarperCollins, 1998), pp. 57-59.

⁶⁰ Smith, *History of Yellow Creek Presbyterian*, p. 7.

communications immediately from Jehovah and threatened, if any dared to dispute, or disobey the commands which he gave as a prophet, in Jehovah's name, to call down upon them, the vengeance of the almighty. Thus he succeeded in terrifying and frightening the people into the most abject obedience to their prophet. (Sometimes he would declare in public that his eyes had seen such and such individuals swimming in hell, for disregarding the command of the almighty by his prophet). He spent his time going from house to house, praying and exhorting the people, and inviting the chains of superstition - When he was in want of any of the necessities of life, he informed them that they were commanded from the mouth of the lord to supply him with the things he wanted. Perhaps it was a horse, or a yoke, or oxen.

After a few years had thus passed, he told the people that before he left Scotland that exact site and pattern of the meeting house was shown him, and the time had now come for them to build it. Accordingly he [marked] out the place, by fixing the four corners of the house as it had been shown him of the Lord gave the pattern of the [illegible] as Moses did of the tabernacle and gave orders for the building, which were scrupulously obeyed. Thus a house was erected for public worship. This done, he next informed them that he was their prophet, and his business was to occupy that house as a prophet and an exhorter and they received his [sic] as such. It is now about three years since a part of the inhabitants became convinced of the imposture of the prophet and began to make some efforts to procure a regular minister of the Gospel. They sent for me (said Mr. Robinson) from lower Canada, I obeyed the call and came and found the prophet much enraged at the revolt of the people. After a few weeks it was concluded that I should move my family and settle as their pastor, which was done accordingly.

Now the prophet ceased his public exhortations and prophecies, and delivered them from house to house, accompanied with flatteries and threats, as he judged would best serve his occasion. At a certain time he was endeavoring to reclaim a woman who had forsaken him, and she being rather obstinate, he began to [illegible] her by saying that he(r) mother was a witch in Scotland. She replied that if her mother was a witch she did not know it, and that it was said that his grandmother was a witch. But, continued the woman, 'be these things as they may, my father was never accused... of abusing married women, as you have done.' What, said the prophet, do you accuse me of abusing married women? Yes! was the answer. He then called witnesses that the woman had slandered him, and soon after laid in a complaint against her to the church for slander.

In the trial, the woman testified that he had abused her, but as no other woman could be made to testify to his abuse, and charge was supported, and the woman condemned for slander. Sometime after, a rehearing was granted to the woman, when she brought fourteen women that testified that they had personally received abuse from the prophet.

The consequence was, the woman was restored and the prophet excommunicated. But after all this, about thirty families adhere to that man, as a true prophet and dare not speak or think any more than act, in contrainety [?] to his wishes and commands. It was the dread of the prophet that suppressed the testimony in the first time.

He still continues, says, Mr. R., to go about praying with and exhorting those families, and pretends to power of communicated [with] the Holy Spirit, which he does by praying with them, and immediately after, rising from prayers, he kisses the woman, and puts his tongue in her mouth, and this is accompanied with many indecent and [illegible] actions. The prophet and all who adhere to him are strenuously opposed to me, says, Mr. R., and to all the orderly part of the congregation.⁶¹

This account, while colorful, does follow the course of events as known from the minutes of the Hartford Presbytery and other sources. It was relayed to Reverend Stone by Reverend James Robertson in April 1822. Stone had heard a similar account of the discord from Robert Martin, a Scots-Irish member of the congregation originally from Pennsylvania, the night before. Before we can truly assess many of the flaws in Robertson's version of the events, it is first necessary to learn a little bit about the main actors, Robertson and McLean and "his followers", as well as some of the differences between the Highland tradition of Presbyterianism and others.

Robertson was born in Fortingall parish, Perthshire in 1776, attended the University of St. Andrew's and after graduation became schoolmaster in Strowan and Blair Atholl parishes.⁶² Although these parts of Perthshire are Highland, they were different culturally from Strathnairn and Strathdearn. In Perthshire, the tradition of *na daoine* was seemingly unknown; and in the eastern half of the county, where Robertson had lived for much of his adult life, a different dialect of Gaelic was spoken.⁶³ Robertson migrated to Prince Edward Island in 1804, for reasons which are unknown. At some point he made a return journey to Scotland and was accompanied on second trip to Prince Edward Island by his brother, sister-in-law, and parents aboard the *Clarendon* in 1808.⁶⁴ He remained in Charlottetown until at least 1810, when his youngest child was born.

According to Robertson, the people of Scotch Settlement called him directly from Lower Canada. In June of 1819, Yellow Creek made their first request to have Robertson preach among them as stated supply. In October of that year he formally requested to be connected with the Presbytery of Hartford.⁶⁵ However, some time between 1810 and 1819, Robertson had moved to Caledonia, New York where his daughter married in May 1819. The ceremony was performed by

⁶¹ WRHS, Ms. 2260.

⁶² Private Collection, Communication from Scotch Settlement.

⁶³ Ansdell, *People of the Great Faith*, p. 112; Thomson, *The Companion to Gaelic Scotland*, pp. 92-93.

⁶⁴ The passenger list for the *Clarendon* is available in Bumsted, *People's Clearance*, pp. 275-280.

⁶⁵ PHS, F Mi45 H24m V.1, pp. 232, 236.

Alexander Denoon of Dores Parish, Invernesshire. According to a family history, Robertson had a stormy career in Livingston County, suggesting he may have stayed there for some time.⁶⁶ If Robertson did not get on with people in Caledonia, he may have been open to opportunities elsewhere. However, when he requested to be associated with Hartford, he gave his home presbytery as that of Charlottetown, perhaps indicating he had not been long in Caledonia.

Charles McLean was born in 1759, presumably in Petty parish. He immigrated to the Settlement with his family ca. 1805. He did not purchase land until 1813, so there may be some truth to the assertion that he had been supported by members of the congregation. Other than this account very little is known about him as he appears in no other records. The description of McLean provided by Robertson via Stone seems to suggest that he was a member of *na daoine* as they were noted for strong opinions and speaking in prophecies. It also appears that McLean was acceptable to many within the community, but obviously not to Robertson.

It seems likely that elders and Men, who were often the same thing, had continued importance and influence in Scotch Settlement. Regarding her son James, Janet Davidson related that "I have to add this that for (four) worthys here were and are of a very favourable opinion of him. Especially one man said that he was fully persuaded of his safe (deliverance)." Men who had been considered saints in Scotland were unlikely to be considered otherwise in America. For some time Alexander McIntosh (d. 1812) was the only elder, a post he had held in Scotland as well. Other elders were elected, but they are not among those with extensive numbers of devotional texts in their estate inventories. These men included: William McIntosh (d. 1828), Alexander McIntosh (d. 1823), and Daniel McPherson (d. 1819). There were pamphlet sermons in Alexander McIntosh's estate, and the pamphlets in William McIntosh's estate were probably sermons as well. The Synod of Philadelphia had recommended that vacant congregations hold services led by the elders who would read from approved texts.⁶⁷ In Scotch Settlement, perhaps settlers who had been Men in Scotland were also considered suitable for these tasks.

One custom the Highlanders did retain, which differed significantly from their neighbors, was their continued use of Gaelic. Gaelic and religion, as seen in the last chapter, became inexorably intertwined in the Highlands. Language would, out of necessity, be a dividing factor for many immigrant congregations of all backgrounds. For Highlanders this dependence on the mother-tongue was two-fold: first, for many, it was probably the only language they could easily understand and for others it was a necessary part of their religious experience. In light of the importance placed on Gaelic these Highlanders would have been unlikely to give it up entirely, although they did, through necessity, have English speaking ministers. However, an emphasis on Gaelic in services without a minister, which were frequent

⁶⁶ PHS, Presbytery of Geneva Minutes, V MI45 G32 volume A 1805-1813; PHS, Saratoga Presbytery (Assoc. Ref. Church of NA) Minutes 1808-1854, vMJJ I45 sa71m; Private Collection, Communication from Scotch Settlement. There is no record of Robertson in the Geneva (Presbyterian) or Saratoga (Associate) Presbytery Records investigated for this project. Neither does he appear in the 1810 census for the Township of Caledonia.

⁶⁷ Trinterud, *The Forming of an American Tradition: A Re-Examination of Colonial Presbyterianism*, p. 266.

on the frontier, may have proved too big a burden for any English-speaking members of the congregation, even if they did hold the same religious views. An immigrant congregation could adhere to their native-tongue for two or three generations, and even giving it up then could cause dispute within a congregation.⁶⁸

Among McLean's "followers" may have been those who were more attached to the old ways, although it does not necessarily follow that they supported all of his actions. Among those perhaps least willing to accept new-fangled American ways were immigrants from Moy and Dalarossie parish. As discussed many people from this parish were deeply evangelical and religious conservatives. Increasing numbers of migrants from this parish began to arrive in the Settlement after 1810, including two sizable parties in 1817 and 1818. Additionally, several immigrants had strong personal ties to the evangelical movement in the Highlands. Most of these connections were through the McDougal family, which was friendly with William Fraser of Tomnahurich. Elizabeth and Andrew McDougal's cousin, Angus Mackintosh, was the minister at Tain from 1797 to 1831. Their brother James, schoolmaster at Raigbeg in Moy and Dalarossie, was at Aberdeen University with Norman Macleod, the Assynt separatist. These two men corresponded for several decades and Macleod suggested that McDougal join him in Nova Scotia.⁶⁹ The brother of Peter Ross, who emigrated ca. 1823, was Alexander Ross who was missionary, later minister, at Ullapool from 1818.⁷⁰ Some members of the Settlement knew Reverend Alexander Denoon of Caledonia, New York. Denoon, who had been the schoolmaster of Dores parish, was relieved of his position in 1804 because his conscience would not permit him to take the oath of Government.⁷¹ So not only did the immigrants have a past connection with the Highland evangelical movement, but it continued well after they had emigrated.

A church, known as the Buckwheat-Straw on account of its thatched roof, was built in Section 24 of Yellow Creek township ca. 1815. One source suggests that the Scotch Religious Presbyterian Society was formed in 1811 on Baillies Run, part of the Little Yellow Creek.⁷² This date may reflect the arrival of Alexander Cook, or it may mean that those who lived in the west end of the Settlement formally organized earlier than those at the east end. If Charles McLean was key to fixing the location of this church, it may have been no more malicious than simply being fed up with the bickering over where to hold services. He may have used any authority he had and said something to the effect of "build it here and have done with it." This location, centrally located within the Settlement, was perhaps inconvenient to those who had settled further to the west, whether Highland or not.

⁶⁸ Kelly and Kelly, *Carolina Scots*, pp. 108-9; Ostergren, *A Community Transplanted*, pp. 277-9.

⁶⁹ McBane, ed., *McBane-McKenzie Clans*, pp. 14, 21-22.

⁷⁰ Private Collection, Scotch Settlement Papers, Alexander Ross, Ullapool to Peter Ross, Scotch Settlement, 23 July 1838; Hew Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanæ: The Succession of Ministers in the Church of Scotland from the Reformation*, vol. 6, Synods of Ross, Sutherland and Caithness (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1928), p. 165.

⁷¹ NAS, Minutes of the Presbytery of Inverness, CH2/553/7.

⁷² Davidson, *Before the Memory Fades*, p. 5.

The Buckwheat-Straw church, also known as the Scotch Settlement meeting house, was used until it was destroyed by fire, probably in the summer of 1826. Tradition records that outdoor services occurred on the property of George Ogilvie, who lived in the center of the settlement. However, the only record of this happening was after the meeting house had been destroyed. In 1827, about a year after the fire, the permanent home of Yellow Creek Presbyterian Church was established upon the farm of Andrew Smith in Section 34 of Madison Township. Smith, a man of influence in the community, had been elected an elder in March 1827.

Conflict within the congregation apparently escalated with the coming of James Robertson. He was seemingly welcomed by the entire congregation at his arrival in June 1819 and he served as their stated supply for the next year. During his first years in Columbiana County he itinerated in the region, endorsed revivals and established at least one new church, Bethesda Presbyterian, located in Franklin Township.⁷³ During his first year at Yellow Creek he possibly attended the kirk session that heard the case of slander brought by Charles McLean against Neal and Christina McDonald. This case must be the one described by Robertson and objections to McLean may also be the root of the problems between 1816 and 1819. The kirk session found in favor of McLean and the McDonalds appealed to the Presbytery. The Presbytery overturned the decision of the kirk session and recommended that a case be brought against McLean. The McDonalds also stated their intention of taking their case to the Synod of Erie.⁷⁴ No mention of this case was found in the Synod records. In the United States, the presbytery held pre-eminence over the General Assembly, which suggests that the hierarchy of church courts might not have been used the same way as in Scotland.⁷⁵ This custom of localized power likely arose out of the distance between sessions, presbyteries and synods.

