PENNSYLVANIA

A HISTORY

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that his dismissal was devoutly wished for. It had been proposed to get rid of the Quakers in the Assembly by the old plan of requiring an oath to which they could not subscribe, but a compromise was effected in London. Leading Friends in the meeting there undertook to arrange for the resignation of several members. Two delegates were sent over to America to urge the course, and in the summer of 1756 six Quakers, three from Philadelphia, two from Chester, and one from Berks County withdrew. At the October elections several declined to be candidates. More resigned when the Assembly met with the understanding that "the ministry requested it." Thus it was that the house passed out of the hands of the Friends under the quite vain belief that it would be a step towards more harmonious government. The influence of the Quakers in Pennsylvania was exercised henceforth in channels which were mostly non-political, though many of their members continued in or were returned to power, and there were times when the Assembly was still largely dominated by their opinions.

Predominance of Scotch-Irish—From that time on the Scotch-Irish were destined to play a leading role in the government of the province. Their strength lay particularly in the region that was organized in Lancaster County, and perhaps most particularly of all in the Drumore Township. Drumore Township was one of the original township divisions of Lancaster County, organized in 1729; and when then delineated its boundaries embraced practically the whole of the territory recognized as the domain of the Scotch-Irish in southern Lancaster, and now within the jurisdiction of that and four other townships—East Drumore, Colerain, Little Britain, and Fulton. Its settlement antedated the organization of Lancaster County, and while a part of northern Lancaster was earlier settled by the Scotch-Irish, the seat of the Scotch-Irish in Lancaster County has for almost two centuries been in the "Lower end" of the county.

"It was not without good governmental reason," writes one historian, "that the Presbyterians from Ulster were granted land in southern Lancaster. And, knowing their antecedents, it is not surprising that they were soon found to be fringing almost the whole territory. These sturdy, brave and independent men from a turbulent homeland were well fitted for the uncertainties and dangers of the frontier; and it may be supposed that they were almost happy in constituting the first line against the encroaching Maryland Catholics." Evans, in his "History of Lancaster County," points out the particular use made of the Ulsterites by the provincial government. After stating that "the Scotch-Irish first entered this region in 1715, and pushing past the Mennonite and Huguenot settlements, located themselves on Chiguss creek," he writes:

"A few years later a cordon of settlements by these people, who were all Presbyterians, had been made and extended along Octorara creek from Sadsbury to the Susquehanna, and thence along the river to the Conestoga. These people had been encouraged by the authorities to settle near the disputed boundary line between Maryland and Pennsylvania, because it was believed that they would be more disposed and better able to defend the settlements against the Catholic Marylanders than would either the Huguenots, the Friends or the Mennonites."

"Undoubtedly they were," goes on the previous authority. "It was but continuing a home feud to set Presbyterians to guard a frontier against Catholics, though the Scotch Presbyterians of Ulster was but a recent enemy of the Irish Catholic, by comparison with his English overlord. That feud had existed for centuries, the Irishman all the while being the 'under dog.' The Irish of the twelfth century were but 'a mass of warring clans,' else they would have driven the English into the sea. There was no union among them. Still the English were never for long able to get much farther into Ireland than the districts which came to be known as the 'English Pale'—the districts of Drogheda, Dublin, Wexford, Waterford and Cork. And the forays of the Irishry from beyond the Pale more than once 'carried havoc to the walls of Dublin' itself. The English could make no headway in Ireland. The attempt of King Henry the Eighth to foist his Church of England upon Ireland, and so stamp out Catholicism, brought, it is true, the spectacular burning of the staff of St. Patrick in the market place and the imprisonment of recalcitrant priests; but Thomas Cromwell had eventually to recognize that in Ireland the new episcopal system he had devised was a failure. Nothing could shake an Irishman's faith in himself or his religion. Centuries of attempts to subdue Ireland were fruitless; bloody repression of liberty and religion availed not. The Irishry could not be held down. Subsequent attempts laid waste much of Ireland, but even as the seventeenth century dawned, Lord Mountjoy, Queen Elizabeth's lieutenant in Ireland 'found himself master on his arrival of only a few miles round Dublin.' He had been sent to suppress a revolt fomented and skillfully led by Hugh O'Neill in the north of Ireland. The O'Neills, Earls of Tyrone, had for generations been 'thorns in the flesh' of the English, and Hugh O'Neill was as capable and valiant as had been his forefather, Shane O'Neill; and it took three years of devastating work with the sword before Mountjoy was able to carry Hugh O'Neill in triumph to Dublin. Famine completed the ruin of Ulster.

