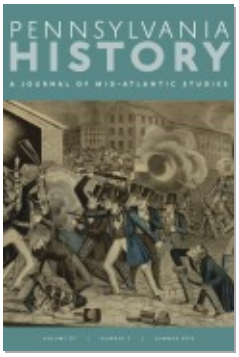
Refracted Republicanism: Plowden's History, *Paddy's Resource* , and Irish Jacobins in Western Pennsylvania



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Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies, Volume 83, Number 3, Summer 2016, pp. 394-417 (Article)

Published by Penn State University Press

REFRACTED REPUBLICANISM

PLOWDEN'S HISTORY, *PADDY'S RESOURCE*, AND IRISH JACOBINS IN WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA

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ABSTRACT: Two books of significance to contemporary Irish political radicalism were republished in Philadelphia at the turn of the nineteenth century: in 1796 *Paddy's Resource*, an anthology of songs and toasts; and in 1806 the multivolume history of Ireland authored by Francis Plowden. Together, these literary productions help bring into focus both the centrality of Philadelphia in the percolation of Democratic-Republican politics and the ideas and personalities animating the Irish diaspora of Pennsylvania's western region in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Irish American communities in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh became defined through alliance with the Jeffersonian party, ethnic symbols, and in part, the songs transmitted by *Paddy's Resource*.
KEYWORDS: Irish diaspora, Early Republic, *Paddy's Resource*, Plowden's History, Western Pennsylvania

In March 1801 backcountry democrats celebrated the inauguration of Thomas Jefferson by setting up a "liberty pole" near their Beaver County homes, drinking whiskey, and singing "Jacobin songs." The songs indirectly suggest how Philadelphia's Irish diaspora refracted and radiated transatlantic revolutionary republicanism from Ireland to their discernible enclaves of western Pennsylvania. At least two of the "Jacobin songs" could be found in the pages of *Paddy's Resource*, a revolutionary Irish compendium published in Philadelphia in 1796. And this anthology was not the only Philadelphia-published expression of Irish radical-national sentiment: a decade following the publication of *Paddy's Resource*, prominent Americans and exiled Irish radicals combined their resources to bring into print a history of Ireland

PENNSYLVANIA HISTORY: A JOURNAL OF MID-ATLANTIC STUDIES, VOL. 83, NO. 3, 2016.

condemned by British ruling circles. Together, these literary productions help bring into focus both the centrality of Philadelphia in the percolation of democratic-republican politics and the ideas and personalities animating the Irish diaspora of Pennsylvania's western region at the turn of the nineteenth century.[1]

That diaspora came into existence through a coalescence of several streams of Irish immigrants: exiles fleeing the tumult and tragedy of the revolutionary 1790s, those arriving in the newly independent states in the 1780s, and colonial-era immigrants, particularly those arriving between the end of the Seven Years' War and the start of the American War for Independence. An inchoate sense of ethnic identity found expression through a shared commitment to republicanism, hostility toward Britain, and sympathy for revolutionary France.[2]

By the end of the eighteenth century Philadelphia had become a leading point of disembarkation and Pennsylvania a desired destination for Irish immigrants, the majority of them Presbyterians from the northern province of Ulster. Some 150,000 Presbyterians left Ireland's north in the first seventy-five years of the eighteenth century. Immigration from Ulster to Pennsylvania began in 1717, with accelerating volume throughout the colonial era. Peak years accompanied expiration of Irish leases and dramatic increases in rents, along with bad harvests and downturns in the price of linen cloth produced in tenant cottages. In the last great prerevolutionary migration, tens of thousands left Ireland in the years immediately preceding the American war. The numbers of Ulster Presbyterians migrating in the first half of the 1770s surpassed the totals of any single decade in the colonial era.[3]

Colonial-era Irish Presbyterian immigrants and their children, like German Reformed incomers, found themselves locked out of power. The "Presbyterian Party," which emerged out of military crises and fractious provincial politics in the 1760s, became a major force in the revolutionary politics of the 1770s. Leading Anglicans allied with the Quaker Party in defense of the Crown; Presbyterians seized the moment and power. The Irish and their German allies in the 1770s created a radically democratic state constitution and warred against the agendas of eastern and local elites. Issues animating Pennsylvania politics during the war years continued to resonate in the western country in the 1780s, often shaped by men who had emerged as leaders in the revolutionary struggle.[4]

In the 1780s western Pennsylvania opposition to conservative politics, and especially to ratification of the US Constitution, crystallized around two

Irish-born Presbyterian radicals: William Findley of Westmoreland and John Smilie of Fayette, both of whom had emigrated from Ulster in the 1760s. For both of them, their Irish origins were both an occasion of elite sneers and a point of pride. The weaver-farmer-turned-politician Findley self-identified as "Irish" through his membership in the Hibernian Society for the Relief of Emigrants from Ireland; as congressman, he accepted the chair of an 1803 St. Patrick's Day celebration of "Irish and American gentlemen" in Lancaster, Pennsylvania.[5] Individuals within the prerevolutionary cohorts of Irish Presbyterian immigrants maintained contact with family, friends, and developments in the old country. James McFarlane (or McFarland), a Revolutionary War veteran born in County Tyrone, paid the passage of immigrants to America. McFarlane was a major in Washington County's Mingo Creek militia, which likely shared membership with the Mingo Creek Democratic-Republican Society. The militia and political club shared assembly space in the Mingo Creek Presbyterian meetinghouse. Recalled for its role in the politics of the Whiskey Rebellion, the club paid apparent homage to the contemporary Irish republican movement with its formal name, "Society of United Freemen."[6]

The mostly Presbyterian Irish who crossed the Atlantic before and after the American Revolution found themselves opposed to Washington and Adams administration policies perceived as benefiting the financial/mercantile elites of urban seaports at the expense of the backcountry, and favoring Britain over revolutionary France. The Whiskey Rebellion became one of a series of events in the 1790s—along with Jay's Treaty with Great Britain, the "quasi-war with France," and the Alien, Sedition and Naturalization acts—which helped create a two-party system and meld the prerevolutionary and postrevolutionary cohorts of Irish immigrants into a recognizable Irish American diaspora. Irish Presbyterians came to form a significant segment of the coalition that became the oppositional Democratic-Republican Party. Meanwhile, the increasing numbers of Presbyterians who left Ireland in the 1790s and 1800s provided that democratic opposition with personnel, leadership, and a strong ideological commitment to republicanism.

A radical turn in Irish politics followed a heady succession of victories won by reformers in the late 1770s and 1780s. The Society of United Irishmen came into existence in Belfast and Dublin in 1791 to seek more substantive parliamentary reform, including the elimination of all remaining obstacles to Catholic participation in the politics, and to build unity among Catholics, Protestants (members of the official Church of Ireland),

and Dissenters (mostly Presbyterians). Within a few years, however, this parliamentary pressure group became an underground revolutionary organization committed to an Irish republic. In Ireland's northeastern counties, a majority of United Irishmen were Presbyterians. The educated and politically aware urban middle classes drew inspiration from British civic humanism and Enlightenment writers; tenant farmers and linen weavers merged longstanding grievances against landlords and the established church with Thomas Paine and encouraging news from France.