However, by fall 1820 the situation had deteriorated so badly in Yellow Creek Presbyterian that an election was held within the congregation to determine whether Robertson should be offered another contract to continue as their minister. The votes for were 111 and the votes against were 32. The Presbytery also gave Yellow Creek permission to elect new elders at this time. Despite the minority who disliked Robertson, he was called to be the stated pastor of Yellow Creek and Bethesda Congregations in April 1821, which he accepted.⁷⁶

He was installed pastor of the united congregations in 1821 and the ceremony was held in the Yellow Creek meeting house. Under the leadership of Robertson the size of the congregations grew. In 1813, Yellow Creek had 12 communicants, by 1822, a few years after Robertson's arrival, the united congregations of Yellow Creek and Bethesda had 93

⁷³ William B. McCord, *History of Columbiana County, Ohio, and Representative Citizens* (Chicago: Biographical Publishing Co., 1905), p. 341; PHS, F Mi45 H24m V.1. Prior to 1825 there had been three revivals in Bethel and Bethesda congregations. Although it is not explicitly stated that Robertson orchestrated these revivals, it is probable that he did not discourage them either.

⁷⁴ PHS, F Mi45 H24m V.1.

⁷⁵ Randall Balmer and John R. Fitzmier, *The Presbyterians* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1993), p. 38.

⁷⁶ Robertson had organized Bethesda Church sometime between 1819 and 1821. PHS, F Mi45 H24m V.1, p. 254.

communicants, 61 of whom were added by examination. The number of communicants increased again to 188 in April 1823.⁷⁷ By all accounts, in spite of dissent, the congregations were thriving.

In November of 1821 when Robertson and the session refused to give certificates to certain members of the congregation, the Presbytery over-ruled the decision. Why these certificates were denied is unknown.⁷⁸ Later histories record that Bethel Presbyterian Church was organized as a daughter church of Yellow Creek Presbyterian in this same year. Land was donated by Thomas Patterson for a church and cemetery in 1821. The church history records that the first elders, Andrew Adams, Richard Gilson, James Welch, and Thomas Patterson, were also elected in 1821.⁷⁹ It is very likely that these four men were the elders whom the Presbytery allowed Yellow Creek to elect the previous fall. However, there is no mention of Bethel church in the Presbytery records until 1823 when the Yellow Creek congregation was officially divided. At this point James Robertson was the stated pastor of Bethel and Bethesda Presbyterian churches, a post which he held until 1827, and Yellow Creek had none.

A petition presented to the Presbytery in 1823 had stated that there were great irregularities in the Yellow Creek Congregation. This time the presbytery did not send a committee to investigate, but upon consideration divided the congregation. This is the only known occurrence of a congregational division being imposed by the Hartford Presbytery. They decreed that those living near "where the new meeting-house is built" would constitute the new congregation.⁸⁰ This new building was located in Section 24 in Wayne Township, at the far western edge of Scotch Settlement. The "irregularity" in the congregation may simply have been that those in Scotch Settlement simply refused to attend the new church, and continued to hold services in their old structure in Yellow Creek Township.

The building of a new meeting-house may also have been necessary because the members who had voted against Robertson bolted the door of the church to him and the rest of the congregation at some point between late 1821 and October 1823. This situation is known to have occurred at the Scotch Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia in 1781 and at the Presbyterian Church in Caledonia in 1809.⁸¹ In the Philadelphia case, about half the congregation did not accept the proposed union between the Associate and Reformed churches. Among those evicted from the church was the minister. In Caledonia, the division was over the suitability of the minister, Alexander Denoon, who was from Invernesshire. However, he was not acceptable to the immigrants from Perthshire and they were the ones who held the deed to the church, which

⁷⁷ PHS, F Mi45 H24m V.1.

⁷⁸ PHS, F Mi45 H24m V.1, pp. 266-7.

⁷⁹ Mack, *Columbiana County*, p. 269.

⁸⁰ PHS, F Mi45 H24m V.2.

⁸¹ Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church, *A Letter from the Associate Reformed Synod, to the Associate Presbytery of Pennsylvania and Another from That Presbytery, in Answer to the Former. : To Which Is Prefixed, a State of Some Facts, Relative to the Controversy Now Subsisting, Concerning the Scots Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: Young and M'Culloch, 1787), p. 3; PHS, *History of the Presbytery of Genesee*. March 1st 1888, Ms G28, p. 18.

included 250 acres for a glebe. A later history reports that doctrinally the Caledonia churches were identical, which suggests that the divide in the congregation was not theologically based. The door of the church was bolted against the Invernesshire Presbyterians.⁸² The Invernesshire church kept Denoon as its minister and stayed with the Presbyterian Church while the Perthshire Presbyterians joined the Associate Reformed Presbytery of Saratoga, perhaps because many of their kith and kin in eastern New York (Johnstown and Albany) were also members of this presbytery.⁸³

In June of 1822, the session of Yellow Creek was ordered to give certificates of membership to those that had requested them; significantly perhaps Robertson's name is not mentioned this time. The presbytery ordered that Bethel was to retain the session records after permitting Yellow Creek to copy whatever was necessary. This decision was likely taken because the larger part of the congregation went with Bethel. However, the remnant of Yellow Creek took great exception to this, in all probability because they were the original congregation. In 1825 Hartford Presbytery resolved that Yellow Creek congregation should receive and retain the session book, although they did not actually receive it until 1827.

After the split in the congregation, Yellow Creek obtained supply ministers from the Presbytery. Two regulars were the Rev. Clement Vandaligham and the newly ordained Robert Dilworth. The latter, who had first preached in Scotch Settlement as a licentiate in December 1824, was employed as a stated supply from 1827 until 1829. He was paid eighty dollars per annum for one-quarter of his time, in other words one Sunday a month. He recorded no problems within the congregation during his association with them, and neither does mention regarding discord appear in the Hartford Presbytery minutes.

While Robertson and Stone relay the sequence of events with relative accuracy, they are obviously missing many nuances of the conflict. The Highlanders of Scotch Settlement very likely saw Yellow Creek Presbyterian as *their* church even if non-Highlanders attended. It had been started in the homes of their pioneers with their unique customs. Robertson may have been welcomed at first, but he came from a different Highland tradition with a slightly different dialect of Gaelic. Local differences could be very divisive in immigrant communities. It was divisive in Caledonia as the histories record that the split over Alexander Denoon was along regional lines. However, the Geneva Presbytery minutes suggest that the charges brought against him were purely of a doctrinal nature. The Presbytery took the allegations seriously and interviewed Denoon and concluded that he was acceptable and proceeded to install him as

⁸² Centennial Committee, *Centennial Book. First Presbyterian Church, Caledonia, Ny 1805-1905* (Caledonia, NY: Centennial Committee, 1906), pp. 18, 21.

⁸³ PHS, Vmjj I45 Sa71m.

minister of the Caledonian Presbyterian Church.⁸⁴ The split in Caledonia was similar to that in Scotch Settlement, Perthshire in opposition to Invernesshire.

Robertson also apparently had a very different agenda from many in his congregation. Since he viewed at least those who followed McLean as bigoted and superstitious, he may have acted superior to them. Robertson, as seen, was a great itinerant, started one church shortly after his arrival, and presided over at least one revival.⁸⁵ It is these revivals that likely caused the surge in communicants of Yellow Creek and Bethesda. New members may have caused two sources of conflict. First, since most of Robertson's additions were from west of the Settlement, they were unlikely to have been Highlanders. This might have begun to take power of the church away from its founders. The first step was the electing of new elders in 1821, none of whom were Highlanders. A second source of tension may have been the terms under which the communicants were admitted. Robertson may have been more moderate and not demanded subscription to the Westminster Confession and associated documents as a precondition to communion.

In Presbyterian communities disagreements generally centered around how much emphasis should be placed on the National Covenant of 1638, the Solemn League and Covenant of 1643, the Westminster Confession and the adoption of Watt's hymns over Rous' Psalms. The adoption of Watts' was a source of conflict in the various denominations for well over a century. Rous' psalms were believed to be superior, not only because they were traditional, but because they were written by David and the hymns by a mere human.⁸⁶ In 1782, the constitution of the newly formed Associate Reformed Church allowed congregations to choose either Rous or Watts.⁸⁷ However, a renewed period of controversy over the use of Watts' hymns, in addition to a debate over inter-communion, erupted within the Associate Reformed Church in the 1810s. This conflict became so severe that it eventually caused the dissolution of the General Synod of the Church. The Synod of Scioto withdrew in 1820 and the Synod of the Carolinas in 1822. In this same year, the General Synod entered into a plan of union with the Presbyterian Church. This merger was supported primarily by urban eastern churches.

After the split of the Associate Reformed Church, the Ohio Valley became the focal point of unswerving loyalty to the conservative theology of the Covenanters. When the Associate Reformed and Associate churches merged in 1858, they were both still strong supporters of psalmody. At the time of Union there were 30 Associate congregations in Ohio and 111 Associate Reformed congregations, or about 22% of the total congregations in the two denominations. Whether or not the issue of psalmody and inter-communion was at the root of many of the problems in Yellow Creek is uncertain, especially since they were in communion with the Presbyterian Church. Hugh Rose, who immigrated in 1829, suggests that many of the

⁸⁴ PHS, V Mi45 G32 Volume a 1805-1813.

⁸⁵ Mack, *Columbiana County*, p. 155.

⁸⁶ Lautenschlager, "The Seceders," p. 33.

⁸⁷ James H. Smylie, *A Brief History of the Presbyterians* (Louisville, KY: Geneva Press, 1996), p. 62.

Highlanders were loyal to Rous. He related to his brother the "heinous sin" of using Watts. Rose continued, "I think that it will be admitted by every unprejudiced person that Dr. Watts composition is an excellent one, but I do not think that he is to be compared to 'the (sacred?) Psalmist of Israel.'" ⁸⁸ However, at least some of the Highlanders were not averse to hymns, at least outside church, as there are tune and hymn books represented in the early estate inventories. ⁸⁹

Although it is apparent that even Highland families took exception to McLean, at least thirty families stayed with him. It is possible that McLean is simply the man on whom Robertson focused, for McLean was never elected an elder of the church, nor appears in any surviving record as acting on behalf of the church. He was never once mentioned in the diary of Robert Dilworth. Since his daughter was the first person buried in the Yellow Creek churchyard when it was established in 1827, he must have maintained his connections with the congregation. ⁹⁰ It seems possible that some of the Highland families may have followed Robertson to Bethel Presbyterian, but then returned to Yellow Creek. In 1828, Dilworth received four people into the congregation, "old Mrs. Calder, Laughlin Noble, Mrs. Ross and Mary Falkner." ⁹¹ Elizabeth Calder had lived in Scotch Settlement since 1802, Laughlin Noble and his daughter Anne Noble Ross, since 1817, while Mary Falconer, whose parents immigrated ca. 1802, may have been born in the Settlement. It is possible, but unlikely, that these persons had been unassociated with any church since their respective arrivals. The Nobles may have returned to Yellow Creek, in part, because Anne's husband, Peter Ross, was a trustee of the church when it was chartered in 1825. ⁹² A similar situation also existed in Caledonia: some removed their objections to Denoon simply because their families had accepted him. ⁹³ Moreover, many Highlanders may have stayed, or returned to Yellow Creek, because it retained the use of Gaelic when possible.

Although those in Scotch Settlement did take steps to maintain their Highland religious heritage, they seem to have begun to investigate Scotland and its Covenanting past. This past was readily embraced by many of the dissenting traditions in the United States. While the Highlanders maintained much of their culture, as discussed in the previous chapter, as well as keeping plaids, scotch knives and wagons, they may also have been influenced by those around them. Several books owned by Settlement residents were also popular in the Victorian image of Scotland and the persecution of the Covenanters. Daniel McPherson owned *Cloud of Witnesses* and Alexander McIntosh owned *Scotch Worthies* and a *History of the Church of Scotland*. ⁹⁴ Three

⁸⁸ WRHS, Mss V.F. C, No. 1247.

⁸⁹ *Estate Inventories*, vol. 4, pp. 163-5 and 173.

⁹⁰ Ohio Genealogical Society Columbiana County Chapter, *Columbiana County, Ohio Cemetery Inscriptions*, 23 vols. (Salem, OH: The Society); PHS, Mf Pos 969 Rolls 1-2; PHS, F Mi45 H24m V.1; PHS, F Mi45 H24m V.2.

