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Engraved by H. T. Ryall

ARTHUR WELLESLEY, DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

FROM THE ORIGINAL BY

SIR THOMAS LAWRENCE, P.R.A.

IN THE POSSESSION OF MR. HAIDING.

THE FIGURE FROM A PICTURE BY W. J. MANSFIELD.



Engraved by W. Hall
Printed by W. Sturges, 10, St. Martin's Lane, London.

CHARLES, MARQUIS CORNWALLIS.

OB. 1805.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF COMLEY, IN
THE GUILDHALL, LONDON.



Engraved by J. Laghmont

WILLIAM PITT

OB 1806

FROM THE ORIGINAL BY HOPNER IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RT HON^{BLE} LORD CARRINGTON



Engraved by W. T. Fry

PHILIP YORKE, EARL OF HARDWICKE.

OB. 1764.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF RAMSAY, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^{BLE} THE EARL OF HARDWICKE.





Engraved by H. Robinson

JOHN RUSSELL, DUKE OF BEDFORD.

OR 1771

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF SIR JOSUAH REYNOLDS, IN THE COLLECTION OF
HIS GRACE, THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.



Engraved by H.J. Smith

JAMES BUTLER, SECOND DUKE OF ORMOND.

OB. 1715.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF KNELLER, IN THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE, THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE.

DA910
W & W
p. 6 - cop. 2

A.D. 1798.]

HISTORY OF IRELAND. [PROCEEDINGS OF THE REBELS.]

gested that the three gentlemen imprisoned at Wexford, Harvey, Fitzgerald, and Colclough, should be employed as ambassadors. The three prisoners agreed to the proposal, and undertook to go out to the insurgents, and endeavour to prevail on them to disperse. Accordingly it was arranged that six gentlemen should be taken as bail, two for each prisoner, and bound in five hundred pounds severally, and that the prisoners themselves should be bound in a thousand pounds each for their appearance at the next assizes; and it was made a further condition that, although they were all three bailed, two only should be at large at any one time, but that they might take their turns of going abroad interchangeably at their discretion, provided one should always remain in jail, as a guarantee for the return of the others. Harvey was fixed upon to remain, and Fitzgerald and Colclough were liberated and sent forwards to Enniscorthy, to expostulate with the insurgents and endeavour to persuade them to disperse.

This mission had a result quite contrary to that which was expected from it. After gaining possession of Enniscorthy on the 28th, the rebels had encamped that night on Vinegar-hill, a bold eminence overlooking that town. The country around lay entirely at their mercy, and during the night parties were sent out in different directions to burn and destroy the property of the protestants, and especially to bring in some of the gentry, whom they hoped to prevail upon to act as their leaders. Next morning the camp was divided into conflicting councils. Some proposed to attack Ross, others insisted upon marching against Newtown-Barry, and others again were for going to Gorey, as each different party was actuated by the desire to carry on the united operations in the parts nearest to their own homes. No one yet ventured to suggest marching against Wexford, for that was looked upon as an enterprise too formidable for their present circumstances. Another feeling was at the same time gaining ground among the assembled multitude; as they had all left their own homes exposed, when they collected so suddenly, they imagined that the protestants left behind would destroy them in revenge, and they became anxious in the first place to provide for their defence. This latter feeling had so far gained the upper hand, that the insurgent army was rapidly dispersing in the way to their own homes and the camp was almost

deserted, when some of them met Fitzgerald and Colclough at the village of St. John's, and, overjoyed to see them at liberty, they set up a loud and general shout, which was caught up by their companions, and communicated from one party to another, till it quickly reached Enniscorthy, and was carried to the summit of Vinegar-hill, from whence it was propagated in every direction. The innumerable parties of dispersed insurgents were immediately arrested in their progress, and, ignorant of the cause of this extraordinary exultation, they hurried back to the camp, which on the arrival of Fitzgerald and Colclough was as crowded as ever.

These two gentlemen proceeded to fulfil their mission, but their expostulations produced no effect, and they found that the only effect of their arrival was immediately to turn all thoughts upon Wexford, where it was determined to proceed without delay. Fitzgerald, willingly or by constraint, remained with the insurgents, and marched with them that evening to a new encampment at the Three Rocks, not more than two miles and-a-half from Wexford. Three Rocks is the termination of a long but not high ridge of hills, called the Mountain of Forth, separating the baronies of Bargy and Forth from the rest of the county. Colclough returned direct to Wexford, where he arrived early in the evening, and having waited in the Bull-ring till the officers and other gentlemen in the town had assembled, he gave them an account of his proceedings, and announced that it was the intention of the rebels to attack the town. He then called on Mr. Harvey at the jail, with whom he agreed to return next day and change places with him, after which he set off through the barony of Forth to his own dwelling at Ballyleigh, which was about ten miles distant from Wexford.

Everything seemed now to conspire against the devoted town. General Fawcett, having ordered his forces to follow, set out alone from Duncannon fort on the evening of the 29th, and stopped at Taghmon, to wait for his advanced guard. Meanwhile a party of seventy of the Meath militia, under captain Adams, and some artillerymen with two howitzers, arrived at Taghmon in the course of the night, and after a short halt, knowing nothing of the movements of the general, and supposing that the rest of the troops had marched forward, proceeded on their way to Wexford. They

were not aware of the advance of the insurgents, and expected no interruption. They had already ascended the road along the side of the mountain of Forth when they were perceived by the rebel outposts, whereupon the insurgents poured down upon them with such rapidity and numbers, that in a few minutes they were nearly all killed, except an ensign and sixteen privates who were taken prisoners. The magazine having blown up in the contest, the howitzers were of little service to the captors. When general Fawcett learned the fate of his advanced guard, he ordered the rest of his troops, who had now arrived, to fall back upon Duncannon fort, whilst he hurried back himself, leaving Wexford to its fate. Still, if they had been well directed, the troops in the town were sufficient to have defended it, and, expecting the arrival of general Fawcett, they had made every preparation for this purpose. At daybreak on the morning of the 30th of May, colonel Maxwell, who commanded the Donegal militia, leaving the five passes into the town guarded by the yeomen and North Cork militia, took post with his men on the Windmill-hill above the town, with the intention of marching against the enemy on the arrival of the troops under general Fawcett. Here two officers who had escaped from the slaughter of the general's advanced guard, lieutenant Fairclough of the Meath militia, and lieutenant Bireh of the artillery, were brought in to him by the patrol guards. Still expecting that general Fawcett and his army must be near at hand, colonel Maxwell advanced with what force he could collect to recapture the howitzers and co-operate with him in attacking them. When he had arrived within cannon-shot of the rebels, he found that the howitzers had been drawn to the top of the ridge, and that shells were thrown at his army with a precision which showed the presence of some skilful gunners. After some discharges of his six-pounder in return, observing his left flank exposed by the retreat of some of the Taghmon cavalry, and the rebels making a motion to surround him, and hearing nothing of general Fawcett, he retired in good order to Wexford, with the loss of a lieutenant-colonel killed and two privates wounded.

A hasty council of war was now called at Wexford. All hopes of assistance from the garrison of Duncannon fort were abandoned, and it was considered that the troops in Wexford were not sufficient to defend the town

against a force now estimated at fifteen thousand men, especially as they seemed to be furnished with some artillery. A number of disaffected yeomen had deserted to the rebels, and many concealed rebels were suspected to be awaiting within the town the opportunity to co-operate with their associates without. The general distrust and depression of spirits was completed by the insubordination of the North Cork militia. While the officers were still in deliberation, these troops, who had been stationed near the barrack, quitted their post and marched towards Duncannon, and their example was followed by captain Cornock and his yeomen infantry. This was about half-past ten o'clock in the forenoon. Colonel Maxwell now found himself obliged to evacuate Wexford; and two deputies, counsellor Richards, and his brother, an apothecary, were sent to notify the evacuation to the rebels, to prevent them from acting as if the town had been taken by storm. They took a note from the prisoner Bagenal Harvey, addressed to the leader of the rebels, in the following words—"I have been treated in prison with all possible humanity, and am now at liberty. I have procured the liberty of all the prisoners. If you pretend to Christian charity, do not commit massacre, or burn the property of the inhabitants, and spare your prisoners' lives."

It was now known through the town that it was deserted by the military, and the consternation of the protestant inhabitants was fearful. A few only had escaped with the troops; of the rest, as many as were able, hurried on board the ships in the harbour, to make their escape to Wales. Most of those who remained in the town prepared to throw open their doors and receive the rebels as friends and comrades. When the two negotiators arrived at the camp on the Three Rocks, they found some difficulty in arranging terms with the insurgents, and while the apothecary was detained as a hostage, counsellor Richards and Mr. Fitzgerald were sent back to the town to settle the terms of the capitulation. The wooden bridge over the Slaney had been burnt by the insurgents in the morning, but it was now repaired as hastily as possible, and as soon as it was ready an immense multitude, shouting and screaming in a frantic manner, rushed into the town. They first proceeded to the jail and liberated all the prisoners, and they insisted on Bagenal Harvey becoming their commander, an office which he

afterwards professed to have accepted in the hope of being able to restrain them from acts of violence. All the houses in the town that had not been abandoned by their inhabitants were decorated with green, and the doors were universally thrown open, and spirits and drink of every kind offered in the most liberal manner, which were not, however, accepted until the persons offering had drunk themselves, to prove that they were not poisoned. The houses which had no green signal were plundered by the insurgents, who were irritated against the inhabitants, because they had not retained the ammunition and arms of the military, articles of which they were much in want.

Amid this scene of confusion the fugitives on board the ships in the harbour were brought back into the town. Two only had set sail and carried the passengers to Wales, the others were commanded and worked by Roman catholics, who sympathised with the rebels, and they no sooner saw the town in their possession than they turned back towards the shore. Boats were sent to bring away the men, who were abused and thrown into prison, and the vessels themselves with the women and children immediately followed them to the quay. One of these fugitives, named Charles Jackson, who wrote a narrative of the proceedings in Wexford during the rebellion, which went through several editions, has left us a description of this scene. "On Thursday, 23rd of May," he says, "three days before the breaking out of the rebellion, my wife was brought to bed, and the Monday following, the day of the battle of Enniscorthy, I thought myself fortunate in being able to remove her with her infant, and place them on board one of the vessels, in which we had no doubt of being safely carried to Wales. In this vessel we continued, on the open deck, with only a sail to cover us, till Wednesday morning, the 30th of May, when, about ten o'clock, we saw the toll-house and part of the bridge of Wexford on fire. The town was immediately in an uproar, and while the cavalry were endeavouring to cut away a part of the bridge, to prevent the flames from communicating to the town, the quays and every avenue leading to the waterside were crowded with women and children, begging, in the most pitiable manner, to be admitted on board the vessels. But that was impossible, they were already filled in every part. One young lady, in particular, threw herself into the sea, to get

on board a small boat that was near the quay, and would have been drowned had not some men in a boat taken her up; and they were immediately in great danger of losing their lives, owing to the numbers who pressed forward to reach the boat. On seeing the flames the vessels all weighed and stood towards the mouth of the harbour, where they cast anchor. About one o'clock a white flag was seen flying in Wexford (a signal that the rebels were in possession of the town), and the captain of our vessel instantly answered it by another. His example was followed by the rest, except two which sailed for Wales. They then again weighed anchor, and stood for the town. We now concluded the die was cast, and that we were to be given up to our enemies. Every entreaty I could urge was strenuously enforced to induce the captain to carry us to Wales, but without effect. With a mind almost distracted I went into the hold, where my wife and her infant were now lodged, to take what I supposed would be a last farewell, but the horror expressed in her emaciated countenance deterred me from communicating all my apprehensions. At length we arrived at the quay, and with my charge I was landed on the beach. Which way to turn me I knew not, and every moment expecting that a ball or pike would put an end to my miseries. Towards my own house I was afraid to move. While I was in this anxious state of suspense one of their captains, of the name of Furlong, came up to me, and asked me if I belonged to the town, and whether I had any arms. I told him that at the house where I had lived I had a musket. He bid me follow him and give it up. I requested him to protect us through the town, as we had half a mile to go to my house, which he promised. We passed through crowds of the rebels, who were in the most disorderly state, without the least appearance of discipline. They had no kind of uniform, but were most of them in the dress of labourers, white bands round their hats and green cockades being the only marks by which they were distinguished. They made a most fantastic appearance, many having decorated themselves with parts of the apparel of ladies, found in houses which they had plundered. Some wore ladies' hats and feathers, others caps, bonnets, and tippets. From the military which were routed they had also collected some clothing, which added to the motley show. Their arms con-

sisted chiefly of pikes, of an enormous length, the handles of many of them being sixteen or eighteen feet long. Some carried rusty muskets. They were accompanied by great numbers of women, shouting and huzzing for the croppies, and crying, 'Who now dare say, *Croppies lie down?*' alluding to a popular song. It was impossible for a mob to be more wild and frantic. Many of them seemed to be in a state of intoxication. The houses first attacked were the custom-house, and those of Mr. Lee, the collector, captain Boyd's, and the Rev. Mr. Millar's. In a short time nothing remained but bare walls. The catholic inhabitants were unmolested, and numbers of them assisted the rebels, and even seized and delivered up their protestant neighbours. Following close the horse of our conductor, I passed safely with my wife and child through this terrible scene to my house. I gave him my musket, and he rode off. My wife laid down on a bed, and I crept under it, thinking to hide myself in case I should be sought for. I had not been in this situation more than ten minutes when I heard my name called, and a sound of feet on the stairs. Presently the door opened, and one Patrick Murphy, with six others, all armed, came

into the room. This Murphy was a near neighbour of mine, and had always professed a great regard for me. My wife, on seeing him, threw herself off the bed, with the child in her arms, and fell on her knees, entreating them to spare me. One of them swore if she did not say where I was he would blow her brains out. On hearing this, from fear of her being injured, I showed myself, and was immediately seized and dragged down stairs. My wife begged to be allowed to go along with me, but they told her if she attempted to follow they would run her through with their pikes. I left my house suffering the pangs of a man going to execution, and was conducted to the barracks, near a mile off, through streets filled with creatures who appeared to me more like devils than men."

Few persons, however, were assassinated on the first occupation of the town, and the night passed in tolerable quiet, but next morning the mob recommenced plundering, and became more violent, and to save the town from destruction their leaders found it necessary to get the chief mass of the insurgents out of it, and to take them on new expeditions, in order to keep them in a constant state of activity.

CHAPTER VI.

PROGRESS OF THE REBELLION IN THE NORTH OF WEXFORD; DEFEAT AND DEATH OF COLONEL WALPOLE



URING the period that the southern parts of the county of Wexford were in this state of commotion, the north, about Gorey, was also similarly agitated; and we have a tolerably detailed account of the progress of the rebellion there by an eye-witness, the rev. James Gordon. The retreat of the yeomen cavalry from Oulart early on the morning of the 27th of May, to Gorey, was followed by a general flight of the protestants of the open country, who hastened from their homes to seek protection in the town,

and carried what they could of their effects with them. As Gorey, consisting only of one street, with a number of lanes, was garrisoned by no more than thirty of the North Cork militia, under lieutenant Swayne, and a few yeomen, assisted by an undisciplined crowd, some of whom were armed only with pikes, it was at first resolved to abandon the town, and retreat to Arklow, about ten miles to the north, in the county of Wicklow; but on further consideration the small garrison determined to defend the town, and carts and waggons were drawn by way of barricades across the avenues and the street; the undisciplined men were placed at the windows of the

houses to fire on the approaching enemy, and the disciplined were drawn up in the centre of the town. In the evening a reinforcement of the Antrim militia arrived, under the command of lieutenant Elliot, an experienced and excellent officer; but as accounts of devastations and murders received in the course of the day, seemed to indicate the approach of an army of rebels, the apprehension of whom was rendered far more terrible by the news of the North Cork militia slaughtered at Oulart, orders were issued to abandon the town and retire to Arklow at five o'clock on the following morning, the 28th of May.

