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AN AUTHENTIC
HISTORY OF IRELAND,

AND

ITS PEOPLE.

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BY M. McALISTER,

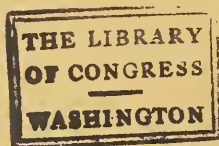
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P R E F A C E .

I HUMBLY inscribe the following Memoir to American readers, hoping that by its perusal they will understand the real nature of Irish history, and how much the Irish people have suffered from English misrule, and thereby comprehend the secret springs of Irish discontent ; and above all, that they should be intimately acquainted with the confiscations, the plunder, the robbery, the domestic treachery, the violation of all public faith and the sanctity of many treaties ; the wholesale slaughters, the planned murders and concerted massacres which have been inflicted on my countrymen by the English Government.

It has pleased English historians to forget all facts recorded in Irish history. They have also been pleased to forgive their rulers their many crimes ; and the Irish people would forgive them likewise, if it were not that much of the worst spirit of the worst days still survives. The system of rack-rents and notices to quit is still practiced by the Cromwellian landlords. It is true at the present time Judges are not bribed with "four shillings in the pound," to be paid out of the property in dispute ; still the Crown Prosecutor in the present day in Ireland can pack a jury with as great a certainty of procuring a verdict as his predecessor, in the reign of that Bible Christian, James the First, could have done. There is indeed one amelioration, in our days the ears of jurors are not cut off—whereas, in James' day and reign, witnesses and jurors whose evidence or verdict displeased the State (Leland tells us), had their ears cut off in the *Star Chamber*. It may be said almost three hundred years have passed since James' day, and that now Ireland is governed justly. But what says the truth of history ? It tells us the people of Ireland have

ever since been persecuted for conscience sake, and have firmly held the faith they preferred. No money could bribe, nor torture compel them to forsake the allegiance they owed to their You may say, perhaps, that their faith was erroneous, and its practice superstition. Suppose it were so? It was by *them* deemed truth, and their attachment to it will not be tarnished by any just or generous man. The present generation is not answerable for the crimes and follies of those who preceded them. The errors of our ancestors are recorded for our instruction, and should be avoided, not imitated. Through all the evil days of Ireland, the hatred of popery on the one hand, and heresy on the other, led men of the purest minds to excuse crimes upon which, under other circumstances, they would have looked only with horror. It is to be hoped a fair statement of these evils will lead to a better and more Christian spirit, and that the days when men murdered and robbed each other in the name of the Lord have passed away forever.

M. McALISTER.

Columbus, Ohio, June 15, 1880.

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INTRODUCTION.

THERE are few subjects so little understood, save by Ireland's faithful children, as the story of Ireland's wrongs. It is simply marvelous how little is known of Ireland, or anything pertaining to Ireland, among the people of the earth. The history of every other nation, whether ancient or modern, challenges the admiration of the student. But Irish history, so replete with heroism, so well calculated to move the soul with commiseration for a suffering people, has no claim upon the heart or mind. It is, alas! a mere blank to the stranger.

This is quite natural. Nations, like individuals, when once fallen, are soon forgotten; and Ireland has, perhaps, no reason to complain of the treatment she receives from a cold and pitiless world. A French writer once said: "Nothing is so successful as success," and it would seem that alone ensures the admiration of the world. Such, alas! is history.

Those sufferings that attract not the stranger have rendered her more dear to the hearts of her children. Love of country is a sentiment common to all people, yet I sometimes think no people on earth loved their country half so intensely as the Irish people loved their native Erin, and if they treasure in their hearts the glorious sufferings and heroic deeds of their fathers, let not malice chide them, for hope in a joyous future is all they have left. And yet, you who are not of them, mark me well, theirs is a history for which no people need blush.

Tell me now, my stranger friend, you who entertain some pity for unfortunate Ireland, but have never thought her history worth reading, tell me how much the world is indebted to her for the sum of all its happiness, its greatest good, civilization and Christianity? Tell me not that these are the outpourings of an enthusiast. Not so; 'tis but a plain, unvarnished truth of

which the half has not been told. They are historical facts which no one dare deny who loves the truth. Remember, you who are indifferent to Ireland's wrongs and lowly condition of to-day, that she, at whom in your merry moods you mock and scoff, was once in the van of civilization. Be silent, ye revilers of the Irish name, and you who so glibly prate of the ignorant Irish, and consider if some of them are so, the laws of England made them so. And if you do not know this—if you are ignorant of her history—you should at least cultivate and practice the charity of silence. Let those who flippantly talk of Irish ignorance and poverty learn to know the relations between cause and effect. People are but beginning to look at Irish history in its true light, and God knows it is time. Speaking of cause and effect, when I reflect on the laws passed to degrade my countrymen, I often wonder how it is they are a people at all, for these laws were meant not only to degrade the intellects, but even to take away from them the very form and appearance of men. How could Irish genius exist under such withering influences, or assert itself in face of such odds? And this becomes more appalling when we view the growing intellect of the citizens of this free land. Education was long forbidden in Ireland under pain of death. Had England been thus treated, no Shakespeare or Milton would have appeared to immortalize her name. Had your own country, Americans, been forced to drink this bitter cup of mental degradation which for centuries drenched the lips of Irish genius, your Webster's flights of oratory would never have reached the stars, nor the philosophy of your Franklin chained and utilized the lightnings of heaven.

In conclusion, I would say to my American friends if I have said or withheld anything in this book that may give offence, or hurt the feelings of any one, I humbly ask pardon. They will also please pardon my many errors in grammar, as I may almost say, with my countryman Boles, who said many witty things, almost a century ago—

“Marvel not if I should stammer,
Who never even read a grammar.”

HISTORY OF IRELAND.

CHAPTER I.

Geographical Description—Resources—England's Irish Policy—Henry Eighth—Reformation—Cranmer—Queen Elizabeth—Cromwell.

IRELAND, one of the most considerable islands of Europe, is situated in the Atlantic Ocean to the west of England, and extends from the 50th to the 55th degree of north latitude, and from the 8th to the 12th degree of west longitude. Its form is nearly oval. From Fairhead in the north to Mizenhead in the south, its length is about three hundred miles; in breadth from east to west, about one hundred and sixty miles, and about one thousand four hundred miles in circumference. It contains about eighteen millions of acres, English measure. The distance of Ireland from England varies according to the irregularity of the coasts of the two countries: some of the northern parts are but fifteen miles from Scotland; however, the general distance from England is forty-five miles, more or less, according to the different positions of the coasts. Ireland is two hundred and twenty miles distant from France, four hundred and forty from Spain, and about one thousand four hundred from the most eastern point of America. In the northern parts, the longest day is seventeen hours and twelve minutes, and in the most southern, sixteen hours and twenty-five minutes. From its being situated in the temperate zone, the climate is mild and agreeable, having neither extraordinary heat in summer nor excessive cold in winter.

Ireland is intersected by a great number of rivers and lakes. In the Province of Leinster we find the Barrow, which takes its rise in the mountains of Sleive-Bloom, in Queens County, runs through the counties of Kildare and Carlow, and empties into the sea at Waterford. The Nore has its rise in Queens County, passes through Kilkenny, and loses itself in the Barrow River some miles above Ross. The Boyne, which rises in Kings County, runs through Castlejordan, Clonard, Trim, and Navan, in East Meath, and falls into the sea at Droghada. The Liffey has its rise in the County of Wicklow, and makes a circuitous course through the County of Kildare, where many small streams unite with it. At Leixlip, within seven miles of Dublin, a high cascade is formed, where the waters tumble from the top of a sharp rock, which is called the Salmon's Leap. The country people say that when the salmon strives to re-ascend the river at that place, it leaps with its tail between its teeth, in order to pass the rock, but if it fails in the attempt, it is caught in baskets placed at the bottom of the rock by the fishermen. The Liffey passes through Lucan, and, after forming some smaller cascades in its course, empties into the sea at Dublin. The Slaney takes its rise in the County of Wicklow, and, after running through Baltinglass and Enniscorthy, falls into the sea at Wixford.

The chief rivers of Ulster are: The Bann, which rises in the County of Down, and runs through the great lake called Lough Neah, having the County Antrim on the right and Derry on the left, passes through Colerain, and falls into the ocean near the Giant's Causeway. This river is one of the best in Europe for its fisheries. The River Laggan, in the County Down, rises in the Mourne Mountains, passes through Dromore, Lisburne, and Belfast, and falls into Carrickfergus Bay. The Newry, after having served for limits to the counties of Armagh and Down, falls into the sea at Carlingford. The Morne flows from the County Tyrone, and being joined by the Derg and the Finn, which have their source from two lakes of the same name in the County of Donegall, running in the same channel, and after crossing County Derry,

fall into Lough Foyle, and from thence into the ocean. The Earn, the source of which is on the borders of the counties of Longford and Cavan, crosses the latter, and falls into a lake of the same name, in the County of Farmannagh, and flows from thence by Ballyshannon into the Atlantic. The Swilley, in Donegal, falls into a lake of the same name, and from thence to the sea. The Shannon is the chief river, not only of Connaught, but of all Ireland, and deserves to be classed among the first rivers of Europe. It has its source in the mountains of the County Leitrim. Its course from where it rises to its mouth is about one hundred and fifty miles. Many other rivers fall into it, and it forms several very considerable lakes. The other rivers of Connaught are not large. The Moy, in the County of Mayo, falls into the ocean at Killala, having most of the County of Sligo on its right bank, and Tiramalgad in Mayo on its left. The river Suck runs between the counties of Roscommon and Galway, and loses itself in the Shannon near Clonfert.

The rivers in the Province of Munster are: The Suir, which takes its rise in the county of Tipperary, passes through Thurles, Cashell, Clonmell, Carrick, and Waterford, and then flows with the Barrow into the sea. Avoine More, (in English, "Blackwater,") has its source in the County Kerry, passing through Mallow and Lismore, falls into the sea at Youghal. The rivers Lee and Bandon, in the County of Cork, discharge themselves into the sea, one at Queenstown, the other at Kinsale. The Leane and Cashon, in the County of Kerry, empty themselves into the ocean, the first in the Bay of Dingle, the other at the mouth of the Shannon.

The most considerable lakes of Ireland are the following: Lough Neagh (lough signifies lake) is thirty miles long and fifteen broad. Its waters are celebrated for the quality they possess of changing wood into stone. Lough Foyle and Lough Erne, these are joined by a canal; Lough Swilley and Strangford, in the Province of Ulster. The most considerable lakes of Connaught are Loughs Corrib, Mask, Conn, Ree, Bofin, and Allen. In the Shannon, Loughs Gard, Arrow, and Rea. The lakes in

Munster are called Ogram, Oulan, Lene, and Derg. The famous lakes of Killarney are also in Munster. There are in Westmeath, Loughs Ennil, Hoyle, Derevarah, etc.

In Ireland, we meet likewise with mountains, promontories, and capes. The highest mountains, called the Curlews, are in the County of Wicklow; those in Queens County are Sleive-Bloom, and in the County Mayo, the mountains of Cruachan. There are many bogs in Ireland, some of them covering thousands of acres. In those the people cut turf with narrow spades for fuel. Wheat, rye, barley, and oats grow in Ireland in abundance. Its pastures are considered the best in Europe, both in quality and quantity. Fruit trees thrive well in Ireland, such as pear, apple, cherry, plum, nuts, gooseberries, etc. Ireland is rich in her herds of oxen and flocks of sheep, goats and swine. The woods with which that country was formerly covered, fed great numbers of deer. There are also foxes, badgers and other animals. The plains and bogs of Ireland are full of all kinds of game, hares, rabbits, pheasants, partridges, woodcocks, snipes, plovers, quails, water hens, wild ducks and geese in abundance, as well as every species of tame fowl. There is also a wild bird on the island that resembles the pheasant, called, in Irish, *keark frihy*; in English, heath hen. If we search into the bowels of the earth, rich treasures will be found in Ireland. Besides mines of gold and silver, quicksilver, tin, lead, copper, alum, sulphur, antimony and iron are found there in large quantities.

However, the English Government, having made it part of their policy to keep the Irish in subjection and dependence, have always opposed the working of their mines. There are also coal mines, alabaster, marble of several kinds, red, black and white; also gray marble, which becomes azure when polished. The houses of Kilkenny are built of this kind, and the streets paved with it.

The chief articles of export are cattle, sheep, swine, leather, wool, tallow, butter, cheese, salt, linen cloth, lead, tin, copper and iron. The island produces almost everything useful, and could do well without the aid of any other country.

The situation of Ireland for trade with other nations is also favorable. Her harbors are more numerous and more convenient than those of England. They were formerly frequented by the Phœnicians, the Greeks and the Spaniards. Camden says, Ireland is to be admired both for its fertility and the advantageous situation of her seaports. Still, the commerce of the country is inconsiderable, owing to the restrictions imposed upon her by England. By a peculiar blessing, Ireland is entirely exempt from all venomous reptiles. Some serpents, adders, lizards and spiders are said to be seen there, but by a strange singularity they have not the poisonous quality inseparable from their natures in other countries.

RESOURCES.

In the bogs of Ireland, whole trees are often found lying horizontally many feet under the surface, and perfectly sound. These have probably been swept there by the waters of the deluge, which had torn them from their roots; or may probably have been felled in the valleys by the Normans or Danes to impede the Irish in coming to attack them, a stratagem of war practiced even to this day. These trees are sometimes seen burned at the thick end, no doubt because the barbarians, not having axes, made use of fire to fell them. The matter whereof these bogs are composed is an accumulation of dried herbs, hay, heath, roots, and other things produced by stagnant waters, and forms in its mixed state one spongy substance, which easily admits the water and covers altogether, in course of time, those trees that had contributed to its growth. Some of these bogs are twenty feet deep from their surface to the bottom, which is a kind of potter's clay or sand. The only benefit derived from the bogs in Ireland is the turf used for fuel.

WONDERS.

The wonders of two celebrated lakes in Ireland, Lough Neagh and Lough Lene, or the lakes of Killarney, are well known to the learned, and all who have traveled in Ireland. Lough Neagh, situated in the north, is famous for its petrifying

qualities, which changes wood into stone. Lough Lene is not less remarkable than Lough Neagh. It lies in the southern extremity of the island, in the County of Kerry. It is divided into the upper, middle and lower lakes, and contains in the whole about three thousand square acres. It is bounded south and east by the Mangerton and Turk mountains; west, by Gleng; to the north, is a beautiful plain, ornamented by beautiful country seats, and on the northeast is the town of Killarney. These mountains are covered from the base to the top with the Oak, Yew-tree, Holly and Arbutus, which represent an agreeable variety of colors, forming an amphitheatre, which rival in winter the charms of the spring. Some cascades are formed by the falling of the waters from the summit of these mountains, particularly from Mangerton, whose murmurs, being repeated by echoes, add still more to the charms of the spot. On the top of this mountain is a lake, the depth of which is not known. It is called the "Devil's Punch Bowl." It frequently overflows and rolls down in frightful torrents. These lakes contain several islands, which resemble so many gardens. The Arbutus takes root among the rocks of marble in the midst of its waters. Nenius says, in his treatise upon the wonders of Ireland, that there are mines of tin, iron, lead and copper in the immediate vicinity of these lakes. The Giant's Causeway, in the north of Ireland, is another wonder that merits the attention of the curious. This Causeway, which is in the form of a triangle, extends from the foot of a mountain into the sea to a considerable distance. Its apparent length, when seen at ebb tide, is about six hundred feet. It consists of many thousand pillars, which are pentagonal, hexagonal and heptagonal, but irregular, as there are few of them of which the sides are equally broad; their size is not uniformly the same, varying from fifteen to twenty-six inches in diameter, and in general not more than twenty. All these pillars touch one another with equal sides, which are so close that the joints can scarcely be seen; they are not equally high; they sometimes form a smooth surface, and are sometimes unequal. None of these pillars are of a single piece, but are composed of many pieces, from one to

three feet high; and what is still more singular, these pieces are not joined by plain surfaces, being set one into the other by concave and convex outsides, highly polished. There are some places where this colonnade is elevated many feet above the earth, but its depth is not known. People have dug down at the foot of the columns for many feet, and it was found to be the same all through. The stone, as to substance, is very hard and admits of no moisture. When broken, it is found to have a fine and shining grain. It is heavier than other kinds of stone, resists tools of the best temper, and of course cannot be cut, still it dissolves in the fire. One part of the Causeway is composed of fifty pillars; the middle one is forty feet high, the others on the right and left diminish like the pipes of an organ. This is why the inhabitants have given it the name of the organ. Is the Giant's Causeway a work of nature or art? This is a question of controversy among the learned of England and Ireland. It is clear that the joining of the stones which compose these pillars was made by instruments that are unknown to us, if works of art.

ANCIENT CHARACTER.

An idea of the history of Ireland must be interesting to such as are desirous of exploring its antiquities. The situation of the island having rendered it difficult of access to invaders, her inhabitants lived during many ages free from all insults from their neighbors. They cultivated the arts, sciences and letters, which they had borrowed from the most polished people of their times, the Egyptians and Phœnicians; and the patronage which their princes afforded to learning, and the esteem in which they held those who made a profession of it, contributed much to its advancement. Learning was not the sole occupation of the ancient Irish. Without mentioning their domestic wars, they often measured arms, not only with the Picts, the Britons and the native islanders, but with the Romans themselves, who were then the masters of the world. The warlike character of the Irish appeared again in the long wars against the Danes, which lasted with doubtful success from the beginning of the

ninth to the middle of the tenth century, when those barbarians were totally defeated at Clontarf by the valiant Brian Boroimhe, the King of the Island.

In the twelfth century, the succession to the throne of Ireland being interrupted, was a favorable circumstance to the ambition and cupidity of the English, who, having put an end to the Irish monarchy, and wishing to give a color of justice to their usurpation, have, without any other title than a fictitious brief of Adrian the Fourth and the right of the strongest, represented the Irish as savages, who never obeyed the laws, and made this a pretext for stripping them of their properties. It is but reasonable that the American reader should distrust all that has appeared on the affairs of Ireland, from the pens of English authors and from those who have followed in their footsteps. It is a rare virtue in an enemy to render justice to his adversary, and there are none from whom we could less expect it than the English. Their natural presumption, inflamed by success, has caused them to act at all times as if they were exempt from following the ordinary rules of justice and humanity. The same motives which actuated Froude in 1870, have guided the pens of the English historians since the so-called Reformation; and because the Irish would not renounce the religion of their forefathers, their attachment to the primitive faith has been made a pretext for robbing them of the patrimony of their ancestors. When the strong oppress the weak, it is easy to find a cause for the oppression and give it an appearance of justice.

The inhabitants of Ireland are generally tall and well made. The exercises which tend to render the body vigorous, were at all times practiced among them. Hunting, horse-racing, foot-racing, wrestling and other like exercises still form their usual amusements. Goode, an Englishman who wrote in the sixteenth century, after having been many years in Ireland, gives the following description of its inhabitants: "They are a nation," he says, "to be praised for their strength, and particularly for the activity of their bodies, and for a greatness of soul. They are witty and warlike; prodigal of life; hardy in bearing fatigues, cold and hunger; prone to loose pleasures; courteous

and kind to strangers; constant in love, hating also; ready to forgive; too credulous; fond of glory, and quick to resist injuries." Stainhurst says the Irish are the most patient in fatigue, the most warlike; rarely do they suffer themselves to be cast down, even in their heaviest affliction. There seems to be little doubt that the first inhabitants of Ireland were part of the Celtic stock which peopled France and Spain. The language and the ancient monuments which the first tribes who came from Asia into Europe are known to have carried with them, sufficiently attest the origin of her people. It is known to the readers of history that the Romans were in possession of England four hundred years without any of them having been known to have been in Ireland. But there exists besides strong evidence of an early intercourse between Spain and Ireland, in the historical traditions of the two countries, also in her early intercourse with the Phœnicians, through whom alone a secluded island in the Atlantic could have been so well known to the world.

The history of Ireland since the English invasion has been tyranny on the part of England and discontent on the part of Ireland. Even now, after a lapse of seven centuries, the hatred of foreign rule remains as strong as at the first arrival of the invaders. The laws are viewed as if made for the benefit of the ruling party and not for the whole people. The several Englishmen who have written a history of Ireland are unanimous on one principle, each maintaining there was nothing wrong on the side of England, and nothing right on the side of Ireland. They never mention the indolence and ignorance of the clergy sent over by

HENRY EIGHTH AND ELIZABETH,

nor the ferocious fanaticism of Cromwell's Puritans and the intolerance of their successors, nor yet of the bad faith and cruel laws of William of Orange and his followers. And what can fall more fairly within the province of history than to expose to the world's light the causes of such long calamity? What is it that, like a fatal spell, still mars the prosperity of that fair island which seems designed by the Creator for the seat of more

than mortal happiness, and yet remains wretched? Why, commerce flies these shores whose capes and bold outstretching headlands invite the traffic of the world, and beckon the mariner of every clime to come within the hospitable shelter of their protecting arms and anchor on the golden sands, or ride secure upon the deep, clear waters that lie within them. All know the reason—

ENGLISH MISRULE.

And when it is considered in what school of cruelty and corruption, and by what examples of iniquity, the manners of the Irish have been formed, their very turbulence will be found allied to the highest virtues; and it is less wonderful that they have vices than that they have still preserved so many virtues. Charles Fox said in the British Parliament, “I love the Irish. What they have of good is from themselves; what they have of bad is from you.” Even their turbulence speaks better for them than if they had sunk under oppression to that apathy to which so great a portion of the human race have been reduced. What have their rebellions been but counter projects to tyranny, or their opposition to British laws but conflicts with their enemies? Are they ignorant? See the cruel statutes that have made them so. There was a law of discovery by which a man who betrayed the confidence of his Catholic neighbor, possessed himself of his estate. There was a law which disabled the Catholic father to be guardian to his own child, or to educate him. There was a law which made the disobedience and apostasy of the Catholic child the means whereby to disinherit his father. There was a law for robbing a Catholic of his horse on the highway or at home if, when questioned, he confessed his faith. There was a law to prevent the education of Catholic children, and to punish Catholic teachers as convicts; to banish the Catholic clergy, and to hang them if they returned.

Much has been lost to science by the willful destruction of Irish manuscripts by the English and the discouragements thrown upon the study of the language, which is now written and spoken without adulteration as it was written and spoken

three thousand years ago. This language, too, has been traced by its affinities to that in which the Word of God was delivered to Moses and the prophets. The antiquities of Ireland are of high interest to the speculative inquirer, but have no application to her present helpless condition. The people of Ireland have been invaded without provocation; treated as enemies, though willing to be friends; held as aliens in their native country; punished by the laws of war and peace, at the same time, death by the sword and forfeiture by the law. All this was hard enough, but to be still put in the wrong, as though they, and not their accusers, were the guilty party, was what human nature could not and manhood never should endure.

No doubt it will be said, why dwell upon these scenes of discord and revive the many wrongs that can have no remedy? And surely, if it were for no other purpose than to stir up the embers and arouse the flame that has before burned fiercely, it would be wrong, but there is more safety in truth than concealment. And there is no good cause why torturers should sleep on beds of down. It is for those who yet hold Ireland in bondage to relax their grasp, or the strife, though unequal, must be eternal. To forgive injuries is Godlike, but human nature has its principles stamped by the Creator, who has implanted passions in the souls of men, some of which it is the office of reason and religion to watch over and restrain; some that exalt and dignify, such as the love of truth, the love of freedom, and the love of country. Till these are extinguished in the human heart, and man made brute, he will seek for justice, right and independence by the means within his reach, let statesmen, lawyers or preachers say what they may. Doubtless, to bury vengeance is a virtue, but there is no precept, human or divine, which bids us bury truth, or bids us blindly pay to sinful man that obedience due to God alone. It is well known to readers of history that the

REFORMATION

was the work of King Henry the Eighth, and were it not that Henry's apostacy had much to do with Irish history, his

many crimes had better be unnoticed. What I have to write of

CRANMER

and others concerned in this transaction is calculated to make us turn from the page and resolve to read no farther, but we must not give way to these feelings if we have a mind to know why the people of Ireland took so little stock in what is known as the Reformation.

When Henry first sought a divorce from the Pope, he had been keeping Anne Boleyn about three years. When she was about to become a mother, a private marriage took place, and as her pregnancy could not be disguised, it was necessary to avow that marriage and hurry up the divorce, for it would seem bad, even among "reformation" people, for their King to have two wives at once, especially as he was supreme head of their Church. Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, a creature of Henry's, now wrote him a letter, begging him, for the safety of his royal soul, to grant him permission to try the divorce case. Now this hypocrite knew, and the King knew he knew, that he and Anne had been secretly married three months before. Without delay, Henry, as head of the Church, granted Cranmer permission to try the case, who summoned Queen Catharine to appear before him, which citation she treated with the scorn it deserved. He then pronounced sentence against the Queen, declaring her marriage with the King null and void. Having done so, he closed his farcical court. This hypocrite now besought the King to submit to the will of God, as declared to him by the voice of the Church of England. As a matter of course Henry submitted, and then Cranmer held another court, and declared the King had been lawfully married to Anne Boleyn, and that he now confirmed that marriage. Three months after Cranmer finished this farce, Anne gave birth to a daughter, who was afterwards

QUEEN ELIZABETH.

And only two years after she was sent to prison, where she was accused and found guilty of adultery with several persons,

and incest with her brother George. Thomas Boleyn, her supposed father, was one of the Judges who tried the case, and the first to pronounce her guilty. But before Anne was executed, Cranmer had another tough job to perform. The King, who never did things by halves, ordered the Archbishop to divorce him from 'Anne. Cranmer cited them both to appear before him, and show cause why they should not be separated for the salvation of their souls, as they were living in adultery. They were soon to be separated effectually; for this was on the 17th of May, and Anne, who was condemned to death on the 15th, was to be executed on the 19th. The King and Anne both were represented in this court by their attorneys; and having heard both, Cranmer wound up this blasphemous farce by pronouncing "in the name of *Christ*, that the marriage was, and had always been, null and void." Anne was beheaded next day, and the day after her brother George and four others—George for incest with her, and the others for adultery. The day she was beheaded, Henry married Jane Seymour, who, six months after, gave birth to a son, who was afterwards King Edward the Sixth. This was the only one of Henry's wives who died a Queen; she died the day of Edward's birth. After her death, in 1537, Henry lost no time in hunting up another wife. He soon found a mate in Anne, sister to the Duke of Cleves. Six months after the marriage, Cranmer, who had divorced Henry from two wives already, put his irons into the fire again, and this time turned out as neat a piece of work as ever came from the famous shops of the "Reformation." He proclaimed the King and Queen both at liberty to marry again; and Henry having another young and handsome wife in his eye, was married by Cranmer next day. The new Queen, whose name was Kate Howard, was as zealous in the cause of the "Reformation" as Anne Boleyn had been, and the fate of both these reformers was equally sad. Henry had her arrested a few months after her marriage. She was convicted of unchastity before, and adultery after her marriage, and condemned to be beheaded, with Denham and Colpepper, the two accomplices in her guilt. On the scaffold she admitted her guilt be-

fore her marriage, but maintained her innocence afterwards. This gave rise to an act of Parliament, forbidding, under pain of high treason, any woman who was not a virgin, from marrying the King, without first declaring the fact. Henry now for the last time took another wife, but this time none would risk his laws but a widow, and she narrowly escaped the fate of the other five. Henry spent his last years in ordering executions and confiscations, and he died before he was aware of his condition, leaving many death warrants unsigned for want of time. Although Henry, by his ferocity, succeeded in almost driving the Catholics out of England, he did not live to systemize Protestantism; this was done, however, by his harlot daughter Elizabeth, who, by taking a little from every innovator of her day, got up the "Thirty-nine Articles." 'Tis true, Cranmer, during Henry's reign, had written the Book of Common Prayer, and done much toward forwarding the Reformation; still to Elizabeth is due the honor, if any, of perfecting it and reducing it to system. Had death snatched Henry away in his bright and youthful days, his loss would have been lamented as a national calamity. But amidst the dissipation of a gay and splendid court, the reins with which he had bridled his passions were gradually loosed until the wise and Christian King sunk into the base slave of sensual pleasures. Everything must now bend to his stubborn will. Public decency must be set aside. A marriage of twenty years' standing dissolved without cause, and another contracted before the divorce can in any way, right or wrong, be procured. And because the bishop of Rome, the common father of the faithful, will not sanction his impure passions, and, in violation of all justice, set him at liberty from his lawful wife, that he may marry another more congenial to his wishes, he will trample upon the faith of his people, change their religion to one more suitable to his own corrupted heart, and, with threats of immediate death to every one that should dare to impugn his measures, make himself supreme head of the Church. The Parliament passed an act in the following words: "Be it enacted by the authority of the present Parliament, that the King, our sovereign lord, his heirs

and successors, Kings of this realm, shall be taken, accepted, and reputed the only supreme head, on earth, of the Church of England, and shall have and enjoy, annexed and united to the imperial crown of this realm, as well the title and style thereof, as all honors, dignities and profits. And that our said sovereign lord, his heirs and successors, Kings of this realm, shall have full power and authority, from time to time, to visit, repress, redress, reform, order, correct, restrain and amend all such errors, heresies, whatever they be, which by spiritual authority may lawfully be reformed, or amended most to the pleasure of Almighty God, the increase of virtue in Christ's religion, and for the conservation of the peace, unity, and tranquility of this realm, and usage, custom, foreign laws, or authority, prescription, or any thing or things to the contrary notwithstanding."—[Stat. 26, H. viii., chap. i.]

The name given to this Parliament institution, for the transaction of a religious business, is the Church of England, by law established. Moriarty, a Catholic, says: "In the year 1534, King Henry the Eighth and his Parliament, not Christ nor any of his Apostles, nor Apostle successors, but Henry and his Parliament, marked out the boundary and laid the foundation-stone of the new Church of England. Here, then, is a notorious fact, which stands recorded on the statute book to this day."

Had the so-called reformation of religion been confined to England alone, this long digression might appear foreign to the history of Ireland; but as its effects have been but too sensibly felt in Ireland, it has been thought necessary to reveal its source, and make the principal actors in it known to the world, as also to show why the clergy and people of Ireland held out so nobly against what conscience told them was wrong.

It was at this time that the world deplored the fate of two men in England, most illustrious for their learning and piety, Thomas More, Lord-Chancellor, and Fisher, Bishop of Rochester. Burnett himself bewails their death, and considers their tragical end as a stain upon the life of Henry. They were the

two most distinguished victims of the new ecclesiastical supremacy. When More was urged to acknowledge it, he made the following noble reply: "That were he alone against the whole Parliament, he would have a diffidence in himself; but now, though the Parliament of England were opposed to him, the whole Church, that great council of Christians, were in his favor." Fisher's end was no less edifying, or less Christian-like. This was the commencement of the persecution carried on against all those who refused to swear to support Henry's supremacy. Burnett says Henry was not naturally prone to cruelty—that he reigned twenty-five years without condemning any one to death, except two men, for whose punishment he cannot be reproached; but after his divorce, and rupture with the Church, he set no bounds to his cruelty. Everything was now in confusion in England. The death of Fisher and More, and many other executions, filled every mind with horror. The people all took the oath acknowledging Henry's supremacy, no one daring to oppose it. Henry now made

CROMWELL HIS VICAR-GENERAL.

Cromwell was the son of a blacksmith, and not liking the trade, enlisted as a soldier. He afterwards was a servant to

CARDINAL WOLSEY,

through whose influence he became a member of Parliament. Having thus advanced himself at court, he made Henry's inclinations his whole study, in order to flatter him in every way. Discovering that Henry was extravagant, and that his revenues were not equal to his expenses, he advised him to take possession of the Religious Houses. This advice was gratifying to the King, who thought that he who gave it would be the fittest person to carry it out. For this purpose he made Cromwell Inspector-General of all the Convents and Religious Houses in England, notwithstanding he was an ignorant layman. Cromwell was a Lutheran and a friend of Cranmer's, and Anne Boleyn, Henry's mistress, supported them with all her influence. "Birds of a feather," etc.

Cromwell, in the first year he held office, recommended the suppression of three hundred and seventy-six Religious Houses, the lands and revenues of which were granted to the King by an act of Parliament. All good men exclaimed against this sacrilegious depredation of the property dedicated to God. This was one of the first effects of the King's supremacy, who made himself head of the Church to plunder it with impunity.

This year, 1536, Thomas Brown was consecrated by Cranmer Archbishop of Dublin. He was one of the Commissioners appointed by Henry the Eighth to supersede the Pope's authority in Ireland, and to establish the ecclesiastical supremacy of the King. The letter of this Prelate to the Vicar-General, quoted by Cox, is as follows :

“My Lord, having, as one of the Commissioners of his Highness the King, received your commands, I have endeavored, even at the hazard of my life, to reduce the nobility in this country to obedience, by acknowledging his Highness as supreme, both in spiritual and temporal affairs ; but I experience many difficulties, particularly from my brother of Armagh, who has gained over the suffragans and clergy under his jurisdiction. He has preached to them, and exhorted all against acknowledging the supremacy of his Highness.”

He adds that the Archbishop and clergy of Armagh had already sent two messages to the Pope ; that it was essential to inform his Highness of the necessity of convening a Parliament in Ireland to have the act of supremacy passed, as little regard was paid to the commissions sent in the name of his Highness ; and concludes by saying that he feared O'Neill had received orders from the Pope to oppose the authority of his Highness, as very many among the inhabitants of the country were attached to his party. It appears that this letter made some impression on the court of London, as the King gave orders to convene a Parliament in the month of May, which was adjourned to Kilkenny, thence to Cashell, afterwards to Limerick, and lastly to Dublin. The following were the principal statutes enacted by this Parliament : The marriage of Henry with Catharine, null ; the divorce by Cranmer, as well as the

King's marriage with Anne Boleyn, was declared to be valid; the succession to the throne was secured to the heirs, male, who should be born of this or any other marriage; and in case of there being no male heirs, to the females, beginning with Elizabeth, daughter of Anne Boleyn; and those who might, by writing or otherwise, oppose this marriage, or these regulations for the succession of the crown, should, it was enacted, be guilty of high treason. A total silence on these subjects was enjoined upon all, and an oath to this effect ordered to be taken by all the King's subjects in Ireland.

The Earl of Kildare was declared a traitor by this act; also Sir John and Sir Oliver Fitzgerald, uncles of the Earl; Sir Walter Delahide, of Kildare; John Burnell; Richard Walsh, rector of Loughscudy; Charles Reynolds, and other accomplices of Kildare, were convicted of high treason, and all their estates confiscated to the King's use. The Parliament which fabricated the above-named laws was the Parliament of the English province, and not that of all Ireland. It was composed wholly of Englishmen by birth or origin; the ancient Irish had no seats in it. They were strongly attached to the religion of their ancestors, and it is probable they would all have continued so had they remained a free people. At this time John Traverse published a book in Dublin in defense of the Pope's supremacy. He was summoned to appear before the judges, and, having confessed the deed, he was condemned to have his fingers cut off and thrown into the fire.

CHAPTER II.

Death of Queen Catharine—Joy of Anne Boleyn—Saint Patrick's Mission—His Death in 465 at Downpatrick—Albinus his Successor—Death of Henry the Eighth 1574—Reign of Edward the Sixth—His Death in 1552, after a Reign of Six Years.

QUEEN CATHARINE resided in Huntington, in a very unhealthy situation. Sanders says the title of Queen was not only wrested from her, but her servants were constrained by oath to address her by no other title than that of princess-dowager. She beheld with grief an old man, John Forest, her confessor, suffer death in her cause, together with thirty-five others of the same order. She was aware, too, of the tragical ends of Fisher, More and several others who were sacrificed on her account; so not being able to bear up against such afflictions, she fell into a decline. Finding her end approaching, she wrote the following letter to the King:

“My very dear Lord, King and Husband:—As the hour of death is now approaching, my love for you influences me to forewarn you to prefer your salvation to all the perishable things of this world. I heartily forgive you all the past, and pray that the Lord may also forgive you. I recommend our daughter Mary to your particular care, and beseech you to act with all the tenderness of a father toward her. I beseech you, likewise, to give my three maids a marriage portion, and to my other servants a year's wages, besides what is already due them, to secure them against want. Lastly, I declare it to be my desire to see you in preference to anything in this world. Farewell.”

On reading the above letter, Henry could not refrain from

tears, notwithstanding the obduracy of his heart ; and having been informed of her death a few days afterwards, he ordered his household to put on mourning. Anne Boleyn, as a mark of her joy, had herself and attendants all dressed in yellow ; but her joy was soon changed into sorrow, for in a short time after this she was delivered of an abortion.

The Parliament in Dublin having regulated the affairs of state, turned their thoughts to those of religion. In imitation of the English Parliament, they confirmed Henry the Eighth and his successors on the throne in the title of Supreme Head of the Church in Ireland, with the power of correcting and reforming errors in religion. They prohibited all further appeals being made to Rome, under pains and penalties ; and also that the clergy should pay the first fruits of their living to the King. Penalties were declared against those who would acknowledge the Pope's authority ; all persons were required to take the oath to support the King's supremacy, and their refusal to do so was to be considered high treason. This act met many opponents among the clergy, but the following speech of Brown, Henry's Archbishop of Dublin, caused many of them to take it :

“ My brethren, in obeying your King, you imitate your Savior Jesus Christ, who paid tribute to Cæsar, who was not a Christian ; whereas your prince is both a King and a Christian, so that I make no scruple of acknowledging his Highness the King to be supreme head of the church, both in England and Ireland, and that he who refuses to submit as I do to this law, is not a faithful subject to the King.” The discriminating reader will judge of this prelate's reasoning.

Ware says the principal Irish chieftains, seeing the blows that were aimed against their religion and liberty, determined to make an effort in favor of both. For this purpose O'Neill, O'Brien, O'Donnell and O'Conner, formed a league, and agreed to meet in the month of July, at Frowe in Westmeath, to deliberate on what measures they should adopt for the defense of their religion and country. But Brereton having marched to

attack them with eight thousand troops and artillery, they thought it prudent to withdraw for the time.

Money was coined at this time in Ireland, by orders of the King—four-penny, two-penny and penny pieces. These were afterwards prohibited under pain of confiscation and fine. Sir William Darcy, author of a work on the causes and ruin of Ireland, died this year, 1540. He was a wise and learned man, and very zealous for the interest of Ireland. He was greatly regretted.

Taylor, who is a Protestant, says much Christian kindness was preserved among the lower ranks of the Irish clergy. They lived on terms of familiar intercourse with their flocks, imbibed many of their prejudices, and shared in most of their sufferings. They disliked the Reformation, because it was introduced by people whose conduct had given good reason for being esteemed oppressors. They were disgusted at the marvellous celerity with which the English changed creeds, as if they were matters in which it was only necessary to follow the example of the King. Whether this influential body could have been induced to support the new system, if measures had been taken to conciliate their affections, is uncertain. The experiment was never tried. They were not even asked to change their opinions, but were unceremoniously driven from their churches and their places filled by strangers, the refuse of the English Church. The conversion of the people was seemingly not meditated by those who patronized the Reformation in Ireland. Compulsion was the only means of diffusing the new doctrine which they could understand; and their unsparing use of it soon made the name of Protestantism detested. The very first and most essential part of Protestant discipline was neglected. The boast of the Reformers was that the prayers being no longer read in an unknown tongue, all the congregation might join with heart and spirit in the worship. But though it was notorious that no language but Irish was known beyond the walls of Dublin, no provision was made for preaching in the only language known to the great majority of the people. In the act that established the reformed liturgy, its framers, with whimsical inconsistency,

introduced a clause that the service might be performed in Latin where an English reader could not be found. Of English and Latin, the people being equally ignorant, preferred that which was sanctioned by old associations. With greater reason, they adhered to a clergy who understood their language, felt for their wants and sympathized with their feelings, in preference to a host of foreigners, whom they held as enemies, and by whom they were looked upon as inferiors.

The clergymen imported into Ireland by the government, were, for the most part, needy adventurers, as poor in reputation as they were in purse. They were the refuse of the English Church, and were sent over like a band of paupers to Ireland. A few made some exertion to discharge their duty, but the difference of language was a stumbling block which they had not the industry to remove. The rest paid no regard to the matter; they collected their tithes in those districts where they were supported by bayonets; where that protection was wanting, they abandoned the field to the native clergy, and contented themselves with petitioning the government against the horrid crime of allowing their tithes to be converted to the support of Popery. One of the statutes for establishing the new religion in Ireland, enacted that every rector or clergyman should take an oath to establish and maintain a school in his parish for the education of the poor. The oath was regularly taken and as regularly broken, down to the commencement of the present century. No doubt some of my Episcopal friends may think this is strong language, but hear what Taylor says in his history of Ireland: "The Reformation produced in Ireland nothing but confusion, misery and degradation. There were many golden opportunities offered, when, by temperance and wise measures, Protestantism might have been fixed in Ireland on a secure basis. They were all lost by the negligence of some, or the more culpable profligacy of others. It is painful to dwell on the sins of omission and commission of the Church of England, of which the writer is a devout member, but it is worse than useless to disguise the truth. Its establishment in Ireland exhibits the most flagrant instances of both positive and negative delin-

quency, which, as our history will show, have produced the most fatal consequences." Taylor also says, "A party of soldiers, issuing from the garrison of Athlone, attacked the church of Clonmaenise, destroyed the ornaments and defiled its altars, and the impression produced was, the new religion sanctioned sacrilege and robbery." Taylor still further says, "The Irish clergy, though deficient in orthodoxy, were conspicuous for their learning, zeal and piety. Their missionaries traveled into the neighboring heathen countries, like their predecessors the apostles, in the garb of unaffected poverty, with words of persuasion on their lips, and the gospel of everlasting peace in their hands." The pious labors of Columbkille are, to this hour, justly the boast of the Irish nation. During the sixth and seventh centuries, and down to the ninth, Ireland was proverbially the chief seat of piety and learning. True, the learning of the time was confined to few subjects, and even such as it was, was monopolized by the clergy; still the respect shown to information, and the ardor for literary distinction, produced good effects, which extended far beyond the circle of those who enjoyed its immediate fruits. There is really no authentic history of Ireland before the introduction of Christianity into the country. While in all other countries the introduction of Christianity has been the slow work of time, has been resisted by either government or people, and seldom effected without the shedding of blood, in Ireland, on the contrary, by the preaching of St. Patrick, Christianity burst forth as with the ripeness of a northern summer, at once covering the whole land. Kings and princes, when not themselves among the ranks of the converted, saw their sons and daughters joining in the train without a murmur. Chiefs, at variance in all else, agreed in meeting beneath the Christian banner, and the proud Druid and Bard laid their superstitions meekly at the foot of the cross. Nor was there a single drop of blood shed, on account of Religion, through the entire course of this mild Christian revolution, by which, in a few years, all Ireland was brought tranquilly under the dominion of the Gospel. Had any attempt been made to assail, or rudely alter, the ancient ceremonies of their faith, all that

prejudice in favor of old institutions, which is so inherent in the Irish, would at once have rallied around their ancient creed, and the result would, of course, been quite different. But the outward forms of their past errors were used as a means of conveying to them the truths of the Gospel. The days devoted to their pagan festivals, were now transferred to the service of the Christian cause. The feast of Samhain, which they held annually in spring, was found to coincide with the celebration of Easter; and the fires lighted by the pagan Irish to welcome summer, even to this day, are celebrated in honor of the Eve of St. John.

Before entering on an account of St. Patrick's mission, a brief sketch of his life previous to that period may be requisite. It will be seen that with him, as with perhaps most men who have achieved extraordinary actions, a train of preparations appears to have been laid, from the very outset, for the work he was to accomplish. There is nothing certain about his birthplace, though it is pretty clear he was from near Dumbarton, on the river Clyde, in Scotland.

The year of the birth of St. Patrick is a subject of controversy, but the most reliable is the year A. D. 387, as according to his own statement he was sixteen years old when he was made captive, in the year 403. On being carried captive to Ireland, the young Patrick was purchased as a slave by a man named Milcho, who lived on land that is now within the county of Antrim, who employed him in tending sheep, where his time, as described by himself, was devoted to prayer daily. At length, after six years of slavery, the desire of escaping from bondage arose in his heart—a voice in his dreams, he says, told him that he was soon to see his parents and home, and that a ship was ready to carry him. Accordingly, in his flight southwest he found a ship that was about to sail to France, and in three days he was free and among friends, as his parents resided then near Tours, in France, where he spent four years in the College of St. Martin, where he was ordained a priest. The attention of Rome being at this time directed to the preaching of Christianity among the Irish, it was resolved by Pope Celes-

tine to send a bishop to that country, and Paladius was the person appointed. On the death of this prelate, St. Patrick was appointed his successor, and arrived in Ireland, as the Irish Annals inform us, in the first year of the reign of Pope Sextus the Third. His first landing was on the shore of Dublin. After meeting with a repulse at this and some other places in Leinster, the Saint, anxious, we are told, to visit the haunts of his youth to see his old master Milcho, and endeavor to convert him to Christ, steered his course for East Ulster, and arrived with his companions at a port near Strangford, in the Barony of Lecale. Here on landing they were met by herdsmen in the service of the lord of the district, who, supposing them to be robbers or pirates, hastened to alarm the household. In a moment the master himself, whose name was Dicho, made his appearance attended by armed men, but on seeing the calm sanctity of St. Patrick, laid down his weapon and invited the whole party into his dwelling.

The impression which the looks of the Saint had made, his Christian eloquence but served to confirm; and not only the pagan lord himself but all his family became converts.

In an humble barn belonging to this chief, which was ever after called Sabhul Padruic, or Patrick's Barn, was where the Saint first celebrated Mass in Ireland; and we find that this spot, consecrated by his first triumph, continued to the last his favorite and frequent retreat.

Desirous of visiting his former abode, and of seeing the mountain where he had so often prayed while in bondage, he set out for the residence of his old master Milcho. Whatever might have been his hopes of converting him, he was doomed to meet disappointment, as Milcho on hearing of his coming refused to see him. He now returned to Down, and as Easter was approaching, resolved to celebrate that great festival in the neighborhood of Tara, where the princes and senators of the kingdom were assembled. On their arrival at Slane, it being the eve of Easter, the Saint and his companions pitched their tents for the night, and lighted their camp-fires. This gave offense to the King, who sent a messenger to summon the

offender to his presence. On his arrival the princes were seated in a circle to receive him, when Herc, the son of Deigo, impressed with reverence by his appearance, stood up to salute him, requesting him to preach before the court on the following day. There seems no doubt that the King gave full leave to the Saint to preach his new creed to the people, on condition of his not infringing on the laws or peace of his kingdom. But that either himself or his Queen were converted there is reason to doubt. At length, having preached throughout all the provinces, and filled the greater part of the island with Christians and with churches, Ware says he established his metropolitan See at Armagh, after the great bulk of the nation was won over to the faith.

St. Patrick passed the remainder of his days between Armagh and Downpatrick, the spot that witnessed the first dawn of his apostolic career, and where he is buried, having died on the 17th of March, anno domini 465.

At every step the transition to the new faith was smoothed by these adoptions: The convert saw in the baptismal font where he was immersed, the sacred well at which his fathers had worshiped. The Druidical stone on the high places bore, rudely carved on it the name of the Redeemer, and the cross, the great emblem of man's salvation; and it was generally by the side of those ancient round towers—whose origin was then perhaps a mystery—that, in order to share in the feelings which they inspired, the Christian temple arose. With the same view the Sacred Grove was consecrated to religion; and the word *Dair*, or oak, so often combined with the names of churches in Ireland, sufficiently marks the favorite haunts of the idolatry which the new faith superseded. The famous church of St. Bridget, in County Kildare, was but the Druid's cell of oaks converted into a Christian temple.

To what extent Christianity had spread in Ireland before the mission of St. Patrick, there is no very accurate means of judging. Tertullion says that in his time a knowledge of the Christian faith had reached those parts of the British Isles yet unapproached by the Romans, by which he means Ireland and

perhaps Scotland. Nor are there wanting writers who, placing reliance on the assertion of Eusebius that some of the Apostles preached the Gospel in the British Isles, suppose St. James the Elder to have preached the Gospel among the Irish, just as St. Paul is said to have communicated it to the Britons. But though we have no direct evidence of the religious state of the Irish in their own country, we have proof how early they began to distinguish themselves on the Continent as Christian scholars and writers.

No sooner was the news spread throughout Ireland that the great apostle was no more, than the clergy flocked from all quarters to Sabhul, now Downpatrick, to assist in solemnizing his obsequies; and as every bishop or priest arrived all felt inclined to honor the dead by the celebration of Mass, the rites were continued without interruption through day and night. To psalmody and the chanting of hymns the hours of the night were all devoted; and so great was the profusion of torches kept constantly burning that, as those who describe the scene express it, darkness was dispelled, and the whole time appeared to be one constant day. In the choice of a successor there could be no delay or difficulty, as the eyes of the Saint himself, and of all who were interested in the appointment, had long been fixed on his disciple Benignus as the person destined to succeed him. It was remembered that he had in speaking of him when but a boy said of him, in the language of prophecy rather than appointment, "He will be heir of my power."

At the commencement of the sixth century, Christianity had become almost universal throughout Ireland, and before its close the Church could boast of many holy persons, whose fame for sanctity and learning has not been confined to their own country, but is still cherished and held in reverence by the great majority of Christians throughout the world. Usher says, when Charlemagne began to reign, literature had been forgotten almost everywhere. Two Irishmen, who were exceedingly learned, called Clement and Albinus, came with some British merchants to the coast of France, and having no other commodity to dispose of, they, in order to satisfy the people who surrounded

them, cried, "Science for sale!" The people thinking them mad, carried the news to Charlemagne. This great prince, who was desirous that learning might be revived in his empire, had them brought to court, and after questioning them had them remain with him. He established them in France, and gave orders for their support, and that they should be furnished with suitable dwellings for themselves and the pupils whom he placed under their discipline.

From the days of Charlemagne to the days of Henry VIII, Ireland produced many learned men.

In Ireland the effects of the Reformation were beginning to be felt in 1548. The Irish people were strongly attached to their religion, and took alarm at the slightest attempt to introduce a change. All Europe has known the miseries they have undergone and the sacrifices they have made in defense of it, from the above period to the present time.

The conquest of Ireland had not been yet completed. Symptoms, however, appeared from time to time among the ancient Irish, which portended the speedy reduction of the island. When the chiefs of the districts had any complaint against the Superior Chief on account of tribute which the latter exacted from them, perhaps with too much rigor, instead of having recourse to the old mode of arbitration, they carried their complaints before the English Governor, who, while effecting between them an outward reconciliation, exerted himself to sever the ties which bound them together, so that by a separation of the vassals from their chief the body became enfeebled, many instances of which occurred about this time. Conn O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, having a dispute with Maguire, Phelim Roe O'Neill, and other nobles who held under him, they presented themselves before the Deputy and Council in Dublin. The Council heard their recriminations and complaints, and had them reconciled on certain conditions. It decided that Maguire should be exempt in future from dependence on O'Neill of Tyrone; that he should hereafter remain under the Deputy's protection, and that he should acquit himself of every duty a subject owes to his lord. A similar decree was made respecting O'Donnell, Prince

of Tryconnel, and those who held under him. These were followed by the submission of Brian and Hugh Oge McMahon to the Deputy of Kilmainham, near Dublin. Dowdall, who had been appointed Archbishop of Armagh by Henry, on the death of Cromer, in opposition to the Pope's nominee, unexpectedly became the most violent in denying the King's supremacy. And when the Parliament, to punish his obstinacy, transferred the Primacy from Armagh to Dublin, he abandoned the contest and his diocese together. He was reinstated by Queen Mary, and again removed by Elizabeth and died in exile. We are told by an English Chancellor of this time, that the reformed clergy were strangely negligent; that they did not preach more than once a year, and that this annual sermon was the only instruction they vouchsafed to afford their flocks; that they placed their reliance on acts of Parliament and bands of soldiers, substituting the law and the sword for the Gospel and the Cross. The English monarchs had hitherto only borne the title of Lords of Ireland. The style and title of King was now confirmed on Henry and his heirs, by which act the authority of the Pope to bestow the kingdom was virtually disclaimed. Peerages and promotions were at this time liberally bestowed on the most powerful descendants of the original settlers and native chieftains, and further honors were promised to all who would support the King. The most formidable enemies of the English power were invited to seats in Parliament as peers. De Burgo was created Earl of Clanricarde, O'Brien became Earl of Thomond, and the great O'Neill resigned the title of his seat for that of Earl of Tyrone. The good effects of this policy were shown by the restoration of public tranquility, and moderation and firmness marked the Irish administration during the remainder of Henry's reign. Henry died on the 28th of January, 1547, having lived fifty-six years, of which he reigned thirty-eight. It is difficult to describe the character of this unhappy prince. His portrait varies according to the dispositions of the historians who have written on the subject. The partisans of the new religion think it a merit in him to have shaken off the Pope's authority. His most zealous friends

admit that he was addicted to many vices. In truth, the different opinions of writers with respect to religion, have cast such a doubt on historical facts, from the period of the pretended divorce of Henry and Catharine of Aragon to the present time, that it is impossible to discriminate between truth and falsehood. Notwithstanding, however, the various opinions of writers on Henry's character, it may be affirmed that he was a bad King, a bad husband, and a bad Christian. Henry spent the first eighteen years of his reign at plays, masquerades and amusements. He soon spent the eighteen hundred thousand pounds sterling (about nine millions of dollars) which, through the avarice of his father, he found in the treasury when he ascended the throne; so that he found himself more embarrassed than any of his predecessors. He, however, supplied the deficiency by tyranny. The immense wealth of the monasteries, hospitals, colleges and other religious houses which were suppressed; the silver ornaments and vessels of these houses; the spoils of Cardinals Wolsey and Cromwell, whom he beheaded; the estates of several noblemen, which were confiscated for his use, and the large sums that were extorted from the clergy under pretext of law, increased his exchequer to a considerable extent, but were not sufficient to support his profligacy. Ward, in his history of the Reformation, says, Henry levied exorbitant taxes upon his people, raised extensive loans upon his privy seal, and then had acts of Parliament passed to annul his engagements and defraud his creditors. Finding the wealth of the kingdom entirely exhausted, he caused money to be recoined and made spurious to such a degree that, to the shame of England, it was not current in foreign countries, by which means the merchant lost his credit abroad. In Ireland, for want of gold and silver, the King ordered that copper money should be used, to the great detriment and displeasure of the people. Of Henry's six wives, two were divorced, two were beheaded and one died in child-bed; the last one only escaped a cruel fate by the sudden death of the King, which facts fully prove him to have been the worst of husbands. "In fine," says Saunders, "Henry is represented

to have been a cruel and profligate prince. Even the worst of the monarchs of Europe did not surpass him in cruelty and debauchery." This writer, like Sir Walter Raleigh, affirms that, were the portrait of tyranny lost, the original might be found in the life of King Henry the Eighth. He was a monster of iniquity, who never spared man in his anger, nor woman in his lust, and from the consciousness of his crimes he died in utter despair.

EDWARD THE SIXTH,

only son of Henry the Eighth and Jane Seymour, ascended the throne at the age of nine years, in virtue of his father's will. Edward Seymour, Earl of Hartford and maternal uncle to the young King, was appointed guardian of his person, and protector of the kingdom during his minority, and also created Duke of Somerset. The young King was crowned at Westminster on the 20th of February, 1574, by Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury. He was proclaimed King of Ireland on the 26th of February, of the same year.

The schism begun in England by Henry continued to spread under his son Edward. Seymour, the King's uncle, who governed the kingdom as protector, added heresy to schism. Saunders says, Seymour in his doctrine was Zuinglian. Cranmer, who had always been one, found his wishes gratified on seeing his views received by the young King, who favored his errors, which speedily gained ground. In order to spread this heresy more widely, the protector took care to raise those who professed it to the most important offices in the state. The Reformation was now beginning to be preached in public. Besides Cranmer and his agents, Richard Cox and Hugh Latimer (whom the Lutherans called the first apostle of England), and other English preachers, the country was filled with swarms of preachers from Germany, all preaching their own doctrines. Some were Lutherans, but most favored the doctrine of Zuingle, which was that of the protector. This appeared dangerous to the Parliament. That tribunal acknowledged no rival in religious matters; it received its commission

from the King, who caused himself to be declared the head of it. In order to please all parties, and at the same time keep up some appearance of unity, wise Senators adopted some articles of the tenets of each of the sects, and in order that none should complain of being excluded, they added a portion of Calvinism, which was now beginning to be preached. Calvin had already the confidence to write to the protector and exhort him to use the sword to force the Catholics to embrace what he thought the doctrines of the Gospel. From the many innovations introduced into religion, the people became alarmed. The celebration of Mass was abolished, and the marriage of the clergy allowed, and the ornaments in the churches removed, and the six articles established by Henry the Eighth were annulled. Several Bishops were deprived of their Sees and thrown into dungeons; the revenues of the churches, together with their ornaments, were converted to profane uses. These things alarmed the people and gave rise to a rebellion in many parts of England, where the inhabitants took up arms in defense of the religion of their forefathers. This year, 1529, the King of England sent his commands to the Deputy of Ireland to have the public prayers said in the English language; and that orders should be given to all archbishops, bishops and parish priests throughout the kingdom to conform in all these matters to the King's will. MacGeohegan says, "In obedience to the King's commands, the Deputy convened a meeting of the clergy to inform them of the orders he had received. George Dowdall, Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of all Ireland, who was grave, learned, and an able preacher, and firmly attached to the Catholic cause, spoke with vigor against this innovation, and among other things said: 'Any illiterate layman will then have power to sing Mass.'" After this he left the meeting, followed by all the bishops, except Staples of Meath, and Brown of Dublin, who were both appointed by the King. On the Easter Sunday following Brown preached in the cathedral on this subject, taking for his text the following words from the Psalmist: "Open my eyes that I may behold thy law." Saint Leger, the Deputy, was recalled this year. Complaints were

urged against him by Brown, Bishop of Dublin, for want of zeal in advancing the Reformation. He was succeeded by James Crofts, who was a zealous Protestant, and endeavored to induce Dowdall, the Primate, to conform to the King's wishes respecting the Liturgy. Upon his refusal he was deprived of the title of Primate, which was conferred on Brown of Dublin.

The first expedition of Crofts was into Ulster. Having reached Carrickfergus, he sent a detachment under Captain Bagnell to surprise Racklin. This detachment was repulsed with heavy loss, and one of the vessels lost. Bagnell was taken prisoner by the McDonald's and afterwards exchanged for Surly Boy McDonald, their brother, who was a prisoner in Dublin, in the hands of the English.

Edward the Sixth died in Greenwich in July, 1552, at the age of sixteen years, of which he had reigned six. The Reformation advanced during his reign, as he began his reign when nine years old, and was first under the control of Somerset and Cranmer, and finally under the Duke of Northumberland, who conformed to the religion which suited his interest; so that these two favorites used the Reformation as a pretext to seize upon the property of the Church. The King now held the place of the Pope in England, but the new Pope of England claimed prerogatives to which the Pope of Rome never aspired. Heylin, in his history of the Reformation, says the Bishops were now persons who might be removed at the pleasure of the King; those of them who opposed this lost their Sees, and were imprisoned or banished. The more worldly subscribed to every article of the Reformation, and consented to the loss of the Church lands, which were divided among the favorites of the Court; but, to return to our history.

On the death of Edward, the Duke of Northumberland caused Jane, eldest daughter of the Duke of Suffolk, to be proclaimed Queen of England. The duke was a favorite with Edward, and finding his end approaching, told him that conscience required that he should look to the preservation of the new religion after his death; that his sister Mary was opposed to it, but that he could not exclude her without also excluding

Elizabeth. He finally persuaded the dying prince to make a will, by which he declared his cousin Jane the heiress to the crown.

The Duke of Northumberland, at the head of ten thousand men, had Jane proclaimed Queen at Bury. But the nobles who were in London had Mary proclaimed Queen by the Mayor of that city, and the nobility of Norfolk and Suffolk flocked to her standard. Northumberland, seeing the current in favor of Mary, repaired to Cambridge, where, for want of a herald, he himself proclaimed Queen Mary in the market place, throwing up his hat in token of joy. This show of loyalty, however, availed him nothing. He was arrested next day by the Earl of Arundell and sent to the Tower. Sanders says

QUEEN MARY,

having been proclaimed in all the principal towns in England, left Farmington for London, A. D. 1553. On the 30th of July she was met in Essex by her sister Elizabeth, attended by a thousand horsemen. On the 3d of August she made her entry into London. She then proceeded to the Tower, where the Duke of Norfolk, Edward Lord Courtney, Stephen Gardiner, the deposed Bishop of Winchester, and the Duke of Somerset, were prisoners. They received her on their knees; but rising, she embraced them, saying, "These are my prisoners." They were soon restored to liberty. Gardiner was reinstated in his See at Winchester, and appointed Chancellor of England, and all the other bishops, namely, Boner, Bishop of London; Tunstal, of Durham; Day, of Winchester; West, of Exeter, and Heath, of Worcester, were restored to their Sees. All married clergy were removed, and the Queen renounced the profane title of Head of the Church. Taylor, who was a Protestant, says Queen Mary commenced her reign by several acts just and humane; she granted an amnesty to those Protestants who had proclaimed

LADY JANE GREY

in Dublin, and released many prisoners. He says the restoration of the old religion was effected without violence; no perse-

cution of Protestants was attempted, and several of those who fled from England for fear, found a safe retreat among the Catholics in Ireland. "It is but justice," he says, "to the Catholics to add, that on the three occasions of their obtaining the upper hand, they never injured a single person in life or limb for professing a religion different from their own. They had suffered persecution, and learned mercy, as they showed in the reign of Mary, in the wars in Ireland from 1641 to 1648, and during the brief triumph of James the Second." Sanders says Mary found herself obliged to make examples of some distinguished persons. The Duke of Northumberland, Sir John Gates and Sir Thomas Palmer were executed on Tower Hill, in the month of August; shortly after, Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, Lady Jane Grey and her husband, and two sons of the Duke of Northumberland, shared the same fate. Mary was crowned, with the usual solemnities, in St. Peter's Church by the Bishop of Winchester. English historians have unanimously used the term, "Bloody Mary;" even McAuley speaks of her cruelty. But she lived in a bloody age, and inherited the nature of her father. Taylor says, under Mary, the officers of state changed their religion with the same facility they had displayed on former occasions, and the great body of the clergy followed their example. Unfortunately, some of the priests and bishops had shown the sincerity of their conversion by marrying. Wives were not so easily got rid of as creeds; and they were unwillingly forced to preserve their consistency and retire. The English Council having informed the Privy Council of Ireland of Mary's succession to the throne, she was proclaimed in Dublin and afterwards in the towns of the kingdom, to the great satisfaction of the people. The Queen, who was already planning the restoration of the old religion, caused a declaration in favor of the Mass, and the other dogmas of the Catholic faith, to be published in Ireland, that is, in the English province, where heresy was beginning to take root.

George Dowdall, Archbishop of Armagh, who had fled to a foreign country, was recalled by Queen Mary and restored to his former dignities, A. D. 1554. This primate convened a

provisional synod in Droghada, in which several decrees were passed tending to the restoration of religion and the ancient rights of the Church. In the month of April the primate and Doctor Walsh, who was appointed Bishop of Meath, received orders to depose such bishops and priests as had married—Staples, Bishop of Meath; Brown, Archbishop of Dublin; Lancaster, Bishop of Kildare; Travers, of Leighlin; Bale, of Osory, and Casey, of Limerick. Their places were filled by Catholic bishops. It must be observed that those bishops who were dispossessed were Englishmen, no Irishmen having yet become apostates. Bale and Brown, the principal of those who introduced the new creed in Ireland, were monks that had been stripped of their order.

When the news was spread in England of a marriage between Queen Mary and

PHILLIP OF SPAIN,

a serious disturbance broke out in Kent and in other places, in which Wyatt was one of the principal performers. Some thought that by this marriage England might become a province of Spain, while Protestants feared that the Alliance of the Queen with a Catholic prince, might put an end to the system which had made so rapid a progress during the last two reigns. The Queen, however, was so ably seconded by her subjects that the only result was the punishment of the rebels. Phillip landed at Southampton, in England, in July, and proceeded to Winchester, where the Queen awaited his arrival, and the marriage took place the following day. Mary was then thirty-eight years old, and Phillip but twenty-seven. They were immediately proclaimed under the following titles: "Phillip and Mary, by the grace of God, King and Queen of England, France, Naples, Jerusalem and Ireland, defenders of the faith, prince and princess of Spain and Sicily, archduke and archduchess of Austria, duke and duchess of Milan, Burgundy and Brabant, and count and countess of Hapsburg, Flanders and the Tyrol."

MacGeoghan says: "Although the Queen had done much since her coming to the throne for the establishment of religion

and the Catholic liturgy; had the Mass and divine offices celebrated, and had caused foreign heretics to be driven out of the country (of whom it is said at least thirty thousand had by various routes departed from England), still she was unable to bring back the people to their obedience to Rome. The Parliament objected, lest the Pope might insist on the restitution of the property of the Church which had been seized upon by the nobles; still they repealed the laws enacted during the preceding reigns against the jurisdiction of the Popes."

They also repealed the law respecting Cardinal Pole, who had just arrived from Rome as legate of Pope Julius the Third, and finally submitted to everything, avowing their regret for having been disobedient to his Holiness. They then asked his forgiveness, both for themselves and the people, for the censures they had incurred by their schism, which was granted to them by the legate, who read aloud the power delegated to him by the Pope. A splendid embassy was sent to Rome to have all things confirmed, and on their being ratified by his Holiness, solemn thanksgiving was offered for the happy reconciliation of England with the Holy See. The impartial reader can see the sincerity of the Parliament and people of England. No doubt Cobbett was right in saying, "An Englishman in those days changed his religion as quick as he would change an old and worn out coat for a new one."

The lands of the monasteries and abbeys which in the preceding reigns had been divided among the courtiers, remained in the same state during Mary's reign, except the priory of St. John of Jerusalem, near Dublin, which was restored to its former owners through the influence of Cardinal Pole. The Queen had resolved to restore all the religious houses and lands to the rightful owners, but her reign was too short for so great an undertaking. Although Mary attempted to protect and advance the Catholic religion, still her officers did not cease to inflict injuries upon the Irish.

Mary died at Westminster, in the forty-second year of her age and the sixth of her reign. The Bishop of Winchester died before her, and Cardinal Pole survived her but sixteen hours.

MacGeoghan says that the reign of Mary only checked the progress of heresy, it soon acquired new strength under Elizabeth. It is remarkable, says Cox, that though Mary was a zealous papist, the Irish were as unrestful under her as under Edward. Had Cox been as honorable as he was malicious, he would have observed that what he advances as the cause of these disorders was rather the injustice which the English ministry were exercising over the Irish than on the religion of the Queen. The Irish were as tyrannically ruled under her as under her father.

ELIZABETH,

the only surviving child of Henry the Eighth, was, after the death of Mary, crowned Queen of England, according to the Roman ritual, with the usual ceremonies, in Westminster Abbey, by Oglethorpe, Bishop of Carlisle. All the other bishops and archbishops refused to attend.

This princess was then in her twenty-fifth year. Her reign was long and eventful. Though she had previously determined to make a change in religion, still, in order not to excite the alarm of Catholics or depress the hopes of Protestants, she selected her council from among noblemen of both religions; after which ambassadors were sent to all the princes of Europe, to announce to them her accession to the throne. Elizabeth appointed Sir Edward Karn her agent to Rome, to inform the Pope of her accession to the throne and her wish to live on kind terms with his Holiness. Karn had a conference with the Pope on the question of the Queen's legitimacy, he insisting that his Holiness should first pronounce the marriage of Henry the Eighth and Anne Boleyn valid. The Pope and his council were astounded. To admit this was to endorse adultery. When Karn informed Elizabeth of the failure of his mission, Cobbett says she snapped her fingers, saying, "A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush." He also says that when Mary was dying she questioned Elizabeth on the Catholic faith, when Elizabeth prayed that the earth might open and bury her if she should ever deny the Catholic faith. Had the Pope acknowledged her legitimacy, there is little doubt she

would have continued to uphold that Church. Ware says the Queen now had her Parliament confirm her ecclesiastical supremacy, and cut loose from the Pope.

Elizabeth now had the Book of Common Prayer approved by her Parliament and ordered to be used by all her subjects; the sacraments of both kinds were established, and an act passed to have the revenues of the monasteries transferred to the crown. A warm debate arose in Parliament respecting the supremacy of the church, some of the members holding that it was unnatural and alarming to give to a woman such power, whom St. Paul said should not even speak in the church. The majority, however, were in the Queen's favor, and she was declared supreme head of the church. The taking of the oath was now the test of faith, as those who refused to take it were deprived of their living. Baker says the number who refused was not over two hundred out of nine thousand. The most of them took it through a dastardly and disgraceful policy. It was at this time that the bishops displayed a firmness truly apostolic. Out of fifteen there was but one apostate, viz: Kitchin, Bishop of Landaff. The rest, namely, Heath, Archbishop of York; Boner, Bishop of London; Tunstal, of Durham; White, of Winchester; Kirby, of Ely; Watson, of Lincoln; Poole, of Petersborough; Christopher, of Chichester; Brown, of Wells; Turber, of Exeter; Morgan, of St. Davids; Bain, of Litchfield; Scott, of Chester, and Oglethorpe, of Carlisle, being determined not to bend to the idol, were thrown into prison and deprived of their Sees, which were given to those who were more manageable.

On the death of Cardinal Pole, Parker was appointed by the Queen Archbishop of Canterbury. He was consecrated by Barlow and two others as pliable as himself. Parker also consecrated all who were appointed by the Queen to fill the places of the banished bishops. Debates on the validity of these ordinations occupied many writers of that day, and even to the present.

The English Church, although disfigured, still retained some of the old religion. Every bishop had his tribunal for the settlement of matters of discipline, and pastors were authorized to refuse communion to those they considered unworthy, without

being accountable to any, as appears from the following, printed at that time in London: "Those who wish to partake of the holy communion, shall send their names on the preceding day to the pastor. If there be any notorious sinner among them, or such as have injured their neighbors by word or deed, so as to offend the congregation, the pastor shall send for him and warn him not to approach the Lord's table unless he publicly declares that he repents, and promises to reform, in order to satisfy the congregation; and that he will make restitution to those he has injured when he can with convenience." It appears that those only who were known to be devoted to the Queen, or those who were easily bribed, were allowed to sit in Parliament in Ireland at this time. The nobles of the country, who were all Catholics, were carefully excluded, so that by this means any act could be passed in Ireland; and though it was called an Irish Parliament, it was composed of Englishmen, either by origin or birth.

About this time John Knox, having rejected the English Reformation, adopted the doctrines of Calvin. This was the foundation of the Presbyterian religion and the Puritans, who afterwards produced such ravages in Scotland. Heylin says, "Knox, a turbulent preacher and seditious enthusiast, being informed at Geneva of the progress of his brethren in Scotland, repaired thither in 1559, where he became the preacher and fire-brand of rebellion. At Perth he preached such invectives against Catholics, that after his sermon the mob who heard him tore down every church and religious house in the town. The mob in Sterling, St. Andrew, Glasgow and Edinburgh followed their example."

The fanatics did not leave a church standing in Edinburgh in which Queen Mary, who was a Catholic, could have divine service celebrated. In another sermon Knox spoke bitterly against the Queen, and exhorted the mob to unite in expelling her from the kingdom. The rebels consequently published a decree depriving the Queen of all power in the government.

Alarmed at these events, the Queen of Scotland retook the city of Edinburgh. She then fortified the port of Leith, and

forced the rebels to withdraw to the north. Thus situated they had recourse, by the advice of Knox, to the Queen of England; and although the laws of nations are violated by one prince supporting the rebel subjects of another, still political motives caused Elizabeth to assist the Puritans in Scotland. The Parliament this year passed three laws in favor of the Reformation. The first was to abolish the Pope's authority and jurisdiction in the kingdom; the second to repeal all acts in favor of Catholic doctrine; the third to suppress the Mass and to impose penalties on all those who should perform the ceremony, or those who were present at it. The leaders next presented a form of faith and doctrine founded on the principles of Calvin, which was brought by Knox from Geneva to be professed by the Reformers in Scotland. Heylin says, "During the debate there were but three temporal lords found to oppose these laws, who alleged as the reason of their opposition that they wished to follow the religion of their forefathers." Ware writes thus: "The Reformers of the Reformation affected to lead mortified lives. They inculcated the most rigid morals, and looked upon all who did not belong to their sect as profligates. Their speeches were composed of phrases taken from Scripture, and predestination and special grace were the subjects of their discourses. They wrote and published false translations from the gospels and epistles of Paul, with observations and notes filled with the venom of their doctrines. They deceived the people by an affected piety."

Ware continues: "They, the Puritans, were open enemies to hierarchy in the Church. They opposed Episcopacy, and resisted their lawful princes. By such principles as these their conduct was regulated. They deposed the Queen-dowager who held the regency, and forced her daughter, Queen Mary, their legitimate sovereign, to seek an asylum in England, where she was cruelly put to death after eighteen years' imprisonment. And lest King James the Sixth might be in their way they drove him from Edinburgh and kept him in confinement at Sterling. The sanguinary wars in England and Ireland under Charles the First and his tragical end on the scaffold; the exclusion of his

son, Charles the Second, from the throne for twelve years, and the expulsion of James the Second, were all the work of these Puritans."