"It was upon this spent theatre of war that, after even another attempt to bring English uniformity of religion into effect therein had failed, Elizabeth's successor, King James, the First, 'the wisest fool in Christendom,' suddenly resolved upon the Ulster experiment. He carried through the Ulster colonization ruthlessly but successfully. According to Green, 'two-thirds of the north of Ireland was declared to have been confiscated to the crown by the part its possessors had taken in the recent revolt; and the lands which were thus gained were allotted to new settlers of Scotch and English extraction.' King James was at least original. He did not despoil the Irishry in order to bestow their lands upon some favorite courtiers who would but set up feudal state with Irish peasantry as retainers. He wished to sweep the track clean, and start afresh with a people of different antecedents and religious faith. He therefore divided Ulster into small portions, which he was disposed to lease to settlers under a legitimate colonization scheme. He ordained that 'no one shall obtain grants of land which he is unable to plant with men.' His decree attracted Scotch Protestants and they crossed the North Channel 'in great numbers.' Englishmen also came, attracted possibly by the plan of the Corporation of London, which undertook to colonize Derry, 'and gave to the little town the name which its heroic defense has made so famous.' The principal migration was, however, from the northeastward, over the narrow strait that divides Scotland from Ireland. These Scotch Presbyterians were predominant in the colonization of the confiscated part of Ulster, almost six entire counties. They settled principally in the counties of Down, Antrim and Londonderry. . . .

"In later years there was probably some degree of intermarriage, but the Protestant Ulsterites and Catholic Irishry never harmoniously merged. Three centuries have passed since the first Presbyterian church was established in Ireland; to-day the Ulster Presbyterians are so ardently Protestant, and the Irish Catholics so fervently Catholic, as to indicate that as peoples they are still distinct and separate. What are now termed Scotch-Irish can, it would seem, only be so hyphenated 'from the circumstance that they were the descendants of Scots who had taken up their residence in the north of Ireland.'"

It was apparently from these immigrants in Ireland that the Scotch-Irish or Scotch Presbyterians who settled in Pennsylvania were drawn. It is necessary, however, to make a correction or two to the account of things given in this passage just quoted. First of all while it is quite true that these Scotch-Irish settled in Ireland after emigrating from Scotland, it should not be forgotten that the forebears of the Scotch settled in Scotland at an earlier time after emigrating from Ireland. That is an important circumstance that is usually forgotten. The Scotch people and the Irish people, however they now differ in religion and other matters, and however violent the antagonisms of their recent history, are clearly the same race of people. There may be an English sprinkling and a Scandinavian sprinkling in Scotland just as there have been an English sprinkling and a Scandinavian sprinkling and a Norman French sprinkling in Ireland, but the people of both countries are fundamentally Gaels, speaking the same Irish tongue, and until recent times with a common history, a common art and a common culture. The Scotchman is not an Anglo-Saxon but a Celt and a Gael. Scotland is historically as much an Irish province as Leinster. The Latin word for Irishman is "Scotus"; the Irish word for Irishman or Scotsman is "Gaedhal" or "Gael." The Latin name for Ireland is "Scotia"—a much more frequent term in medieval records than "Hibernia," its alternative. The word "Scotland" means "land of the Irish." The medieval Latin appellative for Scotland was "Scotia Minor" or "Lesser Ireland." Ignorance of facts such as these has led to a mass of writing based on quite erroneous conclusions, which, in view of recent historical reconstruction, are no longer tenable by people of ordinary knowledge.