⁹¹ PHS, Mf Pos 969 Rolls 1-2.

⁹² WRHS, Scrapbook.

⁹³ PHS, Ms G28, p. 18.

⁹⁴ *Estate Records*, vol 2, pp. 19-23; vol 4, p. 173; and vol. 6, pp. 57-8.

additional books of this type associated with the Settlement were William McIntosh's copy of Burn's poems, an 1825 copy of the *History of Scotland* and *Scottish Chiefs* from 1834.⁹⁵ Not only was romanticized imagery of Scotland readily available and adopted by dissenting Presbyterians and the general public, it had the advantage of being in English. Although a romanticized image of the Highlands was also available, it bore little resemblance to that which was known by Settlement residents. However, as the shift towards English became more complete, some identity markers would become crucial.

This association with a covenanting and persecuted past was even grafted onto their family histories: "Not wishing to rear his family in Scotland (after three of his uncles had been burned at the stake for their faith in Christ), Duncan Fraser ... started to America with his wife Nancy ... and their four children."⁹⁶ This is clearly an apocryphal story as no-one had been burned for their faith in Scotland since before the Reformation in the sixteenth century, although it is possible that he had ancestors who were involved in the Civil War and Covenanting movements of the seventeenth century and these were, in part, religious wars. The adoption of a persecuted past might also have been influenced by the many European groups who had come to the United States in search of religious freedom.

The Highlanders also made other adjustments to the situation in the United States. One of the most significant complaints concerning the Church of Scotland was the presentation rights, whether the heritors or the congregation could call a minister. This problem, which affected the Highlands and Lowlands both, was most visible when an evangelical parish was settled with a moderate minister. The right of presentation was a non-issue in the colonies and the United States, and congregations were able to choose their own ministers. Generally, these ministers were hired on a contract at the will of the trustees and could be dismissed if they did not do as a congregation wished. This was a change that they made gladly. One other small change they had to make was not being able to have their children baptized soon after birth. This change was necessary because ministers were often few and far between. During the early 1820s, many residents traveled once per quarter to Munchmores Bottom in present-day West Virginia to have their children baptized.⁹⁷ However, in spite of the adjustments made, their church and their faith provided them with a framework for their lives and comfort in difficult circumstances. It also provided them with the cornerstone of their Highland community and the means by which to assert and maintain a separate identity.

⁹⁵ These books are from the private collection. *Scottish Chiefs* was owned by a William Smith and the *History of Scotland* came from the John Fraser family. There are two additional books in his collection of this type which are outwith the time period of this project. First, *Annals of the Persecution in Scotland* by John Aikman first published in Scotland in 1842; but this particular copy was published by the Presbyterian Board of Education in Philadelphia. Second, *Traditions of the Covenanters* by Rev. Robert Simpson first published in Scotland in 1867, but again this copy is an American edition.

⁹⁶ Private Collection, Fraser Family Papers, *The Arrival of the Duncan Fraser Family in America* by Mary Elizabeth Deister.

⁹⁷ Private Collection, *Communication from Scotch Settlement*.

Conclusion

They give the oats to the horses; make whiskey of the rye.

Hugh Rose, 1830¹

In this brief phrase Hugh Rose neatly encapsulates the immigrant experience. In most immigrant communities customs of the old world were kept, altered or lost. Oats were a major subsistence crop in the Scottish Highlands along with barley and rye. So the knowledge that in Scotch Settlement oats were still grown, but given to the horses, might have been a shock to Rose. In his letter to his elder brother John, Hugh Rose catalogues the differences between Ohio and Scotland: in Ohio sleighs were used instead of carts, johnnycakes were eaten instead of bannocks. Some things, though, were the same, including potatoes and bickering among Presbyterians.

Although faced with almost insurmountable problems both in Scotland and their adopted home, the Scotch Settlement Highlanders created a good life for themselves and their families and in the process established a close-knit Highland community in Ohio. The existence of this settlement demonstrates that British immigrants could and did form persistent ethnic communities. However, Highland communities may be a special case as their culture and language were distinct and thus had less in common with American culture than those of either Lowland Scotland or England. Like most emigrant communities in the United States those at Scotch Settlement maintained their community most noticeably through settlement patterns, endogamous marriage, language and their church. Many other cultural patterns were doubtless maintained but these have left no evidence. This strong community not only minimized homesickness and loneliness but also helped them to adapt and succeed by insulating people from American culture.

Yet, their community was in no way static. They quickly adapted to American farming practices. In order to survive it was crucial to farm economically, not only to feed one's family, but in order to have a surplus to sell at market. These profits were required to make payments on their land. Wheat, a crop rarely grown in the Highlands, was one of the biggest cash crops in America. Another important crop, relatively unknown in the United Kingdom, was corn (maize); in America it was used to feed man and beast alike. The Highlanders in Scotch Settlement starting sowing both of these crops soon after their arrival in the United States. Another

¹ WRHS, Mss V.F. C, No. 1247.

motivating factor behind the adaptation of American farming methods was that European methods were too labor intensive, a scarce commodity on the frontier.

With time they finalized the shift from Gaelic to English, which for many had begun even before they left Scotland. They also had to adapt to new religious circumstances. Common practices such as baptism almost immediately after birth had to be abandoned. Ministers were scarce on the frontier and the Scotch Settlement Highlanders often had to worship under their own direction. Subscriptions were raised to support their ministers out of their own pocket. This latter change was doubtless favored by them because if they did not like or agree with the minister he could be replaced. They also had to adjust to a different church structure where power was held locally as opposed to nationally.

The Scotch Settlement Highlanders were part of a long and continuing history of emigration to the United States from the Highlands which began in the early years of the eighteenth-century. The first documented emigrants to the American colonies from Strathdearn and Strathnairn were transported in 1716 after the failed Rising of the previous year. Out-migration from the region continued unabated for two centuries, to the United States and Canada. While many Highlanders who settled in the Colonies were indeed loyalists, others were not. As most loyalists were grudgingly welcomed back into the fold after the Revolution and only about ten percent left, it is credible that many Highland loyalists remained as well. Many Highland communities in New York and North Carolina were not in complete disarray and were able to attract further emigrants for decades to come. In addition to the growth of well-established Highland communities, new ones were established, most notably at Caledonia, New York and Scotch Settlement, Ohio. Smaller communities were also established in western Pennsylvania, and in Pittsburgh, Baltimore, and New York.

Searching for the reasons why the Scotch Settlement Highlanders emigrated has proved the most challenging problem, due to a lack of concrete data and the unsatisfactory nature of current research. Most scholars emphasize the push caused by landlord action and conclude that the Highlanders were thus not voluntary migrants. The notion of a "people's clearance" while not completely dismissed, has been called into serious question. However, the findings of this dissertation support, with reservations, the concept of a "people's clearance." Many Highlanders were proactive emigrants, who essentially realized that their needs, whether basic human necessities or economic security, would no longer be met if they remained in Scotland. There existed in Moy and Dalarossie Parish, and probably the surrounding parishes, a unique set of circumstances that not only facilitated emigration but did not attempt to halt it.

The value-added process and additional concepts borrowed from sociology may assist in explaining why emigration was effectively halted in many parts of the Highlands after the American Revolution. In some Hebridean islands emigration only occurred in the decade before the Revolution, a time in which it could be considered "trendy." Because these emigration movements were comparatively short-lived it is very likely that strong migration networks were

never developed. Such networks, which not only facilitate emigration but lower its financial and social cost, are key in sustaining population movements. While there was structural stress in the form of first phase clearance and the advent of coastal re-settlement, it may only have had a minimal impact. Income from kelp, although low, was steady and for most of this period cattle prices were high, thus suggesting that not all experienced extreme structural stress. Even if they did, social controls and an apparent lack of migration opportunities both diminished the chance that they would migrate. However, in areas where emigration had begun early and thus had more firmly established migration networks, it continued, most notably from Skye and the Breadalbane district of Perthshire.

So perhaps it is more appropriate to examine a series of circumstances which made a person susceptible to migration as opposed to "a" reason why they left. Current research on emigration from the Scottish Highlands centers on a debate which focuses on whether or not Highlanders were voluntary migrants. Most scholars come to the conclusion that they were not, which effectively puts them in the same category as refugees and slaves. A side effect of this debate is that it divides scholars into distinct categories of *pro-* or *con-*propriators. Those who emphasize the choice of the emigrants are seen as minimizing the effect of landlord action; those who stress landlord action run the risk of marginalizing the actual migrants. However, the Highlanders were active participants, although admittedly with little real power. In fact they were the only participants in the exodus from the region as they were the ones who actually emigrated. Those Highlanders who had the resources and access to migration networks were always more likely to take a proactive approach and migrate, no matter what their ultimate motivation.

What remains to be seen is how this proactive-reactive theory of migration might apply to the situation of people in the West Highlands and Islands. Due to the fact that they experienced many more blockages in the value-added process, it may have been much harder for them to leave, even if they had wanted too. The situation in which they lived had become so extreme that the crofters faced almost-certain death if they remained, which suggests that these emigrants may, in fact, have been refugees.

The investigation of the emigrants who lived in Scotch Settlement between 1802 and 1840 has done more than just reveal a cohesive Highland community near the banks of the Ohio River. It has provided a vehicle for the better understanding of the Highland experience vis-à-vis the United States and the process which made them decide to emigrate to America. Who knows what will be uncovered if the study of emigration from Scotland, not to mention the Highlands, is freed from a narrow-minded focus on clearance and Canada? Just as whiskey made of rye is still whiskey, Highlanders who went to the United States are still Highlanders and their stories will not only assist in an understanding of immigration to the United States but of emigration from Scotland as a whole.

Appendix A: List of Scotch Settlement Residents, 1801-1840

Last Name	First Name	Born	Died	Parish
Bailey	Alexander	1799	1878	Sutherland*
Bailey	Ann		1846	
Bailey	Christina	1838		
Bailey	Daniel	1801	1869	
Bailey	George	1771	1846	Sutherland*
Bailey	John		1835	Sutherland
Bailey	Laughlin	1830		
Bailey	Margaret	1769	1846	Sutherland*
Bailey	Nancy	1833		
Bailey	William	1800		Sutherland*
Bailey	William	1828		
Barclay	Joseph	1788	1848	Moy & Dalarossie*
Calder	Alexander	1754	1831	Croy & Dalcross
Calder	Ann	1768	1832	Croy & Dalcross
Calder	Elizabeth		1842	
Calder	Isabella	1800		Ardclach
Calder	John	1758	1830	Croy & Dalcross
Calder	John	1790		Ardclach
Calder	Margaret	1787	1807	Ardclach
Calder Dallas	Isabella	1800		Ardclach
Calder McIntosh	Isabella	1760	1847	Croy & Dalcross
Cameron	Alexander			
Cameron	Alexander	1778	1858	
Cameron	Catherine	1795		
Cameron	John			
Cameron	John	1795	1859	
Campbell	Alexander			
Campbell	Alexander	1795	1871	Moy & Dalarossie
Campbell	Alexander	1757	1847	
Campbell	Angus	1791	1845	Moy & Dalarossie
Campbell	Daniel	1799	1866	
Campbell	Daniel		1828	
Campbell	Duncan	1780		
Campbell	Duncan	1812		
Campbell	John	1759	1829	Moy & Dalarossie
Campbell	Margaret	1777	1857	
Campbell	Mary	1818		
Campbell	Nancy	1776	1829	
Campbell	Peter	1815		
Campbell Adolph	Janet	1816		
Campbell Falconer	Catherine	1805	1868	Moy & Dalarossie
Campbell McIntosh	Jane	1808		
Campbell McLean	Nancy	1800	1874	Moy & Dalarossie
Campbell Smith	Mary	1803		Moy & Dalarossie
Cattanach	John		1812	Moy & Dalarossie*
Cattanach Forbes	Elizabeth	1779	1852	Moy & Dalarossie