"As the order to retreat," says Mr. Gordon, "was very sudden, on account of the imagined rapid approach of a resistless and ferocious enemy, a melancholy scene of trepidation, confusion, and flight was the consequence; the affrighted crowd of people running in all directions for their horses, harnessing their cars, and placing their families on them with precipitation, and escaping as speedily as possible from the town. The road was soon filled to a great extent with a train of cars loaded with women and children accompanied by a multitude on foot, many of whom were women with infants on their backs. The weather being hot and dry, the cloud of dust raised by the fugitive multitude, of whom I with my family was a part, rendered respiration difficult. The reception which we found at Arklow was not well suited to our calamitous condition. Almost fainting with hunger, thirst, fatigue, and want of sleep, we were denied admittance into the town, by orders of the commanding officer of the garrison, captain Rowan, of the Antrim regiment; and great part of the poorer refugees retiring, took refuge that day and night under the neighbouring hedges; but the better sort, after a little delay, were admitted on condition of quitting the town in half-an-hour. The loyalists, on permission to enter Arklow, were obliged to deliver their arms at the gate of the barrack to the guard, who promised to restore them; but, instead of this they were afterwards formed into a pile in the yard of the barrack and burned. A man named Taylor, clerk of Camolin church, who made some scruple to surrender his arms, was shot by the guard. After our admission, our situation was not so comfortable as we might have expected, for no refreshment could be procured by money for men or horses, and the hearts of the

inhabitants in general seemed quite hardened against us. But, for my own part, I found very humane treatment. After remaining some time in the street, my family were courteously invited by a lady, to whom we were totally unknown, a Mrs. Hunte, into her house, where we were kindly refreshed with food and drink, and a gentleman, Mr. Joseph Alford, to whom we were equally unknown, coming accidentally where we were, insisted on our going to his house, three miles from Arklow, where we found a number of refugees, all of whom were treated with the most humane attention.

"Gorey, meantime, was in a singular predicament, abandoned by the loyalists, while the rest of the inhabitants in fear and dubious anxiety remained closely shut within their houses, insomuch that all was in silence and solitude, except that an unprincipled female, frantic with joy at the flight of her imagined enemies, capered in an extraordinary manner in the street; and that a pack of hounds belonging to one of the fugitive gentry, expressed their feelings on the occasion by a hideous and mournful yell; and that six men who had been that morning, though unarmed, taken prisoners, shot through the body and left for dead in the street, were writhing with pain; one of whom in particular, was lying against a wall, and, though unable to speak, threatened with his fist a protestant who had run back into the town for something which he had forgotten. The yeomen returned in a few hours to Gorey, but immediately retreated again to Arklow; and one of them, in riding through the former, met with a dangerous accident; a quantity of gunpowder had been spilled on the pavement by the militia in their hasty retreat, which, by a spark struck by one of the horses' shoes, blew up, and singed both horse and man in a frightful manner, without, however, any fatal effects. As the rebels had bent their march toward the southern parts, Gorey remained unmolested, though destitute of defence. Filled as it was with a variety of goods, great part of which had been carried thither for safety from the neighbouring parts, it presented a tempting object of depredation; but the pilfering of the lower class of the townspeople was prevented by the better sort of Romanist inhabitants, who formed themselves into guards to protect the houses of their protestant neighbours; and when a multitude of women had assembled at some distance to come and plunder the town, they

dispersed in a fright on the receipt of false news that the Ancient British regiment of cavalry was approaching. At length John Hunter Gowan, esq., a magistrate, who had in a most meritorious and successful manner exerted himself many years in the apprehending and prosecuting of robbers, and had been partly rewarded for his services by a pension from government of one hundred pounds a-year, collected a body of men to garrison the town. On the 30th and 31st of May the greater part of the fugitives returned from Arklow to their homes, and the militia and yeomanry who had abandoned Gorey on the 28th, resumed their station in it."

The insurgents had now possession of all the southern parts of the county of Wexford, except Ross and Duncannon, and they began to turn their attention toward the north. On the morning of the 1st of June, the beautiful little town of Bunclody, otherwise termed Newtown-Barry, ten miles to the north-west of Enniscorthy, was attacked by a great body of rebels, detached from their post at Vinegar-hill. The garrison of this town consisted of about five hundred men, including yeomen and volunteers, of whom about three hundred were militia, under colonel Lestrangle, of the King's county regiment. The rebel force, amounting perhaps to five thousand, conducted by several chiefs, among whom was father Kern, a man of extraordinary stature, strength, and ferocity, advanced to the attack on both sides of the river Slaney, on the western bank of which the town is built, and commenced a fire from a brass six-pounder, a howitzer, and some swivel guns. The colonel, perhaps discouraged by the inferiority in numbers, ordered the troops to abandon the town, contrary to the earnest remonstrances of the yeoman officers and volunteers; but after a retreat of about a mile, he yielded to the solicitations of lieutenant-colonel Westenra, and suffered the troops to be led back to the succour of a few determined loyalists, who had remained in the town, and continued to fire on the enemy from some houses. This accidental manœuvre had all the advantages of a preconcerted stratagem. The rebels, who had rushed into the street in a confused multitude, intent on plunder and devastation, and totally unapprehensive of the return of the troops, were unprepared to withstand the onset of the soldiery, preceded by the fire of two pieces of cannon. The

loss of the rebels was estimated at nearly two hundred men, while the king's troops had only two killed. This victory was of much importance, for the capture of Newtown-Barry would have opened a way for the rebels of Wexford into the county of Carlow, and the rising of the inhabitants of that county, to co-operate with those of Wicklow and Kildare, already in arms, must have given great embarrassment to the government. When information was first received at Newtown-Barry of the intended attack, an express had been sent to Clonnegall, two miles and-a-half distant, ordering the troops posted there to march immediately to the former place. "The commander of these troops," Gordon tells us, "lieutenant Young, of the Donegal militia, instead of marching immediately, spent two hours in the hanging of four prisoners, in spite of the most earnest remonstrances of the gentlemen of the town, and an officer of the North Cork, who considered these men as not deserving death, some at least of them having actually declined to join the rebels when it was fully in their power. By this delay, and an unaccountably circuitous march, three miles longer than the direct road, the troops arrived not at Bunclody till after the action was entirely over, yet the North Cork officer pursued with such alacrity, that with the assistance of some yeoman cavalry, he took two car loads of ammunition from the rebels. Mr. Young, on his arrival in Clonnegall, had commanded the inhabitants to furnish every one of his soldiers with a feather bed, and had, without the least necessity, turned Mr. Derinzey, a brave and loyal gentleman, and his children, out of their beds; and when any remonstrance was made to him by another officer for the incessant depredation of his men, his answer was, 'I am the commanding officer, and damn the crop-pies.' After his march to Newtown-Barry, Mr. Young returned not again to Clonnegall, and that town remained under the command of the North Cork officer above-mentioned, lieutenant Holmes Justice, who maintained a laudable discipline, and held his very dangerous post with such intrepidity, that though it lies in the neighbourhood of Carnew, it never fell into the hands of the rebels."

Gordon, who was by no means a partisan of the Irish government of that time, proceeds to describe the condition of the insurgents in this part of the country: "Hills of a commanding prospect," he says, "were always chosen by the rebels for their stations

or posts. These posts they termed camps, though they were destitute of tents, except a few for their chiefs, and the people remained in the open air in vast multitudes, men and women promiscuously, some lying covered with blankets at night, and some without other covering than the clothes which they wore in the day. This mode of warfare was favoured by an uninterrupted continuance of dry and warm weather to such a length of time as is very unusual in Ireland in that season, or any season of the year. This was regarded by the rebels as a particular interposition of providence in their favour; and some among them are said to have declared in a prophetic tone, that not a drop of rain was to fall until they should be masters of all Ireland. On the other hand the same was considered by the fugitive loyalists as a merciful favour of heaven, since bad weather must have miserably augmented their distress, and have caused many to perish. In these encampments or stations, among such crowds of riotous, undisciplined men, under no regular authority, the greatest disorder must be supposed to have prevailed. Often when a rebel was in a sound sleep in the night he was robbed by some associate of his gun, or some other article at that time valuable. To sleep flat on the belly, with the hat and shoes tied under the breast, for the prevention of stealth, was a custom with many. They were in nothing more irregular than in the cooking of provisions, many of them cutting pieces at random out of cattle scarcely dead, without waiting to flay them, and roasting those pieces on the points of their pikes, together with the parts of the hide which belonged to them. The heads of cattle were seldom eaten, but generally left to rot on the surface of the ground; and so were often large parts of the carcases after many pieces had been cut off from them, which practice might in a short time have caused a pestilence. The station which the rebels chose when they bent their force toward Gorey was the hill of Corrigrua, seven miles towards the south-west from that town. A body of above a thousand, some say four thousand, detached from this post, took possession of the little village of Ballycannoo, four miles from Gorey, to the south, on the evening of the 1st of June, and were advancing to fix their station on the hill of Ballymanaan, midway between the above-named village and town, when they were met near the village by the gar-

rison of Gorey, who had marched to stop their progress. Having returned home the preceding day with my family from Arklow, I happened to be at that time on the road near Gorey, when a man on the top of a house cried out to me that all the country to the south was in a blaze, for straggling parties of the rebels attending the motions of the main body had, as usual, set fire to many houses. I had hardly a view of the conflagration when I heard a discharge of musketry, which continued some time without intermission. Since I have learned the particulars of this engagement I consider it, though small and unnoticed, as one of the most brilliant of the croppy war. The little army which had marched from Gorey on this occasion consisted of twenty of the Antrim militia, under lieutenant Elliot, who directed the movements of the whole; twenty of the North Cork, about fifty yeomen infantry, including supplementary men, and three troops of yeomen-cavalry; the last of whom, I mean all the cavalry, were useless in battle. As the rebels had not procured accurate intelligence, and as troops from Dublin had been some days expected, the cloud of dust excited by the little army of Gorey caused them to imagine that a formidable force was coming against them. Under this persuasion they disposed not themselves to the best advantage, for they might easily have surrounded and destroyed the little band opposed to them. They attempted it however in a disorderly manner, but so regular and steady a fire was maintained by the militia, particularly the Antrim, that the half-disciplined supplementals of the yeomen, encouraged thereby, behaved with equal steadiness, and such was the effect that the rebels were totally routed, and fled in the utmost confusion in all directions. The yeomen cavalry, notwithstanding repeated orders from lieutenant Elliot, delayed too long, through mistake of one of their officers, to pursue the runaways, otherwise a great slaughter might have been made. The victorious band advancing, fired some houses in Ballycannoo, and spread such a terror, that no attempt was made against them from the post of Corrigrua, so that they returned safely to Gorey, with above a hundred captive horses, and other spoil. In this engagement, and all others at the beginning of the rebellion, the rebels elevated their guns too much for execution, so that only three loy-

alists were wounded, none killed. The number of slain on the opposite side was, probably about sixty, perhaps near a hundred. Many fine horses, which the routed party was obliged to leave behind, were by them killed or maimed, that they might be rendered useless. The hardiness and agility of the labouring classes of the Irish were on this and other occasions in the course of the rebellion very remarkable. Their swiftness of foot, and activity in passing over brooks and ditches, were such that they could not always in crossing the fields be overtaken by horsemen; and with so much strength of constitution were they found to be endowed, that to kill them was difficult, many, after a multitude of stabs, not expiring until their necks were cut across. In fact, the number of persons who in the various battles, massacres, and skirmishes of this war were shot through the body, and recovered of their wounds, has greatly surprised me. A small occurrence after the battle, of which a son of mine was a witness, may help to illustrate the state of the country at that time. Two yeomen coming to a brake, or clump of bushes, and observing a small motion, as if some persons were hiding there, one of them fired into it, and the shot was answered by a most piteous and loud screech of a child. The other yeoman was then urged by his companion to fire, but he being a gentleman and less ferocious, instead of firing commanded the concealed persons to appear, when a poor woman and eight children, almost naked, one of whom was severely wounded, came trembling from the brake, where they had secreted themselves for safety."

The rebels were disappointed by their defeat at Ballycannoo of taking post on Ballymanahan-hill on the 1st of June, and of advancing thence to Gorey on the following day. Their army on Carrigrua-hill remained in that station till the 4th. Meantime the army, under major-general Loftus, arrived in Gorey, consisting of fifteen hundred troops, with five pieces of artillery, and every loyal breast was filled with confidence. The plan now adopted was to march the army in two divisions by two different roads to the post of Carrigrua, and to combine in attacking the rebel post, in which they expected the co-operation of some other troops. But while this arrangement was made on the 4th of June by the army, the rebels were preparing to quit Carrigrua and to march to Gorey, for, by a

letter from Gorey to a priest named Philip Roche, then in bed in the house of Richard Donovan, Esq., of Ballymore, at the foot of the above-mentioned hill, information was received by the rebel chiefs, about one o'clock in the morning, of the intended motions of the army. The publicity of the adopted plan of operations, by which the disaffected in the town were enabled to give this information to the enemy, was probably occasioned by the imprudence of colonel Walpole, who claimed an independent and discretionary command. Intelligence of the plan of the rebels' march was carried to the army by a respectable farmer named Thomas Dowling, who made application successively to several officers, none of whom paid any attention to his information, and some threatened him with imprisonment and chastisement for troubling them. The army, according to the plan arranged, began its march in two divisions about the same time that the rebels began theirs in one body. The latter were met nearly midway between Gorey and Carrigrua by the division under colonel Walpole, who appears to have shewn great want of military conduct, though no deficiency of courage, throughout the whole affair. As he employed no scouts nor flanking parties, he knew nothing of the approach of the enemy until he actually saw them at the distance of a few yards, advancing on him in a place called Tubberneering. The action commenced in a confused manner, the rebels pouring a tremendous fire from the fields on both sides of the road, and colonel Walpole received a bullet through the head in a few minutes after it began. His men, surprised at the suddenness of the attack, and dispirited by the loss of their leader, fled in the utmost disorder, leaving their cannon, consisting of two six-pounders and a smaller piece, in the hands of the enemy. The soldiers were pursued as far as Gorey, in their flight through which they were galled by a fire of guns from some of the houses where some rebels had taken their station. The unfortunate loyalists of Gorey who, a few minutes before had thought themselves perfectly secure, fled, as many as could escape, to Arklow, with Walpole's routed division, leaving all their effects behind.

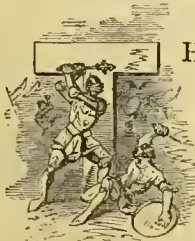
While Walpole was engaged with the enemy general Loftus, marching by a different road, that of Ballycannoo, and hearing the noise of battle, detached seventy men, the grenadier company of the Antrim regiment

of militia, across the fields to its assistance; but this body was intercepted by the rebels who were in pursuit of the routed army, and they were almost all killed or taken; and, as near forty men of Walpole's division were slain, the loss sustained by the king's troops in this disastrous march was considerable. Meanwhile the general, ignorant of the colonel's fate, and unable to bring his artillery across the fields, continued his march along the highway, and coming round by a long circuit to the field of battle, was then made acquainted with all that had taken place. He followed the march of the rebels towards Gorey, and found them posted on Gorcy-hill, a commanding eminence, at the foot of which the town is built. Convinced that he

could neither attack them in their post with any prospect of success, nor pass by them into the town without great hazard, he retreated to Carnew, and in his retreat was saluted with a fire of the artillery of the rebels from the top of the hill, whither they had, by the strength of men, drawn the artillery taken from Walpole's division, besides some pieces brought from Wexford. Thinking Carnew an unsafe post, though the gentlemen of that neighbourhood thought otherwise, since he was then at the head of twelve hundred effective men, general Loftus abandoned that part of the country to the rebels, and retreated nine miles farther, to the town of Tullow, in the county of Carlow.

CHAPTER VII.

THE ATTACK ON ROSS; MASSACRE OF SCULLABOGUE; PHILIP ROCHE ELECTED COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE REBELS.



HE rebels being in the occupation of Wexford, as we have already stated, they chose for their commander-in-chief Beauchamp Bagenal Harvey, whom they had liberated from the king's prison.