The description of the Irish people in the twelfth century as a "mass of warring clans" is also to employ antiquated phraseology. Medieval Ireland was a land of remarkable culture, honeycombed with universities and schools that were without parallel in other lands. Clonmacnois, Armagh, Clonard, Bangor, Clonfert, Glendalough, Lismore, Arran were simply the leading establishments in a great assemblage of schools, something like thirty-five in number, which founded in the fifth and sixth centuries endured to the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and were then dismantled by the foreign invader. How extraordinary this longevity was in an age of tumult in Europe can be tested by the fact that York, the most noted of the English schools, had a career of barely fifty years. To these Irish schools went hundreds of students, including foreign princes from every country in Europe, while only one foreign student, Luidger, is known in the same medieval period to have studied at any English school. From these Irish schools, moreover, went forth the multitudes of Irish peregrini who converted and civilized the Picts and the English and a great deal of western Europe. In view of all these facts, made plain in recent research, Ireland was manifestly something other than the abode of "warring clans" in the twelfth century.

Moreover, it was not the English who entered Ireland in the twelfth century but the Norman French, who had taken England from the English a century before and made the English their slaves. These French and Cambro-French invaders merely sought to repeat in Ireland what they had done in England. They found the Gael in Ireland a harder nut to crack than they had found the Anglo-Saxon in England. Eventually they settled down in Ireland and became Irish-speaking Gaels themselves. In England, on the other hand, they held tenaciously to their French speech, and for three centuries after the French conquest English in England was spoken only by the submerged Anglo-Saxon natives.

The first real English attempt to conquer Ireland was begun in 1534 under Henry VIII. Before the "Norman" Conquest an unbroken friendliness existed between Irishman and Englishman, a condition of things only natural, for the Irish Gael had rescued the Anglo-Saxon from barbarism and built for him his first towns and schools—Lindisfarne, Glastonbury, Malmesbury and the others. To talk about an incompatibility of race between the Irishman and the Englishman, or between the Irish Gael and the Scotch Gael, is manifestly to regard as permanent what is merely transient, to read into the elements of race the passing moods of religion and sentiment, and to look on an ephemeral condition of things that may exist to-day and not to-morrow as an enduring thing that has remained unchanged from the beginning. That is a common failing of historians who do not take the trouble to look into the warp and woof of the tapestry, but who are willing to look on the picture it presents as a living thing.

"It soon became evident" continues our historian, "that Presbyterians were as much 'beyond the Pale' as Catholics. The English Established Church was to be the only one tolerated in Ireland; and Presbyterians found themselves 'shut out by law from all civil, military and municipal offices.' Furthermore, Scotch settlers in Ulster, after a while, after they had held land for thirty-one years, found themselves evicted by the landed gentry, who thereafter exacted such high rentals that life in Ulster became well-nigh impossible for the tenant. 'Then it was,' says Houston, 'that the Presbyterians turned their faces towards the colonies, unable longer to bear the persecutions of the Established Church of England, by which all dissenters, Catholic and Presbyterian alike, were under the ban of the prelates. Their ministers were forbidden to solemnize marriages, and the children of such marriages were treated as illegitimate and the parents subject to punishment for fornication. Vexed with suits in the ecclesiastical courts, forbidden to educate their children in their own faith, deprived of their civil rights, the sacramental test required, and their only crime being non-conformity, they determined to seek a home where the long arm of prelacy was too short to reach them. During the first half of the eighteenth century, Down, Antrim, Armagh and Derry were emptied of Protestant inhabitants."