Last Name	First Name	Born	Died	Parish
Chisholm	Alexander	1780	1836	
Cimaron	Christina	1782	1814	
Cristey	George	1820		
Dallas	Alexander	1783	1855	Cawdor
Dallas	Isabella	1786	1860	
Dallas	James	1796	1864	Cawdor
Dallas	Laughlin	1827		Cawdor
Dallas	Laughlin	1781	1867	Cawdor
Dallas	Margaret	1827		
Dallas	Nancy	1822		
Dallas	Peter	1795		Cawdor
Davidson	Daniel	1789	1873	
Davidson	Duncan			
Davidson	James		1849	
Davidson	Kenneth	1833		
Davidson	Margaret	1797	1864	
Davidson Drummond	Margary	1814	1889	
Davidson McIntosh	Janet			Moy & Dalarossie
Dreghorn	William		1843	
Dreghorn Fogo	Jane	1809		
Dreghorn Noble	Margaret	1814		
Drummond	Allen	1810	1850	
Elliot	George	1796		
Elliott	James	1818	1870	
Falconer	William	1781	1808	
Falconer McDonald	Margaret			
Fogo	David	1808		Kilmarnock
Fogo	James	1834		
Fogo	Janet	1803	1874	Kilmarnock
Fogo	John	1799	1876	Kilmarnock
Fogo	John	1768		Kilmarnock
Fogo	Mary	1790	1871	Kilmarnock
Fogo	Wallace	1808	1885	Kilmarnock
Forbes	Alexander	1785	1871	
Forbes	Alexander		1836	Moy & Dalarossie*
Forbes	Alexander	1829		
Forbes	Daniel	1821	1907	
Forbes	Daniel	1800	1848	Moy & Dalarossie
Forbes	Duncan	1774	1844	Moy & Dalarossie
Forbes	James	1819	1871	
Forbes	Jane	1815	1882	
Forbes	John	1825	1896	
Forbes McDonald	Elizabeth	1822	1882	
Forbes McIntosh	Janet	1801	1886	Moy & Dalarossie*
Forbes McKenzie	Margary	1803	1887	
Forbes Smith	Ellen	1795	1879	

Last Name	First Name	Born	Died	Parish
Forbes Smith	Janet	1802		Moy & Dalarossie
Forsyth	William			Croy & Dalcross
Forsyth Ogilvie	Isabella	1777	1848	Croy & Dalcross
Forsyth Rose	Ellen	1775	1854	Croy & Dalcross
Fraser	Alexander	1810	1901	
Fraser	Alexander	1772	1834	Daviot & Dunlichity
Fraser	Ann	1831		
Fraser	Catherine	1829	1897	
Fraser	Daniel	1824		
Fraser	Daniel	1819	1859	Daviot & Dunlichity*
Fraser	Daniel	1794	1881	Daviot & Dunlichity
Fraser	Donald		1843	
Fraser	Duncan	1814		
Fraser	Duncan		1844	
Fraser	Evan	1785		
Fraser	Hugh	1785	1869	
Fraser	James	1796	1874	
Fraser	Janet	1802		
Fraser	John	1813	1901	
Fraser	John	1816		
Fraser	Lety?	1817		
Fraser	Margary	1824		
Fraser	Mary	1811	1884	
Fraser	Nancy			
Fraser	Nancy			
Fraser	Simon	1796	1883	
Fraser	William		1826	
Fraser	William	1803	1884	
Fraser	William	1782	1865	
Fraser McIntosh	Elizabeth	1799	1884	
Fraser McIntosh	Isabella	1790	1868	
Fraser McLaughlin	Margaret	1762	1843	Kirkhill
Fraser McQueen	Ann	1792	1851	
Grant	John	1809	1871	
Grant	Margaret	1792	1848	
Grant McGillivray	Margaret	1792	1873	
Jack	Hugh	1822	1890	
Johns(t)on	Isabella	1791	1851	
Johns(t)on	James	1774	1841	
Johns(t)on	Jane	1785	1883	
Johns(t)on	Janet	1800		
Johns(t)on	John	1790		
Johns(t)on	Margaret	1736	1816	
Johns(t)on	Margary	1776	1869	
Johns(t)on	William	1796	1824	
Johns(t)on McBane	Isabella	1771	1855	

Last Name	First Name	Born	Died	Parish
Lambie Fogo	Mary			Kilmarnock
Leek Rose	Christiana	1780	1850	
Martin	William	1815		
Martin Rose	Jane	1811		
McAuley	Robert			
McAuley Dreghorn	Mary		1843	
McBean	Alexander		1808	
McBean	Alexander	1808	1875	
McBean	Angus			
McBean	Angus	1792	1878	
McBean	Angus	1800	1883	Moy & Dalarossie
McBean	Ann	1783	1866	
McBean	Daniel	1802	1879	
McBean	Daniel	1813	1886	
McBean	Francis			
McBean	Hugh	1768	1842	
McBean	James	1799	1866	
McBean	James	1813		
McBean	Janet	1817	1877	
McBean	Janet	1824		
McBean	John		1816	
McBean	John		1818	
McBean	John	1818	1895	
McBean	John	1772	1854	
McBean	John	1827		
McBean	John A	1800	1878	
McBean	Laughlin		1831	Moy & Dalarossie
McBean	Margary	1806		
McBean	Margary	1785	1861	
McBean	Mary	1779	1841	
McBean	William	1772	1860	
McBean	William			
McBean Dallas	Margaret	1800	1882	Croy & Dalcross
McBean McGregor	Margaret	1806		
McBean Purvis	Ellen	1805		
McBean Purvis	Margary	1807		Moy & Dalarossie
McBean Rose	Catherine	1754	1809	Daviot & Dunlichity
McBean Rose	Margaret	1812		Moy & Dalarossie
McCoy	Daniel	1781	1854	
McCoy	Jane	1810	1876	
McCoy	William	1772	1863	
McDonald	Alexander	1756	1833	
McDonald	Alexander	1784	1858	
McDonald	Alexander		1839	
McDonald	Alexander			
McDonald	Alexander		1846	

Last Name	First Name	Born	Died	Parish
McDonald	Alexina	1762	1847	
McDonald	Angus	1774	1852	
McDonald	Ann	1831		
McDonald	Ann	1814		
McDonald	Ann	1767	1834	
McDonald	Daniel	1817	1898	
McDonald	David	1796		
McDonald	Duncan			
McDonald	Elizabeth	1778	1854	
McDonald	Isabella	1786	1858	
McDonald	James	1801	1887	Croy & Dalcross
McDonald	James	1817	1895	
McDonald	James	1823	1889	
McDonald	James	1806	1864	
McDonald	James	1780	1857	
McDonald	Janet	1799	1875	
McDonald	John			
McDonald	John	1827	1911	
McDonald	John	1746	1847	
McDonald	John	1830		
McDonald	John			
McDonald	John	1825		
McDonald	Nancy	1768		
McDonald	Nancy	1787	1863	
McDonald	Neal	1767	1859	Croy & Dalcross
McDonald	William	1827	1911	
McDonald / Monroe	Elizabeth	1800	1882	
McDonald Elliot	Eliza	1799		Croy & Dalcross*
McDonald Johnston	Isabella	1790	1851	
McDonald McDonald	Christina	1776	1858	Croy & Dalcross
McDonald McIntosh	Isabella	1800	1882	
McDonald Munroe	Ann	1806	1888	
McDonald Rose	Margaret	1803	1868	
McDonald Smith	Elizabeth	1804	1890	
McDougal	Andrew	1770	1836	Moy & Dalarossie
McDougal McBean	Elizabeth	1775	1840	Moy & Dalarossie
McGillivray	Alexander	1822	1864	Moy & Dalarossie*
McGillivray	Alexander	1787		
McGillivray	Alexander	1786	1859	
McGillivray	Alexander	1742	1805	
McGillivray	Alexander R.	1822	1861	
McGillivray	Andrew	1763	1837	
McGillivray	Andrew	1781		
McGillivray	Ann	1766	1814	
McGillivray	Christina	1827	1900	Moy & Dalarossie*
McGillivray	Claus?	1821		

Last Name	First Name	Born	Died	Parish
McGillivray	Daniel	1787	1852	
McGillivray	Daniel	1825	1848	Moy & Dalarossie*
McGillivray	Donald	1799	1887	
McGillivray	Helen	1796	1859	
McGillivray	Isabella	1763	1835	
McGillivray	Isabella	1783	1820	
McGillivray	James	1790		
McGillivray	Jane	1830		
McGillivray	John	1821	1865	
McGillivray	John	1835		
McGillivray	Laughlin		1840	
McGillivray	Margaret	1796	1865	
McGillivray	Michael	1779	1850	
McGillivray	Nancy	1798	1884	
McGillivray	Nichol	1808	1872	
McGillivray	Philip	1824		
McGillivray	William	1827	1855	
McGillivray	William	1827		
McGillivray	William	1823		
McGillivray	William	1788	1847	Moy & Dalarossie*
McGillivray Forbes	Christina	1788	1869	
McGillivray Johnson	Flora	1827		
McGillivray Johnston	Catherine	1823	1876	
McGillivray McIntosh	Ann	1773	1850	Moy & Dalarossie
McGillivray McIntosh	Margaret	1809	1903	
McGillivray McIntosh	Nancy	1784	1851	
McGillivray McKenzie	Margaret	1770	1862	Moy & Dalarossie*
McGillivray Smith	Margaret	1825		
McGregor	John	1791		
McGregor Smith	Margaret	1826		
McIntosh	Alexana	1797		
McIntosh	Alexander			
McIntosh	Alexander		1820	Moy & Dalarossie
McIntosh	Alexander	1795	1862	
McIntosh	Alexander	1832		
McIntosh	Alexander	1796	1839	
McIntosh	Alexander		1823	
McIntosh	Alexander		1837	
McIntosh	Alexander		1819	
McIntosh	Alexander	1790	1855	
McIntosh	Alexander	1837		
McIntosh	Alexander			
McIntosh	Alexander	1750	1812	
McIntosh	Andrew	1776	1844	
McIntosh	Angus	1790	1842	Croy & Dalcross
McIntosh	Angus	1791	1831	

Last Name	First Name	Born	Died	Parish
McIntosh	Angus	1808	1877	
McIntosh	Catherine	1810		
McIntosh	Daniel	1812	1860	
McIntosh	Daniel	1779	1875	
McIntosh	Daniel	1784	1851	
McIntosh	Daniel			
McIntosh	Daniel	1776	1853	
McIntosh	Daniel D.	1806		
McIntosh	Daniel G	1816	1900	
McIntosh	David	1818		
McIntosh	David M	1817		
McIntosh	Duncan	1796		
McIntosh	Duncan	1835		
McIntosh	Elizabeth	1806	1891	
McIntosh	Elizabeth	1808		
McIntosh	Elizabeth	1778	1860	
McIntosh	Evan	1800		
McIntosh	Evan	1793	1841	
McIntosh	Farquhar	1821	1906	
McIntosh	Hugh	1818		
McIntosh	Isabella			Moy & Dalarossie
McIntosh	James		1834	
McIntosh	James	1776	1851	Croy & Dalcross
McIntosh	James		1821	Moy & Dalarossie
McIntosh	James	1801	1854	
McIntosh	Jane	1808		
McIntosh	Jane	1794		
McIntosh	Janet			Moy & Dalarossie
McIntosh	John	1805	1879	
McIntosh	John	1793		
McIntosh	John	1810	1890	
McIntosh	John A	1795	1819	
McIntosh	John C	1813	1871	Cawdor*
McIntosh	John S	1771	1845	Croy & Dalcross*
McIntosh	Margaret	1790		
McIntosh	Margaret	1800	1875	Moy & Dalarossie*
McIntosh	Margaret	1826		
McIntosh	Margaret	1796		
McIntosh	Margary	1792	1877	
McIntosh	Margary	1764	1850	
McIntosh	Mary	1790	1840	
McIntosh	Mary	1779		
McIntosh	Marybelle	1797	1841	
McIntosh	Nancy	1815		
McIntosh	Nancy	1840		
McIntosh	Nancy			Moy & Dalarossie

Last Name	First Name	Born	Died	Parish
McIntosh	William		1828	
McIntosh	William	1794	1873	
McIntosh	William		1824	
McIntosh	William	1773	1851	Croy & Dalcross
McIntosh	William	1780	1857	
McIntosh	William A	1786	1852	
McIntosh Campbell	Isabella	1793	1863	
McIntosh Campbell	Mary	1814	1900	
McIntosh Falconer	Nancy	1780	1810	
McIntosh Fraser	Mary	1785	1878	
McIntosh McBean	Christina	1810	1864	
McIntosh McBean	Nancy	1801	1843	
McIntosh McCoy	Margary	1791	1857	Croy & Dalcross
McIntosh McDonald	Margaret	1825	1906	
McIntosh McGillivray	Ann	1804	1850	Moy & Dalarossie*
McIntosh McIntosh	Nancy	1787	1848	
McIntosh McKeag	Nancy	1821	1884	
McIntosh McKenzie	Margaret	1794	1875	Moy & Dalarossie
McIntosh Noble	Elizabeth		1838	Moy & Dalarossie
McIntosh Shaw	Janet	1782	1851	
McIntosh Smith	Ann	1775	1857	
McIntosh Smith	Ellen	1813	1892	
McIntosh Smith	Isabella	1814	1876	
McIntosh Smith	Isabella	1787		
McKenzie	Catherine	1769	1851	
McKenzie	Daniel	1801	1885	
McKenzie	James			
McKenzie	James	1768	1829	
McKenzie	James	1774	1843	Moy & Dalarossie
McKenzie	John	1812		
McKenzie	John	1787	1869	
McKenzie	John	1800	1853	Moy & Dalarossie
McKenzie	John			
McKenzie	John	1818		
McKenzie	Margaret	1831		
McKenzie McBean	Elizabeth	1805	1890	Moy & Dalarossie
McKenzie McDonald	Janet	1800		Moy & Dalarossie
McKenzie McIntosh	Sarah		1870	
McLaughlin	Alexander	1788	1880	Kirkhill
McLaughlin	James	1803		Dores
McLaughlin	William	1770	1833	Kirkhill
McLaughlin McLennan	Janet	1783	1872	Kirkhill
McLaughlin Norris	Isabella	1799	1874	Dores
McLean	Allen	1767		
McLean	Andrew		1848	
McLean	Charles	1802	1863	