Harvey was a gentleman of fortune and education, who was known to entertain extremely liberal opinions in politics, and who was connected by blood or by friendship with several of the more respectable of the rebel leaders. These circumstances had excited the suspicions of the government, and his arrest appears to have been considered rather as a necessary measure of prevention, than as being occasioned by any overt acts. It is difficult to form a judgment of the motives which led him too readily to take the chief command of the rebel forces, a post for which he was ill calculated, possessing neither the military talents necessary for directing their operations, nor strength of character sufficient to control the unruly multitude of which he was to be nominally the sole commander. He had no sooner assumed the command, than he felt the desperate character of his enterprise; his au-

thority was utterly disregarded, when he attempted to exercise it in preventing outrage and disorder; and he did not hesitate in declaring that the town of Wexford would be entirely destroyed, unless he could find some enterprise to remove the rebel army to a distance. He accordingly divided the armed insurgents now assembled at Wexford into two divisions, one of which marched northward to take part in the operations against Gorey, while the other, which was by much the more formidable of the two, commanded by Harvey himself, marched to attack the town of New Ross.

The position of Ross was one of great importance, because, standing on the river formed by the united streams of the Nore and the Barrow, it forms the communication between the county of Wexford and those of Waterford and Kilkenny, and if it had fallen into the hands of the rebels there can be little doubt the insurrection would have spread itself immediately over the two latter counties. If the rebels had marched against Ross the day after the capture of Enniscorthy, as it had been vehemently urged by one of their chiefs named Hay, there can be little doubt they would have gained possession of the town without opposition; but

this project was then laid aside in order to proceed against Wexford. After the capture of the latter town, the attack upon Ross was again resolved upon, and the main body of troops, under Bagenal Harvey, took post on Carrickbyrne mountain, within six miles of Ross, where it was reviewed and organized, and where Harvey's authority was formally recognised.* On the 4th of June the rebel force advanced to Corbet hill, within a mile of Ross, with the intention of attacking the town early on the following morning.

During the three days, while the rebel forces remained encamped on the mountain of Carrickbyrne, the few loyal troops which were within call, had been marched into Ross. They consisted of the Donegal, Clare, and Meath regiments of militia, with detachments of the English artillery, the fifth dragoons, and the Mid-Lothian fencibles; and they were opportunely reinforced on the 4th of June by the arrival of a party of the county of Dublin militia. These formed together a garrison of about twelve hundred effective men, with a hundred and fifty yeomen, the whole being placed under the command of major-general Johnson. The insurgents are described as marching from Carrickbyrne to Corbet hill in tolerable order, arranged in parishes and baronies, but on the road they set up dreadful yells, like those of an army of savages. In their way they stopped at a chapel, where mass was said at the head of each column, by priests, who sprinkled the insurgents with holy water. Their approach was soon made known by the arrival of a party of the king's soldiers who had been stationed as an outpost at Lacken hill, and who had of course been obliged to retreat before them. The garrison was immediately placed under arms, and continued so all

night. The main force of infantry and artillery were placed in a line outside the walls on the east and south side of the town, while the cavalry was stationed on the quay, and the yeoman infantry occupied the bridge. Early in the morning of the 5th, a rebel, who approached the town waving a white handkerchief in his hand, was shot from one of the outposts, and he proved to be a messenger from the rebel commander, bearing the following summons, addressed to major-general Johnson:—

"Sir,—As a friend to humanity, I request you will surrender the town of Ross to the Wexford forces, now assembled against that town; your resistance will but provoke rapine and plunder, to the ruin of the most innocent. Flushed with victory, the Wexford forces, now innumerable and irresistible, will not be controlled, if they meet with resistance. To prevent, therefore, the total ruin of all property in the town, I urge you to a speedy surrender, which you will be forced to in a few hours, with loss and bloodshed, as you are surrounded on all sides. Your answer is required in four hours. Mr. Furlong carries this letter, and will bring the answer.

"I am, sir,

"B. B. HARVEY,

"General commanding, &c.

"Camp at Corbet hill, half-past three o'clock, morning, June 5, 1798."

Enraged at the treatment of their messenger, the insurgents now hurried forwards to the attack. From their position on Corbet-hill, the ground forms a gradual descent to the town, and about five o'clock on the morning of the fifth of June it was seen covered by the approaching multitude, the movement of which has been compared by a contemporary writer to the progress of an immense body of destructive lava in its way down the declivity of a volcanic mountain. Their numbers were computed by some at not less than thirty thousand, and they marched in columns, with intermediate lines, with four cannons, besides swivel guns. Priests in their vestments, with crucifixes in their hands, were seen moving through their ranks, and animating them by their exhortations. Their approach was announced by the same terrific yells which had distinguished their march from Carrickbyrne.

Harvey's plan was to attack three different parts of the town at once, and he was arranging his forces for the assault, when

* The following is the original minute of the appointment of Bagenal Harvey, as given in Musgrave:—"At a meeting of the commanders of the united army held at Carrickbyrne camp, on the first of June, 1798, it was unanimously agreed, that Beauchamp Bagenal Harvey should be appointed and elected commander-in-chief of the united army of the county of Wexford, from and after the first day of June, 1798.

"Signed by order of the different commanding officers of the camp.

"NICHOLAS GRAY, *Secretary.*

"It was likewise agreed, that Edward Roche should, from and after the first day of June instant, be elected, and is hereby elected a general officer of the united army of Wexford.

"Signed, by the above authority.—N. GRAY."

finding them galled by the fire of the outposts of the garrison, he ordered a young man named Kelly to place himself at the head of five hundred chosen men and dislodge the troops from whom this annoyance came, and who were posted in advance of what was called the Three-bullet-gate. Kelly proceeded to execute his commission, but he was followed confusedly by a much greater number than had been ordered for this duty, and instead of returning as soon as they had accomplished it, they advanced against the town, and were soon followed by an immense mass of combatants, who paid no farther attention to the orders of their general, or to the original plan of attack. The neighbourhood of Three-bullet-gate was for a short time the scene of very severe fighting, and a cornet with two or three non-commissioned officers, and a number of the privates of the garrison, fell in defending their post, but the irresistible force of the onset at last bore everything before it; the cavalry were driven back on the infantry, and both together fled over the bridge to the Kilkenny side of the river. The panic was at this moment so great, that some officers fled to Waterford, a distance of twelve miles, and spread there the alarming intelligence that the town of Ross was taken.

The rebels who had entered by the Three-bullet-gate, instead of following the flying soldiers to the bridge, rushed into the town, where general Johnson had posted some bodies of troops with cannons at the ends of the cross streets. By these the advance of the assailants was checked with great slaughter, but the courage of the insurgents was so desperate, that as whole ranks were mowed down, others from behind rushed forwards to take their place and to share their fate. The reckless manner in which they rushed on destruction, gave ground for the belief that they were led to the attack under the influence of whiskey. In the midst of the combat, while his comrades seemed discouraged at the slaughter to which they were exposed, one rebel was seen to advance before them, and, seizing a gun, and thrusting his hat and wig into it, he shouted out, "Come on, boys, her mouth is stopped!" The gunner at the same instant laid his match to the gun, and the unfortunate assailant was blown to atoms.

While thus the troops of the Dublin and Donegal militia, by maintaining their posts at the market-house and a station called

Fairgate, prevented the rebels from penetrating into the centre of the town, general Johnson was exerting himself to rally the discomfited soldiers who had retreated over the bridge, in which he was materially assisted by an inhabitant of Ross named M'Cormick. This man was an extraordinary character; remarkable for his great stature, he was seen marching about in the thick of the combat, with a great brazen helmet on his head. Having at length succeeded in restoring courage to the soldiers who had fled, general Johnson led them back to their old post at the Three-bullet-gate, and drove the rebels from that part of the town, a great part of which was now in flames, fired, as Enniscorthy had been, by the assailants, in conjunction with the disaffected inhabitants. The rebels, thus repulsed, were in their turn rallied by their chiefs, and returning with fury to the assault, regained some ground; but they were again dislodged, were then a third time rallied, and were finally repulsed, after an engagement of above ten hours. They appear to have calculated on disaffection in the garrison itself, especially from the Clare regiment, on which all the arts of seduction had been practised, and when opposed to them during the action, the insurgents were frequently heard to shout out, "Clare regiment, don't fire on your religion." Their artillery was, as might be expected, ill-served, as their gunners were chiefly captured from the king's troops, and served them only by compulsion. The insurgents had brought one of the field-pieces taken at the mountain of Forth into South-street, and they had tied one of the artillery-men captured at the same time to the gun for the purpose of serving it. A man stood over him and forced him to discharge it, once with grape, and twice with round-shot, at the main guard, but the gunner elevated it each time in such a manner as to do no execution. As the last discharge damaged a house near which the main guard was stationed, the poor gunner attempted to conciliate the man under whose orders he was acting, by boasting of his success, upon which the latter coolly drew out a pistol and shot him through the head, observing deliberately, "That is a much better shot."

During a great part of the day, the combat was carried on in different parts of the town with separate parties who had entered the town independently of the main body, and who were opposed in some instances by

small parties of soldiers, and in others by the protestant inhabitants. A numerous body, conjectured to be not less than five hundred, went down a great part of Mary-street, which is on a declivity, to attack the main guard, which was defended by a sergeant of the Donegal militia with only sixteen men, and two ship guns badly mounted. This brave officer refused to quit his post, and the rebels lost a great number of men in attempting to force him from it. The military on this occasion were materially assisted by a family of the name of Dowseley, whose house stood not far from the guard-house in Mary-street, and opposite a cross lane in which the assailants attempted continually to assemble in force, sheltered from the sergeant's guns. William Dowseley and his brother Samuel, both very old, with the sons of the former, and three other men, all armed with muskets, took their post in this house, and were materially assisted by an old soldier they had with them, who charged their guns for them with great rapidity, putting in each cartridge one large and four small balls. As the insurgents were secure in the lane from the guns of the main guard, to which they were very near, they hoped by collecting there in a large force and suddenly rushing out, to make themselves masters of the cannon; but, as they arrived in the lane, Dowseley's party plied them so well with constant volleys, every shot taking effect from the shortness of the distance, that they dispersed them as fast as they assembled, and they killed no less than sixty in one spot. In this manner almost every part of the town was clogged with the corpses of the assailants. The number of the dead was very great in the parts of the town where the grand attack was made, for when general Johnson brought back the troops to the Three-bullet-gate, the retreat of a part of the rebels who had forced their way into the town was in a great degree cut off, and they received no quarter from the enraged soldiery, who now attacked them on every side. In one or two instances, where parties of rebels had taken refuge in a house, the military set fire to it, and they perished in the flames.

The attack upon Ross was certainly the most sanguinary battle which occurred during the war of the rebellion. The loss sustained by the insurgents has been estimated at as much as three thousand men, and according to all accounts, it cannot have fallen

far short of that number. They left behind them, in their flight, fourteen swivel guns, and four cannon on ship carriages. The loss of the king's troops was also great, considering the small number engaged, and it was embittered by the fate of a brave and amiable nobleman, lord Mountjoy, the colonel of the Dublin regiment, who was slain at the first attack at the Three-bullet gate. There were also killed one ensign, four sergeants, three drummers, and eighty-one privates; and one captain, three lieutenants, one ensign, two sergeants, two corporals, and twenty-two rank and file, were wounded.

The insurgents were pursued in their retreat only a short distance from the town, and they seemed inclined to retain their post on Corbet hill, had not a report been spread that a strong reinforcement of the king's troops had arrived from Waterford. In consequence of this alarm, they continued their retreat to Slieve-kilta, a lofty and steep mountain about four miles from Ross, where they encamped that night. They subsequently established themselves at Lacken hill, where they remained until they were dislodged by general Johnson, on his march to Vinegar hill.

The disastrous result of the attack upon Ross prevented the population of the adjoining counties from rising, for the greatest agitation prevailed throughout Waterford and Kilkenny, where the intelligence of the capture of Ross was anxiously looked for. About ten o'clock in the morning of the fifth of June, the Roscommon regiment, in two divisions, one commanded by the honourable colonel King in person, marched out of Waterford to reinforce the garrison of Ross. When the first division had advanced about two miles on their march, they were met by some fugitive soldiers from Ross, who told colonel King that the royal troops, overpowered by numbers, and exhausted by fatigue, had been defeated with great slaughter, and had fled to Thomastown, and that the town of Ross had been burnt. The colonel nevertheless continued his march till he reached the top of a high hill over a deep defile called Glenmore, about two miles and a-half from Ross, from whence he reconnoitred the town with a powerful glass. As he perceived no troops, but saw smoke issuing from the town, he concluded that his intelligence was well founded, and thought it prudent to return to Waterford, by which it is said that he disconcerted a plot of the disaffected in that city to rise during his

absence and deliver it up to the rebels. Next day, finding his fears with regard to Ross had been premature, he marched thither with his regiment, with two battalion guns and a piece of flying artillery. On his way, he found the population of Kilkenny in a partial state of insurrection, and he learnt that it had been arranged they should rise and assist in the attack on Ross, but they were prevented by a mistake with regard to the day. The hills about Glenmore were occupied by numerous bodies of insurgents, who fired signal guns as he approached. They had broken down one of the arches of the bridge to render it impassable, and the troops had to pass it by laying beams and planks over it. Colonel King sent his grenadier company in advance with a piece of artillery, which they were obliged to use in dispersing a body of rebels posted on the opposite hill to oppose their advance. This party had on the preceding day taken captain Dillon, of the Dublin regiment, with twenty-five soldiers who fled from Ross, and on the first discharge of the artillery they massacred fifteen soldiers and the captain, after which they used the head of the latter as a foot-ball. Their leader, a miller, in very good circumstances, was taken and hanged next day at Ross.

The rebels seemed still to entertain designs upon Ross, in despite of the ill success of their first attack. A conspiracy was discovered within the town, and attempts were made to seduce the Dublin militia. Ross in fact stood seriously in the way of their plan of communication, for, as they had obtained possession of the river by the capture of Enniscorthy and Wexford, that town alone hindered their navigating it to the sea. As their possession of the Slaney was a great annoyance to the garrison of Ross, general Johnson ordered captain Hill, of the navy, with the gun-boats under his command, to destroy all the boats on that river, which he did to the number of a hundred and seventeen. The rebels placed strong picquets of armed men at different commanding points on the banks to attack the gun-boats as they passed and repassed, who never failed to greet them with a severe fire of musketry. One day a gun-boat ran aground, on which an immense body of rebels rushed down from their camp of Slieve-kilta, and made several daring attempts to capture her. Some other gun-boats hastened to the spot, and succeeded in rescuing her, but four men belonging to

the gun-boats were killed in the encounter, and several were wounded.

The most horrible result of the defeat of the rebels at Ross remains to be related. During the encampment of the rebels on the hill of Carrickbyrne, they established a detached post at Scullabogue, at the foot of the hill and within half-a-mile of the camp. Here a gentleman's house was converted into a prison, and parties were sent to scour the country around in search of royalists and protestants, who were brought prisoners to Scullabogue. When the rebel army marched towards Ross on the 4th of June, these prisoners were left under a guard of three hundred men, commanded by John Murphy, of Loughnageer, seconded by two other rebel captains, named Nicholas Sweetman, and Walter Devereux. Next day, when the rebels began to give way at Ross, one of the fugitives arrived at Scullabogue, and brought a pretended order from Bagenal Harvey, to put the prisoners to death, declaring that the royal army in Ross were shooting all the prisoners and massacring the catholics. The people who formed the guard, and the women and others assembled there, were furiously excited, and called clamorously for the slaughter of the prisoners, but Murphy refused to obey the general's order unless it were conveyed to him in a more formal manner. A second and a third messenger arrived, each repeating the order, the last being, we are told, a priest named father Murphy, of Taghmon. A man named Michael Askins, subsequently deposed before a magistrate, "That on the 5th of June, he was forced to join a party of rebels, and proceeded towards Ross; that when the party got within three miles of Ross, they met a man riding very fast, who seemed by his dress to be a priest. That this man cried out 'we are defeated, Bagenal Harvey has ruined us; I will go to Scullabogue and destroy every soul in it.' That immediately this man threw down a firelock he had, and galloped off towards Scullabogue. That he never saw the man before, but that the party he was with said he was the stoutest priest in Ireland, father Murphy of Taghmon."