Severe repression inflicted upon Ulster's political dissidents in 1797 weakened the republican movement while heightening the intensity of resentment. A brief storm of rebellion broke out as North and South rose in the spring and summer of 1798. Pent-up, uncoordinated fury sustained rebels for days and weeks in a series of separate risings. Altogether, armed rebels numbered possibly as many as 50,000; they faced Crown forces totaling more than 75,000. At least 30,000 were killed, and untold numbers were wounded, beaten, evicted, imprisoned, or forced into exile. The official suppression of the Society of United Irishmen in 1794, the martial law imposed on Ulster in 1797, the collapse of the 1798 rebellion, and defeat of a second, brief United Irish uprising in 1803 together gave a noticeably republican coloration to Irish immigration of the late 1790s and early 1800s.

A recent attempt at scholarly consensus suggests that more than 250,000 arrived in the United States from the North of Ireland between 1783 and 1830. This follows earlier estimates of between 100,000 and 150,000 individuals from Ireland arriving in the 1783–1814 period, at least two-thirds of whom were from Ulster and mostly Presbyterian.[7]

For their part, the governing Federalists believed that recent "Jacobinical" arrivals from rebellion-torn Ireland represented a significant threat to the order and stability of the United States (the epithet "Jacobin" conveyed a perception of the United Irishmen as foreign-born terrorists, associated with the most radical and ruthless aspects of the French Revolution).[8] As one Irish immigrant recalled:

> The republican party was charged with an attachment to France—the federal party with an attachment to Britain—Emigrants from Ireland at this time, were placed in the most delicate situation—The most determined hostility to Britain was imputed to them, and it must be confessed to many not without cause, but a propensity, on their part,

> to weaken or destroy the pillars destined to support the social edifice in the United States was wantonly imputed.[9]

Federalists sought in 1797 to restrict immigration with a proposed amendment to the 1795 naturalization law. The Naturalization Act adopted in 1798 as part of the Alien and Sedition laws increased the residency requirement from five to fourteen years, with mandatory notice of intention to seek naturalization extended from three to five years. As a package, the Alien and Sedition laws were perceived by Irish immigrants as an attempt to curb their participation in the Democratic-Republican Party and their political influence generally.[10]

The opposition of Democratic-Republican legislators to Federalist-initiated restrictions on immigration reinforced the growing connections between the Irish community and the Jeffersonian party. United Irish émigrés associated the cause of the United States with their own republican cause, and both with Jefferson's Democratic-Republican Party. They had fought for Irish independence and a republic; exile had brought them to an independent republic. Thus, political developments in the United States as well as in Ireland deepened the sense of identification between "Irish" and "republican." The result Federalists feared became reality: the party of Jefferson benefited electorally. "Both contemporary observers and modern historians agree that a continuing and major source of Republican electoral strength from the early 1790's onward was provided by the votes of the foreign born," wrote Edwin Carter II. "Among this group none were more determined or effective in their support of the Jeffersonian Republican Party than the Irish of the seaport cities of Baltimore, New York, and Philadelphia."[11]

Philadelphia, the nation's largest city and American gateway for many Ulster immigrants and headquarters of American Presbyterianism, became a center for political meetings, fraternal gatherings, and publications. Vice President Thomas Jefferson—the lodestar for many politically inspired and active immigrants—asserted his leadership of a new, oppositional second political party in Philadelphia in 1797 as numerous Irish Presbyterians associated with the United Irishmen arrived at that major port city.[12]

Indeed, the formation and ultimate electoral victories of Thomas Jefferson's Democratic-Republicans would be inconceivable without the support of Irish-American voters, and the Democratic-Republican Party significantly facilitated the creation of an Irish-American diaspora under the hegemony of Ulster Presbyterians of pre-revolutionary and post-revolutionary cohorts.

Political exiles among Irish Presbyterians contributed both the rank and file and leadership to this evolving dynamic.

The identification of Irish voters with Jefferson in the late 1790s became strengthened with his electoral triumph, as did the easing of immigration restrictions which allowed for the entry of leading United Irishmen once Jefferson took office in 1801. "By 1800 and the election of Jefferson," wrote David Noel Doyle, "the bulk of the lower and middle class Scotch Irish and Irish Catholics were Republican; and the arriving United Irish leadership furnished them unparalleled political leadership in its support, through various Hibernian societies and the reconstituted Tammany societies of New York and Philadelphia."[13]

The creation of a diasporic community saw refugees transformed into committed partisans of the host country's causes, without losing an attachment to their nation of origin. New arrivals who had been involved with the Irish revolutionary movement initially tended to regard themselves as exiles. United Irish refugees in Philadelphia in 1799 toasted "The Emigrant Irish Republicans—Soon and successful be their return." The following year, with continued focus on Ireland, Philadelphia Democratic-Republicans toasted the proposition "May the United Irish speedily break the chain which bind them to the footstool of Britain." But in 1802 a 1798-era immigrant expressed the aspiration of Irish American partisans of the Jeffersonian cause in the toast he gave at a Fourth of July celebration in Pittsburgh: "The Irish emigrants, may they all become citizens, and remain true republicans."[14]

Political participation and political success in their new nation favored immigrants' self-perception as Irish republicans; ethnic-themed publications, songs, and convivial gatherings helped create a diasporic community with a nonsectarian sensibility—a necessary development, given the prominence of Presbyterians. With the triumph of the Democratic-Republican Party in Pennsylvania in 1799 and nationally in 1800, recent Irish immigrants were recruited both to strengthen the base of the governing party and to assume leadership positions within party and government. The significance of this alliance and the role of ethnic identity can be seen in the subscription to the American edition of Francis Plowden's *An Historical Review of the state of Ireland*.

Francis Plowden (1749–1819), a respected and respectably conservative barrister, was encouraged by the British government at the turn of the nineteenth century to write a history of Ireland.[15] However, as a Jesuit troubled by suggestions of Catholic disloyalty in the aftermath of the 1798

Rebellion, he produced a three-volume study which displeased establishment critics by instead proposing that ill-considered actions of government were the fundamental cause of Ireland's tortured past.[16] Sir Richard Musgrave condemned Plowden's history as displaying "party prejudice" by attacking "the Protestant party in Ireland and their ancestors, as well as the Governments of both countries." Musgrave objected strongly to what he viewed as Plowden's benign treatment of the Society of United Irishmen; to Musgrave the United Irishmen had "corrupted the public mind" and "seduced into their Societies most of the middling and lower orders of Roman Catholics, and a very large proportion of the Presbyterians of the North." Further, Musgrave fumed that Plowden had purposely misrepresented the Orange Order, "that loyal body, so maligned and so meritorious." The Orange Order, a political society dedicated to the defense of the Protestant Ascendancy, had played a notably violent role in the suppression of the Rebellion.[17]

Such objections recommended Plowden's history to Irish republicans in the United States. A five-volume edition published in Philadelphia appeared in 1806 through subscription.[18] The list of subscribers demonstrates the strength and reach of Irish political influence in the United States. The subscribers included Thomas Jefferson, president of the United States; Aaron Burr, immediate past vice president of the United States; Thomas McKean, governor of Pennsylvania and De Witt Clinton, mayor of the city of New York, and who as governor of New York would be associated with the Erie Canal.