Last Name	First Name	Born	Died	Parish
McLean	Charles	1759	1858	Petty*
McLean	Christina	1770		
McLean	Daniel		1850	
McLean	Daniel	1804	1866	
McLean	Daniel S.	1812	1867	
McLean	Hellen		1838	
McLean	Janet	1807	1829	
McLean	Janet	1780	1879	
McLean	Philip	1800	1877	
McLean	William			
McLean Calder Forsyth	Isabella		1804	Croy & Dalcross
McLean McPherson	Ann	1775	1845	Ardclach
McLean Rose	Margary			
McLennan	Kenneth	1770	1834	Rosemarkie
McLennan	Robert	1803		
McLennan McIntosh	Jane	1811	1895	Rosemarkie
McNishie	Ann	1792	1871	
McNishie	William	1788		
McPhail	Daniel		1825	
McPhail	John	1768	1824	
McPhail	John	1828		
McPherson	A.	1790	1809	
McPherson	Alexander	1797	1868	Moy & Dalarossie
McPherson	Andrew	1759	1848	Moy & Dalarossie
McPherson	Charles		1837	
McPherson	Daniel		1819	
McPherson	Evan	1796	1870	Moy & Dalarossie
McPherson	Evan	1754	1827	Ardclach
McPherson	Isabella	1811	1896	Ardclach
McPherson	James	1800	1834	Ardclach
McPherson	John	1781	1851	Croy & Dalcross
McPherson	Malcolm		1845	Moy & Dalarossie*
McPherson	Margaret	1802	1887	Ardclach
McPherson	Richard	1808	1893	Ardclach
McPherson Chisholm	Janet	1792		Moy & Dalarossie
McPherson McPhail	Nancy	1770		
McQueen	Alexander			
McQueen	Daniel	1779	1866	
McQueen Cattanach Smith	Isabella	1788	1874	
Munroe	William	1786	1860	
Noble	Alexander		1826	Moy & Dalarossie
Noble	Andrew	1781	1843	Moy & Dalarossie*
Noble	Angus	1804	1872	Moy & Dalarossie
Noble	Angus		1836	Moy & Dalarossie
Noble	Catherine	1791	1881	
Noble	Daniel	1817		Moy & Dalarossie

Last Name	First Name	Born	Died	Parish
Noble	Janet	1783		Moy & Dalarossie
Noble	John	1803		Moy & Dalarossie
Noble	John		1822	
Noble	Laughlin	1770	1834	Moy & Dalarossie
Noble Bailey	Margaret	1800	1839	Moy & Dalarossie
Noble Barclay	Janet	1801	1866	Moy & Dalarossie
Noble Cameron	Mary	1795	1872	Moy & Dalarossie
Noble McBean	Elizabeth	1809	1896	Moy & Dalarossie
Noble McIntosh	Ellen	1815		Moy & Dalarossie
Noble McLaughlin	Elizabeth	1811		Moy & Dalarossie*
Noble McLaughlin	Nancy	1799	1889	Moy & Dalarossie
Noble McLean	Isabella	1797	1866	Moy & Dalarossie
Noble Noble	Christina	1806	1883	Moy & Dalarossie
Noble Noble	Janet	1773	1854	Moy & Dalarossie
Noble Ross	Ann	1800	1860	Moy & Dalarossie
Noble Smith	Eliza	1811	1895	Moy & Dalarossie*
Noble Smith	Janet	1798	1862	Moy & Dalarossie*
Noble? Forbes	Janet	1766	1848	Moy & Dalarossie*
Ogilvie	George	1770	1843	Nairn
Ogilvie Fraser	Euphemia	1800		Nairn
Ogilvie McBean Urquhart	Isabella	1798	1880	Nairn
Purvis	James	1809		
Rose	Alexander	1824		
Rose	Charles	1746	1842	Croy & Dalcross
Rose	David	1789	1876	Nairn
Rose	David	1829		
Rose	Hugh	1831		
Rose	Hugh	1797	1881	Daviot & Dunlichity
Rose	Hugh	1759	1841	
Rose	John	1781	1849	Daviot & Dunlichity*
Rose	Nancy	1827		
Rose	William	1806		
Rose	William	1800	1885	
Rose	William	1793	1884	Daviot & Dunlichity*
Rose Dallas	Janet	1788		Nairn
Rose McPherson	Isabella	1795	1871	Daviot & Dunlichity
Rose McPherson	Margary			Daviot & Dunlichity*
Rose Rose	Isabella	1794	1854	Ardclach*
Ross	Peter	1795	1867	
Shaw	Farquhar	1775	1851	
Shaw McGillivray	Jane			
Shaw McIntosh	Ann	1816	1903	
Smith	Alexander	1804	1853	
Smith	Alexander	1731	1818	
Smith	Andrew	1789	1845	
Smith	Andrew	1794	1820	Strathnairn*

Last Name	First Name	Born	Died	Parish
Smith	Andrew, Sr.	1780	1852	
Smith	Ann	1761	1830	
Smith	Catherine	1779	1843	
Smith	Christian	1756	1822	Strathnairn
Smith	Daniel	1804	1892	
Smith	Daniel	1794	1855	
Smith	Daniel	1815		
Smith	Daniel	1770	1837	
Smith	Daniel		1834	
Smith	Donald	1805		
Smith	Duncan	1805	1901	
Smith	Elizabeth	1785	1858	
Smith	Elizabeth	1823		
Smith	Finlay (Philip)	1755		
Smith	Isabella	1805		
Smith	James	1820		
Smith	John	1755	1840	Strathnairn
Smith	John	1797	1875	
Smith	John	1805		
Smith	John G	1799	1887	
Smith	Laughlin	1790	1850	
Smith	Margaret	1773	1848	
Smith	Margaret	1794	1874	
Smith	Nancy	1807		
Smith	Philip	1805		
Smith	Philip			
Smith	Philip	1759	1832	
Smith	Philip	1764	1851	
Smith	Philip		1845	
Smith	Philip	1785		Strathnairn*
Smith	William	1794	1875	Strathnairn*
Smith	William	1820		
Smith	William	1784	1854	
Smith Campbell	Catherine	1773	1843	Moy & Dalarossie
Smith McIntosh	Catherine	1777	1826	Strathnairn*
Smith McIntosh	Isabella	1797	1841	
Smith McKenzie	Isabella	1802	1870	Strathnairn*
Smith McPherson	Elizabeth	1764	1835	Moy & Dalarossie
Smith Smith	Janet	1781	1856	
Stewart	James	1784		
Stewart	Jane	1815	1889	
Stewart	John	1815		
Stewart	John		1837	
Stewart McIntosh	Janet	1815		
Urquhart	Catherine	1831		
Urquhart	James	1826		Ardclach*

Last Name	First Name	Born	Died	Parish
Urquhart	James	1786		Ardclach
Urquhart	Jane	1828		Ardclach*
Urquhart	Janet	1792		Ardclach*
Urquhart	Janet	1824		Ardclach*
Urquhart	Robert	1793		Ardclach
Urquhart	William	1826		Ardclach*
Urquhart Martin	Janet	1781		Ardclach
Watson	Hugh	1806		
Watson	Lydie	1815		
Watson	Margaret			
Watson Rose	Janet	1793	1876	
Wooster McKenzie	Barbara	1795		

* Presumed parish of birth or last residence.

Appendix B: Tables

Year of Birth	Livingston County, NY*	Fulton County, NY°	Moore County, NC	Cumberland County, NC	McIntosh County, GA
1751-1760	0	1	1	2	0
1761-1770	5	16	20	8	0
1771-1780	15	33	25	29	0
1781-1790	27	20	41	44	0
1791-1800	28	32	34	23	1
1801-1810	33	26	12	37	0
1811-1820	35	25	11	36	1
1821-1830	22	28	4	18	1
1831-1840	14	18	12	25	0
1841-1850	10	5	2	13	0
unreadable	0	0	0	11	0
Total	189	204	162	246	3

Table 1. Population of the Scots-born residents as recorded in the 1850 census for five counties

* Only includes the township of Caledonia; ° Only includes the townships of Broadalbin, Johnstown, and Perth

Port of Arrival	Total	1783-1793	1794-1801	1802-1804	1805-1815
Canada	5	0	1	2	2
Upper Canada	5	0	0	5	0
Hudson Bay	6	0	0	0	6
Newfoundland	6	1	1	4	0
Nova Scotia	6	0	1	2	3
America	8	0	2	1	5
Savannah	8	0	2	6	0
Lower Canada	11	0	1	0	10
Philadelphia	12	7	4	1	0
Montreal	16	1	3	12	0
Boston	17	1	7	9	0
New Brunswick	18	0	3	10	5
North Carolina	23	17	0	6	0
Prince Edward Island	26	6	1	5	14
Pictou	27	1	4	16	6
Virginia	33	6	1	22	4
Charleston	41	2	4	32	3
Halifax	49	19	4	8	18
Quebec	69	4	3	39	23
New York	104	14	26	56	8

Table 2. Major Ports of Arrival in Canada and the United States

Year	Destination			
	CAN	USA	CAN/USA	Other
1783	3	3		
1784	6	11		
1785		12		
1786	3	5		1
1787	3	1		1
1788	2	2		
1789	1	5		
1790	4	3		
1791	4	2		
1792	1	2		
1793	5	6		
1794	4	5		
1795		2		
1796	5	8		
1797	2	7		
1798	5	13		
1799		10		
1800	1			
1801	5	3	2	
1802	23	45	1	
1803	52	54	1	
1804	29	41	1	
1805	5			
1806	14			
1807	4	1		
1808	5			
1809	3			
1810	7	7		
1811	7	3		
1812	1	5	1	
1813	9		2	1
1814	8			
1815	31		1	
totals	251	256	10	3

Table 3. Numbers of ships crossing the Atlantic eastwards as derived from Dobson (1998).

	Canada	United States of America (recorded)	United States of America (estimated)
1783-1793	1678	1014	1971
1794-1801	1126	130	1384
1802-1804	3392	834	3210
1805-1815	2298	37	363
totals	8494	2015	6928

Table 4. Actual and estimated passenger totals as calculated from Bumsted (1982) and Dobson (1998).