Having thus the sanction of a priest, the rebels, infuriated by the defeat at Ross, could be no longer restrained. They are described as stripping to their shirts, to perform the work of execution with more speed, and the prisoners were led out of the dwelling-house, four at a time, to be shot or piked

to death. When thirty-seven persons had perished in this manner, the remainder, whose number, according to the best accounts, amounted to a hundred and eighty-four, including a considerable number of women and children, were taken out and forced into a neighbouring barn, thirty-four feet long and fifteen feet wide, so that they were almost suffocated for want of room. Having closed the door of the barn, the insurgents, regardless of the screams of women and children, set fire to the roof, which was low and of thatch. The prisoners, rendered desperate, rushed to the back door of the barn, which they forced open, but the rebels drove them back with their pikes, or put them to death. For some time, they continued to hold the door as a shield against their assailants, who were piking or shooting them, and while holding it some of them had their hands and fingers cut off. They were at length driven in, and the rebels continued to throw in bundles of straw and faggots until all inside were dead. A child was seen to creep under the door, and though much bruised and hurt it would have escaped, but one of the savage guards observed it, and sticking his pike into it, tossed it over the wall into the flames. While this dreadful scene was going on, the insurgents looked on with shouts of savage exultation, and declared that all heretics should experience the same fate. It is right, however, to state, that a few Roman catholics, partly by mistake and partly because for some reason or other they were personally obnoxious, had been thrust into the barn with the protestants, and shared their fate.

When Bagenal Harvey heard of the massacre at Scullabogue, he was struck with the utmost horror, and next morning he issued general orders, agreed to "at a meeting of the general and several officers of the united army of the county of Wexford," which were intended to promote order among his followers, and to deprecate their cruelty. According to this document, it was "resolved, that the commander-in-chief shall send guards to certain baronies for the purpose of bringing in all men they shall find loitering or delaying at home, or elsewhere; and if any resistance be given to those guards so to be sent by the commanding-officer's orders, it is our desire and orders, that such persons so giving resistance shall be liable to be put to death by the guards, who are to bear a commission for that purpose; and all such persons so to be found

loitering and delaying at home, when brought in by the guards, shall be tried by a court-martial, appointed and chosen from amongst the commanders of all the different corps, and be punished with death. Resolved, that all officers shall immediately repair to their respective quarters, and remain with their different corps, and not depart therefrom under pain of death, unless authorised to quit by written orders from the commander-in-chief for that purpose. It is also ordered, that a guard shall be kept in the rear of the different armies, with orders to shoot all persons who shall fly, or desert from any engagement, and that these orders shall be taken notice of by all officers commanding at such engagement. All men refusing to obey their superior officers, to be tried by a court-martial, and punished according to their sentence. It is also ordered, that all men who shall attempt to leave their respective quarters, where they have been halted by the commander-in-chief, shall suffer death, unless they shall have leave from their officers for so doing. It is ordered by the commander-in-chief, that all persons who have stolen or taken away any horse or horses, shall immediately bring in all such horses to the camp at headquarters, otherwise any horse that shall be seen or found in the possession of any person to whom it does not belong, shall, on being convicted thereof, suffer death. And any goods that shall have been plundered from any house, if not brought in to headquarters, or returned immediately to the houses or owners, that all persons so plundering as aforesaid, shall, on being convicted thereof, suffer death. It is also resolved, that any person or persons who shall take upon him or them to kill or murder any person or prisoner, burn any house, or commit any plunder, without special written orders from the commander-in-chief, shall suffer death." This paper, dated from the head-quarters at Carrickbyrne camp, the 6th of June, was signed by Bagenal Harvey, as commander-in-chief, and by his secretary and adjutant, Francis Bacon.

The document just read gives us a sufficient view of the insubordination prevailing among the undisciplined multitude who acknowledged, without obeying him, Bagenal Harvey as their ruler. We see that the anxiety of the officers who drew it up was to force the population into insurrection, and to insure obedience to themselves, and it was probably Harvey himself who pressed

the insertion of the clauses against plunder and massacre. His humanity appears to have given the finishing stroke to his popularity, and he was now clamorously accused of having, by his cowardice and misconduct, been the cause of all the disasters which had occurred since the rebel army marched out of Wexford. The rebel troops appear to have been encouraged by the priests in their murmurs against the commander-in-chief, and Harvey found it necessary to resign his command; and, fearful that he might be exposed to personal violence, he took the first opportunity of retiring to Wexford, where he was appointed president of the council, consisting of a few leading members of the newly established "republic," who met there for the regulation of its affairs.

After remaining two days at Carrickbyrne, the rebel army removed from that position, and took post, as already stated, on the hill of Slieve-kilta, which they appear to have chosen, because rising immediately over the river Ross, it enabled them to interrupt the navigation. Here they proceeded in a tumultuous manner to elect a commander-in-chief in place of Bagenal Harvey, and their choice fell upon a ferocious priest, father Philip Roche, who had gained a great military reputation among the rebels as the leader at the battle of Tubberneering, in which colonel Walpole was slain. He was a man of large stature and boisterous manners, not ill adapted to exercise an influential command over the disorderly bands with whom he acted, for, as Gordon well observed, without such influence titles of command were merely nominal; nor among a number of chiefs in a rebel army could any one with truth be said to govern the whole body. The priests, by their habitual government in spiritual matters, had naturally the principal sway, especially those whose rage of bigotry was most conspicuous. Great numbers of the rebels acknowledged no other leader than father John Murphy, the fanatic priest who first raised the standard of insurrection in the county of Wexford.

The troops of Philip Roche, after remaining three days at Slieve-kilta, removed to the hill of Lacken, within two miles of Ross, where they formed a less irregular encampment than usual, many tents being erected for their officers. On the twelfth of June, a detachment was sent to attack the town of Borris, which was twelve miles distant in the county of Carlow, where they expected to obtain a supply of arms and ammunition. A great part of the town was burnt, but the small garrison, posted in the house of a Mr. Cavanagh, received them with so much spirit, that the assailants were soon repulsed, though not till they had ten killed and many wounded. Only one soldier fell on the side of the loyalists. From this time father Roche's army lay inactive in their camp on Lacken-hill, regaling themselves on the slaughtered cattle and liquors which were procured in abundance from the country in their possession, and so negligent of their safety, that they might easily have been surprised and dispersed by the garrison of Ross. Yet the new commander-in-chief attempted to enforce the rigorous orders before published for forcing the population into rebellion, and on the fourteenth of June he addressed the following letter to father Doyle, a priest who was coadjutor to another, named Sutton, in administering to one of the neighbouring parishes.

"REV. SIR,—You are hereby ordered, in conjunction with Edmund Walsh, to order all your parishioners to the camp on Lacken hill, under pain of the most severe punishment; for I declare to you and to them, in the name of the people, if you do not, I will censure all Sutton's parish with fire and sword. Come to see me this day.

"Lacken hill, June 14th, 1798. "ROCHE.
"To the rev. James Doyle."

It was stated by persons who had been in the rebel camp, that it was usual there for each priest to call over his parishioners, and that the coadjutor acted in his stead, if he was himself prevented by age or infirmity. Those who appeared reluctant were liable to censure.



CHAPTER VIII.

ATTACK UPON ARKLOW.

EARLY at the same time that the efforts of the rebels in the south thus met with disaster and defeat at Ross, their comrades in the north of the county were preparing

an expedition which was not more successful in its result. The slaughter of colonel Walpole and his men, and the subsequent evacuation of Gorey by the royal troops, had raised the expectations of the large body of insurgents who there acknowledged as their leader the ferocious fanatic priest, father Michael Murphy of Ballycanoo, to such a degree, that this priest talked of his intention of making himself within a few days master of Dublin.* Had the insurgents marched against Arklow, immediately after Walpole's defeat, they would have gained possession of that town without any resistance, for the alarm was so great that the garrison had fled from it before day on the morning of the 5th of June and hurried to Wicklow, and the population of Wicklow, already kept in check with great difficulty by the king's troops, who had had several engagements with them, would have risen in irresistible force to join their neighbours of Wexford. But father Murphy preferred remaining at Gorey until he had collected such a force as seemed to ensure his triumph not only at Arklow, but which would enable him to continue his progress to the capital.

Exaggerated reports of Walpole's disaster had now reached Dublin, and thrown the loyal inhabitants into the utmost consternation. Affairs were considered at this moment so critical, that the countess Camden sailed for England, and many ladies, not only of rank and fashion, but even of the middle and lower classes, followed her

* After he was killed at Arklow, the following letter was found in his pocket, addressed to Thomas Houston of Thomas-street, Dublin, but which the hurry of events appears to have hindered him from sending to its destination:—

Gorey, 6th June.

“FRIEND HOUSTON,—

“Great events are ripening. In a few days we shall meet. The first fruits of your regeneration must be a tincture of poison and pikes in the metro-

politan, against heretics. This is a tribunal for such opinions. Your talents must not be buried as a judge. Your sons must be steeled with fortitude against heresy, then we shall do; and you shall shine in a higher sphere. We shall have an army of brave republicans, one hundred thousand, with fourteen pieces of cannon, on Tuesday, before Dublin; your heart will beat high at the news. You will rise with a proportionable force.—Yours, ever,

“M. MURPHY.”

The skilful dispositions of the commander of this division, colonel Skerrett, prevented the execution of this plan, and the Durham fencibles reached Dublin in safety. These also, after some hesitation and a very imprudent delay, were ordered to continue their march southward, and they reached Arklow on the morning of the ninth, bringing a very opportune, and, as it turned out, very fortunate accession of strength to the garrison of that place, for the very day of their arrival was the one fixed by the rebels for attacking it. The Durham regiment marched into Arklow at about one o'clock on the 9th of June, two hours after certain intelligence had been received that the rebel force collected at Gorey, which had been wasting its time in burning the town of Carnew, in trying prisoners for orangemen, and in plundering and destroying houses, was certainly marching to attack Arklow.

It was stated by men who were present on this occasion, and who were afterwards examined on oath, that the rebels who left Gorey on the morning of the 9th of June, estimated their force at upwards of thirty thousand men, of whom about five thousand were armed with guns, and the rest with pikes. As the population of the surrounding country had been drawn together to make this formidable army, it is more likely that the number would be diminished than increased in its march, but those who give the most reasonable estimate considered that when the rebels arrived before Arklow they could not have numbered less than twenty-seven thousand men. They had three serviceable pieces of artillery. Although father Murphy's army left Gorey early in the morning, and the distance was not more than eight or ten miles, they did not come in sight of Arklow till four o'clock in the afternoon. We are told that they halted at the end of every mile to hear a mass and the exhortations of their priests, and they stopped at every protestant's house to plunder it, and put in requisition the spirits and other provisions it might contain, by which a great part of them were driven to a state of excitement little short of absolute intoxication.

Arklow is a small market town, beautifully situated on the south bank of the Ovoca, at the entrance of that river into the sea. It consisted principally of a long street parallel to the river, over which, near the end of the town towards the sea, was a bridge. A suburb called the Fishery, and

consisting of the thatched cottages of fishermen, formed a continuation of the east end of the main street, but turning towards the south, and parallel with the sea-shore, with rather wide sands between it and the beach. A road called the sea-road proceeded from the bridge, outside the town, along these sands towards the south, while the direct road to Coolgreney and Gorey formed the continuation of the main street, towards the west. The garrison, after the arrival of the Durham fencibles, amounted to about sixteen hundred men, including the yeomanry, of which number somewhat more than three hundred were cavalry. As soon as it was known that the rebels were approaching, the king's troops were placed in the best position to receive them, under the command of general Needham, with colonel Skerrett of the Durhams, as his second in command. On the north, the town was perfectly defended by the river, which is here wide. The entrance to the town from the Coolgreney road, by which the rebels were expected, was barricaded with cars and boxes, behind which a detachment of the Antrim militia was placed under the command of lieutenant-colonel O'Hara, with one of the regimental field-pieces. Another part of the Antrim militia, with some yeomen, were stationed at the barracks, in the middle of the town, to assist wherever required. The main body of the king's forces were formed in line outside, to the west and south, the Durham, with their two pieces of artillery, occupying the position to the left of the barricades on the Coolgreney road. The cavalry were stationed principally on the bridge, where they were out of the way of the enemy's fire, and they were supported by a small body of infantry stationed in the street at the lower or eastern end of the town, where it was approached by the Fishery.

About four o'clock in the afternoon, a cavalry patrol was sent out as far as the charter school, a building at a short distance along the Coolgreney-road, from whence they beheld at some distance the rebels deploying the immense mass which had marched by the Coolgreney-road from Gorey, and extending themselves into a kind of irregular line of great depth, surrounding the town from the river to the sea. This movement was made chiefly under protection of the hedgerows, which allowed them to move along, parallel to the king's troops with security. Their front

rank was composed of those who had fire-arms, consisting chiefly of men from the barony of Shelmalier, on the coast of Wexford, who subsisted chiefly by shooting water-fowl, and were therefore expert marksmen. They were covered in the rear by a great depth of pikemen, and at intervals their line was strengthened by numerous masses of men, who were ready to supply the places of those who fell, or to act as occasion might require. Each company had a green flag, about two feet square, with a yellow harp in the centre, though some of their standards were party-coloured, and larger. Their leaders were distinguishable riding through the ranks, marshalling them, and giving orders. As they formed behind the hedges in this circular line, the rebels raised their hats on their pikes, and set up a dreadful yell, expecting by this and their immense show of numbers, to strike terror into the small number of troops opposed to them.

Two immense columns of attack were quickly formed at the extremities of this line, destined to make their way into the town by the two opposite extremities of the main street. One, which formed at an elevated part of the sea-coast named Arklow rock, advanced along the sands with great impetuosity, obtained possession of the Fishery-street, which they immediately fired, and nearly cut off a picket guard of yeomanry cavalry stationed there, who were obliged to gallop through the burning ruins, and were thrown into such dismay that most of them dashed into the river and swam their horses across the stream in great peril of drowning. A vacant space between the Fishery and the houses of the main street, prevented the flame from communicating to the town, and the further progress of the assailants in this quarter was arrested by the steady fire of the body of infantry stationed at the end of the street, which killed great numbers of them. It is said that here, to clear the way, the rebels were distinctly seen throwing their killed, and even, it was believed, their wounded into the flames, where they were consumed or buried under the ruins of falling houses. The attack on this point was continued with the utmost perseverance during two hours and a-half, when the rebels began to retreat through the street of the Fishery, and along the sea-side road and the sands. The regular cavalry, under the command of sir W. W. Wynne, was now drawn from the bridge

and charged them with such vigour that great numbers were slain on the sands and on the road, until they took to the inclosures where the cavalry could not act.

Here, and indeed along the whole line, the rebels fought with the utmost courage, and often rushed upon destruction in the most reckless manner; but the fiercest struggle raged at the other end of the town, where father Murphy in person commanded the column that approached the town by the Coolgreny road. Here the Durham and Antrim regiments were exposed to a repetition of the most desperate attacks, and many of the rebel chiefs, while leading on their followers, were killed within a few yards of the guns. This body of assailants, on its first appearance, was warmly received by the party under colonel O'Hara and their gun at the barricade, and at the same time they suffered very severely from the two guns of the Durham regiment. To reply to these guns, they dragged a six-pounder, one of the guns they brought with them, to the top of an eminence, not injudiciously chosen, which commanded the position of the king's troops, and continued firing it with considerable rapidity. Their other gun was placed on an eminence further to the south, which also commanded the position occupied by the royalists. These were served chiefly by artillerymen captured in some of the engagements with the king's troops, and were designedly directed too high, so that they did little hurt. Such was the case with the piece to the fire of which the Durhams were more especially exposed; it was managed by a soldier named Shepherd, whose conduct being at last observed by the rebels, the gun was taken from him, and Esmond Kyan, one of their chiefs, levelled it with so good aim that it broke the carriage of one of the battalion guns, killed two or three men, and obliged the left wing of the regiment to shift its ground, by advancing twenty paces, to avoid being enfiladed by the shot. The position of the king's troops was at one moment so critical, that general Needham, who showed the greatest courage throughout the action, actually gave it up for lost, and proposed to abandon the town. But this was resolutely opposed by colonel Skerrett, who said that he would never consent to have the Durham regiment withdrawn from an engagement in which they were showing such invincible spirit.