Such was the religion of England in the days of Elizabeth. That capricious nation, which accuses its neighbors of inconsistency, changed religions five times in thirty years. The English were Catholics in 1529. At the bidding of King Henry they accepted a religion which none of them understood. In Edward's reign their religion was much mixed; the Zuinglian heresy prevailed. Under Queen Mary the Catholic religion was restored, and both Parliament and people humbly asked the Pope's forgiveness for their past heresy, and on the accession of Elizabeth another was gotten up, with a mixture of the tenets of both Luther and Calvin, to which was given the name of the Church of England.

Sidney was Governor of the English province in Ireland under Elizabeth. He convened a Parliament in January in Christ's Church in Dublin, to repeal all the acts that had been passed under Mary two years before in another Parliament in which he himself presided. Verily, he was a sincere Reformer! But these were days of inconsistency. MacGeoghegan says: "Thus was the Parliament established judge of the faith without any mission but that received from a woman. In the Gospel he who refused to hear the Church was considered as a heathen or a publican. In the new doctrine he who did not hearken to Elizabeth and her Parliament in religious matters was deprived of his property, liberty, and, under certain circumstances, of his life."

This Parliament also passed laws ordaining the uniformity of common prayer, regulating the sacraments, and also the consecration of bishops, as approved by Edward the Sixth; and, lastly, that the Queen's right to the crown should be acknowledged, and making it high treason to speak or write against it.

The subversion of the ancient religion and the establishment of the new in her states, formed the most remarkable feature in the reign of Elizabeth. The character of this princess will be more or less affected by the impression that change produces in

different minds. The incredulous, no doubt, look upon a change in religion as a matter of indifference, as they do not believe in any creed. Protestants give to the event a prominent place among the very few virtues of Elizabeth; while others, after weighing well the whole enterprise, tell us that the memory of this Queen will be forever, from that occurrence alone, covered with infamy. It is not a part of our history to decide this controversy, nor to give an opinion whether religion required to be reformed or not. The character of Elizabeth is the matter now before us. According to that, therefore, our opinion must be shaped. The means which she made use of to effect the change in religion must be weighed with those of honor, conscience, and other qualities which render us pleasing before God and man. If we review closely the opinions of Elizabeth, an indifference will be discovered in her as to the choice of a religion. Brought up in her first years in the court of her father, amidst debauchery, sacrilege and tyranny, nothing short of a miracle could have saved her from contagion. Whatever was in conformity with her interests constituted the religion of Elizabeth. In the reign of her brother Edward she was a Calvinist. During the reign of her sister Mary the Mass, confession, and other tenets of the Catholic Church, accorded with her ideas. And had the Pope placed the crown on her head, and acknowledged her a legitimate daughter of Henry the Eighth, there is little doubt she would have lived and perhaps died a Catholic.

Dodd, an English historian, says: "Elizabeth caused penal laws to be published against those who refused to submit to the Reformation. Under these laws no one was secure in his life or liberty. It was in the power of any profligate to accuse his Catholic neighbor before a judge, when the informer was sure to be rewarded and the innocent one punished. To these were added other laws equally barbarous and inhuman. To refuse to acknowledge the Queen as the head of the Church; to afford an asylum to the Catholic clergy; to become a Catholic, or to be present when another joined the Catholic Church, was made high treason, and the punishment was death. While at the same time every method was resorted to to bring the unhappy

Catholic within the range of this sentence. The prisons were crowded with supposed culprits, many of whom suffered death. The number, even in England, that were put to death amounted to two hundred and twenty-seven. One hundred and ninety-seven of these were clergymen." Dodd further says: "If the persecutions under Mary had been dictated by a determination to suppress the doctrine of the Reformation, they would be just as culpable as those of Elizabeth. Interference with freedom of conscience is, in all cases, unjustifiable; and quite as much so when the object is to force people to retain an old religion, as it is to make them adopt a new one. The recent researches of historians seems to show that the executions in the reign of Mary were wholly from political causes, and can be defended on this ground. Had they been the result of religious bigotry, they would have fully merited for her the title of 'Bloody Mary,' so frequently (but as it now appears improperly) bestowed upon her."

Queen Elizabeth was determined to have the Protestant religion established in Ireland. She sent orders to her Député to call a meeting of the clergy for that purpose; but the firmness of the bishops and their attachment to the Catholic religion rendered the attempt abortive, notwithstanding the offers made to bribe them. After this meeting, William Walsh, a native of Waterford, and Bishop of Meath, who was particularly zealous in the Catholic cause, having preached at Trim, in his own diocese, against the Queen's religion, was arrested, thrown into prison and deposed shortly afterwards by order of the Queen. Thomas Livours, Bishop of Kildare, was treated in the same manner as Walsh. Having refused to take the oath of supremacy he was deprived of his See, and in order to gain his living taught school in Limerick, and died at Naas in 1577 at the age of eighty years. The Irish Catholics were much alarmed by the changes which took place in church and state. They saw no security either for their churches or estates but by arms. They assembled in great numbers, under the command of Shane O'Neill, at that time the bravest and most powerful nobleman in the country. This resistance of the Irish differs from that of

subjects who, under pretext of religion or otherwise, rebel against their lawful princes—conduct which will never receive the approbation of other nations. Ireland had not been subjugated. Her people only acknowledged the authority of England by compulsion, whatever their adversaries may say to the contrary. They deemed it just to resist a foreign power which was endeavoring to direct their consciences by forcing a new religion upon them. O'Neill finding his countrymen zealous in the common cause, took command willingly and marched into the English province, where he carried on the war with success. When the campaign was over, this prudent general, not willing to spend the winter in a hostile country, which was already laid waste, returned to Ulster with the intention of renewing hostilities in the spring.

In the meantime Sussex made active preparations to oppose him. He received fresh troops from England to the number of four thousand men, four pieces of cannon, sixty barrels of gunpowder, and other ammunition. But not being satisfied with this reinforcement he went himself to England to receive instructions respecting the campaign. On his return from England he set out from Dublin for Ulster on the first day of July, at the head of five thousand men. Another detachment of fusilliers followed soon after under the command of Gough. O'Neill's forces being inferior, both in number and discipline, he posted himself so as not to be surprised, and the only fruits of the expedition were a suspension of hostilities and a reconciliation between the chiefs. O'Neill went over to England in December, where he concluded an honorable peace with Elizabeth and returned in May, well pleased with the reception he met. Roland Fitzgerald, Archbishop of Cashel, died this year, 1561. This prelate was descended from the noble Fitzgeralds of Burnchurch, County Kilkenny. Elizabeth nominated an Englishman to the vacant See, and Maurice Gibbon was appointed by the Pope. The hierarchy has been always preserved in the Church in Ireland, and every See has two bishops, one a Catholic appointed by the Pope, and the other a Protestant nominated by the King or Queen. Sussex was again Lord-Lieutenant of

Ireland in 1562 His first act was to change some districts into counties. To the ancient territory of Annaly he gave the name of County Longford. He then divided the province of Connaught into six counties, namely, Clare, Galway, Sligo, Mayo, Roscommon and Lietrim. The See of Armagh, which had been vacant since the death of George Dowdall, was given by the Queen to Adam Loftus, a native of Yorkshire. He had been chaplain to Sussex, and afterwards to the Queen.

The civil administration was now committed to Loftus the Queen's Archbishop of Dublin. While Ormond was again intrusted with the command of the army, O'Neill made offers of peace and a new treaty was commenced. The object of O'Neill in this negotiation was only to gain time, for the double purpose of recruiting his own strength and wearing out the patience of his opponents. When his preparations were complete he threw off the mask, and summoned to his aid the O'Donells and others, and boldly declared his independence and laid close siege to the fort of Blackwater.

Bagnall was ordered to relieve the place, and the armies of two generals nearly connected by marriage, and yet animated by more than mortal enmity, met near Armagh. The forces on both sides were nearly equal. The English having superior advantages in arms and discipline, the Irish were animated by a fiercer spirit and had a more skilled commander. In the heat of the engagement an explosion of gunpowder threw the English into confusion. At the same time Bagnall, while raising his beaver, was shot through the brain. The victory of the Irish was complete; fifteen hundred English soldiers and many of their best officers fell. Thirty-four standards, all the cannon, arms and ammunition remained in possession of the Irish. The fort of Blackwater was immediately surrendered to O'Neill, and the royal English garrison in Armagh made quick time in the flight to Dublin.

This great victory was apparently decisive. The flame of insurrection spread rapidly through the west and south. The Irish whose lands were confiscated, with one accord attacked the undertakers and drove them from their settlements. The

O'Moores in Leinster, the Geraldines in Munster, and the O'Connors and Burkes in Connaught, were all in arms. The English all flocked to the fortified towns on the coasts, and dare not move beyond their walls.

O'Neill made every use of his advantage. He reconciled old feuds and allayed animosities, and gave to the Irish a degree of union which they never before possessed. He also sent ambassadors to King Philip of Spain, entreating that monarch to send him effective assistance.

Elizabeth was now really alarmed. Her avarice and cruelty had driven the Irish into insurrection, and she now stood aghast at the consequences. Reports arrived in England that Philip of Spain was preparing two immense armaments, one to invade England and the other to aid O'Neill in Ireland. It became manifest that without speedy exertion the Queen would lose the fairest possession of the Crown. She sent into Ireland an army of twenty thousand men commanded by the Earl of Essex, esteemed the most gallant soldier of the age, Essex received the title of Lord-Lieutenant, and more ample powers than Elizabeth had hitherto conferred on a subject. Essex expected an easy victory, and hoped that military glory would increase his ascendancy over the person of his frail and fond mistress. His friends and foes were alike eager to hurry his departure—the former in anticipation of triumph, and the latter because of the loss of his influence by his absence from court, and the hope that his presumption would rouse the jealous anger of the Queen.

The news of such an immense army arriving did not diminish the confidence of O'Neill and his supporters. They awaited with stern indifference the proceedings of Essex, and determined to wear him down by a tedious defensive war. Instead of marching into Ulster and bringing O'Neill at once to a decisive engagement, Essex marched southward to an exhausted country, where his troops were wasted by fatigue and famine. The Irish avoided any decisive battle, but gained many advantages over detached parties.

The Earl of Sussex published an edict this year against the Catholic clergy, by which monks and popish priests were inter-

dicted either to meet or sleep in Dublin. The head of each family was ordered to attend, under pain, every Sunday at the Protestant service. Those who were unable to pay the fine went to Mass in the morning and to the Protestant service afterwards. But in order to prevent this pious fraud, the householders were registered and their names called before service in the Protestant churches.

The Lord-Lieutenant took care to inform the Queen of O'Neill's movements, and how much was to be feared from such an enemy. The Queen sent him the following reply: "Let not your fear of Shane O'Neill give you uneasiness. Tell my troops to take courage, and that his rebellion may turn to their advantage, as there will be lands to bestow on those who need them." O'Neill was all this time levying troops in order to be avenged on Loftus, the Protestant Bishop of Armagh, who had written against him. He burned his church, on which account Loftus pronounced sentence of excommunication against him.

O'Neill's power engrossed much of the attention of the English government at this time. The Queen gave orders to her Deputy to reduce him either by kindness or force. She offered to him the title of Earl of Tyrone and Baron of Dungannon. O'Neill received the proposal with a haughtiness expressive of his contempt for titles of honor, which he looked upon as beneath the name of O'Neill. The commissioners of the Queen received from him the following reply: "If Elizabeth, your mistress, be Queen of England, I am O'Neill King of Ulster. I never made peace with her without having been solicited to do so by her. I want none of her titles. My family and birth raise me above it. My ancestors were kings. I have gained my kingdom with my sword. I will preserve it."

The English finding O'Neill determined on resistance, took possession of Derry, and converted the Church of St. Columb into a magazine for powder and warlike stores. *The clergy were driven out and the ornaments broken. O'Neill saw plainly that it was against his interest to suffer an enemy to establish a garrison so near and always ready to attack him. He marched, therefore, to Derry without loss of time, with a large force, and

posted himself within two miles of town. Next day the magazine blew up, killing Randolph the English commander and nearly seven hundred men. In an engagement next day in the open field seven hundred of the English were slain, besides several officers lately arrived from England.

Though O'Neill was brave and his vassals well disciplined, still they fought better in the field than in their attacks on towns and in defending them. The Deputy was more frequently victorious by stratagem than by force of arms, and was artful enough to foment discord between that prince and his neighbors. He detached Maguire of Fermanagh, a powerful nobleman of the country, from his interest, and supported O'Donnell against him. So that O'Neill, finding himself hemmed in and his forces weakened, was reduced to the alternative of seeking safety among his enemies. He had twice defeated the Scotch. In the first battle he killed their chief, James McDonnell; and in the second, Surly Boy McDonnell, brother of the latter, was taken prisoner. Still his misfortunes forced him to have recourse to those whom he had injured. He restored Surly Boy to his liberty and set out for Claneboy, where the Scotch, to the number of many hundreds, under Alexander, the younger brother of Surly Boy, were encamped. O'Neill appeared with a few attendants, and was received with politeness; but the Scotch, hoping to receive a reward from the English, slew him and all his attendants and sent his head to the Deputy, who exposed it on a pole on the Castle of Dublin.

Such was the end of Shane O'Neill, who had sacrificed all for his country. Had his example been followed by the people generally, the English would not have succeeded so soon in reducing Ireland. English authors have drawn a barbarous picture of O'Neill. He possessed certainly some defects; but no reliance can be placed on the word of those who wrote against him. He left two sons, Henry and John. After his death he was convicted of treason and rebellion, and his estates confiscated for the Queen's use by a Parliament held in Dublin in 1567. Turlo Lyno, one of the most powerful nobles of the family of O'Neill, was acknowledged the O'Neill, with the

Queen's consent; but in order to check his authority she confirmed Hugh, son of Matthew O'Neill, in the title of Baron of Tyrone. This year Turlo Lyno, who had taken the title of the O'Neill, declared war against the Scotch, and killed Alexander McDonnell the murderer of Shane O'Neill.

Elizabeth desired ardently to rule over the Church in Ireland as she did in England. The Deputy adopted every means likely to advance her views. For this they took care to send over English bishops and other clergy as they expelled the Catholic ministers. To these bishops orders were given to suppress all Catholic institutions in their several dioceses, and to establish schools under the guidance of English Protestants. Laws were enacted compelling parents to send their children to these schools, and to attend the Protestant service themselves on Sundays, with heavy fines against all who refused, which were changed afterwards into the penalties of high treason, so that the fidelity of the Catholic to the religion of his fathers was made the highest crime. Every individual, both clergy and laity, was commanded to acknowledge the ecclesiastical supremacy of the Queen, and to renounce all obedience to the Pope and Church of Rome.

Many able preachers were now sent over to Ireland, both English and Scotch. The principal were Goodman, Cartright, Knox, Janson, and Burchly. It was hoped that their great eloquence would win the people to them; but the court finding the missionaries unsuccessful, and the Irish still adhering to their old religion, determined to change matters and attack the heads of the Catholic party. Richard Burke, Earl of Clanrickard, a powerful nobleman in Connaught, was arrested by order of the Queen. Ulic and John, the Earl's two sons, assembled their vassals, however, and also took up arms against the English and thus procured him his freedom. Lombard, the historian, says: "The Irish finding the thunder ready to burst and crush them, saw no hope save in resistance. In Munster, the chiefs of the confederacy were James Fitzmaurice, cousin to the Earl of Desmond; McCarthy More, Earl of Glencar; McDonough, and some of the McArthys, and Fitzgerald of Imokelly.

The difficulty of the Butlers with the house of Desmond, did not prevent Edmond, Edward, and Peter Butler, brothers to the Earl of Ormond, from uniting with Fitzmaurice in defense of their religion. The Earl of Desmond, whose memory should be ever dear to the Catholics of Ireland, was still a prisoner in the Tower of London. He had entrusted the care of his estates to James Fitzmaurice, his relative; but Ormond and Thomond, more politic, but less religious than Desmond, had already sacrificed their religion, and the freedom of their country, to ambition and the favor of the Queen of England. The first step of the confederates was to depute the Bishop of Cashel and one of the sons of the Earl of Desmond to bear letters to the Pope and the King of Spain, to solicit their assistance. Sidney being informed of their movements, proclaimed them all traitors, and dispatched Sir Peter Carew with troops against Edmond Butler. Carew took Butler's castle by surprise and gave it up to plunder. He then marched to Kilkenny, where he defeated some troops. About this time, several hostages of northern lords, who were prisoners in Dublin, made their escape, as was suspected by the connivance of the Deputy. They were hotly pursued. Young O'Donnell, whose seizure by Perrot has been already mentioned, and one of the O'Neills, sought refuge among the peasants in the vicinity of Dublin." The winter was uncommonly severe, and the power of the government justly dreaded, and the friends on whom the young noblemen relied too weak or too cowardly to afford them protection. After some days their pursuers found them in a miserable hovel, where young O'Neill was dying of hunger, and O'Donnell deprived of the use of his limbs by cold and fatigue. The latter was brought to Dublin, where his health was finally restored; but his hatred of the government, which had subjected him to so much misery, became for the future a fixed principle of action. A still more atrocious outrage increased the hostility of the Irish. Fitz William, under pretence of settling some disputed claims to property, marched into Monahan, the territory of a chief named McMahon, and arrested that nobleman on a charge of treason. McMahon was tried by

a jury of common soldiers, found guilty as a matter of course, and, to his utter astonishment, sentenced to immediate execution. This judicial murder was followed by the immediate forfeiture of the chieftain's lands, which were shared between the unprincipled Fitz William and Sir Henry Bagnell, his worthy associate. O'Neill viewed with alarm this infamous transaction, and began secretly to prepare for a struggle which he knew could not much longer be averted.

While the Deburgos, or Burkes, were in arms in Connaught, Bingham sent commissioners to them to propose terms of peace, and to learn the cause of their disturbing the country. They answered: "What have we to do with this bastard," (meaning Elizabeth); "we have too long submitted to the tyrant." Perrot, finding a powerful faction raised against him, was obliged to resign. His last act cast a shade upon his character. The Earl of Tryconnell having opposed Elizabeth, Perrot procured a ship disguised as a Spanish vessel laden with wine. By his order, the captain proceeded to the coast of Tryconnell, invited the chieftain's son on board to taste his wines, and, as soon as he stepped on deck, made him a prisoner and conveyed him to Dublin, where he was held as a hostage for his father's fidelity. Perrot assured the Queen that he could govern her Irish subjects without difficulty, but no power on earth could control her English servants. He resigned the sword of state to Fitz William, saying that he left the country in peace, and that even as a private man he would engage to quell any disturbance in twenty days without violence or contest. The day he left Ireland was a day of national mourning, in which the native Irish and the English settlers joined, with the exception of the official plunderers whose rapacity he had restrained. Vast crowds accompanied him to the water side, whose shouts in his praise were mingled with lamentations for his loss; and not the least interesting figure of the group was old Turlo O'Neill of Tyrone, whose grief for the departure of his protector was inconsolable. Fitz William had but one object in view, his own private interest, and in pursuit

of that he disregarded even the appearance of justice and decency.

James Fitzmaurice continued to devastate the lands of the Queen's partisans in Munster, having defeated them at Kilmallock, where Colonel Morgan was slain and his troops dispersed. The Queen, alarmed at the success of Fitzmaurice, sent orders to her Deputy to offer him terms of peace, saying she desired more to preserve her authority in Ireland than to persecute religion. Fitzmaurice agreed to lay down his arms, provided the persecution of the Catholics should cease, and that the Earl of Desmond and his brother John, who were prisoners in the Tower, would be set at liberty. To these terms she readily consented, and the Earl and his brother were set at liberty. Elizabeth dismissed them with apparent kindness, promising to fulfill the treaty she had made with Fitzmaurice. The deceitful princess, however, sent orders to the captain of the ship that carried them home to give them up to the Deputy in Dublin. She also sent a message to the Deputy to hold the Earl in Dublin and send his brother John to Munster, to bring James Fitzmaurice with him, that the three might sign the treaty together. Such was the motive assigned, but the object was to have the three beheaded together. The Earl being apprised of her design fled immediately. He owed his life to the swiftness of his horse, by which he arrived, after five days, with his brother and cousin, in the remotest part of the County Kerry. The Earl of Desmond was so incensed against the English by this last act of treachery, that he made war on them with more vigor than before; whereupon he was proclaimed a traitor, and a reward offered of a thousand pounds sterling, and forty pounds a year for life, to any one who would give him up alive, or five hundred pounds and twenty pounds a year for his head. The Deputy marched his forces to Munster to quell the disturbance caused by the Fitzgeralds, and gave, in his absence, the government of the English province to the Earl of Kildare.

War was not the only scourge with which Ireland was afflicted at this time. The plague carried away numbers in the

English province, while the Irish were everywhere up in arms. The Deputy, having learned that Surly Boy McDonnell was laying siege to Carrickfergus, and had killed forty men and their commander, Captain Baker, he marched at the head of six hundred men, and forced McDonnell to abandon his enterprise. He then tried to make peace with the O'Neills, O'Donnells, McMahons, Maguires and other nobles of the north.

The plague ceased in Dublin, and in the English province, in 1576, but the tyranny of the English was a continual scourge. The country appeared a desert; the crops were destroyed by the marching and the counter-marching of troops, after whom nothing was to be seen but wretchedness and desolation. In the Deputy's letters to the Queen on this subject, he complained that the undertakers in the province were so poor and so few in number that he was obliged to leave a garrison of soldiers to protect them, while the produce they grew did not amount to a tenth part of what it cost the crown to support them. These undertakers were needy Englishmen, who were sent over to establish a colony in those counties where the lands were confiscated under the pretext of their owners having rebelled. The affairs of religion were not more prosperous than those of government. The churches were abandoned, the priests were dispersed, the children left without baptism and brought up in ignorance, the natural consequence of one religion endeavoring to run out another. The clergy of the old religion were driven out, while those of the new were too indolent to fill their places; when they preached no one came to listen, they were shepherds without a flock.

The war recommenced with great activity, but no decisive action was fought. O'Neill, with consummate ability, avoided every attempt to force him to a general engagement, and broke through the hostile lines when attempts were made to blockade his troops. Mountjoy suspected some of the members of his government of supplying the Irish with information, and strange events made him believe that Ormond was the traitor. Carew was invited by Ormond to attend a conference with O'Moore, who had made proposals of submission. Carew and

Thomond wished to be attended by a troop of horse, but Ormond refused to take more than seventeen men. The place of meeting was in the vicinity of a wood, behind which O'Moore had stationed a numerous band, in addition to a large body of pikemen, by whom he was attended. During the discussion, O'Moore's followers gradually advanced, while Carew in vain warned Ormond of his danger. At length they seized Ormond, but Carew and Thomond escaped by the swiftness of their horses. Ormond was long detained a prisoner, for Mountjoy rejected the terms of ransom asked by O'Moore.

The system of war pursued by Mountjoy and Carew, was that found so effectual in destroying the Earl of Desmond. Bribes were offered the inferior chiefs for desertion; rivals were encouraged to claim the estates of those who still adhered to O'Neill. The houses were destroyed, the corn-fields consumed, fire and famine were once more brought to the aid of slaughter. Carew was naturally cruel and rapacious, a deliberate rewarder of treachery, and not ashamed to avow and defend perfidy and assassination. When any of the Irish asked his protection, it was given only on condition that the person protected should show his loyalty by murdering a friend or relative; and this detestable practice, Taylor says, he vindicates in his letters, and the Queen approves of it as a wise and justifiable policy. Devastation greatly reduced O'Neill's strength. His adversaries had their supplies from England. His resources were destroyed when his fields were wasted; still he bravely continued the war. He was well aware that the late promises of the English were insincere, especially as no provision was made for the removal of grievances which had caused the war. Grievous exactions were made from the owners of land; jurors were packed in the most open and shameful manner; innocent persons were executed, often without the formality of a trial, or, when that was granted, by a verdict of a tribunal whose forms were a cruel mockery. The penal laws were enforced against all who were absent from the High Church on Sundays, and the Protestants drove the natives from their lands without the pretence of a claim. Thus England suppressed what she called a rebellion

in Ireland, sweeping the country with fire, steel and theft, in a way to make demons blush. The knowledge of these things induced O'Neill to persevere, though he knew that his chances of final success were diminishing every day. In Munster Carew had reduced the great chiefs and had several in prison. The long expected succors from Spain at last arrived; but the English had sufficient warning, and were prepared for their reception. The expedition was the worst planned and worst executed imaginable. It had been delayed too long. Its preparation was made so openly that it would seem observation had been courted. It was miserable in amount, and its leader was wretchedly incompetent.

Don Juan d'Acquilla, to whom Phillip had entrusted a small fleet and two thousand men, landed in the south of Ireland, while O'Neill, to whose assistance he had come, was shut up in the extreme north. Scarcely had he landed, when he personally insulted O'Sullivan Beare, the first noble who offered him assistance, and thus at once disgusted the southern Celts. To add to his confusion, Carew and Mountjoy, having collected a powerful army, invested Kinsale, where he landed, and pushed the siege with vigor. O'Neill was not a little perplexed by the awkward position of the Spaniards. A march through an exhausted country in the depth of winter, and with forces already disheartened, was an enterprise full of danger. On the other hand, it was clear that Don Juan, unless speedily relieved, would be forced to surrender. The Spaniard was already disgusted with the expedition; and, while he answered the summons of Mountjoy with ridicule, he sent the most urgent and angry letters to O'Neill and O'Donnell, soliciting their aid. The march of the Irish army sufficiently proves the ability of the leaders, and the zeal of their followers. Notwithstanding the difficulties of the country, they advanced with their baggage and artillery at the rate of forty miles a day; and, by their endurance, baffled the Deputy who marched to intercept them. Nearly at the time O'Neill arrived before Kinsale, a second Spanish fleet arrived in the bay, and were enthusiastically received by the people. Several, who had hitherto held aloof,

now took up arms, and O'Neill was thus enabled to blockade the English in their camp. Mountjoy's army was thus placed in a most perilous situation. They were at once besiegers and besieged; their supplies from the country were cut off, and the sea, which the British fleet had kept open to them, was still a precarious ground of confidence. In fact, nothing was wanted for the complete ruin of an army on whom the fate of a kingdom depended, but that the Irish army should remain quietly in the position it had selected.

O'Neill knew his advantages well, and could not be tempted, by all the arts of the British leader, to quit his entrenchments; but the proud Spaniard was eager to show his valor in a pitched battle. Mountjoy, having discovered, by his spies, the feelings of Don Juan, made use of the most ingenious artifices to increase his daring. He sent pretended deserters into his camp, who described the English army as disorganized, and asserted that the soldiers were so worn down with fatigue and famine that they could offer little resistance. Don Juan wrote the most pressing letters to O'Neill, urging him to crush the English at once, and promising to aid him by a sally from the town. O'Neill continued to refuse; but the chiefs, by whom he was supported, joined in the solicitation of the Spaniard, and an unwilling assent was at length wrung from the gallant chieftain. It was at length resolved to attack the English camp by night. The spies revealed the plan to Mountjoy, and he made his preparations accordingly. The moment that O'Neill saw the English lines, he knew he was betrayed. On the instant he resolved to change his plan of action; but his orders were misunderstood by a portion of the troops, and his lines were thus broken. Wingfield's cavalry passed through this fatal gap and the battle was lost. O'Neill made desperate efforts to retrieve the fortunes of the day, but he was badly seconded by the other leaders, and forced at length to fly. The carnage was dreadful. No quarter was given except to a few of the Spaniards; and the Irish lords, who were made prisoners, were hanged next morning. O'Neill tried to persuade his followers to try the

chances of another battle; but their spirits were broken, and they almost unanimously resolved to return home.

The Spaniards still held Kinsale. Don Juan, the commander, now offered to capitulate. Like a true Spaniard, he raised scruples on trifling points, but neglected matters of importance. Mountjoy, wishing to terminate the war as speedily as possible, made some sacrifices to Spanish pride, and obtained a surrender of all posts garrisoned by the Spaniards.

O'Sullivan, an Irish chief of some note, was by no means pleased with this arrangement. He turned the Spaniards out of his castle at Dunboy, garrisoned it with his own followers, and resolved to defend it. The strength of this castle caused a heavy loss of men to the English. At length a breach was made, but the garrison refused to yield. They fought the English from room to room; and, when driven into the cellar, made a desperate but fortunately a vain attempt to blow up the victors and vanquished, by throwing a match into a barrel of gunpowder. The war in Munster was now for the first time over. The principal Irish lords, who escaped the sword or the gallows, fled to Spain, where their descendants may still be found. O'Sullivan Beare refused to become an exile; and, collecting the remnant of his followers, maintained a predatory warfare under cover of the western bogs and mountains. This hopeless contest was attended by a horrid waste of life, for both parties invariably murdered their prisoners. O'Sullivan was finally reduced to such straits, by the cruelty of the English, that he resolved to force his way into Ulster and unite his forces with those of O'Neill. Carew sent a body of troops to harass their march; but, maddened by despair, they turned on their pursuers and gave them battle. The Irish suffered severely in this contest, but not a single Englishman escaped.

The war of desolation was now renewed in the north; and O'Neill saw, every day, his followers perishing by famine. His hopes from Spain were gone; and his allies were either in exile, or had purchased a precarious safety.

Hugh O'Donnell, soon after his escape from Dublin, married the daughter of O'Neill, and soon after succeeded his father as

Earl of Tryconnell. Irritated by his sufferings he took up arms against the English, and prevailed on several others, particularly the Burks, to follow his example. O'Neill was now embarrassed. His countrymen unanimously invited him to become their leader in war. He after a long and anxious delay, took the decisive step of attacking the English garrison, stationed at a fort called Blackwater.

On the first news of hostilities a force of two thousand veterans were sent to Ireland, and soon after Sir John Norris, a general of proved skill and valor, was appointed to take command of the army. O'Neill wrote to Norris, stating the reasons why he made war. Bagnell intercepted some of his letters but others reached Norris and led to a general conference. Norris, who was an honest as well as an able man, was convinced of the injustice which had driven them to arms, and labored to effect a peace. But the arrangement was often protracted by renewed hostilities. In fact, with the single exception of Norris, none of the parties sincerely desired peace. The Irish lords were now conscious of their strength. Their late successes were sufficient to inspire confidence, and the English were eager to enrich themselves by new confiscations, and threw every obstacle in the way of settlement. O'Neill saw that reconciliation was impossible; though he said, "I might safely make peace with a man of honor, like Norris; but what security have I for the character of his successor?"

The little progress made by Norris in subduing the Irish, created disappointment and displeasure in England. The statesmen of England made no allowance for the difficulties of a country where a defensible military position may be found at every mile; where morasses, rocks and mountains baffled the invaders. Essex, Elizabeth's favorite for the time being, was personally opposed to Norris. By his influence Norris was deprived of power, and his partisan, Lord Burgh, invested with both civil and military authority. Norris retired home, where he soon after died of a broken heart, in consequence of the unmerited stain cast upon his reputation. The career of Burgh was brief and disastrous. He advanced toward Ulster

with a power apparently sufficient to bear down all opposition. O'Neill, on his part, displayed equal industry and greater skill. He sent Tyrell, his lieutenant, to rouse his friends in Connaught, while he himself collected all his partisans in Ulster. Tyrell obtained some signal advantages. He defeated and captured the son of Lord Trimbleston, while leading his father's vassals to the assistance of the Deputy ; and he forced Clifford, who was leading another party, to make a calamitous retreat. Burgh undaunted by these reverses, boldly attacked O'Neill in his lines near Armagh, and after a fierce fight drove the Irish from their entrenchments. O'Neill retired to another and better position, which the English inconsiderately assailed. They were defeated ; and Lord Burgh, with the flower of his army, fell in the conflict. Kildare now took the command, but made little effort. He did not long retain his post ; but died in grief for the loss of his two brothers, who were slain in rescuing him from the enemy.

The cavalry, in their passage through Leix, suffered severely from an attack of the O'Moores ; and such was the quantity of feathers lost by the officers that the Irish named the place of action, "The Pass of the Plumes." The O'Burnes of Leinster, with inferior forces, severely and shamefully defeated another division of the English ; and Essex could only show his vexation by punishing the common soldiers and cashiering the officers.

Elizabeth, who had expected rapid success from the well-known valor of her paramour, was irritated by the news of these reverses. She answered his letters detailing plans of pacification, with severe reprimands, and could with difficulty be persuaded to grant him reinforcements.

The dispatches from Essex to the Queen show both benevolence and wisdom. He earnestly presses on her the necessity of conciliation and concession, and solicits her attention to the interests of the people. The answer to all this was a peremptory order to march into the north.

While the Earl was advancing through Ulster, Clifford, who led an army to his assistance, fell into an ambuscade contrived by O'Rourk, in Connaught, and was slain. His army suffered

only a trifling loss, but his soldiers retreated in flight to their garrison. Essex advanced to the banks of the Blackwater, but O'Neill had by this time learned the character of his opponent, and offered to open a negotiation. Essex willingly lent an ear to the crafty chief, and granted a personal interview. The two generals led their armies to the opposite banks of the river, and then rode to a neighboring ford. Scarcely had the Deputy's charger touched the water, when O'Neill spurred his horse through the stream, while the water rose above his saddle, and crossed over to pay his respects. This delicate compliment completely won the confidence of Essex. He at once entered into conversation with the Irish Chieftain, and rode with him along the bank of the river, in sight of the wondering armies. This conference lasted a long time, and speculation was busy in guessing the subjects they discussed. It is probable that O'Neill, well acquainted with the intrigues of the court, warned Essex of the plots of his enemies, and promised to assist in their overthrow. Finally, the officers of both armies were called, and in their presence, O'Neill, having stated the grievances by which he was driven to revolt, proposed terms of accommodation. A truce of six weeks was established, in order to afford time for due consideration of several articles, and the English army returned to their quarters in Leinster. The indignation of Elizabeth, at this strange termination of a campaign from which she had expected so much, was violent. She wrote a severe letter to the Deputy, condemning his conduct in no measured terms. Essex at first thought of leading his army into England, and forcing his way into the presence of the Queen; but, being dissuaded by his friend, he adopted a course scarcely less pernicious, and resigned his office and departed to England alone. The rest of his tragical story is known to the readers of English history.

We must return to the affairs of Ireland. Ormond, who was appointed to the command of the army, wished to make peace with O'Neill, but that chief was now resolved to continue the war. He had the promise of assistance from Spain, and the Pope sent him a plume made of the feathers of the Phoenix.

A few petty scrimmages continued for some time. In one of these, St. Leger and Sir T. Norris, the two ablest English officers, were slain.

A. D. 1590, Lord Mountjoy was appointed by the Queen to the hazardous post of Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. He was assisted by the Earl of Ormond and Sir George Carew, then President of Munster.

The attachment of the Irish to the Catholic religion has been unexampled. Notwithstanding the severe laws that were enacted by Henry the Eighth, Edward the Sixth, Elizabeth, James the First, Cromwell, William the Third and Queen Ann, it is a well established truth that, during the period of all those reigns, the number of Irish, who embraced the new religion did not amount to sixty in a population of over two million of souls. With all her power, Elizabeth could not boast of having established her religion in Ireland.

In the meantime, Essex, the Deputy, undertook another expedition into Ulster, which proved fatal to him. He had many enemies at court, the most formidable of whom was the Earl of Leicester, who was the favorite now of Elizabeth, and a sworn enemy to Essex, who was forced soon after to resign his command. The insult was too great to be borne; he was seized with dysentery and died in Dublin, leaving a son ten years old. Leicester was suspected of having Essex poisoned, which is not improbable, as Leicester had seduced the wife of Essex during his lifetime, and married her after his death.

Francis Cosby, being appointed Governor of Leix, ruled that country as a true tyrant. His son, Alexander, was equally cruel; having called a meeting of the principal inhabitants, under pretense of public welfare, he had them all murdered by assassins posted there for the purpose. Over two hundred men were put to death on this occasion. Ware says: "This tyrant took such delight in putting Catholics to the torture, that he hanged dozens of women and children on an elm tree in his door-yard at Stranbally, where he resided."

Charles O'Connor was not indifferent to the sufferings of the Catholics, being joined by Mageoghan of Cashell. They took

up arms and gave many a check to the tyrants. An Englishman, named Macforty, sent by the Queen to assassinate O'Connor, fell by the sword of him he came to murder.

Sir Henry Sidney, disgusted with the office of Governor, solicited his recall, and resigned the sword of justice to Drury, President of Munster. Sidney was considered an upright man. He had filled high offices in England with integrity; and it is affirmed that he never, though four times Lord-Justice and three times Deputy of Ireland, appropriated to his own use one acre of land in that country, which was a rare example among Englishmen.

Cox says the Queen, having no important wars to maintain, turned all her thoughts to Ireland. The Earl of Ormond, who commanded the Queen's troops in Adare, marched to Butevant, where his army suffered from a malady, which they termed the "mild correction," a kind of headache which lasted two or three days, and deprived those who were afflicted by it of their understanding; it was not, however, fatal to many. After the contagion had ceased, Ormond marched with his army to Dingle, plundering the country as he went, and shedding the blood of Catholics without mercy: so that not one would have escaped had it not been for the protection granted to some by Sir William Winter, the English Admiral who commanded a squadron in Bantry Bay.

Even the retainers of the government themselves were ashamed of the outrageous conduct of the Deputy. Kildare, his son Lord Offly, and his son-in-law Lord Delvin, were sent for trial to England. The charges brought against them were disproved to the satisfaction of even the cruel Elizabeth. The outcry against Grey's military cruelties and judicial murders, became now too loud to be disregarded. The acquittal of Kildare, the principal as was asserted in the pretended conspiracy, proved the innocence of Nugent and the others who had been executed as accessories. The people of England, always just when they are calm, joined in the clamor, and the nations of Europe were horrified at the barbarities and butcheries perpetrated in Ireland.

The Queen was now assured, with truth, that, in consequence of Grey's tyranny, little remained for her to rule over in Ireland but ashes and carcasses. Moved, not by pity but policy, she recalled Grey, and appointed Loftus, Archbishop of Dublin, in his stead, and offered pardon to all in Ireland who would lay down their arms. Before this the Desmond war was finished. Sir John Desmond fell in battle, and the old Earl had become a wanderer.

A. D. 1583, Ormond, with disgraceful zeal, pursued his old rival and chased him from all his retreats. One evening a party of English soldiers, in passing through a valley, saw a light in a small hut at a distance; and supposing they had discovered a party of rebels they cautiously advanced. On entering they found an old man of venerable aspect stretched before the fire. "Spare me," he exclaimed, "I am the Earl of Desmond." The aged nobleman was slain, and his head sent to the Queen, and by that tyrant's direction it was impaled on London Bridge.

Thus fell the head of the oldest branch of the Geraldines, a family which during four centuries had held the chief power in Munster, and had always proved too strong to be governed by the English. The old Earl was driven into rebellion by the malignity of Ormond and others who coveted his estates. The war against him was marked by every cruelty that could disgrace human nature, and the peace effected was the desolation and stillness of the grave. "They made a solitude and called it peace."

Sir John Perrot was now sent over as chief Governor of Ireland. No appointment could have been more judicious. His character was not sullied by the craft of Sidney or the cruelty of Grey. In abilities he was superior to either. He was the first English Governor who tried to conciliate the native Irish by impartial justice, and the success which attended the experiment proved how easily might England have won the affections of that ardent race. His first act was to publish a general amnesty, and to strictly prohibit the outrages of the soldiers, too often encouraged by their commanders. The Desmond

estates amounted to 600,000 acres, and it was necessary to summon a Parliament in order that this vast property should be vested in the crown. A host of hungry expectants eagerly waited the event, hoping that rich estates would reward the crimes which had brought about the confiscation. Perrot did not adopt the English art of constructing an obedient Parliament. There was no secret interference in the election, and members fairly representing the people were returned. In this assembly we find several of the original Irish families in deliberation with the settlers of the Pale. Cavan was represented by two of the ancient house of O'Reilly, O'Brien was returned for Clare, the county of Down sent Hugh Maginnis, John McBrien was member for Antrim, and Longford sent two O'Farrells. In the upper House sat two bishops, both professed Catholics from Cloher and Raphoe, and the great O'Neill took his seat as Earl of Tyrone. Never did any government meet a more hostile legislature. Thirteen bills transmitted from England were rejected. The ordinary subsidies were withheld, and two acts only were passed during the session. The cause of this was the general horror which the iniquitous proceedings against the Earl of Desmond had occasioned. The great lords of English descent, who had cheered on the bloodhounds to run down O'Neill, were alarmed by the destruction of the greatest of their own party, and felt sympathy for the fate of one connected with most of them by marriage or blood. They also saw the country placed at the mercy of bankrupt adventurers and a licentious soldiery, whose excesses had been encouraged rather than controlled. The policy of exciting rebellions, in order to reward favorites by confiscation, had been openly avowed; and finally the barbarous system of crushing the resources of Ireland, lest if cultivated they might enable that country to rival England or perhaps gain independence, had been advocated in the English Parliament. The Irish saw measures taken for their destruction and therefore met the government with the most obstinate resistance. Perrot, aware that the opposition had good grounds for suspicion and complaint, showed neither surprise nor resentment at the defeat of

his measures. He diligently applied himself to the improvement of the country. His first care was to assure all parties of protection in person and property; to administer justice without regard to sect or party, and to reform the abuses that had been encouraged by his predecessors. In this he was successful. The native Irish, pleased with even the appearance of equal justice, vied with each other in their expressions of loyalty and allegiance.

The lords of the Pale laid aside their sullenness and crowded to the court of the Deputy; the feuds between the barons were suspended, and opportunity was apparently offered of removing at once and forever the load of evil which had been accumulating for centuries.

But Perrot found that Elizabeth viewed his popularity with suspicion. The creatures of the late government still held their offices in the Castle. Long used to corrupt practices they naturally detested honesty, and labored, not without success, to counteract the wise measures of the Deputy.

Nor are we to be surprised at this state of affairs. Within our own memory, and even to the present, Ireland has often exhibited the strange scene of a good government checked and insulted by its own underlings, who formed a cabal which the executive wanted either the spirit or the power to break up.

Unfortunately Perrot added the church to the number of his enemies by proposing a scheme which was more just than prudent. Believing that one Cathedral was enough in Dublin, he proposed that the other should be converted into a University and its revenues used for the diffusion of education. Loftus, the Protestant Archbishop, immediately became Perrot's most bitter enemy. The most wicked forgeries were transmitted to England against him. The most mischievous was a pretended protection granted to Catholic priests. This raised the ire of Elizabeth. Thenceforward she treated Perrot with mortifying coldness, and slighted the advice of the only honest servant she ever employed in Ireland. She employed Fenton, Under-Secretary of State, as a spy upon his actions, and found this func-

tionary to faithfully fulfill his duties in this honorable situation.

The popularity of Perrot was fully proved in the second session of the Irish Parliament. The bills for the regulation of public affairs, and the raising of necessary supplies were passed almost unanimously, but the forfeiture of the Desmond property was still resisted. At length, after a fierce struggle, acts were passed for the attainder of the deceased lord and one hundred of his associates, all of whose immense estates were vested in the crown.

The great object which Elizabeth's ministers had so long pursued was now attained. An opportunity was offered for planting, as it was called, an English colony in Ireland. The needy followers of the court, the younger brothers of noble families, and adventurers of a more questionable description, were invited to become undertakers, as those who received grants were called. The lands were granted at a nominal rent, on condition that they should be let to none but English tenants; that the undertakers should support a garrison on the frontiers of the province, and should not permit any of the native Irish to settle on their estates. The scheme of the plantation totally failed. The undertakers scandalously violated their contract. The confiscation in Munster proved as ruinous to the power and interest of the crown as it was iniquitous in itself. The new proprietors, suddenly raised to wealth, disregarded the Queen's authority, and, being supported by the local government, were enabled to indulge in excesses and outrages with impunity. The Queen, still jealous of Perrot, gave the privy council power over him. The loss of his influence was soon felt. Bingham by tyranny drove the De Burghos to revolt. The disturbance was quelled, not without some barbarous murders, which Perrot was unable to prevent; and the Queen's officers, no longer dreading the Deputy, persecuted the unfortunate Irish with severity.

Taylor says, the war against Desmond was conducted with a ferocious cruelty unsurpassed in the history of mankind. Fire, famine, and slaughter together desolated the best part of

Munster. From the savage rage of a reckless soldiery innocence was no protection. Helpless infancy and tottering age found no mercy. Admiral Winter was shocked by the horrid massacre, and granted protection to a few who escaped to his fleet. Will it be believed that even this partial mercy was denounced by the Queen, who would be satisfied with nothing short of killing them every one. The unfortunate earl bravely prepared to sell his life as dearly as possible, and made several gallant attacks on his enemies. In one of these he captured the town of Youghall, and soon after defeated Ormond, who was advancing to succor that town. Yet, from the beginning, Desmond despaired of final success. He offered to surrender to Admiral Winter, on condition of being sent to England to plead his cause before the Queen, and was sternly refused. Arthur Lord Grey, the Queen's Deputy in Ireland at this time, has a name pre-eminently cruel. His first enterprise was an attack on the O'Byrnes, who were said to have joined Lord Baltinglass in alliance with the Geraldines, and to have formed a camp within twenty miles of Dublin. The station chosen by the Irish was in one of those wild and romantic valleys in the County Wicklow, which are now so often visited by the admirers of sublime scenery. The principal station was Glendalough, where the massive ruins of seven churches attest the former piety of Ireland. Here, secured by rock and mountain, and lake and morass, a numerous force collected, unable indeed to meet regular troops in the field, but strong enough to defy myriads in their fastnesses. Experienced officers remonstrated with the Deputy when commanded to attack this impregnable position; but they were answered with reproach, and an immediate assault was ordered. The soldiers advanced through ground which became more difficult with every step, and at last were entangled in a bog where it became impossible to preserve order. While thus confused and broken, they were suddenly exposed to a murderous fire that opened at once on front, flank and rear from the woods and rocks that skirted the ravine. No exertion of the officers could save this army; they were cut off almost to a man. A miserable remnant escaped to join the Deputy,

who returned to Dublin covered with shame and confusion. This severe repulse enraged the Deputy and rendered his hatred of the Irish more inveterate. To retrieve his fame he made preparation to march to Munster. When he heard the alarming intelligence that a large army of Spaniards had landed there; that they brought with them arms for five thousand men, and a large sum of money which they were directed to place at the disposal of the Earl of Desmond. This Spanish force was miserably inadequate, and as they had been sent without previous concert, the Irish were unprepared for their reception. Scarcely had they landed when they were attacked by the Earl of Ormond. He indeed gained no advantage, but he held them in check until the coming up of the Queen's forces from Dublin. At the same time an English fleet appeared off the coast, and the Spaniards were blockaded in their entrenchments both by sea and land. Whether they surrendered on terms, or at discretion, the atrocity that followed is inexcusable. Grey ordered them every man to be butchered, and his orders were executed in the spirit in which they were given.

In the Irish Statutes, page 310, we find that a Parliament was held in Dublin this year, by which several acts were passed; among others, one giving to her Majesty a right to estates in the county of Kildare, belonging to Christopher Eustace, who was executed under Henry the Eighth for high treason; also the estates of Thos. Fitzgerald, Knight of the Glen, in County Limerick, and also of his son Thomas, were confiscated at the same time.

Turlo Lyno O'Neill, chief of that illustrious house, continued to support the cause of religion in Ulster. The noblemen of Ulster and Scotland made frequent alliances about this time. O'Neill married the Duke of Argyle's sister, and had Scotch troops in his pay. This prince was planning an expedition against the English province, but was prevented by an accident from carrying it into execution. The Queen this year had prayer-books printed in the Irish language, in order to seduce the people, but her efforts did not succeed.

Thomas Smith, an Englishman, and counsellor of the Queen,

finding that his countrymen were making fortunes in Ireland at the expense of the old inhabitants, and wishing to share in the spoil, asked permission of his royal mistress to send over his son to found an English colony at Ards, in Ulster. He had two objects in view; first to steal an estate for his son, and, secondly, to conceal from posterity the ignominy of his birth, being illegitimate. The Queen having given her consent, young Smith was equipped for the enterprise, and with a suitable retinue he sailed for Ireland. On arriving at his destination he was met by Bryan McCart O'Neill, to whom Ards belonged, by whom Smith was slain and his troops dispersed.

Cambden gives a different account of Smith's failure. He assumes first that the Queen had a right to bestow the lands of Ards. It is true the Kings of England have often given permission to their English subjects to seize upon the lands of the Irish by force and then call the resistance of the owners rebellion. Cambden also says that Smith, moved with compassion for neglected Ireland, intended to establish in the Ards a colony of Englishmen, in order to civilize the inhabitants of that country. We might think that charity was the motive of Smith's conduct, but we are told he had already divided the land among his followers, promising to each foot soldier one hundred acres, and to horsemen more, according to their rank, by paying him an annual rent, without mentioning anything for the old proprietor. As to the word barbarous, which Cambden applies to the people of Ards, and the word perfidy to Bryan McCart O'Neill, for having killed an enemy who came armed to rob him, it is the general style of the English, who believe that their adversary's obedience should be measured according to their will, and who always define the self-defense of those whom they oppress by the term barbarity.

The Queen this year gave Essex her favorite certain lands she had confiscated in Ulster, on condition of his repairing there with two hundred horse and four hundred foot soldiers, whom he was to support for two years at his own expense. Baker says, in order to induce men to join in this expedition, all those who should serve in the army two years were to receive two

hundred acres of land, on condition of paying an annual rent of two pence per acre. Essex, accompanied by several English nobles who wished to share in his fortune, sailed for Ireland, and landed at Carrickfergus in August. He was met by Turlo Lyno O'Neill with a large body of followers, and seeing the hostility of the people of Ulster, and his own followers beginning to desert, he hastily returned to England.

Dodd says further: "The Reformers in Ireland did not yield to their brethren in England in cruelty. They caused many good and great men to suffer martyrdom, besides the many thousands of men, women and children who suffered death for their religion, either by war or famine."

To judge of the disposition of Elizabeth by her propensities and caprices, she was violent in the extreme. The ferocity of her father, who could not bear to be controlled, was discoverable in the daughter. When anything went contrary to her wishes she gave vent to her rage in transports of phrenzy, and swore in a manner little suited to her sex, her general oath or exclamation being "God's death."

If political motives prevented Elizabeth from marrying, the occurrences of her life are far from sustaining a predilection for virginity. She had many favorites, whom she selected for their appearance, and with whom her familiarity furnished good cause for doubting her virtue. This was known to all, and public morals became so low during her reign that her Parliament passed a law that any child of the Queen, whether legitimate or not, should be heir to the throne. This law still stands on the statute book of England. Verily a dark blot.

Dodd winds up by saying: "Never was a nation more unfortunate than England during her reign." The impartial reader can judge whether a good opinion of her can be entertained, or whether the means which she made use of were honorable and upright. She ended her career in despair; and it appears that God, in His justice, allowed her who had caused so much sorrow to others to die without any one to comfort or console her. One of her own bishops said during her reign religion was in everybody's mouth and in nobody's heart.

O'Neill's proud heart was humbled by witnessing calamities which he could not avert and misery he was unable to relieve. He now offered terms which Mountjoy readily accepted. Elizabeth was now on her death-bed, and the enormities she had sanctioned in Ireland weighed heavily on her conscience. She now offered to make some tardy reparation. She sent orders to the Deputy to restore O'Driscoll to his estate in Carbury, and to make peace with O'Neill on easy terms. As O'Driscoll did not happen to be very formidable, the Deputy first evaded and then openly disobeyed the Queen's orders; but the name of O'Neill was still dreaded, and terms of peace were arranged with him. But before the news of this pacification could be sent to England, the intelligence of the Queen's death was received.

CHAPTER III.

The Death of Elizabeth—Reign of James the First—The Gunpowder Plot—Printing of the Bible.

THE imperfect subjugation of Ireland cost Elizabeth more than three million pounds sterling, and more than a hundred thousand soldiers. The unfortunate country was reduced to a desert, and at least one half of the people perished by war or famine. To banish the nobility of Ireland and divide their estates among her favorites was avowedly her object, and in pursuit of this the common principles of honesty and decency were outraged. The undertakers were in general unprincipled adventurers, who showed no mercy to the Irish nor even gratitude to the Queen. They were faithless subjects and cruel masters. The peasantry hated them as intruders and despised them as upstarts. The Irish nobility when driven into exile fled to the continent and obtained employment in the armies of France and Spain. They never resigned the hope of again returning, and, in a renewed struggle, recovering the estates of which they had been plundered.

The revenues of Ireland at this time would not pay the expense of the government, and the Queen proceeded to debase the coin, which increased the evil.

On the death of Queen Elizabeth, A. D. 1603,

JAMES THE SIXTH,

King of Scotland, inherited the throne of England. The right of all the British Kings descended either from the Saxons, Danes or Normans, and was united in the person of James, so

that no King in Europe had a better claim to royalty than he had to the crown of England. The two rival nations, England and Scotland, which had been divided for many centuries, became united under one King, and from that period the English monarchs took the title of King of Great Britain and Ireland. James was proclaimed in London on the 14th of March with demonstrations of joy. The same ceremony took place in Dublin on the 6th of April, by order of Lord Mountjoy, Deputy for Ireland. The same loyalty was not found in other places in Ireland. Many wished to know the King's disposition toward the Catholic religion before they could acknowledge him for their sovereign. Captain Morgan was sent to Cork to have him proclaimed in that city, and presented his orders to Thomas Sarsfield, who was then mayor. That magistrate said that, according to the charter of the city, time was allowed to deliberate on the subject. The example of Cork was followed by Waterford, Clonmell, Wexford, Limerick and Kilkenny. The Catholics began by driving the Protestants out of the Churches which had been stolen from them during Elizabeth's reign, and by having divine worship performed in them; but Mountjoy, the Deputy, with an army subdued the commotion and had some of the leaders hanged. The law of the strongest prevailed. In the meantime the Deputy, at the head of a body of troops, had James proclaimed in the vicinity of Cork.

Kennedy says: "The Irish revered the Milesian blood which ran in the veins of James, and looked upon him as a prince descended from themselves. They knew likewise that Edward Bruce, brother to Robert Bruce, King of Scotland, from whom James was descended, had been chosen in the 14th century by their ancestors, to be their King." These things appeared to be a good title to the crown of Ireland, at least far better than the right he derived from the Kings of England, who were never acknowledged by the ancient Irish. The modern Irish, or undertakers, looked upon James as rightful heir to the crown of England and consequently that of Ireland, in virtue of his descent from Margaret, eldest daughter of Henry the Seventh;

so that the two races in Ireland at this time submitted with one accord to the new King. Mountjoy the Deputy was appointed at this time Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland; his Deputy was Sir Francis Chichester, who was notoriously dishonest. The Irish were sanguine that the new King would protect them in their religion and liberty. He had written a letter to the Pope, assuring his Holiness he would do so, and also embrace the Catholic religion as soon as he would be established on the throne of England; however, through the influence of Cecil, Secretary of State, who was opposed to Catholicity, James never fulfilled these promises.

Baker says: "From the moment England and Scotland separated from the Catholic church, every sect found partisans in those countries." There were, however, two principal sects, Episcopalians and Presbyterians. The first, or Church of England, was a compound of all the errors in the reign of Elizabeth."

That Princess took something from every innovator of her day to construct the new religion, in which she still allowed the authority of bishops and the hierarchy which belonged to the Catholic Church to remain. Hence arose the name of Episcopalians. The Presbyterians were so called from their having no bishops, and being ruled in religious matters by the elders of the sect. They were also called Puritans, from the affected purity of their manners, and from having, as they say, purified Christianity from the errors of the ancient church. James was brought up, to use an American phrase, on the fence between the Episcopalians and Presbyterians, with a strong leaning toward Catholicity, in which faith he was baptised, and for which his mother suffered a barbarous imprisonment and cruel death by order of her cousin, Queen Elizabeth. Baker says, by a species of tyranny unheard of, and after an imprisonment of nineteen years, Mary Queen of Scots, who possessed in an eminent degree all the fine qualities of mind and person, suffered death in a barbarous and inhuman manner, and even after her death her friends were not suffered to take charge of her body. It was reserved, says Higgins, for the English nation to give this example of

cruelty. When the unhappy Queen of Scots was first imprisoned by Elizabeth, her son who was afterwards James the First, was but four years old. Elizabeth with a view perhaps of placing a little on the credit side of the long running account between her Creator and herself, had James brought up in the Protestant religion. He was not once allowed to see his mother during all the long years she was in prison ; which was perhaps the greatest of all the cruelties inflicted on her by Elizabeth.

James about this time, A. D. 1604, was disturbed by two conspiracies, the object of the first was the total overthrow of the government, and the placing of Arabella Stuart, his near relative, and, like him, descended from Henry the Seventh, upon the throne. The plot being discovered, the Catholics were immediately accused of it. If any were concerned they were priests, whose only share in it was an accusation (without proof) of their having known it through the confessional. There were also Episcopalians and Puritans engaged in this conspiracy. In general, conspirators are of the same mind, but here we have an odd mixture of clergy and laity, Catholics, Protestants, Puritans, and nobles of every rank. The world beheld with surprise men of such opposite interests united in the same cause. Many of the conspirators were arrested, and some of them put to death ; among the latter were two Catholic priests. The second conspiracy, called the

GUNPOWDER PLOT,

was more dangerous than the first. The King and Parliament were to be blown up at the same time. Higgins says, though this plot was projected by the Puritans, whose principles are opposed to monarchy, it was a fatal blow to the Catholics of England, and suited the views of Cecil the Secretary. Landon, in his life of King James, says, Cecil was a deadly foe to the Catholics. He intended to exterminate them altogether. In order to confiscate their estates, and to render them odious to the King, he accused them of conspiracy, of which he himself was the principal. Osborne in his history of England, says, the Catholics denied the charge, as appears from many

tracts written at that time in vindication of their innocence. However, the discovery of the plot procured for Cecil the order of the garter, and the office of High Treasurer.

The chief sufferers for the Gunpowder Plot were Catesby, Piercy, Thomas, Geant, Rockwood, Digby and Tresham, all men of rank. Garnett also suffered. According to Baker, his crime was having concealed his knowledge of the Plot.

Cecil flushed with his success against the British Catholics, and wishing to obtain new favors, turned his thoughts toward Ireland, which he designed to involve in some treason. The instrument he chose to effect his wicked purpose was Christopher Lawrence, Baron of Howth, who received instructions to invite to a secret conference the leaders of the Catholics, in order to entrap them.

O'Neill, O'Donnell, Develin and other Catholics of distinction, appeared at this meeting. Lawrence made them swear not to divulge what he would communicate to them for their own safety. He then said, that he had information through a channel, that the court of England was determined to eradicate the Catholic religion out of Ireland, and force them to become Protestants. He advised them to defend themselves, until assurance would be obtained that no change would be attempted. The Catholics present struck with alarm, replied that they had every trust in the King. Lawrence accused them before the King of forming secret designs against his Majesty and the state. O'Neill and O'Donnell were summoned before the Council, and confronted by Lawrence. They acknowledged they attended a meeting to hear what this treacherous man intended to propose. As there was but one witness against them, the Council did not put them under arrest, but ordered them to appear the next day. But knowing that one more witness could be easily hired, and that conviction would follow as a matter of course, they resolved to quit the country, and leave their estates to the mercy of these robbers.

Taylor says, speaking of why O'Neill did not stand trial: "What chance would a fat goose have before a jury of foxes?" Those who have watched these records of guilt and oppression,

the state trials of Ireland, will have little doubt of what the verdict would have been if he had appeared before the court. The charges for hiring witnesses in Ireland has been one of the ordinary expenses of the government. The name of O'Neill was well known on the continent of Europe, and the treatment he had received became a reproach against England. James, in consequence, published a proclamation, unfortunately too long for insertion, as it is a curiosity in its way, stating in general terms the guilt of the fugitives. This document which contained nothing but vague and general charges, mixed with abuse, served only to prove that the King's injustice could neither be excused nor defended.

The lands of Cahir O'Dougherty, another chieftain of the north, were added to the forfeitures of O'Neill and O'Donnell, who were proclaimed rebels, and not only their individual estates but six whole counties in Ulster without investigation or trial were forfeited to the crown. These lands were divided among several English and Scotch Protestants, who had influence at court, or plenty of cash, and it was inserted in the patents that no portion of these lands should be sold, transferred, or farmed, except to and by Protestants exclusively. Lawrence himself who had hitherto affected a tendency in favor of the Catholic religion, declared himself a Protestant, and by doing so became a partaker of the spoils.

This wicked scheme is wholly inexcusable. The guilt of O'Neill and O'Donnell, though ever so clearly proved, could not affect their tenants, who were not even accused of treason.

The English law of forfeiture, in itself sufficiently unjust, only placed the King in the place of him whose lands were forfeited, and left all the relations of the tenantry unaltered. Yet all the actual holders of land in these devoted districts were dispossessed without even the shadow of a pretence, and this abominable wickedness is eulogized by such writers as Froude, even to the present day, as the consummation of wisdom, and even of justice. The scheme of confiscation devised by James, surpassed that of even Elizabeth. The lands were divided into

tracts of from one to many thousand acres, according to the capacity of the undertaker.

The writer is a descendant in the ninth generation of Ranald Oge McAlister, who was born by the river Nith, between Dumfries and Sanquar, in Scotland; and being a favorite at the court of James, received a patent for several thousand acres in the county of Antrim, between the towns of Carrickfergus and Larne. He built his castle on a promontory, named Keene Bawn, in English, White Head, A.D. 1613. A number of the McAlister clan, of which his father was chief, followed him to Ireland, and settled on his lands, and here at the little town of Killroot he and his clan built the first Presbyterian Church in Ireland.

In the month of November, 1641, Monroe who commanded the Puritan army in Carrickfergus, marched his troops in the night to Island Magee, inhabited by three thousand inoffensive and unarmed persons, men, women and children, whose only fault was their being Catholics, and drove them at the point of the bayonet over a steep rock into the sea, three hundred feet below, where they were all either drowned or dashed to pieces on the rocks.

From this time McAlister was a rebel, and with his clan joined O'Neill, who pursued Monroe and gave him battle on the banks of the river Bann, near Colerain. In this engagement Monroe was defeated, and his troops nearly all were drowned or shot while attempting to swim the river. Boles, who wrote poetry at that time, said :

“The Scotchman, McAlister, marshalled his clan,

To help Phelim O'Neill drown the Whigs in the Bann.”

McAlister paid dearly for his sympathy with the Irish. The Parliament which then ruled in England sent another army to the north of Ireland. McAlister was taken prisoner, tried by court-martial and beheaded. His head was placed on top of a pole on the Castle of Carrickfergus. His tragical fate was intended as a warning to Presbyterians in all future time not to sympathise with Catholics. The reader will please pardon this digression.

King James was as tenacious of the title of head of the church

as any of his predecessors ; to deny it was made a capital crime. His tyranny at length drove Cahir O'Dougherty, Chief of Innishowen, to take up arms. He was a young nobleman, aged about twenty years, and the most powerful in the north of Ireland, after O'Neill, O'Donnell and Maguire had left the country. He raised what troops he could and attacked the city of Derry, which he took and set the Catholics who were imprisoned there at liberty. He then marched to Culmor, which was a strong castle built on the borders of Lough Foyle, adjoining the sea. This he also took and found in it twelve pieces of cannon. He put a garrison into it and gave the command to Felim McDevitt, after which he ravaged the lands of the English and gained several battles and spread terror through the whole province. O'Dougherty kept up the war for some months ; his object was to harass the English till the return of O'Neill and O'Donnell. In the meantime Winkle, an English field-marshal, appeared with four thousand men and laid siege to Culmor. McDevitt seeing the place was defenceless set fire to the castle.

He then sailed with his little garrison on board two transport vessels, which he loaded with corn and provisions for the city of Derry. He also carried off some of the cannon, and had the rest thrown into the sea. Winkle, finding the castle demolished, marched against the castle of Beart, with the intention of besieging it. Mary Preston, the wife of O'Dougherty, and daughter of the Viscount Gormanstown, was in the castle. The commander, to save the lady the effects of a siege, surrendered the castle, on condition of the garrison being spared and suffered to retire. But the English, regardless of the treaty, put every soul to death, except those who had means to purchase their liberty. The wife of O'Dougherty was sent to her brother, who belonged to the English faction. This castle served Winkle for a retreat, from which he made incursions upon Innishowen, spreading desolation everywhere as he passed. This destruction caused O'Dougherty to come to the relief of Innishowen, which was for many centuries the home of his ancestors. This nobleman had but fifteen hundred men. He fought often against thrice that number and behaved valiantly, but his rashness at length cost him his life.

His troops seeing their chief fall fled, and some of them surrendered to the English. Thus ended the war that had caused so much alarm to the English. We must in this place introduce the history of a young heroine of the house of O'Donnell. McGeohagen says, when Roy O'Donnell, Earl of Tryconnell, had been obliged to fly from his country in 1605, on account of a conspiracy of which he was falsely accused, his wife, the countess, was in a state of pregnancy. Wishing to follow her husband to where he fled, she strove to leave Ireland secretly, but was prevented and sent to England under a strong guard where she gave birth to a daughter.

The King being informed of the circumstance, though he had persecuted the Earl of Tryconnell wished to honor the father in the person of the child, and took her under his protection and had her called Mary Stuart instead of Mary O'Donnell, which was her real name.

The Earl of Tryconnell having died in Rome, his wife obtained permission to return to Ireland with her daughter. This virtuous mother had her child well instructed in the religion of her ancestors. Mary was twelve years old when she was invited to England by her grandmother, the Countess of Kildare, who presented her to the King. This monarch gave her a large sum, intended as her marriage portion, and her grandmother, who was very rich, made her heiress to her fortune, which, with her illustrious birth, caused many nobles in England to seek her hand in marriage. A violent persecution was now in progress against the Catholics of Ireland. Many were made prisoners and brought to England, to prevent them from joining O'Dougherty. Constantine O'Donnell and O'Rorke, relatives of Mary Stuart, were of the number. These two noblemen escaped from prison, and found means to get over to Flanders. Suspicions were afloat that our heroine assisted in effecting the escape of her friends. A nobleman of the court informed her that the only mode of safety for her, was to marry one of those who professed the religion of the state, also to conform to it herself, as this alone would satisfy the King. After this she was summoned before the King to account for her conduct.

Mary now saw that it was time to provide for her safety. She made a confidant of a young lady, in whose fidelity and prudence she could confide. Her purpose was to go to Flanders to seek her brother, the young Earl of Tryconnell, who was at the court of Queen Isabella of Spain, by whom an asylum was offered to all who were persecuted for their religion. Being obliged to change her apparel in order to conceal her sex, Mary procured the clothing necessary for herself and the young lady who was to accompany her. She took the name of Rodolphus Huntly, her companion that of James Hues, and the servant they called Richard Stratsi, by which names they were known during the voyage. They set out from London on horseback before day, and, after many adventures, sailed from Bristol. After a long and dangerous voyage they arrived at Rochelle, and continued their journey through Paris to Brussels, at which place she met her brother, who presented her to the Queen, who received her with all possible marks of distinction. The report of this escape was soon spread through Europe; and Urban the Eighth, who was then Pope, addressed her the following letter:

“Urban VIII, to our dear daughter in Christ, Mary Stuart O'Donnell, Countess of Tryconnell, greeting, health and benediction:

“The sacrilegious mouth must now be silenced, which has dared to affirm that the Catholic religion checks the generous emotions of the heart. You, our dear daughter, have given to the world a proof of the contrary, and have shown what strength and courage are imparted by the true faith—how superior to all dangers, and to every effort of the wicked one. This heroic courage is worthy of the protection of Rome, and the praises which fame confers. Your horrors of an alliance with a Protestant has been nobly displayed, and resembles that terror which an apprehension of fire produces. The allurements of a court, and menaces of its sovereign, have tended only to excite your horror for both. The sea and its horrors have been no obstacle to your flight. You have escaped from the persecution of the English inquisitors, and, protected by angels, you

have been preserved from accident in your journey, and have arrived in a country where religion hath received you into her bosom.

“We therefore implore the Lord who has been your support, to reward you as your virtues have merited. Receive our most tender benediction, and as you have abandoned both relatives and country for the love of Christ, receive our assurance that you have found a mother that loves you tenderly—you yourself know that such is the name and character of the Catholic Church ; she will cherish you as her worthy daughter, who does honor to the British Isles.

“Given at St. Peter’s, this 13th of February, 1627, the fourth year of our pontificate.”

Taylor says, the government of Ireland, during the remainder of the disgraceful reign of James, was in every respect consonant to the specimen already given. Martial law was proclaimed in time of peace ; refractory witnesses were tortured ; obstinate jurors fined and imprisoned ; the judges of the land were cruel, venal and profligate. Peculation pervaded every office of the State, the army mouldered away, for the commanders were the lawmakers and voted themselves pay for full companies, while the number of soldiers was under one third, and such was the extent of the public plunder, that the annual expenses of the government exceeded by sixteen thousand pounds sterling the annual revenue of the Kingdom.

James was now, to use an American phrase, financially strapped. The Puritans had a majority in the House of Commons and refused to vote him supplies. Something must be done. At this time the different sects were bitter in their denunciations of monarchy and of each other. Cecil, the Secretary, suggested to James that on one point all the sects were agreed, and that one point was

THE BIBLE,

In it he says they all pretend to believe. The King’s Scotch wit and avarice readily fell in with the suggestions of Cecil, who was to James what Mr. Chase was to President Lincoln. It is clear

that Lincoln's government could not have held out without the greenbacks, and it is equally clear that James' crown would have been pulled down in three months without the Bible. Cecil had the government printing offices run day and night printing Bibles, and had them distributed without price. These Bibles were published without note or comment, so that all the sects could interpret them to suit their views, however wild. In the preface to this Bible, James is represented as a model christian, and a man sent of God, though it is well known to the reader of history that he was the very reverse of what he is there represented to be. After Cecil had distributed many thousands of his Bibles, James dissolved the Parliament and ordered a general election, and the returns showed a large majority for the King and the Bible. By this master-stroke of policy, James was enabled to die a King. His son, as we shall see, did not fare quite so well.

The Catholics, especially in Ireland, would not read what they called "Scotch Jammie's Bible." This gave rise to a charge that is believed by many well-meaning persons even to this day, that Catholics do not believe in the Bible.

The landed proprietors in Connaught having surrendered their patents to James, and paid him a sum of three thousand pounds to have them enrolled, the recorder, from negligence or a worse motive, omitted the form, and the King proceeded to take advantage of this error, and seized on Connaught as he had on Ulster. The proprietors were filled with alarm, and immediately prepared to avert the blow. They knew that it would be useless to appeal to the King's justice, his honor, or his humanity, but they were aware that he was greedy and needy, and offered him a bribe of ten thousand pounds. While James hesitated between the temptation of this sum in hand and larger in prospect, he was seized with mortal illness and died, bequeathing to his son his kingdom filled with internal discord and involved in wars, from which neither honor nor profit could be derived.

Opinions vary as to James' character. Some load him with praise, and others with abuse. According to some, he was accomplished, wise and just, the friend of the people, and com-

parable only to Solomon ; while others maintain that he was a monster of impiety and tyranny. His ideas of religion and government were extraordinary. He thought his own power should be without limit. He was neither a good Catholic nor a good Protestant, but looked upon any religion to be good which inculcated obedience to the King.

Strype, an English historian, said James was the wisest fool in Europe, though he was weak in suffering the Puritans to grow under him, knowing they were opposed to monarchy, and this indolence proved fatal to his family.

Baker, another English historian who wrote in 1637, says Puritanism, which was a reformation of the Church of England, and which produced the melancholy fate of Mary Stuart, made rapid strides in Scotland during the minority of her son, who when he became King of England endeavored to check the increase of these fanatics, and unite his English and Scotch subjects in one religion. For this purpose he composed a liturgy, or form of common prayer, with the consent of the general assembly of Aberdeen, which he sent to Scotland to be used in the churches there, but his death, which took place in the interval, prevented the execution of his design.

CHARLES THE FIRST,

only son of James the First, succeeded him upon the throne of England, A. D. 1625. In the May following, he married Henrietta, daughter of the King of France. The high endowments of Charles portended a happier reign than that in which it ended. But all his misfortunes arose from the fanaticism of his Puritan subjects. There were those who thought visiting the iniquities of the father on the son had something to do with his misfortunes, though the Puritans were the instruments used.

In England and Scotland at this time the Episcopalians and Puritans were violently opposed. In Ireland the Catholics and Protestants were guided by the fiercest animosity. The Catholics received with reverence, says Taylor, a bull from the Pope, in which he asserted that the oath of supremacy "wrested the scepter of the Catholic church from the hand of the Almighty."

The Protestant prelates, headed by Archbishop Usher, published a declaration, stating that those who tolerated popery were "guilty of a grievous sin, and rendered accessory to idolatry, abomination and the perdition of souls, which perished through popish apostacy."