	Croy & Dalcross	Daviot & Dunlichity	Moy & Dalarossie	Dores	Petty	Kirkhill	Naim	Auldeam	Ardclach	Cawdor
1755	1,901	2,196	1,693	1,520	1,653	1,360	1698	1951	1163	882
ca. 1790	1,552	1,697	1,813	1,365	1,518	1,571	2400	1406	1186	850
1801	1,601	1,818	1,355	1,455	1,505	1,582	2215	1401	1256	983
1811	1,456	1,634	1,483	1,314	1,533	1,477	2504	1406	1275	943
1821	1,538	1,750	1,332	1,573	1,670	1,572	3228	1523	1287	953
1831	1,664	1,788	1,089	1,736	1,826	1,715	3266	1613	1270	1007
1841	1,684	1,681	967	1,745	1,749	1,829	3393	1446	1177	1005

Table 5. Population of Strathnairn and Strathdearn, 1755-1841

Source: New Statistical Accounts

Grantor	Grantee	Township	Section	Year	Total Cost	Acreage	Cost per acre
US	McBean, Angus	Yellow Creek	6	1808	\$1,280.00	640	\$2.00
McBean, Angus & Catherine	McIntosh, Alexander	Yellow Creek	6	1809	\$313.24	156.62	\$2.00
McBean, Angus & Catherine	McDonald, Alexander	Yellow Creek	6	1809	\$417.24	158.62	\$2.63
McBean, Angus & Catherine	Calder, John	Yellow Creek	6	1818	\$337.24	160	\$2.11
McBean, Angus & Catherine	McBean, Alexander	Yellow Creek	6	1826	\$140.00	80	\$1.75
McBean, Angus & Catherine	Johnson, James	Yellow Creek	6	1826	\$140.00	80	\$1.75
McElheron, Daniel & Benoni Wells, atty.	Rose, Hugh	Yellow Creek	18	1807	\$579.00	320	\$1.81
Rose, Hugh & Nelly	Smith, Philip	Yellow Creek	18	1825	\$140.00	80	\$1.75
Rose, Hugh & Nelly	Calder, Alexander	Yellow Creek	18	1825	\$200.00	90	\$2.22
US	Rose, Hugh	Yellow Creek	30	1808	\$1,272.00	636	\$2.00
Rose, Hugh & Hellen	Smith, John	Yellow Creek	30	1812	\$470.00	162.3	\$2.90
Rose, Hugh & Hellen	McIntosh, William	Yellow Creek	30	1812	\$220.00	108.2	\$2.03
Rose, Hugh & Hellen	Smith, Daniel	Yellow Creek	30	1812	\$110.00	54.1	\$2.03
Rose, Hugh & Hellen	McIntosh, Daniel	Yellow Creek	30	1812	\$235.00	81.15	\$2.90
Rose, Hugh & Hellen	Fraser, William	Yellow Creek	30	1812	\$160.00	81.15	\$1.97
Rose, Hugh & Hellen	Martin, Robert	Yellow Creek	30	1812	\$400.00	162	\$2.47
US	McPherson, Andrew	Madison	36	1807	\$1,280.00	640	\$2.00
McPherson, Andrew & Elizabeth	McDonald, Alexander	Madison	36	1808	\$340.00	0	
McPherson, Andrew & Elizabeth	McIntosh, John	Madison	36	1808	\$300.00	160	\$1.88
McPherson, Andrew & Elizabeth	McPhail, John	Madison	36	1808	\$240.00	120	\$2.00
McIntosh, John & Jannet	McIntosh, Alexander	Madison	36	1808	\$160.00	80	\$2.00
McDonald, Alexander & Annie	McPherson, John	Madison	36	1808	\$160.00	80	\$2.00

Table 6. Price per acre paid for previously rented land in Scotch Settlement

	Settlement Female Names, 1800-1840	US Female Names, 1850		Settlement Male Names, 1800-1840	US Male Names, 1850
1	Elizabeth	Mary		Alexander	John
2	Nancy	Sarah		John	William
3	Mary	Elizabeth		William	James
4	Margaret	Martha		James	George
5	Catherine	Margaret		Daniel	Henry
6	Isabella	Nancy		Andrew	Thomas
7	Janet	Ann		David	Charles
8	Jane	Jane		Laughlin	Joseph
9	Margary	Eliza		Angus	Samuel
10	Christina	Catharine		Philip	David
11	Rebecca	Susan		Hugh	W.M.
12	Ann	Hannah		Duncan	Robert
13	Susan	Rebecca		Charles	Jacob
14	Agnes	Caroline		George	Daniel
15	Ellen	Ellen		Evan	Edward
16	Betsey	Harriet		Malcolm	Peter
17	Amanda	Louisa		Robert	Isaac
18	Elena	Maria		Phillip	Andrew
19	Eliza	Julia		Jacob	Benjamin
20	Hanna	Catherine		Kenneth	Wm

Table 7. Given Names in the Settlement as compared to a sample of names from the 1850 US Census

Title	Year Published	Year in Probate	Owner
? Shank History of the Church of Scotland		1823	McIntosh, Alexander
? Testmony		1828	McIntosh, William
Afflicted Mans Companion by Wilson		1828	McIntosh, William
Afflicted Man's Companion	1833		Fraser, John (inscribed 1836)
Afflicted Man's Confession		1819	McPherson, Daniel
Afflicted Mens Companion		1823	McIntosh, Alexander
Almost Christian by Meed		1823	McIntosh, Alexander
An Camadh 'Sa Chrannchur	1837		Smith, Philip
Andrew Gray's works		1819	McPherson, Daniel
Armoury book		1828	McIntosh, William
Beniachs? Sermons		1823	McIntosh, Alexander
Bible		1820	McGillivray, Isabella
Bible & Psalm book		1820	McGillivray, Isabella
Book of Newtons		1820	McGillivray, Isabella
Book of Peddens		1820	McGillivray, Isabella
Book of Willisons		1820	McGillivray, Isabella
Book of Wodlin?		1820	McGillivray, Isabella
Bostons Four Fold State in Gaelic		1823	McIntosh, Alexander
Brown's Hope of Glory		1823	McIntosh, Alexander
Burns Poems & Pamphlets (5)		1828	McIntosh, William
Bunyan Gaelic Ab. To the Chief of Sinners?		1828	McIntosh, William
Call to the Unconverted	1831		Fraser, John (inscribed 1834)
Calvins Sermons	1831		
Cloud of Witnesses		1819	McPherson, Daniel
Coll of Sermons		1823	McIntosh, Alexander
Come & Welcome Jesus by ?		1823	McIntosh, Alexander
Confession of Faith		1828	McIntosh, William
Cloud of Witnesses		1823	McIntosh, Alexander
Crooks in the lot		1823	McIntosh, Alexander
Elements of Morality		1828	McIntosh, William
English Bible		1819	McPherson, Daniel
Family Monitor, The	1831		Fraser, John (inscribed 1832)
Gaelic Bible		1820	Smith, Andrew
Gaelic Bible in 1 vol		1823	McIntosh, Alexander
Gaelic Bible in 2 volumes		1823	McIntosh, Alexander
Gaelic Psalm Book		1828	McIntosh, William
Gaelic Testament, Ps on Metre & Gaelic vocabulary		1828	McIntosh, William
Gaelic Testament		1820	McGillivray, Isabella
Gaelic Testament		1823	McIntosh, Alexander
Gaelic Testament		1828	McIntosh, William
Grace and truth of McErwin & Will on the Testament		1828	McIntosh, William
Gray's works		1823	McIntosh, Alexander
Great and Precious Promises: or some sermons concerning the promises and the right application thereof...	1717		(inscribed 1820)
Hector McNeal		1828	McIntosh, William

Title	Year Published	Year in Probate	Owner
Holy Bible	1807		McIntosh, William
Holy Bible	1807		Noble, Lachlan?
Holy War, The	1805		McQueen, Alexander & Ogilvie, George
Human Nature in its Fourfold State	1832		
Human Nature in its Fourfold State.	1832		McIntosh, Angus & Fraser, John (inscribed 1835)
Hymn Book		1819	McPherson, Daniel
Hymns		1823	McIntosh, Alexander
John Brown's Sermons		1819	McPherson, Daniel
John Mason Music Book and H of the United		1828	McIntosh, William
Life and Death of Mr. Alex Peden	1815		
Life of God in the Soul of Man, The	1811		McKenzie, John (inscribed 1824)
Matthew Meads		1828	McIntosh, William
Matthew Meads		1819	McPherson, Daniel
Music book		1820	Smith, Andrew
New Testament	1820		Creighton, Mary (inscribed 1828)
New Testament	1821		
Pamphlets (3), Dictionary, Wilson Catechism, Dr. Kobler?		1828	McIntosh, William
Pamphlets (5)		1828	McIntosh, William
Pamphlets (8)		1823	McIntosh, Alexander
Pamphlets sermons		1823	McIntosh, Alexander
Pilgrims Progress		1819	McPherson, Daniel
Pilgrims Progress		1819	McPherson, Daniel
Pilgrims Progress in English		1823	McIntosh, Alexander
Pilgrims Progress in Gaelic		1823	McIntosh, Alexander
Pocket Bible		1823	McIntosh, Alexander
Psalms (author given as I. Watts)	1823		Ogilvie, Elizabeth (inscribed 1827)
Psalms of David, The	1823		
Reign of Grace, The	1831		Fraser, John (inscribed 1834)
Revd J. Antelell?		1828	McIntosh, William
Rise and Progress, The			Fraser, John (inscribed 1830)
Saints Everlasting Rest, The			Fraser, John (inscribed 1840)
Scotch Psalm		1819	McPherson, Daniel
Scotch Psalm		1819	McPherson, Daniel
Scotch Worthies		1823	McIntosh, Alexander
Sermons on the Throne of Grace	1796		
Shepherd Sound Believer		1819	McPherson, Daniel
Shepherd's Sound Believer		1823	McIntosh, Alexander
Small Bible		1823	McIntosh, Alexander
Solitude Sweetened	1814		Clark, James (inscribed 1815) & Fraser, John
Testament of the Patriarch		1819	McPherson, Daniel
The 12 Patriarchs		1823	McIntosh, Alexander
The whole duty of women shawl? Of Jopan?		1828	McIntosh, William
Thomas Kemps Dialogue of Devils & Russells 7 Sermons		1828	McIntosh, William
Treaty of Amily of Am & pocket of dictionary		1828	McIntosh, William

Title	Year Published	Year in Probate	Owner
Tune book		1820	Smith, Andrew
Welches sermons		1820	McGillivray, Isabella
Willison on the Sabbath		1823	McIntosh, Alexander
Willison on the Sacrament		1823	McIntosh, Alexander
Willisons Explanation of the Sabbath		1823	McIntosh, Alexander
Wilson on the Sabbath		1819	McPherson, Daniel
Works of Claudius Buchanan, LLD	1812		Smith, John

Table 8. Books owned by Scotch Settlement Highlanders, from estate inventories and a private collection.

Appendix C: Figures



Figure 1. Cultural Groups in Ohio and their Settlement Patterns.

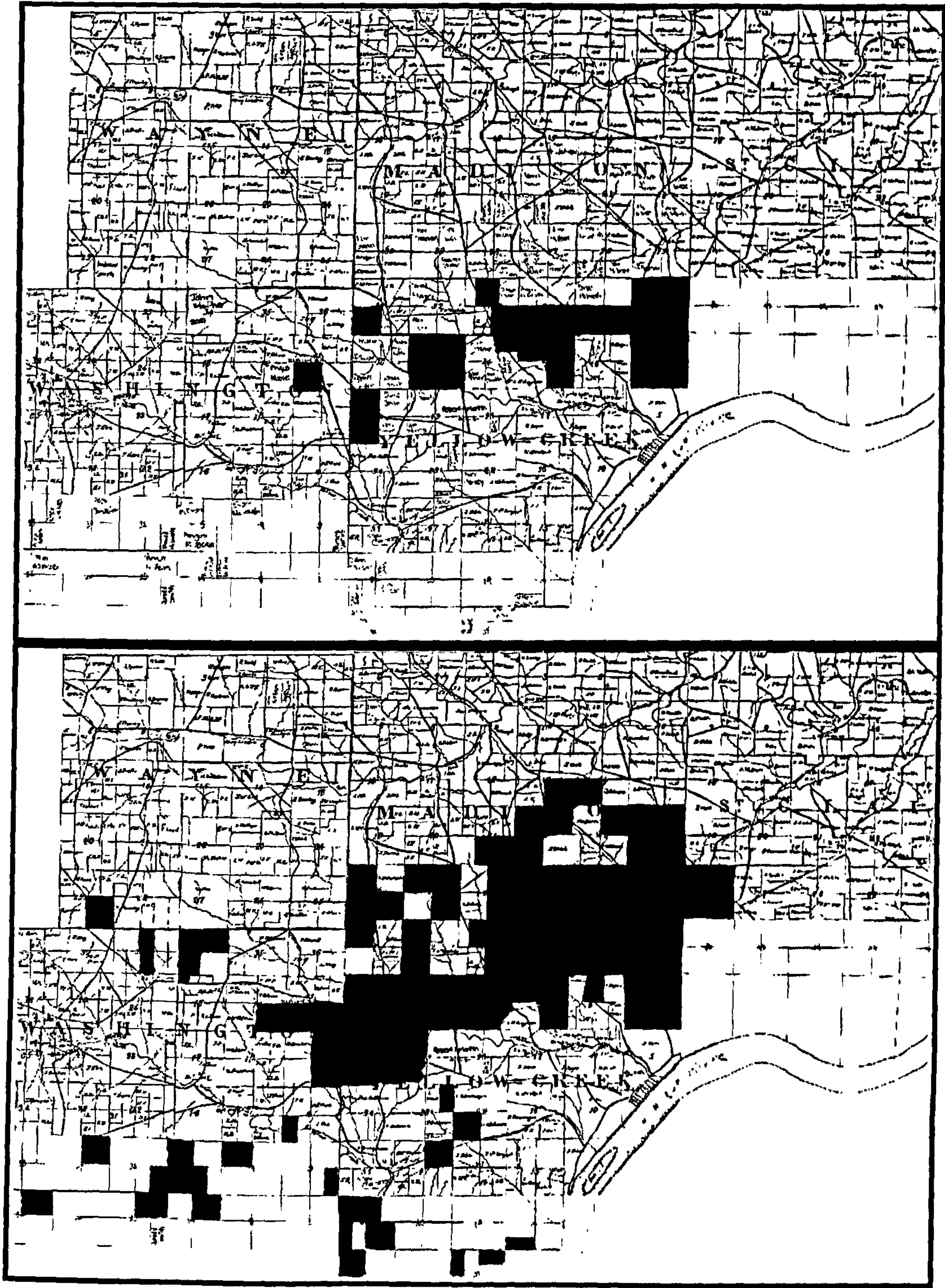


Figure 2. Scotch Settlement ca. 1810 (top) and ca. 1840 (bottom).