The courage of this regiment was indeed

exposed to the utmost trial, in the repeated and desperate efforts of the immense multitude to which it was exposed, to force it from its position. As often as the latter were driven off, they were rallied and brought back to the charge by father Michael Murphy, who exposed his own person to danger in the most reckless manner. This man had obtained an unlimited influence over the minds of his ignorant followers, who believed that as long as they acted under his directions they were sure of ultimate success. They believed further that he was invulnerable, and this notion father Murphy took pains himself to encourage. When at length discouragement began to prevail upon the rebels, and the main column, which had fallen back upon the charter-school on the Coolgreaney-road, showed some reluctance to renew the combat, he took a handful of musket-balls from his pockets, and, holding them out to his followers, declared that they were balls fired by the enemy which he had caught in his hands, or which had recoiled from his body without injuring him. Convinced by this miracle of the holiness of their cause, the rebels again marched forward on the king's troops. In front of the assailants, as they rushed down the Coolgreaney-road, father Murphy was seen gesticulating and shouting to them, and waving in his hand a standard on which was a cross, with the words "Liberty or Death;" but, when he was already within a few yards of the barricade at the entrance of the town, a cannon-ball put a stop to the further progress of this warlike priest. The fall of their leader threw an effectual damp on the ardour of the insurgents, which began immediately to abate, until, about eight o'clock in the evening, they withdrew in a confused manner along the Coolgreaney-road, carrying off in carts a great number of their dead and wounded. As it was now getting dusk, and the king's troops were exhausted with fatigue, it was not considered prudent to venture in pursuit, so that they were allowed to make their retreat without molestation.

This was perhaps the best fought and most important battle of the war of the rebellion, though it was not proportionably sanguinary. The loss of the rebels could not be ascertained exactly, and it has been variously estimated at from four hundred to a thousand. Although the action was everywhere warm, the weight of it lay upon the

Durham regiment, which, out of three hundred and sixty men, of which it consisted, lost twenty privates killed and wounded. The loss of men sustained by the rest of the army was small, but the number is not stated.

This defeat, and the death of father Murphy, was a great blow to the rebels in the north of Wexford. The project of marching to Dublin was relinquished, and the only hope of the more sensible of their leaders was that they might be able to hold out on the defensive until the French came to their assistance. Thus they kept up a petty war about Gorey, where, and on Limerick hill, about four miles distant, their main body was posted. From hence they moved about twelve miles to a place called Mount-Pleasant, near the town of Tinnehely, in Wicklow, which town they burnt on the 17th of June, as well as many houses in the country around. Many persons were piked to death for being orangemen, and many others would have undergone the same fate, but for the earnest intercession of a Roman catholic lady in the neighbourhood, named Maher. The town and neighbourhood of Tinnehely had hitherto been protected by the activity of the protestant inhabitants, who, in the preceding April, had embodied themselves, to the number of a hundred and fifty-one, under the title of the True-blues of Tinnehely, and uniting with the Shilela company of yeomen infantry, they performed with them regular and active duty both day and night. When the town was attacked by the formidable army from Mount-Pleasant, the True-blues retreated to Hacketstown, a distance of six miles, whence, being joined by other companies and troops of yeomen, till their number amounted to about five hundred, they returned immediately to attack the rebels. But they found them so formidable by their numbers and by the possession of cannon, that they retreated again to Hacketstown. On the following day, the eighteenth of June, a considerable body of troops, which had arrived from Balinglass under the command of lieutenant-general Dundas, and was furnished with a train of artillery, marched from Hacketstown, where the True-blues were left as a garrison, and proceeded to attack the rebels at Tinnehely. This army of insurgents, which was now commanded by Garret Byrne, of Ballymanus, a Romish gentleman of the county of Wicklow, had intended to

surprise Hacketstown, but they were prevented by the arrival of the troops under Dundas, and they retreated from Tinnehely and took post on Kilcavan hill, a lofty eminence two miles distant from Carnew. General Dundas now formed a junction with the troops of general Loftus, who commanded at Tullow, and they marched together to attack the rebels' camp at Kilcavan. But, whether they thought the rebel position impregnable, or whether the two generals disagreed on the course to be pursued, their expedition produced no result; after a cannonade on both sides, with little execution, and tremendous shouts of defiance from the rebels, with their hats raised on their pikes, according to their usual custom, the generals retired to Carnew, and the insurgent force under Garret Byrne marched the same night, the 20th of June, towards the grand rendezvous at Vinegar hill.

Meanwhile the rebels about Gorey and its neighbourhood were gradually dispersing. A part of them went to Wexford, carrying with them the prisoners who had been confined in the market-house of Gorey, and who had been very severely treated. Gor-

don, who was an eye-witness of the troubles in north Wexford, tells us that some of these prisoners were shot or piked to death, and that the others were supplied with food only once in the twenty-four hours, and that their heads were cropped and pitch-capped, in which condition they were exposed from the windows to the insults of the shouting multitudes on their march to attack Arklow. The main body of the rebels who remained took their station on the hill of Ark, about a mile from Gorey, on the way to Arklow. The royal army in the latter town remained close in its quarters for some days after the battle, sending out patrols with great caution. At last a troop of yeomen cavalry ventured so far on the road towards Gorey as to approach the rebel station on Ark hill. Although their post had been so thinned by perpetual desertions that only about a hundred men fit for action remained, and these being without a leader, about one-half fled precipitately on the appearance of the cavalry, the other half, stripping to their shirts to be more expedite, boldly went forth to charge the yeomanry with their pikes. The latter avoided the attack, and made a hasty retreat to Arklow.

CHAPTER IX.

THE ENCAMPMENT ON VINEGAR-HILL; ATROCITIES COMMITTED THERE BY THE REBELS.



N the north and on the south, the progress of the insurrection was thus arrested, so that it was closed up within the county of Wexford, and seemed to be gradually smouldering away in its own flame, active only in the destruction of everything within its reach. The main camp remained still fixed on Vinegar-hill, under the command of father John Murphy and other chiefs. It was filled with a motley and grotesque multitude of men and women, with very little discipline or subordination, but well supplied with provisions by commissioners who, at the head of parties of pikemen, scoured the surrounding country.

They seem to have been kept together chiefly by the horrible satisfaction of murdering heretics, in which they were encouraged by a number of fanatic priests who attended the camp, and who daily said mass at the head of each rebel column. At the top of the hill stood the walls of an old windmill, which was converted into a prison, and around it the brow of the hill was covered with the scattered tents of the insurgents, formed of carpets, quilts, sheets, blankets, window-curtains, and various articles of furniture which had been carried from the houses of the protestants. A lady who was under the necessity of visiting Vinegar-hill at the beginning of June, gave a singular description of the scene of confusion which met her eyes on every side.

"A number of female rebels, more vehement than the male, were marching out to meet the army from Newtownbarry. This was a large body which father Roche led from Vinegar-hill to the attack of that town which took place the 1st of June. Great numbers of women were in the camp. Some men were employed in killing cattle, and in boiling them in pieces in large copper brewing-pans; others were drinking, cursing, and swearing; many of them were playing on various musical instruments, which they had acquired by plunder in the adjacent protestant houses, and this produced a most disagreeable and barbarous dissonance. At last," continues this narrator, "I met father Roche in Enniscorthy, and he gave me a protection, not only for Mr. M——, but one for Mr. Bennett's house, in the following words, which was posted up in the hall:— 'No man to molest this house, or its inhabitants, on pain of death!' However, next day a rebel guard came to Mr. Bennett's, and compelled him and Mr. M—— to go before the parish-priest of Bree, in order to send them to the attack on Ross; but Mr. John Devereux, a rebel captain, on seeing Roche's protection discharged him, and soon after father John Sutton, of Enniscorthy, and a Mr. William Barker, a rebel general, gave them protections, and certified that they had been tried by a court-martial and acquitted. We then repaired to Mr. Joshua Lett's, a mile beyond Enniscorthy, where we staid some days. During our residence there we daily saw great crowds of rebels, who often boasted of the number of protestants they had put to death, and even in what manner they had piked them. They said that Cork and Limerick had capitulated to them, that Dublin was surrounded by forty thousand united Irishmen, that the whole kingdom would soon be in their possession, and that there should be no other religion but the Roman catholic. They compelled us to go to mass, which we did to preserve our lives."

Vinegar-hill was the great focus from whence masses were sent to co-operate in the more important actions of the Wexford war, but it also poured forth its pikemen in smaller parties to scour the country for protestants, and these were too often hurried by their thirst of blood to slaughter their victims on the spot, instead of bringing them to the camp, to afford amusement to the excited passions of their comrades. Nevertheless, the fatal windmill on Vinegar-hill was always filled with prisoners, and every

day, after a sham trial, to give more effect to these proceedings in the eyes of the multitude, a certain number were taken out and shot or piked, and often tortured before they were put to death, as a spectacle to the insurgent troops when on parade. It was supposed, at the lowest estimation that could be made, that not less than four hundred were put to death in this manner in the camp, and some accounts rated the number considerably higher. Priests, generally, were present at these executions, and we are told that the savage executioners often knelt down, crossed themselves, and said a prayer, before they immolated the victims. The latter were frequently almost famished before they were led to execution, from the small quantity of food which was supplied to them during their imprisonment. The list of sacrifices, Gordon tells us, "would have been still larger if individual humanity or friendship had not in some instances interposed to arrest the hand of murder. This interposition came, sometimes, from a quarter whence it was least expected. Thus, Philip Roche was in appearance fierce and sanguinary, yet several persons now living owe their lives to his boisterous interference. An instance may serve, in some small degree, to illustrate the tumultuous transactions of these calamitous times. Two protestants, in a respectable situation in life, brothers, of the name of Robinson, inhabitants of the parish of Killeghny, being seized and carried to Vinegar-hill, some of their Roman catholic tenants, anxious for their safety, galloped at full speed to Roche's quarters at Lacken, and begged his assistance. He immediately sent an express with orders to bring the two Robinsons to Lacken, pretending to have charges of a criminal nature against them, for which they should be tried. The miscreants on Vinegar-hill, who were preparing to butcher these men, though they were advanced in years, and unimpeachable with any other crime than that of protestantism, on receipt of Roche's orders, relinquished their prey, not doubting that death awaited them at Lacken. But Roche, whose object was to snatch these innocent men from the jaws of the blood-hounds, immediately on their arrival at his quarters gave them written protections, and sent them to their homes, where they were soon after in danger of being hanged by the king's troops, who were too ready to pronounce disloyal all such as had been spared by the rebel parties."

Gordon, who was a contemporary and impartial relator of the events which came under his own knowledge, goes on to observe, that "the exception of the protestants of Killegny, a parish five miles to the south-west of Enniscorthy, of which I am at present the incumbent, from the general slaughter of such as fell into the hands of the rebels in this part of the country, is somewhat remarkable, not one protestant of this parish having been killed in the rebellion, nor a house burned. These people, surrounded on all sides before they were aware, found flight impracticable. Their preservation, besides secondary causes, appears chiefly ascribable to their temporising conformity with the Romish worship, and to the very laudable conduct of the parish priest, father Thomas Rogers, who, without any hint of a wish for their actual conversion, encouraged the belief of it among his bigoted flock. A few indeed of the poorer sort of protestants in this parish remain to this day conformists, probably through fear of a second insurrection. The reverend Samuel Francis, my predecessor, and his family, after being once brought to the Romish chapel, were permitted to remain at home; but were in danger of perishing for want of sustenance, until victuals were sent them by the same priest, and by a Roman catholic family of the name of Fitzhenry. Mr. Francis, however, died five months after the rebellion, perhaps in consequence of the agitations of mind which he had suffered. We may naturally suppose, from the then prevailing temper of the multitude, that the fate of the protestants of Killegny was only suspended, and that a longer continuance of the rebel force in this quarter must have involved their destruction. A ruthless mob were collecting the protestants of both sexes in the adjoining parish of Killan, with the intention to burn them alive in the parish church, or, according to their phrase, to make an *orange-pie* of them, for which purpose a sufficient quantity of faggots was prepared, when a body of brave yeomen from Kiledmond, in the county of Carlow, and the march of the army from Ross, prevented the execution of this design."

Superstitious feelings, in one or two instances, saved the victims from destruction. Few incidents were more extraordinary than the recovery of a glazier of Enniscorthy, named Davis, who, after having remained four days concealed in the sink of a privy,

during which time he had no other sustenance than the raw body of a cock which had by accident alighted on the seat, made his escape, but fell into the hands of a party of rebels at some distance from the town. They brought him to Vinegar-hill, where he was shot through the body and one of his arms, violently struck in several parts of the head with thrusts of a pike, and thrown on his back in a grave, where a heap of earth and stones were thrown over him. After an interment of twelve hours, his dog having scraped away the covering from his face and cleansed it by licking the blood, he returned to life, dreaming that pikemen were stabbing him, and calling for protection on the name of father Roche. Some superstitious persons hearing the name, and imagining the man had been restored to life by a miracle, that he might receive salvation from the priest, by becoming a catholic, carried him from the grave to a house, and treated him with such kindness that he recovered, and lived for some years after. We may mention another example in some respects not dissimilar. On the 30th of May, William Neal, and his sons Henry and Bryan, respectable farmers of Ballybrennan, were seized in their house by a band of ruffians sent from the camp in search of protestants, and were carried prisoners to Vinegar-hill. The leaders of the rebel party were named Michael Maddock and Joseph Murphy, the former of whom called the prisoners orangemen, and wanted to kill them on the spot, but he was overruled by some of his companions. Bryan Neal offered the rebels his horse and cow to be set at liberty, but Maddock replied contemptuously that the cattle of all orangemen belonged to them already. When they arrived on Vinegar-hill, Murphy said he would not bring them any more orangemen unless they put them to death directly; on which a conference was held, and the three prisoners, the father and his two sons, were immediately condemned. The first led out to execution was Bryan, who begged they would shoot him instead of torturing him with pikes. One of the rebels said he should not die so easy a death, and instantly struck him on the head with a carpenter's adze, which made him stagger a few yards; but he was soon brought back, when one of them stabbed him in the side with a pike, another in the neck, and a third pushed them aside, and shot him. The father was next brought out, and having begged to be shot, they

granted his request, and placed him on his knees for that purpose. The executioner missed fire at him three times, on which father Roche, the general, who attended the execution, desired him to try whether his gun would go off in the air. He accordingly tried, and it succeeded, where upon father Roche gave him a protection, ascribing his escape to a miracle.

To complete the picture of the sanguinary proceedings in the camp at Vinegar-hill, it will be only necessary to select a few of the accounts afterwards given on oath by persons who had escaped. A yeoman of Kilcormuck, in the county of Wexford, named Benjamin Warren, deposed, "That he was taken prisoner by the rebels at Kilcormuck aforesaid, on the 29th day of May, 1798, and was conveyed to the rebel camp on Vinegar-hill, in the said county, together with another protestant prisoner of the name of Samuel West, of Kilcormuck aforesaid; that on the arrival of this informant at the said rebel camp, they put him into the walls of an old mill, where there were many other protestant prisoners. Half-an-hour after the said rebels led out informant to put him to death for no other reason than because he was a protestant; informant saith, that the said rebels asked him, in what religion he would die; when he answered he would die a protestant, as he had been bred such, that they, the said rebels, then said to informant, 'You bloody orange thief, you are damned, and will go to hell the instant we put the breath out of you.' The rebels thereon gave him several stabs of pikes in the body and neck, and while some of the said rebels were wounding him, others were engaged in tearing off with great vehemence his clothes. Informant saith that he suffered the most excruciating pain from his wounds, and was so exhausted by the loss of blood, that he lay motionless and speechless for some hours. The said rebels led out soon after thirteen protestants, whom they put to death with pikes, one after the other in the said rebel camp, and the body of one of the said protestants fell on this informant, which put him to very great pain, and almost extinguished what little remains of life there were in him. Next morning, finding he had strength enough to creep all-fours, he crept to the gripe of a ditch near the road, where he remained till it was dark, and then contrived to make his escape. Informant saith, he heard, and which he verily believed to be true, that the rebels shot, or butchered

with pikes, twenty-four protestants on the said day on Vinegar-hill aforesaid; that father Murphy, parish priest of Kilcormuck aforesaid, was commander-in-chief in the said rebel camp, and that this informant applied to the said Murphy to save his life, but that the said Murphy replied he would not interfere about him, as he was going to take Wexford, and that he would leave them (meaning the rebels) to do as they pleased with them. Informant saith, that the said father Murphy was the first person who promoted an insurrection in the county where he lived, and that on Saturday, the 26th, and Sunday, the 27th of May last, he, at the head of a rebel mob, caused all the protestant houses in the said parish of Kilcormuck to be burned, except three or four, which were saved. Informant further saith, that among the prisoners so killed on the said day, were Henry Hatton, esquire, portreeve of Enniscorthy, in the said county, and a yeoman in captain Richards's corps of cavalry, Thomas Colbourne, of Enniscorthy aforesaid, victualler, George Stacey, of Enniscorthy aforesaid, two men of the name of Gill, of a place called the Oiled-gate, between Enniscorthy and Wexford, Benjamin Stacey, of Enniscorthy, farmer, Jacob Minchin, of Enniscorthy, cabinet-maker, Edward Brisket, of Enniscorthy, merchant, George Sparrow, of the said town, farmer, Joseph Mands, of the said town, farmer, and yeoman in captain Cormick's corps, William Tugman, of the parish of Enniscorthy, weaver, and several others whose names informant cannot at this time recollect. Informant saith, he heard, and which he verily believes, that a man of the name of Murtagh Bryan, a common executioner, shot twenty-four protestants in one day on Vinegar-hill aforesaid, and that he obtained a glass of whiskey for every person so shot. He was further informed, and verily believes, that one Luke Byrne, an opulent farmer, assassinated many protestants, and among others one Samuel Goodison, an opulent farmer of Glendaw, in the said county."