The political condition of Ireland was still more perplexing. The faction who had hitherto ruled the country had squandered the revenue, neglected the defences, and exhausted the resources of the nation. In Ulster, the original inhabitants, robbed of their lands, supported a miserable existence in mountains and remote districts, waiting patiently for a favorable time when their former possessions might be recovered.

The unprincipled attempt of the late King to seize on the lands in Connaught, spread alarm among the proprietors of Irish estates. No tenure was secure, as the discoverers and judges of the courts were in alliance, and divided the spoils. Much, however, was hoped from the new King, and the Catholics still forming a large majority of the Irish land owners, joined by several Protestants of rank, held a meeting in Dublin to propose measures to tranquilize the country. The proceedings of this assembly were marked by wisdom and moderation. They drew up a number of articles called a bill of rights, to which they asked the King's assent, promising to raise one hundred thousand pounds for the use of the crown. The principal of these articles were provisions for the security of property, equal justice to all creeds, and the freedom of trade.

These articles were well calculated to tranquilize the country. And it is but just to add that Charles seemed to think them reasonable. His heart was not naturally bad, but he was weak and wavering. A clamor was raised by the faction who ruled in Ireland, and by the Puritans, that these articles were designed for the benefit of Catholics. Charles became alarmed, and, in an evil hour, listened to the advice of his Secretary, Strafford, which advice was to accept the money and refuse to ratify the articles.

The administration of Strafford was an important era in the history of Ireland. Through ignorance rather than design he

adopted a system which led to the ruin of the country, and involved himself and his master in the general ruin. Taylor says, Strafford was great in his qualities of both good and evil. While in England some are found to defend him, his name is to this hour detested in Ireland. There is not a peasant who passes the ruins of his castle near Nass, that does not vent an execration against

“BLACK TOM,”

the tyrant and persecutor. The traditions of his oppressions contain little but tales of bloodshed and robbery, more like the leader of banditti than a civil governor. The Catholics, whom he certainly outraged by persuading the King to break his promise to them, and the Puritans, whose party he detested, have both combined to blacken his memory; but the Puritans alone are guilty of his death. Strafford now prepared to execute the project of confiscation in Connaught which James had planned. His proceedings were open violations of justice. He took with him to each town where court was held, five hundred horse soldiers, which, he said, were “good lookers on.” He selected jurors who he knew would find for the King, and obtained a grant of one-fifth of all confiscated land for the judges who tried the cases.

In Leitrim, Roscommon, Mayo and Sligo, the juries in every case found for the crown. In Galway, however, they ventured to give a contrary verdict. Strafford immediately fined the sheriff one thousand pounds for returning an improper jury, and bound over the jurors to stand trial before the Star Chamber. The fines exacted by Strafford were exorbitant in the extreme. He compelled the O’Byrnes to pay seventeen thousand pounds to remedy a pretended defect of title, and extorted seventy thousand from London companies that had obtained estates in Ulster stolen by Elizabeth. This last circumstance was one of the principal causes of his ruin, for thenceforward the English became his deadly enemies, though they had no protest against his robbing the Irish. Sir Francis Annsley was one of the few adventurers in the reigns of Elizabeth and James that made a fortune by

honorable means. He was remarkable for the virtue, so rare in those days, of doing justice to the native Irish. For this he was envied by Strafford, who had him accused of a fictitious crime, and tried by court-martial, over which he presided in person, found guilty and sentenced to military execution.

In enforcing the penal laws, Taylor says Strafford was accused by the Puritans of encouraging popery. Just think of it, kind reader.

In imitation of his father, Charles ordered the liturgy of the Church of England to be used throughout Scotland. The dean of Edinburgh on reading it was interrupted by the hisses of the congregation. An old woman, named

JANE GADDIS,

got up in the church, and threw a stool on which she had been sitting at the preacher, saying: "Begone, perfidious thief! Are you going to say mass for us?" The Bishop of Edinburgh then mounted the pulpit, and reminded them of the sanctity of the place, but he too met with similar insults.

The remonstrances of the bishop were in vain, the people became more outrageous, and threw everything they could find at him, so that his life was in danger but for the provost and city officers, who succeeded in driving the mob away after every window in the church had been broken. The Scotch, after this, openly resisted the King's mandates, and held meetings, in which, under the mask of religion, they prepared for war. They applied to the neighboring states for assistance, and sent to Holland and Sweden for generals to command their armies. They made themselves masters of the castles of Edinburgh and Dumbartin. Arms and ammunition were taken from the King's arsenal at Dalkeith, and the command of their army given to Alexander Leslie, a man of some experience in war. Charles having collected a considerable army, marched toward Berwick to punish the insolence of his Scotch subjects, and encamped two miles from that town. Leslie and his forces were at a short distance, but being badly prepared for battle they sent proposals to the King, which he had the weakness to accept of on

condition of laying down their arms. This pretended peace did not end the rebellion ; it was renewed again with increased violence in 1640.

The Scotch entered England, defeated the King's troops at Newburn, and seized on Newcastle. Castlehaven says, the King, alarmed by this success of the rebels, repaired to York, where he held a council composed of all the lords of the kingdom. They agreed to treat for a suspension of hostilities, which was concluded, to the disgrace of the English nation, on condition of paying to the Scotch twenty-five thousand pounds.

Baker says the Scotch had friends in England, even among the lords of the council, who turned everything to their advantage. They carried their insolence so far as to publish an edict at the head of the army, expressive of their determination not to lay down their arms till the reformed religion (Puritanism) should be established in both England and Scotland, and the bishops punished according to law, particularly the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Earl of Strafford. This declaration was published in London, and in all the principal towns in the kingdom. The King now gave orders for the assembling of the Bloody Parliament, as Baker terms it, which met on the third of November, A. D. 1640. They condemned the King to death, and by revolution overthrew the monarchy and the monarch. Charles, in his speech from the throne, called upon the Parliament to put down the rebellion and protect his faithful subjects. The proposal was badly received ; instead of treating them as rebels, who were armed against the government, they were treated as brethren, and three hundred thousand pounds paid them for their services. Holles, a member of Parliament, said, the better way of paying the rebels was to drive them out of the country with arms ; he was silenced by the Speaker as out of order. The Protestant bishops were sent prisoners to the Tower, which at once lost the King twenty-six votes in Parliament, and left the intentions of that body concerning the King no longer doubtful. Charles was betrayed on all sides ; everything portended his misfortune. The Scotch Presbyterians in the north of

Ireland, on whom his father bestowed the lands he had stolen from the Catholics, as has been already observed, conspired with their English and Scotch brethren to destroy him.

A petition, signed by many thousands of the Presbyterians of the north of Ireland, was presented to Parliament, its prayer being that the Irish Papists should be obliged either to turn Protestants or quit the country, and that those who would not submit to the law should be hanged at their doors. So certain were these fanatics of carrying their designs that they boasted in public that at the end of the year 1641 there would not be a living Papist in Ireland. A minister, named Primrose, struck with horror at the design of his brethren, notified the Catholics of their danger, but the assurance of protection was of no avail. Sir William Parsons and John Borlace governed the country in the absence of the Viceroy. These were both rigid Presbyterians; they had both declared themselves adverse to listening to any complaints from Catholics. The King's affairs in England were so embarrassed that he could offer them no relief; they saw themselves abandoned to the fury of their enemies, and no remedy to be expected.

To avoid a confused recital of facts we must follow the order of events and the motives which produced them. The rising of the Irish against the Puritans, the attempt to seize the Castle of Dublin, the hostilities in Ulster by the forces of Phelim O'Neill and the horrible massacre that ensued will be given in course. O'Neill and his Catholic allies determined to gain by the force of arms, not only the free exercise of their religion, but also the recovery of their property which had been unjustly taken from them thirty years ago. The 23d of October, 1641, was the day appointed for seizing on the Castle of Dublin and the lords justices at the same time, together with some forts in the north. Lord Maguire was appointed to head the attack on Dublin. The plot, however, was betrayed by Connoly, his servant, who was a traitor and an apostate, having become a Protestant, for which he received as a bribe large possessions in Ireland. Maguire and McMahon were taken prisoners, sent to England and hanged at Tyburn.

Phelim O'Neill was more fortunate in Ulster, where he took Charlemont and other forts from the Puritans. Though opposed in everything else, Charles and the Puritans showed wondrous unanimity in devising plans for fresh confiscation. The declarations of the Parliament against popery were justly alarming to the Catholics; and the shameful execution, or rather murder, of several priests in London for the offence of saying mass, showed that the Puritans were about to add to murder theft. The sin of tolerating popery was a common theme in their churches. In fact, both Royalists and Puritans avowed their determination to rob and drive the Papists out of Ireland. Parsons looked forward to a rebellion as his harvest. He had already gained largely by confiscation, and he trusted that a new insurrection would place at his disposal more estates.

Sir William Petty says there was now a great game to be played for the estates of the Catholic proprietors, but though the odds were against them the Puritans won, and have a gambler's right, at least, to their ill-gotten store; but for the blood shed in the contest they alone are responsible. The war commenced in the north. Taylor says the peasantry that had been so cruelly driven from their homes, rushed down from their mountains and drove off those Puritan robbers. There was little or no resistance made. The astonished settlers fled everywhere before the original proprietors, and the roads to Dublin were filled with miserable crowds driven from the lands held on the principle that might makes right. At first the Irish were content with driving off the intruders, but a mob soon adds cruelty to violence, and in some instances the Puritans were injured, and even murdered, as Phelim O'Neill could not restrain the excesses of his followers.

Taylor further says, "the English and Scotch settlers retorted, and whenever they had an opportunity massacred the Irish without mercy, or distinction of sex or age. The Irish commanders made every exertion to restrain the ferocity of their followers, but the officers of the government, both by precept and example, recommended cruelty and extermination." Parsons in the meantime took precaution to secure his own safety,

and then directed his attention, not to the suppression of the rebellion, but to discovering means by which he could prolong the struggle and gain by its continuance. His great object was to by some means bring in the Catholic lords of the Pale as participators, for their great estates had escaped in former times, and were, from their vicinity to Dublin, particularly desirable to the creatures of the government. He therefore issued a proclamation declaring that the Irish Papists had formed a dangerous conspiracy against the state. The lords of the Pale were justly alarmed at the sweeping generality of the phrase, "Irish Papists;" they remonstrated, and Parsons was obliged to publish a second proclamation exonerating the Catholic lords of English descent. At the same time he transmitted to the King, who was then in Scotland, and to the Parliament an account of the dangerous insurrection which had taken place. But neither in this proclamation, nor in his dispatches to the Parliament, does he say one word about the horrible massacres which Puritan authors have detailed, a clear proof that nothing of the kind took place, although Leicester, in the Puritan Parliament, asserted that the object of the Irish was a general massacre of the Protestants.

Warner says, this assertion of Leicester was intended to increase the hatred of popery, which the Parliament had found to be a formidable instrument for extending their influence, and diminishing that of the King.

Charles at once saw the dangers to which he was exposed by the Irish insurrection, in causing which his own perfidious conduct had so large a share. He knew the Irish had been more "sinned against than sinning." But the time when he could have done justice was passed; avarice and prejudice both stimulated the Parliament to seize on Irish property and destroy Irish popery. Charles was forced to go with the current, and to issue a proclamation denouncing the Irish as rebels.

The men of property in Ulster were anxious to avoid war, and were shocked at the cruelties which began to be committed on both sides. They made offers of peace on terms remarkable for their moderation and equity. The O'Farrells of Longford,

who had suffered severely under James, after having without violence seized the forts and castles of which they had been robbed by James, sent a remonstrance to the King. They complained of the persecution of their religion, the insecurity of their property, and their being treated as aliens in their native land. They asked for a general amnesty for offences, except murder for a repeal of the penal laws, and for a general charter of freedom to all Irish subjects.

There were many, both in England and Ireland, anxious to restore peace on these conditions, and the King's friends especially, foreseeing the struggle impending between him and his Parliament, were eager to avoid what they knew threatened his ruin. The Puritans, who now run the English Parliament, had undertaken the management of the Irish war, and with a complete disregard of the King's authority had begun to raise an army and provide munitions of war. While they sent the Irish Protestants the promise of assistance they kept the army to overawe the King in England. It was then, and long after, the fashion to look upon the Irish with contempt. The Puritans were determined to secure England first and leave Ireland to a more convenient time.

The Puritans in Ireland sent out Sir Charles Coote, a monster of cruelty, to lay waste the country, and he, with little scruple, massacred indiscriminately the loyal and disaffected, and this rendered the spirit of revolt more general.

The designs of Parsons were shown in another instance. Both the King and Parliament had directed him to issue a proclamation offering pardon to all who would lay down their arms. After a long time he did indeed issue such a proclamation, but clogged it with so many exceptions that it was wholly nugatory. It was limited to four counties, in two of which there had not been any revolt, and in the others all were exempt who held freehold property. Finally, the time for receiving submission was limited to ten days, and no pardon unless all restitution of property was effected within that time, a condition that he knew could not be fulfilled. Parliament was to meet in Ireland in November, but Parsons fearing they would make peace adjourned

the meeting to the 24th of February. The lawyers objected to this, and Parsons, by their advice, allowed Parliament to meet for one day. The session lasted two days, during which a protest against those who had taken up arms was passed, but not without opposition. A large minority refused to name the Irish in arms rebels, preferring the milder phrase discontented persons, but the influence of the government secured the insertion of the word rebel. Parsons, however, was unable to prevent the appointment of a committee to confer with the leaders of the insurgents. Alarmed at this appearance of concession he, in spite of every remonstrance, prorogued the Parliament, saying the more rebels the more confiscation.

Parsons having received re-enforcements from England was now encouraged to pursue openly the scheme of confiscation he had so long meditated. Finding the prisoners brought in by his marauding parties increasing, he issued a commission for trying them by martial law, under the pretence that they could not find freeholders to form juries. Men possessing estates were kept for a more regular trial, in order to confiscate their lands, and so diligent were the retainers of the government in hunting up forfeitures that in two days bills of indictment for high treason were found against all the Catholic nobility and gentry of the counties of Meath, Wicklow, and Dublin, and three hundred landed gentlemen in County Kildare. To implicate the King in the guilt of the Irish revolt was the object of the Puritan Parliament, and their creature, Parsons, diligently exerted himself to discover some pretence for the imputation. Hugh McMahon and John Reid, also Patrick Barnwall, were subjected to the tortures of the rack, but nothing important was elicited. Of this cruelty Parsons and St. Leger seem to have been ashamed, as they allowed Barnwall afterwards to reside peaceably in Dublin, and protected his estate from the general havoc of the soldiers.

The mode in which Parsons and St. Leger chose to conduct the war may be learned from their instructions to the commanders of the Puritan army. They were directed not only to kill and destroy rebels and their adherents and relievers, but also to

burn, waste and consume, and demolish all the places, towns and houses where they had been harbored, with all the corn and hay there, and also to kill and destroy all the Papists capable of bearing arms. Nor were these cruel edicts disregarded. Dr. Borlace, who wrote a history of these transactions to vindicate the character of his brother, the Lord Justice, boasts that Sir William Cole's regiment killed two thousand five hundred rebels in several engagements, and adds, with horrid complacency, "there were starved and famished by this regiment, of the vulgar sort seven thousand, whose goods were seized upon and their houses destroyed."

The massacres in Ulster, we have shown by the report of the Commissioners to have been grossly exaggerated, but at all events they were the acts of a mob, and were not only discouraged but punished by the Irish leaders. But what are we to say of this mandate, deliberately issued by the governors of a country, and obeyed by those who bore the name of British officers.

The Confederates, or English Catholics, became alarmed at their success. They were afraid of their allies, the old Irish, and feared their influence would be the preponderance of that of their allies. Ormond availed himself of this indecision and gained many advantages, and the war would have been speedily ended had Parsons so desired, but his object was confiscation, not peace. The unfortunate Charles was fully aware of the injury he sustained from the report of his partiality to the Catholics. He issued a proclamation denouncing them as rebels and traitors, and to prove his sincerity offered to lead an army against them himself, but the King's falsehoods were too numerous for either parties to believe his professions. The lords of the Pale knew he was secretly attached to their cause. The Puritan House of Commons suspected that the expedition which the King offered to lead to Ireland was a pretext for removing to a place where he would be beyond their reach, and refused their consent in no very respectful terms.

Gormanstown, the leader of the Catholics in Leinster, seeing the last hope of the peace of his country thus destroyed, and the

people at the mercy of fanatics and robbers, died of a broken heart. His followers united with Mountgarrett's forces, who led his army into the County Kildare, where Ormond was encamped. A battle was fought at Kilrush, in which the Confederates were defeated, but Ormond, for want of ammunition, could not follow up his success.

For some months the war lingered on both sides. The Confederates were unprepared for war, and they had no leaders of military talent. The Royalists, on the other hand, were in a wretched condition, their soldiers were without pay, their provisions were scanty in the extreme, and the English Parliament made no exertions adequate to the crisis. But in other respects their attention to Irish affairs was not very creditable to their character. They passed a law for the sale of two and a half millions of acres belonging to those they were pleased to name rebels, and also passed another law to prevent the King from making any treaty with the Irish. In this detestable law Parsons eagerly concurred. The Puritans also strictly commanded all their officers to grant no protection, or hold no correspondence with Irish or Papists. All these things were sanctioned by the Irish Parliament, which sat three days in Dublin. By expelling all who had joined the Confederates, and excluding all who would not swear the King was head of the church, the number of members was so reduced that the Puritans had a majority. The only business done in this brief session was the passage of new penal laws, the denouncing of popery, and asking the English Parliament for more severe laws against Papists. Having performed their part in rendering peace hopeless, this Parliament was prorogued by Parsons, who, like his masters in England, totally neglected the war.

St. Leger, in Munster, was so mortified by want of aid that he died of grief. The Confederates were so dispirited by repeated reverses that many resolved to give up the contest and become voluntary exiles. The arrival of Owen O'Neill revived the hopes of the Irish. He was a leader whose noble qualities would have done honor to any cause; a skillful soldier and a prudent statesman. Cool, cautious and calculating, mild, gen-

erous and humane, he was respected by his enemies and beloved by those whom he protected. On taking the command he denounced in the strongest terms all excesses, and declared that if any cruelties were committed he would quit the country. The Earl of Levin arrived with re-enforcements to the Scotch in Ulster, but though his army was sufficient to crush the raw levies of O'Neill he made no effort. Levin addressed a letter to O'Neill expressing surprise that a man of his abilities and reputation would attempt to maintain a falling cause like that of the Irish. O'Neill replied that he could assign much better reasons for coming to the relief of his country than his lordship could for marching into England against his King. Levin retired, after having received this reply, and returned home to Scotland, assuring Monroe, to whom he resigned his command, that when O'Neill had collected his forces he would give him a very sound drubbing.

The Irish hastened to range themselves under the banner of O'Neill, while Monroe, remembering Levin's prophecy, confined himself to his quarters, and his army, neglected by the Parliament, had to struggle against the miseries of nakedness and famine. The Catholics now determined to organize a civil government, and in this work the clergy took the lead. A provisional synod was held at Armagh, and soon after a general assembly from all the provinces at Kilkenny. Taylor, in speaking of this, says: "Their acts were numerous and solemn, and breathe a spirit of charity and moderation, powerfully contrasted with the intolerant declarations issued by the Puritan fanatics in Dublin. They began by stating that the war had been undertaken against Sectaries and Puritans in defence of their religion, and the preservation of the rights and liberties of Irishmen of every creed. They directed that an oath of association should be taken by all the members of the Confederacy, and that no distinction should be made between the old and new Irish. They denounce those who remain neutral in the contest, and prohibit, under pain of excommunication, any injury to a Protestant who was not in arms against their cause. They direct that exact registers should be kept of all murders and cruelties

committed by the Puritans in the several provinces, but prohibit retaliation under the severest penalties." There were other regulations of minor importance, but the above articles contain the substance of the ordinances published by the Catholic clergy, and we can discover in them no trace of the bigotry and persecuting spirit vulgarly attributed to that much calumniated body.

The National Assembly was soon after convened at Kilkenny; it consisted principally of the Anglo-Irish nobility, and was conducted with all the form and order of a regular Parliament. The proceedings of this noble, but unfortunate body, will not suffer by comparison with those of any other convention that has ever assembled. Having first professed their allegiance to the King, they renounce the authority of the Puritan government held in Dublin in compliance with the malignant party in England. They declared they would maintain the rights of the Catholic Church, as established by the great charter. They profess to accept the common law of England and the statutes of Ireland, so far as they were not contrary to religion or liberty. They erected provincial councils, but allowed an appeal from their decisions to the Supreme Council of the Confederate Catholics of Ireland. This body was to consist of twenty-four persons chosen by the General Assembly. Nine members should be present to transact any business, and a majority of two-thirds was required to give validity to any act. For the honor and security of this body a guard of five hundred foot and two hundred horse was assigned. The Generals were Owèn O'Neill, in Ulster; Preston, for Leinster; Garret Barry, for Munster, and John Burke, for Connaught. The latter bore only the title of Lieutenant-General, for the Confederates designed the chief command for the Earl of Clanrickard, but that nobleman refused to join the alliance.

Though disappointed in Clanrickard, the Confederates obtained a valuable assistant in Lord Castlehaven, whom Parsons had forced into their ranks. This nobleman was a Peer of England as well as Ireland. On the breaking out of the war he hastened to offer his services to the government, but was morti-

fied by a refusal. He then asked for a passport to return to England, which was also denied; and he was then prohibited from residing in Dublin. Castlehaven retired to his estates in Kilkenny, determined to meddle no more in politics, and affording a refuge to English who were driven from the settlements by the insurgents. He was employed by lords of the Pale as a mediator to transmit their remonstrance to the castle, and received in reply a reprimand for daring to correspond with rebels. He again sought permission to return to his English estates, and again met a peremptory refusal. On a report that one of his servants had stolen a horse he was indicted for high treason. Castlehaven, with the boldness of conscious innocence, hastened to Dublin and presented himself at the Council Board. Parsons refused him a hearing and committed him to prison. His brother, Colonel Mervin, applied to the King, who was then at York, that the Earl should be tried by his peers. Charles referred the matter to Parliament, but the Puritans refused to interfere. After having been a prisoner for twenty weeks, Castlehaven, dreading the treachery of Parsons, contrived to make his escape. He fled to Kilkenny and was received with open arms by the Confederates, who, delighted by the accession of an English peer, appointed him to the command of the Leinster cavalry under Preston.

Castlehaven has forded the Shannon with the soldiers of brave Owen Roe,
And furiously marching to meet him press forward the troops of Monroe;
With Scots from the Clyde and Loch Lomond, and Puritan spears from the
Tweed,
O'er the hills of Stradone and Benvara, and the meadows of Arva they speed.

Fierce raiders and robbers, full many, are ranged 'neath the flag of the Scot,
And their pathway is marked by the burning of roofs of both castle and cot;
They reined not their steeds till before them fair Granard loomed up in their
way,
Then, with bright shining bayonets and banners, they halt at the bridge of Finea.

'Twas a fair sight to see them all marching; yes, a sight very fair to behold,
Their spears in the bright sunlight shining, and the red flag of Britain unrolled.
And fiercer ne'er harnessed for battle, nor mustered for foray or fray,
Than the clans that the Scottish chief rallied that day by the bridge of Finea.

But there on the bridge stood O'Reilly, the hero from Cavan's green side,
Around him shone many a sabre, and above him his banner spread wide ;
Scant greeting had he for a Scotchman, who came in the garb of a foe,
And bold was the foeman who'd brave him, they knew well the weight of his
blow.

Benburb heard the cry of his troopers, and the Blackwater rang to his shout,
When the arms of Red Owen, in vengeance, put the Scot and the Saxon to
rout.

He scattered their legions at Limerick, and stood in the breach at Clonmel,
'Till hundreds of iron-clad troopers and Psalm-singing Puritans fell.

And now ever foremost in battle, he braves the fierce host of Monroe,
And stands in the vanguard of danger, with his troopers all ranged in a row.
Out rode from the ranks of the foeman a chief from a far Scottish glen,
And haughtily ordered O'Reilly to surrender the bridge and his men.

But out leaped the sword of O'Reilly, and thus to the foe did he say,
" You must trample the hearts of my soldiers ere you cross o'er the bridge of
Finea.

There are weapons and men to defend it, and tell your fierce leader, Monroe,
That we'll hold it against him and his robbers while a hand's left to give him a
blow.

" Come on with your [kilts and your claymores, our sabres have met you be-
fore,

And trampled in blood and dishonor your flag by the Blackwater shore.
We fear not the forest of bayonets that gleam round the flag of Monroe,
The freeman bends not to a tyrant, and the eagle stoops not to the crow."

The Scotch they press forward in anger, they rush to the bridge with a yell,
And down on its gallant defenders in fury and vengeance they fell.
But fierce are the troopers of Cavan, when for freedom and fatherland led,
And they fight till in furrows before them lay a breastwork of foreigners dead.

But weakened and scant are their numbers, their leaders are fighting on foot ;
Still 'gainst Puritans, Scotchmen and Saxon, every inch of the bridge they dis-
pute.

'Tis blocked with the dead and the dying, and clansmen and foemen lie low,
'Till scarce half a score of the Irish are left by the swords of Monroe.

A shout from the Scots of Loch Lomond, and again to the bridge they have
flown,

But forward dashed noble O'Reilly, and stood on the center alone.

"Come on, you fierce hell hounds of Cromwell, we'll meet your false clan undis-
mayed,

We promised you graves, and you'll get them, while O'Reilly can handle the
blade."

He fought 'till the Saxons before him, heaped high as a battlement lay;

He fell, but the foot of a foeman pressed not on the bridge of Finea,

For the flag of the brave Castlehaven, pressing on to the combat is seen,

And ten thousand bright bayonets are flashing round his standard of emerald
green.

They rush to the bridge, where O'Reilly so bravely his banner enrolled,

But alas! for the cause of green Erin, the heart of the hero is cold.

He died as a freeman should ever, with his flag floating free in the blast,

With his hand on the hilt of his sabre, defiant and true to the last.

And would to kind heaven that old Ireland had ten thousand warriors to-day,

As true and as bold as O'Reilly, who fell at the bridge of Finea,

The King's friends and the moderate party did not yet despair; they made another effort to avert the horrors of a general war, but were unfortunately unsuccessful. The deputation sent to the leaders of the Irish was received respectfully; but when the order of the Parliament, in which these gentlemen were stigmatized as traitors was presented, Roger O'Moore seized the document, and tearing it in pieces declined any further conference.

The Irish now sent Lords Dillon and Taffe to England to lay before the King the condition of the country, and the conduct of Parsons. They were delayed by a storm which drove them to the coast of Scotland; they finally arrived in London, where they were arrested by order of the Parliament.

Sir John Read, who promised the Catholics to lay their grievances before the King, was taken prisoner and sent to Dublin. On being questioned by Parsons he avowed everything, and was sent to prison, where he was put to the rack by order

of that tyrant, who hoped by torture to force him to accuse the King and Queen of having encouraged the Irish to rebel.

Patrick Barnwall, aged 66 years, experienced similar treatment; he appeared on the faith of the amnesty within ten days after the proclamation, not knowing he would be looked upon as a criminal on account of his estate. From October to the middle of December the insurrection had been confined to Ulster, part of Leinster, and one county in Connaught. The Catholic lords of the Pale, still jealous of the native Irish, offered their assistance to the government. Sir Robert Talbot had taken the field against the northern Catholics, for which they in revenge destroyed his castle.

Parsons deeming the aid of these Catholic lords necessary to his security had, in the first instance, supplied them with arms to defend him against the Irish. But being promised assistance from England he recalled the arms and ordered those who had sought protection in Dublin to quit the city immediately.

On the 8th of December, 1641, it was resolved in the Parliament in England that they would no longer tolerate popery in Ireland, a resolution which was virtually a declaration of a war of extermination against seven-eighths of the landed proprietors in Ireland, and almost the whole of the other classes. The Catholic lords of English descent now joined O'Moore and O'Neill, and the war became general throughout the entire country. Puritan historians have foully misrepresented the conduct of the Irish in this war. Taylor says the massacre of Protestants by the Irish in 1641 has been so often repeated, even in school-books, that one can scarcely conceal his surprise when he learns that the tale is as apocryphal as the wildest fiction of romance. No mention is made of these murders in any of the proclamations issued by Parsons, even so late as December, and truly his character does not induce us to believe that he would hold back anything likely to make the Papists odious. The reports of the Irish Parliament on record in Dublin Castle are equally silent on the subject, nor does any state paper afford even the slightest ground for the charge.

Stories of horrid cruelties in Ireland were indeed studiously circulated in England, because it was the interest of the Puritans in Parliament to propagate such delusions. They increased the popular hatred of popery, and rendered the King's suspected attachment to that religion more generally odious, and they afforded a pretence for raising an army on whose officers and soldiers the Puritans could rely. When it became necessary to excuse other iniquities, advantage was taken of the general belief in this unfounded calumny to justify any injustice. It is but fair to add, says Taylor, that the Catholic nobility and gentry not only discouraged, but punished those who committed unnecessary cruelties. It would be both wicked and foolish to make these sad events a charge against sects and parties at the present day.

The Catholics next prepared an address to the King, in which they complained of the treatment they had received from Parsons, whom they justly styled the enemy of the King as well as of themselves. They declared their readiness to support the King as well as their own rights, and their readiness to meet such commissioners as the government might appoint, in any place where they could be protected from the malice of the Puritans. They also issued a proclamation worded in the same spirit, and circulated it extensively through the country. This proclamation produced a powerful effect. All the lords of the Pale were induced now to join the alliance. Every county in Leinster was soon at the disposal of the alliance, and the authority of Parsons was confined to Dublin and Drogheda, and the latter was closely besieged. In Connaught, the city of Galway was held by a Catholic nobleman, Lord Clanrickard.

The Puritans in Munster found Warham St. Leger, Governor of that province, a man after their own heart; his cruelties rivaled, if they did not exceed, those of Coote. His brother, who lived on confiscated lands in County Tipperary, having had some difficulty with the original owners, St. Leger marched into that county and put to death several innocent persons, burned their houses and encouraged his soldiers in the commission of every outrage. The gentry of the county remon-

strated against these excesses, but he dismissed them with studied insult, and even threats of violence. The Puritans who tried to justify St. Leger are reduced to plead an excuse absolutely ridiculous. They say that he merely retaliated the outrages of the insurgents in Ulster. Taylor, in speaking of his excuse, says they might just as well assert that the people of Wales should have been subjected to military execution for a rebellion in the north of Scotland.

The nobility of Munster, alarmed at the cruelties of St. Leger, applied to Parsons for permission to take measures themselves for securing public tranquility. Lord Muskerry offered to raise a thousand men in support of the government at his own expense, and to mortgage his estate in order to supply them with arms. A similar offer was made by Lord Mountgarrett; both received a peremptory refusal. They waited until the middle of December before they took a decided course, and then for their own safety and preservation resolved to join the Confederates. The first proceedings of the Munster lords were characterized by great promptitude and forbearance. Richard Butler, of Kilcash, seized Clonmel, Carrick and Dungarvan without meeting any resistance. Martin Hackett admitted Butler of Ardmale into Fethard, and Cashel was taken by O'Dyer of Dundrum. The entire county of Kilkenny was secured by Lord Mountgarrett, and Cork by Lord Roche.

The Earl of Thomond was adverse to the cause of the Confederates, but his followers and relatives set his authority at defiance, and added the county of Clare to the patriotic association. In all these transactions the lives and properties of English Protestants were protected by the Catholic nobility. The only place where any murders were committed was Cashel; in that place twelve persons were killed by the relations of those whom St. Leger had slaughtered a month before. The exertions of the Catholic clergy saved the rest, and by their influence the Protestants were sent under an escort to the city of Cork. Lord Dunboyne sent his prisoners to Youghall. Sir Richard Everard and Lord Muskerry gave an asylum in their houses to all Protestants who sought their protection, and Lord Mountgarrett shot

Richard Cantwell, a man of great influence, for daring to plunder some of his prisoners. All Munster would have been reduced but for the pride of Lord Roche, who refused obedience to Lord Mountgarrett, the leader in Munster.

This war, on the part of the Irish, was a war for property and religion. The northern Irish wished to recover the estates stolen from them by Elizabeth and James; Parsons and his supporters desired to enrich themselves by more confiscations. The Puritans used the sacred name of the Deity to cover their designs, but assuredly, "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's goods" had no influence on the leaders.

The Catholic lords of the Pale now held a conference with O'Moore and other Irish leaders, and asked for what purpose they had taken up arms? O'Moore replied, "To make the people of Ireland as free as those of England." Lord Gormanstown asked if O'Moore had any further design. He answered, "No." The Catholic lords then promised to assist him with all their might, and, having agreed on a second meeting at the hill of Tara, separated to raise their friends. Parsons not having received supplies from England became alarmed and sent letters to the lords of the Pale, requesting them to come to Dublin with all speed to confer on the state of the nation, and, as was added, (with a consciousness of being suspected,) *for no other end.*

Even if these men could have placed any confidence in Parsons they had now gone too far to retreat. They answered that they would not peril their lives by coming within the influence of such a monster as Coote, who had murdered men, women and children indiscriminately in his late excursions.

The civil war had now broken out in England, and the Parliament sent over agents to engage the army in Ireland on their side. These agents were encouraged by Parsons. Ormond, on the other hand, had labored to keep the soldiers loyal, and partially succeeded. A remonstrance complaining of the manner in which the war had been conducted was sent to England, notwithstanding the resistance of Parsons, and soon after he was

further mortified by being obliged to send over the address of the Confederates.

Charles was no longer under the necessity of dissembling with the Parliament ; he issued a commission to Ormond, Clanrickard and others, empowering them to treat with the Catholics ; he removed Parsons from the government of Ireland and appointed Sir H. Tichborne in his stead.

The affairs of the Catholics were now in a prosperous condition. O'Neill had defeated Monroe in Ulster. Castlehaven and Muskerry defeated Vavasor in Munster and drove Inchiquin to his garrisons. Connaught was entirely at their disposal, and though by the rashness of Preston they had been defeated at Ross, Ormond, through the treachery of the Puritan General Lisle, could not boast of any advantage. The Puritans, both in Ireland and England, exclaimed violently against any negotiation with the Catholics. To pacify these bigots, Ormond avowed his readiness to adopt any other mode of pacifying the country, and offered to continue the war if they would furnish him with ten thousand pounds, half in money and the rest in victuals. This arrangement proved the ruin of the Confederates and the destruction of the King. Ormond was more bitterly opposed to Catholics than Puritans. His hatred of popery, and his love of wealth, were too powerful for his loyalty. Knowing the jealousy among the Confederates, and hoping to crush popery and share in future confiscations, he basely sacrificed to these unworthy motives the liberty of his country and the life of his King.

A cessation of arms was now signed, the Confederates agreed to pay thirty thousand pounds to the King. The war ought now to have ended, as the Confederates could not be longer regarded as enemies. The loyalty of these men to the King was sincere. They were anxious to rescue him from the Puritans, but by Ormond they were prevented from using their arms. The clergy and the old Irish were dissatisfied with the truce, which had checked the tide of their success and weakened their strength by sending men and money to aid the King against the Puritans in England. The bigots, on the other hand, declared this alli-

ance with Papists was sinful, and sent orders to their generals to disregard the truce.

They now took ten thousand Scotch into their pay and sent them to the north of Ireland under Monroe, who landed in Ireland in May. Having murdered sixty men, eighteen women, and two priests in Newry, he returned to Carrickfergus, laying the country waste ; on his march he stole 4,000 head of cattle, besides a large amount of other property. The English who had joined his army expected a share in the booty, but the Scotch claimed all, and the English would no longer join the Scotch in their robberies.

Monroe and his followers now took the solemn league and covenant, which had been framed by the Scotch in the beginning of their war against the King. He was then appointed commander-in-chief of all the Puritan forces. The Confederates now besought Ormond to lead them against the Scotch, but this would have been fatal to his avaricious views. He refused to proclaim the Scotch rebels, but was willing to accept men or money for the King's service. The Catholics knowing him to be dishonest, entrusted the command of the forces sent against Monroe to Castlehaven. O'Neill, who was provoked by the Confederates withholding from him the command in Ulster, determined on a separation of interests, and Castlehaven, unsupported by him, could do nothing ; and Monroe fearing to attack him this campaign produced no results. In the meantime the Catholics proceeded to lay their demands before the King, and a committee of Protestants also sent their plan of pacifying the country.

The articles presented by the rival parties are full of instruction, and it is hoped the reader will compare them attentively, as they illustrate the objects and motives of the parties to this contest.

The Catholics asked for freedom of religion for all creeds and a repeal of all penal laws ; a free Parliament and free speech during the session ; a general act of pardon and the reversal of attainders against those who had fought in the war ; the exclusion from the Irish Parliament of all carpet-baggers, or those not residents of the country ; an act declaring the Irish Parliament

independent of that of England ; also an act that no chief Governor should hold office more than three years, and during that time he should be disqualified from acquiring lands in the country ; a Parliamentary inquiry into all breaches of quarter and acts of inhumanity committed on either side during the contest ; the exclusion of all who had been guilty of such crimes from the acts of oblivion, and their punishment in due course of law.

On the granting of these propositions the Catholics engaged to support the King with their lives and fortunes, and to furnish ten thousand men immediately for his assistance in England.

The Protestant deputation demanded the rigorous enforcement of all penal laws and the immediate disarming of the Catholics, and the compelling of them to pay all damages sustained by Protestants ; of all offences committed by Catholics without pardon or mitigation ; the vesting of all estates forfeited under the government of Parsons in the crown, and, after satisfaction had been made to all who claimed under the acts of Parliament, the distribution of the residue entirely to Protestants. It must be remembered that at the time these proposals were made the Catholics were in possession of the entire kingdom, except Dublin and a few posts, and that nine-tenths of the property and population of the country were Catholic. Yet the systems advocated by these violent Protestants prevailed and brought on the country nothing but misery and degradation.

To the reader who has read English authors on the affairs of Ireland much of this work will, no doubt, seem like exaggeration, but the writer spent part of the summer of 1874 in Ireland, and is posted on the records of that unhappy country.

While negotiations were pending between the Catholics and the King an unexpected revolution took place in Munster. Inchiquin having been refused the office of Lord-President by the King, declared for the Parliament and made himself master of Cork, Youghall and Kinsale, from which he expelled all the Catholic inhabitants. His example was followed by Esmond, who betrayed Duncannon to the Puritans also. The Earl of Inchiquin was the lineal representative of the royal race of the O'Briens, but there was never a scourge of Ireland animated by

a greater hatred of his countrymen. Whether fighting for the King or the Parliament, and he exchanged sides more than once, he was invariably the bitter enemy of his countrymen, and the savage profaner of their religious edifices in which the ashes of his ancestors reposed. He was a fair sample of those who professed the Protestant religion under Elizabeth. His name is held in the traditions of Munster as the symbol of everything that is wicked and terrible. Nurses scare their children with the threat of calling *Black Murrough O'Brien*. His cruelty at the famous Rock of Cashel presents a remarkable contrast to the conduct of the Catholics at the same place. When he stormed Cashel he pursued the fugitives into the Cathedral of that city, situated on the Rock, there mercilessly slaughtered the unresisting multitude, and the blood of no less than twenty-five priests polluted the altars of the God of Mercy.

When the news of this revolution reached Kilkenny the Council directed Castlehaven to march against Inchiquin, while Preston was sent against Duncannon. The English Parliament seemed in no hurry to succor their new partisans. Preston took Duncannon after a short siege, and Castlehaven, having defeated Inchiquin in the field, proceeded to reduce the castles of the usurpers along the rivers Lee and Blackwater. He took several places of importance, and made many prisoners; and finally advancing to the coast laid siege to Youghall, though the place was well garrisoned, and further protected by two frigates which lay in the harbor. Castlehaven directed his Lieutenant-General, Purcell, to attack Croker's works, which formed an advanced post on the south, while he, crossing the Blackwater, planted his cannon on a point which juts out opposite the town. The fire of these guns destroyed one of the frigates, but Purcell was defeated in a sally of the garrison, and before this calamity could be remedied the siege was raised by the arrival of the Puritan Lord Broghill. Winter, now set in and military operations were laid aside to resume the long pending negotiations. Ormond really never wished for peace, and the Catholics feeling that their claims were more moderate than justice required, refused to recede.

In the meantime Owen O'Neill, who commanded the Irish troops in Ulster, collected his forces in the month of May, amounting to five thousand men, and marched to Armagh. Monroe led his army of seven thousand Scotch and English and encamped within a few miles of the same place. Being informed that O'Neill was encamped at Benburb, Monroe marched the next day to attack him, but though superior in numbers to O'Neill he sent orders to his brother, George Monroe, who commanded at Colerain, to come and join him at Glasslough, near O'Neill's camp. O'Neill despatched Colonels McMahon and McNeny with their regiments to prevent this junction. They met and cut the enemy, commanded by young Monroe, to pieces and returned next day to Benburb, where they shared with O'Neill the honor of the victory they had gained over the Scotch and English. O'Neill was favorably posted between two hills, his rear being covered by a wood and his right extending along the Blackwater. Being apprised that Monroe was at Glasslough he moved his cavalry to a height, from which he viewed the Scotch army on the opposite side of the river. The two armies began to prepare for battle. O'Neill kept the enemy employed in skirmishing waiting for the sun, which annoyed his troops during the day, to go down behind the wood. He was also expecting some troops he had sent the evening before against the enemy at Colerain. When Monroe saw this force arrive he thought they were coming to join himself from the same place, but found his mistake on seeing them enter O'Neill's camp. O'Neill now ordered an advance within the reach of the pike, and his orders in this were most valiantly executed. The English regiment, after a vigorous fight, were completely cut to pieces, and the Scotch cavalry being broken by the Irish the rout became general. There was but one regiment, that of Montgomery, that retreated in a body, the rest that escaped were thrown into the greatest disorder. Conway, who had two horses killed under him, with about forty men, finally reached Newry. Montgomery, with twenty-one officers and two hundred soldiers, was taken prisoner; three thousand, two hundred and forty-three of the enemy fell on the field and hundreds were killed in the

the pursuit. The loss on the side of the Irish amounted to seventy men killed and two hundred wounded. The whole of the Scotch artillery, arms, tents and baggage, and thirty-two stand of colors were taken. The booty was immense; it consisted of fifteen hundred draft horses and provisions of every kind for two months. Monroe saved himself with difficulty on horseback and fled without hat or wig. After his defeat he burned Dundrum and abandoned Portadown and Downpatrick, and his troops fled to Scotland for safety.

The King finding Ormond disobedient determined to try another negotiator. He sent the Earl of Glamorgan with full power to treat with the Irish. This treaty Glamorgan declared was too favorable to the Catholics to be published at that time, as the rage against popery amounted to national insanity. The treaty was simply this: That the Catholics should pay their own clergy and Protestants should do the same. The Protestant historians describe this article and another statute in the reign of James the Second, as a cruel mockery, because Protestant ministers in Ireland had no congregations. To which the Catholic writers reply, Why then should they be paid? And it has never been the good fortune of the writer to meet with a satisfactory answer to this question. A second article of this treaty was, that Protestants vacate all churches which formerly belonged to Catholics. This was also objected to by the Puritans, regardless of the command "Thou shalt not steal." Verily, bigotry and fanaticism must have been on a strike in those days.

A scene of cruelty and barbarity, of which no history furnishes an example, was now being enacted in England. A King sold by his fanatical subjects in Scotland to their English Puritan brethren for a sum of money, dragged from prison to prison, and at length publicly executed on a scaffold.

SUCH WAS THE TRAGICAL END OF CHARLES THE FIRST.

Cox, an English historian says: "I could wish to throw a veil over the 30th day of January, that frightful day on which the King suffered martyrdom. O! that I could say they were Irishmen who committed the abominable deed, and that it could

be laid at the door of the Papists ; but it is true that others were the actors." This exclamation of Cox shows fully his disposition toward a people whose history he attempts to write, and is also a fair sample of what those Americans who read English authors learn of Ireland and Irishmen.

The monarchy and House of Lords being overthrown in England, the government of Ireland became an object of dispute to all parties. The factions among the Puritans had each their favorites, but after some debating they finally agreed on Oliver Cromwell.

CHAPTER IV.

Oliver Cromwell's Administration of Affairs in Ireland.—He Partially Subjugates the People by Inhuman Cruelties.

LIVER CROMWELL was appointed to the command of the Puritan army in Ireland in 1644, and accompanied by his son-in-law Ireton, he set out with a powerful army, consisting of seven regiments of infantry, four of cavalry and one of dragoons.

Having landed in Dublin he marched to Drogheda. A summons to surrender the town being rejected, Cromwell ordered a general assault to be made. Heath says Cromwell's troops were twice repulsed with fearful loss, but a third attack succeeded and the place was taken. Orders were issued to give no quarter; the garrison was put to the sword. This is the Puritan version, but the truth is Cromwell offered the garrison quarter on laying down their arms. When they had done so he ordered his troops to shoot down every man in the garrison. Aston, the commander; General Varney, Colonels Wale, Warren, Dunne, Tempest, Finglass, and several other officers of distinction, besides three thousand soldiers, were inhumanly slain after having laid down their arms. In either case this massacre was inhuman. The truth only shows Cromwell was both treacherous and cruel. He next marched to Wexford and summoned it to surrender. Colonel Synnot, the commander, in order to gain time offered terms which were refused. During the delay Castlehaven arrived with a regiment of infantry, and next day one thousand men arrived under Sir Edmond Butler. Stafford, who commanded the Castle, treacherously surrendered it to Cromwell, and the garrison was butchered by that tyrant to the number of two thousand. Sir Edmond Butler was killed by a

musket ball while swimming to save himself. Every step of Cromwell was marked by savage ferocity.

Two hundred ladies of Wexford, who sought with tears to propitiate the tyrant's rage, were massacred in the public square with hundreds of innocent children, and it is said that the fanatical soldiers would pitch a dead child from one to another along the line with their bayonets.

Some account of the fanatics who composed this army is necessary for understanding the history of Ireland, or its present condition. The historians of Ireland, both Protestant and Catholic, have been unanimous in the condemnation of Cromwell. Even to this day the heaviest execration an Irish peasant can pronounce is, "The curse of Cromwell be upon you!" Every mouldering castle, and every desecrated church, is supposed to be his work, even in places where he never visited; and he is charged with all the cruelties of the Royalists and Puritans before he came to the country. Cromwell, before his departure for Ireland, had begun to form those ambitious schemes which he afterwards carried out. He saw that those wild and visionary fanatics, who had been hitherto his supporters, would be his fiercest enemies when they found their pet scheme of government could not be realized.

The Levelers, as the fanatics were called, were intent on establishing a species of theocracy, which they denominated "the dominion of the Lord and His saints." They believed themselves the chosen of heaven, and many laid claim to supernatural powers. In some of their pamphlets and sermons published at the time of their highest excitement, we find them proposing to make the Constitution of the Jews before the time of Saul the model after which the new government of England should be formed. Such schemes would now be received with laughter, but at the time of which we write were advocated by men who in other respects displayed wisdom and ability. The expedition to Ireland gave Cromwell an opportunity of removing these wild enthusiasts. The troops sent to Ireland were the most violent and fanatical part of the English army.

When the battalions were assembled at Bristol the preachers labored to work upon their fanaticism. They were compared to the Israelites who destroyed the idolatrous inhabitants of Canaan, and described as the chosen instruments by which heaven was to overthrow popery and establish in its stead pure Christianity. Arguments addressed to superstition or fanaticism have rarely failed. The soldiers embarked with enthusiasm, though there were at times some misgivings that they were to be offered up as a holocaust before the purification of Ireland from the abominations of popery could be effected.

Taylor says: "The Puritan garrison of Dublin received with joy these men, whose pious zeal far exceeded their own, and as enthusiasm is catching soon learned to imitate them." The most remarkable feature in the character of the fanatics was a furious hatred of Catholicity, a religion which they only knew by name, but which they firmly believed to be an abomination in the sight of heaven, which, if permitted to exist, would bring down vengeance on the land. Their holy rage was principally directed against the Cross, which they stigmatized as the "mark of the beast," and with strange inconsistency labored to destroy every symbol of that in which they alone expect salvation. This extraordinary state of things may still be found among the descendants of these adventurers. They also opposed the observance of Christmas, the great anniversary of the birth of Christ; and their descendants in Massachusetts passed laws to punish those who would observe it as a holiday, and that it should be entirely forgotten they observed what they termed thanksgiving as a substitute, and the influence of their descendants has kept it up in free America even to this day. The misapplication of Jewish history to Christian communities, and a perverted interpreting of the revelations of Saint John, still characterize the successors of Cromwell's Puritans. They also objected to the word Saint, and their descendants even yet in reading the Evangelists omit the word.

An instance of the feelings of the descendants of the Cromwellians was exhibited lately in Ireland. The communion table in the church at Youghall stands in a recess in the wall; it was

resolved to ornament the sides of the recess with tablets of the Apostles' Creed and the Commandments. The artist who did the work introduced two crosses as ornaments in the side of the arches. Had the Pope of Rome come in person to celebrate High Mass in the church, greater indignation could not have been displayed by these pious Puritans. They said the mark of the beast had been erected in the house of the Lord, and that it must be removed. "After a struggle between common sense and bigotry," says Taylor, "the crosses which really looked very pretty were effaced, and in their place two unmeaning lumps of plaster with the words Holy Bible beneath. There were a few who defended the crosses, and they were set down as Papists; others laughed at the whole proceeding and were of course called infidels."

The following hymn, in which Babylon typifies the Catholic Church, is sung in the public worship of the Puritans in Ireland:

"In Gabriel's hand a mighty stone stands a fair type of Babylon;
Christians rejoice, and all ye Saints, God will avenge your long complaints,
He said, and dreadful as he stood, he plunged the millstone in the flood,
Thus terribly shall popery fall, and never more be found at all."

Taylor assures his readers that he has very frequently heard this precious piece of nonsense sung as a hymn in several of the Puritan chapels in Ireland. It is a strange instance of the vicissitudes of fortune that the soldiers sent into Ireland with Cromwell as victims eventually obtained wealth and estates, while their brethren, who remained in England by special favor, sank after the Restoration into poverty and contempt. The soldiers of the tyrant established their dominion over the fairest parts of Ireland, and though the mills of providence grind slow, their day of reckoning will come.

From Wexford Cromwell marched to Ross, which was surrendered by Luke Taffe on condition that the garrison should march out with their arms. Duncannon was not so easy a prey. Here Cromwell was forced to raise the siege. But Cork, Youghall, and other places garrisoned by Englishmen, who hoped to receive bribes, declared in favor of Cromwell and de-

sented in bands to range themselves under his standard. The garrison of Kilkenny, after a noble resistance, surrendered by capitulation. The last expedition of Cromwell was against Clonmel, which was defended by sixteen hundred Ulster men, commanded by Hugh O'Neill, nephew of Owen Roe O'Neill. Cromwell now commenced the siege, and having effected a breach, ordered an assault, contrary to the advice of his officers. He was repulsed with the loss of two thousand of his best soldiers. Heath says the hypocrite was the first to see his rashness. In accordance with his usual frenzy he called in religion to aid him and help him out, attributing his defeat to too great a confidence in human arms, and to atone for such impiety he commanded a fast to be observed by the whole army.

Clonmel, situated on the river Suir, County Tipperary, is one of the most important inland towns in Ireland. Like every town in that unfortunate island it has a history to tell of English cruelty and barbarism. It bore the brunt of the battle against the remorseless soldiers of Cromwell, and gave him the greatest drubbing he ever got in Ireland.

Among O'Neill's troops who defended Clonmel there was a traitor named Fennell (the name sounds English) who was Major of dragoons. He entered into a correspondence with Cromwell, who offered to give him five hundred pounds sterling provided he would, on the night of the 9th of May, open the gate on the north side of the town. Fennell accepted the offer, and on the night agreed upon drew off the Ulster men who had charge of that gate and replaced them with a party of his own.

Now, on that night O'Neill could not rest. He felt that a crisis was at hand, and he resolved to make a personal inspection of the various posts. On reaching the gate, from which the Ulster troops had been withdrawn, it occurred to him that there was some treason brewing, and he lost not a moment in summoning the traitor to his presence. "Why, sir," demanded the General, "have you removed the Ulster troops from the gate? Why have you not obeyed my orders? Come, disclose the whole truth, or you are likely to pay dear for it." Fennell then offered to reveal the whole conspiracy on condition that the

General would pardon him. "Tell the truth," replied O'Neill, "and you may count on my forgiveness." Fennell then confessed that he had agreed to open that gate to the enemy for five hundred pounds, and no sooner was O'Neill aware of this than he ordered strong re-enforcements to the various posts, and an addition of five hundred men to the gate in question. All this was done noiselessly, and at the appointed hour the gate was opened and a regiment of Cromwell's soldiers entered. No sooner had the last man entered than the gate was securely shut. The Irish having heard of the cruelties of Cromwell at Drogheda and Wexford, slaughtered them without mercy; every man of them was slain. Disconcerted and angry at this unexpected issue, Cromwell ordered up the battering guns, breached the wall, and made it, as he thought, assailable for both horse and foot. O'Neill, however, lost no time in causing a counterscarp and a ditch to be made right opposite the breach, and he also posted a large body of sharpshooters in the houses standing near the walls, who opened a galling fire on the assailants as they advanced. The assault now began in right earnest, the Cromwellians never thinking of the ditch and counterscarp which barred their progress; and so valiantly did the Irish behave on that awful night that they several times beat back their assailants as they advanced. Resolved, however, to win or lose all, Cromwell poured his masses pell-mell into the ditch, where they were slaughtered without mercy.

The war-cry of O'Neill was ably seconded by the slogan of Tipperary, and together they cut down the English ranks until at last, unable to withstand the charge of the Irish, the Cromwellians rushed back through the breach into their camp, leaving the Irish in possession of the town they so gallantly defended. Their General tried to rally them once more, but they were afraid to enter that fatal breach, and Cromwell fearing that any further attempt might compromise his army, withdrew to his camp, leaving O'Neill the breached and bloody wall. On that night the gallant General held a council of war, and finding that his soldiers had exhausted their ammunition and provisions he marched quietly out of town, and crossing the mountains pro-

ceeded to Waterford ; nor was it known to Cromwell that he was gone till next morning, when a deputation of townsmen waited on him in his camp and offered to capitulate. Cromwell readily accepted their terms, not knowing O'Neill was already gone.

Whitlock says of this siege, that Cromwell found in Clonmel the stoutest enemy he had encountered in Ireland. And never was seen so hot a storm of so long continuance and gallantly defended. O'Neill hastened by forced marches to Limerick, which he defended valiantly against Ireton, until again betrayed on two several occasions by Fennell, he had to capitulate. Fennell, however, got the death he deserved, for Ireton excepted him from pardon and caused him to be executed as a traitor to friend and foe. He died the death of a dog, and so perish all traitors, say we. During the siege of Clonmel Cromwell received orders from the Parliament to return speedily to England, where his presence was necessary to meet the Scotch Royalists who were up in arms for the King.

He therefore embarked at Youghall the 29th of May and left the command of the army to Ireton, his son-in-law, who marched next day and laid siege to Limerick, but was obliged to abandon it on account of winter.

Charles, Prince of Wales, son of Charles the First, and true heir to the crown of Great Britain, was then at Breda. Commissioners were sent to him to treat with him for his restoration to the throne of Scotland. The terms these fanatics offered to the King were both hard and insolent. First, the King was to banish from his court all excommunicated persons. Those Puritans had already excommunicated all those who would not swear to the covenant, which was a compact made by the Puritans of Scotland. Its object was the extirpation of popery and prelacy. Second, he should affirm that he would himself accept their covenant. Third, he should bind himself to ratify all the acts of Parliament which decreed the government to be Presbyterian, also all decrees of the kirk, and should himself conform to all of these in his domestic habits. Fourth, he should admit

all civil cases to be settled by the Parliament of Scotland, and ecclesiastical affairs by the kirk.

Charles was placed in a dilemma. His friends were divided in opinion, some being opposed to such hard and disgraceful terms, while others who had suffered banishment in his cause, and were desirous of returning, urged him to accept the conditions. He therefore adopted their advice and submitted to the terms of the Commissioners. A frigate, commanded by Van Tromp, was ready to receive him at the Hague, and after a stormy voyage landed on the 16th of June, 1650, at Spey, in the north of Scotland. Charles was received by the Scotch with much show but little sincerity. He was obliged to sign the covenant and dismiss his followers. He submitted, however, in everything without security for life or freedom, and was treated more like a school boy who feared his master than a King who ruled his subjects. Charles had good cause to mistrust the Scotch, they had sold his father to the English Parliament for 40,000 pounds sterling, only four pence for each individual in Scotland, or a groat, which is a Scotch coin of eight cents. The writer has often heard in Ireland the following rhyme :

“Shame! Shame! vile Scot,
You sold your King for a groat.”

The news that Prince Charles had arrived in Scotland soon reached England. The Parliament being alarmed, collected an army and offered the command to Lord Fairfax, who refused it and thus laid the foundation of Cromwell's greatness, who had just returned from Ireland. He was appointed commander-in-chief of the army intended for Scotland and marched toward Berwick, near the frontier. The Scotch raised an army to oppose Cromwell. The chief command was reserved for Prince Charles, who was proclaimed King of Scotland on the 15th of July at the cross of Edinburgh. Cromwell entered Scotland at the head of sixteen thousand men and met the Scotch army of twenty-four thousand near Dunbar. The engagement was bloody, but Cromwell remained master of the field. The loss of the Scotch was four thousand slain, nine thousand prisoners with all

their arms and baggage. Cromwell now took Edinburgh and Leith and placed his army in winter quarters.

The portion of the Scotch army that escaped withdrew to Stirling, where Charles was crowned King of Scotland. He now supposed he ought to be his own master, but soon found he was subjected to the Covenanters and fanatical Puritans. Higgins says: "Weary therefore of his subjection he determined to return to the continent, preferring his freedom to the empty title of King. On the last day of July, with his army of fourteen thousand men, he advanced by forced marches to Carlisle in England, where he was crowned King of Great Britain. He then published manifestoes granting a general amnesty to his English subjects, except Cromwell, Bradshaw and Cook, they being most criminal in the murder of the King his father. The King continued his march to Worcester pursued by Cromwell, and on the 3rd of September was defeated near that city. After having encountered in disguise a variety of adventures, he found a vessel ready to sail and by this means got safe to France."

The Irish Royalists, among whom were Catholics as well as Protestants, still kept under arms. Ormond, who was commander-in-chief, was displeased that the King had granted the Catholics any freedom in their religion. Finding himself unable to oppose Ireton, he surrendered the command of the army to Clanrickard and embarked for France. A. D. 1650, Ireton again resumed the siege of Limerick which he had abandoned, but the noble defence of Hugh O'Neill made him feel dearly the taking of that city.

The Parliament of England hoping to detach the Irish from the cause of the King, made them such offers as appeared fair and reasonable, but these Royalists rejected them unanimously. After Charles had fled from England the Irish kept up the war till 1653, when it was found impracticable to continue the war any longer. Most of the Irish army then preferred to leave their country rather than live under the bloody rule of the Puritans. Circumstances favored their proposal, Cromwell being employed in forming his new mode of government, the protectorate. By his own authority he granted the Irish army their request, and

most of them embarked for France and Spain. Those, however, whom age and infirmities rendered unable to accompany their countrymen, were treated with the most savage barbarity; twenty thousand, both soldiers and country people, were transported to America and sold to the planters in Virginia and the Carolinas.

The Catholic officers and nobility were forced to abandon their estates in the other provinces and cross the river Shannon into Connaught and County Clare, and the penalty was death to return without his (Cromwell's) special permission. Here they were subjected to the insolence, oppression, and cruelty of the tyrants who ruled over them.

Cromwell, in the meantime, either wishing to conciliate the Irish by kindness, or give Europe a favorable opinion of himself, established a court at Athlone by which it was decreed to grant to the proscribed proprietors a portion of land sufficient for their subsistence. By this regulation some of these gentlemen enjoyed in Connaught a fraction of the revenues they possessed at home. Such grants, though moderate, excited the enmity of the Puritans. They were determined to cut off at a blow the wretched remains of the unhappy Irish, and it was by a peculiar favor of Providence they escaped their wicked designs. These Puritans who were put in possession of the Catholic estates felt while seeing them exist self-condemnation and reproach, and although they did all their stealing in the name of the Lord, yet they seem to have had misgivings while seeing those they dispossessed. The Catholics suffered many years under these tyrants. Their hope was in the King being restored. They calculated on a restitution of their property sacrificed in his cause, but unhappily that event produced a sorrowful reverse in their hopes. Cromwell, who had been the instrument of abolishing monarchy in England, now turned his arms against his masters. He suppressed by his own authority the Parliament to which he was indebted for his power. Attended by armed men he entered the hall, and after stating his motives for doing so ordered the Parliament to disperse, placing guards on all the avenues that led to the house. The only sensation this event produced in

England was one of railery. One of the songs in their places of amusement was, "Twelve Parliament men for a penny."

On landing in Scotland Charles, with shameless perjury, swore to observe "the solemn league and covenant." But his crime brought its own punishment. He had no sooner arrived than he found himself a mere tool in the hands of the Presbyterian faction, who compelled him to publish a declaration denouncing the peace which Ormond had made with the Irish, acknowledging the sinfulness of forming any compact with Papists, and revoking all commissions granted by the Lord-Lieutenant in Ireland.

Taylor says when Ireton laid siege to Limerick the place was defended with great spirit by Hugh O'Neill. A plague, however, wasted the garrison, and some purposed surrender. Ireton offered pardon to all but twenty-four, among whom were the bishops of Limerick and Emly. Great was the indignation of the people. Hugh O'Neill endeavored to inspire them with courage and exhorted them to persevere in their defence, but Fennell and others seized the keys, opened two of the gates, drove away O'Neill's guards and admitted Ireton's soldiers. Ireton immediately ordered Fennell to be executed, though he pleaded his former treachery as a recommendation to favor. But though Ireton availed himself of the treason, he was not the less disposed to punish the traitor, and the miscreant met the just reward of his crimes. With him were executed the Bishop of Emly and Friar Walsh. The most conspicuous victim selected by Ireton was the gallant Hugh O'Neill, whose brave defence of Clonmel should have recommended him to the esteem of every brave man.

O'Neill defended himself as a man and a soldier. He said he had left an honorable position in foreign service to come to the assistance of his countrymen; that he had always acted the part of an honorable enemy, and an unjust sentence would leave no stain on his character. Ireton, notwithstanding, persuaded the judges to pronounce sentence of death, but Ludlow opposed the sentence, not that he was less cruel, as his objection was the odium which the execution would bring on the English name

abroad where O'Neill was known and respected. His life was consequently spared.

Ireton now seized the Castle of Clare to threaten Galway before marching into winter quarters. During the winter Ireton died of the plague. His character was very inhuman, yet Sankey and Actel, two of his military governors, far outstripped him in cruelty. One example of Sankey's mode of administering justice will be sufficient. One of his soldiers was killed during the time he was military governor of the County Tipperary, and all his efforts to discover the murderer failed. Sankey summoned all the inhabitants of the township in which the man was slain at Tethard, and having compelled them to cast lots hanged five on whom the lots fell.

Like the other fanatics of that gloomy period, Ireton thoroughly detested the Catholic religion and deemed that its extermination would be an acceptable service to the Almighty. On this account he showed no mercy to the clergy, but hanged all that fell into his hands. This is not strange, as the Catholic clergy were always the advocates of mercy and justice, virtues which Ireton and the Puritans never learned.

Phelim O'Neill, the beginner of this war, again became conspicuous before its close, when, joining the Earl of Clanrickard, they captured the forts of Ballyshannon and Donnegal. These places, however, were soon retaken by the Puritans, when Clanrickard fled for safety to the continent, but Sir Phelim fell into the hands of his enemies. When Fleetwood, Cromwell's deputy, landed there was scarcely a Royalist under arms in Ireland.

Cromwell after this assumed the title of Protector. The Puritans, who would not bear the government of their lawful King, submitted quietly to this tyranny, which continued to

THE DEATH OF CROMWELL, SEPTEMBER 3RD, 1658.

After the death of the usurper public affairs were in too desperate a state to continue long as they stood. At such a crisis some of course had their fears, some their hopes, among the former were the Cromwellians of Ireland. Broghill and Coote,

their leaders, dispatched emissaries to England to sound the disposition of the people in order that they might act as best suited their own views. Having found they were in favor of restoring the King they returned to Dublin, where they called a meeting of the Irish Parliament, which was composed of their own creatures, they being all in possession of the goods of others. Their deliberation was how they could hold on to their ill-gotten store, and prevent the Irish from regaining their estates so liberally bestowed upon themselves by Cromwell.

They foresaw that as soon as the King would ascend the throne of his ancestors he would, or at least should, reinstate the Catholics in their rights; they resolved, therefore, to counteract this by putting in prison all the Irish who had any claims. To give a color of justice to their proceedings, Sir John Clotworthy, a bigoted Puritan, was sent to England to show how dangerous it would be to the Protestant interest to restore the Irish to their property. This Clotworthy was an ardent persecutor of the Catholics, and also opposed to the King. On his arrival in London he spread a report that a rebellion had broken out in Ireland, in confirmation of which he had letters sent by his friends to merchants in England, and copies of these forged letters sent to every part of England. This gave rise to a proclamation against the Irish Papists which the Parliament presented to the King on his restoration, though it was well known to them that the report of insurrection was founded only on the eagerness of some Catholics in taking possession of their estates without the formality of law, which they considered useless, as these lands had been taken from them a few years ago by a tyrant who acknowledged no law but that of the strongest.

Coote, Clotworthy, Broghill, and others, who had been so cruel under the Protector, now sent commissioners to the King at Breda to assure him of their allegiance and devotedness to his cause. The submission of these traitors was made when they could no longer oppose the return of the King. Cox says, they, meaning the Puritans, joyfully agreed to the restoration of the King, and that the Papists had no part in this revolution, but wishing to enjoy the fruits of the labors of other people many of them took

possession of their estates, and this became so general that the convention was obliged to issue a decree on the 20th of May, 1660, for the security of peace and property. May we not ask what were the rights of the Puritans who held those estates, which this convention was obliged to secure by decree? The length of possession did not exceed ten years, and they were given by Cromwell as a reward to the accomplices of his crimes. The right of these Puritans to those lands was the right of the highwayman to our purse. The reader can decide on the right derived from such a title and possession. Cox admits that these lands were the ancient patrimony of those Irish Papists.

When the day of Ireland's triumph comes, as come it must, it will avail but little for one of those legalized robbers to tell the people that his lands have descended to him from his ancestors, when they know that these ancestors, backed by English bayonets, despoiled their fathers of the land which God had given them, and in consequence made beggars of their offspring.

On the 26th of September, 1653, the English Parliament declared that "the rebels in Ireland were subdued and the rebellion ended."

The greater part of the nobility and gentry, with the flower of the army, had sought an asylum in foreign lands. The estates of the Catholics were deserted rather than forfeited, and the Puritans began a system of confiscation more cruel and unjust than Elizabeth, James, or Charles had ventured upon. Cromwell's Parliament boasted of its attachment to liberty, yet it was by no means scrupulous in robbing those who were subjected to its power, which proves the truth of a saying that large bodies are insensible to shame, and that a collection of men will consent to acts from which each individual would have shrunk with horror. And alas! it is so even in this free land of America. There is not an individual man in the United States, perhaps, who would ask of another assistance to help him educate his children, much less attempt to oblige him to do so, and yet in this good State of Ohio, and perhaps in all the States, poor workingmen are obliged by the laws not only to help to educate the children of the rich, but also to buy maps, pianos, carpets, drawing ma-

terials and other extravagances, which the children of the poor man can never enjoy. Americans collectively think, perhaps honestly, this is all right, and even boast of what they call our free schools. But to return : A proposition was made in the Puritan Parliament by some of the wilder fanatics, who deemed themselves commissioned by heaven to execute the same vengeance on the idolatrous Papists that the Jews did on the inhabitants of Canaan. They preferred the denunciations of the old Testament to the mercies of the New, and proclaimed themselves rather the servants of a God of vengeance than of a God of love. Those mistaken votaries of the Mosaic, rather than the Christian dispensation, have not yet quite disappeared, but they are now few and their influence contemptible ; but in Cromwell's day, and long after, such opinions were both spoken and defended. Instead of thinking intolerance disgraceful, men seemed to think that the more violent their expressions were, the more they showed the sincerity of their attachment to what they thought pure religion. Not a few of the Puritan preachers of that day denounced from pulpits the sparing of the Catholics as a heinous sin, and urged the godly to continue the work of slaughter, "even as Samuel had hewed Agag to pieces before the Lord at Gilgal." A common expression in the mouth of the fanatics, which they regarded at once as a prophecy and precept, was that passage in the Psalms, "That thy feet may be dipped in the blood of thine enemies, and that the tongue of thy dogs may be red with the same." This sentence is still used as a password by the Orangemen of the north of Ireland. Thinking men of all creeds at this day look back at the deeds and sayings of these fanatics with shame and horror. So will a future generation of Americans be heartily ashamed of the laws by which at this day about one-third of the people are obliged to support a system of schools which conscience forbids them to use.

But though the lives of the Irish were spared, they (Cromwell and his Parliament, felt no scruple about robbing them of their property. All Catholics in Ireland possessed of more than ten pounds, or fifty dollars, were divided into four classes, each subjected to different degrees of forfeiture.

First, all Jesuits, priests, or bishops, were exempt from pardon of life or estate.

Second, all persons who had been in command of the army in Ireland against the Parliament of England were to be banished during the pleasure of the Parliament, and to forfeit two-thirds of their estates, and their wives and children to be assigned lands to the value of the other third where the Parliament should appoint.

Third, all persons of the popish religion who resided in Ireland from the first of October, 1641, to the first of March, 1650, and had not always been friendly to the Parliament, were to forfeit one-third of their estates and be assigned lands for the other two-thirds where the Parliament should appoint.

Fourth, all other persons, meaning Protestants of course, who had not been in arms for the Parliament, having an opportunity to do so, were to forfeit one-fifth of their estates. There were even then in Ireland some humane Protestants who would not join those fanatics in robbing and murdering their Catholic neighbors, and to these Cromwell showed little mercy.

Finally, the Marquis of Ormond, the Earls of Inchiquin, Roscommon and Bramhall, and the Protestant Bishop of Derry, were distinctly mentioned by name, and declared unworthy of pardon for life, title, or estate.

High courts of justice, a species of court-martial, in which Cromwell's officers were both judges and jurors, were not very strict about the letter of the law, or the strict rules of evidence; and they were inclined to severity by their prejudices and their interest, as they generally got possession of the lands of those they found guilty. They found a scarcity of victims after the severest inquisition; not quite two hundred could be charged, even by this court, with illegal murders during the ten years' war, and the evidence against many of those was such as would be rejected in any court of justice. Lord Mayo and Colonel Bagnall were certainly condemned unjustly, and Lord Muskerry would have shared the same fate had not a number of Protestant settlers come forward to bear grateful testimony of the protection he had afforded them. In Ulster, the chief vic-

tim was Sir Phelim O'Neill, who had been the first to take up arms against the Puritans, and whose followers were charged with the excesses on which the tale of the pretended Irish massacre was founded. Nothing in the life of this unfortunate chief was as honorable as his death. The Parliament was now determined on the death of the King, and offered O'Neill pardon and restoration of his estates if he would produce any kind of proof (note the words, reader, "any kind of proof,") of his being encouraged by the King in his insurrection. But he affirmed to the last hour of his life that he had never had any authority from the King, and preferred death to perjury and dishonor.

The disposal of the forfeited estates was the next object of the Parliament. An act, called the Adventurers' Act, which had been passed at the commencement of the civil war, provided that the lands of those who were in arms should be divided among such persons as should advance money and become adventurers in the subjection of Ireland. Two millions and a half of acres were to be assigned and allotted in the following proportions, viz: Each adventurer of £200 was to have 1,000 acres in Ulster; of £300, 1,000 acres in Connaught; of £450, 1,000 acres in Munster, and of £600, 1,000 acres in Leinster, according to English measure. And out of these lands was to be paid a yearly quit rent reserved to the crown, viz: One penny per acre in Ulster, three half pence in Connaught, two pence in Munster, and three pence in Leinster.

In the year 1653 preparations were made to put this act into execution, and an ordinance was issued for the satisfaction of the adventurers and soldiers. By this decree the forfeited lands in the counties of Limerick, Tipperary and Waterford, in Munster; King's and Queen's counties, East and West Meath, in Leinster; Down, Antrim and Armagh, in Ulster, together with the county of Louth, if necessary, except the barony of Atherdee, were to be charged with the money advanced by the adventurers and the arrears of pay due soldiers, also the lands beginning at one mile from the town of Sligo, and so winding upon the coast, not above four miles distant from the sea, which was called the

mile line, which line was intended to cut off the communication of the Irish with the sea.

Commissioners of delinquency accordingly sat at Athlone to determine the qualifications of Papists, and on their decree other Commissioners who sat at Loughrea arranged the transplantation. Many of the Catholics did not take out their decrees, and the removal was not completed at the restoration. Although the lands of the Catholics were seized by the Puritans they were by the act of settlement, on the restoration of Charles the Second, vested in the crown.