Other prominent subscribers included Irish-born, Democratic-Republican members of Congress William Findley and Matthew Lyon; Hugh Henry Brackenridge of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court; political economist Tench Coxe, appointed by President Jefferson as purveyor of public supplies; Alexander J. Dallas, former secretary of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, then US district attorney for Eastern Pennsylvania; Peter Muhlenberg; Irish-born Stephen Moylan, a founder of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick and noted patriot leader in the American War for Independence; Mathew Carey, the politically influential Irish American publisher; Michael Leib, physician, politician, scientist, inventor, and leader of a Democratic-Republican faction, and future (1809–14) US senator from Pennsylvania.[19]

Other subscribers who figured actively in Pennsylvania's Democratic-Republican politics included Joseph Clay, James Carson, Thomas Leiper, and Joseph Lloyd—all associated with William Duane's newspaper, *Aurora*, and the insurgent candidacy of future-governor Simon Snyder; William

McCorkle, editor of the *Philadelphia Evening Post*, a factional rival to *Aurora*; and Joseph B. McKean, son of the governor.[20]

Along with the Right Reverend John Carroll, the first Roman Catholic bishop in the United States, and Charles Biddle, scion of an old and wealthy Quaker family in Pennsylvania who in the 1780s served as vice president of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, subscribers included Ulster Presbyterians who immigrated both before and during Ireland's 1790s revolutionary crisis. Among them: James Caldwell, son of the Ulster-born merchant and Friendly Sons of St. Patrick member of the same name; Samuel Barr of New Castle, Delaware, a County Londonderry man who had been Pittsburgh's first settled Presbyterian minister; Rev. John Andrews, regarded as "the father of Presbyterian journalism" in the United States; and Baltimore merchant Robert Purviance, a native of Derry.

Subscribers also included participants in the Society of United Irishmen and their rebellion, among them: John Caldwell, New York merchant and Presbyterian United Irishman from north County Antrim; John Campbell White, Baltimore physician, Presbyterian elder, Hibernian Society officer, and political exile; Rev. John McNeice of Newburgh, New York, formerly of Clough, County Antrim, and the Presbytery of Ballymena, who had been linked to the United Irishmen; and Thomas Hoge of Greensburg, Pennsylvania, a licentiate of the Presbytery of Tyrone forced to flee in 1797 because of his revolutionary activities.

The willingness of so many prominent and influential Americans to help bring to print a multivolume study of Irish history by an English barrister strongly suggests the political and cultural achievements of the United Irishmen, and their supporters and sympathizers within the Irish American diaspora and Democratic-Republican movement: first, in gaining recognition for their role in the Jeffersonian movement; second, in framing a particular understanding of events in Ireland. The success and pervasiveness of that influence, in turn, was dependent on the successful inclusion of the 1790s cohort of Irish Presbyterian immigrants in the well-established Irish communities of the United States.

The 1796 publication of *Paddy's Resource* is similarly suggestive of the immigrants' rambunctious presence. In Pennsylvania as in Ireland, music and song, and the symbolism of music, provided an essential means of self-conscious ethnic expression—especially because it was imbued with the commitment to ethnic-conscious republican politics unifying the various immigrant cohorts. In Ireland the revolutionary movement giving rise to the

1798 Rebellion developed a cultural repertoire that included *Paddy's Resource*. This collection of political songs set to popular melodies appeared first in Belfast in 1795. An edition appeared in Philadelphia the following year.[21]

The *Paddy's Resource* project was closely associated with the Reverend James Porter, the Donegal-born minister of Greyabbey Presbyterian Church in County Down. A polymath, Reverend Porter built improved farming implements in his workshop and experimented with plans for an electric battery. He is most remembered, however, for writing political satire and contributing songs to the radical Belfast newspaper *The Northern Star*. Although not a member of the Society of the United Irishmen, Porter was sympathetic to the movement and became more closely involved as government repression foreclosed other options. He is generally accepted as the editor of the Belfast edition of *Paddy's Resource*, basis of the Philadelphia edition, and as the likely author of many of the lyrics contained in the volume. [22]

Porter's marriage of political message and popular song contributed to the revolutionaries' wider cultural project. To promote unity of action against the British Crown, the United Irishmen combined Irish patriotism, the radical political philosophy of Thomas Paine, and local grievances against landlords and the established church with Scottish and Irish dance tunes, homespun airs, and stage melodies. In the various editions of *Paddy's Resource*, songs consisted of lyrics with familiar tunes suggested as melodies. Thus, the music that roused the rebel Irish of Belfast and Pittsburgh also gives valuable clues as to what dance tunes and songs might have been familiar to popular audiences in both northeastern Ireland and western Pennsylvania.

Porter's familiarity with local rhythms and idioms served him well in pairing his lyrics with well-known melodies for subversively satirical purposes. In *Paddy's Resource*, "God Save the King," "Rule, Britannia," and the Royal Naval march "Hearts of Oak" became the vehicles for "Rights of Man," "Star of Freedom," and "Liberty's Call." "The Green Flag" and "Unite and Be Free" came from "The Girl I Left Behind Me" and "The Green Cockade." The Irish folk song, "Cruiskeen Lawn" ("Cruiscin Lán," or "Little Full Jug") received only minor change in becoming an exultation of radical politics. A biting satire on Britain's war with revolutionary France, "Billy's Undone by the War" ("Billy" being Prime Minister William Pitt), fit perfectly with "Oh Dear! What Can the Matter Be?"[23]

Indeed, many songs boldly affirmed the French Revolution at a time when Britain and France were at war and the conservative Adams administration was pushing the United States into an undeclared conflict with the

revolutionary regime in Paris. These circumstances help explain, on the one hand, political repression both in Ireland and in the United States and, on the other, why identification with revolutionary France became a touchstone of Irish revolutionary commitment both in Ireland and in the United States. As the report of the Beaver County incident indicates, Pittsburgh's elite expressed dismay and alarm because backcountry revelers exuberantly exclaimed their political allegiances by raising their voices in Irish songs identified with the French Revolution.

Several songs in *Paddy's Resource* took particular note of a rhetorical fusillade unleashed by a noted Anglo-Irish political leader in the polemical war over the French Revolution and its meaning. In 1790 Edmund Burke condemned "the swinish multitude" in denouncing the democratic upsurge associated with the French Revolution. Not surprisingly, at least five of the songs in the Philadelphia collection made mischievous swine references, among them, a protest against church establishment.[24]

The very name "Society of United Irishmen" proclaimed a primary aim, one that several songs in *Paddy's Resource* appropriately promoted: creation of a nonsectarian "Irishness" through the eradication of religious antagonism. This goal necessitated abolishing the legal distinctions among religious groups, which in turn meant eliminating church establishment. Presbyterians as well as Catholics had cause for bitter complaint against their legal and social subordination to the landlords' denomination, the Church of Ireland. Hence, *Paddy's Resource* contained a swine-citing song entitled "Church and State, or The Rector's Creed."[25]

This song was set to a well-known dance tune having an existing association with Pennsylvania backcountry radicalism. In 6/8 or jig time, "Black Joke" may have been of Irish origin originally, and appeared in an eighteenth-century Scottish tune collection, but gained popularity in part as a merry English country-dance tune, fun for dancers, enjoyable for musicians. Probably inseparable from the tune's popularity was its connection with what was regarded as a particularly obscene song: "black joke" being mid-eighteenth-century English slang for female genitalia.[26]

In 1765 residents of central Pennsylvania mountain valleys suspected that weapons and other materiel were being illegally shipped by a leading Philadelphia merchant house west to possibly hostile Native Americans. A dozen or so men backcountry settlers, with blackened faces as disguises, ambushed a wagon train near Sideling Hill and destroyed the contents. In response, British troops garrisoned nearby at Fort Loudon (in modern

Franklin County) rounded up some likely suspects. A militia of some 300 riflemen, "the Black Boys," more than double the size of the garrison, surrounded the fort. The prisoners were released.[27]

An Irishman named George Campbell celebrated the incident in verse, setting his lyrics to the melody "Black Joke."[28] So, in the 1760s Pennsylvania's mountains, settlers with Irish origins realized the subversive potential of popular song, using a dance tune favored in rural amusement and linked to a wiseacre, smutty song as the vehicle of a triumphal exultation of lower-class victory over soldiers and perfidious profiteers. And in Ireland in the tumultuous, revolutionary 1790s, "Black Joke" became the vehicle for a protest by the politically and socially marginalized against the prerogatives of privilege.