This Byrne, as well as his brother and sons, were especially active in the perpetration of these atrocities. Among other depositions a staymaker of Enniscorthy, named Richard Sterne, "being duly sworn on the holy evangelists, made oath and said, that on Whitsun-Monday last, when the king's troops and the yeomanry were obliged to evacuate the town of Enniscorthy, which they had defended for some hours against

the rebels, captain Richards, of the Enniscorthy cavalry, recommended to this informant, and to many other protestant inhabitants of the said town, to accompany them in their retreat, which they were about to make to Wexford from Enniscorthy, to escape the furious rage of the popish rebels, who in great numbers had attacked the said town, commanded by the reverend father John Murphy, of Boulavogue, in the said county. Informant saith, that he being an infirm old man, and having carried on his back a grandchild of the age of five years, he was unable to keep up with the said troops in their march for Wexford, and therefore that he, this informant, accompanied by his wife and son, who was far gone in a consumption, concealed themselves in a wood called Ringwood, within half-a-mile of Enniscorthy, where this informant and his said family remained four days and four nights without receiving any nourishment whatever, except some potatoes and about a pint of milk from a fisherman who lived on the bank of the river Slaney; that he, this informant, sooner than perish with hunger, went out of the said wood, on or about the fifth day, in the morning, after he had made his escape from Enniscorthy, as aforesaid, and that he was taken prisoner on the high road near Enniscorthy by a numerous body of the said rebels, who were headed by the said father John Murphy, to whom the said rebels conducted this informant; and that they asked the said father Murphy what the said rebels should do with this informant; and that the said Murphy desired the said rebels to discharge him, as they were on their march to Wexford. Nevertheless the said rebels kept this informant in their custody; that the said rebels led this informant a second time before the said father Murphy, who preceded the said rebels on horseback, with a large crucifix in his arms, and that they asked the said Murphy a second time what they should do with this informant, and that the said Murphy replied they might do as they chose with him; that the said rebels rebuked and abused informant for not having prostrated himself before the said crucifix, and frequently pricked him with their pikes for not having done so; that the said rebels frequently told him that he was a heretic, that he was damned, and would go to hell; that the said rebels strongly urged informant to be christened, to receive the sacrament from their priest, and to go to

mass, and that by doing so he would be sure of going to heaven or to purgatory, either one or the other. He asked the rebels whether he would save his life by conforming to their religion, and the rebels replied he would not, but that by so conforming he should die an easy death, by being hanged instead of being tortured by pikes; and that the said rebels declared to informant that they would hang him to save his soul, lest he should afterward relapse and become a heretic; that the said rebels then conducted him to the cross roads near the church of Killuran, in the said county, where they again urged this informant to change his religion, having threatened to put him to death with their pikes unless he would do so, but informant replied he would not, that he would die any death, and that instant, sooner than change his religion. A rebel sergeant thereon gave this informant a violent blow of a spade-handle in the head, which spade-handle was shod or pointed with iron; and that when the said sergeant was on the point of giving him the said blow he called out to the other rebels to pike him; he was knocked down and made senseless and speechless by the blow so inflicted by the said sergeant, and when he lay quite insensible on the ground the other rebels gave him many stabs of their pikes in the body, and one of the said pike wounds passed through the body of this informant from one side to the other. Informant saith that the said sergeant gave him a desperate wound in the head, from whence there issued a great quantity of blood, that he lay speechless and senseless on the road where he was wounded, for about an hour, when, having recovered his senses, he crept to the house of George Ogle, esquire, about two miles distant, where he received some nourishment from the steward of the said George Ogle, and that the said steward told informant he must depart, for that as he was an orangeman (meaning a protestant), that his master's house would be burned, and that he, this informant, would be killed by the rebels if he kept him in it; that he thereon repaired to an adjoining wood, where this informant remained two days and two nights, during which time he received some nourishment from the same steward. He was at last discovered in the said wood by a rebel woman, who was constantly plundering the house of the said George Ogle, and who informed the rebels who were stationed therein that the said

wood was full of orangemen, but that the said steward informed the said rebels that the informant was not an orangeman, and had nothing to do with them, and that he was a poor old man that was wounded, and that he would bring this informant to them, the said rebels; that the said steward and the said rebels repaired to the place where informant lay concealed in the said wood, and the rebels declared, on seeing the deplorable state of informant, that they would not hang or pike this informant; that he was then taken to the stable of the said George Ogle, where he remained two days and two nights, and then that he, this informant, was suffered to make his escape. He was soon after taken prisoner by another body of rebels, who conducted him to a rebel guard-house at Enniscorthy, where he remained four days, with thirty-two other protestant prisoners, where informant would have been starved but for some nourishment which he received once a-day from his wife; that he and his fellow-prisoners were conveyed on the fifth day (to the best of informant's recollection), to Vinegar-hill, to be tried by a committee of rebel officers, on which hill, contiguous to Enniscorthy aforesaid, he remained two days and two nights; that the said rebels shot twenty-three of the fellow-prisoners of this informant, and in the presence of this informant on Vinegar-hill aforesaid; and this informant is convinced in his mind that the said rebels had no other charge or accusation against the said prisoners but that they were of the protestant religion. Before the execution of the said prisoners, another priest, of the name of Murphy, harangued the said prisoners in words of the following purport:—'You sons of Belial, that withstood our holy religion, which existed eight hundred years before yours began,' cracking the finger of his right hand and then of his left, 'you will see how these pikemen will treat you to-morrow, unless there is a great reformation in you.' The priest expressed these words with a loud voice and a very angry tone. Informant saith that his life was saved by the interference of one William Lacy, brother to a priest of that name, who seemed to have great power in the said rebel camp on Vinegar-hill, and with whom informant had been long acquainted, and from whom informant obtained a protection. The rebels, before they wounded him at Killuran, stripped informant of his hat and wig, coat and waistcoat."

The state of things in Enniscorthy was no better than in the camp on the hill. A lady named Catharine Heydon, the wife of a clergyman, who had fled with her from Ferns to Enniscorthy, gave the following account of her adventures after the king's troops had abandoned the town, whereby "examinant and her said husband were left unprotected, and were obliged to fly from one house to another for protection, as most of the houses there, were on the same day pulled down or burned by the rebels. This examinant saith, that she and her husband retreated at last to the house of one Stephen Lett, a cabinet-maker, and that two parties of the rebels came into the said house, and assured the said Samuel Heydon, that they would not injure him, he being a good-natured man, as some of them declared; and that soon after one other rebel came into the house, and said, that his information was right, for that the said Mr. Heydon was there, on which the said Heydon replied, that two parties were there before, and said he should not be molested, at which time stones were thrown up at the windows; on which Lett declared that his house would be destroyed, if he gave examinant and said Heydon protection any longer, and advised examinant and said Heydon to apply for a protection to a priest. This examinant and said Heydon immediately after left the said house, and did accordingly apply to the reverend John Sutton, a popish priest, for protection, in the street of the said town, as they were surrounded by a large party of the rebels, who became riotous, and jostled examinant and her husband; which said Sutton cried out to the said rebels, 'Fie! fie!' but afforded them no other protection, at which time this examinant perceived blood running from the nose of her husband, and that his cheek was laid open by a pike, as examinant believes. Soon after he staggered and fell to the ground, with this examinant, who kept her arms about him; that thereupon the said rebels dashed his head several times against the stones, for the purpose of extinguishing what life remained in him; that he soon after groaned, and expired in this examinant's arms, during which time this examinant, and after, received from them several blows on the back; that said rebels thereupon took from the said Heydon his watch, money, and pocket-book, containing several bank-notes, the amount of which this examinant knows not, but believes the said pocket-book contained

the amount of his whole property, both in money and bank-notes. This examinant further deposeth, that soon after a ferocious rebel dragged this examinant by her arm down a steep hill with great violence, and over the bridge, and to the water-side, using at the same time very insulting and opprobrious language, and asked examinant if she would go to mass, and damned examinant for a bitch, said she was always an enemy to the Roman catholics; and asked examinant why she had left her house, said they (meaning the said rebels) settled it this morning, and said rebel declared, he would take examinant to the camp at Vinegar-hill, though said rebel was dragging examinant a contrary way. Examinant further deposeth, that she called out for help, when a rebel, unknown to examinant, rescued her, and conveyed examinant to the house of one Walsh, a rebel captain, who had been that morning liberated out of prison. Soon after she arrived at the house, her aunt, a lady aged eighty-one years, or thereabouts, was brought there by her servant maid, after having been robbed of her money, and all her worldly substance, which she by her will bequeathed to this examinant to a considerable amount. During ten days she resided at Walsh's house, she suffered very much from poverty, filth, and the society of the most profligate wretches, who constantly uttered treason and blasphemy, and often hinted that she had better go to mass, and the said Walsh and his wife informed her, that it would be at the risk of their lives to harbour a protestant, as an order came from the camp not to protect any such; that during her residence at said house, and for some time after, she had no other clothes to wear but what she had on her back, and no bed to sleep on for a week and five days. On leaving the said Walsh's, she repaired to the ruinous house of Henry Gill, postmaster of the said town, which had been plundered and made a wreck of by the rebels; and soon after she went to the said Gill's house, a message was sent to her by the said Walsh, that her life was not safe unless she went to mass; and in a few days after, about five o'clock in the morning, two rebels armed with muskets, broke into examinant's room, and called out to Mrs. Gill to throw this examinant down stairs, and if she did not, they would, and her house should be burned; on which examinant asked them what charge they had against her? to which they replied, her obstinacy had been re-

ported yesterday, and that she must go to Wexford, meaning by the word obstinacy, as she verily believes, her not going to mass; that examinant, dreading she might be abused by the rebels, asked the said two ruffians to shoot her, on which they replied, they would have nothing to do with one of her sort, meaning, as she verily believes, a protestant; and then said she might stay there until further orders. Mrs. Gill told her that she could not any longer protect her with safety to herself, and eleven children, on which examinant went to several houses, whose inhabitants refused to receive her, though protestants, from motives of fear, and the papists from motives of hatred; that thereupon one father Clinch, a priest, brother to a tenant of examinant's, informed her, that she need not leave the house, where she remained in great poverty and distress, until the king's troops arrived, after which time some of the officers, from motives of compassion, supplied this examinant with provisions."

After the war was over, the trial of some of the leaders who figured on this occasion lifted the veil which had covered many of the atrocities that had been perpetrated on Vinegar-hill. On the trial of William Fenlon at Wexford, for the murder of Thomas Hall, a protestant, on the 14th of June, 1798, at Vinegar-hill, it appeared, on the evidence of Mary Hall, widow of the deceased, that on the morning of that day she sent her son with some tea to her husband, who was at that time a prisoner in Mr. Baylie's barn. Her son returned soon after, and told her that his father begged she would repair directly to him, as he had been put into the windmill on the top of the hill, and was afraid of being put to death; and on going to her husband he said, pointing to William Fenlon, the nailer, "Bill Fenlon is the person that will kill me." Fenlon then entered the mill, and desired her husband to come out with him. She asked Fenlon whether he would give her husband a trial? He answered that he would, and that Daniel Flaherty (a man who had sworn against her husband), should try him. She said she was contented provided he was tried, and begged he would have compassion on her and her ten children. Fenlon then said he would shoot him first and try him afterward. Fenlon, on that, tore her husband out of her arms, and placed sentries on each door to keep her in. Some time after, hearing a shot fired, she forced her way out of the

door, and saw the rebels dragging a body by the heels. Fenlon was there with a blunderbuss, and an officer's sash, and on inquiring she found that the body they were dragging was her husband's. She took the body in her arms, during which time it thundered violently, with much lightning, on which the rebels fell on their knees, and blessed themselves. Some of them desired her to throw away the body of her husband, and to bless herself. They asked her, "What was the reason of the thunder?" She answered, "That God was angry at their acts." "No, you w——!" replied they, "God is sounding the horn of joy, because an orangeman is killed." Her husband, who she thought was dead, stretched out his feet and turned to her, saying, "Molly, my dear, take me from these people," on which he expired. His body was black, as if from a cat-o'-nine-tails, and had the mark of a bullet that entered his breast and came out at his shoulder. The rebels, among whom was the prisoner, refused to let her take the body, but she said she would not leave it. They said they would not kill her, as she was with child, and she would have now a christian, which she never had before; but that if she was so fond of a dead husband, they would cut him in pieces and put them in her skirts. James Hall, son of the deceased, confirmed her evidence, added that Morgan Byrne ordered a man to whip his father, and called out for one Murtagh Keane, the principal executioner, to come to shoot him, but some one answered that he was gone to Mr. Richards's.

One of the most ferocious of the leaders on Vinegar-hill was Andrew Farrell, who managed to conceal himself for some time after the rebellion was quelled, but he was at length taken and brought to trial, when one of the witnesses, William Furlong, a protestant, declared upon oath he was taken prisoner by the rebels, on Whitsun Tuesday, 1798, and conducted to the windmill, where he saw the reverend Mr. Pentland and the reverend Mr. Trocke, three men of the name of Gill, and about thirty more loyalists. Andrew Farrell had a sword in his hand, and was called captain by the rebels. He desired the loyalists to fall on their knees, and prepare for death, as they should be killed directly. He then seized Mr. Pentland by the breast, and dragged him out of the mill by force, though he resisted as much as he could. He was instantly put to death, and fourteen or fifteen more immediately met with the same fate. Andrew

Farrell told the witness that he must know where there were arms and ammunition concealed in Enniscorthy, and that he should be saved if he discovered where they were. He said he would, and on going there his life was saved by a man who had been maltster to his uncle. He saw Farrell distributing powder to the rebels. He believed that only eight of the protestants who were in the windmill escaped death. Francis Bradley saw Farrell conducting to Vinegar-hill Philip Annesley, a protestant, who desired him to take his watch and money and give them to his friends, because he said Farrell was taking him to be killed, but he was afraid to do so. Henry Whitney, a protestant, who had been a prisoner in the windmill, saw Mr. Pentland piked to death, and he believes that twenty-five other protestants were put to death at the same time. He saw their bodies lying dead outside the windmill. Mr. Pentland's, which was naked and bloody, lay separate from the rest. When the prisoners were desired to go on their knees and prepare for death, Messieurs Pentland and Trocke expostulated and begged they might be saved, as they were both clergymen. The former said he was a northernman, and had been but a short time in the country. He then offered his watch, which was taken by a man of the name of Tooley. John Gill was another prisoner in the windmill on Whitsun-Tuesday. The party who conducted him into it said, "Captain Farrell (pointing to Gill), there is an orangeman." Gill asked Farrell to save his life, as he saw him much in the esteem of the rebels. He asked him his name, he answered, Gill. Farrell replied, "That is a bad name, prepare for death, you have not an hour to live." Gill was a protestant name in the county of Wexford. John Gill, of Monglass, was lying dead there. A party of rebels, with guns and pikes, formed a line in front of the windmill door, and behind them there were some men on horseback. On being led out he addressed the rebels, and asked them if they would put a man to death without a trial? Andrew Martin, the executioner, who stood inside the line with a drawn sword, cried out, "Damn your soul, do you come here to preach?" made a stab at him, and wounded him in the wrist. Some of the rebels desired Martin to stop, and asked Gill how he would choose to die? He replied, "As a christian." A man on horseback said, "Are you a christian?" He answered that he believed in the saviour of

the world, and that he hoped to be saved through him. Martin then said, "Oh, damnation to your soul, you are a christian in your own way!" and directly stabbed him in the side. He then fell on his face, and was stabbed in the back, and beat on the head with some heavy instrument. He still continued in his senses. His brother was next brought out, and having been asked the same question, he boldly answered that he would die a protestant, on which he was instantly put to death. He then fainted, and continued insensible till his wife came for him in the evening, and she found great difficulty in saving him, as there was an old man with a scythe examining the bodies, and striking it on the heads of such of them as had any signs of life. She took him to the bottom of the hill, where, finding that he had some appearance of life, she concealed his body. Next morning he was discovered by a party of rebels, who carried him to the hill, where he was saved by a man who was to have married his daughter. About half-a-mile from the hill he was met by two men, one of whom fired at him, and the ball grazed his head and stunned him. His wife, at her return, found him again, and from that time till Vinegar-hill was taken by the king's troops, he lay concealed in ditches in that deplorable state, but at last recovered. John Austin, a protestant, was taken prisoner and conducted to Ennis-corthy by one captain West, when Farrell was on parade with some rebels. West said, "Captain Farrell, here is an orangeman." Farrell ordered him to a rebel guard-house, where there were fifteen or sixteen loyalists, and he swore that he would have them all put to death the next night. A Mr. Robinson, who was there, begged that Farrell would save them. Austin was saved by the intercession of a rebel.