The confiscation of the lands of the Catholics in Ireland thus made by Cromwell was nearly as complete as that of Canaan by the Israelites. The Puritans believed they were, like the Israelites, the chosen people of God. These Cromwellians still held on to their ill-gotten store. They were for the most part men of low origin and mean education, but enthusiasm gave them a stern dignity.

Taylor says, that the act which gave them the lands of the Irish was the most unparalleled public robbery recorded in any history, nobody can question. Few, however, felt any scruples. The sufferers were Papists, and they had been taught to look on them as idolators, whose punishment was an acceptable service in the sight of heaven. There were some, however, whose consciences were not deluded by this blasphemous sophistry. Some of the soldiers restored their lots to the owners for a trifling sum, or generously bestowed it as a present.

The land, however, seemed likely to be useless for want of cultivators. The Cromwellians had shown little mercy during the war and massacred the wretched peasantry by thousands; others they had sold as slaves to the planters of Virginia, and numbers, as we have already seen, had gone as soldiers to foreign countries. The design of shutting up the miserable remnant of the Catholics in Connaught was now laid aside; they were kept as slaves to the new proprietors, and treated as the Gibeonites had been by Joshua. The Cromwellians ruled their wretched serfs with a rod of iron; they looked on them as an inferior species, a degraded caste with whom they could not feel

sympathy. The peasants were forbidden to leave their huts without permission, and strictly prohibited from assembling for religious worship, or for any other purpose. The Catholic clergy were ordered to quit the country under pain of death; and it was made an offence, the penalty of which was death, to celebrate Mass, or perform any of the ceremonies, or administer any of the sacraments of the Catholic Church.

Still there were a faithful few who lingered near their beloved congregations, and at the hazard of their lives, afforded to their flocks the consolations of religion. They exercised their ministry in dens and caves; in the fastnesses of the mountains and in deserted bogs. The Cromwellians learned that the abominations of popery were yet continued in the land, and they employed bloodhounds to track the haunts of these devoted men. During the latter part of the seventeenth and the beginning of eighteenth century priest hunting was a favorite field sport with the Puritans in Ireland.

But common justice forbids us to dismiss the Cromwellian reign in this summary way, for we now behold Reformation the second, which the Puritans called "a thorough Godly reformation," saying that reformation the first was but a half finished job, and that the Church of England, as by law established, was only a daughter of the "old whore of Babylon." This second reformation was just like the first; its main object was plunder. The remaining property of the church was now confiscated and shared among the reformers who, if they had had time, would have taken it all and shared it out again as they did part of it. It was really good to see these Puritans ousting from the abbey lands the descendants of those who got them in reformation the first. And it was particularly good to hear the bishops of the first reformation crying "sacrilege," when driven out of the places and churches which their predecessors had stolen from the Catholics, who held them expressly by magna charta.

And to make the second reformation as much as possible like the first, the clergy were abused just as the Catholic clergy had been; the bishops were shut out of Parliament as the Catholic bishops had been; the Cathedrals and churches were again ran-

sacked; Cranmer's tables put in place of the altars were knocked to pieces; there was a general crusade against crosses, portraits of Christ, religious pictures, paintings on church windows, images on the outsides of Cathedrals, tombs in the churches. As the Mass books had been destroyed in reformation number one, the book of common prayer was destroyed in reformation number two, and a new book, called the "Directory," ordered to be used in its place, an imitation of Henry the Eighth's "Christian Man" and Cranmer's prayer book. And why not this Directory? If the Mass book of fifteen hundred years standing, and approved of by all the people, could be destroyed, surely the prayer book gotten up by Cranmer only a few years ago, and never approved by half the people, might also be destroyed.

Now these two reformations had each a Cromwell; the first was Thomas and the second Oliver. Thomas was appointed to assist Henry the Eighth to make a godly reformation of errors, heresies and abuses in the church, and the latter was self-commissioned to make this thorough Godly reformation. The former Cromwell confiscated, pillaged and robbed the church and the poor, and just the same did the latter Cromwell. The latter died in his bed, while the former, when the tyrant who employed him needed his services no longer, died on a scaffold. Cromwell's reformers were great Bible readers, and almost every man became at times a preacher. The soldiers were uncommonly gifted in this way, and they claimed a right to preach as one of the conditions upon which they enlisted to bear arms against the King.

Everyone interpreted the Bible in his own way. They were all for the Bible, without note or comment. Roger North (a Protestant) in his examination of the horrors committed by the people, said: "At Dover a woman cut off the head of her child, alleging that, like Abraham, she had a particular command from God. Another woman at York crucified her mother. These are only a specimen of these horrors." Cobbett, in his *History of the Reformation*, says: "And why not these cruelties? We read of killings in the Bible, and if everyone is to be his own interpreter of that book, who is to say they shall act contrary to their

own interpretation? And why not all these new and monstrous sects? If there could be one new religion, one new creed made, why not a thousand? What right had Luther to make a new religion, and then Calvin another new one, and Cranmer one differing from both these, and then Elizabeth mixed up all three and made one of her own. Were all these to make new religions, and were the enlightened soldiers of Cromwell's army to be deprived of this right? The others all claimed as their authority the 'inspiration of the Holy Ghost.' What," says Cobbett, "are Cromwell and his soldiers to be deprived of the right to claim the Holy Spirit? Poor 'godly' fellows, why were they to be the only people in the world not qualified for choosing a religion for themselves, and also for those they had at the point of their bayonets!" In one respect, however, these new reformers differed from the old ones. They did indeed make a new religion, and commanded the people to follow it, and then inflicted punishment on the refractory, but these punishments were light compared with those inflicted by Elizabeth in England. They forbade the use of the book of common prayer in all churches, and also in private families, but they punished the disobedient with a fine, and did not hang them and rip out their bowels as the Church of England sovereigns had done with those who said or heard Mass. Bad as these fanatics were they never persecuted with a hundredth part of the cruelty that the Church of England had done, aye, and that it did again the moment it regained its power after the restoration of

CHARLES THE SECOND,

when it became more cruel to the Catholics than it had been in the days of Elizabeth, and that, too, notwithstanding that the Catholics of all ranks had during the war supported the royal cause. Cobbett writes thus: "Charles was suspected to be a Catholic in his heart, and his brother James, his presumptive heir, was an openly declared Catholic. Hence the reign of Charles was one unbroken scene of injustice, fraud and false swearing. There were plots charged to the Catholics, but really plots against them. The great fire in London occurred in this

reign, and the monument erected to commemorate this fire has on its base the following: 'This monument is erected in memory of the burning of this Protestant city by the Popish faction, in September, A.D. 1666, for the destruction of the Protestant religion and liberty, and for the introduction of popery and slavery.' But the fury of the Papists is not yet satisfied." It is well known that this inscription was made by order of Sir Patience Ward, who, as Ehard shows, was afterwards convicted of perjury. Burnett says, "that one Hubert, a French Papist, confessed that he started the fire, but Higgins (a Protestant, mind,) proves that Hubert was a Protestant, and Rapin agrees with Higgins." Nobody knew better than the King the monstrousness of this lie. But Charles was a lazy debauchee, unfeeling and ungrateful, as he had in fifty-two instances held his life at the mercy of Catholics (some of them very poor) while he was a wanderer, with large rewards held out for taking him and dreadful punishments for concealing him. This profligate King, whose ingratitude to his Irish subjects is without a parallel, had the meanness to suffer this lying inscription to stand. It was defaced by his brother James, but when the Dutchman, William of Orange, came, it was restored, and there it stands even to this day, and all the world, except the mere mob, know it to tell a most malignant lie.

By conduct like this, by encouraging these fanatics, Charles prepared the way for the events by which his family were excluded from the throne forever. To set aside his brother, who was an avowed Catholic, was their great object. This was a monstrous attempt, but, legally considered, what was it more than to prefer the illegitimate Elizabeth to the legitimate Mary Stuart? What more was it than to enact that the children born of Elizabeth, whether legitimate or not, should be heir to the throne of England?

The great business of the Irish Parliament was an act for the settlement of the kingdom, which in the House of Commons was worded so as to exclude all the Irish, but the lords would not concur. They naturally sympathized with the ancient gentry,

and felt disgusted with the vulgarity of the Puritans, by whose presumption they were subjected to annoyance and insult.

London became now the scene of intrigues by which the fate of Irish property was decided. The adventurers raised a large sum to bribe the English council, and the Irish House of Commons secured the services of Ormond by voting him a present of thirty thousand pounds. A stronger ground of hope was the favor of the English people, who were now more prejudiced than ever against the Irish and the Papists, by means of the many falsehoods the Cromwellians had uttered. The English had at this time one of their No Popery fits, with which they have been afflicted periodically ever since the pretended Reformation. The Irish had neither money nor friends, as all the lawmakers were bought up by the highest bidder. Ormond advised them to appeal to the King's mercy by promise of submission. The Irish suspected Ormond's sincerity, and so far were perfectly right; but they rejected his advice and spurned his assistance, in which they were decidedly wrong. The Irish rested their claims on right and justice, but in establishing English interests in Ireland right and justice were unknown.

Charles looked upon every concession made to the Irish as an act of favor, and gave offence to his privy council, most of whom were interested in the plunder. In the meantime the popular clamor against Papists was increased by every artifice that avarice could devise, and as the English were now laboring under one of their fits of No Popery, they were easily made the dupes of designing men. Tales the most absurd were invented and believed, calumnies not merely improbable but physically impossible were readily believed. The lie refuted to-day, was simply repeated to-morrow and generally credited; again it was proved false, and again as regularly proclaimed as a fact.

The King now saw he must dismiss the Irish claimants. He affected indignation to perfection. An order was made that no more petitions should be received from the Irish, and their agents were forbidden to appear in his Majesty's presence. A bill confirming the title of the Cromwellians in their lands in Ireland was passed by the Irish Parliament and signed by the King.

The history of this transaction is not very intelligible. It is difficult to discover the reason why Charles should sanction this robbery of those who had been faithful to him, in order to reward those fanatics who had murdered his father and driven himself into exile. The dread of another civil war, from the fanatical hatred of the Catholic religion by the people of England, will scarcely account for the readiness with which he consented to the robbery, though it certainly had some real weight. But indolence, and an anxiety to put an end to perplexing contests, was probably the cause. Burnett, and other Protestant historians, assign as a cause and the justification of the King's robbery and ingratitude that, being a Protestant King, he could not trust Catholic subjects, and no doubt some believed so. But unfortunately for this reasoning, Charles was at heart a Catholic himself. Macauley, with all his malice against the Catholic Church, admits that Father Huddleston administered the sacrament to Charles, and that it was proved beyond dispute that the King was perfectly sensible at the time.

We do not possess any reliable records of the early part of this reign, and the private documents that have been collected are so filled with notorious falsehoods that we can not place confidence in a single statement that they contain. The commissioners appointed to consider the qualifications of innocence in Ireland were all Englishmen. They had been carefully selected on account of their attachment to the cause of Protestantism, but they acted with more impartiality than the government either expected or desired. Rigorous as the qualifications of innocence had been made, in the first month of trials thirty-eight were pronounced innocent, and seven guilty; in the second, seven were found guilty and fifty-three acquitted; in the third, seventy-seven were found innocent, and only five were condemned. This was a result which nobody anticipated. Ormond, who had devised the whole plan of the qualifications and commission, was confounded. The Cromwellians, fearing that their plunder was about to be wrested from their hands, determined to take up arms. A committee of officers who had served under Cromwell met to organize a general insurrection, and laid

plans to seize the Castle of Dublin. The House of Commons was in a violent rage at the probability of seeing justice done to the Papists. They presented an address to the Lord-Lieutenant, asking him to make the qualifications of the Papists more rigorous, and suggesting such alterations as would have involved the whole Catholic party in one sweeping condemnation. The whole House, with Mervyn the Speaker at their head, went in a body to present it, and Mervyn on presenting it made an inflated speech full of dark hints and warnings. The address was received coldly by Ormond, who gave a very unsatisfactory reply. Mervyn resolved to appeal to the fanatics, and printed his speech, but it was not suited to the temper of the times, as the periodical spell of No Popery did not affect the English people at that time. The Commons, all Puritans, finding that their directions had not been adopted, passed a resolution declaring that the Commissioners, by restoring the land to Papists, were unjust to Protestants, though they and all the world knew their right to these lands was the right of the strongest.

Ormond feared that the Puritans would destroy their own interests, and determined to save them in spite of themselves. He promptly arrested the principal leaders, and offered a reward for the apprehension of those who had escaped. But he did not venture to proceed with much rigor against Protestant rebels; a few were punished, the rest received the King's pardon. The firmness of Ormond saved the Puritan faction in the House of Commons. They withdrew the obnoxious resolution, but at the same time sent up an address representing the danger and sin of tolerating popery, and requesting that a proclamation should be issued banishing all the popish clergy from the kingdom.

No less than four thousand claims were entered for trial before the Commissioners, and from the number that had already established their innocence there was reason to dread that the Catholic proprietors would recover a large portion of their estates. This was evaded by a new contrivance. The time for the sitting of the commission was limited to a certain number of days, during which only about one-fourth of the claims could possibly

be heard. The court then closed and was never opened afterwards. About three thousand of the most ancient and respectable Irish families were thus stripped of all their properties, without even the form of a trial, without even the privilege not refused to the meanest criminal, that of being heard in his own defence. They made application to the King for redress, but Charles, in compliance with the advice of his council, refused to pay the slightest regard to their petitions. Of course they were finally and hopelessly ruined, and Cromwell's robbers left in quiet possession of their lands and property. The only concession made to the Catholics was that Ormond was permitted to nominate twenty out of the three thousand whose claims had not been heard, to be restored to their estates as a special favor, and even this was so distasteful to those who made Protestantism a cloak for knavery, that Ormond did not venture to present the bill till he had procured the removal of some of the most violent of the Puritan psalm-singers.

By the act of explanation it was provided that all lands vested in the King by the act of Parliament should be freed and discharged from all conveyances made before the 23d of October, 1641, by any tenant; persons not therefore adjudged innocent were forever debarred from any claim; the adventurers and soldiers to be confirmed within two months; no adventurer, soldier, or Protestant claiming in Connaught or Clare before the 1st of September, 1663, in possession of lands restorable, to be removed until he should have as much other forfeited land set out to him; all deficient adventurers to be satisfied with lands in the same county; Protestant officers serving before 1641 confirmed in lands not already decreed away by the Commissioners. If a case of doubt or defect occurred in the act, the Commissioners might within two years after their sitting acquaint the Lord-Lieutenant and council therewith, and such order of amendment or explanation as they should make in writing within the said two years, and enrolled in chancery, should be as effectual as if it were part of the act.

In pursuance of this last clause, the Commissioners proposed certain doubts to the Lord-Lieutenant and council, and an ex-

planatory order was issued which may be considered part of the act. It declared that all estates which, on the 23d of October, 1641, or at any time since, belonged to any Irish Papist, or had been returned by the Down survey as owned by any Irish Papist at any time after the 23rd of October, 1641, were vested in the King upon account of rebellion, except such estates as had been decreed to innocents, and belonged to them on the 22d of October, 1641. It was finally agreed that all adventurers and soldiers should hold in fee simple such lands as should be certified to belong to them.

Such were the Acts of Settlement and Explanation, called by Mervyn the Magna Charta of Irish Protestants. But what were they to the Catholics? What to the Irish people? At least two-thirds of the entire country changed owners by this wholesale system of robbery.

The new proprietors felt conscious that their claims were not founded in justice, and were tormented with a sense of insecurity. They looked upon the native Irish as their natural enemies, and feared every hour some new attempt for the recovery of their estates. This dread exists even to this day. The writer well remembers that in 1829, when Catholic emancipation was discussed in the British Parliament, the strongest argument against it by the Puritan bigots was that the Catholics when in power would claim the restoration of their property. The guilt of the Stuarts in thus abandoning to ruin innocent men, to whom they were bound by every tie of honor and gratitude, did not go unpunished. James the Second suffered for the crimes of Charles the Second, and no doubt Charles the First suffered for the wrong done by his father.

The conduct of Ormond in these transactions has been the theme of unmeasured praise and equally unmeasured censure. If for the sake of establishing a Protestant interest in Ireland it was lawful and even praiseworthy to commit treachery, fraud and universal robbery, then we may join in all the praise that has been heaped upon him by Protestant historians. But if the best ends cannot sanctify the worst means; if Mammon and Moloch be unworthy allies of the cause of true religion, then we

must condemn him as one who was guilty of atrocious evil to effect a doubtful good. The simple fact that before the war his income was but seven thousand pounds per annum, but after the final settlement his yearly income was over eighty thousand pounds, more than ten times the former amount. He felt to the last hours of his life a consciousness that the part he had acted would not bear examination. There was a time, even in the life of the writer, when it would have been unsafe to detail these facts, and it is doubtful if the truth dare be told in either England or Scotland to-day. And had the red-coats and Hessians sent here by King George succeeded in overcoming Washington and his noble army, it is certain it dare not be told in America to-day.

A. D. 1666. The attention of the English Parliament at this time was called to the amazing fall in rents, and all the ingenuity of the period was employed to account for the cause. The solution arrived at was so ludicrous that it is scarcely possible to believe the authors serious. They averred that the cause of the English distress was the importation of lean cattle from Ireland! And yet this laughable decision was received with universal applause. The English with one accord denounced Irish cattle as the cause of all their miseries. Petitions to prevent the introduction of the obnoxious animals were presented in countless numbers, and at length a bill was introduced into the House of Commons prohibiting perpetually the importation of Irish cattle, dead or alive, fat or lean, great or small.

The long civil war, the voluntary exile of the gentry, who had taken with them all their movable property, and the prohibition of all foreign trade, had reduced Ireland to a miserable condition. She had no commerce, no manufactures, cattle and wool were her only exports, and the exclusion of her cattle from the English market threatened absolute ruin. The great fire in London for a short time absorbed attention. But the excitement about Irish cattle survived the flames, and even gained strength from the conflagration. When the news of the calamity reached Ireland, the Irish determined to raise a contribution for the relief of the sufferers, and as they had neither sil-

ver nor gold they generously sent them a present of cattle. The vision of Pharaoh's lean kine was not interpreted to portend a more fearful visitation than this donation. It was represented as an attempt to evade the prohibition under the pretext of benevolence, and a universal clamor was raised throughout the kingdom. The King had the good sense to know there was not the slightest connection between the public's distress and Irish cows. He declared himself opposed to the bill, and asserted that it should never receive his assent.

The Commons cared little for the King's opposition. The exchequer was empty, which left the King at the mercy of the Parliament. A bill declaring that the importation of Irish cattle was a nuisance passed the Commons with wondrous unanimity, and was sent up to the Lords. Their lordships, instead of the word "nuisance," used the words "a detriment and a mischief." The Commons refused to accept the amendment, and an angry conference in which neither party seemed disposed to yield took place. The debates in the Lords were conducted with disgraceful heat and violence, but at the same time with childish folly. Arlington insisted that the importation of Irish cattle should be declared "a nuisance." Lord Ashley proposed that it should be called "a felony." Clarendon, with more wit, and as much reason, suggested that it should be deemed "adultery." The Duke of Buckingham said that none opposed the bill but those who held stolen Irish estates. Ossory, Ormond's eldest son, was roused by this insult (he and his father holding dishonestly large estates in Ireland), and sent a challenge to the Duke. But Buckingham dreaded Irish courage as much as he despised the robbers of the Irish. He declined to accept the challenge, but made his complaint to the House and Ossory was sent to the Tower. Ashley declaimed with violence against the robbers of the Irish and all who had profited by doing so. Ossory retorted that such virulence became none but one of Cromwell's robbers. At length the King, finding that the Commons would refuse to vote him supplies, requested his friends to give up any further opposition to the bill, which was finally passed with the "nuisance" clause. In giving his assent, how-

ever, Charles complained bitterly of the harsh treatment he had received by the Parliament, and to compensate the Irish for the loss of their trade, he issued a proclamation permitting them to hold commercial intercourse with every country, whether at war or peace with his Majesty.

Ormond zealously exerted himself to avert the evils which the cruel jealousy of England threatened to inflict on the country he governed. He determined to establish manufactures in Ireland, and for this purpose brought over from the continent skilful workmen, whom he planted on his estates at Clonmel and Carrick-on-Suir, and at Chapelizod in the county of Dublin. He procured an act of Parliament for the encouragement of the linen manufacture, and labored with success to improve the cultivation of flax. But he was stopped in the midst of his career by the intrigues of his enemies in England, aided by some of the usurpers in Ireland who were jealous of his power. Of these the most formidable was Lord Broghill, who has already filled considerable space in this history. His intrigues, though conducted with secrecy, became known to Ormond, and when Broghill departed for England Ormond appointed his son his deputy, and followed him thither in order to watch and counteract his opposition.

In the meantime, Arlington informed Ormond that his Majesty had resolved to remove him from office and had given the place to Lord Roberts. The new governor's rule was short, he displeased all parties by his stubbornness and incapacity. He was removed and Lord Berkley appointed in his stead. Berkley's administration filled the Protestants with alarm. He permitted the Catholic bishops to exercise their functions in public; he granted commissions of the peace to several of the Catholic gentry, and admitted some into corporations. Complaints were made, both in Ireland and England, that the government did not uphold the Protestant ascendancy, as the monopoly of place, power and profit was called, and as Protestantism and injustice were peas from the same pod in Ireland, tales of plots and threatened massacres were revived and eagerly spread by those who were interested in the spread of what was called the dan-

gers of popery, and the maintenance of Protestant ascendancy.

But the Puritans had even greater cause for alarm. The Catholics, through their agent, complained of frauds that had been practiced on those of their religion, and obtained from the King commissioners of inquiry. The Puritans, afraid they would lose some of their ill-gotten store, appealed to the people of England against this act of justice, and the appeal was answered by people and Parliament with a force that justice was unable to resist. Lord Berkley was recalled from the government of Ireland and the commission of inquiry was suspended.

The Earl of Essex was appointed Governor of Ireland, but soon, wearied and disgusted, asked leave to resign, and was succeeded by Ormond. This appointment gave rise to much speculation, for Ormond had been long under a cloud, and had been treated with coldness ever since his removal from office. But in truth the King had no choice. The Puritans would not suffer him to send an honest governor to Ireland, and Ormond had sufficient influence with the leaders to restrain their excesses. Ormond had not long returned to the government when he received from England intelligence of a plot. Ormond had too much experience in getting up plots himself, not to see at once the nature of these pretended discoveries made by

TITUS OATES.

But he knew also the danger of discrediting these deluded and fanatical Puritans, and he pretended an alarm which he did not feel. It is impossible to discover the author of that absurdity called the Popish Plot. The disgraceful scenes that followed, and the monstrous tales told by Oates, Bedloe, Dangerfield, and the other herd of informers, full of inconsistencies, improbabilities, contradictions and even physical impossibilities—every Englishman must wish that the pages recording these scenes of injustice and disgrace could be blotted forever from the history of his country. But it is best they should remain to show the effects of zeal without knowledge, and of prejudice worked upon by the unprincipled and the designing in a land that lays claim

to civilization and the religion of the God of love and mercy. The contrivers of the plot saw that its truth would be questioned if no mention of Ireland was made; for if such horrors as they described were gotten up for England, where the number of Catholics was inconsiderable, what was to be expected in Ireland where they formed the great bulk of the population. Unfortunately for the plotters, however, they were unacquainted in Ireland, and proceeding by guess they made blunders, though they meant well as Puritans. They made oath that the leaders of the Irish popish plot were Peter Talbot, the Archbishop of Dublin; Lord Mountgarrett and Colonel Peppard. Orders were sent over by the English council to arrest these traitors. Ormond proceeded to obey these commands. He found Talbot in the last stages of a fatal disease, and Lord Mountgarrett bedridden from old age, and of course arrested both without difficulty; but Colonel Peppard could nowhere be found, for the simple reason that no such person had ever been in existence. Their next guess was equally unfortunate. They assured Ormond that a vessel laden with arms and ammunition was on her way to Waterford. Orders to have the vessel seized and strictly searched were issued. She arrived in due time, but lo! she was laden with salt. Ormond now issued two proclamations, which for their severity and injustice ought to have satisfied the fiercest Puritan. The first was that the priest of any place where a Protestant was disturbed in his possessions, or any murder committed, should be sent to prison, and thence transported, unless within fourteen days the guilty party was either killed or taken prisoner. The second forbade the Catholics to enter the Castle of Dublin, or any other fort, without special permission from the authorities, and ordered that fairs and markets should be held outside cities and corporate towns, and ordered that the Papists should attend them unarmed. Still the Puritans and robbers were not satisfied. They requested Ormond to arrest all the nobility and gentry who were Catholics, and also to banish the Catholic inhabitants from every city and walled town. Ormond knew the meaning of these hints. The Puritans wished to goad the Irish into rebellion, and thus afford a pretext for

more confiscation, as the Catholics had still some property left, and also to confirm the plot, as its credit was shaken by the tranquillity of Ireland. But Ormond with all his faults was unwilling to aid those Puritan hypocrites, and, besides, was too proud to be the instrument of others guilt. He pursued a moderate course, and Ireland, to the sore annoyance of the bigots, remained without the semblance of rebellion. The conduct of Ormond was severely censured in many of the pamphlets written in England at the time, and Shaftsbury ventured to repeat them in the House of Lords. But Ossory, speaking in his father's defence, made such an exposure of Shaftsbury's character, which was not well calculated to bear a rigid examination, as effectually silenced him in the future.

But an Irish victim was necessary to the contrivers of the plot, and they finally selected

OLIVER PLUNKETT, CATHOLIC ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH.

He was dragged over to England and tried for a crime alleged to have been committed in Ireland. The grand jury on the first occasion threw out the bill against the Bishop, but the informers brought forward more false witnesses and succeeded better in the second attack. The accused was refused time to bring over from Ireland witnesses for his defence, and he himself pointed out to the jury the inconsistencies and improbabilities of the evidence against him, which were indeed sufficiently glaring. But in these evil days innocence was a feeble defence where witnesses were ready to swear anything, and both judge and jury equally ready to believe them. The Bishop was found guilty and executed. In his last moments he declared his innocence in the most solemn manner, and added that if he acknowledged the charges made against him, no one in Ireland acquainted with the circumstances would believe his dying words.

The House of Commons tried to avert the effect of the Bishop's declaration and voted there was a plot in Ireland. But as they were unable to show any evidence of its existence, they only hastened the recovery of the people from their delusion. These fanatics were not content with the blood of the Arch-

bishop. On the day of his execution one of their preachers disturbed his last moments by exhorting him to embrace what he called the religion of the gospel. No doubt this fanatical preacher believed his was the religion of Christ, though he must have known that it was upheld in Ireland by robbery and murder.

A. D. 1681. The tide of popular frenzy began now to turn, the fury against the Catholics had passed away exhausted by its own violence. The dying declarations of innocence made by all the victims began at length to have effect, and when the venerable Earl of Stafford, the last who was murdered on account of this plot, declared on the scaffold his total ignorance of it, the multitude responded with tears, "We believe you, my lord." The King no longer feared the fanatics when he saw them deserted by the people, and put an end to their power by dissolving the Parliament.

CHAPTER V.

*Death of Charles the Second—His Brother James Proclaimed King,
whose Principles of General Toleration Work His Ruin.*

THE change that now took place is full of instruction. The whole herd of spies and informers turned on their former employers, and Charles made good use of the instruments his enemies had provided. Russell and Sydney perished on the scaffold by the same abominable arts they had used for the murder of the Catholics. Shaftsbury, the great patron of the popish plot, only escaped the gallows by flight, and died in exile unpitied. The Protestants in Ireland were now in doubt and uncertainty. They suspected that Charles meant to restore the Irish Catholics to their property, and they trembled for their ill-gotten store. Taylor says: "Their hearts sank within them, They were no more the compact, warlike body which had been able to dictate its own terms at the Restoration." Before these Puritans could be cleared out of Ireland Charles died, and the accession of his brother, James the Second, opened a new scene.

Macauley says the funeral of Charles called forth much censure. The Whigs sneered at it, and the Covenanters of Scotland said excitingly that the curse denounced of old against wicked Kings had been signally fulfilled, and that the departed King had been buried with the burial of an ass. These Covenanters at the Restoration had forced Charles to sign the Covenant, the object of which was the annihilation of popery

and the suspicion that the King meant to do justice to the Catholics called forth all their malice.

We cannot find in history the example of a King so generous to infamous rebels as Charles had been to the Cromwellians of Ireland. But so far from their gratitude being equal to his goodness they were continually plotting against him. It is incredible to think how the King was influenced by his Ministers to act contrary, not only to justice, but even to the interests of his house. To heap upon his enemies the property of his faithful subjects is unexampled in history. Charles seems to have acted on the advice of Clarendon, his Prime Minister, which was, "Do good to your enemies, your friends will not injure you."

MacGeoghegan says it appears that Charles dared not to die in that religion which he professed while on the throne. He showed great indifference to the bishops of the Church of England who surrounded his death-bed with their exhortations. He requested that a priest should be sent him, from whom he received the sacrament according to the rites of the Catholic Church. As soon as Charles breathed his last his brother, the Duke of York, received the homage of the lords. He was proclaimed King in London and all the provinces under the name of

JAMES THE SECOND.

Public rejoicings were made in all the towns, in which inclination and duty seemed to combine. The news having reached Ireland, Ormond, who was Governor, convened his council in Dublin, and the day following James was proclaimed with great solemnity in the city. The new sovereign convened his council in England. He made a speech to them, which was well received and increased their attachment to his person.

"I will endeavor," he said, "to preserve the government in church and state in the manner by law established. I know that the Church of England is favorable to monarchy, and its members have shown on many occasions that they are faithful subjects; I will take care to defend and support it. I know, likewise, that the laws of the kingdom are sufficient to make the King as great as I could wish. As I am determined to preserve the preroga-

tives of the crown, so I will never deprive others of what belongs to them. I have often hazarded my life in defence of the nation; I am still ready to expose it to preserve its rights."

This address of the King was well received, and considered noble and sublime. Soon after this addresses poured in from every quarter filled with assurances of loyalty and gratitude. Cities, corporations and universities were lavishing in their praises and congratulations. The Parliaments of both England and Scotland met at this time. The Scotch voted sixty thousand pounds sterling a year for life to his Majesty; England vied with Scotland in generosity. The Parliament voted the King during life the revenues of his brother at his death, together with the funds which were allowed him while Duke of York.

It was moved and seconded to take down the names of those who had voted in the reign of his brother to exclude him from the throne on account of his being a Catholic, but one of the secretaries declared that the King pardoned all who had opposed him. The declaration was received with applause. The Parliament renewed the trial of Titus Oates, who had done tall swearing during the popish plot. He was now brought to justice on a charge of perjury, and never was a wretch more clearly convicted. He was condemned to pay a fine, to be flogged, to have his ears cut off, and to be imprisoned for life. This auspicious beginning seemed to promise the King a happy reign. During the first six months he reigned in the hearts of his people, but the aspect of his affairs were soon sadly changed.

James was a Catholic and wished to protect that religion. His zeal for religion was contrary to his worldly policy, but his real imprudence was the confidence he placed in some members of his council, who secretly betrayed him. James had two objects in view: first, to grant Catholics freedom to exercise their religion; and, secondly, to enable them to hold public offices from which they were unjustly excluded. The Protestants became alarmed, as nearly all the leaders held property unjustly taken either from individual Catholics or from the church. Therefore, every step the King took in favor of his own religion was considered by these political Protestants as the destruction of their

own. Clarendon, the King's brother-in-law, was recalled from the government of Ireland, and in February, 1686,

RICHARD TALBOTT,

who was a Catholic, and already a Lieutenant-General, was appointed Governor of Ireland.

The Catholic religion began to be openly professed. The clergy appeared in public in the dress of their different orders; the ancient proprietors took possession of their estates which had been usurped by the Puritan soldiers, and Catholics as well as Protestants were appointed to public offices.

Cobbett, in his *History of the Reformation*, says: "James was sober, frugal in his expenses, economical in public matters, but he was weak and obstinate, and he was a Catholic, and his sincerity made him no match for his artful and interested foes." If the existence of a few priests in the country was so dangerous to the safety of the law church, what was to be its fate if a Catholic King continued to sit on the throne. It was easy to see that by degrees Catholic clergy would again occupy the parsonages and the bishops' palaces, especially as the King was as zealous as he was sincere. The Reformation had made consciences of so pliant a nature, men had changed under it backward and forward so many times that this filling of the church with Catholic priests and bishops would, perhaps, amongst the people in general, and particularly amongst the higher classes, have produced but little alarm. But not so with the clergy, who soon saw their danger, and who, lazy and worthless as they were, lost no time in preparing to avert it. James acted as far as the law would let him, and as far as prerogative would enable him to go beyond the law, on principles of general toleration of all creeds. By this he obtained the support of the Sectaries. But the church had got the good things, and it resolved, if possible, to keep them. Besides this, though the abbey land and the rest of the property of the church and the poor had been a good while in their possession, still able lawyers, having their opinions backed by a well organized army, might pick a flaw in the grants made to them by Henry, Edward and Elizabeth. Be their

thoughts what they might, certain it is that all those who were conspicuous in the revolution which took place soon after, and which drove James from the throne, were among those whose ancestors had been bribed to become Protestants by sharing in the lands which Henry, Edward and Elizabeth had stolen from the church and the poor.

With motives so powerful against him, the King ought to have been very prudent and wary. He was just the contrary. As to the conduct of the Catholics, prudence and moderation were not to be expected from them. Look at the fines, the burning irons, the racks, the gibbets, and the ripping knives of the late reigns, and say if it were not both natural and just that their joy should be without bounds. But their time of rejoicing was short, for a plan for compelling the King to give up his tolerating projects was already on foot, by which

WILLIAM, PRINCE OF ORANGE,

was invited to come over with a Dutch army to assist them to hold on to their ill-gotten store. William landed in England without any opposition, and having marched from Torbay to London, by the perfidy of the English army entered the King's palace and drove out the English guards. The King knowing the same fanatical spirit had beheaded his father, and not wishing to have them perform the same operation on himself, fled from his palace and his kingdom and took refuge in France.

The stage being now clear for the actors in this affair, we have now to see how they went to work, and in due time we will also see how effectually they finished it. Macauley, (after writing over one hundred and fifty pages to prove James both a Papist and a tyrant, and that he unlawfully permitted his Catholic subjects to build churches in which to worship God), tells us that on the last day of June the decisive step was taken. A formal invitation was dispatched to the Hague requesting William to come with his army to England. This paper was signed in cypher, mind, by Shrewsbury, Devonshire, Danby, Lumley, Compton, Russell and Sydney. Herbert undertook to be the messenger. Now we have no means of knowing what passed between Herbert and

William. But let us suppose these were the words: The Lords whose names are affixed to this paper are owners of much property in England, which the Catholics claim was stolen from them and from their church. Now if you will come over to England with an army, and will protect them in holding on to this property, they on their part pledge themselves to assist you in stealing the crown of Great Britain and Ireland. These are perhaps not the words, but is surely the substance of what passed between

HERBERT AND WILLIAM.

William was one of those petty German princes, whose only inheritance is pride and poverty. He had married the daughter of James, and it is said that she entered heartily into the project of her husband, viz: of robbing her father and brother. It is really amusing to read the efforts that Macauley makes to justify this robbery, which he calls a revolution.

Burnett has also labored hard to justify it. But Burnett was a party to and a sharer in the spoils, and therefore not a competent witness. Froude has also attempted to justify it, but his falsehoods are so notorious he is beneath contempt. English historians hold that this revolution, as it is called, was a necessity in upholding the Protestant religion. Now it is really cruel to lay this upon Protestantism, especially as it was carrying a heavy load of the same already.

Cobbett says the Lord Mayor of London and a few others, without any authority, gave the crown to William and his wife and their posterity forever; made new oaths of allegiance for the people to swear; enabled the new King to imprison at pleasure all he might suspect; banished to ten miles from London all Papists or reputed Papists, and disarmed them all over the kingdom, and gave the property of Papists to the Universities; granted to the new King an unlimited amount of taxes; declared themselves to be the Parliament as legally as if elected by the people; and this they called a glorious revolution, and it is so called by Protestants to this day, though it is well known to the readers of history that it was the work of those who unjustly held the abbey lands and other property taken from the Catholics

during Henry's Reformation. We shall in due time see something of the cost of this revolution, founded upon the principle that the Catholic religion was opposed to public freedom and justice. Let us see what things this Catholic King had really done, and in what degree they were worse than things that had been and are still being done under sovereigns who are Protestants. As William and his Dutch army were called by the Protestants their deliverers, let us see what it really was after all that they delivered the people from ; and here, happily, we have the statute-book to refer to in which there still stands the list of charges drawn up against this Catholic King. However, before we examine these charges we ought, in common justice, to notice certain things that James did not do. He did not, as Edward the Sixth had done, bring German troops into the country to enforce a change in the religion : nor did he, like that young reformer, burn his starving subjects with a hot iron on the forehead as a punishment for begging. He did not, as that pious Protestant Elizabeth had done, use whips, burning irons, racks, gibbets and ripping-knives to convert people to his creed ; nor did he impose any fines for this purpose, but, on the contrary, put as far as he could an end to all persecution on account of religion. And with this he is charged as one of his crimes. Yes, among the proofs that even Macauley gives of his being a determined and intolerant popish tyrant, was his granting liberty of conscience to all creeds. These were the things James, no doubt from Catholic bigotry, did not do. And now let us come to the things which he really did, or at least which he was charged with having done.

Indictments do not generally come after judgment and execution ; but for some cause or other the charges against James were made the year after the crown had been given to the Dutchman and his wife. No matter, they came out at last. We will take them one by one, bearing in mind that they contained all that could be contrived or said against this popish King.

Charge first, that he assumed and exercised a power of dispensing with and suspending laws, and the execution of laws, without the consent of Parliament. That is to say, he did not

enforce those cruel laws against conscientious Catholics which had been enacted in former reigns.

Charge second, that he imprisoned worthy bishops who opposed these assumed powers. Now these worthies, as they are called, when tried by the test, "Whatsoever things ye would that men should do unto you, do ye also unto them," will be found very unworthy indeed. At the very time they so violently opposed the toleration the King had granted to the Catholics, they had authorized the Dutchman and his wife to banish all Catholics or reputed Papists ten miles from London and disarmed them all over the kingdom ; gave the property of Papists to the Universities, and authorized the new King to imprison, at pleasure, without trial, all whom he might suspect.

Charge third, that he issued a commission for trying ecclesiastical causes. That is to say, if bishops transgressed the law they should be tried, and if found guilty punished like other persons. The reader will remember Bishop Fisher in the days of Henry the Eighth, and Archbishop Plunkett at the time of the popish plot.

Charge fourth, that he levied money for the use of the crown at other times than was granted by Parliament. It is not pretended that he levied more than was granted, but that he was not exact as to time. Verily these were lame charges ! No wonder that Macauley and Burnett had such laborious work trying to prove James a tyrant.

Charge fifth, that he kept a standing army in time of peace without consent of Parliament. That was very wicked. There were only seven thousand men to be sure, and such a thing as a barrack had never been heard of. But James knew that his father had been dethroned, and his head cut off, by an army kept without the consent of Parliament.

Charge sixth, that he caused several good subjects being Protestants, to be disarmed at the same time that Papists were both armed and employed contrary to law. Those hypocrites knew well, when making this charge, that they themselves, with the aid of the Dutchman's soldiers, had disarmed not only several but all the Catholics in the three kingdoms.

Charge seventh, that he violated the freedom of elections of members of Parliament. Oh, monstrous! Protestant reader, do you think this violating the freedom of elections for members of Parliament was a crime committed only by James, and a proof of the wicked spirit of popery, as you have been told by Protestant historians? If you do, listen to the facts which truth and justice require to be told, and which I will state as briefly as I possibly can.

It is doubtful if there has been an election in either England or Ireland for the last two hundred years where the people were free from government influence—certain there was none in Ireland. On the 11th of May, 1809, William Maddox, in the House of Commons, made the following charge: "I affirm that Mr. Dick purchased a seat in this House for the Borough of Cashel, through the agency of the Honorable Henry Woolsey, who acted on behalf of the Treasury; that upon a division of the House, Mr. Dick having voted according to his convictions, Lord Castlereagh intimated to that gentleman the necessity of either voting with the government, or resigning his seat in the House; and that Mr. Dick, sooner than vote against his principles, did vacate his seat accordingly." Maddox further says, "I charge the right honorable gentleman, Mr. Percival, as being privy and having connived at it. "This," he says, "I engage to prove at the bar if the House will give me leave to call witnesses." Having made this charge, Mr. Maddox made a motion for inquiry into the matter; after much debate the question was put to a vote. There were three hundred and ninety-five members in the House, all Protestants, mind. Come forth and hear your accusers of James and the Catholic religion! There were eighty-five for inquiry, and three hundred and ten against it. This same Parliament, in 1819, passed a law by which any person could be banished for life for writing or publishing anything having a tendency to bring that very House into contempt.

Charge eighth, that he tried cases in the court of King's Bench cognizable only in Parliament, and that he did divers other arbitrary and unlawful things. That is to say, he brought before a jury matters which the Parliament wished to keep to

itself. Surely this was the act of a tyrant, to try these gentry by jury instead of leaving them to try themselves! As to the other divers things, they not being specified, we will suppose they were put in to fill up the line.

Charge ninth, that he caused juries to be composed of persons not qualified. Perhaps he did. But did not Elizabeth dispense with juries altogether when she pleased, and tried all cases by martial law? And in Ireland to the present day trial by jury is but a mockery.

There are three other charges made against James, viz: excessive bail, excessive fines, exacting fines before the trial of the parties. Now these three charges, when we consider the veracity of those who make them, must be taken for what they, without proof, are worth. These were the grounds as recorded in the statute-book of the glorious revolution, made as the act reads, to deliver this kingdom from popery and arbitrary power, and to prevent the Protestant religion from being subverted.

But there are still to notice some things which lying history and vulgar prejudice urge against this unfortunate Catholic King, who has been charged with being the adviser of his late brother in all these deeds which have been deemed wicked, and especially in the putting to death of

LORD RUSSELL AND ALGERNON SYDNEY

for high treason. Many honest readers have been deluded upon this subject, and look upon these two persons as murdered men. The political Protestants were in the days of Charles the Second continually hatching popish plots, and by contrivances the most wicked bringing innocent Catholics to the scaffold and the gibbet; and they were always denying the King the prerogative of pardoning the victims. But at last the King got real proof of a Protestant plot. The King was ill, and the conspiracy was for setting aside his brother by force of arms if the King should die. The King recovered, but the plot went on. They meant to bring an army of Protestant fanatics from Scotland, and either kill or banish James from the kingdom. In this Protestant plot Russell and Sydney were the leaders. Russell did not attempt to

deny his part in the plot. His complaint was the indictment was not according to law ; but he was told, which was true, that it was exactly as he himself had decided in the case of the popish plotters. That part of the sentence which ordered his bowels to be ripped out while he was yet alive, and his body to be quartered, was, at the intercession of his family, remitted by the King, who, in granting their prayer, cuttingly said, "My Lord Russell shall find that I am possessed of that prerogative which, in the case of my Lord Stafford, he so cruelly denied me."

As to Sydney, he had been one of the leaders in the bringing of Charles the First to the block. At the restoration of Charles the Second he had taken refuge abroad ; but having promised to be loyal in the future, the King, under guidance of his popish brother, pardoned him, great as his offence had been.

Yet after this he conspired against the same King who pardoned him, and against his brother, and endeavored to plunge the country he had before desolated into another civil war. Cobbett says if anybody ever deserved an ignominious death, this Sydney deserved his. He did not deny, he could not deny, that the conspiracy had existed, and that he was one of the chiefs. He complained of the evidence against him. There was only one witness to his acts, and in case of high treason it required two. And here it was, that if it were possible, a blush might be raised on the cheeks of these revilers of popery ; for this very law, this law which has saved the lives of many innocent persons—this law came from that very Queen Mary, whom artful knaves have taught generations of thoughtless people to call "the bloody Mary."

Cobbett goes on to say, seeing that Sydney had such a strong attachment to this popish law, and there was one witness against him, the crown lawyers, all Protestants, mind you, contrived to find another, by searching his drawers and making up another out of his own letters. It was in vain he objected to this part of the proceeding. All men knew that hundreds of Catholics suffered death upon evidence slight indeed compared with that against him. All who were not fanatics admitted he received justice, and no more. So much for the good old cause for

which Hampden died on the field and Sydney on the scaffold. Macauley, who never wrote the truth where an untruth would suit him better, says Russell, who appears to have been guilty of no offence, and Sydney, of whose guilt no legal evidence could be produced, were beheaded in defiance of law and justice.

Now if James, is to be loaded with all bad laws of his brother's reign, we cannot, in justice, refuse him the merits of the good deeds of that reign also. This reign gave us then the act of Habeas Corpus, which Blackburn calls, "The Great Charter of English Liberty." This one act alone ought to have satisfied the fanatics they had nothing to fear from a popish King on the throne. Here the King gave up the right to put people in jail and keep them there at his will.

English writers boast of this famous act of Habeas Corpus, but never have the gratitude to tell that it came from those against whom Russell and Sydney conspired. Then, again, was this act ever suspended during the reigns of these popish Kings? Never. But when the glorious revolution came, then was the Dutch deliverer authorized to put in prison, and keep there, any one that he or his hirelings might suspect.

To make this history more intelligible, be it known that James had married a second wife, who at this time gave birth to a son, who was lawful heir to the throne. The Prince of Orange remained quiet while there was a chance of his succession to the throne by ordinary course of nature; but when an heir possessing superior claim appeared he saw his hopes destroyed. Taylor says the Protestants, with more cunning than honesty, asserted that the infant was suppositious, knowing they were likely to lose their ill-gotten gains, should the young Prince ascend the throne of his father. A story, absurd and inconsistent with possibility and with itself, was told of a child being brought into the Queen's bed chamber in a warming pan and presented by her to the court as the royal offspring.

It is very disgraceful to the memory of the Protestant Bishop Burnett that he sanctioned this calumny, and supported it by his authority as a minister of God, though he must have been fully convinced of its being a falsehood; nor can the friends of the

Prince of Orange find any good excuse for joining in the stigma affixed to this unfortunate child. In Ireland the joy was boundless, nor yet was it checked by doubt, for the absurd tale of the warning pan had not yet crossed the Channel. But the Irish Protestants were all interested in the success of William, as they were in possession of stolen property, though, perhaps, each individual Protestant was not a thief in the strict sense of the word. The Cromwellians and Episcopalians in Ireland detested each other's principles, but their union was effected by the hatred they both entertained toward toleration and the fear that James might do justice at last to the Catholics.

James was unfortunate to be guilty of an act of justice and generosity, and this precipitated his ruin. He published a declaration of liberty of conscience to all creeds. He firmly believed that his was a true religion, and that it would certainly prevail if it received fair play. This declaration was just and laudable, but these bigoted Protestants dreaded toleration, and so bent on persecuting the Catholics were the Puritans that they preferred to bear their own disabilities rather than allow the King to do justice to the Catholics.

After the birth of the Prince of Wales, prayers were offered up for him in the English Chapel at the Hague for some months, but were discontinued when William determined to dispute his birth. The King, justly offended at this omission, wrote to his daughter Mary, a Princess celebrated for her piety, in a tone of indignity. The daughter, on this occasion, forgot both her piety and duty; she replied, with mean and disgraceful equivocation, that the prayers had not been discontinued, but only sometimes forgotten.

William landed at Torbay on the 5th of November, the anniversary of the gunpowder plot, a coincidence of no small advantage. At first his prospect of success was doubtful, and he began to speak of returning home, but the treacherous followers of James one by one abandoned his cause. Even his daughter Annie, with her husband, Prince George of Denmark, joined in the general desertion; and James in his misery, exclaimed, "God help me! Even my own children have deserted me!"

What were the hopes of William when he landed in England we cannot easily discover. Certain it is his supporters had no hope of placing him on the throne of his father-in-law without a struggle, and he himself could not hope for such a consummation. And when circumstances placed the sceptre within his grasp, he hastened to secure it by means far beneath a man of either honor or integrity. "The mixture of wrong and cruelty by which James was robbed and driven into exile can neither be excused nor defended," says Taylor, "and must ever remain a deep and dark stain on the character of William the Third."

The revolution was the work of the English aristocracy. The great body of the people had no share in producing it and gained nothing by it.

The following letter was written by James himself and published by his order: "It cannot be a matter of surprise that I have retired from my country the second time. I might have expected that the Prince of Orange would have acted otherwise, from the letter I wrote to him by Lord Feversham. But instead of answering me he had the Earl arrested, contrary to the rights of men, and sent three messengers after midnight with an order to leave my palace early next day. How could I think myself secure in the power of a man who could treat me in this manner? He has seized upon my kingdom, and in his first proclamation he has published the most malicious observations respecting the birth of my son. I appeal to those who know me, and to himself, if, in their conscience, they could suspect me of such baseness, or that I was likely to be imposed upon in such a matter. What then could be expected from a man who has used every means to make me appear to my people and the world the most wicked of men, in which he has so well succeeded as to corrupt my army and stir up my subjects to rebellion?

"I was born free, and I wish to preserve my freedom. As I have risked my life on many occasions for the honor of my country, I am still ready to do the same, with the hope, though advanced in years, to deliver England from the slavery that threatens it. Convinced that it would be imprudent to subject myself to a prison, which would prevent me from carrying my plans of liberty

of conscience into execution, I have been, therefore, induced to withdraw, but shall remain near enough to return when the nation will have discovered that it has been deceived under the pretext of religion and liberty. I hope that God will, in his mercy, move the hearts of my people to perceive their unhappy condition, and dispose them to consent to the convening of a free Parliament, in which, among other things, liberty of conscience to all will be granted, and that those of my religion may be permitted to live in peace, as becomes all good Englishmen and good Christians, and that they will not be compelled to leave their country to which they are so strongly attached. Those who have a knowledge of the present stage of things will admit that nothing would contribute so much to the prosperity of England as freedom of conscience, and none but bigots would oppose its being granted."

In the height of this astonishing revolution, the Prince of Orange, being informed of the state of things in Scotland, commanded the peers of that country, several of whom were in London, to repair to St. James's. Thirty peers and eighty others met accordingly. William made them the same offer he had made to the English, and sought their advice on the means necessary for the protection of religion and the laws. They then withdrew to Whitehall, and after appointing the Duke of Hamilton chairman began to discuss the terms they had to offer to William. The proposal of the Earl of Arran was unanimously rejected. He was son to the Duke of Hamilton, and proposed to invite James to return to Scotland, and laid down terms for him to submit to. It was arranged instead at their meeting to surrender the government of their country to the Prince of Orange, and asking that he appoint the 14th of March for the states of Scotland to meet. But our object is to trace the effects of the coming of the deliverer, as he is styled by his friends, on Ireland and the people of that afflicted country.

A. D. 1689. The progress of the revolution in England was watched in Ireland with much anxiety. Catholics and Protestants alike felt that their properties, and perhaps their lives, were about to be perilled once again in the doubtful hazard of war.

Tryconnell showed more prudence at this crisis than his unhappy master. He amused the Protestants by a negotiation with William, and at the same time took every means to increase the strength of the Catholic army. On the first rumor of the invasion he had sent some of the best Irish regiments to join the royal army in England and Scotland, an error which he now bitterly lamented. The army raised by Tryconnell filled the Protestants with alarm, which was increased by the vile arts which these fanatics have so often practiced in Ireland. Rumors were spread of an intended general massacre of Protestants. Anonymous letters, stating the exact time when the work of blood was to commence, were sent to several persons, and the most innocent circumstances were used by these wretches as proofs of the atrocious designs of these Papists. The Scripture says, "The wicked flee when no man pursueth," and here is the proof of the truth of the text. These people knew in their hearts they had no right in Ireland but the right of the strongest, or the right of the highwayman to our purse, and wherever they could obtain shipping hastened to fly the country; and in Dublin a crowd of men, women and children rushed to the shore imploring the sailors to save them from the daggers of the Irish. As many as could possibly stow themselves on board the ships in the harbor hastened away, leaving their less successful friends on the shore in all the agonies of despair.

The English and Scotch fanatics whom the King's grandfather, James the First, established in the north of Ireland, and on whom he bestowed the lands of the ancient proprietors; and also the cruel wretches to whom Cromwell gave the lands of those who supported the royal cause, and whom Charles the Second, brother of James, confirmed in their unjust possessions, on the first news of William landing in England took up arms and declared in his favor, against the grandson and brother of the benefactors to whom they were indebted for their fortunes. This conduct was in direct opposition to every sentiment of gratitude which a generous mind ought to manifest for benefits received. These proteges of Charles were the first to raise the standard of rebellion in Ireland and favor the usurpation of the

Prince of Orange. Major Poe, an officer of Cromwell's, opened the scene and began hostilities. He was commander of two companies of cavalry, and ordered the tenants of Lord Bellew, under pain of military law, to have five hundred pounds sterling made up for him next day. Lord Bellew, apprised of what was going on, sent his son, aged eighteen years, to assist the farmers with a company of dragoons of which he was lieutenant. The two corps met and fought with determined bravery, till young Bellew having killed Major Poe with a blow of his pistol on the head, his troops were put to flight. Soon after this,

LORD BLANEY,

another adherent of the Dutchman, made an attempt to seize the town and castle of Ardee, but finding the little garrison determined to defend the place, determined to give up the attack. The father of Lord Blaney was one of those psalm-singing Puritans to whom James the First gave estates in County Monahan. His son who was introduced here, was one of James the Second's greatest enemies, who was the grandson of his benefactor. The remainder of the year 1689 was spent in raising troops and preparing for the ensuing campaign.

At this time the nobility of Ireland raised and equipped at their own expense thirty thousand men for the King's service. The regiments of Enniskillen, of Hugh McMahan, Edward Roy O'Reilly, McDonnell, Maginnis, Cormac O'Neill, Gordon O'Neill, Felix O'Neill, Brian O'Neill, Con Maguire, O'Donnell, Nugent, Lutterell, Fitzgerald, Galmoy, O'Mara, Clare and some others, soon appeared in the field. There was no want of soldiers, but they were in want of everything except courage, and the nobles who underwent the first expense were not able to support it long. There were also but few officers who knew military tactics, and who knew how to train the raw levies; so that in discipline, and even arms, they were sadly deficient. In the month of March Tryconnell sent Lieutenant-General Hamilton of the King's army, at the head of two thousand men, against Hugh Montgomery, who had declared for the Prince of Orange, and was at the head of eight thousand rebels in Uls-

ter. Hamilton set out from Drogheda on the 1st of March with his army. Having passed Dundalk and Newry he stopped at Louth-Brickland, from whence he sent Butler of Killcoop, one of his aids, to reconnoiter the enemy. This officer brought an account that Montgomery was within three miles at the head of eight thousand men at a place called Dromore. Hamilton ordered his little army to march, and met the rebels boldly drawn up in order of battle at Cladyfort. Notwithstanding the English were four to one, the Irish attacked them so vigorously that they took to flight and retreated in disorder towards Hillsborough, where Montgomery left a garrison and retreated in haste with the rest of his forces through Belfast, and did not stop till he arrived in Colerain, from whence he sailed to England. In order to follow up this victory, General Hamilton pursued the English to Hillsborough, and making prisoners of the troops Montgomery had left there disarmed and dismissed them. He did not order them to be shot down, as Cromwell and the Puritan psalm-singers invariably did with Irish prisoners. Hamilton still pursued the English through Belfast and Antrim as far as Colerain on the river Bann, without being able to come up to them. Having encamped at Ballymony, near Colerain, he remained there three days to refresh his troops after their long march. The English, as usual, next day sallied forth to steal the cattle of the neighborhood, and Hamilton drove them back to the gates of the town; but having neither cannon nor ammunition to carry on a siege returned to Ballimony. The Duke of Berwick and several officers arrived in the camp of Hamilton before Colerain, and the same night they were informed that the English had again ran away, after having broken the bridge. The same day the army of Hamilton entered Colerain, and having repaired the bridge and given the command of the place to Colonel O'Mara, he marched to Strabane, where he refreshed his troops and held a council of war.

Here it was understood by Hamilton that the rebels of Inniskillin and Derry, in all about ten thousand men, were posted at Clady bridge, on the river Finn, under the command of Major General Lundee. Hamilton marched to attack the rebels, and

found on his arrival that the first arch of the bridge was broken, and a fort built on the opposite side defended by two thousand men. To surmount these difficulties Hamilton posted six companies with orders to fire on those who were guarding the fort, for the purpose of covering some workmen sent to repair the bridge. Everything was done with the greatest order. The bridge was repaired with planks, the artillery passed over without difficulty, while the cavalry was crossing the river by a ford in view of the English. This intrepid act disconcerted the rebels. Not only those who were guarding the fort, but the whole army, took to flight, some of them reaching Derry and some Inniskillin. They were pursued to Raphoe by the Irish troops, who killed many of them without any loss on their own side except Major Nangle of Tryconnell's regiment. After this defeat Dundee, who held Culmore for the Dutchman, hastily fled with his troops and embarked for England.

Hamilton found an abundance of provisions at Raphoe, where he stopped and was joined by Lord Galmoy at the head of eight hundred men. During his stay there he received offers of capitulation from the rebels in Derry. The Protestants under arms in Derry numbered about six thousand fighting men. Hamilton, knowing the importance of the place, promised them their lives, properties and protection on condition that the city should be surrendered by twelve o'clock next day, which terms were accepted and ratified on both sides. The King, who had fled to France on the arrival of the Dutchman and his army in England, returned to Ireland in the month of March and landed in Kinsale. At Cork he was met by Tryconnell, whom he created Duke and proceeded to Dublin, arriving at Raphoe the same day that Hamilton made peace with the Protestants of Derry.

King James was displeased with the terms Hamilton had granted the rebels, and marched directly to Derry and summoned it to surrender at discretion. This change made by the King from the terms previously agreed upon gave great alarm to the garrison, as it had been agreed that the King's troops should not advance till the place would be evacuated, and now they began to doubt his sincerity. It was determined therefore to defend

the town to the last extremity, and a fanatical Protestant minister named Walker took command of the garrison.

The King ordered Hamilton to begin the siege. Artillery was sent for, but did not arrive for two months. It consisted of but two old cannon and two mortars, with a small quantity of powder. During the siege of Derry the besieged made several sallies against the besiegers, the first occurred on a Sunday with five thousand men. The King's army, who were but two thousand all told, received them with such firmness that they were forced to retreat with loss. The besieged made two more sallies but were equally unsuccessful. The city of Derry was well provided with military stores of every kind, and it had forty pieces of cannon planted on the walls, which annoyed the besiegers considerably. The succors with which the Prince of Orange intended to relieve Derry soon made their appearance. An English fleet of twenty ships of war, and three hundred transport vessels laden with provisions, warlike stores, and six thousand troops under General Kirk, appeared in Loughfoyle in the beginning of August. Kirk succeeded in a few days in breaking through the obstacles placed in the harbor by the Royalists to prevent him entering. Having relieved the besieged as they were about to surrender, the Royalists were withdrawn on the 10th of August, after a siege of twenty-three days. The King then ordered Hamilton to lead his army to Dublin, to oppose Shomberg, who was expected to land with an army in the neighborhood of that city.

The delay in making any effort to support the Protestants in Ireland exposed William to great censure. He found the crown he had been so eager to obtain was indeed a crown of thorns, and that those who had been so eager in promoting his elevation were now as anxious to hasten his downfall. Dundee was in arms against him in Scotland; the English fleet had suffered a severe defeat in Baptry bay; the French King threatened the ruin of Holland, which William loved much better than England, and, finally, the distraction of England prevented William from paying that attention to Ireland which the Protestants who unjustly held the property of the Irish people very imperatively

demand. The popular discontent hurried the preparations. With considerable difficulty an army of twelve thousand men was assembled and placed under the command of Shomberg, an officer of great reputation. This army was composed of Danes, Germans, Dutchmen, French, and adventurers from every country in Europe. Bravery was the chief, almost the only, valuable attribute possessed by these men, if we may call them men. They were the outcasts of society, familiar with every crime, abandoned to every excess. Taylor, a Protestant, but honest enough to tell the truth, says: "Vices for which language scarcely ventures to find a name; abominations that may not be described and can scarcely be imagined, were constantly practiced by these bands, which the long continental wars had called into existence. The traditions of the Irish, Protestant and Catholic alike, contain a horrid catalogue of the enormities practiced by 'this black banditti,' and these accounts are fully confirmed by the accounts contemporary writers have given of their conduct in other countries." Dr. George, Shomberg's chaplain, in speaking of William's army, writes: "Can we expect that Sodom will destroy Babylon, or that debauchery will extirpate popery? The Papists fight against us with the principle of a mistaken conscience, we against them without either conviction or conscience." With these wretches were joined some raw English levies, who found it much easier to imitate the debaucheries than to practice the discipline of the foreigners. Indeed, no worse scourge could be sent by an angry Providence than the army sent by the glorious Dutch deliverer to plunder and murder the unfortunate Irish.

On the 13th of August, 1689, Shomberg's troops landed in Bangor bay, near Carrickfergus, without any opposition. A favorable opportunity was offered the Irish for attacking him during the night, but it was lost because they had greatly overrated the strength of the enemy. They believed it amounted to thirty thousand, though only about one-third of that number; and they also believed it was composed entirely of veterans, though at least one-third were raw levies. It was long before this error was dissipated. Shomberg's first enterprise was the

siege of Carrickfergus. The place was vigorously attacked and as obstinately defended. McArthy More, the governor, did not surrender until his last barrel of powder was expended, and even then obtained honorable conditions. "It is painful to add," says Taylor, "that the terms of this treaty were shamefully violated. The inhabitants were stripped and plundered, and the women treated with a licentious cruelty that will not admit of description. It is worthy of remark that in all the civil wars with which Ireland has been devastated, no instance of a single injury offered to a female can be charged against the Irish, while in every instance the conduct of the English soldiers was not only licentious but brutal."

Soon after the English army had landed, they were joined by

THE ENNISKILLINERS,

and were perfectly astounded by the appearance of the men whose fame had been trumpeted to England as the very essence of Protestantism. Every man was armed and equipped after his own fashion, and each one was attended by a mounted servant bearing his baggage. Discipline was as little regarded as uniformity. They rode in a confused body, and only formed a hasty line when preparing to fight. Descended from the Levelers and Covenanters, they preserved all the gloomy fanaticism of their fathers, and believed the slaughtering of Papists the work of the Lord. They were robbers and murderers from principle, for they believed themselves commissioned by Heaven to remove idolatry from the land. Inferior to the old Levelers in strength and skill, they equalled them in enthusiasm. They never hesitated to encounter any odds however unequal, and rejoiced in the prospect of death while engaged in what they called the service of the Lord. Reeking from the field of slaughter, they assembled around their preachers, who always accompanied them in their expeditions, and listened with eager delight to their wild harangues, in which the slaughters of the Old Testament were strangely combined with their own gross and vulgar sentiments.

Neither Shomberg nor any of William's generals understood these men, and William himself despised them heartily, and

subjected them to military execution by the dozen for violating the laws of war. From the time they joined the army they performed nothing worthy of their former fame, simply because they could not learn the new mode of fighting. They were aware of this themselves, and frequently said they could not fight under orders.

Shomberg advanced along the coast, where he was supported by his fleet. The country was a complete desert, having been exhausted in the warfare between the Enniskilliners and the Irish. At Shomberg's approach James's generals were inclined to retreat, but were prevented by Tryconnell, who promised them a re-enforcement of twenty thousand men.

When Shomberg arrived at Dundalk, his ships with provisions had not arrived; his troops were exhausted, and flying parties of Irish hung on his flank and cut off his men from food and forage.

The Irish generals soon saw that "he wanted something," and began to concentrate their forces. Shomberg could not hazard a battle. He therefore choose to encamp and fortify himself by entrenchments. Both armies were anxious to fight, and both were disappointed by their leaders. The English said they came to fight like soldiers, not to work as slaves; and they had imbibed from the Enniskilliners a contempt of the enemy.

The King knowing his few Irish troops were unable to oppose Shomberg, resolved to collect his forces about the center of the kingdom, and called on all his faithful subjects to join him. He soon had an army of twenty thousand men assembled at Drogheda, wanting everything but courage, for when William stole the crown he at the same time stole the purse, and consequently James was without money, and unfortunately his friends in Ireland were in the same fix, having also been robbed by Henry, Elizabeth, James the First, and by Cromwell and his psalm-singers.

In the meantime Shomberg landed near Belfast and laid siege to Carrickfergus, which was held by McArty More, nephew to the Earl of Antrim. McArty having but one barrel of powder

was forced to surrender the castle after a feeble defence. Shomberg then marched his army to Dundalk. James having arrived at Drogheda, sent two lieutenants, Butler of Kilcop, and Garland, each at the head of a detachment to reconnoiter the enemy. They brought back word to the King that Shomberg was encamped, and that his left was stretched along Castle-Bellew, his center extending toward Dundee and his left towards the sea. Upon this the King hastened to Ardee, where he stopped and sent General Hamilton with the whole of the cavalry to Aphene, where he was separated from the enemy by a bog and ravine. The King arrived in a few hours with the infantry, and encamped for some days in presence of the enemy. Tryconnell and all the general officers of the army were for attacking the enemy. The opportunity was favorable, as sickness had prostrated many of Shomberg's troops. Out of twelve thousand there were not more than three thousand fit for the field, and had the attack been made the enemy would have been forced to fly to their ships, three of which were in the harbor of Dundalk. The King at length, urged by his general officers, put his army in order of battle and marched, as with a design of turning the enemy, on the side of the morass. But scarcely had they marched a league when he ordered the whole army to return to camp, where they remained ^utill October without making any attack on the enemy.

The English soldiers were in bad humor with their general, and they showed it by neglecting their own comfort. Too obstinate to erect huts for their protection or to remove the dead bodies of their comrades for interment, they actually used the carcasses of the dead for shade and shelter, and murmured when deprived of the accommodation.

Shomberg allowed the Enniskilliners to pursue their own mode of warfare, viz: to slay and steal on their own hook. But their triumphs were more than compensated by the loss of Jamestown and Sligo, which Sarsfield had taken from the English by storm. The arrival of some fresh regiments enabled Shomberg to remove from the camp, but even the retreat was attended with shocking calamities. The motion of the wagons over the

rough roads proved fatal to many of the sick, and they were thrown out by the road side as they expired. The rear guard of Shomberg's army marched through a lane formed of the bodies of their dead comrades. Thus ended a campaign, during which it has been said with truth that "Shomberg did nothing, and James helped him."

The English were sadly disappointed when they learned that Shomberg had so completely failed in his campaign. The Cromwellians had represented the Irish as despicable cowards, who might be subdued with little trouble or hazard, and the English had greedily adopted an opinion so flattering to their prejudices. The readers of Macauley or Froude need not be told that John Bull still holds on to these prejudices, though the whole world knows they are false. Great then was the astonishment in England to find a well-appointed army and one of the best generals in Europe baffled by these very Irish, though headed by the imbecile James. The House of Commons resolved to inquire into the cause of the disappointment, and thereby got up a quarrel with the King. The Whigs and William hated each other cordially, but they were necessary to each other. As has been already observed, they helped him to steal the crown, and he protected them in holding on to their stolen properties. They were consequently forced to assume the semblance of reconciliation.

William is said, on good authority, to have meditated resigning the crown and returning to Holland, but was dissuaded by some of the Puritan leaders, who promised to bring the Commons into a better temper. At the same time he professed his intention of taking the command of the Irish army in person.

William, with an army of thirty-six thousand men, landed in Ireland, and encamped on the bank of the river Boyne, where the great battle was fought.

William, previous to his arrival in Ireland, sent over strong re-enforcements to his army in Ulster. The troops were made up of those foreign adventurers we have already described. On the 6th of June his grand park of artillery, with all the ordinance stores, was landed at Carrickfergus, and thither William came

himself on the 14th, accompanied by Prince George of Denmark, the Duke of Ormond, and other nobles. The clergymen of the Established Church presented William with an address, differing little from that they had already presented to James, but were probably more sincere. These hypocrites had neither religion nor principle. James was regularly prayed for in all the churches within his lines. When William came his name was substituted, and when he retreated he again became "Our most religious and gracious King." William now distributed a large sum of money among the Puritan ministers. They certainly were his most faithful friends, and never once uttered a prayer for King James.

William now ordered his army southward, determined to fight as soon as possible, and when some of his officers advised caution he replied, "I came not into Ireland to let the grass grow under my feet." His army amounted to thirty-six thousand veterans, whose valor had been proved on several battlefields on the continent of Europe, besides several thousand English recruits. James, on hearing of William's landing hastened to join his army, encamped on the southern bank of the river Boyne. His generals vainly endeavored to dissuade him from fighting. They represented to him that his army was but half that of the enemy; that the greater part of them were raw levies; but he insisted on fighting, yet at the same time dispatched Sir Patrick Trent to Waterford to secure a ship for his escape in case of misfortune.

James had now made two egregious blunders which deeply affected his cause and eventually caused him the loss of Ireland. At Derry he rejected, contrary to sound policy, the terms entered into between General Hamilton and the garrison of that city. This would have put into his hands that important place which was the key of the north, and besides being an arsenal, it afforded his enemies by its situation an easy and safe entrance into the kingdom. At Dundalk he showed a weak compassion for the English, and an imprudent clemency toward subjects in arms against him and trying to tear the sceptre from his hand.

No wonder the brave Irish generals said bitterly, "If the King had a hundred kingdoms he would lose them all."

The Prince of Orange landed in the spring in the north of Ireland with a powerful army, composed of almost all the cut-throats and fanatics in Europe. King James marched his army in June to Dundalk. The enemy's forces amounted to forty-five thousand men, well provided with everything and well trained, and had with them sixty pieces of heavy cannon. The troops of King James amounted to only twenty-three thousand men, nearly all raw recruits, not disciplined, and badly provided with arms. Their artillery consisted of only twelve cannon that were brought from France. For, as a matter of course, William stole all of James' cannon at the time he took his crown. This great disproportion in numbers induced the royal army to endeavor to take some posts and prevent the Prince of Orange from advancing, or at least fight him under disadvantage. It was, therefore, proposed to encamp on the heights near Dundalk, which it would be difficult for him to pass. The English, however, by making a circuitous movement, would be able to gain the flat country at the rear of the royal army. And, therefore, to avoid this it was resolved that they should encamp beyond the river Boyne near Drogheda. The Prince of Orange followed and encamped on the opposite side of the river on the 29th of June. On the next day the enemy divided their army, William with one half marched along the river as far as Slane, where he was met by two regiments of dragoons commanded by Sir Neal O'Neill, who guarded the pass, but those being forced to give way he advanced toward the royal army. James, who witnessed this manœuvre, marched also on the same side of the river with the greater part of his army and left eight battalions under Lieutenant General Hamilton to guard the pass at Oldbridge. The cavalry, which formed the right wing, was commanded by the Duke of Berwick. Shomberg at the same time attacked Oldbridge, and meeting with feeble resistance from some newly raised and inexperienced troops, he made himself master of the place. Upon this Hamilton marched down with his force to drive away the enemy, but their cavalry having discovered an-

other ford, which they crossed, advanced upon the infantry with the hope of cutting the royal army in two. The Duke of Berwick now moved his cavalry to cover the retreat of the battalions, but he had to begin an unequal attack, the enemy being two to one, and the ground being much broken the charge was renewed ten different times, and at length the infantry making an obstinate stand the cavalry halted, after which they formed again and marched at a slow pace to join the King.

James, in the meantime having reformed his troops in order to attack the enemy, William's main body guard, the finest troops in Europe, now entered the river with the water rising as high as their breasts. They advanced firmly, holding their guns above their heads, under a severe and close fire poured upon them by several Irish battalions under Hamilton. The Dutch pushed forward, and having gained the bank rapidly formed, driving the skirmishers before them. They were furiously charged by the Irish cavalry, but though they suffered severely their ranks remained unbroken. William now ordered two Huguenot regiments and one British to advance to the relief of his favorite troops. They were met by the Irish infantry in the stream, but at length made good their passage. Scarcely, however, had this been effected when they were charged by the Irish cavalry, the English being taken in the flank were broken, scattered and trampled down in a moment. Their general was slain, the greater part of the men cut to pieces; a few fled to the opposite bank pursued by the Irish dragoons. The Danish horse soldiers next advanced, but were broken by the Irish in the very first charge and driven back in great confusion. The superiority of the Irish cavalry was now so apparent that William's soldiers who had not yet crossed the river raised a cry of "Horse! horse!" which, being mistaken for an order to halt, greatly increased the confusion.

Had James at this time placed himself at the head of his Irish troops for one general charge, the result of the battle would no doubt have restored his crown. But he remained a passive spectator on the hill of Donore, and exclaimed as he witnessed the destructive charge of the Irish dragoons, "Spare, oh spare my

English subjects!" William now hastened to bring up his left wing to retrieve the fortune of the day, and at the same time Shomberg rallied some infantry and led them to the relief of the centre. But the Irish dragoons returning from pursuing the Danes charged and routed this re-enforcement. Shomberg was taken prisoner, but immediately after shot by one of his own men. At the same time fell Walker, the clergyman who so bravely defended Derry, and who seems to have abandoned the cause of the Prince of Peace for that of the Prince of Orange, who was so ungrateful as to say when told of his death, "The fool! what business had he there?"