A tune associated with another ribald song served lofty political purposes. The melody of the seventeenth-century Scots song "Maggy Lauder" became the air of a patriotic Irish song in Derry in 1779. "Paddy's Triumph" "overtly expressed a new and radical idea: that Protestants, Dissenters, and Catholics were all part of the one nation but they had been divided by self-serving Britons." In *Paddy's Resource*, "Maggy Lauder" became the vehicle for the song "See Your Country Righted." Ever popular, "Maggy Lauder" is mentioned in a poem that appeared in the Democratic-Republican newspaper *Tree of Liberty* in Pittsburgh in 1801, authored by the Pennsylvania author and jurist Hugh Henry Brackenridge (a subscriber to Plowden's history). It was also the tune for a song written by an early nineteenth-century County Antrim poet, Hugh McWilliam.[29]

The songs found in *Paddy's Resource*, with their combination of radical lyrics and popular melodies, became both an expression of the political worldview of early nineteenth-century Irish immigrants in Pittsburgh and the western backcountry and a means of creating a sense of solidarity. David B. Cooper, in his study of musical traditions in Northern Ireland, proposes that "the music associated with the home country" can help "forge and preserve a sense of group identity" and "maintain cultural and social boundaries and values within the new community."[30]

By the early nineteenth century, a discernable Irish American community had been created in Pittsburgh and vicinity among distinct cohorts of immigrants on the basis of a shared, commingled Irish ethnic identity and affirmation of transnational revolutionary republicanism. New arrivals joined an already considerable regional Irish population: By 1790 individuals of Irish birth or descent may have comprised as much as one-third of the some 75,000 people living in Pennsylvania west of the mountains, a majority Presbyterians.

In some settlements, townships, and valleys Ulster Presbyterians would have been the largest single ethnoreligious group. The most recent immigrants—those who were refugee United Irishmen or otherwise influenced by their political movement—asserted leadership of this diasporic community and a worldview embracing nonsectarian Irish patriotism and republicanism.[31]

The presence of politically radical Irish immigrants excited the attention and bile of Methodist immigrant (and Orangeman) William Heazelton Jr., who remarked in 1810, "The 9/10 of the people of pittsburg is Irish and the[y] are flocking here Every day." In a letter home to County Tyrone in 1814, he observed further:

> the Blagard Runaway United Irish men makes a great fuss here but Getting out of Creddit . . . they are the only people that I dislike for their bad Conduct and lying Stories that the[y] propagate a gainst Ireland but the[y] are Coming fast down as the Real americans dont like them on any acct what I mean by Real American is the better Sort of people Call[ed] Federalists.[32]

The presence of large numbers of recent Irish immigrants sympathetic to creation of an independent Irish republic can be inferred from the newspapers of Pittsburgh and Washington, Pennsylvania. These papers prominently featured news from Ireland, sometimes printed alongside romantic Irish nationalist verse. A long essay by prominent Irish radical James Napper Tandy appeared in the *Pittsburgh Gazette* in 1786. Pittsburgh's *Tree of Liberty*, a Democratic-Republican organ, published an "Ode to the True Sons of Liberty" as "extracted from a late Irish publication" in 1800. The regional press criticized British policies toward Ireland, reprinted favorable reports of Irish revolutionary movements, and decried any perceived "British" or "royalist" influences in the United States. In 1800 the *Tree of Liberty* denounced "Anglo-Federalists" and warned of the dangers posed by a pro-British, conservative clique in American politics. Likewise, in 1810 an issue of the *Washington Reporter* published a sentimental poem titled "The Grave of Russell" (commemorating Thomas Russell, the "advocate for Irish independence," executed for his part in an abortive rebellion in 1803). The poem appeared near an advertisement for the *Westminster Shorter and Larger Catechism* (adopted by all varieties of Presbyterians), available for sale at the newspaper's office.[33]

What Maurice Bric has proposed for Philadelphia between 1783 and 1800 appears true for Pittsburgh and its hinterland: the Irish settled in such great

numbers that "their arrival . . . spawned a more ethnocentric and self-conscious expression of their roles and identities in all aspects of life in their new homeland."[34] The children of Presbyterian Ulster organized explicitly Irish celebrations of Saint Patrick's Day. Southwestern Pennsylvania's first recorded St. Patrick's Day event following independence occurred in Pittsburgh in 1795, when individuals of Irish birth gathered for conviviality at the home of Norris Morrison. (Their host had been arrested during the Whiskey Rebellion on charges of raising a liberty pole.) Members of Pittsburgh's Irish community met in 1802 to consider a constitution for a "Hibernian Society." Earlier that year, some commemorated St. Patrick's Day at the home of recent immigrant William Irwin. There, the new arrivals lifted their glasses to the radical proposition that "the sons of Hibernia and Columbia be a terror to the Oppressor, and a shield to the Oppressed." One celebrant raised his tankard to express the wish: "May the tones of Erin's Harp be ever in unison with the American mind." An account in the *Pittsburgh Gazette* found "no discordant note, no jarring string in their harp—the most perfect harmony prevailed."[35]

As recent Irish immigrants sought to obtain partisan advantage by organizing various cohorts of Irish Americans into support for Thomas Jefferson's Democratic-Republican Party, songs that appeared in the Philadelphia edition of *Paddy's Resource* rallied republicans at political and convivial gatherings in western Pennsylvania into the early nineteenth century. Politically conscious new immigrants worked with the Democratic-Republican Party and partisan newspapers actively sought to organize and solidify support among recently immigrated Irishmen with republican sympathies for Thomas Jefferson and his party.