Such was Vinegar-hill, which was now becoming the aim of the operations of the royalist forces that were collecting round it in an extensive circle. But before we proceed to detail those operations, we will take a review of the condition of the town of Wexford since it fell into the hands of the insurgents.

The other encampments were as irregular and tumultuous as that of Vinegar-hill, though in general less sanguinary. Roche's camp at Lacken-hill was perhaps the best regulated. Sir Richard Musgrave has given us an account of the appearance of the rebels on the mountain of Forth, from the relation

of one of those sent, previous to the evacuation of Wexford, to persuade the rebels from a sudden and furious assault on the town. "On entering they were surrounded by many thousand vagabonds, of whom they enquired to whom they should address themselves as their leaders; and they answered 'To father John Murphy, of Boulavogue, or lord Edward Fitzgerald,' as they usually styled him. They soon after met this reverend gentleman on horseback, and on communicating to him the object of their mission, he said, 'He did not know what terms they could expect, from the treatment which he had received; for that by burning his house and property, and obliging him to take shelter in the ditches, he was under the necessity of raising the whole country.' From his savage aspect, they had very great reason to be alarmed for their safety; they therefore advanced from a crowd, who were debating on putting them to death, and sent for Mr. Edward Fitzgerald, of Newpark, another rebel chieftain, who came to them, and treated them with more civility and humanity; and who dispersed the rabble, telling them at the same time, that they should have nothing to do with them. They instantly obeyed. He then led them to a miserable hut at the top of the rocks, which seemed to have been appropriated to the double purpose of an hospital and a place of shelter for their leaders; but in the thatch of which there were many holes. Soon after their arrival they were obliged to deliver up their arms and accoutrements. Mr. Robert Carthy, who seemed from the authority which he exercised, to be chief in command, approached and asked them, 'What terms they could expect, when at the moment they were entering into a treaty for surrendering the town, there was an army marching against them from towards Taghmon, and see,' said he, pointing to a mob of assassins, 'where I have my men ready drawn out to attack them.' And they made a most extraordinary appearance, being armed with pikes, scythes, hay-knives, scrapers, currying-knives, and old rusty bayonets fixed on poles; but a good number of them had muskets. They expostulated with Carthy, and told him they had good authority for saying, that the thirteenth regiment, which had advanced as far as Taghmon, had retreated on hearing of the defeat of a detachment of the Meath regiment; but to satisfy him, they proposed that Fitzgerald, his brother, and himself, should take horses

and proceed to meet the regiment, if coming, and to tell colonel Bradshaw, who commanded it, of the circumstances as they then stood. They advanced within a mile of Taghmon, where they met a large foraging party proceeding to the rebel camp, with from six to eight cart-loads of provisions, who declared that the thirteenth had retreated. They then returned speedily to the rebel camp, and made their report; but Carthy came forward again, and said, 'Can these men be sincere! the whole country towards the barony of Forth is in flames!' alluding to the village of Maglase, which our retreating army had set fire to, as they had been treacherously fired on by a party of rebels, who lay in ambush there for them. Mr. L. Richards requested, if they had any doubts of their sincerity, that he would remain as an hostage with them, while his brother and Mr. Fitzgerald went to Wexford, to which they assented. He then remained in the hut, with a guard at the door, and while there he perceived, through a hole in the wall, about a foot square, a great number of men armed with the desperate weapons which he before described, incessantly marching, except that now and then they knelt down to pray; and at the end of each prayer, bent their bodies towards the earth, and thrust the forefinger of the right-hand into their mouth, as far as the extremity of the knuckle. When he had remained about three hours in that unpleasant situation, Mr. John Hay came to him, and said, 'That the people had agreed, that he had betrayed Fitzgerald, and therefore that he must be put to death.' Mr. Richards insisted on the contrary. Mr. Hay went off, returned in about half-an-hour, and declared it was universally agreed, 'That Fitzgerald had either sold them, or that he had betrayed him; and he swore vehemently, that the forces would be marched immediately towards Wexford,' which, Mr. Richards said, 'would be the best thing to prove his sincerity.' In about

five minutes after, the whole body of the rebels proceeded towards Wexford, and as they marched continued to fire muskets, and gave the most dreadful yells. They left two sentinels to guard Mr. Richards, who, in the meantime, examined the wounds of six unfortunate wretches, who lay upon straw in the hut, and who, though wounded, did not receive any nourishment or medical assistance. The people who marched towards Wexford, could not be less than fifteen thousand men. Mr. Fitzgerald sent for Mr. Richards, and for a drummer of the Meath militia, that had been cut off that morning. They set off with their conductor, and when they had arrived within a quarter-of-a-mile of Wexford, they perceived the rebels flying into the country, in every direction, and the road strewn with their coats, wigs, hats, pikes, muskets, and other weapons; and men, women, and children in the greatest consternation. On enquiry, he found that their dismay, and their flight, were occasioned by the report of a gun, which had been fired at Mr. Sparrow, of Enniscorthy, a yeoman of distinguished loyalty, by a person in the van of their army; from which the rear having been panic-struck, fled in the utmost confusion, conceiving that our army had returned and were firing on them. Mr. Richards, on entering the town, saw the dead body of Mr. Sparrow lying in the street, and the rebels engaged in destroying the house of a watch-maker, whom they branded with the appellation of orangeman. A gentleman who had procured the pardon of one of the unfortunate wretches, who attended this camp, assured him, that at one time he was almost famished, that at another, he was overcome with repletion. That at times, the hunger of the rebel soldiers was so great, that they used to cut off large pieces of flesh from the body of a bullock, before it was killed, then throw it on the fire, with the hair and skin, and consume it before it was half-roasted."

CHAPTER X.

CONDITION OF THE TOWN OF WEXFORD UNDER THE REBELS.



THE town of Wexford was, as it has been already stated, the seat of the so-called republican government—a committee presided over by Bagenal Harvey. As some of the leading men were protestants, and many of them gentlemen, this place was saved from the massacres and outrages which disgraced the camp at Vinegar-hill, but the weakness of their authority, and the difficulty with which, as it was apparent, they controlled the passions of the multitude, kept the loyalists of Wexford in a state of incessant alarm. Of a vast number of protestants assembled there, inhabitants of the town, or refugees and prisoners from other parts of the county, two hundred and sixty were confined in the gaol and other places of imprisonment, and the rest were prisoners in their houses, under perpetual apprehensions of being dragged out to be shot or piked. The chiefs themselves, especially those who had been educated in the protestant religion, were in perpetual danger of violence, and even of death, from the ungovernable multitude under their nominal sway. We are told that even captain Keugh, or Keogh, who had been approved governor of Wexford by the rebels, was one day, while sitting in the committee, seized by a common fellow, who arrested him in the name

of the people, as a traitor in league with orangemen; and when the other members of the committee rose to resist, and expel the intruder, the infuriated multitude without, who were crowded together in thousands in the streets, shouted to those who stood in front, to drive out the committee and pull down the house. Keugh presented himself at a window, and succeeded in appeasing the multitude. The mob in fact had its leaders, whose sanguinary and ferocious characters were more in accordance with that of the violently excited populace, and who hesitated not to set themselves in opposition to the more moderate measures of the nominal rulers, whom they cried down as temporizing traitors. Among these violent demagogues was Thomas Dixon, who from a captain and in part owner of a trading vessel, assumed the title of a captain in the rebel army, and took every occasion to raise himself to notoriety by taking the lead of the lowest of the rabble, and inciting them to murder and outrage. The wife of this man was, if possible, more ferocious and sanguinary than himself, and several of their relatives were figuring in the rebellion in more or less the same characters.

The revolt of the ships' crews, and their return with the fugitives into Wexford, appears to have been effected chiefly by the agency of Dixon, whose vessel was one of the number.* In the tumultuous proceedings of the first day during which the

* The following relation is given by Musgrave. "A very amiable and respectable lady and her children, who had embarked on board the sloop of the sanguinary Thomas Dixon, was treacherously relanded by him; and having repaired to the house of Mr. Thomas Hatchel, the son-in-law of doctor Jacob, near the bridge, where, with the doctor, his family, and some other protestants, she was protected, while the town remained in possession of the rebels, she wrote a very exact diary of every material event during that period, which I shall quote occasionally. She tells us that Thomas Dixon went on shore in his small boat, and at his return declared that no woman or child should be killed, but that no man, except three, whom he named, should escape. The savage sailors, intoxicated with victory and whiskey, arrived with boats to carry them on shore, and a female heroine among them, sister of Mrs. Dixon, and wife to a miller at Atramont, brandished a sword, and boasting of her exploits, said, that the passengers of no boat would be saved except those

of Thomas Dixon, as he was brother-in-law to Roche the commander of the rebel army. Another boat-full of ruffians, more furious than the former arrived and swore they would burn the boat, if they found one gun or a man concealed under deck. More ruffians arrived drunk, and boasting of their murders, would not drink unless Mrs. ——— drank first, lest, as they said, they should be poisoned. At dawn of day, on the thirty-first of May, Dixon returned, said many horrible things, boasted of various murders, and made her stand on deck, and see the dead body of Mr. John Boyd on shore. When she landed, she found the streets crowded with rebels who were constantly firing shots. The boatman asked her if she knew ever a Roman catholic? and she said she was acquainted with Mrs. Talbot; he then led her the back way to her house, but she then re-embarked, having found it shut. He asked her if she knew doctor Jacob? and having said she did, he recommended her to go there, as it would be a safe house. They

rebels occupied the town, three gentlemen, Mr. John Boyd, Mr. Thomas Sparrow, of Enniscorthy, and a porter named Hadden, were put to death in Wexford, and one or two others were massacred in the neighbourhood. Sparrow was an object of special vengeance, because he was one of the yeomen who had resisted the rebels in the attack on Enniscorthy, and his body was dragged about the streets and treated in an ignominious manner, and finally attached to one of the piers of the bridge, where it remained floating on the water till the recovery of the town by the king's troops.

The first victim of popular vengeance, or rather to the personal vengeance of "captain" Dixon, after the town was reduced to anything approaching to order, was a catholic named Murphy, who was shot in an open space then called the bull-ring, on Trinity Sunday, the 3rd of June. This Murphy had been a witness against a priest of the name of Dixon, a cousin of the captain's, who, some time before the rebellion, was convicted of sedition and transported, and to make the punishment, as the rebels now thought, more ignominious, they condemned him to be executed by heretics. Three protestant prisoners were accordingly taken forth from the gaol and compelled to shoot him. When he fell, captain Dixon drew his sword and ran it through his body, after which, holding it up to the mob, he

called them to look upon the blood of a traitor, and ordered the pikemen to plunge their formidable weapons into the mangled corpse. Next day another catholic, of the same name, and charged with a similar crime, was condemned. On this occasion, one of the prisoners selected as executioner was the same Charles Jackson, who has been already mentioned as one of the fugitives relanded from the ships in the harbour, and whose personal narrative gives us such a curious picture of the state of Wexford at this melancholy period.

After concealing himself for a short time, and several escapes, Jackson was at length seized and lodged in gaol with an indiscriminate crowd who had been arrested capriciously by different parties of the rebels. The prisoners were subsequently taken one by one, and subjected to an examination as to their political opinions, according to a catechism, which is said to have been as follows:

"Q. Are you straight?"

A. I am.

Q. How straight?"

A. As straight as a rush.

Q. Go on then.

A. In truth, in trust, in unity, and in liberty.

Q. What have you got in your hand?"

A. A green bough.

Q. Where did it first grow?"

A. In America.

landed her opposite to his door, and she was well received there. The hall was full of ruffians who brought faggots to set the house on fire, but some of them humanely prevented it. She was then without food or sleep from Sunday night the twenty-seventh, except that she got a little tea from Mrs. Dixon. She was distracted, and felt more the enthusiasm of despair than insanity. She took her daughter by the hand, and went to Bagenal Harvey, who did not know her, being covered with coal ashes, and convulsed with misery. She reminded him of their acquaintance; he gave her a protection, but said he had no real command, and that the rebels were a set of savages exceeding all description. She asked him when this was to end? He answered, probably not for some time, as government would not send a force into the country till they had collected a proper one. He said, he must get the people out of the town, and form a camp, for otherwise it would be destroyed in a few hours. Shortly after, they consented to go to camp, and she saw many thousands of them going there. They were led by many priests. They often stopped, knelt down, kissed the ground, crossed themselves; and then set up the most hideous yells, and followed their priests. All that time shots were constantly fired. Small parties of them entered and searched the house. The first of June passed in the same manner. J. R. a Roman catholic of great humanity,

came and told me with candour, how much the protestants were spoken against: but said, he trusted that the women and children would be spared. In the evening, doctor Caulfield, the Roman catholic bishop, came, and was very kind to me; J. R. having told him who I was. The doctor said he was cautioned in the street, to beware how he protected protestants. He gave me a protection, but like B. Harvey said, 'He had no influence; that the people could not be desribed; that in reality, the devil was roaming at large amongst them; that their power never could hold; that they were making it a religious war, which would ruin them; that government was too strong, and must conquer; that this rebellion had been hatching for years.' Second of June the mob were constantly talking in the street of punishing protestants. Colonel Lehunte, and many others, went to the chapel and renounced their religion; were christened; and then marched in procession through the streets. Third of June, they made three protestants shoot a man in the Bull-ring. We received constant domiciliary visits from the rebels, who we thought would murder us ere they departed. The rebels paraded twice a day opposite our door, having fifes, fiddles, and drums. It was a kind of regular tumult; every one was giving his opinion; my little boy listening one day, said 'mamma, are they all kings?'"

Q. Where did it bud ?

A. In France.

Q. Where are you going to plant it ?

A. In the crown of Great Britain."

The examiner and the person examined then grasped each other's hand in a significant manner, and the latter was asked if he were a Christian. On his replying in the affirmative, he was required to cross himself and repeat the ave-maria. About half-a-dozen of Jackson's fellow-prisoners passed through this ordeal to the satisfaction of their gaolers, and were set at liberty. The remainder were left in prison, under the continual apprehension of being dragged out to be put to death.