The left wing, consisting of the Danish, Dutch and Enniskilliner horse now advanced with William himself at their head. They charged furiously and forced back the Irish infantry. But the Irish dragoons still preserved their former superiority. They completely broke the foreign cavalry, and threatened to flank William's battalions. He then rode to the Enniskilliners and asked "what they would do for him?" They declared they were ready to follow him. The Irish seeing these fanatical robbers advancing poured into them such a destructive volley that they fled from the field at full gallop.

Their apologists say they misunderstood their orders. However that may be, it is certain that William ever after looked upon these wretches with contempt, not unmingled with hatred. The Irish infantry were forced to retreat to the hill of Donore, where they made such a desperate stand that William's army recoiled. Hamilton now ordered a general charge, but the English being more than two to one their squares could not be broken. His troops recoiled and he remained a prisoner. The Irish then made good their retreat to Duleck, and their cavalry effectually checked every attempt at pursuit.

It is amusing to read the account Macauley gives John Bull of this battle. He knew well if he wrote a true statement of the facts John would not believe him, nor yet buy his book, so it was necessary to depreciate the valor of the Irish. And on this occasion, as on every other, he has not neglected it. But the main facts of the battle are undisputable. William's army was

numerically superior to his opponents nearly two to one. The English had a still greater advantage in discipline and experience, and also in their artillery and equipments. Yet was the issue of the contest doubtful to the last moment of the day, and at the close William had gained nothing but the ground on which it had been fought. Except Hamilton the English took no prisoners, and the Irish preserved all their artillery, baggage and standards. The number slain on the field of battle was about equal on both sides, but for the cruelty of William's soldiers who murdered all the peasantry that had come through curiosity to see the battle, also the stragglers and the wounded. In this safe, but not very honorable service, the Enniskilliners were particularly distinguished.

The superiority of Hamilton's cavalry seems to have sorely annoyed those bigoted Protestants who hate to acknowledge any merit in Irishmen. Some of them have said that their valor was owing to a half pint of brandy which had been administered to each dragoon in the morning. But after the many proofs of Irish bravery during the late war, it is unnecessary to vindicate their character here in America, but as there are bigots, even here, who tried to revive these calumnies, it is the duty of an impartial historian to defend the character of the brave, more especially as they have always been slandered by bigots.

Before the battle was over James fled to Dublin and summoned a council of his friends. To them he made a speech equally false, malignant and ungrateful. He said he believed the contest hopeless, and then continued his flight to Waterford, breaking down the bridges to prevent a pursuit. The Irish were heartily glad to get rid of him. They justly ascribed their failure to his incapacity. "Change Kings," was their common cry, "and we will fight the battle over again." And even to this day the name of the wretched King is never mentioned in Ireland without the utmost contempt and detestation.

Thus left to themselves, the Irish leaders determined to adopt their original plan, and withdrew their forces behind the Shannon. Before leaving Dublin they released all the prisoners

whom James had confined for political offences, and resigned the custody of the records of the city into the hands of the principal Protestants. Scarcely, however, was the garrison withdrawn than a Protestant mob assembled and began to plunder the Catholics. The brave Sarsfield's house was not only robbed, but totally destroyed. These fanatics burned all the houses belonging to the Catholics in the suburbs and threatened to burn the city. Though it is well known that none of them were disturbed when the Catholics were in power, and that the Catholics, in a Parliament where their majority was twenty to one, passed laws for the protection of Protestants, and that no person should be disturbed on account of his religion. We will find how William and his followers treated these same Catholics by and by. Drogheda surrendered immediately after the battle of the Boyne—William having declared that he would give no quarter in case of resistance, showing clearly he was at heart as barbarous as Cromwell. The French fleet was at sea to blockade William's army in Ireland, but they were met by James and returned with him to France, and thus saved William's army from ruin.

No pretence whatever can be discovered for treating the Irish then in arms as rebels, even if James had abdicated the English throne, which clearly he did not, still he had never in any way resigned his right to Ireland. The Irish Parliament had unanimously recognized him as their King and his authority had been obeyed throughout the island. William knew this, but he could not do justice even if he wished. He was at the mercy of the Protestant and Puritan parties, in both England and Ireland, who maintained that the Irish had rebelled against "the English interest and Protestant ascendancy," two convenient phrases for their own crime and tyranny. After a long pause William advanced to Dublin and formed his camp at Finglass, within two miles of that city, where he gratified the rapacity of his adherents by issuing a commission of forfeitures—that means to steal the estates of those officers in the army of James, as he himself had stolen James's kingdom and crown—and denouncing robbery and murder against all the Irish noblemen and gentlemen

who were in arms to support the cause of their rightful sovereign. The Irish leaders, if they had ever wavered, were confirmed in the design of maintaining the war by this iniquitous denunciation. William also offered pardon and protection to all laborers and farmers who would live in peace.

The Irish army having fortified themselves at Limerick and Athlone, and being secured by the strong line of the Shannon, they boldly set the English at defiance. The reduction of Athlone was entrusted to General Douglass, under whose command were placed ten regiments of infantry and five of cavalry. He advanced as if he was marching through an enemy's country. The protections which William had promised the farmers and peasants were flagrantly disregarded, and the barbarities of the soldiers, which the general made no effort to check, completed the aversion of the Irish to the Dutchman and his brutal soldiers. Before proceeding south William reduced Wexford, Waterford, Clonmel and Dungannon with little difficulty. The fortifications of these places had not been repaired since Cromwell's war, and as the Irish had resolved to make their stand behind the Shannon, no effort was made to save them.

The news from England was so alarming that William was on the point of returning. He had, in fact, completed all preparations for his departure, when more favorable news arrived, and he resolved to remain and prosecute the Irish war. On arriving before Athlone, Douglass found the bridge broken down and the place fortified with great care. Colonel Grace, the governor, a descendant of the Norman, Raymond le Gross, had taken every possible precaution against a siege. Douglass was surprised to find such preparation for his reception. He sent a summons into town, but Grace, enraged at the cruelties of the English army, fired a pistol at the messenger and bade him take that for his answer. Douglass having erected a battery, opened a heavy fire on the town. It was returned with superior vigor; his works were ruined, and his best gunners all killed. The cruelties his soldiers had perpetrated on the peasantry, produced their natural effect. No provisions were brought into his camp, and the detached parties sent out to forage were cut off by parties

of those unfortunate men whom they had themselves driven to desperation.

The Protestants in the neighborhood suffered most severely. Before the arrival of the English army they had taken out protection from the Catholic commanders, and had lived safely under them. But on the approach of the English they resigned these protections, and declared themselves subjects of William. Their reward was insult and robbery. The English soldiers and their cut-throat allies cared more for plunder than religion, and with strict impartiality robbed both Catholic and Protestant. There was this difference, however, between them—the Catholic could at any time find safety within the Irish lines, while the Protestants, having declared for William, were forced to submit to whatever indignities his army chose to inflict, and they were numerous, grievous and oppressive.

After having fired for several days on Athlone to little purpose, it was determined by the English to cross the river at Lanesborough, some miles further north; but the detachment sent for this purpose found the place occupied, and was forced to retire with heavy loss. An attempt was made to cross at a ford some distance from the bridge, but this was found so well secured by field-works, which the Irish had erected on the bank, that the attempt was given up as desperate.

In the meantime a report was circulated that Sarsfield was marching with fifteen thousand men to raise the siege. Douglass had no longer any hopes of success. He retired in great haste, abandoning his stores and baggage. The miseries endured by these robbers in their retreat were dreadful, but they were exceeded by the unfortunate Protestants, who had no other alternative but to follow their oppressors. Douglass found William advancing on Limerick, fully persuaded he was marching to speedy and certain conquest. But his commision of forfeitures by its injustice had left the Irish no choice between war and a tame submission to his unprincipled spoilation.

Few besieging armies ever exhibited such a variety of tongues and nations as that now before Limerick, and still fewer were less guided by any principle of morals or humanity. They

plundered and burned the country in every direction, "and renewed the scenes," says Taylor, "of brutal lust and barbarous murder, which had been displayed at Athlone. And here, also, the Protestants were the sufferers, for on the advance of the English, they had all resigned their Irish protection, under which they were permitted to live in peace, for, to the credit of the Irish army, the barbarity, theft and brutal lust of the English army was unknown amongst them." The vigorous defence of the garrison of Limerick filled William with alarm. He sent orders to hasten his heavy artillery, and commanded his cavalry to scour the country and rob and harrass the peasants, who sought every opportunity of retaliating the wrong they received from the soldiers. The news of William's situation was conveyed into Limerick by a deserter, and Sarsfield immediately formed the daring plan of capturing the cannon that were now on the road. For this purpose he secretly led his troops over Thomond bridge, and proceeded up the Shannon as far as Killaloe, crossed over into the County Tipperary, and waited in ambush on the line of march the escort must pursue. A Protestant brought intelligence of Sarsfield's march to William's camp, but the English officers laughed at him for his pains, and much time was lost before he could be admitted into William's presence. William at once saw Sarsfield's object, and ordered Sir John Lanier to proceed with a detachment of five hundred horse to protect the convoy and cannon. The precaution was taken too late. The cannon arrived within seven miles of William's camp without having seen an enemy during the journey from Dublin. Here they halted in reckless security, not fearing an attack so near the main body of the army. Suddenly Sarsfield and his cavalry rushed upon them. The wagoners and sentinels were cut to pieces in a moment, the others, startled from their sleep, half armed, confused, and unacquainted with the country, were conquered almost without resistance. Sarsfield loaded the cannon to the muzzle and buried them deep in the earth, heaping over them stones, carriages and wagons. He then laid a train to the whole, and drawing off his men fired it on his retreat. The explosion was heard at the distance of many miles. Lanier

and his party came up in time to witness the work of destruction. They attempted an attack on Sarsfield's rear, but were so roughly handled they fled in dismay, and the whole Irish party returned to Limerick without loss.

The editor of the *Irish World*, in his paper dated September 16, 1874, describing Sarsfield's midnight ride, says: "William's army lay before Limerick. He sat down before it confident of an easy victory. An old wall, flanked with a few tottering towers, without ditch or parapet, was its only defence. The Dutch usurper placed his batteries around it, and kept up an incessant fire day and night. The garrison, though far inferior in number and guns to the enemy, made a bold defence, and the Limerick boys pointed their guns with such precision that the English were forced to retire out of range of their batteries. These Irish gunners had the audacity to fire on the "Royal tent," killing several of William's body guard, and William fearing his own body might become a target for some of their balls, fled from his royal tent, leaving his hat behind him, and kept running to a safe distance, where he sat down to await the arrival of his heavy siege train from Waterford. He knew it was on the way, and with frowning brow he looked toward Limerick, and mentally resolved to pay back with interest the delicate attentions he had received from the garrison within its walls. Coming to his aid was a splendid battering train, with great stores of ammunition, pontoon boats to cross the Shannon, and everything necessary to bring the stubborn old city to terms.

"On Monday the 11th of August, 1690, the train and its convoy reached Ballyneety, within a few miles of the English camp. They were now within cannon sound of twenty thousand of their friends, and laid down in fancied security for the night. But there was one hovering on their flank all the way from Cashell watching their every movement. There was an O'Hagan on their track, and before their camp fires were lighted, Sarsfield with five hundred horse, guided by O'Hagan, lay ambushed among the bushes ready to pounce down upon the soldiers of William.

"Sarsfield had obtained the password for the night from one

of the English soldiers' wives, whom they had cruelly deserted on the road. And it is a curious fact, bordering on romance, that the password for the night was his own name, Sarsfield. The camp was now still, the sentry walked his lonely beat gazing on the stars, when a bold rider advanced. The sentry, overcoming his fears, raised his musket and demanded the password for the night. 'Sarsfield is the word, and Sarsfield is the man,' replied the Irish general, and dashed into the center of the English camp, followed by five hundred horsemen, whose wild cheers awoke the enemy from their slumbers. The story is soon told. William's convoy was slain almost to a man. A few escaped to tell the sad tale in the camp before Limerick. But ere the fugitives had arrived, William felt a shock as if an earthquake rocked the ground, and saw a flame ascend heavenward, and he knew that his siege train, guns, pontoons, convoy and all, had perished. He immediately sent out a large body of horse to intercept Sarsfield, but the brave general and his men arrived safely in Limerick. The garrison and the people turned out to meet him, strewing flowers at his feet, while the Limerick boys on the walls of the city sent an Irish salute in the shape of solid round-shot into William's camp.

"William, now gnashing his teeth in madness, ordered six thousand of his best troops to storm the walls. They were driven back with half their number slain, and William, despairing of conquering Limerick, fled in haste next day to England."

In the same number of the *Irish World*, "Sarsfield's Midnight Ride" is woven into verse so beautifully that I have concluded to copy it in full.

Erin's history still is ringing, with brave deeds of olden time,
Deeds that tell of Ireland's glory, England's treachery and crime;
But of all the deeds of daring which our people name with pride,
None excel nor many equal Patrick Sarsfield's midnight ride.

William and his Brandenburgers lay encamped round Limerick town,
High above his serried bayonets flew the flag of England's crown;
Proudly on the walls before him Sarsfield and his comrades stand,
And in all its pride and glory floats the green flag of our land.

From the English lines advancing came a soldier of the crown,
And in William's name demanded the surrender of the town,
Soon upon the wall appearing brave Sarsfield did reply,
"Go tell the Dutch usurper we will hold it till we die."

Darkly frowned the haughty tyrant when this answer was conveyed,
And a vow of deadly hatred in his anger then he made,
And he swore that Limerick city should a heap of ruins lie,
And that every brave defender on its battlements should die.

Long he waited in impatience, watching for his great siege train
To batter down the brave old town, but watched for it in vain,
It never reached old Limerick's walls, nor yet the Shannon side,
For brave Sarsfield's troopers found it on their famous midnight ride.

A brave son of Tipperary saw it coming on the way,
And hard and fast to bear the news he rode the livelong day;
When he reached the Shannon's waters to the Irish chief he hied,
And soon from out the nearest gate five hundred horsemen ride.

Away, o'er mountain, moor and heath, they gallop on amain,
Until they see the foe encamped on Ballyneety's plain;
All silently they ride along until they neared the foe,
And, like demons, dashed upon them with shout and sabre blow.

In the front rode gallant Sarsfield as upon the camp they bore;
"The watchword!" cried the sentry, he is stricken down in gore;
The watchword it is Sarsfield, and Sarsfield he is here,
And his good broadsword went crashing through a Saxon grenadier.

From their slumbers rudely wakened to their feet the English sprang,
Roused by the tumult in the camp, shouts and swords that round them rang.
They wake, but gleaming sabres fall upon their heads like rain,
Till the Saxon foes are slaughtered, and is captured William's train.

Now back to camp rejoicing, the Irish ride away,
When hark! a flame lights up the plain with the glare and blaze of day;
A sound like earthquake shock is heard, and wakes the Saxon foe,
As hurled in air by Irish hands trains, guns, and mortars go,

The sound was heard in Limerick, and upon the ramparts high
The Irish soldiers saw the flame illumine the midnight sky,

And the bristling wall resounded with the shouts of joyous men,
When back to town by morning light their chief returned again.

In the page of Ireland's story those gallant deeds are sung,
They're told by the aged and hoary to the children fair and young,
From the glens of County Antrim to the Shannon's rushing tide,
The deeds are told of these troopers bold and Sarsfield's midnight ride.

And now kind reader, since I have been quoting the sayings of others, let me tell you what Macauley, in the second volume and fortieth page of his *History of England*, tells John Bull when speaking of these same Irish who were then fighting so bravely and against such fearful odds the enemies of their race and creed. And you will also please remember that John Bull believes every word of it. He says "the grievance of the Irish Catholic had hardly anything in common with the grievance of the English Catholic. The English Catholic had only to turn Protestant, and he was on a level with his neighbors, but if the Irish Catholics had turned Protestants they would still have continued to be a subject people. Whatever evils the Catholics of England suffered were the effect of harsh legislation, and might be remedied, but between the two populations who inhabited Ireland there was an inequality which laws had not caused and could not remove. The dominion which one party held over the other in Ireland was the dominion of wealth over poverty, of knowledge over ignorance, of civilized over uncivilized man."

Macauley also says, in speaking of the battle of the Boyne, after calling the Irish soldiers a mob of cow-stealers, "that whole regiments flung away arms, colors and cloaks, and scampered off to the hills without striking a blow or firing a shot." Now to Americans who know how bravely Irishmen have fought in the war of the Revolution, and in the Union and Confederate armies in the late war, it is not necessary to say this is not so. And as for the charge of cowstealing, English historians know that all the lands claimed or owned by either English or Scotchmen were stolen either by themselves or their ancestors.

Now let us see about this inequality in Ireland, which laws had not caused and could not remove. And here we have the Statute book of England to refer to, and in it we find the following cruelties, miscalled law: First, it stripped the peers of their right to sit in Parliament, or be chosen members of the House of Commons. It took from all the right to vote at elections, and double taxed all who refused to abjure their religion and thus become an apostate. It shut them out from all offices of honor or trust, even the most insignificant. It fined them at the rate of twenty pounds sterling a month for keeping away from that church to go to which they deemed apostacy. It disabled them from keeping arms in their houses for their defence, from maintaining suits at law, from being guardians or executors, from practicing law or physic, from traveling five miles from their houses—and all these under heavy penalties in case of disobedience. If a married woman kept away from the Protestant Church, she forfeited two-thirds of her dower. She could not be executrix to her husband, and in his lifetime could be imprisoned for being absent from the law church, unless being ransomed by him at ten pounds a month. It enabled any four justices of the peace, in case any man did not attend the law church, to call him before them and compel him to abjure his religion, or if he refused to sentence him for life (without judge or jury), and if he returned he was to suffer death. It also enabled any two justices of the peace to call before them, without any information, any man they chose, above sixteen years of age, and if he refused to abjure the Catholic religion, and continued to refuse for six months, he was rendered incapable of possessing land, and any land which might belong to him came into possession of the next Protestant heir. It made this man incapable of purchasing any property, and all contracts made by him or for him were null and void. It imposed a fine of ten pounds a month for employing a Catholic schoolmaster in a private family, and two pounds a day on the teacher so employed. It imposed one hundred pounds fine for sending a child to a foreign Catholic school, and the child so sent was disabled from ever inheriting or purchasing property. It punished

the celebrating of Mass by a fine of one hundred and twenty pounds, and the hearing of Mass by a fine of sixty pounds. Any Catholic clergyman who returned from banishment, and who did not abjure his religion in three days afterwards, and also any person who returned to the old faith after promising to be a Protestant, or advised another to return to it, this merciless code punished with hanging, ripping out of bowels and quartering. These cruel laws, which only demons could invent, consisted of more than one hundred acts of Parliament, all made to punish men, because, and only because, they held the religion in which their fathers lived and died during nine hundred years.

Now, kind reader, let us ventilate this charge of ignorance which Macauley makes against Irish Catholics. The penal laws enacted by Protestants against the Catholics of Ireland, contained, among other violations of all the laws of justice and humanity, the following: A Catholic schoolmaster, private or public, was punished, first by imprisonment, banishment, and finally as a felon. The Catholic clergy were outlawed, and rewards were given out of the revenue, raised partly of the Catholics, for discovering them.

The price offered, not for the apprehension, mind you, but for the head of an archbishop or bishop, was fifty pounds, about two hundred and fifty dollars of American money; twenty pounds for a priest, and ten pounds for a schoolmaster. Now any person at all acquainted with the savage nature of the low class of Irish Protestants need not be told of the cruelties committed in these evil days. The black and bloody crimes of these benighted bigots still survive, and the Orangemen of to-day keep the evil of past ages still alive. Taylor says that in the last half of the sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth century, priest hunting was a favorite field-sport in Ireland.

Any two justices of the peace might call before them any Catholic and oblige him to declare under oath when and where he last heard Mass, who were present, and the name and residence of the priest or schoolmaster that he might know of; and if he refused to obey this inhuman inquisition, they had power

to condemn him without judge or jury to a years' imprisonment in a felon's jail, or pay a fine of twenty pounds. No Catholic could purchase any land, nor hold under lease more than a few years. Any Protestant, if he suspected anyone of holding property in trust for a Catholic, might file a bill against the suspected trustee and take the property from him. Any Protestant knowing a Catholic to hold a farm, the product of which exceeded the amount of the rent by more than one-third, might dispossess the Catholic and enter on the lease in his stead. Any Protestant seeing a Catholic riding a horse worth more than five pounds, might take the horse away from him by tendering him five pounds. And in order to prevent the smallest chance of justice in these and similar cases, none but known Protestants were allowed on juries in these cases. The property of a Protestant whose heirs at law were Catholics, was to go to the nearest Protestant relation. If a Protestant having an estate in Ireland was to marry a Catholic, in or out of Ireland, the marriage was illegal. All marriages between Catholics and Protestants were annulled, though many children may have been born of them. Any priest who celebrated a marriage between a Catholic and a Protestant, or between two Protestants, was condemned to be hanged. A Catholic father could not be guardian of his own child. If that child pretended to be a Protestant, it was taken from the father and given to a Protestant. If any child of a Catholic became a Protestant, the parent was to be summoned and made to declare upon oath the full value of his or her property, and the court of chancery was to make such distribution of the property as it saw fit. Wives be obedient to your husbands, says the Scriptures. Wives be disobedient to them, says these cruel laws, for if the wife of a Catholic only pretended to turn Protestant she got all his possessions in spite of him, however immoral, however bad a wife or bad a mother she may have been. Honor thy father and thy mother, saith the Lord. Dishonor them said this savage code, for if any one of the sons of a Catholic father, however dissipated, pretended to become a Protestant, this son was to possess all the father had, and this law took good care that the father could not sell or mortgage,

and that none of his property should go to the other children should they continue to be Catholics. And lastly, though this is a small part of these cruel laws, this church by law established having failed by fines, racks and tortures, now offers thirty pounds a year for life to any Catholic priest who would abjure his religion and declare his belief in hers.

Americans, is there a man, a single man, bearing that name, whose blood will not chill at this recital, when he reflects that these barbarities were inflicted on men because, and only because, they adhered with fidelity to the faith of their fathers! As to the injustice, barbarity and immorality of the above laws, they call for no comment. They are condemned by the voice of Nature herself. But among these laws there are two that we may ask whether the love of truth, whether a desire to eradicate religious error, could have formed any part of the motives of these lawmakers. These two are the reward offered to Catholic priests to induce them to become perjurers; and the terrible means made use of to prevent the marriage of Catholics and Protestants. Could these men have sincerely believed that their religion was supported by any proofs as strong as those by which the Catholic religion was supported? Their church had all the power, all the honors, and, as Macauley says, all the wealth. And if, in addition to all these, she had felt strong in argument would she have found it necessary to offer, in direct and bare-faced words, a specific sum of money to anyone who would join her, and that too when the guilty pensioned convert must, as she well knew, break his solemn vow in order to be entitled to the pay. Cobbett says: "Talk of the fires of Smithfield! Fires indeed which had no justification, and which all Catholics sincerely condemn; but what, good God! was the death of two hundred persons, however cruel and unmerited that death, to the torments above described, inflicted upon millions of people, to say nothing of the thousands upon thousands of Catholics who were during that period racked to death, killed in prison, hanged and quartered. Besides, let it not be forgotten that the punishments in Smithfield were for the purpose of making examples of a few who set at naught the religion of their fathers and

that in which they had been born. And if these punishments were cruel, as all men agree they were, what shall we say of, or how shall we express our abhorrence of, the above penal code, which was for the punishment not of a few but of millions of the people; not of those who had apostatized from the religion of their fathers, but of those who to their worldly ruin adhered to that religion?"

If we find no justification, and none there was, for the punishments in Mary's reign, inflicted, as all men know they were, on very few persons, and those persons for the most part either traitors, or at least, conspirators against the throne and person of the Queen—if we can find no justification, and all agree that there were none, for these punishments inflicted during a few months, after the quelling of a rebellion, which had clearly proved that apostate and conspirator were one and the same, which led to the hasty conclusion that Protestantism must be extirpated or it would destroy the throne. Now, if we can find no justification for these, what can we say of barbarities premeditated in the absence of all provocation, executed in cold blood and persevered in for ages; inflicted not on apostates, but on those who refused to apostatize, and as if we were never to come to the end of the atrocity—all this done in flagrant breach of a solemn treaty.

It will no doubt be said by some, why at this time revive the memory of wrongs that can have no remedy. And certainly if it were for no better purpose than to stir up the embers and rouse the flame which has burned in Ireland so fiercely and destructively, it would be reprehensible; but there is more safety in truth than in concealment, especially, as Macauley and other English historians have told the world, that Irishmen are poor, ignorant and uncivilized. And were we to admit these charges, or at least that of poverty, 'tis well known that confiscation and oppression on the part of England was the cause, and the only cause, of their poverty. 'Tis also well known to the readers of history that Ireland excelled in learning when the English were savage barbarians. Dean Swift, an Irish wit, and, besides, a Protestant clergyman, says:

“Know this, proud England, that this land of mine,
Hath taught thee knowledge, human and divine.”

Another nameless Irish wit says :

“Dean Swift [▲]says John learned all he knew from Pat,
Not how to steal, ’twas instinct taught him that.”

William could not bear the humiliation of raising the siege of Limerick. Two of his cannon having escaped Sarsfield, with these he determined if possible to effect a breach. After an incessant fire for several days the wall at length began to yield, and a breach was made. A storming party was formed. Five hundred British grenadiers, supported by Dutch guards and some English regiments, drew up under cover of their entrenchments, and about three o'clock in the afternoon were ready to start on their hazardous enterprise. These preparations had not escaped the notice of the garrison. The fire from the walls and that from the English batteries ceased. A perfect stillness reigned in the camp and in the city. There was a brief space of deep and awful silence—a prelude to the work of death and destruction. The sun shone with unusual brightness in a cloudless sky; not a breeze rippled the broad expanse of the Shannon; nature seemed by this tranquility to dissuade the English from the carnage they were about to commence.

Three cannon shot in rapid succession gave the fatal signal. The grenadiers leaped from their entrenchments and rushed towards the breach, firing their muskets and hurling their grenades. The Irish opened on them from the walls a perfect hailstorm of shot. The English batteries answered with a heavy fire to divert the attention of the garrison. The storming party hurried on, and were soon engaged hand to hand with their enemies outside the breach. The grenadiers forced their way and part of them entered the town, but the Irish closed their ranks behind them and effectually checked the advance of the rest. Those in the town were all destroyed. The citizens fell upon them, and only a few desperately wounded succeeded in getting back to the outside. The breach was again assailed, and again defended with the same determined spirit. Crowds of women mingled

with the soldiers and fought as bravely as the men. They reproached William's soldiers with nameless crimes, of which they had been guilty, and vowed, in their nervous language, to be torn in piece-meal before they would submit to such wretches. For three hours this contest was maintained with equal obstinacy. A regiment of Brandenburgers seized an Irish battery, but in a moment the magazine took fire and they were all blown into the air. William now saw that success was hopeless, as the Irish not only drove the soldiers out of Limerick, but pursued them with fixed bayonets to his very camp, to the great disappointment of William, who rebuked them with bitterness, telling them that with half their number of Irish troops he could drive them off the Island.

Burnett, Macauley and Froude might learn a lesson by knowing what Irishmen, when well disciplined and commanded, were able to do.

William raised the siege after all his cannon had played incessantly on Limerick for fourteen days. The army decamped in great disorder, after setting fire to the houses in which their sick and wounded lay, an act of unparalleled cruelty. William now, after having lost about three thousand of his troops, disarmed his batteries and led away his diminished army, accompanied by a miserable troop of Protestants who could no longer remain in their former homes, and were wholly without protection from the indiscriminate ravages of a licentious soldiery. The excesses of William's army during this retreat can scarcely be paralleled in the annals of war or crime. After retreating to Clonmel, William fled to Duncannon and thence to England.

"In his flight he left behind him all his commissary stores,
Large wagons heavy laden with the wealth of foreign shores,
Breadstuff and meat, delicious fruits and foaming Spanish wine,
At England's cost the Irish host quite sumptuously did dine."

William, on landing in England, found much discontent. Even the successes he had gained afforded no pleasure to the people, for they now looked on him as a foreigner. They wanted an English hero, who might prove a rival of William, and such they found in

THE EARL OF MARLBOROUGH,

who, though now opposed to James, owed to that unhappy King all his greatness, though his wealth was the price of his sister's virtue. Marlborough proposed to the English government to undertake the conquest of Cork and Kinsale, and thus complete the reduction of the southeast of Ireland. William, though aware that this proposal was designed for his own mortification, could not venture to resist, and yielded a reluctant assent.

On the 21st of September, 1690, Marlborough arrived in the harbor of Cork, where no preparation had been made for resistance. He landed almost without opposition and marched toward the city by the Passage road. He was soon joined by nine hundred horse soldiers, dispatched by Ginkle. These were followed by four thousand infantry under the command of the Duke of Wirtemberg, sent by William to claim a share in the victory. Wirtemberg, through William, claimed the chief command, but Marlborough insisted that the command had been confided to himself, and would not allow his right to be disputed by the Dutchman. After much hot blood, a reconciliation was effected by their friends. It was agreed that each one should command in turn on alternate days, or, as is said in Ireland, day about. The siege of Cork was an enterprise of more importance than difficulty. The city is built on a marshy plain, surrounded and commanded by hills. The walls were in bad repair, and the Castle of Shandon, by which the city is commanded on the northern side, was so dilapidated that it was at once resigned to the besiegers. The garrison had therefore no hope of success, but they determined to make such a defence as would entitle them to favorable terms of capitulation. The batteries which Marlborough had planted on the south side of the river soon made a breach, but the assault was not void of hazard. Between the camp and the city the Lee, fordable only at low water, runs, and beyond that lay a marsh, now built over, which served as a counterscarp to the fortifications. A breach being effected, Brigadier-General MacElligot, who commanded the garrison,

offered to surrender the city on condition that the troops should march out with their flags flying, and that their arms and stores be conveyed to Limerick. Marlborough, anxious to show his superiority over William, insisted that the garrison should become prisoners of war. Wirtemberg as strongly recommended compliance with the governor's demands. While the generals wasted time in this dispute, the tide flowed and the ford was no longer passable, and the firing was resumed on both sides. Orders were now given for a storming party to be formed. Several English officers volunteered their services on the occasion, among others the Duke of Grafton, the most respectable of the natural children of Charles the Second. The English troops passed through the river and formed a lodgment on the marsh not far from the walls. Here the Duke of Grafton was killed. The place where he fell is called Grafton alley, now in the heart of the city. The garrison now surrendered as prisoners of war, on condition that persons and property should be respected. The ink with which the capitulation was signed was scarcely dry when it was violated in every particular. A mob of Protestants assembled and began to plunder the houses of the Catholic citizens. The brutal English soldiers were not slow in imitating these robbers, and a dreadful scene of licentious cruelty ensued. The governor was wounded, and the Earls of Tyrone and Clancarthy could scarcely escape with their lives. And these disgraceful proceedings continued until an immense amount of property was destroyed.

From Cork Marlborough advanced to Kinsale. To avoid the cruelties of a siege the town was abandoned, and the garrison retired to Fort Charles, where they made a formidable resistance, and Marlborough was forced to offer them terms he had refused to Cork. They were to march with their flags and arms to Limerick.

The merits of this campaign were not very great, but when contrasted with William's disgraceful flight from Limerick gratified the pride of John Bull, who in those days received small favors very gratefully, especially if they came from Ireland.

The French troops were now withdrawn from Ireland, James

having told the French King that the further protraction of the war was useless. How great are the accumulated wrongs the Irish have suffered from the Stuarts! The first James robbed the natives of Ulster of their lands on account of a conspiracy that never existed, and for which, even if it had existed, they could not be answerable. The first Charles gave the nation as a sacrifice to glut the fanatical Puritans, in the hope to divert their attention from himself while they stole the property of the Irish. The second Charles joined in the robbery of those Irish who had devoted their lives to his service, and gave their estates to the Cromwellian adventurers. And now the second James, having prevented them from making an honorable peace, labored to destroy their chances of waging a successful war, and, as far as he was concerned, devoted them to ruin.

The Irish witnessed the departure of the French without regret. Relying on the ability of their favorite general, Sarsfield, they still hoped for victory, and looked forward with well-grounded confidence to the final result, though knowing their enemy outnumbered them two to one. Ginkle, after the taking of Cork, determined to harrass the Irish with a winter campaign, and sent a part of his troops to subdue the western part of the county of Cork and the county of Kerry. The plan completely failed. The English were driven back with heavy loss, but they suffered most from the operations of the irregular troops. Sarsfield's cavalry swept the country round their camp, surprised their detachments and captured their convoys. Numbers of the peasantry, driven from their homes by the violence of the English soldiers, formed themselves into corps called, from the pikes with which they were armed, rapparees. They carried off everything within the English lines to their fastnesses in the bogs and mountains, and their cunning and agility rendered pursuit impossible. To oppose these the English authorized the formation of Protestant rapparees, and thus increased the calamity, for these new corps of robbers were employed more in securing plunder for themselves than in checking the inroads of the Irish. Ginkle began to despair. He wrote to William, explaining his situation, and declaring his belief that if conciliatory measures

were adopted, and justice done to the Irish, the war might easily be terminated, but the dread of confiscation compelled the Irish to resist even against their will. William himself entertained the same opinions, and would willingly have granted liberal terms to the Irish, but the bigoted Protestant party in and around the Castle, who had ever been the bane of Ireland, possessed more power than William himself, and frustrated his intentions. The remembrance of the game of the Cromwellian robbers was strong in the recollection of these political Protestants. And to win estates for themselves, by the same abominable means, was the object of these canting hypocrites. They played with sure cards; the hazard and danger of the war fell on the army; England bore the expense, and they trusted to monopolize all the spoils of the victory. To those who know how often the same game has been played in Ireland, there can be no necessity to furnish any proofs of this infamous policy; but to others the following extract from a letter written by Ginkle will disclose some part of the iniquity which was sanctioned, under the pretence of its being necessary to protect the Protestant interest:

"I did very much hope," he says, "that some fair and just terms might be offered to the Irish army, to save the cost of a field of battle. But I see our civil officers regard more adding fifty pounds to the English proprietary in Ireland, than saving England the expense of fifty thousand pounds. I promise myself that it is for the King's, the allies' and England's interests to remit all the forfeitures, so that we could bring these people under their majesties' obedience."

This prudent advice was unheeded, and Ireland was delivered over to the government of a merciless faction, whose boast was that they wasted her resources and baffled the bounties of Providence. Nor did England escape. The Irish war laid the foundation of the national debt, which has been ever since a burden on her resources, for in the dispensations of heaven there is a punishment for the sins of nations as well as individuals. It appears from a report made to the English House of Commons that William and his Protestant followers, all exclusively loyal, remember, robbed the Irish people of 1,060,000 acres of land,

and turned 3,921 persons out of their homes to beg or starve. These lands were valued at that day at three million three hundred thousand pounds sterling—a prize well worthy the attention of these very Protestant gentlemen, especially when without any risk of their own they could contend for it with the blood of foreigners and the wealth of England. The way these political Protestants proceeded, is an edifying example of the mode by which the forms of law have been so often prostituted to sanction injustice in Ireland. They indicted the Irish gentleman for high treason who held an estate in the counties where they had jurisdiction, and then to the Court of King's Bench in Dublin. By this ingenious contrivance those they meant to rob lost all opportunity of making their defence—indeed, in most cases they were ignorant of being accused, and the government was saved the trouble of showing how the Irish people could be guilty of treason in supporting the cause of their rightful King against a foreign invader. They felt that this could not be proved, and we must give them due credit for the prudent modesty of their silence.

During the winter rumors of plots and conspiracies were rife in Dublin. They served as an excuse for issuing some very severe proclamations against Catholics, and many of them were got up for that purpose. The pamphlets of those days furnish us with some strange instances of clumsy fabrications, which in that day were readily believed. The proclamations were precious specimens of English legislation in Ireland. They first declared that the popish residents of counties should be assessed to make good the losses of Protestants within said counties. This plan of making the innocent suffer for the guilty, has enabled many Protestants to convert old houses into new, and sell stacks of poor oats at the price for good, by firing their own house or barns. The second edict declared that no Papist should be protected who had a son in the Irish army, his property was lawful plunder. A third proclamation ordered that no more than ten Catholics should meet together, and sentenced the priest where more met to transportation.

Ginkle was hated for his opposition to this dreadful system of

slaughter and confiscation, which he looked upon as nothing better than murder and robbery. He asked the Lords-Justices to offer the Irish protection, in person and property, on their submission, but the desire of forfeitures was too strong; they equivocated, and finally flatly refused. The defeat of the English at Athlone and Limerick convinced the French King that James had too soon abandoned Ireland, and he sent over a few officers, but only made such exertions as would serve to protract the war, when ten thousand men, a force he could easily spare, would have drove the English to their ships and gave him possession of Ireland. But with unwise caution he hesitated until it was too late. The wretched James could not resist the opportunity of insulting the Irish, even in this crisis of their fate. Though the late defeats of the English were owing to the gallant Sarsfield, he would not honor him with the command of the army, but conferred it on the French general, Saint Ruth. Such an insult to the favorite hero of the Irish was poorly compensated by the title of Earl of Lucan, which James conferred on Sarsfield.

The manners of Saint Ruth were far from conciliating; he treated the Irish generals with contempt, and when they offered advice, pursued a line of conduct the reverse of what they recommended. The time was spent in idle reviews that should have been spent preparing for the campaign. The chief cause of his negligence was his having found the Irish army much better organized than he expected, and his belief that the line of the Shannon was impregnable. Had he paid proper attention to its defence, he might, behind it, defied all the strength of England. The Irish officers could not suppress their indignation at being forced to serve under a general that they despised, and in some of their letters, written about this time, we find them bitterly complaining of their fate, because the sovereign to whom they owed allegiance could not in return secure them life and estate. Ginkle's preparations for the ensuing campaign showed how deeply he was impressed with its importance. He obtained large re-enforcements from England, an additional train of artillery, and a large supply of military stores. He drew in

most of his garrisons, and even brought all his soldiers from Dublin to strengthen his army for the coming struggle. The Lords-Justices and the castle party complained bitterly of being left exposed to danger, but Ginkle would probably have not been sorry to learn that the Wicklow mountaineers had made a raid on Dublin in the absence of the army and removed forever these obstacles to an honorable peace. The Irish garrisons east of the Shannon were easily subdued, but the treatment of the prisoners was a question of more difficulty. It had not been settled whether the Irish were enemies or rebels, and all the bigoted Protestants held that their lives should not be spared when they were taken. Ginkle, though not in all cases, now leaned to mercy, but the Cromwellians were never troubled with scruples. Though the Irish were fighting for their lawful King, they were called rebels by these robbers, and therefore they hanged them on every occasion without ceremony. Such has been the habit of the Cromwellians in every subsequent instance.

Contrary to the advice of the Irish leaders, Saint Ruth had fortified the town of Athlone, on the east bank of the Shannon. It had been resigned as defenceless in the former campaign by Colonel Grace and the imperfect repairs which it now received were insufficient to sustain the heavy fire of the English batteries.

On the 18th of June, Ginkle appeared before Athlone, and advanced toward the town, driving in the Irish skirmishing parties. He opened a heavy fire from a battery of ten guns on the English part of the town, and soon effected a breach. After a fierce resistance the place was taken by assault, but the garrison retreated to the Irish town and broke down the bridge behind them.

The loss the English had sustained in obtaining even this partial success, filled Ginkle with anxiety. He immediately sent for re-enforcements, and erected several batteries, from which he poured an overwhelming fire on the devoted Irish town of Athlone. Now the Irish returned the fire with great spirit, though their cannon was far inferior to that of the English.

Night brought no respite to either besiegers or besieged. It was midsummer; the weather was fine, and in the clear sky the extreme evening nearly touched the morning dawn. Athlone was soon a heap of ruins, but the garrison retired not from these ruins, and defended the shapeless mass of broken fortifications as fiercely as if they were perfect defences. An attempt was made by the English to force a passage of the river at Lanesborough, but the pass was too well guarded, and they were driven off with heavy loss. Ginkle saw that his only hope was to force a passage by the bridge. He erected a breastwork on his side of the bridge, and directed all the fire of his batteries on the works the Irish had erected on their side. The heat of the weather made the wood-work on the Irish side as dry as tinder. They took fire from the bursting of a shell, and under cover of the smoke the English hastened to lay plank across the broken bridge. The work was almost finished, when ten Irish soldiers sprang over the ruins and began to destroy the newly-formed passage. For a moment the English paused in admiration of the heroic attempt; in a moment more a discharge from the English battery swept them off the bridge and from the world. A second party succeeded those and completed the destruction of the bridge, under the furious discharge of the English guns, and only two of them returned to the town alive. Nine days were spent by Ginkle in preparing for a second attempt. The Irish watched his preparations and were prepared for his reception. The attack had but commenced when a grenade from the Irish lines set fire to the English breastworks, and all the pontoons, galleries and works which Ginkle had so laboriously prepared, were burned to ashes. Saint Ruth, the French general who commanded the Irish, was intoxicated with success. He removed the brave defenders of Athlone, and filled their place with raw regiments. He issued invitations to all the gentry in the neighborhood, and gave them a splendid entertainment, followed by a ball in the camp, as if there was no longer any danger.

In the English camp there was great alarm. Ginkle called a council of war, where it was warmly debated whether the army

should retreat or make a second assault. Ginkle's opinion was for immediate retreat, but he was persuaded by his officers to make an attempt to ford the Shannon in the morning. The news of Saint Ruth's absurd confidence, which he learned from his spies, encouraged the English, and to increase it they began to withdraw their guns from their batteries, as if preparing for flight. The Irish officers were not deceived by these appearances. They entreated Saint Ruth to be on his guard against another attack. He laughed at their cautions, and said the English would not dare to attempt it. Sarsfield coolly answered that the enterprise was not too difficult for English courage. The French general made a contemptuous reply, and Sarsfield, justly offended, withdrew. To avoid any appearance of alarm, it was ordered to make the attempt at the ordinary hour of relieving guard; the signal was the tolling of the church-bell, and at the first summons the English soldiers, headed by their officers, plunged into the stream. The passage was nearly effected before the garrison recovered from their surprise, and when they did open their fire it was weak and badly directed—for, by the blunders of Saint Ruth, the brave defenders of Athlone were not now at their posts, and the English pushed forward and gained the bank before the regiments in the garrison could stand to their arms. In the meantime, Ginkle repaired the broken arch, and poured over a large force without opposition. In less than an hour Athlone was lost, and Saint Ruth awoke to find the place was lost by his presumptuous folly. The garrison retreated to the Irish army, half-armed and half-clad. The troops were completely surprised, as the greater part were asleep when the attack was made. Protestants of that day were indignant that Ginkle did not order his soldiers to kill the sleeping men, and some bigots were scandalized at the respect he showed to the officers and soldiers of the brave garrison. He learned from them that the Irish suspected James of an intention to unite Ireland to France, and that they would much rather be connected with England if their rights were respected. "It is your fault," they said, "that we are your enemies. We are sensible of our unhappiness in depending on the French, but you

have made it necessary for us. We must and will fight it out." His narrow escape from utter ruin made Ginkle anxious to terminate the war on equitable conditions. He had a proclamation issued, setting forth the advantages Ireland would enjoy under England rather than France. It offered a free pardon to all who would surrender within three weeks; security in person and property to all officers and governors of garrisons, with a promise of equal or superior rank in William's army, and a free exercise of religion, with such security as Parliament could devise.

To destroy this proclamation, the French promised to send a powerful fleet and army to assist the Irish. This they no doubt meant to do, but the hope of aid would not overcome the opposition of the Irish to unite with the French, had not the frequent breaches of faith by the English in all former cases, and in this the greedy desire after forfeiture by the Protestants of the north of Ireland. They were, for the most part, men of mean birth and obscure parentage, the sons of those who had been raised to fortune by the systematic robbery of Cromwell, and they felt that they would be humbled, even in their own eyes, if compelled to sit on the same bench with the genuine aristocracy of Ireland. The conduct of this vile faction led the Irish to believe that the English were insincere in their offers, and they resolved to abide the chances of the field.

After the loss of Athlone, Saint Ruth retired to the hill of Kilcomeden, in County Roscommon, and prepared to decide the fate of Ireland by a pitched battle. The position was good; the left was protected by a stream, and beyond this lay an extensive morass through which there was only one narrow road. This passage was commanded by the ruined castle of Aughrim, and might easily have been made impregnable. Saint Ruth thought it already so. The bog extended to the hills; a little in advance stood the house and grounds of Urachree, which were occupied by a party of dragoons. The English army made an attack on the 12th of July, at noon. Ginkle ordered the Danish horse to force the pass of Urachree, but at the first charge from the Irish dragoons they broke and fled. Two regiments of

English dragoons were next led to the charge, but they were beaten back with great slaughter, and the regiment of Portland next advanced and found that the Irish had taken a better position behind the stream which flanked their right wing. Ginkle was alarmed at the determined defence of this post. He drew off his men and summoned a council of war. It was at first resolved to delay the battle until the following morning, but the guns of the Irish soon induced him to change his resolution.

At half-past four in the evening the battle commenced. Ginkle pushed some infantry over the ground that had been already so well contested. The English were forced to sustain a close and heavy fire from the Irish, posted behind hedges that intersected the hill. Between these hedges the Irish had cut lines of communication, so that when they retreated and the English advanced, they were exposed to destructive volleys on both flanks, and were forced to give ground in their turn. The attempt of the enemy to force his right, induced Saint Ruth to bring up fresh troops from the center, and Ginkle seized the opportunity to cross the bog and attack the front of the Irish position. Four regiments were ordered on this service, and they waded through the morass with great difficulty, meeting no opposition till they reached the foot of the hill. The Irish here pursued the same plan that had been successful on the right, firing from behind hedges, and retiring until the English became entangled in difficult ground, when they poured on them a destructive fire. The English recoiled, but made a stand at the edge of the bog. The Irish followed up their success by a furious charge. The four regiments were broken and driven by the Irish across the bog, quite to the mouth of the English cannon. The Irish also made prisoners of nearly all the English officers. Two other divisions of the English crossed the bog, but they could not be tempted to advance within range of the Irish guns.

Completely successful on the right and center, Saint Ruth, in the fullness of his joy, exclaimed, "Now I will drive the English out of Ireland."

Ginkle's last hope depended on the success of Talmash's cavalry on the left, but that leader had to contend with no ordinary difficulty. The pass by the Castle of Aughrim would admit of only two horsemen abreast, and it was commanded by a small battery, which was, however, badly served. Just as Saint Ruth was about to charge the only English division that still held their ground, his attention was directed to Talmash's division on the left. He expressed regret for their certain destruction, and ordered the cavalry to be brought up to attack them as they emerged from the defile, and rode himself to direct the fire of the battery.

Ten minutes more would have completed the ruin of the English army. An attack, however weak, on Talmash's detachment must have sealed its ruin. The Irish dragoons had never been beaten in any encounter, and now, had they rushed on the English making their way through a narrow defile, the result could not have been doubtful. At this critical moment Saint Ruth was slain by a ball from the English cannon beyond the bog. The Irish battery ceased firing, the cavalry halted waiting orders, and Talmash, seizing the un hoped for opportunity, galloped in safety to take a share in the contest at the center. It is impossible to discover the circumstance that left the Irish without a commander after the fall of Saint Ruth. Sarsfield was not in the field, for his indignation after the loss of Athlone led to a serious quarrel with the French general. No other leader would venture to undertake the direction, and the consequence of course was fatal. The appearance of Talmash so unexpectedly on the left was taken by both armies as a token of victory. The Irish, having heard a confused account of some great calamity on the left, believed that wing totally defeated.

The English of course thought that when Talmash ventured to ride over the field, they must have obtained some signal advantage, or he would not have dared advance so far. The remaining divisions of the English now ventured to cross the morass and the Irish began to retreat. At first their movements were performed with great regularity, but as each battalion now acted without orders their evolutions soon interfered with each

other. Cavalry became mixed with infantry, and before evening closed their retreat became a complete rout. They were pursued with great slaughter. Before the death of Saint Ruth the Irish lost scarcely a man, while the loss of the English was very severe. Now the Irish were cut down in crowds, without attempting any resistance. These brutal English soldiers showed no mercy to these Irish soldiers who had fought them so bravely and at such fearful odds. Ginkle was not much elevated by his victory at Aughrim. He felt that it was nothing more than a lucky escape, and from the spirit shown by the Irish feared that the end of the war was far in the future. Neither were the Irish dispirited. They felt that victory had been wrested from them by chance, and did not despair of success in another field.

This defeat of the Irish in the midst of victory has been regarded by John Bull and his friends as providential—they believing themselves the especial favorites of heaven. But there are those here in America who think otherwise. These people knowing that with Providence it is all now, no yesterday nor to-morrow, no past nor future, He seeing all times at a glance, saw the great work the Irish were to perform on the continent of America, namely: to raise the great emblem of man's salvation, the cross of the Crucified, high above every other object in every city and hamlet on this continent. And they reason thus: Had the Irish been victorious in these battles, and remained a free people, they would have staid in their own land, and this great work would have remained undone.

Ginkle, after his unexpected victory at Aughrim, advanced with the main body of his army against Galway. That he was not intoxicated with success, appears from the favorable conditions he granted to the several garrisons which he captured. In all cases he allowed them to proceed to Limerick with their arms and baggage, and when the garrison of Banaher preferred laying down their arms and returning home, he presented them with five shillings to each soldier, as an encouragement to persevere in their peaceful intentions. There was but a mere appearance of attack and defence at Galway. The city authorities were

anxious to avoid the perils of a siege, and Ginkle was eager to terminate the war on any terms.

The French commander at Galway and the English general, Talmash, were both opposed to terms—the former because he hoped the French would soon send over more troops, and the latter because he hoped for the chance, in case of forfeitures, to steal some of the property of the Irish, as all the civil and military officers of England had invariably done. The lovers of peace prevailed. It was agreed that Galway should be surrendered, on conditions of a general pardon for all offences, the continuation of the city authorities in their respective offices, security of person and property, and perfect freedom of religious worship. These terms were strictly observed by Ginkle, a singular instance, for in every other case William and his officers shamefully violated all articles of capitulation. Ginkle remained some time at Galway, hoping that the Irish at Limerick would open negotiations for terminating the war. He knew that divided counsels were in this their last stronghold, and he chose rather to trust to intrigue than hazard the dangers of a doubtful siege. The Irish were divided into two parties—one anxious to submit if fair terms could be obtained, the other relying on aid from France with which they might retrieve their former losses. The delay of the looked for assistance from France so weakened the latter party that they would not have been able to subsist but for the enterprise of the gallant Sarsfield.

At this time Tryconnell, who held the empty title of Lord-Lieutenant, died of a broken heart. He was succeeded by three Lords-Justices, Fitton, Nagle and Plowden, who were all inclined to submission, but were determined to make no peace that did not secure the Catholics in their civil rights and their property and freedom of religion.

CHAPTER VI.

Ginkle Renews the Siege of Limerick—Finding it Bravely Defended, He Offers Favorable Terms of Peace—The Treaty was Violated, However, as Soon as it was Safe To Do So.

THE memory of William's defeat at the former siege of Limerick seems to have had a strong effect on Ginkle's mind. He proceeded with a caution akin to fear. William and his followers were now alarmed at the preparations making in France for the relief of Ireland, and urged Ginkle to end the war. Notwithstanding these exhortations, it was the 25th of August ere his army appeared before Limerick. At the same time a fleet appeared in the Shannon and came as far up the river as it dare venture with safety. The English occupied the same ground they held in the former siege. For several days the cannon and mortars fired heavy discharges of shot and shell without producing any effect. The city indeed had been several times on fire, but it had been extinguished without any alarm. The inhabitants and many of the soldiers, especially the cavalry, encamped on the Clare side of the river, and as the town was only invested on three sides they suffered no inconvenience from the siege. Finding his batteries were ineffective, Ginkle erected another on the river, near King's Island. After a fire of three days a breach appeared, but the attempt to storm it almost cost him the loss of his entire army. Ginkle was almost in despair, and issued orders to repair the fortifications of Kilmallock, where he meant to take up his winter quarters. The offer of a traitor named Clifford induced him to postpone his retreat.

From the beginning of the siege it was evident that the town

could not be taken while the Clare side lay open to the garrison, enabling it to obtain supplies of provisions and recruits. Ginkle saw this clearly, but was unable to discover any remedy. The passage of the river was by no means easy, and a few determined men on the opposite bank could render it impossible. The Irish cavalry, who had never been defeated, were on the opposite bank, and in order to attack them with any hopes of success, a large detachment must be sent over; and if they were separated from the rest of the army, and the garrison should make a sally on the English camp, Ginkle's army must have been completely ruined. Treachery or surprise was necessary to save him, and luckily for him he found both.

Ginkle now issued orders to dismantle his batteries—an operation equally necessary whether he succeeded or failed, for the guns were badly placed, and should the siege be continued an entire change was necessary to insure success. There was a small island in the Shannon, separated from the Clare side by a fordable channel, which Ginkle saw was the best place to attempt a passage. It was guarded by General Clifford with four regiments of dragoons; but this commander had sold out to the English, and had promised to resign the pass without opposition. The universal tradition of the Irish people is that Colonel Henry Lutterell was the person who sold the passage of the Shannon to Ginkle; but he was at the same time in prison in Limerick on suspicion of some other treachery. Ginkle continued his preparations for raising the siege, and at the same time prepared a number of pontoons for carrying his army to the island. The garrison of Limerick uttered loud shouts of joy when they saw the English dismounting their guns. They were persuaded the siege was about to be raised, and this they considered a compensation for the disastrous battle of Aughrim. On a dark night Ginkle laid his bridge of boats without being discovered, and six hundred grenadiers, with a large body of horse and foot, passed over to the island in safety and proceeded to ford over to the mainland. A sentinel of Clifford's detachment, not having shared in his leader's treason, offered resistance, but not being supported was cut down. Clifford, as had

been stipulated, rode off with his troops without even warning the Irish army of the enemy's approach.

The cavalry camp was completely surprised. The greater part of the horses were grazing at a distance of two miles, and all know the inefficiency of dismounted troopers. The inhabitants of the city who were in the camp on the Clare side of the river were thrown into confusion. They rushed in crowds to Thomond bridge, a long, narrow, unsightly structure, and many were crushed to death in the passage. Had Ginkle not feared an ambuscade, the war might have been ended on that fatal night; but he felt that the garrison might attack the camp during his absence. Content with his present success he retired rather precipitately. That part of the Irish forces which the English most dreaded, was now almost useless from the loss of their saddles and other accoutrements. The conduct of the garrison in not making a sally during Ginkle's absence was severely censured, but it can scarcely be blamed if all the circumstances are considered. The passage of the Shannon by the English, and the surprise of the camp on the Clare side, proved that there were traitors in their camp, and no one knew how far the conspiracy had extended.

Ginkle now offered the Irish very favorable terms of peace, also showing them the advantage of a connection with England over that with France. At the same time he secretly intimated to Sarsfield that William had become an admirer of his character, and was anxious to purchase his service at almost any price. But Sarsfield entertained a chivalrous sense of honor, and a romantic spirit of loyalty, rare in all ages, but at this time unparalleled. The offer was refused, and the resistance continued. Divisions now reigned in the English councils. The majority voted to raise the siege, as William their master had done a year ago, and Talmash with difficulty prevailed on Ginkle to order another attack, with the understanding that it should be the last if not successful. On the 22d of September Ginkle again crossed the Shannon with a larger force than before, and attacked the Irish posted in front of Thomond bridge. The English were beaten back in the first attempt and thrown into confusion, at the same time they were exposed to a severe fire from some

gravel pits which the Irish had lined with sharpshooters. The failure of the assault seemed certain, when the fate of the day was changed by the grenadiers, who made an attack on the Irish who defended the bridge.

This narrow structure was soon heaped with piles of dead, forming an obstacle to the advance of the enemy. At length the Irish commander who held the Thomond gate ordered the drawbridge to be raised and thus left the Irish troops exposed to certain ruin. The greater part leaped into the Shannon and endeavored to swim to the city. Some succeeded, but many were drowned. It was generally believed that the drawbridge was raised before it was necessary. No satisfactory reason has ever been offered why the garrison of Limerick did not attack the English camp while Ginkle was engaged on the Clare side of the Shannon. Had they done so, the English army must have been irretrievably ruined, for the forces left to guard the lines were few and quite inefficient. It probably was not thought of until the favorable opportunity was lost. This small advantage gained by the English could but slightly improve Ginkle's real situation. The Irish had indeed lost heavily, but the English were far from winning a victory. And there was this difference between their losses, the Irish could easily procure recruits but Ginkle could not obtain any re-enforcements.

The raising of Thomond bridge, however, did more for Ginkle than any victory could effect. It determined the Irish army to seek peace, because the soldiers thought their brethren had been needlessly sacrificed, and the mismanagement of affairs had shaken their confidence in their commanders. Though Sarsfield was nominally at the head of the army, he was checked by other generals, and though he had been the most ultra supporter of the war party he now began to waver. Another cause was probably the not unfounded suspicion that James would send a general by the French fleet to supercede him in command. On the 23d of September a reluctant assent to a treaty was wrung from Sarsfield by the other leaders, and on the evening of that day a cessation of arms was granted, to afford an opportunity for settling the terms of the capitulation. A message was dispatched

to the Lords-Justices, and it reached them just in time to prevent the publication of a proclamation offering the Irish leaders terms of peace, as full and as honorable as they could have expected after a victory. We do not know the exact words in this suppressed proclamation, we do know that it granted to the Catholics all the rights they have since demanded. On the 1st of October the Lords-Justices arrived in camp, and on the 3d the articles of treaty, prepared by Sir Theobald Butler, were solemnly signed by the officers of both parties—Generals Sarsfield and Ginkle. A large stone on the river bank served them for a chair and writing-desk. This stone is now elevated on a pedestal, and is religiously guarded by the citizens of Limerick. It is also the objective point when Irishmen in America visit their native land.

The Treaty Stone of Limerick,
What memories of the past
Ran through my mind as first on it
My eyes I fondly cast,
As it stands on Shannon's bank,
A monument unbuilt,
Of Irish might,
And Irish right,
Of Saxon shame and guilt.

Five thousand miles from home and friends,
A stranger and alone,
Some years ago the writer stood
Beside this famous Stone.
How breathless did he listen,
As his fancy heard it tell
What fraud and woes,
Through Saxon foes,
His countrymen befell.

This celebrated treaty provided that all Catholics should enjoy the exercise of their religion as in the reign of Charles the Second, and promised that William would procure them further security when Parliament should meet. It was engaged that all

the citizens of Limerick, and all those in arms for King James in the counties of Limerick, Clare, Kerry, Cork and Mayo should enjoy their estates in peace, and pursue their callings and professions freely; that the Catholic gentry should keep and hold their arms, and should be required to take no oath except the oath of allegiance. And it was agreed that all officers and soldiers unwilling to remain in the country on these conditions, should be conveyed to the continent at the expense of the English. Two days after this treaty was signed a French fleet arrived off the coast, bringing troops and military stores more than enough to have turned the tide of victory. It was to the interest of Ginkle to have the treaty ratified speedily, and the Irish negotiators are blamed for having so far played the enemy's game as to have allowed it to be hurried. They were, however, influenced by a sincere desire for peace.

On the 4th of October five English regiments entered the betrayed city of Limerick, and on the following day the Irish army was paraded on King's Island, in order that they might choose between the service of England and that of France. Sarsfield and Ginkle addressed them in different proclamations, the former recommending the French service and the latter that of the Dutchman in England. It was then agreed that on the ensuing morning the Irish army should be again paraded and marched past a flag which would be fixed at a given point. Those who chose England were to file to the left, those who preferred France were to march on.

An impressive and interesting ceremony was presented on King's Island on the morning when the hour for the decision of the Irish soldiers arrived. The men paraded at an early hour; the chaplains said Mass and preached each a sermon at the head of their regiments. The Catholic Bishops then went through the lines, blessing the troops as they passed. They were received with military honors, rendered more imposing by the affectionate devotion the native Irish have ever shown to their bishops. A message was now sent to Ginkle that all was ready. The Irish army, fifteen thousand strong, received the English officers with presented arms. The English generals rode slowly

through the lines, and declared that they had never seen a finer body of men.

General Withers then addressed them in an excellent speech, recommending the English service in very forcible terms, after which the army fell into line, and the word "March!" was given.

The walls of the town were covered with people; the neighboring hills were crowded with the peasantry of Clare and Limerick; the deputies of three Kings stood by the flag; but when the word "March!" was given, the deepest silence reigned through that vast and varied multitude, and not a sound was heard but the heavy tread of the advancing battalions. The column was headed by the Irish Guards, fourteen hundred strong—a regiment that had excited Ginkle's warmest admiration. They all marched past the flag except seven, who ranged themselves on the side of England. The next two regiments were the Ulster Irish, and they all filed to the left. Their example, however, was not generally followed; the greater part of the others declared in favor of France. A similar scene took place at the cavalry camp, and out of the fifteen thousand only about two thousand joined the enemies of their country. So little pleased was Ginkle with this result, that he was inclined to pick a quarrel with the Irish leaders, and the treaty would have been broken almost as soon as signed but for the presence of the French fleet, which caused the English authorities to suppress their resentment. On the 12th of October, the Irish cavalry that had chosen the service of France, passed through Limerick on their way to Cork. This gallant body had been the darling and pride of the Irish during this eventful war, and their departure was viewed with bitter regret. The people assembled at the city to bid them farewell, but their hearts died within them. A few faint cheers, as faintly answered, spoke the sadness as well as the depth of their mutual affection. Tears and blessings accompanied them to Water-gate, and when the last file had passed out, a deep sigh burst from the citizens of Limerick, who felt that their national hope was now destroyed, as these brave cavalry had always routed the English, and had

never been beaten. The infantry followed in a few days, but their numbers were thinned by desertion before they reached the place of embarkation. There are no people so strongly attached to their native soil as the Irish peasants. Those who have witnessed the trials at the assizes in Ireland, well know that transportation is far more dreaded than hanging, by the criminals who stand at the bar in Ireland.

It is not wonderful, therefore, that many, after the excitement was over, should repent of their determination and resolve to stay in the land of their birth. In a few years these Irish soldiers were deservedly esteemed the most valuable part of the French army. William, as soon as the treaty was signed, removed his foreign regiments from Ireland, but not before they had been guilty of several robberies and fresh excesses. A large sum of money had to be given them as a compensation for the plunder which they resigned, and they departed amid the joint execrations of both Catholic and Protestant.

The treaty of Limerick was an arrangement in which both parties yielded some of their pretensions, in order to effect a peace, and as is usual in such cases, all parties felt dissatisfied. The Irish not included in the capitulation justly said that the town was surrendered without the slightest military necessity, and by holding out a few days the whole fortunes of the war might have been changed. They also complained bitterly that their brethren had left them exposed to forfeitures, when, by merely making the demand from Ginkle, all the Irish confiscations would have been abandoned. But no party denounced the treaty so violently as those who were the principal gainers by it—the Cromwellians or Puritan party. Their object was to rob the Catholics of whatever property they had yet left them, and their rage at a treaty which secured civil rights to all Catholics, and, what was worse, their estates to some of them, was what these sanctimonious Puritans considered an outrage on the people of God. They assailed Ginkle's character with the utmost violence. In vain did he represent to them that if the treaty had been delayed the French fleet would have arrived, and the superior bravery of the Irish soldiers would have finally

drove them off the Island. They would listen to no reason, and never forgave the man who saved them their ill-gotten store and themselves from certain destruction. The bigotry of these men supplied them with arguments from scripture to conceal their avarice. They quoted examples from the Old Testament, as their fathers had done, and madly demanded the extripation of the idolatrous Papists. An anonymous writer at that time described the Protestants in Ireland in terms not less severe than merited, as consisting of hatred of Popery, ignorance of Christianity, and a total absence of moral principle. The history of the period on which we are about to enter will furnish but too many examples of the truth of this definition. The violent part of the preachers led off in denouncing the treaty. On the Sunday after the Lords-Justices returned to Dublin, they went in state to Christ's Church, when Dr. Dopping, Protestant Bishop of Meath, from his pulpit denounced the treaty of Limerick in no very measured terms, and argued that Protestants, who were the people of God, were not bound to keep faith with idolatrous Papists. A doctrine so favorable to their avarice and bigotry was eagerly adopted by those who hoped to profit by Protestant ascendancy.

The first manifestation of their anger was on the decisions of the Court of Claims, which assembled to determine the amount of property to be restored to the Catholics. By the treaty of Limerick the court restored about one-fifth of the confiscated land to the original proprietors, and it is said that some were given back their lands by the special favor of William. The largest forfeiture was that of the Earl of Clancarty, and it was a doubtful point whether he was not included in the treaty. William was favorable to this ancient family, but Sir Richard Cox, who had already much of the stolen land, procured a declaration from the grand jury of the County Cork that the restoration of the lands of the Earl of Clancarty would be prejudicial to the Protestant interests—meaning thereby that it would be inconvenient, very, to these gentlemen to part with their estates, which they had stolen. This precious argument was deemed sufficient, and the extensive estates of this nobleman in Cork,

Limerick and Kerry, were left in possession of these robbers. Fifty years later George II made an effort in the Irish House of Commons to have these lands restored to the heirs of Clancarty, but was defeated, and to shut out all hopes forever, this Parliament, who were all Protestants, mind, voted that any lawyer who pleaded in behalf of those heirs should be deemed an enemy of his country! The English Parliament, that met nineteen days after the treaty of Limerick was signed, set the example of violating the articles by passing an act that all members of the Irish Parliament should take the oath of supremacy. This act, though the Catholics submitted to it, was not binding in Ireland until 1782, when it was made part of the constitution in the twenty-second year of the reign of George III.

The first Irish Parliament held under William had in it a few Catholic members, principally in the Upper House; but the great majority was composed of violent Protestants. There was little harmony between William and this Parliament.

The Cromwellians, though professing devotion to the English King and Parliament, have never shown respect for either when their edicts did not coincide with their own interests and prejudices. Had William allowed them to rob and murder the Catholics, they would have permitted him to raise money as illegally as he might wish; but his adherence to the treaty of Limerick kindled in their breasts the flame of constitutional liberty. They rejected one bill and passed another with a clause attached, stating that they agreed to it only on account of the emergency of the case, and affirming that it was, and is, the right of the Commons to originate all money bills.

Sydney, William's deputy, prorogued the Irish Parliament, and chided them for the little gratitude they had shown to the great deliverer; but gratitude with them meant only thanks for future favors, and they parted in great indignation. Sydney was soon recalled from the government of Ireland, and in his place three Lords-Justices appointed, namely, Capell, Wyche and Duncomb. The two latter were anxious to observe the treaty of Limerick, but the former was a supporter of Protestant ascendancy. His principles, which were directly opposed

to the commandment, "Thou shalt not steal," were too much in accordance with the prejudices of the day not to prevail. His colleagues were removed, and the Catholics had soon reason to regret laying down their arms at Limerick and trusting to the faith of England. The sheriffs in Ireland in those days returned a grand jury of men, all Protestants, of course, who if not guilty of the crimes brought before them, would gladly have imitated them if they had the chance. The administration was almost of necessity in the hands of those who were, either by principle or interest, united with the criminals.

The Cromwellians, though rude and ignorant, possessed more worldly wisdom than their adversaries are disposed to give them credit for. They watched the proceedings of the English Parliament, and were loyal or not, as best suited their interests. The English had used them in their war against the Stuarts, and for value received they now gave them full liberty to oppress and rob the Catholics of Ireland.

Those political Protestants we shall find for nearly a century passing laws increasing in severity against Catholics, which but to think of makes one's blood run cold; when all of a sudden, in the eighteenth year of George III, came the American Revolution, which grew out of the English revolution, and, mark the justice of God! caused these fanatics to repeal some of these penal laws. Wonderful events have been produced by this revolution, and in all probability England has yet to receive from America blows far heavier than she has ever yet had to sustain. William had in the first place brought over a large army for the English nation to support. Next there were the expenses of a civil war to endure. But these were nothing compared to what was to follow. King James was in France, where Louis, the King, treated him as King of the British Isles. William hated Louis for this, and England had to pay for that hatred. All those who had helped to bring him over were now embarked in the same boat with him. They were compelled to humor and to yield to him. They first wished to give the crown to his wife, who was the daughter of James, thinking there would be less revolution in this than in giving it to an alien. But he told

them he would not hold his power by the apron strings, and cut the matter short with them by saying if they did not give him the crown he would go back to Holland and leave the place to the "old man."

This was enough; they gave him the crown without more hesitation, and they found that they had got a deliverer and a master at the same time. War with France was now necessary to maintain William on the throne, for if he should lose the throne what was to become of those who depended on him for protection in holding the property they held unjustly, and which they could not expect to retain one day if James was restored? Besides, there was danger, and great danger, of their lives; for, though what they did was, and is yet called a glorious revolution, it would, if James had been restored, been called a very different name, and that name would not have been an empty sound—it would have been applied to practical purposes, and the chances are that very few of the principal actors would or should have escaped. Tradition is long lived; many men then alive knew how the fathers of these men stole the property of the church; they also knew that the church kept all the poor in those days. Thus all these interested parties, who were the most powerful in the kingdom, regarded the war with France necessary to the keeping of William on the throne, and to the holding of their ill-gotten properties, if not to the safety of their lives.

This war, therefore, ought to have been called a war to protect certain persons in holding stolen property. But those who make wars, like those who make confiscations belonging to the church and the poor, generally know how to give them a good name, and accordingly this was called a war to preserve the Protestant religion and to keep out Popery and slavery. The history of this war is of no consequence to the American reader; it answered the objects of its inventors; it did not hurt France, but it made the English people identify the old King and his son with the foreign enemies of England, and that was what the inventors of the war wanted; men do not reason in such a case, and this they also knew very well.

But though honest feeling may silence the reasoning faculties, the purse is seldom quieted so easily, and this war, though for the preservation of the Protestant religion and for keeping out popery, soon began to make heavy demands on John Bull's purse. The expense of this no-popery war was enormous. The taxes were in proportion, and the people who now paid five times as much as they paid in the reign of James, began not only to murmur, but to express sorrow for being delivered. Force, as far as law and the suspension of law could go, was put in motion to raise money. But a scheme was at last hit upon to raise one million five hundred thousand pounds sterling, and when this sum was subscribed, the subscribers should have a charter under the title of the Bank of England. Thus arose loans, funds, banks, bankers, bank-notes and a National debt. The inventor of all this, Burnett, was in the first place a political preacher; next, he was a lying historian; next, he was a Scotchman, and lastly he received the thanks of the British Parliament for his *History of the Reformation*, which was a mass of the most base falsehoods and misrepresentations that ever were put upon paper. In 1689, the year after the deliverance, the deliverer made Burnett Bishop of Salisbury as a reward for his services. And for repeating the same falsehoods, with many additions of his own, one hundred and sixty years later, Queen Victoria made Macauley, another Scotchman, a Lord of England.

William, and all those who had brought him in, also all those who had been fattened or elevated by him, were now embarked in the same boat. But the great body of the people were not thus embarked. Indeed, very few of them were. But if all, or a great part of those who had money to lend, could by the temptation of great gain be induced to lend their money to the government, then they, too, would be firm supporters of the deliverer. For this purpose this funding system was invented. It had a two-fold object—to raise money for this no-popery war, and of binding to this no-popery government all who wished to lend money on high interest, and these were, as is always the

case, the most greedy, the most selfish, least public spirited, and most slavish and unjust part of the people.

The scheme succeeded, but what a scourge did it provide for future generations! The sum at first borrowed was a mere trifle. But it was not intended to stop with that trifle. The inventors knew what they were about. The thing soon began to swell at a great rate, and before the end of this no-popery war the annual interest alone amounted to £1,310,942, which was more than the whole taxes raised in the days of James.