The *Pittsburgh Gazette* sourly noted in March 1801 that to celebrate the inauguration of Thomas Jefferson, "a number of the friends of anarchy and confusion, commonly called democrats," had gathered at a home in Beaver County, erected "a whiskey alias sedition pole," and generally engaged in drunken revelry. The democratic antics included "singing the favourite Jacobin songs 'Ca Ira' and 'Carmignole.'" Both of these songs had appeared in the Philadelphia edition of *Paddy's Resource* (reference to the most radical and ruthless of French revolutionaries apparently intended to damn the celebrants by association with terror from below).[36]

The Beaver County Jacobins mostly likely did not use the original French melody of "Ça Ira." In Ireland the local variant of the tune "Ça Ira" became known as "The Downfall of Paris." According to Pennsylvania ethnomusicologist Samuel P. Bayard, this became the basis of the tune he

collected in rural western Pennsylvania as "The Mississippi Sawyer." And in singing "Carmignole" the Pennsylvanians from Ireland employed a Scots melody. All editions of *Paddy's Resource* gave "Dainty Davy" as the vehicle for "Carmignoles." In 1863 it was written down in County Antrim from the memory of ninety-one-year-old James Burns, who was described as "an old Croppy"—meaning, a veteran of the 1798 rebellion.[37]

The success of the Jeffersonian party nationally and regionally, and the intensity of the battle for control of Pittsburgh, embroiled recent immigrants in political controversy. And success bred dissension: By 1805 the Democratic-Republicans—including the recruited Irish republicans—had split into two warring factions. More radically democratic activists, often including in their numbers more recent Irish immigrants, backed William Duane and his newspaper the *Aurora* in boosting the insurgent gubernatorial candidacy of state legislator Simon Snyder. More conservative democrats, including the long-serving officeholder William Findley, a leading prerevolutionary immigrant, supported the incumbent governor, Thomas McKean.[38]

Two years later these simmering political differences among Pennsylvania's Democratic-Republicans resulted in two competing celebrations of St. Patrick's Day. Both appear to have been largely Presbyterian gatherings. Republicans sympathetic to Governor Thomas McKean who described themselves as "the sons of Hibernia" gathered at the house of immigrant George Stevenson for "an elegant repast" accompanied by "Mirth, hilarity and good humour." With songs, cheers and uplifted glasses they toasted "Green Erin, the land of our forefathers," the memories of British parliamentarian Charles Fox and martyrs for Irish freedom such as Thomas Russell and William Orr, as well as Thomas Jefferson, agriculture, commerce and manufacturing, and, of course, Governor Thomas McKean. The memory of British Prime Minister William Pitt—an architect of the union between Ireland and Great Britain—was recalled with "abhorrence."[39]

The rival group, "Sons of Erin" met at "the republican hotel, sign of Thomas Jefferson," where they toasted the iconic Presidents Washington and Jefferson but offered no comments on British politicians or Pennsylvania's long-serving governor. A succession of toasts hailed Ireland, Saint Patrick, Irish parliamentarians, and the memories of martyrs of the 1798 and 1803 rebellions. A "volunteer" toast—one not part of the formal program—praised former United Irishman William Duane and his newspaper, *Aurora*, opponents of Governor McKean. Another volunteer toast lauded Thomas Paine for his service to democracy. Toasts expressed a vision of a democratic,

nonsectarian society with an invocation of the Irish Harp—"may it never be strung to please the ear of a tyrant, or the enemy of Erin." The harp had served as a symbol of the United Irishmen. Along with toasts and songs, the Sons of Erin roused themselves with "St. Patrick's Day in the Morning" and a rendition of Burns's "A Man's a Man for A' That." The tune of the former song appeared with that title in eighteenth-century Scottish fiddle-tune collections and was chosen by the early nineteenth-century County Antrim schoolteacher and poet Hugh McWilliams to support his song "The Emigrant."[40]

Both gatherings sang "The Exile of Erin," written in 1805 by Thomas Campbell to the popular Irish air "Savourneen Deelish." Well represented in the Irish tradition, the melody was referenced in at least two early nineteenth-century American anthologies and, according to the leading scholar in regional ethnomusicology, is essentially the same tune as a jig and song air "well known in southwestern Pennsylvania."[41]

A later diasporic organization, the Erin Benevolent Society, similarly employed song to build a sense of solidarity. Presbyterians predominated in Pittsburgh's first significant Irish fraternal organization, founded to promote charity and philanthropy among Irish immigrants. The Erin Benevolent Society apparently pursued a policy of nonsectarianism in the spirit of the United Irishmen. A volunteer toast at the 1817 St. Patrick's Day gathering hailed a conspicuously Catholic partisan: "*Counsellor O'Connell*—The able advocate of the rights and liberties of Irishmen." At subsequent meetings memorial toasts recalled the heroes of the 1798 and 1803 Irish rebellions. The program in March 1817 featured well-known Scots tunes, Irish revolutionary favorites, and patriotic American songs.[42]

Among the songs sung by the Erin Benevolent Society in March 1817 was "The Liberty Tree." This may have been the "Tree of Liberty" that appeared in the New York edition of *Paddy's Resource*, edited by Arthur O'Connor and published in 1798. But as likely this song represented the evolution of the earlier "Carmignoles," sung at the Beaver County gathering in 1801. In the lyrics the "Carmagnoles" reference was deleted and the repeated lines "For was not I oft telling thee, /That Carmagnoles would make you flee/But you would never mind me" replaced by:

O wasn't I telling you,
The French declared courageously
That Equality, Freedom and Fraternity
Would be the cry of every nation.

With this and other slight changes, the song became known as "The Liberty Tree" and entered the Ulster song tradition.[43]

Several of the tunes recommended by the editors of *Paddy's Resource* remained appealing to musicians in western Pennsylvania. They appear in some form in the compilation of *Dance to the Fiddle, March to the Fife*. The master-work of musicologist Samuel P. Bayard, this volume with 651 tunes collected between 1928 and 1963 represents the most extensive published record of instrumental folk music in Pennsylvania.

The tune known as "The First of August," recommended in *Paddy's Resource* to be used for "The Trumpet of Fame," Bayard connected to the Pennsylvania folk melody collected as "Pretty Polly." "The First of August," published in late eighteenth-century Scottish tune collections, also appeared in an 1809 collection of Irish tunes published in Paisley, Scotland. Similarly, "My Ain Kind Deary" was prescribed for two songs in *Paddy's Resource*, "The Olive Branch" and "Truth and Reason." Bayard determined that the first part of a tune he collected with the title "Hell Broke Loose in Georgia" is a version of that very melody, which can be traced in Scottish collections back to at least the 1760s. Bayard also cited numerous versions of the tune in Irish traditional music.[44]

Under the name "The Rocky Road to Dublin" Bayard collected a version of a Scots air first published in 1758; the melody entered Irish history in the 1790s as a march entitled "Vive La! The French Are Coming." Under this name, the tune was married to the song "Virtue's Cause" in the Philadelphia edition of *Paddy's Resource*. Contemporary Ulster poet James Orr, a weaver who briefly immigrated to Pennsylvania following the 1798 rebellion, recommended "Vive La" for his song "The Irishman" (Irish Jacobins also sang a "New Viva La" to a Scots tune, "Willy Was a Wanton Wag:" "Viva la long live the people /Free from care and slavery /Viva la Hibernia /Man will surely soon be free.").[45]

That so many of the melodies survived in the Pennsylvania instrumental folk-music tradition is indicative of astuteness of the editors of *Paddy's Resource*—and perhaps their own sensitivity to musical styling and popular idiom—in choosing tunes to support the weight of their political cargo. Particularly in the Belfast and Philadelphia editions, *Paddy's Resource* represents the efforts of the Presbyterian minority to reinterpret and invent Irish cultural traditions as part of the wider political project of revolutionary democracy. The editors made use of folk tunes and historically relevant symbolism, refracted through lenses of transatlantic cosmopolitanism and their

own ethnoreligious experience and grievance. In their hopeful estimation, "millions might be free" with robust song and a restrung harp.