Contrary to the inferences of historians it is certain that the Catholic Irish as well as the Presbyterian Irish emigrated in large numbers. A mere scrutiny of the names makes this perfectly clear. Nevertheless the Presbyterian emigration was pronounced. King George is said to have characterized the American Revolution as "a Presbyterian War." Horace Walpole, addressing the English Parliament once during the Revolution said: "There is no use crying about it. Cousin America has run off with a Presbyterian parson and that is the end of it." It was mainly the weight of the twenty-five thousand Ulster Presbyterians of the 1771-23 exodus that "changed the Delegates in the Continental Congress and caused the vote of Pennsylvania to be cast in favor of the Declaration of Independence." In this procedure the Scotch-Irish were wholeheartedly backed by the Irish Irish, who despite the differences that for political reasons had been fomented among them, spoke the same tongue and who had even greater reason than the Scotchmen for antagonism towards Great Britain

The first appreciable immigration from Ireland to America began to reach appreciable volume about 1718, though there had been a trickling from that country from the beginning. The Toleration Act stopped emigration for a while, but it began anew in about 1728, "and ships could not be procured to carry the emigrants as fast as they desired to emigrate." It is estimated that between 1729 and 1750 over twelve thousand persons came from Ireland to America. Over six thousand Irish people had settled in Pennsylvania by the year 1729. "In September, 1736, alone, one thousand families sailed from Belfast on account of the difficulty of renewing their leases." The basic cause of the second exodus, which began in 1771, was like the first. Leases had expired and could not be renewed except at extortionate rentals, on the estate of the Marquis of Donegal in the county of Antrim. And when one appreciates what difficulties were experienced by those who crossed the seas, in those days of midget ships and appaling conditions of life on shipboard, disease sometimes taking a death-toll of one half of the passengers during the voyage, one can understand why the Irish Presbyterians were part of the backbone of the Revolution. Their grievance, like the grievance of the Catholic-Irish, who constituted a much greater part of the revolutionary forces than the average historian has allowed, was directly against England; whereas the other settlers were differently situated. Mennonites, Germans, Swiss, Huguenots, accepted the rigors of homes in the wilderness as a relief from the hard conditions at home, and England to them was largely an unknown land. The Irish however could not think of their hard lot in the new land without feelings of bitterness towards the unjust and rapacious government that had made it necessary for them to emigrate. They were American patriots almost before landing in America. It is generally recognized that the first dominant Scotch-Irish settlements in Lancaster County were in its "Upper End" or northern part, not in the "Lower End" as the five Irish townships of southern Lancaster are sometimes called. The settlement of the people from Ireland in Lancaster County established an element which soon became potent in the local government. Thus W. U. Hensel says of them:

> Into the historic bailiwick of my county there entered almost contemporaneously three ruling strains that have made the composite citizenship of Pennsylvania for nearly

two centuries. On that theatre of action there have been displayed the play and counterplay, the relation and interrelation, the action and counteraction, of the several religious and political forces that were set in motion early in the eighteenth century by the English Quaker, the Scotch-Irish, and the Pennsylvania German. Whether Robert Galt was the first white settler who crossed the ridge that separates Chester from the Pequea Valley, or if he was shortly preceded by the Pilgrim Palatines, to whom in 1711 Penn "required the friendship" of the Conestoga Indians, it is difficult to determine, and it may be profitless to inquire; but it is notable that the early assessment lists of Conestoga Township, then in Chester County, which bore such characteristic names as James Patterson, Collum McQuair, Thomas Clark, and John McDaniel, discriminated as Dutch inhabitants the Herrs and Kaufmans, Brubakers and Swarrs, the Brenemans and Zimmermans, the Brackbills and Shenks.

It is equally certain that, with characteristic persistence, the Scotch-Irish pushed past his German neighbor; so that when as early as 1720 the territory of West Conestoga, beyond the Pequea, was cut off and called "Donegal," it was already peopled almost entirely by the more aggressive race. They held the frontier and stood on the firing line; at once they bore the odium and won the glory of battling with the savage. They worked out that great moral and political problem which has always to be solved when a weaker race throws itself across the path of advancing civilization. They made stern wrestle with all the difficulties that confront those who would at once break a new soil and settle new institutions. Carrying his religion with his rifle, the Scotch-Irishman in Lancaster County stamped an iron heel where he settled and wheresoever he trod. Regardless of disproportionate numbers he dominated the situation over his German neighbor for a century and a half.