Thus does the justice of God work! The treatment of the Catholics at this time was truly horrible. This debt scheme was invented by Burnett for the purpose of utterly extirpating the Catholic religion; and that religion still lives in England—nay, there are in the Kingdom in this year of our Lord, 1875, a greater number of Catholics than there are persons of any other creed, and it is well known that thinking and reading persons of all creeds are fast returning to the Catholic church. Burnett's contrivance did very well for present use; it made all those who were interested in the funds advocates of taxation; it divided the people into two classes—the tax-payer and the tax-eater, and the latter had the government at their back. Taxes went on increasing, and the debt went on in the same way. The Protestant interest demanded more wars; taxation increased at a fearful rate; one of the great gains of the glorious revolution was that there should be a new Parliament at least every three years; another was, that no pensioner or placeman should sit in the House of Commons. This act was soon repealed, and placemen have sat in the Commons ever since. But the act securing the people a fresh choice every three years at least, that was a vital law. It was in the new state of things—a state of taxes and debts—the only protection left to the people; yet in the year 1715 this law was repealed and forever abolished, and the three years were changed to seven, and that too, observe, by men whom the people had elected to sit three years. After the passing of this Septennial act until the reign of George III, by means of no-popery wars and other measures for defending and preserving the Protestant religion, as by law

established, the debt from £1,500,000, had swelled up to £146,682,844. The interest alone on this amount was eight times as much as James had raised yearly off these no-popery people. Now, though men will do much in the way of talk against popery, they are less zealous and active when it comes to money. In this dilemma a new scheme was resorted to, which John Bull hoped would relieve the demand on his purse. This scheme was to tax the American colonies, and to throw a part, first, and perhaps the whole, in the end, of this no-popery debt upon their shoulders. These septenial gentlemen in England proceeded at first slowly to shift the debt off their own shoulders to that of the Americans. They sent out tea to pay a tax; they imposed a stamp duty on certain transactions in the colonies, but they had a sharp-sighted and resolute people to deal with. The Americans had seen debts and taxation creep by degrees over the people of England, and they resolved to resist the complicated curse. The moneyed people of America were not like those of England, embarked in the same boat with the government; if they had been entangled in Burnett's artful web, the Americans might, at this day, been hardly known to the world; might have been a parcel of poor devils doomed to toil for haughty and insolent masters. Happily for them, the Scotch Bishop's trammels had not reached them, and therefore they wisely resolved not to submit to John Bull's demands. It is curious that the Americans, as the glorious people of England had done, called themselves Whigs. A Whig means, in England, one who approves of the setting of James and his heirs aside. A Whig in America is one who approves of setting King George aside. The English Whigs published a declaration containing charges against James; so did those of America against George. The charges against James were twelve in number. This number, says Cobbett, must be a favorite with Whigs, for the American Whigs had twelve charges against George. We can see what Protestants accused a popish King of, and it is well known to Americans what Protestants, and Catholics, too, accused a Protestant King of. Blackstone, in justifying the glorious affair, took good care to say that the like was never to take place

again, and the septenial gentlemen declared, and I think enacted, that the King in future could do no wrong. Now the Americans seemed to think it hard that they should be forbidden to do what was so glorious in Englishmen. Blackstone had told them that to justify another revolution all the same circumstances must exist, not part of them; the King must not only endeavor to subvert the laws, but he must have a design to overthrow the Protestant religion. So that, according to this lawyer, there never could be a glorious revolution again, as no Catholic could ever be King again, and no King was ever to do wrong any more.

But these American Whigs did not listen to Blackstone. They thought, nay, they said, that a Protestant King might do wrong. In short, they drew up charges against this Protestant King; and so the charges against James are found in an act of Parliament, as the charges against George are found in an act of Congress, passed on the memorable 4th of July, 1776, wherein they say: "The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishing of an absolute tyranny over these States." To prove this, let facts be submitted to the candid reader. Then follows twelve charges, well known to the American reader.

The century after William overran Ireland has often been named the period in which Ireland had no history. During that century the records of each succeeding year contained little more than a repetition of tyranny on the part of the English, and suffering most bitter on the part of those subjected to their sway. The penal laws, which must forever brand with disgrace the Protestant legislature of Ireland, were by no means the greatest affliction of the native Irish. The oppressions of the local magistrates, the heartless cruelty of landlords, and the denial of equal rights to the peasantry, produced evils more extensive and more permanent.

Bad laws may be repealed, but a systematic perversion of justice has a tendency to perpetuate itself. Habit, combined with interest and prejudice, forces men to adopt the practices of

those by whom they are surrounded, and should one resist he finds himself alone against a host. On the other hand, it is difficult to inspire confidence in law into the minds of those who have long known the law only as an engine of oppression. The fact that justice is even to this day denied to the Irish Catholic, is indisputable. The Protestants in Ireland knew they were neither loved nor respected, and they naturally desired to make themselves feared. With singular impudence they denounced all Irish names as vulgar, and the sons of Cromwell's fanatical soldiery, the meanest and worst of the Parliamentary army, affected to look down on the O's and Mc's, descended from Kings, and over the ashes of whose ancestors splendid and costly monuments had been erected. Those Puritans in the Irish House of Commons spent most of their time in devising laws to prevent the growth of popery.

But though in their conduct toward the native Irish the Cromwellians were systematically cruel and unjust, we are not to conclude that they were totally depraved. It is said by their friends that they acted honorably and uprightly to all but Irish Papists, but inserted a clause of exception respecting them in every one of the ten commandments. Lord Capell summoned an Irish Parliament in 1695, but instead of recommending a confirmation of the treaty of Limerick, he informed the members, in a speech, that William was intent upon a settlement of Ireland upon a Protestant basis; in other words, gentlemen, no punishment for stealing. The Commons appointed a committee to report what penal laws were already in force against the Catholics, not for the purpose of repealing them, as had been promised by the treaty of Limerick, but in order to add to them, and thereby possess themselves of their estates. The penal laws then in existence were as follows: An act subjecting all to penalties who held to the Catholic church, and obliging all persons to take the oath of supremacy. An act imposing a fine on all persons absent from the Protestant church on Sundays. An act authorizing the Chancellor to name a guardian to the child of a Catholic. An act to prevent Catholics from becoming school teachers. To these the Puritan Parliament

added: An act to deprive Catholics of educating their children at home or abroad, and to render them incapable of being guardians to their own or any other person's children. An act to disarm the Catholics, and another to banish all priests and Bishops. Having thus violated the treaty, they gravely brought in a bill to confirm the articles of Limerick. Never was a legislature guilty of such a breach of public faith. The very title of the bill is evidence of its injustice. It is styled, "A bill for the confirmation of articles (not the articles) made at the surrender of Limerick." and the preamble shows that the word "the" was not accidentally omitted. It runs thus: "That the said articles, or so much of them as may consist of the safety of his Majesty's subjects in these kingdoms, may be confirmed." The parts which appeared to these legislators inconsistent with the safety of his Majesty's subjects were the first, which provided for the security of Catholics from all disturbances on account of their religion; and the second, which secured Catholics in their estates, for the Protestant religion could not be expected to exist in Ireland with nothing to steal. Another, that no oath should be required from the Catholics but the oath of allegiance, and that they should exercise their trades and professions without obstruction. All these are omitted in the bill. The Commons passed this bill quickly; they had little character to lose, and on that little they placed no value when there was a good chance to steal. The House of Lords, however, contained some few of the ancient nobility and some bishops that refused to say that no faith should be kept with Papists. When the bill was signed, the following protest, signed by thirteen Lords, six of whom were bishops, was entered on the journals: "We, the Lords, spiritual and temporal, do dissent from the aforesaid vote because the said articles were to be confirmed in favor of them to whom they were granted, but the bill is such that it puts them in a worse condition than they were before, as several words are inserted in the bill which are not in the articles, and others omitted which alter the meaning of the whole, and also because many Protestants may, and will suffer by this bill by reason of their having purchased and lent money upon

the credit of said articles." Verily, here is a fountain in a desert! Protestant bishops protesting against injustice to Catholics! Don't think for a moment, kind reader, they protest, and only protest, because Protestants were likely to suffer by the bill. If you have a doubt on the subject, by all means give them the benefit of that doubt. This violation of national faith was soon after followed by more penal laws—first, an act to prevent Protestants from marrying with Papists; second, an act to prevent Papists from being solicitors, and third, an act to prohibit their being employed as game-keepers.

About this time the English Parliament presented a joint address to William, praying he would discourage the woolen manufactures of Ireland. His reply deserves to be recorded. He says:

"My Lords and gentlemen, I shall do all in my power to discourage the woolen manufacture in Ireland, and to encourage the linen trade there. WILLIAM, July 2, 1698."

The promise of encouraging the linen manufacture was not kept. Every attempt to establish it in the south of Ireland failed, principally from the avarice of the Protestant clergy, who claimed one-tenth as tithe. This tithe of flax needs an explanation. In harvesting flax in Ireland it is pulled up by the roots and bound in bundles, then hauled to water ponds, where it is steeped for two or three weeks. It is then taken out of the water and spread quite thin on a grass field; after about three weeks it is again taken up and rebound, then hauled to the mill, where it is first put through a process called rolling, then scutching, before it is ready for market. The farmers thought one-tenth in the field was quite enough for the Protestant preachers, but these holy men insisted on one-tenth ready for market. This was doubling up the injustice, as the labor and cost of preparing the flax for market was nearly one-half of the market price.

About this time Molinex, member of Parliament for Dublin, published a book asserting the independence of the Irish legislature. The English House of Commons resolved unanimously that the book was of a dangerous tendency to the people and crown

of England by denying them the authority to bind and tax the people of Ireland.

Finally, they ordered the book to be burned by the common hangman. If anything could add to the disgrace of William's Irish Parliament, it would be their tame submission to this insult; but a legislature already dishonored by theft and tyranny dared not to make even an effort for its own vindication. They were ready to submit to any treatment, if permitted to retain their ascendancy over the unfortunate Catholics. The confiscations made by William in Ireland, were grounds for serious quarrels between him and the Parliament. He having made seventy-six grants of the stolen estates to as many of his followers, those who were disappointed of their share of the plunder clamored loudly against this prerogative. A bill to annul these grants passed the Commons with little difficulty, but encountered severe opposition in the House of Lords. It was finally carried, and William, against his will, gave it the royal assent. The stolen lands were now placed for sale in the hands of trustees, who were scandalously dishonest, but the Parliament rejected all petitions against their conduct, and voted all the accusations false and malicious. This ingenious mode of argument, viz: giving sentence after refusing consideration, has been often practiced by the English Parliament when legislating for Ireland. The forfeited or stolen lands were valued at fifteen hundred thousand pounds; in the hands of the trustees they produced about a third of that sum. Macauley says that these lands were bestowed by William on persons whose services merited all and more than they received; but of all the grants the greatest was to Woodstock, the next was to Albemarle. An admirer of William cannot relate without pain that he divided between these two Dutchmen an extent of country larger than Hertfordshire. One of William's mistresses, Elizabeth Villiers, who had been lately married to George Hamilton, a soldier who fought under William in Ireland, and who probably held the doctrine of that day that a lady is not dishonored by being a concubine to a King—William was pleased with the marriage, and bestowed on the wife an estate in Ireland, valued at twenty-four thousand

pounds a year, and created the husband of this harlot a peer of Scotland by the title of Earl of Orkney. Macauley says "William would not have raised his character by abandoning to poverty a woman whom he had loved, though with a criminal love."

William died on the morning of the 7th of March, 1701, after being King of England eleven years. Macauley says, "Burnett and Tennison, two bishops of his own making, remained many hours in the sick room previous to his death. He professed to them his belief in the Christian religion, and received the sacrament at their hands with (as he says) great seriousness." There are different opinions among historians respecting the character of William. Burnett holds he was a model of Christianity, Macauley says he was a great and good King, but does not go much on him as a Christian. If to be a great King, as well as to be a great man, it is necessary to disregard all and every one of the ten commandments of God, then indeed was William self-made.

ANNE, DAUGHTER OF JAMES,

and sister-in-law to William, was immediately proclaimed Queen. While William lived, the factions of the ascendancy were held in check by their fears that some new crisis might wrest from them the lands purchased by such a long course of guilt and fraud. Now that they were rid of the foreigner they had no fears. The first bill passed in the reign of Anne was a bill to prevent the further growth of popery. The following are among the most remarkable of its enactments: One clause provides that if the son of an estated Papist shall conform to the established religion, the father could not sell or mortgage his estate, or dispose of any portion of it by will—the whole of the estate must go to the son who pretended to be a Protestant, however profligate or disobedient.

Another clause prohibits a Papist from being guardian of his own child, and orders that if at any time the child, though ever so young, pretends to be a Protestant, it shall be taken from its father and placed under the guardianship of a Protestant.

Another clause renders Papists incapable of purchasing any

enements or holding whatever. And if a Papist should hold a farm producing a profit over one-third the amount of the rent, his right to this farm should immediately cease, and pass over entirely to the Protestant who should make the discovery.

Another clause prohibits Papists from succeeding to the estates of their Protestant relatives.

Another clause requires all persons voting at elections to abjure the Pope, under oath, and also swear he is a firm believer in the Protestants' manner of receiving the sacrament.

Taylor says, "It would be a mere waste of words to reprobate this iniquitous law, or rather this violation of law, human and divine. No Protestant can peruse its enactments without a blush for the shame thus brought on his religion, for here it is virtually declared that Protestantism should owe its strength and security, not to the purity of its principles, not to the excellence of its doctrines, but to robbery and oppression; to dissension between father and son; to stimulating one neighbor to seize the fruits of another's industry; to the desecration of the sacrament by making it a test for office. How can we be surprised that the Protestant religion is unpopular in Ireland, when by this and similar laws a Protestant legislature virtually declared that their religion was not secure, unless it entered into alliance with Belial, Mammon and Moloch?"

When this atrocious bill was introduced, the Catholics asked leave to be heard by counsel at the bar of the House against it, and obtained it. Sir Theobald Butler, Mr. Malone, and Rice, who had been chief baron, appeared and made an earnest appeal to the justice and honor of their hearers, showing how gross was the attempt to violate the treaty of Limerick. The good conduct of the Catholics since their submission, he insisted, should save them from such bitter penalties. He pointed out how infamous was the attempt to destroy all confidence between parents and children, and the imposition of the sacramental test. His arguments, as he seemed himself to have anticipated, were unheeded. The bill was sent to the Duke of Ormond, then Lord-Lieutenant, who said on receiving it that he would recom-

mend it, and do everything in his power to prevent the growth of popery, a promise which he religiously performed.

The English ministers were now engaged in a negotiation with the Emperor of Germany, who was then a Catholic, for the purpose of obtaining from him a full toleration of Protestants in his dominions, and knowing he would retort that he treated Protestants far better than they did Catholics, endeavored to dissuade the Irish Parliament from urging the measure, but in vain. The Puritans were not to be deterred from persecution by regard for foreign Protestants, because their war was not against the religion but against the property of the Catholics of Ireland. The Whig ministry were now caught in their own devices. They had maintained a popular clamor against popery for several years, in order to strengthen their influence, and now they feared that if they acted justly they would be driven from their posts as friends of Papists. They knew, however, that the Irish Parliament was composed chiefly of Presbyterians, and therefore inserted the sacramental test, hoping this would cause the rejection of the whole measure, but the English ministers had formed too high an estimate of the consciences of these Presbyterians. They sanctioned the clause almost without debate, and, as one of their own writers said, "swallowed their scruples and the sacrament together." Human nature revolted against this cruel law. There were many magistrates who refused to execute it, and public feeling branded those who became discoverers to rob their Catholic neighbors. The Parliament had, therefore, recourse to publishing resolutions blaming honest magistrates and praising informers. On the 17th of March, 1705, they voted that all persons whatsoever who neglected or omitted to put the penal laws into execution were betrayers of the country. In June of the same year they denounced such persons as enemies to the government and the Protestant religion, and they further resolved that the prosecuting and informing against Papists was an honorable service to the government. But even these laws were not deemed sufficient, and in 1709 an act imposing additional severities was passed, almost without opposition. One clause declares that no Papist shall be capable

of holding an annuity for life. Another provides that the child of a Papist, on becoming a Protestant, shall at once receive an annuity from his father, and that the chancellor shall compel the father to discover, under oath, the full value of his property, and make an order for this property for the support of such conforming children, and divide the property, after the father's death, as the court may see fit. Another gives the property of a Papist to his wife if she, however immoral, pretends to be a Protestant. Another prohibits a Papist from teaching school, even as assistant to a Protestant master. And knowing all this, Macauley tells his readers that Catholics are ignorant, and no doubt many believe him, without knowing that these cruel and inhuman laws made them so.

These Christian legislators now offered a bribe of thirty pounds sterling annually to any popish priest who would even pretend to embrace the Protestant religion. And yet more, another law provides rewards for discovering popish bishops, priests and school teachers on the following sliding scale :

For discovering an archbishop or vicar-general, fifty pounds.

For discovering a priest, thirty pounds.

For discovering a popish school teacher, ten pounds.

They had already passed a resolution that this business of discovering Papists and popish priests was an honorable calling, and necessary in maintaining the Protestant religion. Another clause empowers any two justices of the peace to summon before them any Papist over eighteen years of age, and question him under oath as to when and where he last heard Mass, and the names of the persons present, and likewise the residence of any popish priest or schoolmaster, and if he refuses to give testimony, subjects him to a fine of twenty pounds and imprisonment for twelve months. Many other cruel laws were enacted about this time, of which we shall only notice one. It excludes Catholics from the office of sheriff and from juries, and enacts that in trials upon any statute in the Protestant interest, the parties might challenge any juror suspected of being friendly to Papists, which challenge the judge was to allow. This baneful system is prac-

ticed in Ireland in counties where Protestants are in the majority even to this day.

The design of those legislators appears to have been to drive the Catholics from the country; and, so far as the gentry were concerned, they succeeded tolerably well. The example of the Parliament was imitated by the Irish corporate towns and cities. They passed laws excluding Catholics from all profitable branches of trade, and in many instances from residence within the town. The Protestants of Bandon, in the county of Cork, a place, by the way, stolen from Catholics, had written on the gate, "No Papist allowed to enter here." Some wag wrote beneath this:

He that wrote this, wrote it well,
For the same is written on the gates of hell.

These laws caused Catholics to transfer their wealth to foreign countries, where they founded commercial houses, which to this day retain a high character.

The factions that divided the English Parliament through the entire of

QUEEN ANNE'S REIGN,

extended to Ireland, and the parties of Whig and Tory, high and low church, assailed each other with violence. They agreed only in one point, the persecuting of Papists. The clergy of the church and a majority of the Lords were Tories, the Whigs were a majority in the Commons. The password of the faction of the ascendancy was, "The pious, glorious and immortal memory of the great and good King William, who freed us from popery, slavery, brass money and wooden shoes!" to which is usually added a tail of curses on those who refuse to join in the pledge. Brown, Bishop of Cork, preached a sermon against this piece of absurdity, and consummated his folly by printing it. The Whigs denounced the bishop, and added to their toast contempt for him in no very delicate terms. The English Parliament at this time passed a bill to prevent the growth of scism, aimed principally against Presbyterians, which was made to in-

clude Ireland, but they knew the bill could not pass the Irish House of Commons, where these Puritans had a great majority.

The accession of

GEORGE THE FIRST,

produced little change in Ireland. The English Parliament this year declared they had full power and authority to make laws to bind the people of Ireland. The English Parliament, having thus kindly relieved the lawmakers of Ireland from much of their labor, devoted their leisure to passing new laws against popery. Several new laws were passed, inflicting further penalties and disqualifications on the Catholics, one of which is still in force, viz: that which excludes Papists from voting at any vestry held for the purpose of assessing money to build or repair churches. For, kind reader, the poor Catholics were obliged to build and repair these Protestant churches, after giving one-tenth of their crops to support the clergy. All these laws were executed with the same intolerant spirit that had dictated their enactment. Priest-hunting was a fashionable amusement, Catholic churches were either pulled down or forcibly shut up, the Catholic clergy sent to prison, and from thence into exile. But one bill which was passed by the Irish Puritan legislature, is sufficient to show how violent and shameless was the Protestant bigotry of this disgraceful period. It actually contained a clause—how can it be mentioned without offense to delicacy!—a clause for subjecting every Catholic clergyman in Ireland to suffer castration!

On presenting this bill to the Lord-Lieutenant, both Houses in a body made the request that he would recommend the bill in the most effectual manner to the King, and his Excellency promised to do so. Sir Robert Walpole, at the request of some foreign ministers, exerted himself to prevent even an Irish statute book from being sullied by such disgusting brutality, and the bill was scouted by the English Privy Council. The Lord-Lieutenant, on closing the Irish Parliament, attempted to console them for the loss of their favorite bill. He told them that it failed merely by not being brought into the House before the season was so far advanced. He tells them the public peace

would be greatly promoted by the vigorous execution of the laws against popish priests, and that he would contribute his part to the prevention of that growing evil, by giving orders that such persons only should hold commissions of the peace as had distinguished themselves by adherence to the Protestant interest.

The celebrated Dean Swift, for a brief space, united both Catholics and Protestants in opposition to the government. He was one of a numerous class of Protestants who by disappointed ambition were converted into patriots. But unquestionably he effected some good by giving the Irish an example of turning from party politics to a national object.

A. D. 1727. On the accession of

GEORGE THE SECOND,

the Catholic nobility and gentry, with the principal part of the clergy, prepared an address, which they presented to the Lord-Lieutenant for transmission. This document, however, was suppressed because it was deemed inconsistent with law to acknowledge that there were any Papists in existence. The claims of the Catholics to legal existence were particularly offensive to Boutler, who was head of the Protestant Church in Ireland. This holy man was greatly alarmed by the increasing cordiality between Catholic and Protestant. A few of the Catholics were yet allowed to vote at elections. Of this right he resolved they should be deprived. A bill prohibiting Papists from voting at elections was passed without opposition. This, however, did not satisfy this godly prelate. He had several additions made at the same time to the penal code. Of these the following are the most remarkable: The Catholics were excluded from acting as barristers, clerks or solicitors. Barristers or solicitors marrying Papist wives were subjected to all the penalties and disqualifications of Papists. No convert can act as justice of the peace whose wife or children continue to be Papists.

A. D. 1745. The dread of invasion induced the English ministry to entrust the government of Ireland to the Earl of Chesterfield, who had been long in opposition to the court. By adopting conciliatory measures he kept Ireland tranquil during

the Scotch rebellion. He extended protection to the Catholics, and discouraged those rumors of pretended plots, which have always been so rife in Ireland. "All Connaught is rising," cried a zealous Protestant, rushing into his Lordship's bed-room in affected terror. "It is past eight o'clock, and time for us all to rise," coolly replied Chesterfield, looking at his watch.

It is painful to add, however, that two atrocious penal laws were enacted during his government; the first, annulling all marriages between Protestants and Papists, or that were celebrated by popish priests; the second, ordering that every popish priest who married two Protestants, or a Protestant and a Papist, should be hanged.

After the departure of Chesterfield, Stone, a Protestant bishop, became the head of the Irish government. Taylor, himself a Protestant, says: "This profligate prelate scrupled not to employ the most detestable means to effect his designs. To procure partisans in Parliament, he is said to have gratified the sensual desires of the young members with the most unlimited indulgence. His house became in fact a tavern and a brothel. The injury done to religion by this bishop requires no comment. It is, however, remarkable that we find no one among the Protestants of that day to write or speak against his scandalous behavior. Charles Lucas, an apothecary, having become a member of the common council of the city of Dublin, commenced an attack on the board of aldermen. He published several tracts on the rights of the people, and the claims of Ireland to make her own laws. The Cromwellians became alarmed. They had usurped their own power, but now there was danger the people would be their rulers. They therefore joined the government to crush Lucas as a common enemy. In October, 1749, the House of Commons resolved that Charles Lucas was an enemy to his country, and presented an address to the viceroy, requesting that Lucas should be prosecuted, and a reward offered for his apprehension. Lucas now went into exile, but on his return, after some years, he was elected to represent his fellow-citizens in Parliament. Dorset and Stone were now removed from the government of Ireland, and were forced to escape

from Dublin under an escort of guards and a hired mob which they had collected and supplied with drink.

In the fall of 1759, a French fleet, under Thurat, arrived in the Bay of Belfast and took the town and castle of Carrickfergus ; but not receiving re-enforcements, he retired. He was overtaken in his retreat by a British squadron and fell in the engagement. The loyalty shown by the Catholics on this occasion, and the addresses sent to them by the leaders of the Catholic body, also a disclaimer of the obnoxious doctrines imputed to them, induced the government to look with favor on this persecuted body. The Honorable John Ponsonby, speaker of the House of Commons, was the first Irish statesman who felt sympathy in the wrongs of his Catholic countrymen ; and to this day the Ponsonby family have been the advocates of religious toleration in Ireland. The news that the government meant to do justice to the Catholics produced violent commotion among the lower ranks of Protestants in the north of Ireland. And here let me say that experience proves that in Ireland hatred of popery is more violent the lower they descend in the scale of intelligence. The fear of the removal of the Parliament would greatly injure the trade of the Dublin shop-keepers. The mob forced their way into the House of Lords, seated an old woman on the throne, and got up a mock debate on the expediency of introducing pipes and tobacco in the House. They forced the members of both Houses to swear that they would never consent to a union nor give a vote against the interests of Ireland. They compelled the Chief Justice to administer this oath to the attorney-general, and laughed heartily at the circumstance of having the first officer of the crown duly sworn by one of the King's judges. From these they proceeded to more violent outrages ; they broke the coaches of some obnoxious individuals, and erected a gallows to hang another, who fortunately escaped out of their hands.

The scheme of a union was frustrated by the death of George II and the accession of

GEORGE THE THIRD.

In the new reign there were few penal laws, though in the year 1776 an act was passed authorizing magistrates to search the houses of Papists for arms, and to examine on oath those suspected of concealment. By another clause, Papists refusing to deliver up their arms or concealing them, or refusing to discover on oath, or neglecting to appear when summoned for that purpose, were made liable to fine or imprisonment, or the pillory, or whipping, at the discretion of the court. In the year 1782, Papists were excluded from the Court of King's Inns, and the law of William the Dutchman, excluding them from Parliament, was formally enacted. This latter act attracted little notice, for the Catholics had submitted to William's English act, and were thus practically, though to now not legally, excluded from the legislature. The word Papist has been used so often by Protestant legislatures in framing these cruel laws against Catholics, that it certainly requires an explanation. In falling away from the Catholic church, the Church of England still retained the Apostles' creed in her services. In this creed the Apostles declared their belief in the Catholic church.

Many of the early Protestants favored leaving out the words, "Holy Catholic Church," in the creed, and inserting the words, "Holy Protestant Church," but when they reviewed the lives of the early reformers this idea was abandoned. The Protestant law-makers therefore no longer used the word "Catholic" in speaking of their opponents, but substituted the word "Papist," thinking, no doubt, as they had succeeded in robbing them of their lands, they could also rob them of their good name. The Presbyterians were certainly more consistent—they dispensed with the Apostles' creed altogether.

The grants of extensive tracts of land to Englishmen was the first cause of absenteeism, which is reckoned one of the chief causes of misery in Ireland; and certainly evil has resulted from this, but it is quite as absurd to suppose that compulsory residence would be a remedy. The mere fact of a landlord living in Ireland or England would make little difference. If the Irish

continued to export their raw material and import the manufactured articles, there would still be the same drawback on Irish industry. Absenteeism is a part, and by no means the worst part, of the system of land-letting which arose out of the penal laws. The persons to whom the forfeited lands in Ireland were granted eagerly accepted any offer made to them by persons, provided they were Protestants residing near the lands. Many of these Englishmen never intended to visit Ireland; others dreaded the peasantry and sought refuge in towns; both classes were glad of even a nominal rent for what they considered uncertain possessions.

In consequence of this many landlords, sometimes five or six, existed between the proprietor and the actual tiller of the ground. Thus the non-productive, or do-nothing classes, were increased, for each was supported by his profit rent, and the weight of supporting all fell upon the producer; who derived from his labor but a miserable existence. This numerous class of vultures called "poor gentlemen" became a greater curse to Ireland than absenteeism ever had been, or could be—men whose income was from one to five hundred pounds a year, upon which they lived in idleness, deeming honest industry a degradation. Their support they derived from some lease, or share in a lease, and of course fell upon the peasant and absorbed all the fruits of his industry. The country, therefore, became and continued wretched.

This land was all in the hands of Protestants, who all came in possession of it by theft, and the penal laws continued them in exclusive possession, as Catholics could not hold even a lease. Having already described the Cromwellians and their descendants who held these lands, it is needless to show how unfit these men were to be trusted with the destinies of a country. Even if we had not the evidence of impartial witnesses, common sense would lead us to conclude that these men would exhibit the same tyranny and injustice which their representatives had displayed in Parliament—men who had, as legislators, unscrupulously violated a solemn treaty and enacted prosecuting laws sanctioning robbery and crime, could not have been good

landlords nor equitable justices of the peace. We are not, however, left to mere reasoning to discover the general character of these landlords. The writer can well remember fifty years ago seeing many remnants of this system, which in the days of his father was in full bloom of perfection. The landlord on an Irish estate is a sort of a despot, who yields obedience to whatever concerns the poor to no law but his will. Speaking a language that is despised, professing a religion that is abhorred, and being disarmed, the poor find themselves slaves in a land of written liberty. The execution of the laws lies in the hands of the justices of the peace, and they generally are the most illiberal class in the kingdom. If a poor man lodges a complaint against a gentleman, or any animal who calls himself a gentleman, he has no defence—for one gentleman always protects another, and protects his vassals as he does his sheep.

The Irish landlords desired to surround themselves with Protestant tenantry, but they soon found the Protestant would not pay the extravagant rents they demanded, and they were of course rejected. Many of them emigrated to America and helped to swell the ranks of the Revolutionary army.

Nor was this the only cause of the disappearance of Protestantism among the lower ranks in Ireland? Taylor says, "The inefficiency, the negligence, and, in many cases, the immorality of the clergy of the High Church were at this period perfectly scandalous. Their anxiety was to diminish their congregations and lessen their labor. To the lower ranks of their flocks they were utter strangers, and would have looked upon any attempt to force intercourse as impertinence. The Church of England makes no provision for instructing the poor and the ignorant. The service loses much of its effect by constant repetition, but when read carelessly, in the style of a school-boy hurrying over his lesson, its efficacy is wholly lost. A well written sermon read from the pulpit is a poor means of delivering instruction to the illiterate and uninstructed. Irish Protestants have boasted that theirs is the religion of gentlemen; they forget that such is not the boast of Christianity. A higher merit than giving sight to the blind, health to the sick, or even life to the dead,

was that the poor had the gospel preached to them. Another cause of the decline of Protestantism in Ireland was the want of service in the Irish language. Whether that would have reconciled them to a religion known to them only as the religion of murderers and robbers, is doubtful. But the experiment was never tried, and the church could not see the inconsistency of charging the Catholic with celebrating Mass in an unknown tongue, while it itself inflicted penalties on millions for not attending their church, whose language was almost equally unknown.

Persecutions drew still closer the ties that united the priests to the people. Both were cruelly oppressed, and mutual suffering produced firm friendship. The poor Protestant felt sensibly the difference between a parson who would not deign to recognize him, and one who would be his adviser, his guide, and his friend. This was a more powerful argument than preaching on the differences between the churches. Preaching might show that Protestantism was better, but the conduct of the Catholic priest was more in accordance with the gospel and the conduct of the Apostles.

So powerful, indeed, was the effect of the contrast, that but for the Methodists and Dippers, as the Baptists were called, whose preachers mixed with the people, there would scarcely be a non-Catholic among the lower ranks in Ireland.

But with whatever other negligences the Protestant preachers in Ireland may be charged, neglecting to collect the tithes was surely not among the number. They employed a class of men, called tithe proctors, to collect their revenues, and never was there a greater scourge inflicted on an unfortunate country. Their oppressions would furnish materials for volumes. The Irish law of tithe was more oppressive than the English; it armed the parson with greater powers; it took from the farmer every means of defence against illegal overcharges. If the clergy had been angels they would have been corrupted by the system, but they were not even the best of men, for Taylor says, truly, "they used their tremendous power to the fullest extent." If anything further was wanted to alienate the hearts

of the farmers from Protestantism, it was to be found in the exactions of these tithe mongers; for how could they love, or even respect, the preachers who robbed them of the fruits of their industry, and snatched the last morsel from the mouths of their starving families.

The oppressions of the landlords and tithe proctors produced their natural effect. The peasantry, driven to despair, broke out in insurrection, which soon became formidable. The Protestant laborers of the north took the name of Hearts of Oak; those of the south were called Whiteboys, from wearing their shirts outside their clothes. They committed outrages on all whom they deemed the authors of their wrongs. There was not a man in Ireland ignorant of the cause of these disturbances, but the rulers of the land were neither willing to acknowledge their tyranny nor cease their rapacity. They adopted their usual mode of remedy, and passed a code of laws so cruel that no country in Europe can furnish a parallel. Acts were passed which seemed calculated for the meridian of Barbary. One law was actually passed by which persons were to be hanged without the formalities of a trial. Though this law was repealed the following session, it marks the spirit of the times, and many yet remain on the statute book of Ireland, much better calculated to raise than quell a rebellion. The old cry of a popish plot was raised, which induced the Puritan leaders to commit new acts of tyranny, and many were executed under circumstances of very doubtful guilt. Many more would have met a similar fate but for the humanity, rare in those days, of Sir Edward Aston, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas. He was nobly rewarded. On his return from a special commission at Clonmel, he found the roads lined by multitudes of both sexes, the friends and relatives of those whom he had saved from the fury of the Puritans, all invoking blessings on his head for his impartiality in the administration of justice. There was, however, one victim whose fate deserves to be recorded, as an example of the fury which the Protestants in Ireland, then and since, used to hunt down spirited and, to them, obnoxious Catholics.

NICHOLAS SHEEHY,

the parish priest of Clougheen, was a man of strong, generous feeling, and full of sympathy for the injured and oppressed Catholics, a sentiment long deemed treason by the wretches who then ruled in Ireland. He had given unpardonable offence to the gentry in the neighborhood by resisting their oppression and denouncing their tyranny. He had often shielded persecuted victims and relieved those whom these tyrants had reduced to misery. He was accused by them of acting as a popish priest, an offence then punished with transportation ; and another that he procured money from France to defend the Whiteboys and enlist them in the service of the Pretender, who was the son of James the Second.

A proclamation was issued, offering a reward of three hundred pounds for Sheehy's apprehension. On hearing of this he wrote a letter to the Secretary of State, offering to surrender provided that he should not be tried at Clonmel, where his enemies would be able to pack a jury. His offer was accepted ; he was tried in Dublin, and after an investigation of fourteen hours, was honorably acquitted. The evidence against him was that of a vagrant boy, a common prostitute, and an impeached thief taken from Clonmel jail and bribed to give testimony by promises of pardon and reward. His acquittal only increased the malice of his enemies. A report was circulated that a Whiteboy named Bridge had been murdered by his associates to prevent his giving information, and Sheehy was arrested as a participator in the crime. He had reason to dread a Clonmel jury, for on the very same evidence that had been rejected in Dublin he was found guilty and sentenced to be hanged and quartered. We would suppose the proof of Bridge's death would be already proved before conviction, but no such thing was even attempted. In fact, it was already proved by two witnesses that he had left the country, and it is notorious that he was alive several years after. During the trial the guard around the court-house excluded the prisoner's witnesses and grossly insulted all who spoke in his favor. So far was this

system of fear carried, that his attorney, though a Protestant, narrowly escaped with his life, and was forced to flee by night to Dublin.

The pretended murder of Bridge was made the pretext for the judicial murder of some others of the high-spirited Catholics of Tipperary. But the effect produced by the dying declaration of these unhappy men caused such a strong sensation of horror that the persecutors were stopped in the midst of their wicked career.

The state of morals during this unhappy time was deplorable. The habits of the gentry, who were the sons of the Cromwellians, were coarse and brutal, and the peasants learned all their vices. The few Catholics who pretended to turn Protestants neither were, nor affected to be, influenced by religious principle. A certificate of having received the sacrament in the Church of England was what the law required to secure them from the robbers, and tradition records many instances of horrible profanation that took place when the sacrament was administered to these insincere converts. But, says Taylor, "there were also some noble examples of virtue, which it is more pleasing to contemplate. Many Catholics made fictitious titles of their estates to Protestants, and there were very few violations of this confidence. A poor Protestant barber held the title deeds of all the Catholic estates in a southern county; he would accept of them neither present or reward, but supported himself by the labor of his own hands. His only recompense was the testimony of his own conscience and the gratitude of those whose estates he had rescued from the rapacity of the discoverers." But what more noble recompense could he have obtained?

The seats in the Irish Parliament were at this time held for life, except when the King pleased to order another election. The people had, consequently, no control over them, and by these means the Irish House of Commons became a mere mockery. The American reader will scarcely believe the reality of cities and towns, containing many thousand inhabitants, where not over a dozen persons are allowed to cast a vote. But

at the time of which we are writing, say eighty years ago, the towns of Belfast, Clonmel and Cashell united, had not one dozen of voters; and fifty years ago Lord Donegal and Mr. Bristow elected the member of Parliament for the good people of Belfast.

Had any person been bold enough to ask why such an abuse was permitted to exist, he would have been told that it was essential to the Protestant interests; and Taylor says, "Should you ask for an explanation of the wicked nonsense of such a reply, you would get the same answer, or none."

The owners of towns, or rather the proprietors of the Irish Parliament, formed a body called undertakers. They entered into a bargain with the government to carry all its measures through Parliament, receiving in return pensions and profitable jobs. Similar transactions have occurred in England, but there they were kept secret. But in Ireland corruption seemed to court notoriety. Honesty and patriotism were so lightly valued by the descendants of the Cromwellians that no one thought it worth while to lay claim to them.

The two great objects of the undertakers were to oppose the independence of the crown and the liberties of the people. The English ministry did not interfere with the Puritans in the misgovernment of Ireland, which they insulted by their ignorance, plundered by their rapacity, and slandered by their malice. But opposition to the power of the crown was an evil they determined to remove. For this purpose it was resolved that the Lord-Lieutenant, instead of visiting Ireland once in two years, should for the future reside in Dublin and manage in person the disposal of places, pensions and preferments.

An unexpected result followed this change. The condition of the people was gradually improved, as the authority of the government was strengthened; but it was the misfortune of George the Third's reign that his ministers were afraid of the people, and that, in consequence, they entered into alliance with the Puritans, and entrusted that dangerous body with powers which they were afterwards unable to control. And Ireland continued to be oppressed, not because the British minister had

too much influence, but because, just at this time, he had too little, "being checked and controlled," says Taylor, "by the boroughmongers, which knavery called, and folly believed to be, 'the Protestant interest.'"

This change cost England a large sum, and was made the subject of more jokes, good and bad, than can be here recorded. Lord Townsend, who effected the revolution, easily collected about the Castle of Dublin the inferior dependants of the Puritans, and purchased the transfer of their allegiance by the united influence of cash and claret. This was described by a wit of that day as "An attempt to monopolize the manufacture of legislators by purchasing the raw material;" and the needy crowd that thronged the castle yard, in hopes to sell out, were said by the same wit to be "cultivating the half-acre," for so much land did the castle yard contain.

A. D. 1768. The first great change in the government of Ireland was the limitation of the duration of Parliament—a measure pressed on the legislature by the unanimous voice of the people for seven years, and finally granted because of a dispute between the English and Irish Parliaments. To increase their own popularity, and at the same time to embarrass Lord Townsend's administration, the Irish Parliament presented the heads of a bill praying that a new Parliament be elected every seven years, certain that the measure would be rejected. The privy council, in a fit of ill-humor, transmitted the bill to England. The English ministry, enraged at the opposition their bills received from the Irish Parliament, returned the bill passed, with a single alteration, substituting eight for seven years, and the Irish Parliament, caught in its own trap, was forced to pass it into a law. Great was the disappointment of these pretended patriots, who had clamored for the bill, when they learned the English government had determined to grant the concession. They had for years advocated the measure and denounced those by whom it was opposed, but they never dreamed their labors would be successful, and when success occurred, they could not conceal their mortification. The nation was well aware of their

hypocrisy, and abstained from offering the authors of the measure unwelcome thanks.

The new Parliament had scarcely assembled, when the Commons became involved in a dispute with the viceroy on account of constitutional privilege. A money bill, sent over from England, was rejected by the Commons on the first reading because it had not originated in their House. Lord Townsend, in a rage, sent an angry protest against their proceedings, which the Commons refused to enter on their journals. The Lords were more submissive, and after a brief struggle, had the protest entered on their records. The court having suffered several other defeats, Lord Townsend prorogued the Parliament, after a session of two months. After an interval of fourteen months this Parliament was again assembled, and now the court had a majority. The Commons returned thanks to the King for continuing Lord Townsend in the government. Mr. Ponsonby, the Speaker, resigned the chair rather than carry up such an address. He was succeeded by Edmond Perry, who had been converted from a patriot into a courtier by a process of manufacture often used in the Irish Parliament, and the same manufacture, with new and improved machinery, is successfully carried on in England, to convert Irish members of Parliament and Irish patriots, to the present day.

The rapacity of the agent of the Marquis of Donnegal produced an insurrection in the county of Antrim, which extended over the greater part of Ulster. The insurgents, to show themselves firm in their purpose, assumed the name of

HEARTS OF STEEL.

They resolved not to pay the extravagant rents and tithes demanded by the landlords and agents, and to destroy the cattle and houses of those who would agree to pay it. Several of these men were arrested and brought to trial at Carrickfergus, but they were acquitted. The landlords enraged at being disappointed of their vengeance on their vassals, passed a law that trials for such crimes should take place in some other county than that in which the crime was committed. Some of them

were brought to trial in Dublin, but even there the juries, in disgust, acquitted the prisoners. This infamous law was repealed after several of the insurgents had been convicted and hanged, but a number of these Ulster Protestants sought refuge in the then wilds of America.

A. D. 1776. The oppressive spirit which the British government had so long shown to the American colonies at length produced the effect that every man of sense had long predicted. The history of the eventful struggle which terminated in the freedom and independence of this great republic, belongs not to this work.

From the habit of using the phrase

“OUR COLONIES,”

the war against the Americans was decidedly popular in England. There was not an English peasant who did not regard the colonists as rebels against himself, as he held the colonies were part of the birthright of every Englishman.

Ireland was regarded as a province even more completely at the disposal of England, and after the American war had commenced, the effect of such an example on a nation still more grievously oppressed, seemed to escape the notice of those to whom the destinies of the country were entrusted. Their ignorant apathy brought the country to the brink of ruin, and exposed it to the horrors of civil war, from which it was saved almost by accident. The American colonies had been the most profitable market for the sale of Irish linen, but the war broke up the trade and caused the ruin of the manufacturers. At the same time an embargo was laid on the exportation of Irish provisions, under the pretext of preventing supplies to the revolting colonies, but in reality to enable certain contractors to fulfill their engagements with profit. The result of this profligate job was general misery throughout the nation, at the moment it was called upon for heavy taxes to suppress the American revolt. So great was the distress in Ireland that the British Parliament in April, 1778, passed resolutions for removing many restrictions imposed on Irish commerce. The jealousy of England

was at once aroused; petitions against opening the trade of Ireland poured in from every place. And those from Liverpool, Manchester and Glasgow breathed rebellion in plain English if the Parliament should do justice to Ireland. The English premier, Lord North, knew that these concessions to Ireland were demanded by sound policy, but he had not nerve enough to withstand the popular clamor of the English and Scotch. The bills were rejected, and Ireland, so far as the British Parliament was concerned, sentenced as usual to hopeless misery. Lord North showed more firmness on another question. Acts for repealing some of the penal laws, and for allowing Catholics to acquire property in land by lease of 999 years were passed by the British and Irish Parliaments, but not without a fierce and vehement opposition.

The resistance of the English and Scotch merchants to the opening of the Irish trade spread general dissatisfaction, the more dangerous as Ireland had then a national guard of citizen soldiers whose remonstrance could not be disregarded with impunity,

THE IRISH VOLUNTEERS

were organized at a time when England was at war with both France and the American colonies, and had not a soldier to protect Ireland from invasion. In self-defence the people of Ireland offered to raise volunteer companies or establish a militia. King George and his cabinet, with the usual distrust of arms in Irish hands, asked time to consider the question, and it might have taken half a lifetime to decide, but for an occurrence which induced the government to be prompt in deciding.

The unmatched audacity of

COMMODORE PAUL JONES

solved the problem with John Bull in a twinkling. The American war was heavy on the hands of England; the colonies were unexpectedly vigorous and triumphant by land and sea; American privateers manned by daring seamen were cruising in all

directions, capturing and sinking British traders and making it hot for the British navy. In the summer of 1777 many of these vessels had appeared off the coast of Ireland, on the watch for whatever spoil they could pick up floating under the flag of England. The alarm on the coast subsided during the winter months, but in the spring they again appeared. On the 20th of April, 1778, a strange vessel swept into the harbor of Carrickfergus, where the English ship Drake of twenty guns, under the command of Captain Burden, lay at anchor. The stranger, a sloop of eighteen guns, made straight for the English vessel, shortened sail as she approached, let go her anchor, and attempted to swing around so as to board the Drake. But the manœuvre was not successful, and she did not succeed in boarding the English ship. She then trimmed her sails again, and rounding under the stern of the English vessel stood out at sea, expecting to be followed and attacked outside the harbor. The commander of the Drake well knew by this time the character of this unwelcome visitor.

He fired a shot after her as she departed, and set about getting ready to give chase, but Captain Burden was in no hurry about it. His preparations were so slow that the stranger thought he was not coming out at all, and hurried away to the coast of England to seek better luck there. He sailed into the harbor of Whitehaven, sent on shore a couple of boats' crews, who captured the battery, spiked the guns, and burned the shipping in the harbor. Away she sailed again, right proudly and merrily, with none to say her nay, while the flames from the burning English ships lighted her course. Kircubright, on the Scottish coast, was her next objective point. There also her hardy and gallant men went ashore and gathered spoils from the enemy. And thence she took her way for the Irish coast once more. He now directed his course once again for Carrickfergus, to scrape up another acquaintance with his Majesty's ship Drake and Captain Burden. There he found her sure enough, lazily lying in the harbor she was to protect. Jones sailed in gallantly at eight o'clock in the morning, swept gracefully around the English war ship and stood out to sea again. Here was a chal-

lenge. Captain Burden hoisted sail, followed the stranger out to sea, and there met his fate. For more than an hour the two vessels pounded away at each other. Broadside after broadside, volley after volley, were poured from big guns and small ones. But the American vessel was better handled, and the English crew wilted before her fire. Captain Burden, several of his officers and a large portion of his men were killed; sails and spars and the hull of the vessel were torn and shattered, and finally the remnant of her crew hauled down their flag and surrendered to the victorious Americans. Two days after, this English hulk, with other craft, which Jones had picked up, were towed into the port of Brest, there to be sold as prizes, after which away went the bold privateer to gain fresh triumphs in other directions.

After this startling occurrence the fact became clear to all that if any measures were to be taken for the defence of the Irish coast, and of the country generally, there was no time to be lost. The town of Belfast applied to the government for a protective force of some sort. The government sent sixty dismounted dragoons. This, to the good people of Belfast, seemed nothing better than a mockery. The question was again pressed on the government as to which they would prefer, volunteers or militia. The government decided in favor of volunteers, for the simple reason that they would be least costly.

The following rhyme was popular among the peasantry of Ireland at that time:

PAUL JONES' ENGAGEMENT IN THE BAY OF BELFAST, APRIL, 1778.

Come out, come out, brave Jones he said, come out, he said, to sea,
And there I'll fight your English ship, if so you'll fight with me.
You've twenty guns to my eighteen, if more or less there be,
Your ship I'll fight this day ere night, if so you'll fight with me.
Your men are two to one of mine, but even were they three,
Just bring them all, said gallant Paul, and meet me out at sea.

The Englishman got under weigh, and slow enough was he;
Jones sailed around him half the day, close-hauled and running free,
And then he opened all his ports, and right away blazed he,

* He raked the craft both fore and aft, a-weather and a-lee,
And soon her captain bold lay dead, and half her crew beside,
And English blood, a bright red flood, ran fast into the tide.

The Yankees rent her timbers through, and riddled spar and sail,
Till all her tattered canvas flew, like ribbons in the gale.
Then down they hauled the English flag, and stowed it far below,
From deck the Yankees cheered aloud, and took their prize in tow.
'Twas so they humbled English pride that glorious April day,
When Paul the rake coaxed out the Drake from Carrickfergus Bay.

So drink we all to Captain Paul, hurrah! and three times three,
For his gallant tars, and the Stripes and Stars, and the land of liberty.

The above is a fair sample of Irish loyalty to the English government then and now.

A militia should be paid from the treasury, but the cost of the volunteers should be borne by the gentry of Ireland. Hardly was the word said when companies of these volunteers sprang up in the north, and soon the movement extended to the whole country. At first these organizations were exclusively Protestant, yet the Catholics, far from bearing them ill-will, looked on them with sympathy, and subscribed liberally to provide them with uniforms. Subsequently, when the national spirit which it developed pervaded all the land, Catholics and Protestants stood in the ranks in the greatest of harmony and friendship. In a few months fifty thousand men were enrolled, and still the numbers went on increasing. Before matters had gone even this length the government began to feel uneasy. Word was sent to Ireland that the volunteers must be discouraged, or at all events the officers must be appointed by the government. The Lord-Lieutenant found himself face to face with a serious difficulty. What would be the use of giving orders if they would not be obeyed? Just as much as there would be in forbidding the wind to blow, or in attempting to stop the tide with a pitchfork. No attempt was made to stop the movement. The enrollment went on, and the rumor that the government feared them only made it more popular. The force, which ultimately

reached one hundred thousand men, was composed of independent companies. The uniforms and flags of the companies were various and very handsome. The gentlemen who raised the companies were generally their officers, but the subordinates were elected by the men. These citizen soldiers, if not as well disciplined as the regular army, were far superior to them in both intelligence and spirit.

Sorely the English government feared to put arms in the hands of these men, but it was now too late to refuse, as a refusal at this time would probably lead to a severance of the connection between the two countries. The arms were given them out of the government stores, each one as if it had been a drop of blood from the heart of England. And when the volunteers had these weapons in their hands, the dawn of freedom began to brighten in the land. On the 15th of February, 1782, two hundred and forty delegates from the Ulster companies met in Dungannon to deliberate on the condition of the country. The convention was held in the Protestant church. The following resolution was adopted:

“That a claim of any body of men other than Irishmen to make laws for Ireland is injustice.”

In the year 1778 the sun of England's glory seemed to have set; the high palmy days of the British flag were gone; American privateers captured their vessels in sight of their coasts; the French threatened an invasion, and there was neither a fleet nor army capable of resisting them.

The surrender of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown lost America to England, but at the same time it preserved to her Ireland. Lord North was forced to resign, and a new ministry was formed under Rockingham and Fox. The Duke of Portland was sent over as Lord-Lieutenant, in the room of the Earl of Carlisle, and in his first message to the legislature he promised a repeal of all the grievances of which Ireland had so justly complained. The Irish Parliament now voted £100,000 sterling for the service of the navy, and £50,000 to Grattan as a testimony of national gratitude for the ability with which he contended for the rights of his country.

England, on account of her embarrassment with America was obliged to see Ireland raised from its degraded state to its rank among the European nations. Its commerce, which had long been sacrificed to a cruel and unwise jealousy, began to be cultivated, and these advantages were obtained without one drop of blood being shed in the contest. But Irish writers, in their admiration of this period, seem to forget that the bigoted Cromwellians still controlled the affairs of Ireland, and that the country was still disgraced by laws which denied a political existence to three-fourths of the population. When these matters are taken into consideration, it may be fairly said that the new constitution but slightly changed the character of the evil to which the unfortunate country was so long exposed—in short, the new constitution added to some of the old defects others of its own. Had the volunteers laid aside their Protestant prejudices, and cut loose from the canting Protestant preachers, good results might have followed. But led by these psalm-singing fanatics, while they clamored for freedom they were determined to rivet the chains of their Catholic fellow-citizens. The aristocrats waited with patience until the enthusiasm of the nation had been cooled by the idle bickerings of the patriots and the absurd bigotry of the volunteers. They had not long to wait. The time they anticipated soon arrived; they assumed the reins of power, and re-established their old system of cruelty and corruption. The point at issue between

GRATTAN AND FLOOD,

the leaders of the patriots, if they deserve the name, was, practically, of little moment. But the vigor and virulence with which it was contested raised it into importance. Flood described Grattan as "The mendicant patriot who was bought by his country for money, and then sold that country to its enemies for cash down." Grattan divided Flood's life into three periods, and said that in the first he was intemperate, in the second corrupt, and in the third sedicious, and always dishonest.

Delegates were elected by the volunteers to meet in Dublin and devise means to remedy the defects in the representation, and it is a fact that they nearly all sold out to the English government. Musgrove wrote the next year several pamphlets to prove that patriotism was treason. But Ireland is not the only country in which men have changed sides and become the most fierce and unprincipled supporters of despotic power. Ohio produced Edwin M. Stanton, David Todd and Jack Brough.

The plan of reform purposed by the convention of delegates was presented to the House of Commons in November, 1783, by Mr. Flood, amid great excitement and apprehension. It was opposed by Yelverton, the attorney-general, on the ground that it was backed by a body of armed men who attempted to overawe the legislature, and was rejected by a large majority. The convention did not show on this occasion the merit which was expected by its friends and feared by its enemies. After passing a milk-and-water resolution that they would exert themselves in the cause of reform, and agreeing on a very tame address to the King, in the name of the volunteers of Ireland, they adjourned indefinitely. The explanation of all this is that most of those pretended patriots became soon after pensioners of the English government. The dismissal of the ministry and the return of Mr. Pitt to power, who was the pledged advocate of reform, inspired Flood with hopes which were soon disappointed.

Mr. Pitt went through the farce of perfecting a reform bill in England, but had it defeated by his own creatures, and he soon gave further proof of his insincerity by checking the reformers with a vigor not always within the limits of the constitution. The disappointment of the Irish people was great, and it was aggravated by certain restrictions which the English still imposed on the trade of Ireland. The latter grievance Pitt seemed willing to remove, and at his instigation eleven propositions, drawn up in a spirit of justice that was rare in Ireland, were presented to and passed in the Irish Parliament. Far different was their reception in England. Petitions against the bill were poured in from England and Scotland. Pitt, as usual, preferred

office to honesty or consistency. He consented to such changes as left Ireland in no better position than before. The Irish Parliament had, on the faith of the eleven propositions, granted additional taxes to the amount of one hundred and forty thousand pounds sterling, and, mean as that body always was, it could not on that occasion avoid indignation at the way they were treated. When Orde introduced the English proposition, he encountered a strong opposition he by no means anticipated. The utmost exertions of the government could only raise a majority of nineteen in a full house; and he, knowing that he could not depend on even this support, gave up the bill.

The defeat of the minister was celebrated by a general illumination. Resolutions against the use of English manufactured articles were adopted in several assemblies, and the people of Dublin resolved "to burn everything that was shipped there from England, except coal." The unblushing profligacy of the Duke of Rutland, who was at this time Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, deserves the severest reprobation. The encouragement then given to vice was long felt in Ireland. A demoralized gentry could not possess arbitrary power without abusing it, and the oppression of the tenantry kept pace with the profligacy of the landlords. Several insurrections broke out; the peasants were sworn to obey the commands of

CAPTAIN RIGHT,

who was merely an imaginary personage. At first, the insurgents only opposed the tithes, that great source of Irish misery and discontent. The Cromwellian landlords did not fear as long as the attacks of the Rightboys were confined to the church, but when they prepared a tariff for rents, the alarm was raised, and a bill for the suppression of illegal assemblies and combinations was brought into the House of Commons by the attorney-general.

Nearly a century has passed since the days of Captain Right, but the abominable system which called forth him and his followers has been but slightly ameliorated. Laws have since

been passed in countless numbers to aid the landlord against the tenant, but no law to protect the tenant against the avarice and despotism of the landlord could ever meet the sanction of either the Irish or English legislature. These lawmakers have always found it more easy to coerce the aggrieved than redress grievances.

After the death of the Duke of Rutland, the Marquis of Buckingham was appointed viceroy. His first act was to overhaul the fiscal management of the castle, and the amount of peculation he discovered was enormous. The frauds were so gross that nothing but a participation in the spoils could have caused the connivance of the former viceroys. The zeal of the marquis in detecting abuses soon cooled. The English were obliged to govern Ireland by systematic theft. Three-fourths of the members of the Irish Parliament held in horror the word "justice," knowing well that if justice reigned in the land they themselves must pack their carpet-bags.

A. D. 1789. Pitt's ministry had purchased a majority of the Irish Parliament at their cash value; yet a case soon arose which showed him he had made a bad investment. The mental derangement of George the Third threatened to hurl Pitt from office, for the Prince of Wales was politically connected with the Whigs. To avert this danger, Pitt brought into the British Parliament a bill imposing so many restrictions upon the Prince that his exercise of regal power would have been a mere mockery. In the English Parliament Pitt succeeded, but many of the Puritans in the Irish Parliament, believing his Majesty's recovery hopeless, resolved to be foremost in the worship of the rising sun, and by a large majority voted to the Prince of Wales the regency of the kingdom without restriction. Fortunately, before any collision could arise between the two Parliaments his Majesty recovered, and the Prince of Wales was left out in the cold for the time being. From this moment the project of the union seems to have been ever present with Mr. Pitt.

He saw that though he could easily and cheaply buy a majority of the Puritan members, yet they were not reliable when hopes of greater advantages were offered.

He saw in the facility with which the majority returned to his support as soon as they heard of the King's recovery, that the Irish Parliament was a nuisance. Buckingham, disgusted at the profligate corruption of the Puritan majority, retired from Ireland in June, and was succeeded by Westmoreland, who encouraged bribery still more extensively. Peerages were sold for a fixed price, and seats were purchased in the Commons for the minions of the English government, and so notorious were these sales that members, when charged with buying their seats, did not attempt to deny the charge.

Grattan, in the name of the little minority, used the following words: "We charge them with the public sale of peerages; for doing which we say they are impeachable. We charge them with the purchase of seats in the Lower House for their minions; for doing which we say, also, they are impeachable. And we charge them with committing these offences, not in one or two instances, but in many, for which we say they are guilty of a systematic endeavor to undermine the constitution, in violation of the laws of the land. We dare them to go into an inquiry. We pronounce them to be public criminals. Will they dare to deny the charge? I call upon any member to rise in this house and say, on his honor, that he does not believe that such corrupt bargains have taken place. I wait for a specific answer." The Secretary refused to reply, saying that inquiry into the charges was touching on the King's prerogative.

All those who had any regard for the interests of their country or the maintenance of public virtue, opposed this system of government. Different societies for the reform of the constitution were formed, which were all finally lost in the society of

UNITED IRISHMEN.

Coercion was, therefore, brought to the aid of corruption; arbitrary fines were imposed on editors of papers; public meetings were forcibly dispersed, and those who presided or spoke at them, were marked for the vengeance of the government, who had succeeded so easily in buying up and dispersing the

volunteers, that they now thought their power was irresistible. "But, though," says Taylor, "the leaders of these patriotic clubs were Protestants, and many of them deeply tinged with the prejudice of their ancestors, they avoided the fatal error of their predecessors, and advocated the rights of their Catholic countrymen." The Catholic body itself had now undergone a great change. The number of Catholic families who had emigrated and formed commercial establishments in various parts of Europe was very great, and when the lives and property of Catholics were secured by law, the members of that church soon outstripped their Protestant rivals. The Catholic aristocracy, in many instances, were as ready to oppress their tenantry as the Protestants, and refused to become the head of the movement made by the general body. The Catholics were therefore compelled to seek leaders in the middle ranks of life, and they found men conspicuous for energy and talent, but, as might have been expected, not very remarkable for prudence or moderation.

At the moment when a large body of the Protestants eagerly sought for reform, and the entire Catholic body sought for emancipation, the French revolution burst forth and convulsed Europe to its centre. Humiliation greater than the English government had to endure at this time it is difficult to conceive.

In 1792, the petition of the Catholics for liberty to vote at elections, and the petition of the Protestants of Belfast in their favor, was rejected with scorn, and the different grand juries in Ireland were instructed by the government to adopt resolutions against any concessions to the Catholics. Having thus raised the hopes of all violent Protestants, and provoked the just enmity of the Catholics, the government, to the astonishment of both parties, introduced a bill authorizing Catholics to vote at elections, which passed with the same majority that only a month before had voted against even taking the same bill into consideration. This humanity and generosity will surprise you, kind reader, but let us look for the real cause of this surprising generosity. The Americans had now, in 1778, kept the Stars and Stripes flying over their armies for over two years, and be-

ing backed by France, were pushing on toward success, and thereby setting an example to every oppressed people, unhappy, trodden-down Ireland not excepted. And before the close of this contest the Catholics of Ireland were allowed to breathe the air of their native country in safety; and the English granted, through fear, what they had long refused to the pleadings of justice.

The French revolution taught the world what reformation can do when pushed to their full extent. In England the "Reformation" contented itself with plundering the convents and the poor of their all, and the clergy in part. But in France they took the whole—"though we ought to mark well this difference," says Cobbett, "that in France they applied the spoils to the use of the people or republic, a bad use, perhaps, while in England the plunder was divided among individuals." Here was a great triumph for the clergy of the Church of England. They, above all men, must have hailed with delight the deeds of the French Reformation, though on the contrary they were foremost to call for war to put it down, although in France convents were broken up and robbed, monks and nuns dispersed, abbey lands confiscated, the Catholic religion abolished, Catholic priests hunted and put to death in almost as savage a manner as in England or Ireland; also laws, seemingly translated from the English code, against saying Mass, and against priests returning to the country who had been banished. Here was a complete annihilation, as far as law could go, of that which Protestants call "idolatrous and damnable." Here was a new religion "established by law," and that there might be nothing wanting in the likeness, here was a royal family set aside forever, and a King put to death, not without an example in the deeds of the double-distilled "Reformation" people of England.

"What!" says Cobbett, "can it be true that our church clergy did not like this French Reformation, but urged on war against men who sacked convents, killed priests, and abolished that which they tell us was, and is, 'idolatrous and damnable.'" Aye! Aye! But these Frenchmen put down tithes, too, and banished and killed the clergy, and if they were permitted to

do this in France, the same might be done in England. Well, but gentlemen of the law church, though they were wicked fellows for doing this, still this was better than to suffer to remain that which you always told us was idolatrous and damnable. Yes, yes; but then these men of France established atheism, and not Church of England christianity. Now, in the first place, they saw about forty sorts of Protestant religions; they supposed that thirty-nine of them must be false. If English lawmakers could take the supremacy from the successor of Saint Peter, and give it to Henry the wife-killer, why might not the French give their's to Lepeac? "Besides," says Cobbett, "as to the sort of religion, though atheism is bad enough, could it be worse than what, in your book of common prayer, you tell us is both idolatrous and damnable? It might cause people who profess it to be damned, but could it cause them to be more than damned? The abolition of tithes was the only objection the Church of England had against the French Reformation, which cost John Bull seven hundred million pounds sterling."

The French Reformation, though it caused many horrid deeds to be committed, produced in the end a great triumph for the Catholic Church. It put the fidelity of the Catholic and Protestant clergy to the test, and while none of the former was ever seen to save his life by denying his faith, everyone of the latter did so without hesitation." These are the words of William Cobbett, who was both an Englishman and a Protestant. But the greatest good it produced fell to the lot of ill-treated Ireland. The French were powerful; they were daring. They, in 1773, cast their eyes on Ireland, and now a second time a softening of the heart of John Bull took place, which no one living ever expected to see. Those who had been looked upon as almost beneath dogs were now allowed to be magistrates. And now, among other acts of generosity, we see established in Ireland by the English a college for the education of the Catholics exclusively, thus doing by law what the same lawmakers had before called high treason. Ah! but there were the French with an army of 400,000 men; and there were the Irish people, who must have been unworthy the name of men

if their breasts did not boil with resentment. So, on the whole, we are forced to the conclusion that fear, and not generosity, softened the heart of John Bull at this time. And shall this always be said? He yet prohibits the Catholics of Ireland from having steeples or bells on their churches. And why this insulting prohibition? Why should the Church of England be so anxious to keep her rival out of sight, yes and hearing, too? One would think the more people went to witness this "idolatrous" exhibition, the more they would like it. But this law church has now found out that there are not now many men in any country so brutishly ignorant as not to see the real motive of this prohibition. The writer can well remember, forty-five or fifty years ago, in the town of Belfast, where the Catholics of that place worshiped in a little building far back in a narrow lane or alley; and old men, who remembered fifty years earlier, said that then the Catholics worshiped in an old house in a lane so narrow that the Protestants in derision, named it "squeeze-gut," as two persons in passing each other, must each turn his back to the wall. And in this place, the descendants of the great O'Neills, the Teelings, the Hamills, Whittles, Maginnises, and many others, the real owners of both the town and country, were obliged to worship, or renounce the faith of their fathers.

How changed is the Belfast of to-day, 1875, from the Belfast of 1775! Now, instead of the old building in "squeeze-gut," the Catholics have, in the town and vicinity, about twenty churches, some of them quite large, and they number at least five to one of any of the sects, and nearly, if not quite, as many as them all. At a mission given in one of the churches last year, seventy-five persons, belonging to the different sects of Protestants, were baptised, and are now members of the Catholic Church. Verily, weak are the efforts of man, when God has said thus far thou shalt go, but no further.

On the 4th of January, 1745, Earl Fitzwilliam arrived in Ireland, and his arrival was hailed by all but the base bigots, who had hitherto monopolized the spoils. Bills for the emancipation of the Catholics, and for reform of the police, were introduced with little opposition, but before they were voted on,

news arrived that the Lord-Lieutenant had been recalled by the British cabinet. This removal was owing to the influence of the Beresfords, one of the family having been dismissed from office. This family had been bishops and archbishops in the law church in Ireland for many years, and in fact ran the machine for the Church of England people. They carefully collected the tithes, and at the same time hired some poor fellows at starvation prices to do the praying and preaching. Fitzwilliam, in dismissing Beresford relied on the support and honor of Pitt, but this minister had through all his public life sacrificed everybody and everything to the whims of the aristocracy. With the recall of Fitzwilliam all hope of justice to Ireland vanished. In the language of Grattan, "Two parties were in arms against the constitution. On the one side there was the camp of the rebels, and on the other side was Pitt the premier, a greater traitor than the rebel, for the treason of Pitt against the people was infinitely worse than the rebellion of the people against Pitt."

The minority struggled in vain to stop the measures of coercion adopted by the government—measures only equalled by Nero, and not exceeded by the tyranny of Bismarck in our own days. They proposed in their stead measures of justice and conciliation, which were sternly rejected. Pitt yielded to the Beresfords, but was deaf to the cries of the nation, and the time when conciliation would have preserved tranquility he allowed to pass by. The opposition in the Irish Parliament, finding their warnings unheeded, determined to secede. Mr. Grattan announced the decision on the part of himself and colleagues in the following words: "We have offered you our measure; you will reject it. We deprecate yours; you will persevere. Having no hopes left to persuade or dissuade, and having discharged our duty, we shall trouble you no more, and after this day shall not attend the House of Commons."

The Parliament was soon after dissolved. True to his word, Grattan declined to be a candidate for Dublin, and took leave of his constituents in an address which will long be remembered. The new Parliament were almost all the creatures of the government and hostile to Ireland. It soon covered itself with dis-

grace and flooded the country with blood, and when the measure of its crimes was full, laid violent hands upon itself and ended its existence by committing suicide. We now come to the fierce struggle usually but improperly called

THE IRISH REBELLION OF 1798.

The efforts of the volunteers were defeated, because they showed an unwillingness to concede to the Catholics their just rights. A few of that body, however, held more liberal opinions, and eagerly sought to unite Irishmen of every creed in the great object of securing a good and impartial government for their country. The repeated disappointment of the hopes the Patriots entertained of obtaining justice from Parliament, caused many to think revolution the only means by which reform could be effected.

The United Irishmen of the north were chiefly descendants of Scotch Presbyterians, who had settled in Ulster in the days of James the First and Cromwell. The Catholic leaders were principally natives of Leinster and Munster. As both had nearly similar objects, it was their interest to unite, and the union was effected through the agency of

WOLFE TONE.

But, while the leaders were united, the lower ranks were kept apart by a system of persecution connived at, if not directly encouraged, by the government. Fighting between factions composed of Catholics and Protestants had become a common practice in County Armagh, and kept alive the bitterest religious animosity between the parties. After the Catholics became voters, the hate of the lower order of Protestants was increased by self-interest, as heretofore the Protestant tenant was preferred by the electioneering landlords, but now, when the Catholic could also vote, they found the landlords ready to take advantage of the open market by raising the rents.

In 1795, a Protestant banditti, calling themselves Peep-o'-Day Boys, served notice on most of the Catholics in County Armagh

to quit their farms before a certain day, threatening destruction of property, and even loss of life, in case of disobedience. To oppose these the Catholics formed an association called Defenders, which soon spread widely over the country, and soon proceeded from defence to aggression. Towards the close of that year, the Peep-o'-Day Boys formed themselves into an association called

ORANGEMEN.

The object of these fellows was to maintain Protestant ascendancy and the principles established by William the Dutchman. This ascendancy was, in their estimation, the right to plunder, and the acts of violence and cruelty committed by the vulgar and low class of these Orangemen on their Catholic fellow-countrymen were only equalled in the days of Cromwell. The Peep-o'-Day Boys were not checked before they had driven from Armagh several hundred Catholic families. These seeking refuge in different parts of the country, spread the report, to which appearances gave sanction, that the extermination of the Catholics was the real object of the Orangemen, if we may call them men, perhaps fiends would be a more appropriate name.

The warfare between landlord and tenant in the south of Ireland, caused by oppression on the one hand and misery on the other, served to swell the ranks of the Defenders. But their opposition to the landlords, who were then all Protestants, in some degree alienated the northern Protestants, who, like the Puritans in Massachusetts, were clamorous for liberty for themselves, but never for a moment thought of sharing it with others—thus producing a dangerous distraction in the councils of the United Irishmen. At this crisis the Reverend William Jackson, an emissary from France, arrived in Ireland, being sent by the French government to sound the disposition of the Irish people. The rashness of this man's proceedings gave rise to a suspicion that he was secretly the spy of the British government, and his suicide alone clears his memory of this foul imputation. But it is not so easy to remove the stain which this transaction affixes to the memory of Pitt, who was the British minister at that

period. From the very beginning all of Jackson's views and intentions were known to Pitt. Before he came to Ireland the object of his journey had been betrayed. He was allowed to proceed, not to detect, but to secure a sufficient supply of victims. This designing cruelty of Pitt failed to produce the desired effect. The imprudence of Jackson was so manifest that only two or three enthusiasts committed themselves, and these contrived to make their escape. Jackson's public trial revealed to the Irish the fact that France was willing to become their ally, and gave confidence to the Union from the hopes of foreign aid and sympathy. An immense number now joined the United Irishmen. The new converts were men of virtue and ability. They had sought reform by constitutional means, while that object seemed attainable, and even while preparing a revolution hoped for a reconciliation with the Parliament, and held back from striking a blow, trusting that the shedding of blood might yet be averted. Among them were such men as

LORD EDWARD FITZGERALD, ARTHUR O'CONNOR, ROBERT EMMETT
AND DR. M'NEVIN,

men whose character may challenge comparison with those of the purest patriots recorded in history. They organized the society in the south, and in the north 100,000 men were ready to march when called out.

The negotiations opened with the French Directory were carried on with equal spirit and prudence. While every security for the repayment of expenses incurred in the expedition was offered, measures were taken to preserve the independence of Ireland, and to preserve it from becoming a mere province of France. Lord Edward made it an express condition that France should send but a small military force, and that her aid should be limited to a supply of arms.

The Earl of Camden, who was the Lord-Lieutenant, was a mere cipher. The Tories, strong in the monopoly of every official situation, and having exclusive possession of the magistracy and the military, laid aside all pretensions to moderation, and treated

the people with arbitrary severity, which Bismarck in his wildest freaks of tyranny never yet equalled.

The system of endeavoring to extort confessions by torture, the turning out their licentious soldiers at free quarters on a proclaimed district, imprisonment from mere caprice, and transportation without trial, were acts not merely permitted but applauded. Lord Carhampton was among the most conspicuous of these tyrants. He formed an inquisitorial tribunal in several of the western counties, and, having, in the absence of the accused, examined the charges against persons confined on suspicion, he sent on board of a tender those who were likely, in the phraseology of the day, "to elude justice"—that is, against whom there was not as much evidence as would satisfy even a jury of Puritans. The grand juries and Orange corporations warmly thanked Carhampton for what they termed his "wholesome severity," and the Parliament shielded him from the legal consequences of this open violation of the constitution by passing an act of indemnity. This was followed by an insurrection act of more than ordinary severity. It was opposed by Lord Edward Fitzgerald, who had not yet lost hope of saving his country from a furious revolution. He said that nothing but a redress of grievances would tranquilize the country, and if that was done the people would return to their allegiance; if not, he feared that neither resolutions nor bills would be of any avail. His warnings were in vain; the insurrection and indemnity bills were carried without a division.

A. D. 1796. Hopeless of Parliamentary relief, the United Irishmen overcame their repugnance to foreign aid, resolved to solicit aid from France, and Wolfe Tone was sent to America for the same purpose. In the summer Lord Edward Fitzgerald and Arthur O'Connor were sent to France to negotiate the terms of a treaty between the Irish and French republics, but on account of Lord Edward's connection with the royal family of France, the Republicans refused to treat with him, and the treaty was managed by Mr. O'Connor. The expedition sent by the French on this occasion was truly formidable. It consisted of 15,000 picked soldiers, under the command of Hoche, one

of the bravest of the revolutionary generals. The naval force was not composed of such good material. Delays of various kinds prevented the fleet from sailing as early as was intended, and information was sent to the Irish leaders that the expedition would not set out before spring. The armament at length sailed on the 15th of December. No British vessels appeared to oppose the progress of the enemy. There were no forces in the south of Ireland to offer any resistance. But the winds and waves protectèd Britain; the fleet was dispersed over the ocean, and the small part of it that arrived in Bantry Bay, was delayed by the indecision of Crouchy, until a tremendous gale, right off shore, arose and rendered a landing impossible. A remnant of the shattered fleet returned home, and Ireland, or the English interests in Ireland, was saved from conquest by chance and the elements.