Irish immigrants who disembarked along the Delaware and then set off for the Forks of the Ohio brought with them Irish experiences and Irish political songs and toasts—along with an evolving Irish American political sensibility finding expression in Philadelphia publications like *Paddy's Resource* and Plowden's *Historical Review*. Such early efforts to create a sensibility linking values and aspirations born in the old country with the causes and concerns of the new could hardly be stable, however. Unity around the presidential candidacy of one of their own, Andrew Jackson, would be the last hurrah of Irish American political coalescence before the exigencies of tariffs and banking, slavery and expansionism, and cultural shocks of dramatically swelling streams of Irish Catholic immigration shattered the 1790s coalition.

But an older vision, of Presbyterian tenant farmers uniting with their Catholic neighbors to undo the shackles of landlordism and church establishment, did not disappear altogether or all at once. When Pittsburgh's Presbyterians pondered responding to the disastrous famine in Ireland in the late 1840s, the most consistent support for relief efforts could be found among immigrants who came to the United States in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Robert H. Kerr, born in Ireland circa 1808, emigrated in his youth. Heavy involvement in the Democratic Party became intertwined with a career as a public official. He was apparently a member of the Associate Reformed Church, a more theologically conservative alternative to the mainstream Presbyterian Church.[46]

Kerr's vigorous appeal for famine relief found a ready welcome among the seemingly typical "Scotch-Irish" farmers in Allegheny County's rural Robinson Township. Kerr's call for foodstuffs and cash to aid famine victims was well matched with the fiery address of the minister of the Union Associate Reformed Church where the meeting took place. Reverend John Ekin denounced the British government and policies that upheld landlordism. Kerr could report a few weeks later that Robinson Township had contributed "more than 300 bushels of wheat and corn, with several barrels of flour."[47]

For some children and grandchildren of Irish Presbyterian immigrants, interpretations of "republicanism" and "tyranny" had not come completely unglued from an Irish sensibility. If the songs were not yet on their lips, the hope that "equality, freedom and fraternity, would be the cry of every nation" perhaps lingered in their consciousness.

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NOTES

1. Essential for understanding the Philadelphia diasporic context are Maurice J. Bric, "The American Society of United Irishmen," *Irish Journal of American Studies* 7 (1998): 163–77; Bric, *Ireland, Philadelphia and the Re-invention of America, 1760–1800* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2008); Edward C. Carter II, "A 'Wild Irishman' Under Every Federalist's Bed: Naturalization in Philadelphia, 1789–1806," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 94, no. 3 (July 1970): 178–89; Michael Drury, *Transatlantic Radicals and the Early American Republic* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1997); and David A. Wilson, *United Irishmen, United States, Immigrant Radicals in the Early Republic* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998).
2. Although the terms "Scots-Irish" and "Scotch-Irish" (and in Ireland, "Ulster Scots") are often applied to Ireland's Presbyterian emigrants to North America, the term "Irish Presbyterian" is used here consistently, for numerous reasons. Above all else, the relevant immigrant communities in the United States at the turn of the nineteenth century, whatever their religious affiliation and ethnic origins, tended strongly to self-identify as Irish. Further, although examples of self-identification by individuals as "Scots-Irish" and "Scotch-Irish" have been located in colonial-era records, these are terms more often applied exogenously. Presbyterian immigrants, officials, and observers generally described the group in terms of religion ("Dissenters") and place of origin (Kingdom of Ireland). "Scots-Irish" and "Scotch-Irish" may at times serve as useful shorthand but carry the danger of anachronism. Further, these terms misdirect our attention away from the Irish conditions that shaped experiences, beliefs, expectations, and ultimately the reasons for departure from Ireland. The term "Irish Presbyterians" simply signifies Presbyterians from Ireland (or of Irish origin) and will therefore better allow us to examine the actually lived experiences of the immigrants and their children with less distraction and fewer preconceived notions.

3. A useful summary of this emigration, and emigration patterns, can be found in Kerby A. Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles: Ireland and the Irish Exodus to North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 152–56. The Ulster American Folk Park in 2003 convened its United States Scholarship Panel, and wrestled with the vexing question of numbers. The panel concluded that a total of some half million emigrated from Ulster between 1680 and 1830.
4. See Richard Alan Ryerson, "Republican Theory and Partisan Reality in Revolutionary Pennsylvania: Toward a New View of the Constitutionalist Party," in *Sovereign States in an Age of Uncertainty*, ed. Ronald Hoffman and Peter J. Albert (Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia for the United States Capitol Historical Society, 1981), 95–133. The eighteenth-century Irish immigrant community in Philadelphia and its political engagement is helpfully discussed by the notes and introductory matter and well illustrated by documents in Kerby A. Miller, Arnold Schrier, Bruce D. Boling and David N. Doyle, *Irish Immigrants in the Land of Canaan: Letters and Memoirs from Colonial and Revolutionary America, 1675–1815* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003). In particular, see 287–92, 483–87, 536–46, 587–90.
5. John Caldwell, *William Findley from West of the Mountains*, vol. 1, *A Politician in Pennsylvania, 1783–1791* (Gig Harbor, WA: Red Apple Publishing, 2000), 35; George Dallas Albert, *History of the County of Westmoreland, Pennsylvania, with Biographical Sketches . . .* (Philadelphia, 1882), 208; Caldwell, *William Findley*, 1:194; John Caldwell, *William Findley from West of the Mountains*, vol. 2, *Congressman, 1791–1821* (Gig Harbor, WA: Red Apple Publishing), 239. Findley joined the Hibernian Society not long after its organization in Philadelphia in 1790. Findley was mocked for his Ulster brogue; a published commentary suggested that "It was right that Findly should be put in nomination, because he can 'Addrass the chair,' and say, 'Myster Spaker,' and avoid being 'parsenal.'" This satire was likely composed by the Scottish-born author and attorney Hugh Henry Brackenridge, who more than any of Findley's critics subjected him to repeated verbal abuse. In the writings of the elitist Brackenridge, Findley was portrayed as the contemptible, ignorant Irish weaver Traddle. David Bruce, Federalist poet and shopkeeper, lampooned Findley as "Willie Thrum," likewise calling attention to the legislator's weaving background.
6. Jerry A. Clouse, *The Whiskey Rebellion: Southwestern Pennsylvania's Frontier People Test the American Constitution* (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1994), 16; Peter Gilmore and Kerby A. Miller, "Searching for 'Irish' Freedom-Settling for 'Scotch-Irish' Respectability: Southwestern Pennsylvania, 1780–1810," in *Ulster to America: The Scots-Irish Migration Experience, 1680–1830*, ed. Warren Hofstra (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2011), 181.
7. Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles*, 169; Trevor Parkhill, "Between Revolution and Famine: Patterns of Emigration from Ulster, 1776–1845," in *Industry, Trade and*

People in Ireland, 1650–1950: Essays in Honour of W. H. Crawford, ed. Brenda Collins, Philip Ollerenshaw, and Trevor Parkhill (Belfast: Ulster Historical Foundation, 2005), 63, 66.