The Scotch-Irish migration reached out in two directions like a two pronged fork, one prong reaching the northwestern part of Lancaster County and the other prong the southwestern part. In the northwestern settlement they disturbed the Germans and in the southwestern settlements they dominated the Quakers. Hensel speaks of the coming of the Scotch-Irish into Lancaster County as follows: "Almost immediately they advanced across the country, leaping from Pequea to Leacock, from Leacock to Donegal, in the upper end of the county; and on the lower side of the Mine Ridge they occupied what was once 'the great township of Drumóre,' stretching from the west bank of the Octorara to the west bank of the Susquehanna, and from the Martic hills to the disputed Maryland line. In the valleys of the Upper End, where their furrow broke the limestone lands, the pioneers whose history we commemorate were surrounded by the patient, plodding and tenacious German peasants; while in the Lower End, where the slate lands were more easily cleared of the lighter timber, they were confronted by an alien element in the meek followers of Penn, and the unwarlike worshippers with Fox."

Of the two the Quakers would appear to have been the more perturbed and resentful. The Irish Presbyterians were so different in their natures and beliefs it is little to be wondered at that the passive Mennonites and equally submissive Quakers were soon overrun by the aggressive people from Ireland, who were also quite prepared to violate the Penn edicts, if needs be, "by protecting their homes and their families from the midnight attacks of their savage foes, when no other redress could be obtained." The militant department of these Irish Gaels had its reaction among the ranks of their political foes. Thus Nathaniel Grubb, a member of the Provincial Assembly of Pennsylvania, remarked on one occasion in the Council chamber, in reply to appeals sent by the settlers on the frontier for governmental protection against the Indians: "They are a pack of insignificant Scotch-Irish Presbyterians who, if they were killed, could well enough be spared." It is a matter of record moreover that the provincial authorities were much alarmed when the Presbyterian and Irish immigration reached numbers that threatened the supremacy of the older elements. James Logan, president of the Proprietary Council of Pennsylvania, and identified with the Friends, once stated: "If the Scotch-Irish continue to come they will make themselves masters of the Province." To check the influx there came a time when the provincial government refused to sell any more lands in Lancaster and York counties to the Scotch-Irish, though they were made "advantageous overtures" to migrate to the Cumberland Valley. That the Irishmen soon took a predominant part in the provincial, and later in the State government, is made clear by a study of the Civil Lists. Hensel writes:

> How tame is the recital of the felicitous electioneering of the beautiful Duchess of Devonshire by comparison with the animated political campaign in which Andrew Galbraith ran for the Assembly against George Stewart, the ablest and most accomplished Quaker in Lancaster County. At a time when the only poll was in Lancaster city and none save freeholders voted, Galbraith's wife, mounting her favorite mare, roused the Scotch-Irish settlements, led the horseback procession of her husband's clansmen to the election, rallied other voters with such enthusiasm and addressed them with such eloquence as to not only then elect her husband, but to start him on a political career of unopposed success. Little wonder that when a member of the House of Bonaparte sought an American wife he found her in a granddaughter of the same Ann Galbraith. . . . . In the stress and storm of the Revolutionary period, neither in Massachusetts nor in Virginia was there a more fervid patriotic spirit than burned and blazed among the Scotch-Irish of Lancaster county; nowhere were views of hostility to the Crown and Parliament more devoutly sealed than in the group which encircled "the Witness Oak" at Donegal. They were of a race no more determined to have "a church without a bishop" than to live under "a State without a king."

It was a Scotch-Irish divine, the venerable Dr. Witherspoon, who put the last straw on the scales on the memorable Fourth of July, 1776, when the Declaration of Independence was submitted to the Continental Congress at Philadelphia. The scale went down decisively when this sage gave utterance to the deepest emotions of his soul: "To hesitate at this moment is to consent to our own slavery. The noble instrument on your table, which insures immortality to its author, should be