The defeat of this armament afforded a fair opportunity for securing the peace of Ireland, by effecting a reconciliation between the government and the people. The English must have seen how ill-grounded was their confidence in the boasted protection of their fleet, when the coast of Ireland was left at the mercy of a hostile navy, and only owed its escape to events that baffle human calculations. On the other hand, the Unionists began to suspect the ambition of the French, when, instead of a small force to assist them in establishing freedom, they found an armament sufficient to conquer the country. Wolfe Tone says that the force agreed upon was a force sufficient for the deliverance, but not for the subjugation of the country.

The government had now virtually declared war against its subjects. By raising the war-cry of Protestant ascendancy, it had engaged on its side the bigoted part of the Protestants, and by promising adherence to the old system of misrule, it gained the support of all those who, in the name of religion, had stolen their neighbors' goods, and been thereby raised from insignificance to wealth and power, and others who hoped for more confiscation, that stronghold of Protestant ascendancy.

In the train of the insurrection act followed the suspension of the Habeas Corpus, the proclamation of martial law, and the

infliction of torture by military tribunals on all who were suspected of being suspicious. The caution of the leaders of the Unionists in Leinster was all that saved the government from ruin in 1797. The men of Ulster, amounting to one hundred thousand men, were eager to begin the fight. A numerous body of soldiers in Dublin offered to put the Patriots in possession of the city; the counties of Leinster were ready to pour in re-enforcements from all sides. The neglect of this opportunity was ruinous. The possession of Dublin would have enabled the Patriots to make themselves masters of the whole island in a week, or, at the worst, have placed them in a position for maintaining the struggle until assistance could reach them from France. Despair of effecting their freedom without foreign aid is said to have caused this fatal error, which destroyed the unity and strength of the party. The northerners, disgusted by the timidity of their associates in Leinster, and wearied by the delays of the French, began to return to their allegiance, and the increasing coolness between the Presbyterian and Catholic members, finally ruined the cause in Ulster. Ireland was again, in 1797, a second time saved to the British by the winds and waves. A powerful fleet had been prepared in the Texel, but it was delayed by the weakness of the French Minister of Marine, and afterwards by adverse winds, during the favorable period that England was deprived of her fleet by the mutiny of the Nore. The arrival of Admiral Duncan, with a superior force, and the folly of the Dutch in hazarding an engagement, freed England from danger. The victory at Champerdown, one of the greatest in the annals of England, prevented the French from executing the promises they had made to the United Irishmen.

It became now the policy of the Irish government to goad the people by torture into a premature insurrection before the organization would be so completed as to be irresistible. Martial law was proclaimed in several counties; a savage soldiery, and a still more savage yeomanry, were encouraged to outdo each other in acts of cruelty; the tortures of whipping, picketing, half-hanging, and the pitch cap were used to extort confes-

sion of guilt, or to force prisoners to criminate others. The huts of the peasantry were burned, their sons tortured or slain, their daughters subjected to all the brutal passions of a degraded and demoralized army. Disgusted at witnessing such barbarity, the brave Abercrombie, then in command of the army, published a proclamation, in which he described the soldiers then in Ireland as so demoralized by licentiousness as to be formidable to everybody but the enemy. Finding that no attention was paid to his remonstrances, and that the government had resolved to let loose this brutal army on the people, he resigned the command, and was succeeded by General Lake, who was not troubled with scruples. The atrocities committed by the army and Orange yeomanry in the counties of Carlow, Kildare and Wexford, are almost beyond belief; they had the effect of provoking a fearful retaliation. When the peasantry took up arms they showed that they had been apt scholars in the lessons of cruelty taught them by the English.

An almost open conspiracy against the oppressors had now existed for two years, and no discovery of the leaders had yet been made, though large rewards were offered to informers. Chance again favored Pitt. One Reynolds, who had been a member of the Union, being in want of money, sold the secret to the government, and insured for himself pardon and reward. In consequence of his information, most of the leaders were arrested at Oliver Bond's, on the 13th of March. Lord Edward Fitzgerald, who happened to be absent, eluded pursuit until the 19th of May, when, after a desperate resistance, in which he was mortally wounded, he was made a prisoner. The Shearses and others who had taken the places of those arrested at Bond's were betrayed to the government by a person to whom they had entrusted their secrets, and thus the insurrection seemed crushed in the bud by the loss of all its leaders. But the excitement of the people, deliberately tortured into rebellion, could not be even thus suppressed. From the papers seized in the houses of the Patriots, it became known to the government that the night of the 23d of May was fixed upon for a general rising, and the intelligence was officially communicated to the

Mayor of Dublin and both Houses of Parliament. An address was voted in reply by the Commons, and was presented to the Lord-Lieutenant by all the members, who went in solemn procession to the Castle, with the speaker at their head.

No language can convey the remotest idea of the situation of Dublin at this lamentable crisis. Every man looked with suspicion on his neighbor, dreading death from the disaffected, and tortures worse than death from the English faction who usurped the government. Curran has made known to the world a few of the outrages perpetrated by those who called themselves "loyal," but the horrors of Beresford's riding-house have not had equal publicity. The infernal system of endeavoring to obtain information by torture—practiced at this time in every part of Ireland, was nowhere more generally acted upon as in Dublin. Private revenge frequently urged secret information against the innocent, and the accused were always punished without even being brought face to face with the accuser.

As the French had introduced the fashion of wearing short hair, a "croppy" became the name of all who were opposed to tyranny. Many persons who had innocently adopted the fashion were subjected to the degradation of a military flogging; worse tortures were reserved for those who, at elections, opposed the government, or had advocated liberal principles. Nor were these outrages confined to Dublin. They were enacted in almost every town in Ireland, for the whole country was then under martial law—that is, under the control of Orange yeomanry and brutal, demoralized soldiers. On the 23d of May the insurrection broke out in the counties of Kildare and Carlow. The peasants wanted everything but heroism. They had no arms but clumsy pikes, and a few guns in bad order; they were of course easily defeated. At Naas and Kilcullin the Royalists met little loss, but the Patriots suffered severely. All the prisoners taken by the English were hanged without ceremony, and there is reason to believe that many shared their fate who took no part in the enterprise. At Prosperous, in the County Kildare, a regiment of militia, headed by Captain Swayne, was surprised and cut to pieces by the Irish. The

captain is said to have been fiendishly severe in the infliction of military executions, and is said to have fallen by the hand of a man whose house he had burned. When the news of these events reached Dublin, the Lord-Lieutenant issued a proclamation, giving notice that his Majesty's officers had orders to punish by death or otherwise, as their judgments should approve, all persons acting or assisting in the rebellion. An attack having been made by the peasants at Carlow, they were routed with great slaughter. The death of four hundred on the field was not, however, sufficient to satisfy the loyal desire for vengeance. More than two hundred prisoners were executed by martial law. There was one victim among these unhappy men whose fate claims special notice. Sir Edward Crosbie had given offence to the rulers by expressing sympathy for the peasantry. Being surrounded by the Patriots and made prisoner previous to the attack on Carlow, he was unable to give the English notice of the approach of their assailants. For this he was brought to trial. Catholic prisoners were flogged to obtain evidence against him, and were offered their lives on condition of bearing witness against him. But, though he was a Protestant, not one of the Catholics could be bribed to swear against him, even to save their own lives. Protestant loyalists were prevented by military force from appearing in his favor, and even after his execution, so conscious were the members of the court-martial that the evidence would not warrant the condemnation, that they destroyed the minutes of their proceedings.

The Patriots of Kildare, having suffered several defeats, accepted the offers of pardon made to them by General Dundas. Several bodies of them surrendered their arms and went quietly to their homes. A large body who had assembled for that purpose was, however, unexpectedly attacked by a body of military under Sir James Duffe. Being unprepared for the attack they fled, and were pursued with merciless slaughter.

The chief agents in this massacre were a body of cavalry called Lord Jocelyn's Fox-hunters. The cruelties committed by these Orange yeomanry and the Protestant magistrates of the County Wexford, provoked an insurrection there more

fierce than in any other part of Ireland. The tortures inflicted by the military were surpassed by these, which individuals were permitted to use at their own discretion.

A sergeant, who from his ingenuity in devising tortures was nick-named "Tom the Devil," used always to put on the cap with melting pitch, which, running into the eyes of the victims, added blindness to their other pains. Another invention was to cut the hair in the form of a cross close by the roots, and, laying a train of powder in the furrow, set it on fire, and repeat the process for their amusement.

A tall officer in the same regiment, called the "walking gallows," became on several occasions a substitute for a gibbet when it was necessary in some inconvenient place, where there was no tree handy, to inflict the punishment of half-hanging, or even death. The deliberate murder of twenty-eight prisoners in the town of Carlow; by the yeomanry, in presence of their officers, the burning of houses and Catholic churches, along with the tortures and whippings, drove the peasantry to arms. They were headed by two priests, who sympathized in the sufferings of the people, and were, besides, irritated at the destruction of their own houses. The people were divided into two bodies, which did not act in concert. One was easily defeated; the other was more fortunate, and not only defeated, but cut to pieces the regiment of the "walking gallows" and "Tom the Devil," at Oulart Hill. The Patriots next attacked Enniscorthy, which was defended with great obstinacy, but the English were again defeated and fled in disorder to Wexford.

The attack on Wexford must have failed if the English had made any attempt at resistance, but cruelty is usually the ally of cowardice, and the wretches who had driven the country to arms fled from the town without firing a shot. They left behind them many Loyalists, who had committed many outrages, and who were now at the mercy of those they had oppressed so cruelly. And it was only by the most unceasing exertions of the Catholic clergy and the leaders, that a general massacre of the Protestants was averted.

Newtonbarry was the next place attacked by the Patriots, and as at Wexford, the English retreated in disorder, without even attempting resistance. The remonstrances of Colonel West-enra induced the English to change their inglorious determination. They returned to the town, and the victorious Patriots, flushed with a succession of victories, having relaxed their vigilance, were in their turn obliged to abandon the town. Next day they met and defeated a large detachment of the English, under Colonel Wallpole, but this was more than lost by their total defeat at Ross after a desperate engagement; during most of the time victory seemed to be in their hands.

The defeat at Ross was followed by a severe repulse of the Patriots at Arklow. The English were saved at Arklow by the valor of Colonel Skerritt, but for whom the town would have been deserted as scandalously as Wexford, and then Dublin would not have been safe. The Wexford men by this defeat lost their last chance of success, and were forced to wait inactively until the English had collected their strength for their destruction.

Though Ulster was the parent of Irish Patriots, yet the mistrust between leaders, and the flight of some, and the arrest of others, had so disconcerted their plans that the greater part of the province remained tranquil. But when the news of the success of their brethren in Wexford reached the north, a considerable number assembled in the neighborhood of Antrim, and by a furious attack nearly made themselves masters of the town. Not discouraged, they prepared to form an encampment, but learning that their efforts would not be seconded by the other counties, and the bigoted Protestants dreading the success of the Catholics in Wexford might end in Catholic equality, or perhaps ascendancy, threw away their arms or surrendered them to their enemies. The Patriots in County Down took up arms and made several spirited attacks on the English. At Saintfield they completely routed a body of Yorkshire Englishmen, killing their leaders. They were attacked at Ballinahinch, and, after a desperate engagement, in which the success ob-

tained by valor was lost by want of discipline, were finally defeated.

Thus terminated the insurrection in Ulster, and the English were now able to direct all their forces against the brave men of Wexford.

After the defeat at Arklow and Ross, the men of Wexford were forced to maintain a defensive warfare. Their hope was to protract the contest till succors could arrive from France. Their principal encampment was on Vinegar Hill, near the town of Inniscorthy. Here they were attacked by an English army of thirteen thousand men, with a formidable train of artillery. The struggle was of course brief. On the approach of the royal army to Vinegar Hill, the greater part of the Irish garrison was withdrawn from Wexford. The citizens, wishing to save the town, waited on Lord Kingsborough, the English commander, and offered to surrender the town and procure the submission of the peasantry if security to person and property was granted. Lord Kingsborough, having accepted these conditions, was placed in command of the town.

When the townspeople waited on General Lake for the ratification of this treaty, he made to them the following reply, likely wishing to give his cowardly soldiers an opportunity of taking revenge for their former disgraceful abandonment of Wexford: "Lieutenant General Lake cannot ratify any terms made by rebels in arms against their King. While they continue so, he must use the force at his command for their destruction. To the deluded peasants he offers pardon on their delivering into his hands their leaders, surrendering their arms and returning to their allegiance." On the faith of Kingsborough's promise, the town of Wexford remained quiet. The army of the insurgents were preparing to disperse, the leaders returned to their homes, while those who had been cruel sought safety in flight. In the meantime, the army of the blood-thirsty Lake was advancing on Wexford, which his cowardly soldiers doomed to destruction more certain than Nineveh. Luckily, Sir John Moore, whose bravery equaled his humanity,

lay nearer the town than Lake, and having heard of the treaty, advanced to Wexford, thinking to check the violence of Lake and his soldiers, but he strove in vain. Those who deemed themselves safe under the treaty were seized, after being subjected to indignities shocking to humanity. The country was abandoned to the mercies of Lake's soldiers, and suffered every calamity that lust, rapine and ruffianism could inflict. It is impossible to give even an imperfect idea of such horrors; they are unparalleled in the annals of human crime.

Courts-martial were then held for the trial of the leaders. They had been trusting to the treaty, and also believing those Protestants whose lives they had saved from the fury of the mob would plead in their behalf, but these ungrateful wretches, either through fear or prejudice, or perhaps both, spoke not a word in their behalf. Even Lord Kingsborough, who made the treaty, acted as a member of the court-martial by whom these men were tried, and the Parliament voted "Well done, good and faithful servants," by passing acts of attainder and forfeiture against these men after their death.

The Patriots, driven to despair after the breach of the treaty, hopeless of success, and yet afraid to lay down their arms, carried on a desultory war, hurrying from county to county through the centre of Ireland.

Some ninety Wexford men, after they found all was lost, fought their way from place to place until they came to the hill of Tara, and made their last stand on the banks of the river Boyne.

From Wexford town to where the tide of Boyne's bright water flows,
Throughout the long, long summer day they stood against their foes;
Though few in numbers, faint and weak, that young and gallant band
Kept proudly flying to the last the green flag of their land.

In Enniscorthy's blazing streets, and Gorey's crimson town,
Before their wild and rushing charge the English flag went down.
And when at last the cause was lost and hope of succor o'er,
They fought their way from Slaney's side to Boyne's far distant shore.

Wearied and worn, at last they stand upon that ancient hill,
Once graced by Ireland's warlike chiefs, and blessed by Columbkille.
Around them fiercely roar and surge, in serried, close platoons,
The hireling slaves of royalty, King George's fierce dragoons.

Oh, God! it was a fearful sight! beneath the blessed sky,
To see these dark and scowling men and hear their savage cry,
As up the green hillside they rush against the faithful few,
Who stand alone beneath their flag, to God and country true.

Alone, and few, and faint and weak, but oh! defiant still,
To meet that fierce and savage charge they form upon the hill;
No craven heart, nor faltering hand, nor trembling lip was there,
Fearless and free they proudly stand, with pike and bayonet bare.

They meet, and from that rugged shock King George's troops recoil,
Their ranks are thinned and scattered wide, and gory is the soil;
Again they form one living mass, and up the hillside go,
Again are chased by Irish pikes down to the vale below.

Thus singly and alone, throughout that long, long summer day,
Against a host of savage foes they boldly stood at bay,
Until one-half their little band lay on the hillside dead,
Yet still the remnant proudly kept their flag above their head.

'Tis evening, and the summer's sun is sinking in the west,
His last beams linger on the hill, and gild its heathy crest,
And as his parting light recedes, and twilight settles down,
Their flag still floats upon the hill, their pikes its summit crown.

Then spoke the English leader thus, and raised his hand on high,
"Your fight is vain, and pity 'tis that such brave men should die;
Lay down your arms, and here I swear, and pledge a soldier's word,
Free and unscathed you all depart, unharmed by fire or sword."

One moment looked they on their flag that waved so proudly there,
Then on the foe, to pierce his ranks 'twere instant death to dare.
Trusting a soldier's plighted word their arms to earth are thrown,
And they stand unarmed before the foe, defenceless and alone.

But opened not the English ranks, nor turned their blades aside,
Alas! brave, trusting Irish hearts far better you had died,

Far better fall beneath your flag, armed with a freeman's sword,
Than trust a robber's plighted faith, false England's perjured word.

A thousand levelled muskets flash, and scatter death around.
Till the last man of that brave band, lay stretched upon the ground.
Where England's might and wealth and power, and England's valor failed.
Dark fraud and hellish treachery against them had prevailed.

Above their tomb the shamrocks blow on Tara's ancient hill,
And on that holy sacred mount they slumber calm and still,
And Patriots say, when comes the day our country's flag shall wave,
'Twill proudly float on Tara's Hill, above the "Croppy's Grave."

Though the insurrection was confined to Wexford, the reign of terror extended over the whole south and east. The high sheriff of Tipperary, flogged severely a gentleman named Wright for having in his possession a complimentary note written in the French language, of which the worthy sheriff was unfortunately ignorant. In the town of Youghall, one Desmond, after being severely flogged, was hanged in front of the jail, on evidence obtained by torture. His brother, then confined in the same prison, was forced to witness the execution, and soldiers were placed behind him with drawn bayonets to prevent him from turning away his eyes from the horrid spectacle.

A kind of treaty was made between the prisoners confined in Dublin and the English. Their lives were offered them on condition of giving every information connected with what the English called the conspiracy. A garbled account of their examinations was published, but still enough was known to show that, if the insurrection was not encouraged by the English, it was deliberately waited for and suffered to increase in numbers, regardless of the blood and treasure required to put it down.

The total loss of property in this struggle was not less than three millions of pounds sterling. Of the English about twenty thousand fell, but of the Patriots not less than fifty thousand were either killed in the war or deliberately murdered by the court-martials, or in courts of law where both judge and juries were owned and paid by the English. But the utter demoralization of the triumphant party was the worst consequence of this

lamentable struggle. Men learned to take an infernal delight in the tortures and sufferings of their fellow-men. Revenge, bigotry, and all the evil passions of both had full sway. Perjury, paid for in English gold, united with evidence obtained by torture. Robbery, murder and licentious crime committed with impunity destroyed every friendly tie between the native and foreign elements, as well as every moral obligation. And even now, after two generations have passed away, the consequences are not quite effaced.

The French Directory during the continuance of the struggle in Wexford, made no effort to assist the Irish, but late in August, when all was over, a small force of eleven hundred men landed at Killala and soon gained possession of the town. General Hutchison hastened from Galway, and soon assembled a vastly superior force, but was superceded in the command by the arrival of Lake, to the cruelty and cowardice of whose soldiers may be attributed the disgraceful events that followed. A British army of over four thousand men, and supported by fourteen pieces of cannon, fled almost without firing a shot, from 800 Frenchmen and about a thousand unarmed Irish peasants. Want of means prevented the French General (Humbert) from pursuing the flying English, but he baffled all efforts of the enemy for nearly a month, when, being surrounded by an army of thirty thousand men, he was obliged to surrender. The peasants by whom he was joined, being excluded from quarter, were pursued with great severity. The English on entering the town committed several outrages, murdering not only the Catholics, but many unfortunate Protestants who came to greet them as deliverers. This cruelty was the more unjustifiable, as during the brief contest no blood had been shed except in battle.

Scarcely had the insurrection ended when the question of Union began to be agitated. It was at first so unpopular that all classes opposed it, but the English, by a mixture of corruption and cunning, effectually broke the strength of the opposition. The measure was rejected by Parliament in 1799, but by a lavish profusion of bribes the same House adopted it in the next session by a large majority. The Catholics were induced

to give tacit assent, though certainly with reluctance, by the promise of emancipation. While, at the very same time, promises were given to the Orangemen that the Catholics should be still more cruelly treated, and at length, after unparalleled scenes of bribery and deception, the Irish legislature assented to its own destruction.

Tha breach of faith with the Catholics by the refusal of emancipation was what might have been expected. The maintenance of hostility between those who held the lands stolen by their ancestors, and the descendants of those from whom these lands had been taken, produced a state of society which must have been witnessed to be understood. England fostered and aided those who held the ill-gotten gains of the Puritans, knowing that her strength in Ireland was in the divisions of the people and there only. And when emancipation, after being long delayed, was finally passed, so ungraciously was the boon conferred, that the bigot and zealot could still look upon the Catholics as a degraded class.

The revolution of 1798 was now over ; for the time England prevailed, and gave up the country to spies, informers and robbers. The majority of the Irish chiefs were either in captivity or exile. The jails were crammed with Patriots awaiting a speedy execution. Hope had fled from the hearts of the people ; the land was saturated with blood, and ruin was pictured on all the towns and villages. The executioners were busy, and the work of death went on. No mercy was shown to the brave patriots who had stoutly battled for their country's freedom ; they were slaughtered like dogs by the English soldiers and their allies, the Orange yeomen.

Among those who had fought and braved the might of England was

MICHAEL DWYER,

as true a patriot and as brave a soldier as ever marched to battle. When the Irish were forced to submit to the enemy, the bold Dwyer, spurning all terms, and filled with hatred of the invaders, fought his way to the glens of Wicklow, and with a few

followers carried on a guerilla warfare for years. His band seldom amounted to more than fifty men, yet all the soldiers in Wicklow were unable to conquer him. He destroyed, by adroit ambuscades, sharp-shooting, and astonishing dexterity, every company of the enemy sent in pursuit of him, and generally contrived to escape with little loss. A strong detachment from a Highland regiment was sent especially in pursuit of him, with promise of rich reward, to be divided among the men and officers, should they succeed in his capture. These Scotchmen, flushed with resolve and the hope of a rich reward, were, nevertheless, nearly every one killed after six or seven days fighting in the mountains. About a dozen returned to tell the sad tale. The Scottish blood was aroused by this defeat, and nearly the whole regiment volunteered to go and capture the rebel chief. Being promised a still greater reward for his capture, dead or alive, they commenced their pursuit. Dwyer eluded his pursuers several days and nights. His band was reduced by death and wounds to eighteen or twenty, every man of whom was determined to sell his life dearly. A week was now spent in this desultory warfare, during which Dwyer lost not a man, but brought down many of his Scotch pursuers. His lieutenant, McAlister, and himself, with their little party, having stopped one night to take food and rest at a farmhouse, their pursuers came upon them. Dwyer and McAlister lay in a barn, while Quinn, his second lieutenant, and the rest of the party lay down in the dwelling. They appointed, as usual, a sentinel, but in the night the pursuing party were seen entering the farmyard, and the guard had only time to alarm those who slept in the house, who got off, but the Scotchmen surrounded both buildings, and finding the doors of the barn not opened to them fired in. Dwyer and his companion were ready to receive them, and fired on the Scotchmen through a small window in the barn. Some of the Highlanders fell dead, which excited the others to madness. They set fire to the barn, and still Dwyer and McAlister kept up their fire on their assailants, managing to avoid all their volleys. At length they must surrender; there was no escape; but ere they did so McAlister proposed to his captain

the sacrifice of his own life to the chance of preserving his, which for fidelity and disinterestedness is not surpassed in history. "There is now," said he, "but one way for you to escape. I will unbolt the door, jump out amongst them; they will take me for you, and discharge all their guns at me. At that instant you may rush out and perhaps escape." Dwyer reluctantly assented. It happened just as McAlister anticipated. He received the contents of twenty loaded guns. Dwyer at this critical moment rushed through the ranks of the Scotchmen, killing three of them with his clubbed musket, and escaped. It was a bold deed, but these Scotchmen carried no revolvers, and before they could reload their guns, the bold outlaw escaped. He held the mountains and glens of Wicklow until a general amnesty was offered him and his men, and seeing he could be of no further service to his country for the time he laid down his arms. He was confined in jail for a time but afterwards released and pardoned.

Trials by court-martial followed the success of the English as a matter of course. The fate of the victims drew tears from their enemies, for most of those condemned by the English had been conspicuous for their humanity and generosity.

A second attempt was made by the French in the following month. A small squadron, sent from Brest, was discovered off the coast of Ulster by Admiral Warren, and forced to engage at a great disadvantage. The Hoche, of eighty guns, and six frigates were captured, and thus ended the projects of the French for the conquest or liberation of Ireland.

On board the French fleet, among the prisoners, was

THEOBALD WOLFE TONE,

an Irishman who had rendered himself conspicuous by the ability and talent with which he had supported the cause of his country. He was discovered among the French officers by one Sir George Hill, who had been a classmate of his at college. This Hill had joined the Orangemen, the enemies of their country, and who have always been ready to do the dirty work of England. The French officers were invited to dine with the Earl of

Cavan. While they were seated at table Hill entered, followed by some police officers. Looking narrowly at the company he singled out his victim, whom, Judas like, he addressed with a friendly salutation. Tone was immediately seized by the police, heavily ironed, and sent a prisoner to Dublin, where he was tried and sentenced to death as a matter of course. Curran and Burrows, the only lawyers that would venture to show sympathy for a victim under "the reign of terror," brought the case before the Court of King's Bench, but ere the case was decided news arrived that Tone had committed suicide. Poor Tone! how sad to think that so brave and so bright a man should be reduced to the necessity of being his own executioner, or be hanged like a dog—for well he knew that an English court knew nothing of either justice or mercy when passing sentence on an Irishman.

The English, in another instance, showed their malice and desire for vengeance on patriotic Irishmen. They caused James Napper Tandy to be arrested at Hamburg, in violation of neutrality laws; but dreading retaliation by the French, they feared to take his life. He was tried at Lifford, condemned, and finally pardoned on condition of forever quitting the country. Tone's address before the court-martial is given by his son, in his life of his father, in the following words. Being called upon to plead guilty or not guilty, he said:

"Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Court-martial—I mean not to give you the trouble of bringing proof to convict me of having acted in hostility to the government of England. I admit the fact. From my earliest youth I have regarded the connection between Ireland and England as the curse of the Irish people, and felt convinced that whilst it lasted this country would never be happy. My mind has been confirmed in this by the experience of each succeeding year. In consequence, I determined to apply all my power to effect a separation of the two countries. That Ireland was unable herself to throw off the yoke I knew. I therefore sought aid wherever it was to be found. In honorable poverty I rejected the offer of British gold as a reward for betraying the cause of my country, and sought

in the French republic an ally to rescue three millions of my countrymen from"—

The President here interrupted the prisoner, observing that the language was not such as could be tolerated in a public court. One member said it was intended to inflame the minds of rebels, many of whom no doubt were listeners, and that therefore the court ought not to suffer it. The Judge-Advocate said he thought that if the prisoner meant this paper to be laid before his Excellency, in way of extenuation, it must have quite a contrary effect, if what has been said is suffered to remain.

Tone—"I shall urge this topic no further, since it seems to be disagreeable to the court; but shall proceed to read the few words which remain."

General Loftus—"If the remainder of the address, Mr. Tone, is of the same complexion with what you have already read, you may proceed; you have heard the opinion of the court."

Tone—"I believe there is nothing in what remains to be said can give offence. I mean to express my gratitude toward the Catholics, in whose cause I was engaged, though not of their creed."

General Loftus—"That seems to have no bearing on the charge against you, to which only you are allowed to speak. If you have anything to offer in defence of the charge, the court will hear you, but they will confine you to that subject."

Tone—"I shall, then, confine myself to my connection with the French army, in which I obtained the confidence of the executive, the approbation of my generals, and, I venture to say the esteem and affection of my brave comrades in arms.

"When I review these circumstances, I feel a consolation which no reverse of fortune, no sentence of this court can weaken. Under the flag of the French Republic I originally engaged with a view to liberate my own country. For that purpose I have encountered the chances of war amongst strangers; for that purpose I have repeatedly braved the terrors of the ocean, covered, as I knew it to be, with the fleets of that power which it was my duty and my glory to oppose. I have sacrificed all my views in life; I have courted poverty; I have left a beloved

wife unprotected, and children whom I adored, fatherless. After such sacrifices in a cause which I always conscientiously considered the cause of justice and freedom, it is no great effort at this day to add the sacrifice of my life. In a cause like this, success is everything. Success, in the eyes of the world, fixes its merits. Washington succeeded, and Kosciusko failed! After a combat nobly sustained, a combat which would have excited the respect and sympathy of a generous enemy, my fate was to become a prisoner. To the eternal shame of those who gave the order, I was brought here in chains like a felon! I mention this for the sake of others; for me, I am indifferent to it. I am aware of my fate, and scorn supplication or complaint.

“As to the connection between this country and England, I repeat it, all that has been imputed to me, words, writings and actions, I here deliberately avow. I have spoken and acted with reflection, and on principle, and am ready to meet the consequences. Whatever be the sentence of this court, I am prepared for it.”

This speech was pronounced in a tone so full of noble and calm serenity, as seemed deeply to affect all hearers, the members of the court not excepted. Silence reigned in the hall for some time, till interrupted by Tone himself, who inquired whether it was not usual to assign an interval between the sentence and execution. The Judge-Advocate answered that the voice of the court would be collected without delay, and the result sent to the Lord-Lieutenant. If the prisoner, therefore, had any further observations to make, now was the time.

Tone—“I wish to offer a few words relative to the mode of punishment. In France, persons who stand in the same position you claim I stand before you now, are condemned to be shot. I wish to die the death of a soldier, and be shot by a platoon of grenadiers. I request this more in consideration of the uniform which I wear than from any personal regard to myself, and I beg that the court would examine my commission and letters of service in the French army, in order to show that I have not received them as a mask to save me, but that I have been long a bonafide officer in the French service.”

Judge-Advocate—"You must feel that the papers you allude to will serve as proofs against you?"

Tone—"Oh! I know it will. I have already admitted the facts."

The papers were then examined. They were signed by the French Directory and Minister of War, granting him the rank of Adjutant-General, and of a passport.

General Loftus—"In these papers you are designated as serving in the army for the invasion of England."

Tone—"I did serve in that army when it was commanded by Bonaparte, by Desaix and by Kilmain, who is, as I am, an Irishman. But I have served elsewhere."

General Loftus observed that the court would, undoubtedly, submit to the Lord-Lieutenant the address which he had read to them, and also the subject of his last request. In doing so, however, he took care to efface the greater part of it, and the last request of the prisoner was refused by Lord Cornwallis, and he was sentenced to die the death of a traitor on the 12th of November, forty-eight hours after his trial. This cruelty he foresaw; for England, from the days of Llewelyn of Wales and Wallace of Scotland, to the tortures of the unfortunate Fenians in our own days, has never shown mercy or generosity to a fallen enemy. He then determined to anticipate their sentence by self-destruction.

The sentence pronounced by the court-martial upon Tone was obviously illegal, and so every lawyer knew it to be. But the people looked on in stupor. The son of Tone has described the condition of Dublin at that time:

"No man dared to trust his neighbor, nor by look or word betray his feelings or sympathy. The terror in Paris under the Jacobins, or in Rome under Nero, was never more universal than that of Ireland at this time. And this same feeling caused them to passively acquiesce in the union, and their name as a nation."

"Of the numerous friends of my father," says young Tone, "who had shared in his political principles and career, many had perished on the scaffold, others were confined in dungeons,

and the remainder dreaded, by the slightest mark of recognition, to be involved in his fate."

But there was one friend of the gallant prisoner who was determined to make an effort to rescue this noble Irishman from the jaws of death. This friend was

JOHN PHILLPOT CURRAN.

He moved that another trial be held in the Court of King's Bench, thinking the French government might threaten to retaliate on some of their English prisoners of war, and the case become a criminal and not a political one, and in the end Tone might be saved. On the next day, November 12th, the day fixed for his execution, the scene in the King's Bench was awful in the highest degree. When the court opened, Curran advanced, leading the aged father of Tone, who filed an affidavit that his son had been brought before a bench calling itself a court-martial, and sentenced to death. "I maintain," said Curran, "that my client had no commission from the King of England, and, therefore, no court-martial could have any cognizance of any crime imputed to him, while the King's Bench sat in the capacity of the great criminal court of the land. My client must appear in this court. He is sentenced to death this very day. He may be ordered to execution while I address you. I call upon this court to support the law, and move for a habeas corpus, to be directed to the Provost Marshal of the barracks of Dublin and Major Sandys, to bring up the body of my client."

Chief Justice—"Have a writ instantly prepared."

Curran—"My client may die while the writ is preparing."

Chief Justice—"Mr. Sheriff, proceed to the barracks and acquaint the Provost Marshal that a writ is preparing to suspend Mr. Tone's execution."

The court waited in a state of the utmost agitation and suspense the return of the sheriff. He speedily returned, and said: "My Lord, I have been to the barracks, in pursuance of your orders. The Provost Marshal says he must obey Major Sandys, and Sandys says he must obey Lord Cornwallis."

On hearing this, the Chief Justice exclaimed: "Mr. Sheriff, take the body of Tone into custody, and also take the Provost Marshal and Major Sandys into custody, and show the order of this court to General Craig."

The general impression was now that the prisoner would be executed in defiance of the court. The sheriff at length returned with the fatal news. He was refused admittance to the barracks, but was informed that Mr. Tone was not in a condition to be removed, having wounded himself dangerously in the neck on the night before. The brutal English soldiers, while erecting a gallows for him in the yard before his window, acted with such levity and provoked him so, that he cut his throat with a knife; but it was not effectually done, and he lingered in that dungeon, stretched on his bloody pallet, seven days and nights. No friend was allowed access to him, and the prison surgeon, a French Huguenot, one of those pests of France, was his mortal enemy. At length he died. The English allowed his body to be carried away by a relative, and it was buried in the little church-yard of Bordertown, County Kildare, where Thomas Davis had a monument erected to his memory. "Thus passed away," says Madden, "one of the master-spirits of his time. The curse of Swift was upon him—he was an Irishman. Had he been a native of any other European country, his talents would have raised him to the highest honors in the state. His name lives, however, and his memory will survive as long as Ireland has a history."

The expenses incurred in exciting the insurrection, next in suppressing it, and finally in carrying out its real object—a legislative union—are estimated by Madden as follows:

Cost of military force kept in Ireland from 1797 to 1802.....	£16,000,000
Purchase of the Irish Parliament, viz.: buying votes for the Union...	1,500,000
Payment of claims of loyalists and secret service money*	2,500,000
Pensions paid for services in suppressing the rebellion.....	1,200,000
Increased expenses of legal and judicial tribunals.....	500,000
The removal of the archives and pay of officers, servants, &c.....	800,000
Total.....	£22,500,000

*This secret service money was paid to traitors and informers.

The whole of this amount, over one hundred millions of dollars, was the next year, in the arrangement of the terms of the Union, carried to the account of Ireland, and made part of her national debt.

The Orangemen, these born and sworn enemies of Ireland, were all for the Union, and both the Grand Master and Grand Secretary being members of Parliament, voted for it on its final passage.

The countless petitions poured in, almost all against the Union, were signed by both Catholics and Protestants. Plowden says: "The nobility and gentry, and many of the clergy of the Catholic church, were in favor of the Union." He accounts for this by the term "Papist and rebel" producing soreness in the minds of many. But, undoubtedly, the cause of the leading Catholics supporting the Union, was the false promises of the ministers, both in England and Ireland, that the Union, and that only, would remove all impediments to emancipation. There was, however, some who were not so easily deluded. The trading and commercial Catholics of Dublin were vehemently opposed to the Union, and a meeting was held at the Exchange, to deliver their opinions upon it. Lord Clare's first thought was to disperse the meeting by military force, but better counsels prevailed, and the meeting was held, Mr. Ambrose Moore in the chair.

No less a person than

DANIEL O'CONNELL,

then a rising young barrister, took a leading part in this meeting, and protested, with patriotic earnestness, against the Union, which half a century later he laid down his life in the effort to repeal. He said, "It has been asserted by the advocates of the Union that the Catholics were friends of the measure, and silent allies to that conspiracy formed against the liberties of Ireland. Every Union speech and pamphlet held forth that Catholics sanctioned a measure which would ruin the country, and there was none to refute the calumny. Sir," continued

O'Connell, "it is my sentiment, and I am satisfied it is the sentiment of every one who hears me, that if our opposition to this injurious and insulting Union were to draw upon us the revival of the penal laws, we would sooner once more be at the mercy of our Protestant brethren than give our assent to the political murder of our country. Although exclusive advantages have been held out to the Catholics to seduce them from the duty they owe their country, the Catholics of Ireland still remember that they have a country, and that this Union would debase and destroy them as a people."

After which, O'Connell moved certain resolutions, which were unanimously adopted. The first of these was, "Resolved, That the Union of the legislatures of Great Britain and Ireland would reduce this country to the condition of a province, to be taxed at the pleasure of England, without having any means of redress."

Barrington states, and O'Connell affirms, that seven hundred thousand persons petitioned against the Union, and only three thousand petitioned for it, and most of these were government officers, Protestant preachers, and prisoners in the jails, who signed with the hope of pardon. Castlereagh now boldly announced his intention to turn the scale of bribes to all who would accept them. He first declared that every nobleman who returned a member to Parliament should be paid in cash fifteen thousand pounds for every vote. Secondly, that every member who purchased a seat in Parliament should have the money repaid out of the treasury of Ireland. Thirdly, that all persons who were losers by the Union should be fully recompensed, and that one million five hundred thousand pounds should be appropriated to this service. In other words, all who would support the Union were, under some pretext, to share in this bank of corruption. This large sum of money had a powerful effect, and before the meeting of Parliament John Bull knew that he could count on a small majority of about eight. This he hoped to increase, as he had now one hundred and fifty thousand armed men in Ireland. Verily, no other Parliament or Congress has ever been tempted so. If bribery on the same

scale, say one billion of dollars, were now judiciously distributed in the English Parliament, enough votes could no doubt be obtained to annex that country to the United States.

The placemen, pensioners and bribe-takers who voted for the Union—it were better to forget them, but their names and crimes are a portion of history, and it may be interesting to the reader to know that many of the great families of the present day in Ireland obtained their titles and laid the foundation of their fortunes by selling out to John Bull and voting for the Union. And when we consider the material of which the Irish Parliament was composed, our wonder is there were any patriots among them. Every member was, with few exceptions, the lineal descendant of a robber, and held their property, if they held any, in Ireland, by no better right than the highwayman holds the purse of his victim.

The lamented

ROBERT EMMETT

was then about twenty-four years of age. He had seen the atrocities of '98, and the frauds and villainies by which the Union was accomplished. He saw his country still under martial law, and by means of packed juries and Orange magistrates effectively deprived of justice. The purity of his motives has never been questioned, even by his enemies. He desired to see his countrymen of all creeds enjoying the rights of human beings, and having laws to govern them that they might reverence and obey, not curse and abhor. Emmett's plan of insurrection was, while agents were organizing the country, to make preparations in the city of Dublin itself; then, when all was ready, to seize the authorities and give the signal for a general insurrection from Dublin Castle. There is good military authority for approving this plan of a rising in Ireland, and it would surely have succeeded but for a fatal accident.

The gallant Miles Byrne, after many a campaign as a French officer in every quarter of Europe, avowed his preference for Emmett's scheme to every other, in the circumstances of Ire-

land. He says, in speaking of that part of his career: "I shall ever feel proud of the part I took with the lamented Robert Emmett. I have often asked myself how could I have done otherwise? His plans were perfect, and only frustrated by accident and the explosion of a depot, and, as I have always said, the plans of Emmett will be the best for Irishmen in their efforts to obtain freedom some future day. First take the capital and the provinces will raise the same standard immediately." Byrne says: "As I was to be one of those persons designed to co-operate with Emmett in taking the Castle of Dublin, I shall relate the part allotted to me in this daring enterprise. I was to have assembled early in the evening of Saturday, the 23d of July, 1803, at the house of Dennis Redmond, on the coal quay, the Wexford and Wicklow men, to whom I was to distribute pikes, arms and ammunition, and a little before dark I was to send one of the men, known to Emmett, to tell him we were armed and ready to follow him. Men were placed in Ship street ready to seize on the entrance to the castle on that side, at the same moment the principal gate would be taken. Emmett was to leave the depot in Thomas street at dusk, with six hackney coaches, in each of which were to ride men armed with pikes and blunderbusses, concealed under their coats. The moment they passed Redmond's house we were to follow them quickly into the castle-yard, and there to seize and disarm all the sentries and replace them with our own men. The morning of the 23d of July found Emmett and those in whom he confided, not of one mind; there was division in their counsels; part of his plans were defeated, as he imagined, by accident, or ignorance, or neglect, on the part of his agents. But it never occurred to him that he was betrayed! Nor is there any satisfactory evidence of treason on the part of those he trusted. The ending of this sad tale is soon told. The Wicklow men, under Dwyer, on whom great dependence was placed, had not yet arrived; the messenger sent to warn Dwyer, by Emmett, neglected his duty. The Kildare men came in and were informed by a traitor that Emmett had postponed his attempt, and they went back at five o'clock in the afternoon. The Wexford men came in, three

hundred strong, and staid in the city all night, ready to take the part assigned to them, but they received no orders. A large body of men assembled at Broadstone, waiting for the rocket signal agreed upon, but no such signal was made."

It was evident that Emmett to the last looked for large bodies of men, and that he was deceived. At eight o'clock in the evening he had eighty men collected in the depot at Marshalsea lane. A man just then reported that the soldiers were marching upon them, which was not true. Yet it seems to have been believed by both Emmett and his friends. It was then he resolved to sally out with such following as he had, march upon the Castle, and, if necessary, meet death by the way. Even this happiness of dying with arms in his hands was not reserved for that unfortunate gentleman. Emmett halted his men at the market house, with the view of restoring order, but tumult prevailed. During his ineffectual efforts word was brought that Lord Kilwarden was killed. He proceeded toward the scene of slaughter and in a few minutes returned. From that moment he gave up hope of effecting anything. He and a few leaders abandoned their project and their followers.

A detachment of soldiers made their appearance and commenced firing on the insurgents, who immediately fled in all directions. The rout was general in less than an hour. The whole was now over; all was lost, yet Miles Byrne was in Coal Quay with his two hundred picked Wexford men awaiting orders that had been agreed upon. And the brave and gallant Dwyer was ready with his outlaws, and the Kildare men were under arms awaiting a messenger. They were all left without orders. After the failure Emmett proceeded to the Wicklow mountains, where he found the insurgents preparing to attack the English garrison in some of the towns in that county. To this Emmett objected, knowing it would lead to no successful issue. His friends pressed him to make his escape, but he had resolved on seeing one person, dearer to him than life, before leaving the country. That person was Sarah Curran, the daughter of the celebrated advocate Phillpot Curran. With the hope of seeing her pass by Harold's Cross, which was on the road

from her father's house to Dublin, he returned to his lodgings at Harold's Cross. Here, on the 24th of August, he was arrested by Major Sirr.

On Monday, September 19th, 1803, Emmett was put on trial for treason, and as a matter of course condemned to death. How nobly Emmett defended his actions and his cause is in his last speech, as known to all who have read Irish history.

A large number of the bravest and purest men of Ireland, having now within four years, been either hanged, banished or shot, it was hoped by John Bull that the Protestant ascendancy and British connection, viz: the tithes, the packed juries, in short the British constitution in church and state, were at last secure, and that Ireland was completely at his mercy.

A reward of fifty pounds sterling was now offered for each of the rebels who appeared in arms in the streets of Dublin on the night of Saturday the 23d of July, and the wages of informers was raised all over the country—in fact, swearing falsely for payment was the only profitable calling in Ireland. The whole of the yeomanry were put upon duty at the enormous expense of £100,000 per month. In Cork every householder was obliged to affix the names of their family upon their door, and in Belfast the citizens were not allowed to leave their houses after eight o'clock in the evening. Every house in the city of Dublin was searched for arms, and the names of the inmates of each house required to be posted on the outer door.

At the special commission which tried Emmett, twenty persons were tried for their lives. Of these one was acquitted and one respited, all the rest were hung.

The advocates of the Union held that the measure would place the two countries on an equality, as regards trade and commerce. The fallacy of this is now well understood. It is true the laws regulating trade and commerce are the same in both islands. Ireland may now export even woollen cloth to England; she may export, in her own ships, tea from China and sugar from Barbadoes. The laws by which England made these acts penal offences no longer exist, simply because they are no longer needed; these laws were kept in force till Ireland was ruined. England

has the manufacturing machinery and skill, of which Ireland was deprived by express laws made for that purpose. To create or recover these great industrial and commercial resources, in the face of wealthy rivals already in full possession, is impossible without one or other of two conditions—either immense capital or protective duties. By the Union the money of Ireland was drained away to England, and by the Union Ireland is deprived of imposing protective duties. It was for this purpose the Union was forced upon Ireland.

Much surprise, no doubt, has been expressed by those unacquainted with Ireland that the tranquilization of the country did not immediately follow the passage of the emancipation bill in 1829. But those acquainted with Ireland can scarcely feel any wonder on the subject. The no-popery laws produced many evils not mentioned in their enactments, and much greater calamities resulted from their indirect, than their direct, operation.

These laws were all made to protect the landlords, who exulted in the tenant's misery, and caused the tenant, not unjustly, to regard his landlord as a tyrant.

The Irish Parliament, during its exclusively Protestant existence, passed laws by the hundreds to arm these landlords with fresh powers, but not one single enactment appears on their records for securing to the cultivator any share in his industry. These Irish landlords, so far from rejoicing in the prosperity of their tenants, considered that each additional comfort was obtained from their own pockets, and at once demand an increase of rent. Hence the Irish peasant must act the pauper, because poverty is his surest protection; and hence he is always ready to join in the wildest scheme of insurrection, because no change in his circumstances could be for the worse.

And now when Englishmen and Scotchmen make laws to govern unhappy Ireland, they still disregard the interest of the farming and laboring population; and till a change of the whole system, not only of law but of custom, takes place in the relations between Irish landlords and Irish tenants, the country must remain in misery. John Mitchell, in his address to the electors of Tipperary, Ireland, dated New York, February 3, 1875, says:

“I am in favor of Home Rule, that is, the sovereign independence of Ireland. I shall seek the total overthrow of the established church; universal tenant right and abolition of ejectments; free education, that is, denominational education for those who prefer it, education without religion for those who like that, with the express provision in the law that no person shall be taxed for educating his neighbor's children.”

Now to the overthrow of the established church, everybody will say amen! amen! And to tax the poor to educate the children of the rich, is a pea from the same pod. But universal tenant right presupposes universal landlord right, as how have tenants without landlords. Whenever we recognize the ownership of the soil to abide in somebody other than the man who tills the soil, and by his industry raises and harvests the crops, if we so recognize in some idle outsider whose only right to the land is a parchment granted to some of his ancestors by Cromwell or William the Fraud, then we participate in a crime which every honest man must condemn.

Any law that recognizes the existence of landlords, will provide, you may be sure, that the lord shall do what he likes with his own. Hence it follows that those speeches and resolutions of the Irish people respecting the rights of tenants are so much waste paper, and the sooner they recognize this truth, the sooner will relief come in a general law for disestablishing the landlords, as they did the church, in Ireland, and compensating them by the state, as they compromised with the Protestant preachers for the tithes. Though, in strict justice, neither preachers nor landlords had or have any right to compensation, for it is a notorious fact that had the commandments “Thou shalt not kill, thou shalt not steal, thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's goods,” been obeyed by the English, Ireland would to-day have neither Protestant landlords nor a Protestant church. This disestablishing of the landlords is the only remedy for the evil of land-letting, and the cruelties inflicted on the people of Ireland by these descendants of the savage soldiers of the tyrant Cromwell. The printing press and the telegraph are working in vain, if the Irish will not very soon demand their rights in the soil for the living

and coming generations. Mr. Butts' Home-rule movement may be called the blarney movement.

There is scarcely a family in Ireland who has not some relatives in the United States, and it is as well known in Ireland as in America that the farmers here own the land, and their labor and improvements are not for the support of a brood of idlers who live, as the Irish landlords do, on the starving poor. The Irish in America have wealth enough, and let us hope pluck enough, to purchase, man, arm and equip a fleet of ocean steamers, with two hundred thousand well drilled soldiers, and should England get into difficulty with any European country, these Irish Yankees, with their knowledge of military tactics, acquired during the war, would make short work with the landlords and the English garrison in Ireland. Let us hope that England will at last be just, and drive out forever these landlords, who have no rights in Ireland except the right of the robber, and peaceably restore the soil to the owners.

The government took alarm at finding that the Presbyterians of Ulster, both clergy and laity, had united with their Catholic neighbors in 1798. Offers were now made to them, through Rev. Dr. Black, of Derry, of a large advance in their grant if they would not oppose the Union. These offers were readily accepted, and in 1803 their pay from the government was increased four-fold. Doctor Black had a large share; he was agent of the government for the distribution of this disgraceful bribe, and a few years after he committed suicide by jumping off the bridge of Derry into the river Foyle. An Irish writer said: "This is a proof positive that even Presbyterians, when they fall, have afterwards remorse of conscience."

In 1804, the First Napoleon was crowned Emperor of France by the Pope. This circumstance Pitt, with his usual craft, used as a means of refusing emancipation to the Catholics. This was a reconciliation of the Emperor with the church; and editors, preachers, and all the readers of Scotch Jammie's Bible shrieked out in tones of alarm and horror that this meant burning heretics. These scribes did not mention the fact that along with

the Catholic church the Emperor had also established the Protestant church in France. They were too fanatical to state that in France the Protestants had long been emancipated, and stood on a footing of perfect equality with their Catholic neighbors.

The Catholics saw with alarm this new outbreak of foaming rage against them and their religion, and thought, at any rate, Mr. Pitt would be above taking part in this stupid malice, as in fact he was; but he was not above exciting it, and directing it to his advantage.

Parliament met again January 15th, 1805, and again the King's speech contained not one word in reference to Ireland. One of the first acts of this Parliament was to suspend the Habeas Corpus in Ireland, and out of two hundred and fourteen members, only fourteen voted against it. Plowden, a respectable Irish writer, says: "Ireland at this time was tranquil, in spite of calumnies of bigots and hired writers, and the unsupported charges of some of the members in Parliament." But the English government knew then, as they know now, that tranquility is not loyalty, and that the Irish people are never so eager to shake off the British yoke as when the sheriffs present judges with white gloves. The Catholic deputies proceeded to London, and had their conference with Pitt on the 12th of March. Eight deputies attended the conference, viz.: The Earl of Shrewsbury, Earl of Fingal, Viscount Gormanstown, Lord Southwell, Lord Trimblestown, Sir Edward Bellew and Councillors Denny and Ryan. They told Mr. Pitt they regarded him as their friend, and urged him to present their petition to the English Parliament. Pitt told them their confidence was gratifying to him, but finally told them he would not present their petition.

These Catholic gentry were duped by Pitt, but they richly deserved it for relying on the word or even the oath of an English minister. But a more vigorous race of Catholics was growing up, and one bold, blue-eyed young man, who was then poring over his briefs in the Four Courts, was destined to hold the great leading brief in the mighty case of six millions of his countrymen. O'Connell was fast becoming well known as a

lawyer, and an Orange judge, in a party case, preferred to see any other advocate pleading before him.

The Catholic delegates next applied to Fox and Greenville, who agreed to present their petitions. This they did the 25th of March. The Lords laid the bill on the table. Lord Auckland said, with some warmth, "That the bill would overthrow the whole system of Church and State, and if it was passed he would soon see a Protestant church without a congregation, and England with a popish Parliament." He called on the bishops to arm themselves for the conflict. The Lords objected even to the bill being printed. After Fox presented it in the House of Commons, petitions against it were presented from the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, from the cities of London and Dublin, and from all the fanatics and bigots in almost all the towns and cities in Ireland, England and Scotland. The Bishop of Durham, the wealthiest prelate in Europe, who valued highly the constitution of Church and State, that pampered him in indolence, said it would be a "surrender of the best constitution in the world." Lord Redesdale made a violent speech against the bill. He said: "The bill would take the tithes and lands from the Protestants and give them to the Catholic bishops." He said further, "If the Catholic bishops could be abolished, hanged or shot, then something might be done for the body of the people, and for this those people should be grateful."

Lord Carleton raked up all the Protestant phrases, from such writers as

FOX, THE "LYING MARTYR MAN,"

about the cruelty of Catholics. After the bigots had vented their spite all night, at six in the morning a division was had, and the bill was rejected by a majority of one hundred and twenty-nine. This ended the hope of relief from the Lords.

In the Commons Mr. Fox introduced the bill in an able speech. He proved that Catholics had been promised emancipation by Pitt at the time of the Union, and now those pledges

ought to be redeemed. He said he relied upon the loyalty of the Catholics of Ireland, but he would not press them too far, nor draw the cord too tight.

Dr. Deiganan replied to fox, and opposed the bill in a long speech. He maintained no Catholic could take an oath that the priest could not release him from; that Catholics held no faith was to be kept with heretics; that is, all Christians but themselves; and that it was impossible for a Catholic to be loyal to a Protestant King. He contended that to swear the King was head of the church was only objected to by traitors, and was fierce and furious against the Catholic bishops for forbidding their people to send their children to Protestant schools. It would violate both the Unions with Scotland and with Ireland, and to ask his Majesty to sign the bill would be supposing him capable of violating his coronation oath.

Mr. Grattan said he rose to defend the Catholics from Doctor Deiganan's attack, and the Protestants from his defence. The learned member had said that the people of Ireland to be good Catholics must be bad subjects; that the Irish Catholic is not, never was, and never can be a good subject to a Protestant King. The bill was supported by some liberal Englishmen (for there is always a few of this class), when Pitt, the apostate, arose and said he was favorably disposed to the bill, but differed in many points from those who had introduced or supported it; he said there were irresistible obstacles, (which obstacles he himself had taken care to raise up) and should the bill not pass, and he saw no probability that it would, the agitation of the question would raise hopes that could never be gratified. He next took another line of argument. He should disguise the truth if he did not say the opposition to the bill was strong and rooted, and therefore he would vote "No!" A lame excuse, but where there is a will there is always a way.

Hon. H. A. Dillon said, "The hearts of the Irish people had been alienated by martial law and by other severities and oppressions. Were this bill allowed to pass, such severities would cease to be necessary, and that brave and grateful people would present a firm front against the enemies of their country."

It was evident from this debate that all the honesty and intelligence in the British Parliament were in favor of emancipation, and that all the bigots and blockheads were opposed to it. The division showed, for the bill 124; against it, 336; majority against it, 212.

So Catholic emancipation was set at rest in both Houses of the British Parliament, and the "Protestant interest," and the constitution in Church and State were saved—it was hoped forever. The Irish farmers were also oppressed by rack-rents, tithes and middlemen, church rates, and the monstrous grand jury jobs, by which gentlemen accommodated one another, at the expense of the county, with roads and bridges which were not useful to the people, but for the benefit of these gentlemen themselves. Those who knew Ireland in the first twenty years of this century need not be told that in consequence of the exactions of the tithe proctors, a body of men calling themselves "Threshers" made depredations only upon the collectors of tithes and their underlings, giving as a reason for their conduct that the profits of their crops were eaten up by the tithe proctors. They sent letters to the growers of flax or oats, warning them to leave the tithes of kind in the field, but on no account to pay any money to the preachers or their proctors.

England had no motive now for provoking an insurrection in Ireland, because the Union had been carried, and all was safe. Still, the government resolved to meet the case of the poor

"THRESHERS"

by what they called constitutional means, viz. : Special commissions, packed juries, and the gallows. The people were left at the mercy of the Protestant preachers, and if they came before a packed Orange jury they were hung, often without the least evidence of guilt. These preachers swindled the farmers in the following manner: They gave leases to the farmers in their parishes at a fixed sum yearly as long as they occupied the church. The lessee, supposing his lease held during the life of the preacher improved the lands, and when they began to yield in-

creased crops these scoundrels would exchange livings with some other lessor of his tithes during his incumbency. This preconcerted plan of letting each other into the full value of the tenant's labor and expenditure, has been known in two or three years to double the value of the income of these robbers who preached in these law churches in Ireland, and if the people resisted, Orange juries and hireling judges made short work with them.

The English government, after having long prohibited by cruel laws the education of Catholic youths at home, after having driven them abroad for education, were now almost willing to bribe them to stay at home and receive that education which, within the memory of men then living, would have merited transportation or death. Yet these two modes of treatment were perfectly right in the eyes of John Bull. A century before, John's great object had been to get and keep possession of Catholics' lands and goods, and for that purpose to debase the Catholics to the condition of brutes for want of education. But now, in 1807, England was at war with France, and it was desirable to keep Irish students away from there, where they might learn matters not expedient to be known in Ireland; might learn that in France every man is his own landlord and the people pay no tithes, and that people of all creeds are equal before the law; also, that the people of France suffer no inconvenience from the want of noble landlords, and many other things of this nature. Therefore, when the English at one time drove young Irishmen abroad for education, and at another time induced them to stay at home for education, they knew very well each time what they were doing, and acted each time on the principle that all Irish life and industry, physical and intellectual, belong to England, and are to be regulated and disposed of as British policy and interest shall from time to time require.

Upon the same principle the government in this session introduced what was called the "Catholic officers' bill," to enable Catholics to hold commissions in the army and navy. This measure was intended for two purposes, first, to stop the demands of the Catholics for their emancipation; and, secondly, by com-

missioning a few Catholic officers to make the British army more popular in Ireland and promote enlistments. The words of Lord Howick, who introduced the bill, are worth preserving. He said, "On the peasantry of Ireland the measure must have a powerful effect, by affording a check to the increasing population of the country, as it would induce numbers to enter the army who, by their own discontents, had been lately in rebellion." It is needless to say that the measure was opposed by Percival, the mouthpiece of the Protestant bigots. He feared, he said, that this was the beginning of a system which would be highly dangerous to the Protestant establishment. Mr. Percival was himself, he said, "as great a friend to toleration as any man," but he did not see how the Protestant church could stand if persons were allowed to command the King's troops who believed in seven sacraments. The bill was read the first time, and it raised a violent ferment, both in England and among the bigoted Protestants in Ireland. George the Third was at this time an idiot, sometimes a moping idiot, and sometimes a talking and busy idiot. Percival said through the press that the church was in danger, and a great cry of "No Popery!" arose over all England. Ministers then offered to drop the bill altogether, but this was not enough. The King required of them a pledge that they would never more bring forward any bill giving any privilege to Papists—in other words, would never advise his Majesty to do justice to over one-fourth of his subjects. This was too much. The Ministers had no idea of emancipating the Catholics. It was to stave off that question that they proposed the trifling concession, but they resolved to resign rather than make that promise, though Pitt had already made the King such a promise.

The matter ended with the installation of the famous "No Popery" Cabinet, with the pious Percival to run the machine. The pretext for this change in the ministry was so absurd that many members of both Houses were unwilling to let the country be longer governed by the fitful caprices of an idiot, and several resolutions were offered against requiring a pledge to keep Ministers in their places. Mr. Tighe, an Irish member, said the tranquility of Ireland would, he feared, be affected by

the removal of the Duke of Bedford. He did not see, however, any serious grounds for alarm, because the people of Ireland viewed all changes with apathy, as none of these changes were of any benefit to them. Few recruits were to be had in Ireland, because there was no security for the free exercise of religion. Some years ago some men enlisted upon the promise of a magistrate that they should always be allowed the free exercise of their religion, but when they arrived at the Isle of Wight they were compelled to attend the Protestant church, and forbidden to attend the Catholic church under pain of military punishment. Consequently, recruiting was slow in Ireland, though the people were poor, and the bounties offered extravagantly high. "Since the Union Ireland had no rights England respected, her only right was that of sending one hundred men to the British Parliament to be out-voted by four or five hundred English and Scotchmen, as he would be that night."

Mr. Tighe's estimate of the value of Irish representation in the British Parliament is true to this day. The Catholic committee had drawn up their petition for complete emancipation, and had sent it to Grattan for presentation. He had consulted with Sheridan, and wrote to the committee they had better withhold it. Another meeting was held, at which the venerable John Keogh moved the postponement, not the abandonment, of their petition. As to the paltry measure of conciliation proposed by the government, which they (the Catholics) had not petitioned for at all, Mr. Keogh truly thus described it: "The English ministers resolved to encourage Catholic gentlemen to enter the army, and through their influence to induce the peasantry to enter the service in great numbers. One of their objects they admit to be to lessen our population. Candor compels us to say this bill, had it become a law, would not have given them any claim for gratitude from the Catholics. To benefit them was not the object of the bill. It did not pretend to admit them to their rights like other citizens. It had been called a boon to the Catholics, but in truth had it been carried into effect it would have been a boon given by them, the boon

of their blood, to defend a constitution from which they, and they only, are cautiously excluded."

The King having required a pledge from the ministers that no Catholic claims, or rights, or wrongs, should ever be mentioned to him by his advisers, and certainly as far as they could they redeemed the pledge. They were professedly a "No Popery Cabinet," who resisted all reform, and especially concessions to Catholics.

This event increased the insolence of the Orange Squires all over Ireland, and made the lot of the Catholic people still more bitter than before. It would be difficult to conceive any prospect more gloomy than that of the Catholic body at that time—dreading the rigor of the new administration, with its ferocious Orange supporters, and yet thankful to the out-going ministry for attempting a paltry reform, avowedly intended to diminish their numbers. This is the first time that we hear the English urging the depopulation of Ireland, a policy which has been successfully prosecuted ever since. Two of the first things recommended for Ireland by Percival, was the curtailment of the Maynooth grant, and the appointment of Dr. Duigenan to the Privy Council. This renegade Duigenan had devoted his life to raking up all the slanders that had ever been heaped on Catholics since the days of Calvin and Knox. And John Mitchell says the fellow "was never so much in his element as when pouring forth his foul collections by the hour in a strain of ribald abuse." The other pitiful no-popery spite was cutting down the grant to Maynooth College. Mr. Percival opposed the grant on strictly evangelical principles. So did Wilberforce (a gentleman whose sympathies were with the oppressed and degraded people, provided they had a black skin.)

Among the bitter opponents of the Maynooth grant was Dr. Duigenan, the new privy councillor. He vented some of his venom, of which he had plenty, upon his Catholic countrymen; said they were always traitors in theory. and wanted but the opportunity to be traitors in action.

Sir Arthur Wellesley, who was afterwards Duke of Wellington, in defending Duigenan's appointment to the Privy Council,

said he did not care what religion a man was. If he could be useful in any line, he thought in that line he should be employed. And the business of the government at that time was to trample down and humiliate the Catholics, and to promote their bitterest enemies.

Froude has shown that to poison Irish patriots who opposed British rule in Ireland, has been a time-honored principle of the English government. Those who are curious on this point should read Froude's *History of England*, reign of Elizabeth, where he says, "A troublesome traitor is not likely to find much security for his life under a government that openly professes that it does not deal with justice, but with expediency." The object of the English government, we are told by Wellington, is to use the best machinery for the purposes to which it is applied; they simply deny that justice has anything to do with the matter. A government that publicly avows this to be its policy, would scarcely hesitate at any means to gain its end. Poor John Mitchell fell into their hands, A. D. 1875, and soon found a grave. But then this was purely a matter of state policy. Let us not forget this, kind reader, it may yet be worth remembering.

The veto by which the English government sought to appoint the bishops of the Catholic Church in Ireland now agitated the public mind. England said, let us appoint your bishops and we will emancipate you. When the real nature of the proposal was known, the Catholics resolved rather to remain unemancipated than to suffer their church to be controlled by the Protestants. The project was for the time defeated, but it was brought forward again and again during the struggle for emancipation. In the course of the session Lord Greenville made a motion to make Catholic merchants admissible as governors and directors of the Bank of Ireland. Lord Westmoreland opposed the motion on general no-papery principles.

But with this bigoted opposition, his lordship made a sensible observation. He said he was surprised to see such motions brought forth by those who, when they were in power, employed every means to prevent it. This was true. Ireland and her griev-

ances, the Catholics and their wrongs, have been in Parliament a stock in trade for Whigs out of office, and have so remained until

GLADSTONE,

in 1874, adopted other tactics. How he will succeed in his no-popery rule time will tell. Lord Redesdale was alarmed at the danger to the Protestant interests by allowing Catholics to be bank directors. He said the more you grant them, the more power and pretensions you give them to come forward with fresh claims. He then launched out into a general invective against Catholics, and particularly against priests. This debate about the Bank of Ireland is not worth recording (the motion was rejected, as its mover knew it would be,) save to show the tactics of the Whigs.

The administration of the Duke of Richmond gave a fostering countenance to the Orangemen, which tended more to encourage than to put down and punish their atrocities. It is certainly not pleasant to narrate these Orange outrages; it serves to keep alive the animosity between neighbors in Ireland, which was and is the object of the English in encouraging them. Much more pleasant it would be to forget and think no more of them. But for two reasons this cannot be: first, the history of Ireland would be almost a blank page without narrating the Orange persecutions, and the complicity of the government therein, and their consequences upon the general well-being of the island; next, however well inclined to forget these horrors, Irishmen have never been permitted to do so, even to the present day. In 1848 the government supplied the Orangemen with arms, and the next year a magistrate of County Down led a band of Orangemen and police to wreck and slaughter the Catholics of a whole township.

The records of the assizes in the northern counties show the frequent picture of an Orange murderer shielded from justice by twelve brethren, who have been carefully packed into a jury box by a sheriff, who is also an Orangemen, though an officer of the crown. This condition of society being a direct product of

British policy, a writer of Irish history is bound to notice the wretched details.

The "Convention Act," passed especially to prevent Catholics from meeting to discuss their grievances, was still unrepealed, for which reason we find Mr. O'Connell, who knew that the government was watching their proceedings with a jealous eye, from the first of his long series of agitations always steering clear of the rocks and shoals of the law, and find also that the most dangerous of these rocks and shoals was this same "Convention Act." It embarrassed the Catholic Committee in 1809, and stopped the proceedings of the "Council of Three Hundred" in 1845—in fact, it was passed for the purpose of preventing all organized deliberation by the Catholics for the attainment of their rights. There is no doubt but the government could have prosecuted the Committee (notwithstanding O'Connell's vigilance) at any time, by means of a well-packed jury. But now the affairs of the Catholics seemed to acquire strength from the permanent organization of the Committee and the respectability of its members.

Of course this circumstance alarmed and infuriated the Orangemen. It is not easy to arrive at the exact truth regarding all the tests and oaths and degrees of this mischievous body—the forms have from time to time been altered, and the "Grand Masters" and their organs have boldly denied what has been alleged against the society, although such allegations have been true very shortly before, and were substantially true when denied, even if some trifling form had been altered to justify the denial. Plowden says that in 1810 a change in the system of Orangeism was made and new oaths introduced. The following oath is that taken by the brethren at the present day, and yet Hoffman protected them with a guard of United States troops in the city of New York on the 12th of July, 1873:

"I, A. B., do solemnly and voluntarily swear that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to her Majesty Queen Victoria, and to her heirs and successors in the sovereignty of Great Britain and Ireland, and of the provinces belonging to said kingdom, so long as they shall maintain the Protestant religion and

the laws of this country ; that I will to the utmost of my power defend them against all conspiracies which I shall know to be against them or any of them ; that I will maintain the connection between the colonies of America and the Mother country, and be ever ready to resist all attempts to weaken British influence or dismember the British empire ; that I will be true and faithful to all brother Orangemen, neither wronging him, nor knowing him to be wronged or injured without giving him due notice thereof, and preventing it if in my power. I swear that I will ever hold sacred the name of the glorious deliverer, King William, Prince of Orange, in grateful remembrance of whom I solemnly swear, if in my power, to celebrate his victory over James at the Boyne, in Ireland, by assembling with my brethren in their lodge-room on the 12th of July every year. I swear that I am not, nor never will be a Catholic or Papist, nor marry a Papist, nor educate my children nor suffer them to be educated in the Catholic faith, nor will I ever become a member of a society who are enemies to her Majesty," etc.

The remainder of the oath refers to his duty in observing the rules of the order, and is of little importance to outsiders. Section 3 of the By-Laws says : " No man but a sound Protestant and a good subject of the British empire, can be admitted as a member." And again, " A member may be expelled for educating his child in a Catholic school, nunnery or monastery."

The Catholics of Ireland have long held out the olive branch to the Orangemen, but as yet have not made many conversions ; the colors green and orange may be blended, but the principles that now underline both are too much at variance to ever harmonize. In 1848 the eloquent Thomas Francis Maher made the attempt in Belfast to induce the Orangemen to assist in freeing the country, but failed. The following verses were popular in Ireland at that time :

Oh ! what a sight it would be to see the Green and Orange blended
In one proud flag of liberty, with millions to defend it,
Made up of Erin's stalwart sons, resolved to strike for freedom,
Ready to grasp their trusty guns when Erin's cause shall need 'em !

Let creed no longer disunite the ties that ought to bind us,
Let us hear no more of party fights, 'tis England's mill to grind us,
The dew that wets the Shamrock green falls also on the Lily,
Neither bows down to king or queen, nor cares a fig for "Billy."

Nature intended both should live in harmony together,
'Tis wicked men that makes them seem to envy one another,
No harmless plant can be to blame, yet men have made the lily
The emblem of our country's shame, a plant produced by "Billy."

It would be easy to give examples of Orange outrages in the north of Ireland, but these incidents have a wearisome sameness. Shooting down Catholics and wrecking their houses was the common amusement of these Orange yeomen.

The writer, who is a native of County Down, Ireland, can well remember that in 1830, in the little town of Crossgar, a fair was held for the sale of stock. In the evening a fight occurred between the Catholics and the Orangemen, in which fight the Orangemen came out second best. But the Orangemen waylaid their opponents going home, and shot down a young man named Simon Lundy, who, it was said, was a match for two or three of the Orangemen in a fair fight. For this none of these cowardly wretches were ever brought to justice; and in the fairs the street ballad singers sang the following—this is the last verse of the song, and by its spirit the reader can judge of the rest :

And now to conclude, here's to hell with the Pope,
And I hope Dan O'Connell may die by a rope.
I hope also in future at each monthly fair,
To hear of a Papist been shot in Crossgar.

As like begets like, the opposition also did a little at rhyming, of which the following verse is a sample, and it may puzzle you, kind reader, to tell in which is the most or the least Christian charity :

A story, a story, a story I will tell,
Of four-and-twenty Orangemen, last batch that went to hell.
When the Devil saw them coming, he called on his imps to rise,
Saying, rake up the hottest corner, here comes more Orange boys.

The Duke of Richmond, now Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, endeavored to soothe the Catholics by words of hollow and hypocritical kindness, at a moment when he was acting as the agent of a no-popery administration, and was excluding Catholic gentlemen from the grand juries, Catholic merchants from the banks, and regularly punishing Catholic soldiers for going to Mass, and he knew at the same time that the Orange banditti were killing and maiming their Catholic neighbors without the least fear of being brought to justice.

The treatment of Catholic soldiers in the army, of which they numbered one-half, was cruel in the extreme. At Enniskillen a lieutenant turned a soldier's coat to disgrace him for objecting to attend Protestant worship; others were prevented from attending Mass by an order not to leave the barracks before twelve o'clock on Sunday, when the Catholic service was over. Patrick Spence, a private who, like all others, was forced to attend the Protestant church, though known to be a Catholic, refused and was sent to the guard-house prison. He wrote to the commanding officer, saying, "in obeying the dictates of conscience he had not broken military discipline." Upon a charge that this letter was disrespectful, he was tried by court-martial, convicted and sentenced to receive *nine hundred and ninety-nine lashes*.

In October, 1880, King George the Third fell into incurable insanity, and the

PRINCE OF WALES

became regent. It was a matter of no concern to Ireland, except that the stupid scruples of the idiot old King about his coronation oath were no longer in the way of justice. The Prince had made many promises that if in power he would do all that in him lay to bring about emancipation. He had now uncontrolled power, and, as usual, the Catholics found themselves cheated. He retained as his Prime Minister the no-popery Percival, and all his advisers were hostile to the Catholics. His mistress at that time was the wife of the Marquis of

Hertford, and the conscience of that lady could not bear the thought of conceding any rights to persons who believed in seven sacraments. Even the two Protestant ones were one too many for her.

This lady was over fifty years of age, and her husband and son were the boon companions of the seducer of the father's wife and the son's mother. This scandal was well known to every person in the country, and yet the preachers and editors in the interest of the Established Church uttered not a word of censure on the guilty parties, nor dare they if so disposed, for the Prince was now head of the church, and the preachers were all dependent on him for their living. The Catholics, by referring to this notorious scandal, aroused the malice of this shameless woman, and as long as she held sway over the Prince their claims were unheeded. She was soon replaced in the Prince's affections by the notorious

MRS. CLARKE,

who was said to run the machine in the government of England for a number of years. Finally, when the Prince wished to cast her off, he found a young man who had lately been ordained a clergyman in the Church of England. This person was poor and proud. The Prince, being head of the church, made him Bishop of Sodor and Man, with the condition that he should marry Mrs. Clarke. This now bishop, whose name was Ward, was a native of County Down, Ireland; was raised near the little town of Saintfield; the family were Catholics, but this now bishop, having first sold his conscience when ordained a Protestant minister, finally sold his honor to the Prince of Wales by marrying this harlot. The writer was well acquainted with the Ward family; a nephew of the bishop's is at present a magistrate in Saintfield, A. D. 1875.