8. "In February 1798 Charles Nisbet (1736–1804), the Scottish-born founder of Dickinson College, had already expressed an obvious worry from Philadelphia that 'We are in danger of an Inundation of Irish Rebels among us . . . nothing can hinder them from transporting themselves hither in private ships, while there is no law here to forbid their Reception, & while we are so ready to make them Citizens & Patriots as soon as they are among us.'" Bric, *Ireland, Philadelphia, and the Re-invention of America*, 242–43.
9. James Mountain, "A Brief Memoir of the Rev. Robert Steele," *The Reporter* (Washington, PA), May 21, 1810.
10. In May 1797 Federalists responded to increased Irish immigration through a proposed amendment to the existing naturalization law, seeking to impose a $20 tax on certificates of naturalization. It was in this context that Harrison Gray Otis declared in Congress that he did not "wish to invite hoards [*sic*] of wild Irishmen, nor the turbulent and disorderly of all parts of the world, to come here with a view to disturb our tranquility, after having succeeded in the overthrow of their own governments." Carter, "Wild Irishman," 334.

    Irish immigrants regarded the Alien and Sedition Acts as aimed at themselves. The legislation disgusted William Irvine, a Federalist, an American military leader during the Revolutionary War, and a native of County Fermanagh in the north of Ireland. The sedition act, he complained, "is intended solely for a few wretched Refugee Irish, who meant only to take shelter from British persecution." William Irvine to Gustavus de Rosenthal ("John Rose"), September 3, 1800, Film 60, Reel 96, Lyman Copeland Draper, The Draper Manuscripts, Series NN, 163–64, David Library of the American Revolution, Washington Crossing, PA.
11. Carter, "Wild Irishman," 332.
12. Ibid., 331.
13. David Noel Doyle, *Ireland, Irishmen, and Revolutionary America, 1760–1820* (Dublin: The Mercier Press, 1981), 200.
14. Bric, "American Society of United Irishmen," 169; *Tree of Liberty* (Pittsburgh, PA), November 1, 1800; July 10, 1802. The November 1800 article reprinted news from Philadelphia.
15. Alfred Webb, *A Compendium of Irish Biography* (Dublin: M. H. Gill and Son, 1878), accessed via http://www.libraryireland.com/biography/FrancisPlowden.php; *Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 12 (1913), accessed via http://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Catholic_Encyclopedia (1913)/Volume 12.
16. Francis Plowden, *An Historical Review of the State of Ireland* (London: T. Egerton, 1803), 3 vols.
17. Richard Musgrave, *Strictures upon an Historical Review of the State of Ireland . . .* (London: F. C. and J. Rivington, 1804), 3, 146, 147; "Orange Order" in *Oxford*

Companion to Irish History, ed. S. J. Connolly (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 434–35.

18. Francis Plowden, *An Historical Review of the State of Ireland . . .* (Philadelphia: William F. M'Laughlin, 1806), 5 vols.
19. For these individuals' political significance, see Andrew Shankman, *Crucible of American Democracy: The Struggle to Fuse Egalitarianism and Capitalism in Jeffersonian Pennsylvania* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2004).
20. For Duane and his role in Pennsylvania politics, see Wilson, *United Irishmen, United States*, 73–74; Shankman, *Crucible of American Democracy*, 69–71, 102–3, 173–74. For McCorkle, see Shankman, *Crucible of American Democracy*, 102, 185.
21. *Paddy's Resource, Being a Select Collection of Original and Modern Patriotic Songs, Toasts and Sentiments, Compiled for the Use of All Firm Patriots* (Philadelphia: T. Stephens, 1796). Unless otherwise noted, future references to *Paddy's Resource* will be to this edition.
22. "James Porter (1753–1798)," *Dictionary of National Biography*; Ormonde D. P. Waters, "The Rev. James Porter Dissenting Minister of Greyabbey, 1753–1798," *Seanchas Ardmhacha: Journal of the Armagh Diocesan Historical Society* 14, no. 1 (1990): 80–94.
23. *Paddy's Resource*, 11, 49, 9, 52, 11, 29. All references are from the 1796 Philadelphia edition.
24. Ray B. Browne, "The Paine-Burke Controversy in Eighteenth-Century Irish Popular Songs," in *The Celtic Cross: Studies in Irish Culture and Literature*, ed. Ray B. Browne, William John Roscelli and Richard Loftus (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Studies, 1964), 80–97. For "swine" references, see "Placemen and Pensioners' Address to the Swinish Multitude (43)," "Swinish Multitude (24)," "Adversity's Cot (61)," "Common Sense (63)," and "Church and State (16)."
25. *Paddy's Resource*, 16.
26. "Black Joak," http://www.thesession.org/tunes; David Johnson, *Scottish Fiddle Music in the Eighteenth Century* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1984),103; *Notes and Queries: A Medium of Intercommunication for Literary Men, General Readers, Etc*, 6th S. viii.7, September 15, 1883, 215; "Black Joke," Jonathon Green, *Cassell's Dictionary of Slang* (London: Orion Publishing Group, 2005). As published in Scotland the jig carried the name "Black Jock," possibly to distance the melody from the obscene lyrics of "Black Joke."
27. James Smith, "An Account of the Remarkable Occurrences in the Life and Travels of Col. James Smith," in Archibald Loudon, *A Selection of Some of the Most Interesting Narratives of Outrages, Committed by Indians, in Their Wars with the White People*, vol. 1 (Carlisle: A. Loudon, 1808; reprint, 1888), 208–9.
28. Ibid., 209–210. That Campbell was described as having been educated at Trinity College suggests that he was Anglican rather than Presbyterian.

Pennsylvania's contemporary Cumberland Valley was overwhelmingly settled by Presbyterians of Irish origin.

29. Breandán Mac Suibhne, "Patriot Paddies: The Volunteers and Irish Identity in Northwest Ulster, 1778–1786" (Ph.D. diss., Carnegie Mellon University, May 1999), 159–60; *Tree of Liberty* (n.d.); Hugh McWilliams, *Sons of Hugh McWilliams, Schoolmaster, 1831*, ed. John Moulden (Portrush: Ulstersongs, 1993).
30. David Cooper, *The Musical Traditions of Northern Ireland and Its Diaspora: Community and Conflict* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2009), 147.
31. Solon J. and Elizabeth Hawthorn Buck, *The Planting of Civilization in Western Pennsylvania* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1995), 146; Gilmore and Miller, "Searching for 'Irish,'" 173. Estimates of the ethnicity of the United States population at the time of the first federal census in 1790 probably overestimated the Scottish origins of the western Pennsylvania population at the expense of Ulster immigration. Even if settlers of English origin predominated in the region (as some scholars believe) the Ulster contingent would have been considerable. Solon and Elizabeth Hawthorn Buck estimated the English percentage of the population to be 43 percent in Allegheny County, 47 percent in Fayette, 43 percent in Washington and 32 percent in Westmoreland. See R. Eugene Harper, *The Transformation of Western Pennsylvania, 1770–1800* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh, 1991), nn. 4–8, 214–15, for sources and discussion of population estimates.
32. Heazelton Family Letters, William Heazelton, Pittsburgh, to John Greeves, Bernagh, Co. Tyrone, October 22, 1810; William Heazelton, Pittsburgh, to John Greeves, Bearnagh, Dungannon, Co. Tyrone, May 29, 1814. Transcription by Kerby A. Miller. In his correspondence, the immigrant Heazelton explicitly identified himself with the Orange Order. Copies of the original letters were viewed at the Archives of Industrial Society, University of Pittsburgh Libraries, AIS 84:5, Box 1, Folder 1. The original documents are in the collections of the Public Records Office of Northern Ireland (PRONI).
33. Gilmore and Miller, "Searching for 'Irish,'" 176. *Pittsburgh Gazette*, December 16, 1786; *Tree of Liberty*, August 30, and September 13, 1800. Napper Tandy had become "a Dublin folk hero" due to his involvement with the Irish Volunteers in the 1770s and 1780s (Wilson, *United Irishmen, United States*, 17). The conservative *Washington Telegraphe* published a report on the "State of Ireland," which it said "cannot fail to be particularly interesting to our readers." The newspaper commented that the patience of the British peasantry would be put to the test "If they stood in Irish brogues [shoes]" (December 8, 1795). The Federalist *Pittsburgh Gazette* on March 17, 1798, carried a front-page report on the libel conviction brought against Peter Finnerty, printer of the Dublin Press, for claiming that William Orr, a Presbyterian and republican martyr, had been convicted through the perjury of government witnesses. *Reporter* (Washington), September 3, 1810.