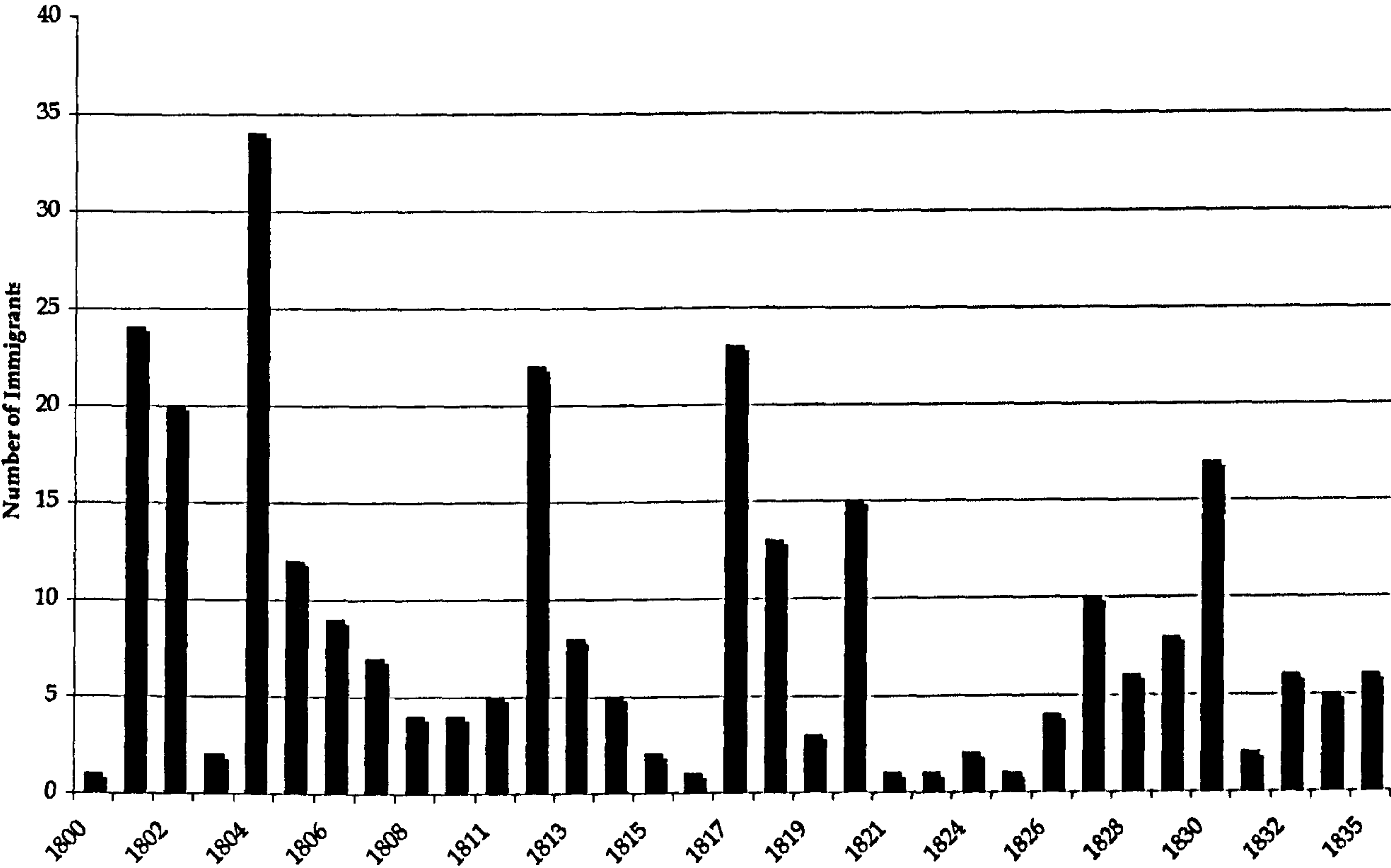


Figure 3. Immigration to Scotch Settlement, 1801-1840

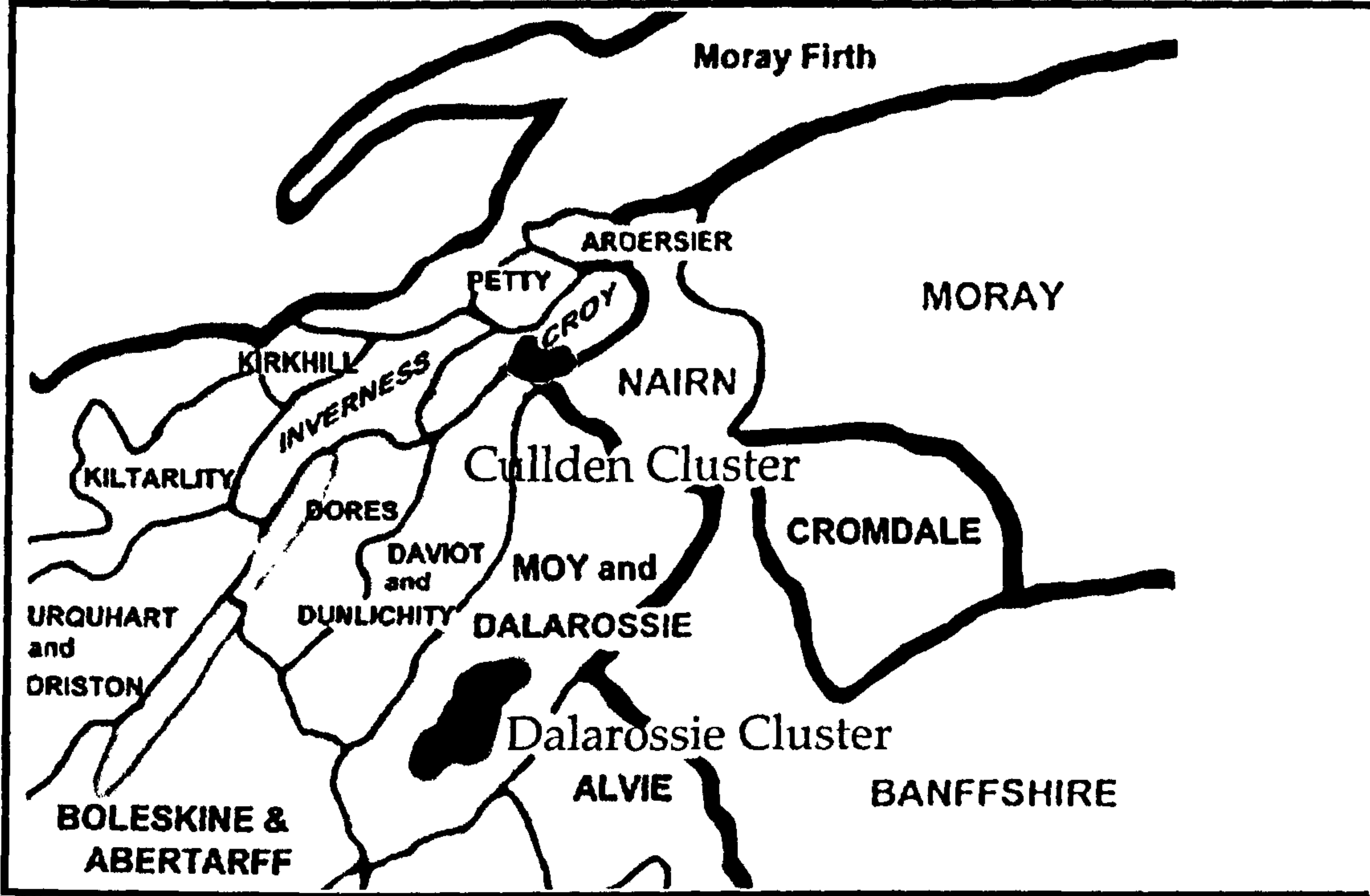


Figure 4. The Parishes of Strathdearn and Strathnairn, with the approximate location of emigration clusters indicated.

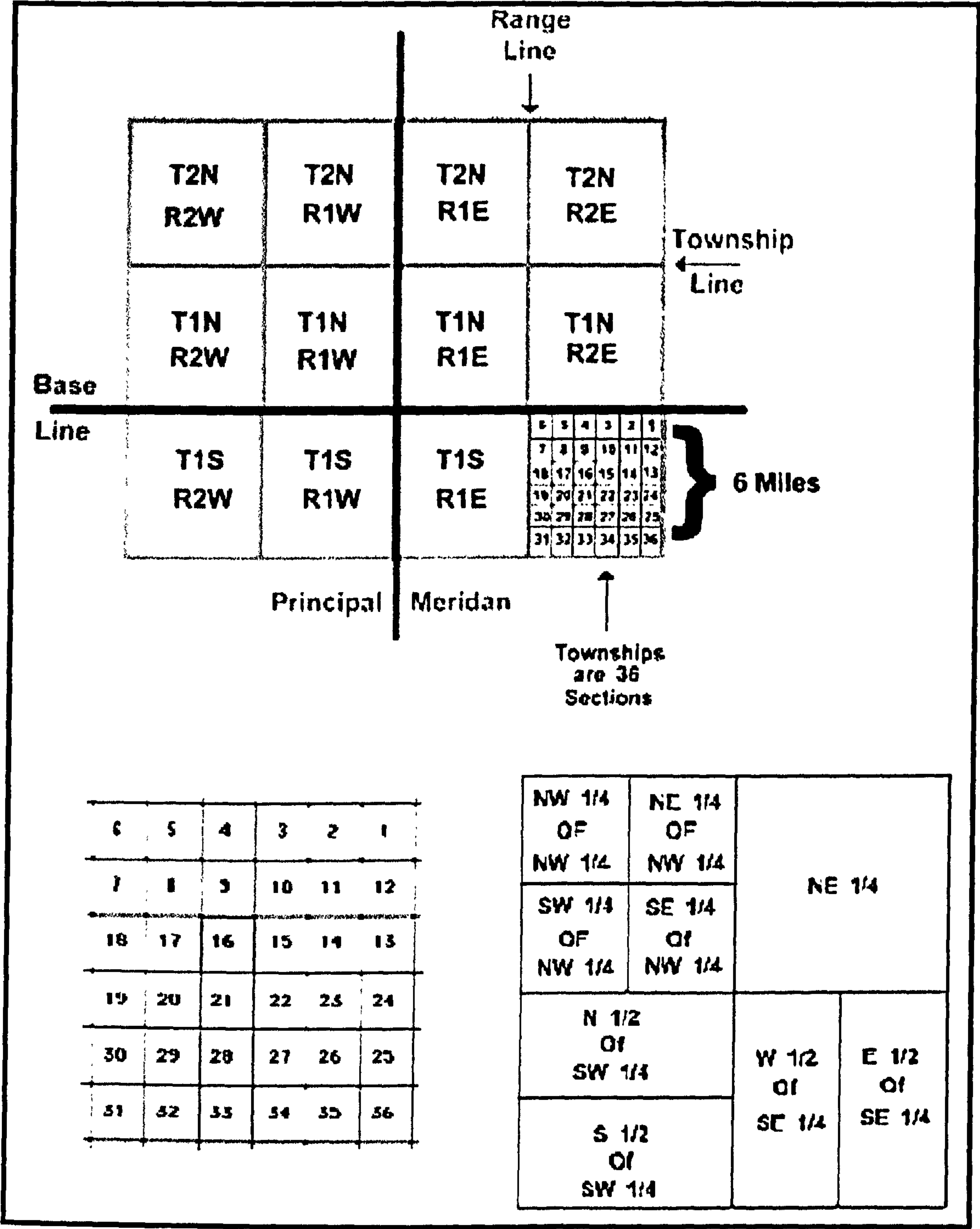


Figure 5. Organization of Ranges and Townships (top); Division of Townships into Sections (bottom left); Possible Divisions of a Section (bottom right).