The first act under the Prince Regent was a state prosecution against the Catholic Committee in the person of Mr. Kirwin and Doctor Sheridan. The government had been long watching for this chance, and now made sure work, by a well packed jury, to

obtain a conviction. The attorney-general in his speech, said: "My Lords and gentlemen of the jury, I congratulate you that the day of justice has at last arrived." And yet these Catholics were only claiming their rights, and the crime of which they were accused was unknown to the laws of England. After this conviction, the Catholic Committee ceased to exist. Mr. Sheil says: "A great blow had been struck at the cause, and a considerable time elapsed before Ireland recovered from it. But, although that organization was at an end, many angry meetings were held, and the Catholic press assumed a more defiant tone.

In 1812,

SIR ROBERT PEEL,

at the age of twenty-four, became Chief Secretary, and of all English statesmen, he may be said to have understood Ireland best, to Ireland's bitter cost. Mr. Percival, the Prime Minister, was assassinated in the lobby of the House of Commons, and a change of administration became necessary. But the new arrangement had little interest for Irishmen, as from Lord Liverpool and Castlereagh there was no hope of justice.

A dissolution of Parliament and general election followed, and several Liberal members were returned from Ireland. Mr. Curran was the candidate of the Liberal electors of the town of Newry, County Down. He was defeated by General Needham, one of the military tyrants of 1798. Curran's speech on this occasion, though imperfectly reported, shows vividly the condition of Ireland twelve years after the Union. He said: "By the Union we put ourselves in a condition of the most unqualified servitude; sold our country, and we levied upon ourselves the purchase money. We gave up the right of disposing of our own property; we yielded to a foreign legislature to decide whether the funds necessary to their projects or their profligacy should be exacted from us or furnished by themselves. Our debts have accordingly been increased more than ten-fold; our people have been worried by cruel persecution, and our govern-

ment under the English has been simplified into the taxgatherer and the hangman." This dismal picture of the condition of the country could not have been made by a man of Curran's standing unless every word were true.

All this time Ireland was tranquil, except the killing of some bailiff who had turned out some poor families and pulled down their houses, or some tithe proctor who had seized on a widow's stock-yard to pay the tithes claimed by some robber with Rev. affixed to his name, and who, perhaps, was never in the parish from which he collected his unjust tribute. These acts of despair, committed under cruel oppression, were treated as sedition and insurrection, and the habeas corpus was suspended and martial law proclaimed. And it will be seen hereafter how steadily these same coercion laws, with ingenious variations of name, have been continued in Ireland down to this day.

So uniform have been the oppressions of Ireland generation after generation, that were it not for their steadfast attachment to their religion, they might be tempted to doubt whether or not a just God reigns over the earth.

Mr. Grattan made his final effort to effect the emancipation of the Catholics in the first session of Parliament in 1813. The bill he proposed was a very imperfect and restricted one, but it provided that Catholics should sit in Parliament and hold some offices.

The wars of the first Napoleon had direct effect upon Ireland. The demand for agricultural products for victualing the armies had kept prices high, and as numbers of small farmers then held leases, in order to manufacture votes, the people lived with some approach to comfort. It is true that landlords, wherever they had tenants from year to year, raised the rent as prices advanced, but still there was not much of either extermination or emigration. In 1818, however, and the following years, the prices of grain, pork and cattle fell very low, and rents were not reduced in proportion. The increase in population—for there were now six millions of people in Ireland—produced that competition for small farms which has enabled

the landlords to wring the last penny out of the helpless peasantry, who had no other employment but labor on the land. Extermination began in good earnest after the French were defeated at Waterloo. A law was passed in 1815, providing that all holdings in Ireland where the rent was under twenty pounds—which included the whole class of small farms—the court could make a decree, at the cost of about fifty cents, to eject a man from his house and farm. Two years after, the ejectments were further simplified by an act making the oath of the landlord or his agent sufficient proof of the amount of rent due by the tenant. By these two acts it was made easy and cheap for the landlord to turn out on the highways a whole village or township, and this was often done towards tenants at will, a class of beings found in no country but Ireland. The effects of the peace upon the claims of the Catholics were quite discouraging. England felt not only secure, but triumphant, and as a matter of course it fared ill with Ireland. Concessions to Catholics were no longer to be thought of, and if any one even hinted there was such a thing as human rights, he was set down as a friend of Papists. A Catholic board had maintained its struggling existence till the summer of 1814, but when the news of the imprisonment of Napoleon arrived in England, a proclamation was issued to disperse the board. England had now one of her periodical spells of bigotry and tyranny.

RICHARD LALOR SHEIL,

speaking of this gloomy period, says: "The hopes of the Catholics fell with the peace. And never before for half a century had the Protestant interest shown itself so spiteful toward the Catholic people. This Protestant wrath was all heaped upon O'Connell, for he denounced, with a rasping tongue, all kinds of bigotry, injustice, packed juries and church rates—in short, the whole system used in supporting the Protestant church in Ireland. In his celebrated speech for John Magee, editor of the *Evening Post*, who was prosecuted for libel upon the government, O'Connell not only repeated the libel, but aggravated it a

thousand fold. With a fierce and vindictive energy he laid bare the whole system which in Ireland is called a government. He thundered into the ears of the judge that he had first advised this prosecution, which he was now pretending to try, and as for the twelve pious Protestants in the jury box, all members of the society, he told them, with cruel taunts, that 'they knew they were fraudulently packed to find his client guilty (so help them God!) for stating what they every one knew in their hearts to be true.'"

Mr. Sheil, in his speech on O'Connell, says: "The admirers of King William have no mercy for a man who is so provoking as to tell the world that their idol was a Dutch adventurer. Then his success in his practice, where so many staunch Protestants were almost starving, and his fashionable house in Merion Square, and a greater eye-sore still, his dashing green carriage and prancing horses, driven over a Protestant pavement, to the terror of Protestant pedestrians—these and other provocations have exposed O'Connell to the detestation of all his Majesty's popish-hating subjects in Ireland." The provocation of popish horses prancing over a Protestant pavement may, to the American reader, seem unintelligible; but the pavements of Dublin at that time were strictly Protestant, and so were the street lamps. No Catholic could then be admitted to any paving or lighting board in that then stronghold of Protestantism. O'Connell was in the habit of speaking with contempt of this bigoted and beggarly corporation of Dublin. One of the most needy of these members, DeEastere, thinking the word beggarly applied to him, sent O'Connell a challenge. The parties met, fought with pistols, and DeEastere was killed, to the lasting sorrow of O'Connell. It was said that DeEastere was induced to attempt O'Connell's life by the expectation that if he should rid the government of so formidable an agitator he would be well rewarded. And surely the English, who paid the Indians for the scalps of the Americans in the days of the Revolution, would not have overlooked the claims of DeEastere.

To show the spirit of the City Council of Dublin, (who were of course all Protestants,) one of them, who was a tailor, said

at a corporation dinner: "Mr. President, these Papists may get their emancipation; they may sit in Parliament; they may even preside on the King's Bench; but never, never shall one of them set his foot in the ancient and loyal guild of tailors!"

In the year 1816, Sir John Newport moved in Parliament for a committee to inquire into the state of Ireland, which was then suffering from scarcity of food. Sir Robert Peel opposed the inquiry. That prudent statesman had not been so long Chief Secretary of Ireland for nothing. He wanted no inquiry, being well aware of what was passing in that country where everything must go as he desired. If there was some extermination of starving wretches, it was because his cheap ejectment laws were working well. And if there was some disturbance caused by those turned out of house and home, he had his new police ready to repress it. And, better still, he had procured the renewal of the insurrection act in 1814; had caused it to be continued in 1815, and it was now (1816) in full vigor, filling the jails with persons who could not give a good account of themselves, and transporting them for possessing a gun or pistol.

The low prices of produce had made thousands of farmers unable to pay the rent, then they were ejected, and having no money nor home, there was an occasional murder or an attempt at murder of an exterminating landlord. Magistrates would meet and write to the Castle for immediate proclamation of the county under the insurrection act. This oppression repeats itself from year to year, and will never end until the people of Ireland rise in their might and drive out the whole brood of landlords.

But in sad earnest the year 1817 was a year of famine and suffering, and of course the Coercion act was renewed. The potato crop had failed, and although Ireland was largely exporting grain and cattle to England, yet this food was not supposed to be sent by Providence for the nourishment of those who sowed and reaped it on their own soil. It is instructive to remark the similarity attending these Irish famines. The crops are shipped to England, and the money paid for them all goes

back there to be spent by absentee landlords, or paid to the government in taxes.

If in the famine years of 1847-'48, there was a greater destruction of the people and a larger export of their food and money to England, it is only because the British had their system more fully perfected in all its details than in 1817.

The years 1818-'19-'20 were years of gloom and sadness in Ireland. Bills were passed imposing heavy penalties against those who published seditious libels—meaning all truthful comments on the proceedings of the government—for, kind reader, if any person had written this statement of the facts at anytime in Ireland, a prison, packed jury and hireling judge would have made short work with him.

In August, 1821,

GEORGE THE FOURTH

visited Ireland, and was feasted and toasted with loyal servility by both Catholic and Protestant, and hailed with hurrahs wherever he passed. It was hoped he would introduce a change of system in ruling Ireland, but they soon found that his promises meant nothing. In short, the Irish were once more cheated, and it is not saying much for their perception, for they were twice cheated before by the same cheat. Irishmen must ever look back with shame on the scenes of loyal servility enacted at that time by their countrymen. O'Connell toasting the glorious and immortal memory of Dutch Billy, and presenting a bunch of shamrocks to that discreditable being who then wore the crown of England! Doubtless these hypocritical demonstrations of loyalty were intended to conciliate tyrants in England and to disarm animosities at home. In this they utterly failed, and have their place in history only as an example of gratitious crouching and crawling. This senseless gala of 1821 passed away, and the famine of 1822 immediately followed.

Before proceeding to the details of the famine of 1822, we must consider the financial relations of the two islands since the Union. In 1816 an act was passed for consolidating the Brit-

ish and Irish exchequers. The meaning of this was charging Ireland with the whole debt of England, and also charging England with the whole Irish debt. Now, the enormous debt of England was contracted for purposes which Ireland had not only no interest in promoting, but a direct interest in resisting. That is, it had been contracted to hire Hessians to crush America, and also to conquer France. Both of these powers were the natural friends and allies of Ireland. It must be borne in mind that previous to the Union the national debt of Ireland was a mere trifle. It was enormously increased by charging to Ireland's account, first, the expenses of getting up the rebellion; next, the expenses of suppressing it, and, lastly, the expenses of bribing Irish members to sell their country at the Union. Thus the Irish debt, which before the Union had been less than three million pounds sterling, was set down after the Union at twenty-seven million pounds.

During the long and costly war against France and the second American war, it happened, by some very extraordinary species of book-keeping, known only to the English, their own debt was not quite doubled, while that of Ireland was increased four-fold, as if Ireland had twice the interest which England had in forcing the Bourbons back upon France and destroying American commerce.

The following facts should become known to every man in and out of Ireland: First, the British debt in 1801 was about seventeen times as large as the Irish debt; second, it was promised in the seventh article of the Union that as Ireland had no part in contracting that debt, she should forever be exempt from the payment of either principal or interest; third, in order to effect this promise England was to be separately taxed to pay her own part of the debt. This has not been done, and Ireland has been forced to pay her part of this debt, from which she was promised perpetual exemption. Fourth, Ireland has received no compensation for being subjected to the pre-union British debt. The amount annually drained out of Ireland in taxes is about five millions of pounds sterling, but even this represents a very small part of the plunder of the country.

When to this is added the absentee rental, the interest paid out of encumbered estates to Jews in London, and the cost of articles imported which Ireland ought to manufacture herself, and which English law-makers prevent her doing, we may begin to understand why the mass of the Irish people are always on the verge of starvation, and why the failure of the potato crop brings on a famine. On the 27th of June, 1822, Sir John Newport, of Waterford, in his place in the House of Commons, said, "In one parish in his county fifteen persons had already died of hunger, and twenty-eight more were past recovery."

In January, 1828, the Duke of Wellington was Prime Minister, and Sir Robert Peel Secretary of State, both avowed enemies of the Catholics. But both had already determined to be converted at the right moment, and have the credit of effecting a revolution which they saw to be inevitable. Their associate in the ministry was Lord Palmerston, who never cared for Whig or Tory, Catholic or Protestant, or the rights or wrongs of any class, but was always ready to bear a hand in anything that was popular.

On the opening of Parliament in 1828 a petition was presented, signed by 800,000 Catholics, and not for their own rights, but for the repeal of the Test and Corporation acts, which had shut out Presbyterians from office for nearly two centuries. This idea was O'Connell's, but the petition was drawn up by Father L' Estrange. Many petitions were also brought in this session from Protestants of all sects in favor of the claims of the Catholics, so that there was at least an appearance of mutual good-will. The picture was somewhat marred by numbers of petitions from Ireland, England and Scotland, who thought the Protestant religion was lost if men believing in seven sacraments should sit in Parliament or be town councilmen.

There was earnest consultation one night in O'Connell's house in Dublin. Next day the city was startled, and soon all Ireland was aroused by an address from O'Connell himself to the electors of Clare, soliciting their votes, and affirming that he was qualified to be elected and serve them in Parliament, although

he would never take the oath (that the Mass is idolatry), for, said he, if you elect me the most bigoted of our enemies will see they must remove this odious oath from the statute book.

After this election, the Duke of Wellington, who had a few months before declared against Catholics sitting in a Protestant legislature with any kind of safety, and who had taken office to defeat their claims, became suddenly converted, and said that the choice lay between Catholic emancipation and civil war.

As for Peel, he had already made up his mind to be easily converted, his conscience presented no difficulty. The Parliament met in February, 1829, and the King's speech, prepared no doubt by Peel, urged the removal of Catholic disabilities, and Peel on the 5th of March moved for a committee of the whole house to consider the same. The motion was carried, after a warm debate, by a large majority.

And now arose the most tremendous clamor of bigoted Protestants. The like had not been heard since the days when James the Second attempted to place both religions on an equality. Numerous petitions, not only from Irish Protestants (all of whom feared they might lose their ill-gotten store), but from Scotch presbyteries, English universities, from corporations of British cities and towns, from private individuals, came pouring into Parliament, praying that the great Protestant state of England might be kept out of the hands of the Pope and the Jesuits. Never before was heard such a jumble of topics, sacred and profane, as these petitions contained. Vested interests, idolatry of the Mass, Protestant succession, the inquisition, privileges of Protestant tailors, or Protestant fishermen, our holy religion, tithes, the Bible, and the Beast of the Apocalypse, all were urged upon the enlightened legislators of Britain.

Sir Robert Peel tells us that on the 4th of March the King wrote to him that he was at liberty to proceed with the bill. The emancipation bill was forthwith introduced. It contained neither the veto nor the provision for bribing priests, but what was as fatal to the Irish as either of these, an act for disfranchising the forty-shilling freeholders.

Peel was determined at least not to yield this point. It was

the forty-shilling freeholders who had humbled the Beresfords in Waterford and Foster in Louth. It was they also who elected O'Connell triumphantly in Clare; and by destroying this whole class of voters Peel hoped to render the remaining voters more easily bought up. He had other reasons, which will appear hereafter.

The debate on the bill was very violent and bitter. The fanatics among Protestants of all stripes were deeply moved. In the mind of these fellows all was lost, and Peel and Wellington were directly charged with being agents of the Pope of Rome. However, the bill passed on the 30th of March by a majority of thirty-six. Next day it was carried to the House of Lords, and on the 2d of April was presented by Wellington, who urged its necessity in order to prevent civil war. After violent debates the bill was passed by a majority of one hundred and four, and King George the Fourth reluctantly signed it, and what is called Catholic Emancipation was an accomplished fact.

O'Connell now appeared at the bar of the House to take his seat as a member for Clare. He was introduced by Lord Elrington, and walked to the table to be sworn by the clerk. But Peel had put a clause in the new law that only those elected after the passage of the bill should be admitted under the new oaths. It was a mean piece of spite, but he hoped O'Connell would be defeated in another election, and for this and this only he disfranchised the forty-shilling freeholders, nine-tenths of all the voters in Ireland. Accordingly, the Clerk of the House tendered the old oath to O'Connell, viz: "that the King of England is head of the Church," and the other, "that the sacrifice of the Mass is impious and idolatrous." He read over the stupid trash (says John Mitchell) in an audible voice, then raising his voice said, "I refuse to take this oath, because one part of it I know to be a falsehood, and the other part I don't believe is true."

A new writ was then issued to hold an election for the county of Clare. This so-called emancipation consisted of three acts of Parliament. The first for suppressing the Catholic Association; the second for disfranchising the forty-shilling freeholders in Ireland, not in England, for there it was retained; and third, the

relief act proper, abolishing the old oaths against transubstantiation, and substituting another very long and ingenious oath (only for Catholics), promising to maintain the Hanoverian succession, declaring that it is no article of the Catholic faith to murder Kings excommunicated by the Pope; that the Pope has no temporal jurisdiction within the realm; promising to defend the settlement of property as established by law, viz: those who hold the lands stolen by Elizabeth, James the First, Cromwell and Dutch Billy shall not be disturbed, and also disavowing any intention to subvert the present church established by law, and never to disturb or weaken the Protestant religion or Protestant government. Verily, Protestantism must be very shaky when it requires so many props.

Imperfect as the emancipation act was, it was felt in Ireland to be a great triumph. The Catholics all but worshiped O'Connell as their heaven-sent deliverer, and the sectarian bigots thought the end of the world was at hand.

KING WILLIAM THE FOURTH

died in June, 1837, and Victoria succeeded him—a disastrous reign to Ireland. Every act through her now long reign was marked by cruelty toward the people of Ireland. The three first were the Poor Law, the Tithe Law, and the Law for Municipal Reform. Poor laws had become a necessity in England after the suppression of the monasteries during Henry the Eighth's Reformation. In Catholic times, and according to Catholic ideas, alms-giving was a Christian duty. Under Protestantism it had to become a tax. These monasteries had been endowed by charitable people mainly for the relief of the poor, but when Henry commenced reforming, and at the same time murdering and stealing, these lands and buildings were taken from the poor and bestowed on courtiers who would support him in his debaucheries, and from his time the poor were despised. During Catholic times the poor man was a brother, whom it was a privilege and a duty to relieve. Under Protestantism he became one of the "dangerous classes," to be well watched, and to be often punished.

CHAPTER VII.

Famines in Ireland and the Cause Thereof—Landlords—The Tenant System—A Review of the Causes that Produce Distress Among the Irish.

MAKING charity a compulsory tax was unknown in Ireland, as it is still unknown in France and other Catholic countries. Poor people had been always with us in Ireland, but no able-bodied paupers by profession. If a third of the population was sometimes in a half-starving condition for half the year, the others, who had more, shared with their suffering neighbors, and thought they were doing God service. Christian charity was not yet worked by machinery or exacted by the sheriff and his deputies. In short, poor as the Irish were—and they were only poor because the English eat them out of house and home—their whole nature was opposed to the idea of Poor laws. But it was now the design of the British to afflict them with this plague, and for two principal reasons—first, to obtain control through their own officials of the great mass of the poor, who might otherwise become elements of revolutionary disturbance. Second, to aid the landlords, for when there should be great poor-houses in every district to receive the homeless people, landlords would have less hesitation in turning out on the highways whole townships at once.

In the fall of 1843, O'Connell offered in the City Council of Dublin a resolution demanding a repeal of the Union with England. He cited the ablest jurists to show that the so-called Union was in law a nullity; told his audience, what could not be denied, that supposing the two Parliaments competent to pass the act, it had been obtained by fraud and open bribery. In the London Parliament the Queen spoke her piece. She said

she was "determined, under the help of Divine Providence, to maintain the Union!" All knew what she meant by the words "blessing of Divine Providence" was that she would meet the case with horse, foot and artillery. In truth, it was time for England either to provoke a fight and blow away repeal with cannon, or yield up her unjust claim to rule Ireland. Many of the Protestants were joining O'Connell, and the troops in some Irish regiments were known to throw up their caps and hurrah for repeal.

In the winter of 1847 the ministry announced a loan of ten million pounds sterling for the relief of the Irish famine; half of this to be paid in rates by the Irish themselves, the other half to be a grant from the treasury—this John and his newspapers said was so much English money granted to Ireland. This, of course, was a falsehood. It was a loan raised on the taxation of the three kingdoms, and the principal of it, like the rest of the national debt, was never intended to be paid, and as for the interest, Ireland would have to pay her proportion of it as a matter of course, as John himself kept the books. This act was the third of the relief measures, and the most destructive of all. It was to be a system of out-door relief. In the administration of it there were to be many thousands of officials, great and small. The largest salaries were for Englishmen, but some of the smaller were once in a while given to Irishmen.

The government had now got into its own hands all the means of working out this problem. At one time there were odds against the sum coming out right, for charitable people in America did contribute generously, believing that every pound they subscribed would give Irish famine twenty shillings' worth of bread. Yes, they thought so, and poured in their contributions, and their prayers and blessings with them. But the government got hold of the contributions and disposed of them in such a manner as to prevent their disarranging their calculations. All the nations of the earth might be defied to relieve Ireland, beset by such a government. America tried another plan—the ship Jamestown sailed into Cork harbor and discharged a large cargo, which began to give relief and bring

down prices of provisions, when free trade, which carried away their own harvest the year before, comes in, freights other ships, and carries away from Cork to Liverpool as much fully as the American cargo, for private speculators must be compensated, and their business must be protected. If these Americans will not give England their corn, wheat and flour to distribute, then she defeats their kindness by the natural laws of trade.

Private charity, even in Ireland, interfered with the calculations of the government. But that, too, was in a great measure brought under control. The Relief act—talking of eight millions of money to be used if needed, set charitable people everywhere to study its pamphlets and compare its clauses, putting everybody in terror of its rates and in horror of its inspectors—was likely to pass in the summer. It would perhaps be partly understood by August, and would expire in September.

In 1846, not less than three hundred thousand perished, either of hunger or typhus fever caused by hunger. But the British government has ever since tried to conceal the amount of the carnage, and shift it off their own shoulders onto Providence.

In 1847, the Protestant bishops issued a form of thanksgiving for an "abundant harvest," to be read in all churches, and the Queen issued a royal letter asking alms in all the churches on the day of thanksgiving. The Irish papers, with one voice, said: "To-morrow, over England, Scotland and Wales, the people who devour our substance from year to year are to offer up their canting thanksgivings for our abundant harvest, which they mean, as usual, to carry off, and throw us certain crumbs and crusts of it for charity. Now, to these church-going hypocrites we, in the name of the Irish people, would say: Keep your alms ye canting robbers, button your pockets upon the Irish plunder that is in them, and let the begging-box pass on. We spit upon the benevolence that robs us of a pound and throws us back a penny in charity. Contribute now if you will, these will be our thanks." The Irish papers further say: "Our abundant harvest, for which those hypocrites are to thank God to-morrow, is still here, and there has been talk of keeping it

here. So they say to one another, 'Let us promise them charity out of our churches and they will the more willingly allow us to carry off their wheat and their cattle.' Once more, then, we scorn and curse the English alms, and wish these words could reach before noon to-morrow every sanctimonious thanksgiver in England, Scotland and Wales."

At the same time the statistics showed that every day twenty steamships, besides numbers of sailing vessels, left Ireland for England, all laden with that "abundant harvest" for which these robbers were giving thanks in their churches. During 1847 coroners' juries on inquests over famine-slain corpses, found, upon their oaths, verdicts of willful murder against the Queen and Lord John Russell, he being the Queen's Prime Minister. The verdict was perfectly justifiable, but English law says the King or Queen can do no wrong, and as there was no power to bring Lord John over to Ireland for trial, and no use in arraigning him before an English jury, both the criminals escaped justice. And now I would say to our American friends, let them not suppose that Ireland is ungrateful to them for their relief, but should Ireland starve again—as she surely will if she continues under English rule—let them never send her a bushel of corn or a dollar in money, as neither bushel or dollar will ever reach her.

In February, 1847, amid the horror of the famine, O'Connell, old and sick, left Ireland, and left it forever. He desired to see the Pope before he died. By painful stages he traveled as far as Genoa, and there died on the 15th of May.

In a report made by the Government Commissioner, the total value of the produce of Ireland in 1847 was forty-five million pounds sterling, which would have sustained double the entire people of the island. This commissioner also reports that at least five hundred thousand human beings perished this year by famine, and two hundred thousand more fled beyond the sea to escape famine. He also reports the loans for relief, to be repaid by rates on Irish property, went, in the first place, to pay ten thousand greedy officials, and that the greater part of the money never reached the people at all, or reached them in such a way

as to ruin and exterminate them. A kind of sacred and patriotic wrath took possession of a few Irishmen at this time. They could endure the horrible scene no longer, and resolved to cross the path of the British lion though he should crush them to death.

Queen Victoria would not wait till the Irish had gathered the harvest, but decreed if they would fight, they must fight fasting.

In 1848 and 1866 attempts were made by patriotic Irishmen to free their country from the iron rule of England. Both attempts failed, and many said both were rash and badly managed. That those who made the bold attempt were honest, none will doubt. Let one who took part in both attempts tell of his hopes and disappointments :

Twenty years have gone and o'er—twenty years have passed to-day,
Since I sailed, nigh broken-hearted, from poor Ireland far away.
I was then a goodly stripling, stout and strong, and just eighteen,
And but few could dance or wrestle with me on the village green.

'Twas “the year of revolutions,” in the spring of “Forty-eight,”
Despots trembled in their strongholds, tyrants met a tyrant's fate.
Patriot men were up and doing, hope illumined every heart ;
In the glorious cause of freedom I, too, yearned to take a part.

Ah ! what glorious hopes we cherished ; how our bounding bosoms beat ;
Little dreamed we of the coming of disaster or defeat.
Freedom's voice was gaily singing by a thousand gushing rills,
And Meagher and O'Mahony were out upon the hills.

I shouldered my good rifle, and with more than forty round
Of as good and true ball cartridge as 'ere shot tyrant down,
Early left one Sunday morning, took my way across the glen,
And I joined the gallant Meagher with his band of free-born men.

How it ended in disaster, how the flag of freedom fell
'Neath the bayonets of the tyrants, it is bootless now to tell.
I, an outlaw, roamed the mountain, with the heather for my bed,
England's scarlet troopers after, and a price upon my head.

After months of toil and struggle, I at last a refuge found
On the good ship Daniel Webster, for the land of freedom bound.

Sailed away from Galway harbor by the setting of the sun,
O'er the boundless billows dashing, 'neath the flag of Washington.

I saw the shores of Ireland fading in the evening's glow,
How I blessed the dear old country! how I cursed her ruthless foe!
And I prayed that heaven would spare me, till upon her hills again
I should see her banner floating, borne by fifty thousand men.

One by one the years I reckoned, wearily the time passed on,
Waiting, watching, longing, praying for that glorious day to dawn;
Hope still lingered in my bosom, whispered in my darkest woes,
That my country yet should triumph o'er her dark and bitter foes.

Friendless and alone I wandered, heart and brain with care oppressed,
From the waters of the Hudson to the prairies of the West.
Twenty years thus glided over, till at last I settled down
On the shores of grand Lake Erie, in fair Cleveland's goodly town.

On a lovely summer evening, I was sitting by the door,
Gazing on the golden sunset as it fringed Lake Erie's shore.
Suddenly my ear was startled by a noise upon the street,
With the sound of many voices and the tramp of many feet.

Up I leaped and gazed around me on a dense and swelling crowd,
That adown the street came rushing, people cheering long and loud.
How my Irish blood went leaping as I gazed upon the scene,
Heavens! how my heart went throbbing, when I saw their flag of green.

On they came, the gallant fellows, with their banner floating high,
Every head erect and daring, proud defiance in each eye.
At their leader's martial order, halted on lake Erie's banks,
Quick as thought I grasped my rifle, and I sprang into the ranks.

Two days after, our green banner proudly waved before the foe,
It's bright folds in beauty beaming where Niagara's waters flow;
Where the fierce and howling torrent in its savage grandeur rolls,
But its waters were no deeper than the hatred in our souls.

Right before us, strong in numbers, England's scarlet hirelings stood;
Well we knew the slaves were waiting, thirsting, panting for our blood.
But we looked upon our banner as it proudly waved on high,
Trusted in the God of Battles, and like men prepared to die.

Forward stepped our gallant leader, few and stern the words he said :
" Boys, to-day the green shall triumph—triumph o'er the English red.
Forward, Fenians, friends of freedom, trample down the Union Jack.
Now, boys, now for dear old Ireland, charge and drive the demons back !"

Quickly rattled every rifle, with a shower of leaden hail ;
Up against the Saxon foemen rushed the children of the Gael.
With one cheer for Mother Ireland, on their seried ranks we pressed—
Sprang upon their massed battalions with our bayonets at their breast.

See Molony, how he rushes with young Fallon in the van,
Burke, MacIvor, brave O'Donnell and the fierce O'Callihan ;
Horrigan, with heart of vengeance, first and fiercest in the fight,
Felling, crushing all before them—wasn't it a glorious sight ?

On the proud and haughty Briton, like an avalanche we fell.
How our bullets and our bayonets drove their legions, they know well.
Had their hearts been stubborn granite, limbs of steel and bones of brass,
In our dark and deadly fury, we'd have mowed them down like grass.

From our strong and fiery onset, they recoiled in terror dread ;
Panic-stricken, in disorder, from the field the " Queen's Own " fled.
England's proud and haughty banner in that furious charge went down,
And the green flag waved in triumph o'er the minions of the crown.

I have still the same old rifle that I used upon that day,
Lock and barrel brightly shining, in a corner stowed away.
And I'm ready now as ever, with a willing heart and hand,
To shoulder that old rifle, in the cause of mother-land.

At the present time (December, 1879,) in many places in Ireland the people are again in danger of starving for want of bread. The British government ought to make provisions against this, but it will not. It, as a cruel stepmother, has neither love nor mercy for the child. These periodical famines in that land of sorrow and song are the results of English misrule, as that government has confiscated every acre on that beautiful island from its original owners, who all held their land in fee-simple. At the present time there are over five millions of persons there who do not own even one acre of land. The Irish laborer is a helpless creature at the mercy of these despotic land-

lords. Let such a state of things be fastened by the bayonet on our people here in Ohio, and in three or four generations wretchedness and want would be found here as well as in Ireland. That now unhappy land was once as free as Ohio, and eighty years ago made her own laws. Now her laws are made in England, where Irishmen are in a minority of one in fourteen, and this majority has no sympathy with the Irish minority. This state of affairs has caused so much discontent in Ireland that it requires fifty thousand men, soldiers and police, to prevent revolution. The Home-rulers, led by

CHARLES STEWART PARNELL,

have lately resolved to have some of these wrongs redressed. Mr. Parnell is said to be a very gallant gentleman. Irish on his father's side, he is on his mother's side an American, his mother having been the daughter of the late Commodore Stewart, who commanded the Ironsides in the war of 1812. Whether Parnell can control the fiery element he is gathering, and hold them in subjection, is a problem yet to be solved. Those who urge violent measures at present only play the game of the landlords, who hope to see the unorganized peasantry slaughtered by the well appointed troops of England.

The Irish people, through Mr. Parnell and others, have proclaimed that God made the land of Ireland for the people of Ireland, and not for a few hundred idlers, who are the descendants of robbers; that he who tills the soil has a right to the fruits of the soil. This, John Bull says, is an attack on the rights of property. England may imprison Parnell and his fellow-patriots, yes, she may make them ascend the scaffold steps, as she did Emmett and many others, but their death will only strengthen the great cause, and hasten the downfall of landlordism.

Neal, in his history of the Puritans, says: "They (the Puritans) frequently appointed days of humiliation and fasting, to beg God's pardon for not being more intolerant, viz: that as they (the Papists) had been guilty of idolatry, a crime deserving of death, they (the Puritans) to whom He had given the civil power, had spared many of them, thus provoking the wrath of a jeal-

ous God." Oh, Protestantism! what unspeakable horrors have been committed on the people of Ireland in thy name! There religion has been paraded in foul alliance with both sin and shame, and the government has been, and is yet, carried on by the aid of informers, the vilest and most wicked of human kind. And yet, Protestantism unmixed with politics is not intolerant, for what could be more inconsistent than telling men, "read the Scriptures and learn religion," and then punish them for doing so? Many Irish patriots, such as Henry Grattan, Robert Emmett, Wolfe Tone, Wm. Sherman Crawford, and the late lamented John Mitchell, were Protestants, perhaps I should say non-Catholics, for about all of them cut loose from the Church of England, or the sectarian churches, when they became patriots. Men who have, or pretend to have, a full supply of cut-and-dried religion, and who audibly say "amen" at prayer, or in class-meetings, are rarely patriots—they know nothing of philanthropy, and in their dealings with their fellow-men need watching in Ireland, as well as in this country.

I sincerely hope Ireland will never cease to honor her Protestant patriots. They were the truest and best of the brave. They should honor them, first, because they were true to Ireland; second, because they went in heart and soul for civil and religious liberty; and, third, because they strove to bring Protestant and Catholic to join hands and sacrifice their disgraceful quarrels on the altar of their country.

It must seem like digression to thus mix England's misdeeds with Irish history, but it is impossible to write that history truly without doing so, as English bayonets and Irish land laws are twin brothers. The writer was born and raised on the Green Isle, and is in a position to know the condition of the two classes (landlord and tenant) there. From my knowledge of the landlords of Ireland, I can affirm that, while they earn nothing by labor, and are not equal to their tenants on the score of morality, they enjoy the pleasures of life in food plenty and sumptuous, in houses warm and convenient, and in freedom from all the hardships endured by those upon whose labor and sweat they subsist. I further know that for this easy and laborless exist-

ence these landlords make no return. I also know that such a disparity in the comforts of existence between those who earn and dare not spend, and those who spend what they do not earn, must breed discontent against the laws, especially as the tenants know (what all readers of history know) that few of these landlords have a just title to these lands. I also know from observation that many of those whose labor and toil supports these landlords in idleness live on poor food and in poorer houses, and that in their social and moral condition they are deserving of a far better existence. It causes these landlords no anxiety whether the farmer's children have bread or not, and no remorse is by them felt when exacting the last shilling of the half-year's rent whether the farmers' children are educated or not, while at the same time they are educating their own children with the money others have earned. It would be easy to horrify the reader with details of landlord cruelties in Ireland. They are yet exacting their tribute there as usual, famine or no famine, and a ship sailing into any Irish harbor loaded with Indian corn, is sure to meet half-a-dozen sailing out with Irish wheat, hogs and cattle. No wonder the sway of these landlords in Ireland is considered by the natives as an usurpation and an injustice, and in their efforts at present to get rid of them they are only acting like a man who, having given his purse to save his life, thinks he has a right to reclaim it when the danger is over. These landlords are now before the bar of public opinion and are shrinking from the verdict they apprehend. Like other criminals they deny their guilt, but the world has now opened its ears to Ireland's story, and England cannot long remain deaf to the voice of universal indignation. The public opinion of this age mounts a throne higher than that of Victoria, though she is Empress of India. National crimes, such as those of England in respect to Ireland, are slow of punishment, but that punishment is sure in the end, although "the mills of the gods grind slow." Yet the cloud that to-day hides from our view the future of nations may be scattered to-morrow, and the arm of God may be seen bared. England feels that land agitation in Ireland cannot be managed in the ordinary

way, and has decided to renew the Irish Coercion acts. History there is being made rapidly, and as Ireland at present is in no humor to be stamped upon, we may look for startling developments before many months. This Coercion Act authorizes the police to arrest any person or number of persons and cast them into prison without any charge against them. It was the law in Ireland in 1800, renewed in 1801, continued to 1804, renewed in 1807, continued to 1810, renewed in 1814, continued through '15, '16 and '17, renewed in '22 and continued through '23, '24 and '25; it was again needed in '33, and continued to '40, and again, in '46, it was renewed and in force for four or five years, and now, in 1880, Victoria says there is organized resistance to "legal rights" in Ireland, and that she requires "additional powers" for the protection of property and life—that is, high life, of course. These coercion bills are as much alike as one policeman's cap is like another. The Lord-Lieutenant can proclaim a whole county, and everybody must be within doors (whether he has a house or not) from dusk till morning. He can appoint as many additional police and detectives, and offer such reward to informers as he thinks fit, and charge all to the tenants.

The reader will observe that the English government, from the Monarchy to the Commonwealth and back again to Monarchy, has always held one objective point, and that was and is hatred of Ireland and the Irish. Till Queen Elizabeth's reign the Irish had a flourishing trade in supplying England with cattle—this was forbidden by act of Parliament. Thereupon the Irish killed their cattle at home and sent them to England as salted meat. This provoked another act of Parliament, forbidding the importation of cattle from Ireland dead or alive. Driven to their wit's ends, the Irish turned the hides of their cattle into leather, which they exported to England. This was also forbidden. Then they took to sheep-raising, and sent fine wool to England. At this the landed interest of England took alarm, and Irish wool was declared contraband by act of Parliament. The Irish then manufactured the raw material at home, and drove a thriving trade in woolen cloth. The English manufac-

turers clamored against Irish competition, and Irish woolens were excluded. They were, however, so excellent that the industry still flourished. But English jealousy never ceased to clamor against it, and in the year 1698 both Houses of Parliament petitioned the King to suppress it. The woolen trade being destroyed, the Irish tried their hand, with marked success, at the manufacture of silk. From that field, too, British law drove them in despair. They next tried smaller industries, since all others were taken from them. They succeeded well in making glass, but were summarily stopped by a law prohibiting the exportation of glass from Ireland, and its importation into Ireland from any country save England. Soap and candle-making were next tried, and with like results. To such a pitch did this cruel policy reach that the fishermen of Ireland were forbidden to fish along their own coasts, because, forsooth! the fish markets of England might be injured. Thus, England first robbed my countrymen of their land, and when they betook themselves to other industries for a living, of these she robbed them also and drove them back upon the land exclusively for their support, at the mercy of cruel landlords. And yet England says the and question in Ireland is an attack on the rights of property. All history shows that famines are impossible in nations of diversified industries, and are felt only in countries entirely agricultural. France, when only agricultural, was often famine-stricken, as Ireland now is, but that scourge has been unknown since she diversified her industries. India, under British rule, has been often afflicted by famine, as in Egypt and part of Africa at the present day. All history shows that famines are only felt among people who are entirely agricultural. It seems contradictory that the producers of food should starve for lack of it, but that it is so is irrefutably taught by history. England knew this, and having failed to annihilate the Irish by the more costly and less cowardly implement, the sword, introduced the famine by her system of legal thieving.

Beaconsfield, speaking in the name of Victoria, tells the starving Irish: You shall have no native Parliament, you shall have no right in the soil, you shall have no right to meet or complain of

grievances or ask redress—the Peace Preservation act stops all that. He finally tells them, in substance, you may live or die, we care not! The failure of the potato and other crops in Ireland was known in October, 1879,, still better known in November, yet December, January, February, March and April have come and gone, and not a mouthful of food from the British treasury for a hungry Irishman has been given! While the whole civilized world has opened its ears, hearts and purses to the famine cry of Ireland, the British government, who is the recipient of forty million a year of Irish taxes, and seventy million a year of land rent, has shut ears, eyes and heart to the cry of my suffering countrymen. Tis true the government loaned £3,000,000 to Irish landlords at one per cent., and Victoria told the world how kind she was. The landlords pocketed the money and the people go begging.

It is a historical fact that during the famine of 1847, grain, butter, cattle, sheep, hogs and potatoes in large quantities were shipped to England. Then, as now, the Irish had to depend on public charity. Much money was then subscribed. A good deal of it was wasted, a portion of it, as usual, was stolen, but what was used to stay the famine was all, or almost all, spent in the purchase of that grain and oatmeal which had been sent from Ireland across the Channel and sold to English traders, and bought again from these traders at one hundred per cent. profit. It was hoped that the cruel folly of 1847 would not be repeated in 1880, and that whatever food there was in Ireland when the famine became an assured fact, would by the government have been kept in the country. I may be told that my words are antagonistic to the principles of political economy. That may be so, but they are the words of simple truth. Lord Beaconsfield's make-shift of a measure passed both Houses of Parliament the past week. It is said to be a bill for the relief of Ireland—not so, but for the advantage of the landlords of that country, most of whom live in England, and scarcely any of them subscribed anything to the Famine Fund. Beaconsfield advanced money to the landlords to be spent in improvements upon their estates. By the time the present famine has

passed away, these improvements will have increased the government value of their land. What after that? Not much—only that the tenants, who cannot pay the present rent, will be called upon to pay still more, and should they fail to submit to such exactions they will be turned out, and have their little cabins levelled to the ground by bailiffs protected by the bayonets of the police.

This man Beaconsfield, who runs the government machine for Queen Victoria at present (1879), is of Jewish descent, but has forsaken the creed of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob for that of Henry the Eighth, Cranmer and Elizabeth. And it is said (not by his admirers, however,) that he is a lineal descendant of the impenitent thief who died on the cross—

And that his now noble, then ignoble blood,
Has run through scoundrels since Noah's flood.

The appalling distress which has awakened in this free land so widespread a sympathy, has also drawn attention to the home condition of the Irish people, as none can reflect on so grievous a calamity without giving a thought to its possible or probable cause. The most distressing feature of the Irish famine is the affection of the people. They are of all people the most tender-hearted and affectionate, and linger around their dead with a grief that is intense; and when we see Irish servants in this country denying themselves every comfort, almost the necessities of life, in order that they may send their little wages to needy parents or kindred at home, we must feel that there is nothing like it on this earth except the love of God. It is certainly a gift of providence that so light a heart is given to my countrymen, and yet how few of all mankind are called upon to endure such trials as their's. I do not here refer to the wrongs I have already described, but speak now of the personal and peculiar sorrow of the emigrant. It is the instinct of the human heart to seek happiness among friends that from birth it knew and cherished. Tearing up a plant and casting it forth to wither is a faint image of plucking a heart from the arms of loved

ones and casting it out on a cold, shelterless world, without a friend and without a country.

England, from the days of William the Conqueror to Beaconsfield the Jew, has trampled over every helpless people on the face of the earth. Her robberies in India, in Burmah, in China and the West India Islands, and at this day Africa and Afghanistan, are but repetitions of the way she slaughtered Irishmen for twenty generations, and is the most terrible record of human crime that ever from this earth went up to heaven's chancery! England forced opium upon China at the cannon's mouth, and keeps it there by the same means. Yes, wealthy Christian England upholds this traffic, which is annually leading thousands of poor Chinese into moral degradation. And all to enable some Englishmen to make fortunes and drive to church in grand carriages. The colonial system of England has been the greatest scourge weak nations have ever suffered. In whatever harbor her ships land, theft, robbery and murder become the rule in dealing with the natives. Her flag has been pushed around the globe by the motive power of piracy. The tap of her drum follows the sun in its course, but wherever it is heard echoes of suffering humanity are also heard. Wherever the flag of England is hoisted there we find land-grabbing on a large scale, poverty, prostitution and degradation on a still larger scale. It is said the streets of Melbourne, Sydney or Calcutta at night equal in grossness the bummer and prostitute brawls of the city of London. Walk through the streets of that great city at night, and behold it swarming with prostitutes and thieves, and so it is in Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, Sheffield, or any of the great centers of population in either England or Scotland.

The people of England are also chargable with much, very much, of the guilt of the government. If they were not influenced by a bigotry violent as it is unjust on the one hand, and a strong national antipathy against the Irish people on the other, the government could not have so long persevered in its course of injustice and oppression. The bad passions of the English people, which gave an evil strength to their government for the oppression of my countrymen, still exists, little diminished or

mitigated. In fact, there were no crimes that man ever perpetrated against man, or that fiends ever invented, that were not practiced by the English governors of Ireland. And this spirit lives yet. The mode of exhibiting it is different, and though its virulence is turned into another channel its existence and vitality are not the less marked. It is scarcely credible, and yet it is literally true, that when they were massacred by thousands, they were accused of the very crimes committed against themselves.

What Clarendon and Temple asserted has been copied by that infidel falsifier of history, Hume, and the people of Ireland for simply defending their homes and their firesides, which really merited the applause of all good men, were charged with foul and horrible slaughter. The charge was brought against the Irish by Clarendon in these words: "On the 23d of October, 1641, a rebellion broke out in Ireland, and forty or fifty thousand Protestants were murdered before they could provide for their defense."

Temple aggravates the crime. This is his statement: "One hundred and fifty thousand Protestants were murdered in the first two months of the rebellion." Milton, in his first edition, has the following passage: "During the Irish rebellion in 1641, over one hundred and fifty-four thousand Protestants were murdered in Ulster alone, which, added to the other three provinces, makes the total slaughter, in all likelihood, four times as great."

It is true this passage has been softened in subsequent editions, but the enemies of Ireland had the full benefit of Milton's falsehood at the very time that it was most important for them to have it. At the present day, however, no writer of character would venture to repeat the calumny. The horrible charge fulfilled the purpose for which it was intended—namely, an excuse for plunder. And the practice of imputing this crime to Irishmen has almost ceased among the better class of English, and altogether among impartial American writers.

Lingard, whose work is the only one that deserves the name of a history of England, has very properly omitted all mention of what is called "the Irish massacre." He has told in his

notes the reason of this omission. And no one can read this reason without the most thorough conviction of the utter falsehood of the story told by Clarendon and Temple. In the same spirit an article appeared in the *North American Review*, 1879, with the heading, "Romanism and the Irish in the United States." I do not intend to review all of Froude's misstatements and slanders on my countrymen. If I believed that abuse was argument, I might impeach the credibility of this enemy of my creed and race by showing that he merited the nickname of "James Anthony Fraud," by his falsification of history. Froude says the Catholic religion is at open war with the principles of the American Constitution, and that no Catholic can be a true American. Now, to show the groundlessness of this Englishman's fears (perhaps I should say hopes,) that the American Constitution will be violated or overthrown by Irishmen, I would here say that the bearing of Irishmen toward the laws and institutions of this country, through the war of Independence, the war of 1812, the Mexican war, and our late war, and their obedience to the laws of this happy land in all the past, is a good guarantee for their conduct in the future. Besides, all Irishmen swear to support the Constitution of the United States when called upon by the authorities, just as do other citizens, and the laws of the Catholic Church enjoin on them the duty of obeying the laws of their country, under pain of violating the laws of God. Froude, as an authority, has never been accepted by Catholics. But Protestants have patted him on the back, and when he made outrageous attacks on the Irish people and the Catholic Church, sectarian preachers greeted him with loud applause. Now read what he says of these sectarians. He says: "But now the Irish in America are strong without any more additions from without; there are already 6,000,000 of them. They preserve and cherish the abstinence from *sexual vice* which distinguished them so honorably at home, and this is favorable to large families." What does this mean but that 36,000,000 of Americans who are found among the sects, are not free from sexual vice. And that the preponderance of Catholics in this country will be mainly due

to the purity of their wives and daughters. Surely a greater affront could not well be offered to these sects than thus showing up the worthlessness of their pinchback religion, and telling them that in morals they are inferior to the contemptible trash that he, Froude, represents the Irish to be. John Bull must have lately been taken with a fit of sympathy for the United States, for his hireling, Froude, says the Irish do not become Americans fast enough. Now, as a matter of fact, they are Americans frequently before they reach this country, and when they do reach it, all the world knows they are ready to fight for it with all the valor characteristic of their race. This John Bull knows to his cost. It was not to Froude's interest to mention it, however, when he was writing his article for the *Review*, in 1879. This much I have considered it my duty to say of that article, which, I believe no intelligent American would have written.

England's aim has always been to keep the Irish peasant in a condition to make him manageable, and an available material for her armies. And those who believe British civilization is a blessing will not dispute this. But those who deem it the most base and horrible tyranny that ever scandalized the earth, will wish that its indispensable prop, Ireland, were knocked from under it, as then it would surely fall.

Except the ryots of India, who also are under British rule, the Irish tenants at will are the most miserable on the globe. There is a season when no one is allowed to hunt hare, stag and deer, but Irish tenants are hunted the year round. During the years 1848-'49 the government census commissioners admit 9,300 deaths by famine alone. This would be true if multiplied by twenty-five. In 1850 there were 7,500 admitted by the same authorities, and in the first quarter of 1851, 655 deaths from hunger are by them recorded. In the midst of this havoc and death the Queen visited Ireland, and the great army of people there, who are paid to be loyal, got up the appearance of rejoicing. One Mr. O'Riley, in Great George's street, hoisted on the top of his house a large black banner, and draped his windows with black curtains showing the words "Famine and Pestilence," but the police burst into the house, tore down the flag

and curtains, and thrust the proprietor into jail. Victoria's precaution against any show of dissatisfaction was successful, and Ireland in her presence was tranquil enough.

Now, as regards the morals of Ireland, England and Scotland, we find there are in England two convicted criminals in every four thousand persons; in Ireland, two in every five thousand, while in Scotland there is two in every three thousand. So the gradation of crime is—Ireland, bad; England, worse; Scotland, worst. Now, assuming these figures to be correct, there is still a set-off in favor of Ireland. From what class do prisoners come? Not surely from the well-to-do? The man who stirs his tea with a silver spoon is further removed from figuring in a police court than the man struggling with poverty, or the man cared so little for by the world that an honest character is not a great consideration to him. Generally speaking, though poverty is not a crime, it is from the poor the greater part of our criminals come. Now, as the English, who are generally rich, have less temptations to crime, it follows that the poor of Ireland, who are subject to these temptations, are less criminal and less immoral than the poor of any country in the world.

The returns given also by the Register General for the three kingdoms, show that the illegitimate births in Ireland are three per cent.; in England, six per cent., and in Scotland, nine per cent. If we re-divide Ireland, again we find that the more Scotch and English, the more illegitimacy, and the fewer foreigners the less immorality. In the north and east of Ireland, where the Cromwellians are settled, the illegitimate births are six per cent.—nearly as bad as England, while in the west, where all, or nearly all, are Celts, the illegitimate births foot up but one per cent. In some places in Scotland, Banf, for instance, the Register General gives the number of illegitimate births at sixteen in every hundred, and in Norfolk, England, ten in every hundred. As a matter of fact, few foreign countries supply criminal statistics of any value, in point of accuracy; but it is well known that the virtue of Erin's lovely daughters is unequalled in any other land.

The gifted writer of the following lines, whose name is John Whelan, and an adopted citizen of Haverhill, Massachusetts, says: "The following lines were suggested to me by reading an article not long since in a local paper, where some aspersions were thrown upon the good name of our noble-hearted servant girls." This, of course, is nothing to be wondered at in Puritan New England:

Some thoughtless words are often hurl'd against the faithful band,
Who like their exiled brothers are a bulwark in this land.
They left their humble homes beyond the broad unfathomed main,
With honest hearts and willing hands a pittance here to gain.

The glow of health and beauty shone upon their cheeks so fair,
The light that beamed from out their eyes bespoke that hope was there.
Unspoken vows were on their lips whatever lands they'd roam,
That they would ne'er forget the friends they left in grief at home.

Full well they kept their cherished vows, those distant friends can prove,
For letters bore glad tidings back of their undying love.
Nor is this all those gen'rous hearts sent o'er the ocean's foam,
For millions of their hard-won gains went to their friends at home.

Ah! who can boast of braver hearts, of purer love than theirs,
Despite their strange vicissitudes, their worldly griefs and cares
For wealth and opulence ne'er smile upon their humble sphere,
But ceaseless toil from day to day is all their portion here.

Whence come these harsh, unkindly words, that cold, embittered frown?
If worth could reap its true reward, then they might wear a crown.
Their deeds of love and charity may not on banners wave,
But, like their love of chastity, will bloom beyond the grave.

The present famine is so evidently the creation of landlordism that hypocrisy, however strained, cannot charge it to Divine Providence, as on former occasions. These repeated famines, manufactured by English laws, have been borne long by the people of Ireland by supplicating Providence to change the laws of nature on their particular account. God's laws are just and impartial, and when eight millions of the Irish people submitted to famine in 1847 and 1848, with plenty of provisions in the

land, what right had they to look for miracles? Was not the tragedy that followed, 2,000,000 of deaths, a judgment against them for their submission to foreign rule? The English never appeal to God—they appeal first to cannon and bayonets, and when they have succeeded, then return thanks, taking it for granted He has decreed their success. When Cromwell told his army to “trust in God and keep their powder dry,” was it not the trust in the dry powder promoted his triumph in Ireland? Surely God never approved the slaughter of women and children, yet He certainly permitted it, and never interfered with the effect of the dry powder. These are disagreeable facts, but it is clear that if Irishmen wish to be free they must face these facts.

Truth thus spoken is not the road to popularity. For ages have Irishmen been praying to God for deliverance from tyranny. Were not such prayers a censure on the Deity, as He had given Irishmen health of body and strength of arm to free themselves? That prayer to God imparts a consolation to mortals that nothing else can supply, no man can doubt, but that it cannot, of itself, without physical force, arrest tyranny, needs no clearer proof than Ireland's history furnishes.

The American reader will want to know why Irish landlords are permitted to levy rents on men who, if they pay these rents, become paupers. They will also ask why, in a Christian country, these landlords not only give no help to the poor, but are hurrying them to the poor-house, with an army of agents and bailiffs. Should they also ask, who created that fertile island? Did the landlords create it? No! Did the Father of all create it? Yes! Did He give it to these landlords to oppress, rob, and starve His children? No! Did He create it to supply the wants of those who live upon it? Yes! The landlord has a title, he says. Who gave it to him? Did anything else than fraud and force enter into his title? No! Then a title founded on either fraud or force is null and void. Besides, the Bible teaches that if a man does not work he shall not eat, and also that the laborer is worthy of his hire. The former of these utterances, if observed in Ireland, would relieve her people of

all landlords, and the latter unmistakably indicates the right of those who labor to the products of his industry.

The following lecture, delivered by James Redpath, who had spent some time in Ireland as a correspondent of the *New York Tribune*, and who made himself familiar with the situation there, is so pertinent to the object of this book, and so full of facts, that we take pleasure in incorporating it into our work:

“I discovered a new character in Ireland—not new to Ireland, for he has been a thousand years there—but new to me; for, although I had heard enough, and had read enough about him, I found that I had never known him. It was the Irish priest.

“My father was a Scotch Presbyterian, and I was raised in the strictest traditions of that faith. No undue influence was ever brought to bear on my young mind to prejudice me in favor of the Catholic church. I can recall that I once heard read, with a somewhat tempered approval, certain kind and conciliatory remarks about the devil—written by a famous Scotchman of the name of Robert Burns—but I cannot remember a single generous or brotherly expression of regard for the Roman Catholics, or for their faith. They were never called Catholics. They were ‘Papists’ always. The Catholic church was commonly referred to, in my boyhood, under a symbolic figure of a famous lady—and not an estimable lady—who had a peculiar fancy or fondness for scarlet garments, and who lived and sinned in the ancient city of Babylon.

“I believed that I had put away these uncomely prejudices of my early education, but the roots of them, I found, must still have remained in my mind; for how else could I explain the surprise I felt, even the gratified surprise, that these Irish priests were generous and hospitable, and warm-hearted, and cultivated gentlemen? For so I found them always, and I met them often and everywhere. I believe that I have no more cordial friends anywhere in Ireland than among the Irish priests; and I am sure that in America there is no man—the words of whose creed do not keep time to the solemn music of the centuries

coronated anthems of the ancient church—who has for them a more fraternal feeling or a sincerer admiration.

“The Irish priest is the tongue of the blind Samson of Ireland. But for the Irish priest thousands of the Irish peasants would have been dead to-day, even after ample stores of food had been sent from America to save them. Many a lonely village, hidden among the bleak mountains of the west, would have been decimated by famine if the priest had not been there to tell of the distress, and to plead for the peasant.

“The Irish priest justifies his title of Father by his fatherly care of his people. He toils for them from dawn till midnight.

“It is a vulgar and a cruel slander to represent the Irish priests as living in idle luxury when Irish peasants are famishing around them. I have entered too many of their lowly homes—as a stranger unexpected—but as a stranger from America, never unwelcomed; I have seen too often and too near their humble surroundings to listen with indifference or without indignation to aspersions so unworthy and untrue. I can hardly conceive of a severer test to which sincerity and self-sacrifice can be put than these Irish priests endure without seeming to be conscious that they are exhibiting uncommon courage or proving that they have renounced the world and its ambitions; for educated men with cultivated tastes, they live in an intellectual isolation, among illiterate peasants, in poverty and obscurity, and they neither repine nor indulge in the subtle pride of self-conscious self-consecration.

“For one, and, albeit, one of this world only, I profoundly honor self-sacrifice and self-renunciation, whatever banner they carry, whatever emblem they cherish, or whatever tongue they speak.

“I saw one scene in Ireland that lingers lovingly in my memory. It was at a meeting in the west of a local committee of the Duchess of Marlborough’s fund. An Irish Lord was the chairman; not a bad man, either, for a Lord; but every Lord has the spirit of an upstart, and this Lord, at times, was insolent to his betters—the toilers—and a little arrogant to his equals—the tradesmen of the district.

“There was a deputation in the room of dejected peasants from one of the Islands in the bay near by.

“It had been reported to this committee that, at a sub-committee meeting, where the orders for Indian meal were distributed, the tattered and hungry crowd had been somewhat disorderly—that is to say, they were starving, and had clamored impatiently for food instead of waiting with patience for their petty allocations. ‘My Lord’ rebuked their ragged representatives harshly and in a domineering tone; and, without asking leave of his associates on the committee, he told them that if such a scene should occur again their supply of food would be stopped. I was astonished that he should presume to talk in such tones before an American citizen—he, who ought, I thought, to have his hand on his mouth and his mouth in the dust, in presence of the damnatory facts, that he lived on an estate from which peasants, now exiles in America, had been evicted by hundreds, and that neither he nor his brother, a marquis, whom he represented, had given a shilling for the relief of the wretched tenants upon his wide domains, nor reduced his Shylock rental, although thousands of these tenants were, at that very hour, living on provisions bought by the generosity of the citizens of the United States and of other foreign lands.

“One of the ragged committee pressed the claims of his famishing constituency with an eloquence that was poor in words but rich in pathos. ‘My Lord’ said that he would try to do something for them; ‘but,’ he added, and again in a dictatorial tone, ‘That, although her Grace, the Duchess of Marlborough, might consent to relieve them, that they had no right to expect it; that the funds were hers, not theirs; that the noble lady was under no obligations to relieve them.’

“The poor man, hat in hand, was going away sorrowful. I sat, a heretic, beside a priest—a republican beside a Lord—and I thought, with no little inward indignation, that I was the only person within the room, and I a stranger, whose heart throbbed with pity for the stricken man. For my hands were gnawing with hunger, just famishing for a taste of his Lordship’s throat.

“But, as I looked around the room, I saw a sudden flash in

the priest's eye that told of a power before which the pride of ancestral rank is but as grass before a prairie fire.

“‘I beg your Lordship's pardon!’ said the priest, with a sublime haughtiness. ‘I do not agree with you. The money does not belong to her Grace. She holds the money in trust only. We have a right to it. It belongs to the poor!’

“The Lord was cowed; the peasant won.

“No man but a priest, at that table, would have dared to talk in that style to a Lord.

“More than eighteen centuries have passed since a Roman judge said to a missionary of the cross: ‘Almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian.’ I do not believe that there has lived a man since then who felt more profoundly than I did at that moment the spirit that prompted that immortal declaration. As long as that priest was within that room, I think I was a loyal son of the church.

“I started as if I had been in a dream. Was this the nineteenth century or the fifteenth? For, again, I saw the arm of the lordling raised to smite the poor men; again I saw rise between them the august form of the Mother Church; and again I saw the weapon of the oppressor broken into fragments against the bosses of her invincible shield. And, as I looked at these fragments, I saw among them the shattered relics of the pharisaical conceit that I had been the only sympathizer of the poor man. I did not pick them up. I shall have no use for them in this world again. I had thrown down an invisible gage of battle; the priest had taken it up, and I had been defeated. The Cross had conquered me. And henceforth, under what flag soever I may fight, whenever I see the white banner of the Irish priest pass by, I shall dip my own colors in salutation to it, in memory and in honor of his beneficent devotion to the famishing Irish peasant during the famine of 1880.

“You all know that statements and tabulated statistics have little influence on public opinion. So, to show to you how great the famine is, and to help you to gauge it, I shall ask you to go with me rapidly from province to province, and from county to county, to locate and distribute the destitution. I shall not try

to entertain you. I should despise any audience that expected to be entertained in listening to the story of the famine. I shall be satisfied if I succeed in stimulating you to continue to act the part of the Good Samaritan to this poor people, that lie wounded and bleeding, having fallen among thieves; while the part of the priest and the Levite in the Parable is played by the English government and the Irish landlords, from the miserly Queen on the throne down to the crafty Earl of Dunraven, who not only have passed by on the other side, but who have justified and eulogized, and who uphold the thieves. [Hisses.]

Mr. Redpath here stepped forward and asked:

“Who are you hissing? Are you hissing me?”

Voices—“No! No! The Queen! Not you! The Queen! The Queen!”

Mr. Redpath—Oh! Thank you! You do well to hiss her. She deserves to be hissed in America. Do you know that Queen Victoria, even after she knew, from the Duchess of Marlborough, that there was universal and terrible distress in the west of Ireland, contributed only one day's wages to relieve it. Why, a poor working girl of Boston, a seamstress, after she listened to my lecture, gave fifty dollars for the distress I had so inadequately described. She would not tell her name. She said, ‘God knows my name.’ That fifty dollars represented her savings for six months. Yet she gave it freely and without hope of the reward even of thanks or reputation in this world. In the roll of the Hereafter, when the list of the ‘Royal Personages’ of this earth are called, the name of that poor girl, I believe, will stand high above the name of the Queen of England.

“But I ought to say that I was not satisfied with the vast volume of documentary and vicarious evidence that I had accumulated. I personally visited several of the districts blighted by the famine, and saw with my own eyes the destitution of the peasantry, and with my own ears heard the sighs of their unhappy wives and children. They were the saddest days I ever passed on earth, for never before had I seen human misery so hopeless and undeserved and so profound. I went to Ireland

because a crowd of calamities had overtaken me that made my own life a burden too heavy to be borne. But in the ghastly cabins of the Irish peasantry, without fuel, without blankets and without food, among half-naked and blue-lipped children, shivering from cold and crying from hunger, among women who were weeping because their little ones were starving; among men of a race to whom a fight is better than a feast, but whose faces now bore the famine's fearful stamp of terror, in the west of Ireland, I soon forgot every trouble of my own life in the dread presence of the great tidal wave of sorrow that had overwhelmed an unhappy and unfortunate and innocent people.

"I must call witnesses less sensitive than I am to Irish sorrow to describe it to you. No, not to describe it, but to give you a faint and far-away outline of it. Or, rather, I shall call witnesses who feel, as keenly as I feel, the misery they depict, but who write of it, as they wept of it, alone and unseen.

"But before I summon them, let us make a rapid review of the immediate or physical causes of the famine.

"You will see when I come to distribute the destitution by counties that the further we go west the denser becomes the misery.

"The famine line follows neither the division lines of creeds nor the boundary lines of provinces. It runs from north to south, from a little east of the city of Cork in the south to Londonderry in the north, and it divides Ireland into two nearly equal parts. The nearer the coast the hungrier the people.

"The western half of Ireland, from Donegal to Cork, is mountainous and is beautiful. But its climate is inclement; it is scourged by the Atlantic storms; it is wet in summer and bleak in winter, and the larger part of the soil is either barren and spewy bogs, or stony and sterile hills.

"The best lands, in nearly every county, have been leased to Scotch and English graziers. For after the terrible famine of 1847, when the Irish people staggered and fainted with hunger and fever into their graves, by tens of thousands and by hundreds of thousands, when the poor tenants, too far gone to have the strength to shout for food, faintly whispered for the

dear Lord's sake for a little bread, the landlords of the west answered these piteous moans by sending processes of ejectment to turn them out into the roadside or the poor-house to die, and by hiring crow-bar brigades to pull down the roof that had sheltered the gasping people. As fast as the homeless peasants died or were driven into exile their little farms were rented out to British graziers. The people who could not escape were forced to take the wettest bogs and driest hill-slopes. These swamps and slopes were absolutely worthless. They could not receive enough to feed a snipe. By the patient toil of the people they were redeemed. Sea weed was brought on the backs of the farmers for miles to reclaim these lands.

"The landlord did not spend one shilling to help the tenant. He did not build the cabin; he did not fence the holding; he did not drain the bog. In the west of Ireland the landlord does nothing but take rent. I beg the landlord's pardon; I want to be perfectly just. The landlord does two things besides taking the rent. He makes the tenant pay the larger part of the taxes, and as fast as the farmer improves the land the landlord raises the rent. And whenever, from any cause, the tenant fails to pay the rent, the landlord turns him out and confiscates his improvements.

"The writers who combat Communism say that Communism means taking the property of other people without paying for it. From this point of view Ireland is a shocking example of the evils of Communism, for the Irish landlords of the west are Communists and the lineal descendants of a tribe of Communists.

"The landlords charge so high a rent for these lands that even in the best of seasons the tenants can save nothing. To hide their own exactions from the execration of the human race, the landlords and their parasites have added insult to injury by charging the woes of Ireland to the improvidence of the people. Stretched on the rack of the landlord's avarice, one bad season brings serious distress to the tenant; a second bad season takes away the helping hand of credit at the merchant's, and the third bad season beckons famine and fever to the cabin door.

“Now the summer of 1879 was the third successive bad season. When it opened it found the people deeply in debt. Credit was stopped. But for the confidence of the shopkeepers in the honesty of the peasant, the distress would have come a year ago. It was stayed by the kind heart of the humble merchant. Therefore the landlords have charged the distress to the system of credit.

“There was a heavy fall of rain all last summer. The turf was ruined. Two-thirds of the potato crop was lost, on an average, of the crop of all Ireland; but, in many large districts of the west, not a single sound potato was dug. One half of the turnip crop perished. The cereal crop suffered, although to not so great an extent. There was a rot in sheep, in some places, and in other places an epidemic among the pigs. The fisheries failed. The iron mines in the south were closed. Everything in Ireland seemed to have conspired to invite a famine.

“But the British and American farmers were also the innocent causes of intensifying Irish distress.

“In Donegal, Mayo, Galway and the Western Islands the small holders for generations have never been able to raise enough from their little farms to pay their big rents. They go over every spring by tens to thousands, to England and Scotland, and hire to the farmers for wages. They stay there till the crops are harvested. But the great American competition is lowering the prices of farm produce in Great Britain and the prices of farm stock; and, therefore, the English and Scotch farmers, for two or three years past, have not been able to pay the old wages to these Irish laborers. Last summer, instead of sending back wages to pay the rent, hosts of Irish farm hands had to send for money to get back again.

“These complex combinations of misfortune resulted in universal distress. Everywhere, in the strictly agricultural regions of the west, the farmers, and especially the small holders, suffered first, and then the distress spread out its ghoul-like wings till they overshadowed the shopkeepers, the artisans, the fishermen, the miners, and more than all, the laborers who had

no land but who had worked for the more comfortable class of farmers.

“These malignant influences blighted every county in the west of Ireland, and these mournful facts are true of almost every parish in all that region.

“Looking at the physical causes of the distress every honest and intelligent spectator will say that they are cowards and libelers who assert that the victims of the famine are in any way responsible for it.

“Looking at the exactions of the landlords, none but a blasphemer will pretend that the distress is an act of Providence.

“I shall not attempt to point out the locality and density of distress in the different districts of the counties of Ireland. I could talk for two hours on each province and never repeat a single figure or fact. I must content myself by summoning to my aid the stern and passionless eloquence of statistics, and by showing you the numbers of the distressed in each county enable you to judge, each of you for yourself, how widespread is the misery and how deep.

“Let us run rapidly over Ireland. We will begin with the least distressful province—the beautiful province of Leinster. Although Leinster contains one-fourth of the population of Ireland it does not contain more than one-thirtieth part of the present distress. Leinster is the garden of Ireland. There is no finer country in the temperate zone. There is no natural reason why poverty should ever throw its blighting shadows athwart the green and fertile fields of Leinster.

“There are resident landlords in the rural districts of Leinster; and wherever in Ireland the owners of the soil live on their own estates, the peasantry, as a rule, are more justly dealt with than when they are left to the tiger mercy of the agent of the absentee. But it is not the fertile soil only, nor the presence of resident proprietors only, nor the proximity of markets only—nor is it these three causes jointly—that accounts for the absence of such a long procession of distress as the other provinces present.

“In some of the fairest counties of Leinster, eviction has done

its perfect work. Instead of toiling peasants you find fat bullocks; instead of bright eyed girls you find bleating sheep. After the famine of 1847, the men were turned out and the beasts were turned in. The British government cheered this infamy for Irishmen are rebels—sometimes; but heifers are loyal—always. There is less distress in the rural districts of Leinster because there are fewer people there.

“In the twelve counties of Leinster, there are 38,000 persons in distress—in Dublin, 250; in Wexford, 870; in King’s county, 1,047; in Meath and Westmeath, 1,550 each; in Kildare, 1,567; in Kilkenny, 1,979; in Carlow, 2,000; in Louth, 3,050; in Queen’s county, 4,743; in Wicklow, 5,450; in Longford, 9,557. In Carlow, in Westmeath, in Louth, and in one district of the Queen’s county, the distress is expected to increase. In Kildare and in King’s county it is not expected to increase. Now you see by this list how moderate the returns are—how strictly they are confined to famine or exceptional distress, as distinguished from chronic or ordinary poverty; because there are thousands of very poor persons in the city of Dublin, and yet there are only 250 reported as in distress in the entire county. They belong to the rural district of Glencullen. Longford leads the list of distressed counties in Leinster. There are no resident proprietors in Longford. Up to the 1st of March not one of them had given a single shilling for the relief of the destitute on their estates. The same report comes from Kilkenny. The distress in Leinster is among the fishermen and small farmers and laborers. In Wicklow the fishers are kept poor because the government refuses to build harbors for their protection. In Westmeath ‘the laboring class and the small farmers are in great distress.’ That is the report of the local committee, and I can confirm it by my personal observation. The province of Leinster contains one-fourth of the population of Ireland, but it does not contain more than one-thirtieth part of the prevailing distress. So I shall take you to one parish only—to Stradbally in the Queen’s county. It is not included in the reports of the Mansion House Committee. [Mr. Redpath here read a letter from Dr. John Magee, P. P., Stradbally], and continued:

“Father Magee is not only a good Irish priest but a profound student of Irish history. Will you let me read to you what he wrote to me about the causes of Irish famines?

“‘If I were asked,’ he wrote, ‘why is it that Ireland is so poor, with abundance of foreign grain and food in our ports, whence this famine that alarms even the stranger, my answer would be’—

“Now listen:—

“‘Speak as we may of short and scanty harvests the real cause is landlords’ exactions, which drain the land of money, and which leave nothing to buy corn.

“‘Landlord absolutism and unrestrained rack rents have always been, and are at present, the bane and the curse of Ireland. If the harvest be good, landlordism luxuriates and abstracts all; if scanty or bad, landlordism seizes on the rood and cattle for the rack rent.’

“This is the learned priest’s accusation. Now let us listen to his speculations:—

“‘I have in my own parish,’ he says, ‘five or six landlords—not the worst type of their class—two of them of Cromwellian descent, a third an Elizabethan, all enjoying the confiscated estates of the O’Moores, O’Lalors and O’Kellys, whose sons are now the miserable tenants of these estates—tenants who are paying, or trying to pay, 40, 80, and in some cases 120 per cent. over the government valuation of the land. Tenants who are treated as slaves and starved as beggars. If these tenants dare gainsay the will of the lord’—

“Father Magee doesn’t mean the will of Heaven, but the caprice of the landlord—

“‘If they gainsay the will of the landlord, or even complain, they are victimized on the spot. This land system pays over from the sweat and toil of our inhabitants \$90,000,000 yearly to six or seven thousand landlords, who do nothing but hunt a fox or hunt the tenantry.’

“These good landlords, you know, have a ‘wicked-partner,’ and I want you to hear what Father Magee knows about the ‘wicked partner.’

“‘The (British) government that upholds this cruel system abstracts thirty-five millions more from the land in imperial taxation, whilst there is left for the food, clothing and subsistence of five millions of people not more than \$50,000,000, or about \$10 per head yearly.’

“Isn’t that just damnable?

“‘This is the system,’ says Father Magee, ‘that produces our periodical famines; which shames and degrades us before Europe; which presents us, periodically, before the world as mendicants and beggars before the nations. * * * And will anyone blame us, cost what it may, if we are resolved to get rid of a system that has so long enslaved our people?’”



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