34. Bric, *Ireland, Philadelphia and the Re-Invention of America*, 139.
35. *Pittsburgh Gazette*, March 14, 1795; *Tree of Liberty* (Pittsburgh, PA), December 25, 1802; *Pittsburgh Gazette*, March 19, 1802; *Tree of Liberty*, July 10, 1802.

    The 1795 event was the first recorded St. Patrick's Day observance apart from military-related celebrations at Fort Pitt (Buck and Buck, *Planting of Civilization in Western Pennsylvania*, 350). Morrison's trouble with the authorities as a result of alleged expressions of dissidence during the Whiskey Rebellion is referenced in Hugh Henry Brackenridge, *Incidents of the Insurrection in the Western Party of Pennsylvania, in the Year 1794* (Philadelphia: John M'Culloch, 1795), 68–69, 70. See also Henry Marie Brackenridge, *History of the Western Insurrection in Western Pennsylvania, Commonly Called the Whiskey Insurrection* (Pittsburgh: W. S. Haven, 1859), 127. Irwin signified his intention to become a citizen on May 20, 1799, along with the exiled Presbyterian minister and United Irishman Robert Steele. He had been in the United States at least two years as of that date. Irwin sponsored a number of recent immigrants seeking naturalization, including the United Irishman William Bennett and William O'Hara, who arrived in the United States between June 1798 and April 1802 (*A list of immigrants who applied for naturalization papers in the District Courts of Allegheny County, Pennsylvania* [Pittsburgh: Western Pennsylvania Genealogical Society, 1978], 4, 44, 70, 101). The reference by the *Pittsburgh Gazette* to the harp followed the explicit use of the patriotic symbol by organizers of this and other self-consciously Irish events.
36. *Pittsburgh Gazette*, March 30, 1801.
37. Terry Moylan, ed., *The Age of Revolution the Irish Song Tradition* (Dublin: The Lilliput Press, 2000), 20; Samuel P. Bayard, *Dance to the Fiddle, March to the Fife* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1982), 301–2. A Scots song with a pleasing melody and suggestive lyrics, "Dainty Davy" tells a story from seventeenth-century Scottish history: a fleeing Covenanter eluded royal troops by disguising himself as a female and climbing into bed with a young woman. This was a song, Robert Burns said, "I have heard sung, nineteen thousand, nine hundred & ninety-nine times." And this was a song that he personally collected, refurbished, and published, and he used the tune for an autobiographical song, "There was a lad was born in Kyle." Mary Ellen Brown, *Burns and Tradition* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984), 25, 32, 41, 85.
38. See "The Quid Challenge: Political Economy, Politics, and the Fault Lines of Conflict" (96–125), and "The Crucible of Conflict: 1805" (126–72), in Shankman, *Crucible of American Democracy*; Miller et al., *Irish Immigrants in the Land of Canaan*, 598, 626–27.
39. *The Commonwealth* (Pittsburgh), March 25, 1807.
40. Ibid.; Bayard, *Dance to the Fiddle*, 557–58.
41. *The Commonwealth* (Pittsburgh), March 25, 1807; Robert R. Madden, *Literary Remains of the United Irishmen* (Dublin: James Duffy and Sons, 1887), 329–43;

Bayard, *Dance to the Fiddle*, 588. "Savourneen Dilis" is a transliteration of "S mhuirnín dílis," my faithful sweetheart. This is a tune associated with Irish-language song, most notably "Ceol an Phíobaire" ("The Piper's Music"). The air appeared in an early nineteenth-century collection of dance music from northeastern Ireland and was noted by the organist Edward Bunting at the 1792 Belfast Harp Festival. The melody was also used by the County Antrim poet James Orr, who briefly immigrated to Pennsylvania following the 1798 rebellion. Cooper, *Musical Traditions of Northern Ireland*, 57–60; Pádraigín Ní Uallacháin, *A Hidden Ulster: People, Songs and Traditions of Oriel* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2003), 70–74; Philip Robinson, introduction to *The Country Rhymes of James Orr, the Bard of Ballycarry, 1770–1816* (Bangor, Co. Down, N. Ireland: Pretani Press, 1992), xxiv.

42. *Pittsburgh Mercury*, March 29, 1817. "Counsellor O'Connell" refers to Daniel O'Connell (1775–1847), then a barrister well known for championing the elimination of the final legal barriers to Catholic political participation.
43. *Paddy's Resource. Being a Select Collection of Original and Modern Patriotic Songs: Compiled for the Use of the People of Ireland. To which is added, Arthur O'Connor's Address* (New York: R. Wilson, 1798). The "Tree of Liberty" appears on page 21, to be sung to the tune of "Roslin Castle," a Scots song that Burns collected for volume 1 of the anthology *Scots Musical Museum*. The County Antrim–born singer Len Graham sings "The Liberty Tree" as derived from the regional repertoire. The *Pittsburgh Mercury*, March 29, 1817, reported that "[The] Liberty Tree" was sung by the Erin Benevolent Society to accompany a toast to "The cause of Liberty."
44. *Paddy's Resource*, 6, 51, 60; Bayard, *Dance to the Fiddle*, 61, 250; *Paddy's Resource*, 60, 6.
45. Bayard, *Dance to the Fiddle*, 258; *Paddy's Resource*, 59; *Country Rhymes of James Orr*, 106; Madden, *Literary Remains of the United Irishmen*, 7.
46. *Harris' Pittsburgh Business Directory for the Year 1837*, 15; *Chronicle*, March 5 and 25, and April 9, 1847; *Journal*, December 3 and 5, 1846.
47. *Post*, April 29, and May 4 and 13, 1847; William Melanchton Glasgow, *Cycopledic Manual of the United Presbyterian Church of North America* (Pittsburgh: United Presbyterian Board of Publications, 1903), 107; *Joseph Kerr of Ballygoney and His Descendants*, compiled by Mary Alice Kerr Arbuckle (Brooklyn, NY: Printed for private distribution, 1904), 60. Judge William Kerr, the last of three brothers who came to the Pittsburgh area from Ulster, turned over to the committee $112 raised at the St. Clair Township meeting held in the church that had been pastored by the justice's brother Joseph.