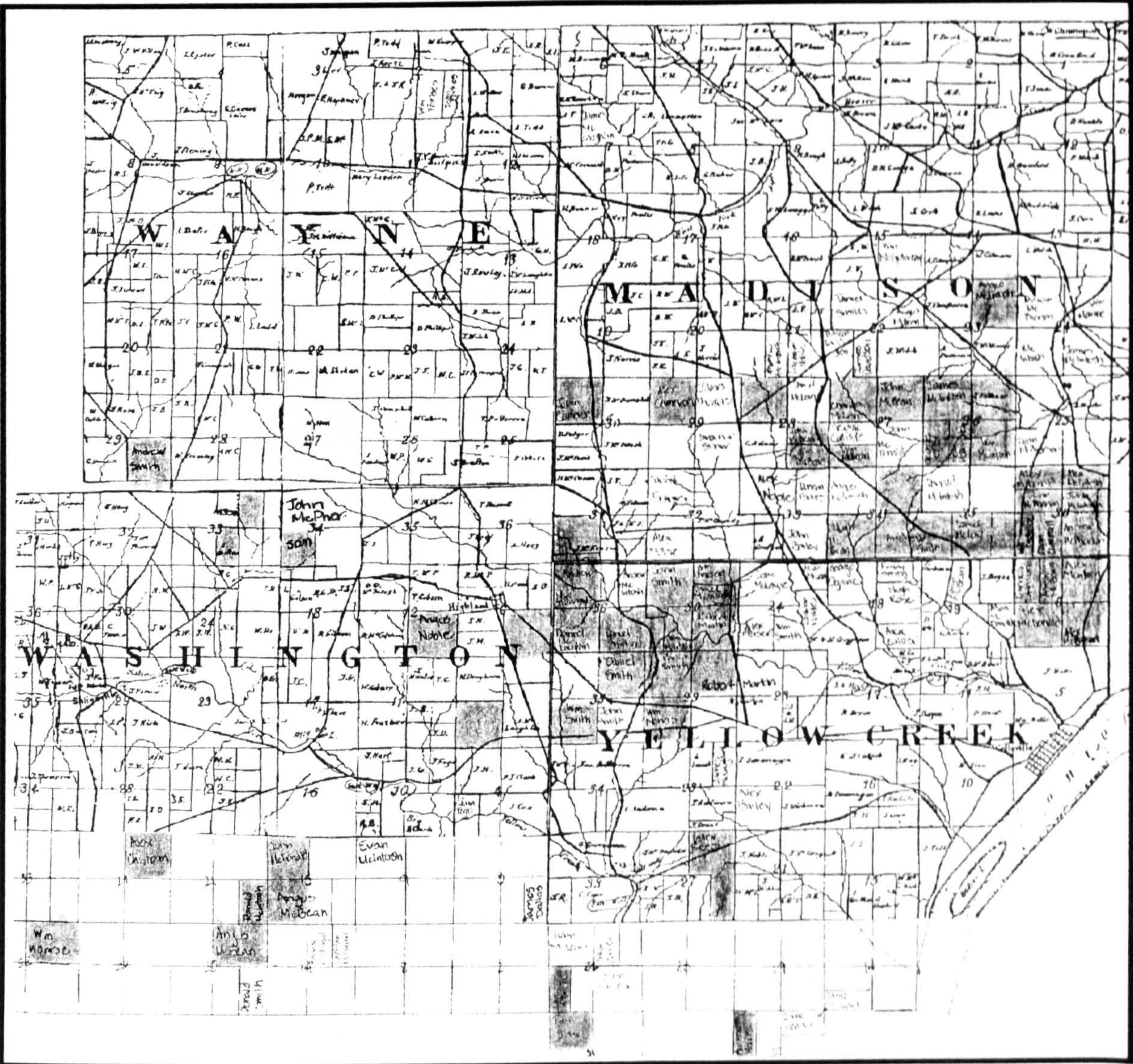


Figure 6. Land purchased directly from the US Government, 1802-1840.

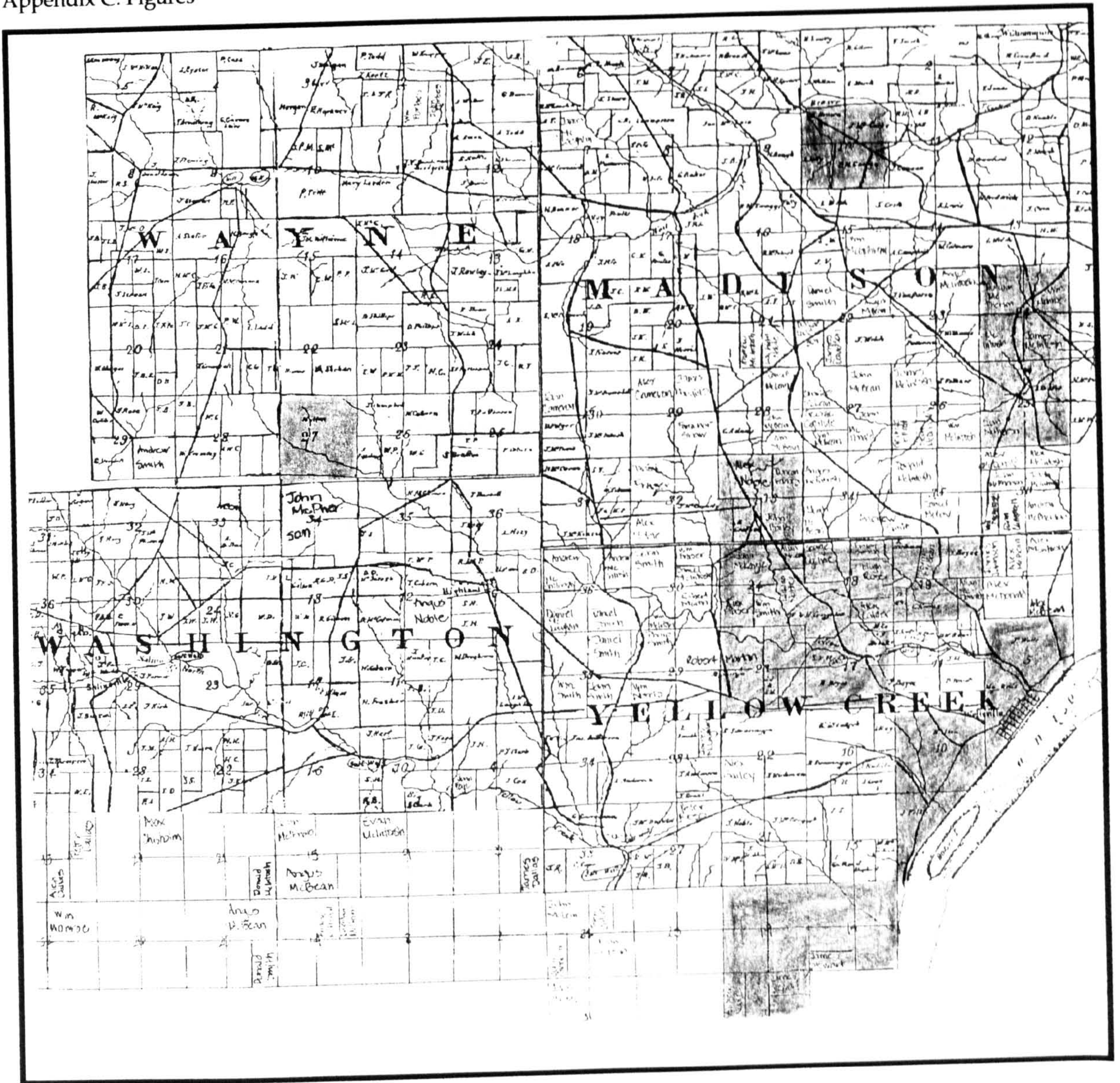
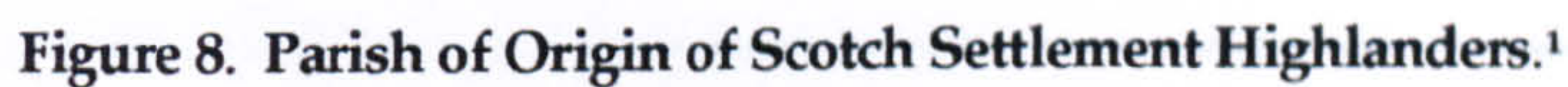


Figure 7. Land purchased by speculators then by Settlement Residents, 1790-1840.



¹ The origins were determined by the parish of birth or last residence of the male property owner or his wife.

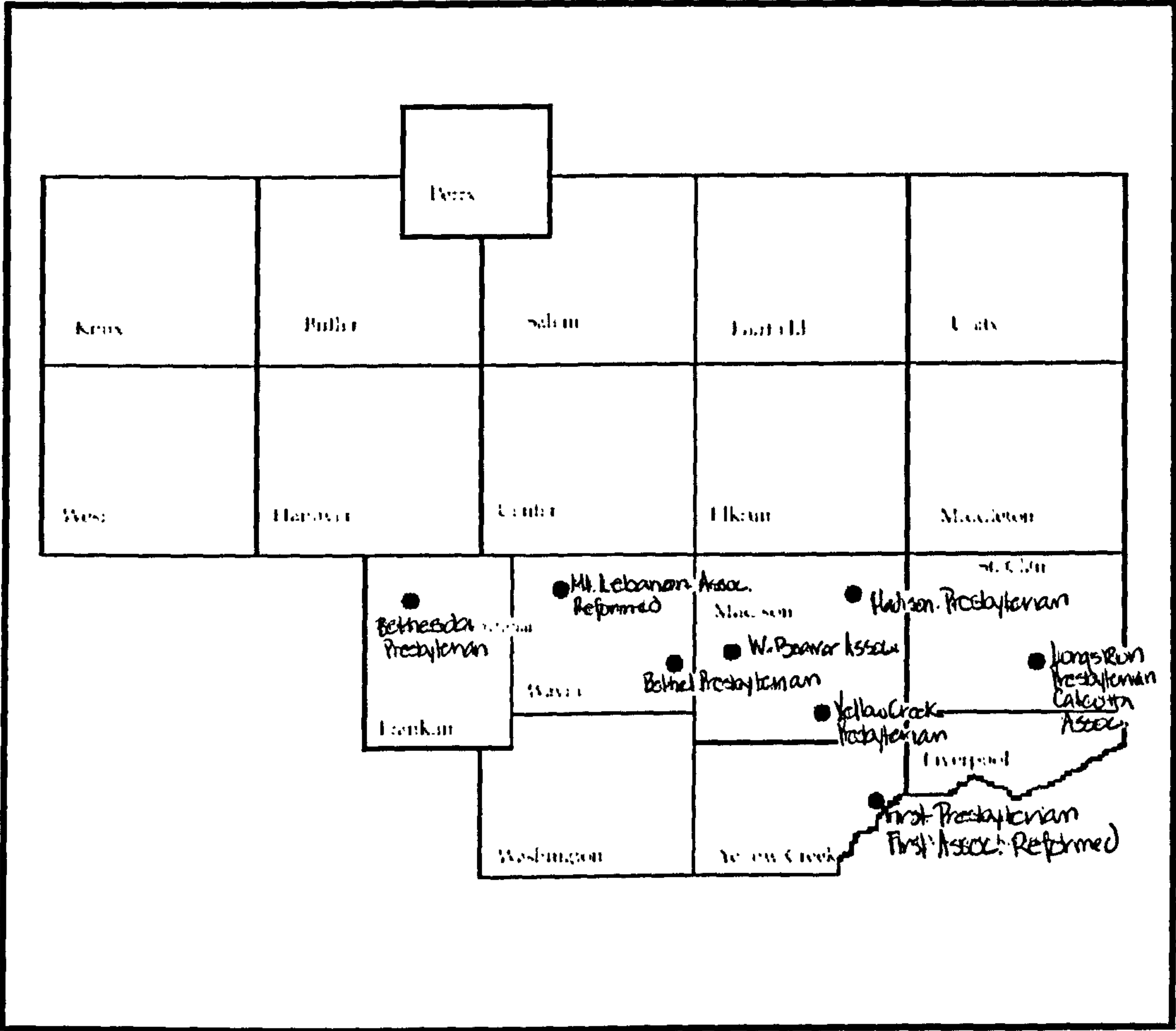


Figure 9. Presbyterian Churches in the southern half of Columbiana County.

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