"On Monday morning, June the 4th," Jackson tells us, "about nine o'clock, John Gurley, one of the prisoners, came to me—'Jackson,' said he, 'the Lord have mercy upon you! you are called to go into the yard with my brother Jonas and Kinneith Matthews.' The words had such an effect on me, that my tongue cleaved to the roof of my mouth, for I thought I was called to be executed. The gaoler came in and took us into the yard, where was one Edward Fraine, a tanner, who lived in John-street, and was supposed to make by his trade three hundred pounds a year. There were also many other persons belonging to the town. Fraine was captain of the rebel guard for the day. As soon as I came out, he said, 'Mr. Jackson, I believe you know what we want of you.' I answered, 'Yes, I supposed I was going to die.' I then fell upon my knees, begging that if that was the case, I might be allowed to see my wife and child. He swore that I should not; that I was not then going to die, but that a man was to die at six o'clock that evening, and that he did not know any more proper to execute him than me and the two others. He added, 'I suppose you can have no objection, as he is a Roman Catholic?' 'Why sir,' said I, 'should I have no objection to commit murder?' 'You need not talk,' replied he, 'about murder; if you make any objections, you shall be put to death in ten minutes; but if you do your business properly, you may live two or three days longer; so I expect you three will be ready at six o'clock this evening.' Another came up, and said, 'Mr. Jackson, if you could get a few orange ribbons to tie round your neck at the time of the execution, it would, I think, have a very pretty appearance, and at the same time, I have a couple of balls

much at your service when it is over, as I think it is a pity you should get no return for the favour you confer.' We were then carried back to our cells, and spent the day in prayer till six o'clock, at which time, being brought to the great door, we found the prisoner Murphy, with nearly a thousand men about him. The procession went in the following order; a large body of pikemen, who were formed into a hollow square: a black flag; then the drum and fifes; Murphy the condemned man next, followed by me, with Gurley and Matthews behind me. As soon as this arrangement was made, the Dead March was struck up, and beat from the gaol to the place of execution, which was a mile and a half off on the other side of the bridge on a wide strand. The procession passed by my house. When I came opposite to it, I was so much affected as almost to faint: some water was brought me, and I proceeded. As soon as we reached the destined spot, all the rebels with their arms in their hands kneeled down and prayed for about five minutes. This, I understood, was because the victim was a Roman Catholic. An order was then given to form a half circle, with an opening to the water. The poor man was directed to kneel down, with his back to the water, and his face towards us, which he did with his hands clasped. I requested to be allowed to tie my cravat round his eyes. They told me not to be too nice about the matter; for in a few minutes it would be my own case. The muskets were then called for; but it was suggested if they gave us three muskets we might turn and fire at them; on which it was settled that we should fire one at a time. The first appointed to fire was Mathews, and it was remarkable the piece missed fire three times. During this time the countenance of the condemned man exhibited such an appearance of inexpressible terror as never will be effaced from my memory. The man who owned the musket was *darned*, and asked—'What sort of piece was that to carry to a field of battle?' A common sporting gun was then brought and fired by Mathews, and the ball hit the poor man in the arm. I was next called upon; and suspecting that I would not fire at their object, but turn upon them, two men advanced, one on each side of me, and held cocked pistols to my head; two also stood behind me with cavalry swords, threatening me with instant death if I

missed the mark. I fired, and the poor man fell dead: after which Gurley was obliged to fire at the prostrate body. When it was over, a proposal was made that I should wash my hands in his blood, but this was over-ruled; and they said, as I had done my business well, I should go back. A ring was now formed round us, and a song in honour of the Irish republic was sung to the tune of *God save the King*. This dreadful business had taken up about three hours, when we were marched back to the gaol."

During the whole occupation of Wexford by the rebels there was a continual struggle between the mob, who cried for blood, and the more moderate leaders, who did their best to withstand the demand, which, sometimes, they were not able to do without great difficulty; and more than once, in moments of excitement, they nearly lost their power. The defeat at Ross, and the loss of the rebels on that occasion, made them ungovernable in their fury. Next day, the 6th of June, a rebel guard was sent from Enniscorthy to Wexford to fetch a party of the prisoners, in order that they might be immolated to the vengeance of the republic. Ten of the Enniscorthy fugitives, and about fifteen of the Wexford prisoners, were selected for this purpose, but the intercessions of a priest saved the Wexford men, and the ten Enniscorthy men only were carried away to be massacred.

Among the persons who had not been able to escape from Wexford when it was taken by the rebels, was a gentleman of landed property, Mr. Lehunte, of Artramont, who was colonel of the Shelmaliere yeomanry cavalry, and on that account, though in other respects beloved and respected, an object of popular odium. On several occasions, during his detention in Wexford, he was with difficulty rescued from the infuriated multitude. "Colonel Lehunte," says Jackson, "who is possessed of a large estate in the county of Wexford, has an elegant mansion on the river Slaney, about four miles from Wexford. He was colonel of a corps of yeomen cavalry, and near sixty years of age. On the morning of the day the rebellion broke out he was left with only eight protestants, who were his domestics or tenants, the rest of his corps having deserted to the rebels. When the town was taken he, with his wife and daughter, sought an asylum in the house of Mrs. Parker, mother of captain Parker, of the

royal navy, who lost his life gallantly fighting for his country. She lived in George's-street, and had not been much molested. There colonel Le Hunte was permitted to remain, but not till he and his family had been baptized in the catholic chapel after the Roman catholic form. About ten days before the king's troops arrived, Mrs. Dixon, wife to a publican who had been appointed captain of the rebels, [captain Dixon, in addition to his naval profession, kept an inn in Wexford], went to the colonel's house at Artramont, to see the person who was then the inhabitant, and who had formerly been a servant-maid in the colonel's family. This woman was now so certain of being left in possession of the house, that when Mrs. Lehunte, a lady of the most amiable character, and who had been always remarkably generous and kind to her servants, went to beg some of her own linen, she replied, "She had a great deal of impudence to expect it, and what business had she there; sure, she knew that neither the house, or anything in it, was any longer her property." At last she yielded to the earnest entreaties of Mrs. Lehunte so far as to consent that she should take away a small trunk which contained a few changes of linen, upon condition that she would never come near the house again. Mrs. Lehunte then begged that one of the horses might be yoked to a cart to carry the trunk to Wexford, but this was refused, and she was obliged, with her own hands, assisted by her daughter, a young lady of seventeen years of age, to put a mule to the cart, and to drive it themselves to Mrs. Parker's, in George's-street.

"During the visit at Artramont Mrs. Dixon went into the drawing-room, in which there happened to be orange furniture, and two orange silk fire-screens, painted with emblematical figures. She immediately spread the alarm that she had, at last discovered where the orangemen held their lodge, and had actually found their colours. The figure of Hope, leaning upon an anchor, she said signified their intention of burning the sailors with red-hot anchors; Vulcan and the Cyclops shewed the manner in which little children were to be burned, and Justice, with her eyes blindfolded, was to signify that before they were burned their eyes would be put out. This strange explanation spread like wild-fire, and in a short time the whole of the town of Wexford was alarmed, and the people went out in a body

to meet Mrs. Dixon, who came riding upon a horse, with the two fire-screens borne before her. In this form, the mob roaring and shouting in the most horrid manner, proceeded to Mrs. Parker's, where colonel Lehunte resided; they instantly seized and dragged him into the street, and a thousand voices at once cried out to have his blood. They then stripped him of his coat and hat, and were hurrying him to the place of execution. At this critical moment father Broe, a Roman catholic priest, appeared, and, forcing his way through the crowd, came up to the colonel, and declared to those nearest him that he should not be put to death till he had been taken to the gaol and tried. To this, by the most strenuous exertions, he at last prevailed upon them to consent. When the mob heard that he was carried to the gaol, they concluded that he was to be executed, and a party of them ran to the door of it, shouting as if they would rend the skies. Instantly the gaoler came and locked us who were imprisoned all into our wards. We now thought that Ross was taken, that nothing could withstand them, and that they were come to sacrifice us. Their shouts became louder, and the knocking to be admitted more violent. I believe that, except the horrible transactions in France, such a scene was never beheld. At one moment we might have been seen on our knees, with deadly horror in our countenances, at another all flocking to a corner of the passage before the cells, determined to die together. The next moment we thought the opposite corner more secure, and before we could reach it we fled in confusion, supposing the mob had broken in. Men of sixty years of age were drowned in tears, some almost stupefied. The furious multitude had, indeed, got admission into the large yard of the gaol, with their devoted victim, who was almost exhausted. It was with the utmost difficulty the priest could prevent his being piked to death before he reached the gaol, and he had actually received two wounds in his back from their pikes while on his way, though they had not entered deep enough to do him much injury. When he came into the yard, they placed him against the wall, telling him to prepare his soul, as he had but five minutes to live; and one of them took out a watch to see when the time would be expired: Father Broe, seeing nothing else could save him, advanced and threw his arms about him, and told them to fire as

soon as they chose it. This had the desired effect, upon Mr. Broe assuring them that if they would leave him till the next morning in gaol, and then try him, if he was really guilty he would no more interfere. This being settled, the colonel was put into a place called the condemned cell, which is a stone vault, with iron door, and no light but what comes from another cell. Here he was left by himself, without straw to lie upon, or anything else in the cell, except a quantity of old iron bolts which had been made for criminals who had been executed. He had not been here long when a wretch, of the name of White, who had before the rebellion been committed to gaol for robbery, but with the rest of the criminals was released by the rebels at the time they obtained possession of the town, came to him, and said, 'Lehunte, are you a christian?' to which the colonel returned no answer. The next day he was tried on the charge of the fire-screens, and was acquitted, but was sentenced to remain in gaol, where he continued till the king's troops arrived. At the time he was seized Mrs. Parker and the colonel's family escaped from her house through a back window, and did not return to it till the town was retaken."

"So dreadful," continues Jackson, "were my reflections at times while I was in the gaol, and the horror of my mind so great, from apprehension for my wife and child, and the constant expectation of being taken out and cruelly murdered, as to produce the most settled despair. This rose to such a pitch that one day, in conjunction with a fellow-sufferer, after we had consulted together as to the easiest mode of putting an end to our miseries, we agreed to bleed ourselves to death by opening a vein, and sharpening a knife upon a stone for that purpose, we knelt down to pray before we committed the act, when it pleased God that our minds became softened, and we felt a ray of hope which prevented us from completing our criminal and horrid purpose."

At this time the rebels in Wexford had obtained possession of a more important prisoner. When the rebellion broke out in Wexford lord Kingsborough, who commanded the north Cork regiment, was in Dublin, but he resolved immediately to hasten to the scene of disorder. Not fully informed of the state of affairs at Wexford, he proceeded in a boat from Arklow to that place, and as he entered the bay of Wexford he and his companions were captured

by an armed vessel, and taken prisoners into the town, where they were received by the rebel generals Keogh and Harvey. The latter was preparing to leave Wexford the same day for the camp at Carrickbyrne, to join the army intended for the attack on Ross. Lord Kingsborough was lodged for two days in the house of general Keogh, whence he was taken to a small inn, called the Cape of Good Hope, at the corner of the Bullring, where he was kept under charge of a rebel guard till he was transferred to the prison-ship. After being eight hours in this nauseous place of confinement, he was delivered from it and was lodged in a private house, where a guard was kept over him. On the 3rd of June, after Murphy had been shot in the Bullring, Thomas Dixon, who had presided at the execution, proceeded at the head of a band of savage pikemen to Keogh's house, where lord Kingsborough was then kept, and insisted clamorously on having the "bloody orange lord" delivered up to him, but Keogh, with considerable difficulty, prevailed upon him to desist. Keogh pretended that he had lost much of his own influence with the people in consequence of the protection and indulgence he had given to him; yet he seems to have been in some other respects a rigorous jailor. On one occasion Keogh severely rebuked his prisoner for having received a visit from the wives of some of the officers of his own regiment who had been left in Wexford. Robert Carthy, a man of considerable influence among the rebels, happening to come to lord Kingsborough's lodgings, took his part against Keogh on this occasion, and declared that the ladies should go there as often they pleased. This gave rise to an altercation, in the course of which Keogh said, "I am governor of the town." Carthy immediately demanded, "Who appointed you?" and on receiving for answer, "The people," he said, "No, they would not trust such a fellow; I am one of them, and I never gave my consent." He then attempted to lay violent hands upon the "general," but lord Kingsborough interfered, and on retiring, Carthy challenged Keogh to fight. This is a fair example of the degree of cordiality which prevailed among the innumerable leaders of the rebellion.

Lord Kingsborough was personally unpopular, because he was said to have been active in promoting the prosecution of the United Irishmen which preceded the rebellion, but fortunately for him his quarters

had not been in the county of Wexford, so that he was there comparatively unknown. Nevertheless, it was with the greatest difficulty that he was on many occasions protected from the fury of the populace. On one occasion, a pitched cap having been found in the barrack at Wexford, and a commission or warrant appointing a sergeant of the north Cork militia to found an orange lodge in the town, the populace was roused on a sudden to the highest pitch of fury. A great multitude assembled in the barrack-yard, and after much noise and tumult, it was resolved to clap the pitched cap on the head of the orange lord whom accident had made their prisoner. They accordingly marched from their barracks, exhibiting the pitched cap on the top of a pike, and displaying the orange commission, and proceeded in a violent and riotous manner towards lord Kingsborough's lodging. Hay, from whose narrative we take this anecdote, hurried to the spot to exert himself in appeasing the fury of the mob. "I went up to lord Kingsborough's room," he tells us, "and sought to appease the multitude by addressing them from the window; but this was not effected till many of the principal inhabitants were brought to the scene of tumult, when one of them, on pretence of looking at the pitched cap, took and threw it over the quay, and the hated emblem being no longer in view, the fury of the people abated, the orange commission or warrant was taken from them, and they dispersed. Nor was there anything more heard of the affair until the next morning, when the captain of the guard for the day (having everything previously arranged and ready, after parade, when all others had retired to breakfast, and on his own mere authority,) took down lord Kingsborough and his two officers to the quay, and conducted them on board the ship that had been fitted out, but condemned; where he provided them with abundance of fresh straw, and placed a detachment of his guard over them. All this was executed with such haste and precaution, that it was not for some time known to the principal inhabitants. These, however, on hearing of the affair, assembled and appealed to the people, then collected, to know what was the matter. They represented to them, that as these officers had surrendered on condition of being treated as prisoners of war, they ought not to be confined on board a condemned ship, and the consequence was,

that two boat loads of butchers were sent on board to examine and inspect the state of the vessel, on whose report that she was not *fit for a pig* to be confined in, lord Kingsborough and his officers were brought back to their former situation, where they remained until the surrender of the town. The vessel was then hauled into the harbour, while she sunk within a foot of her deck.*

Every day saw the power of the mob increasing, and the authority of their nominal rulers becoming weaker, until Keogh and his friends were actually in danger of their lives. Many were apprehensive that, if the rebels had held the town a few days longer, the populace, whose appetite was already whetted with blood, would have arisen and massacred their chiefs. The fury of the mob was increased by the reports which now began to circulate of the movements of the king's troops towards the scene of rebellion. It was then that the ferocious Dixon, and his no less sanguinary wife, triumphed over all opposition, and began the massacres. This man had twice attempted, at the head of bands of peasants, to effect a general slaughter of the prisoners, but he was successfully opposed, first by a butcher named Hore, and next by a man named Scallian, a nautical trader. These two men, the former with a sword, the latter with a pistol, defied him to single combat, and insisted that he must show himself a man before he should put defenceless men to death. At length, on the 20th of June, Dixon and his wife proceeded deliberately to carry their sanguinary design into effect. The main body of the rebel garrison having been ordered to march to the assistance of their friends, against whom the king's army was now moving, Dixon, having prepared his followers for the work with whiskey, obtained possession of the town and gaol. The victims were conducted from the latter, in successive parcels of from ten to twenty, with horrible solemnity, preceded by a black flag, marked with a white cross, to the place of execution, where they were one by one piked to death, often with circumstances of revolting cruelty. Some were slaughtered at the gaol, and some at the market place; but the principal place of execution was the bridge, a very handsome wooden structure, where a multitude of

people, the majority of whom were women, had assembled to behold the horrible spectacle, and raised savage shouts of exultation on the arrival of each fresh parcel of victims. The slaughter began about two o'clock in the afternoon, and was continued till seven. Jackson has given us an account of his experience of this fearful day. "On Wednesday, June the 20th," he says, "about eight o'clock in the morning, we heard the drums beat to arms and the town-bell ring, which was a sure sign to us of our friends being near; but, at the same time, we expected that we should be cut off before they could arrive and release us. In this terrible state of suspense we remained till four o'clock in the afternoon, when we heard a horrid noise at the gate, and a demand of the prisoners. Eighteen or twenty were immediately taken out; and, in about half-an-hour, the rebels returned for more victims. In the whole they took out ninety-eight. Those who were last called out were seventeen in number. Mr. Daniel and Mr. Robinson, both guaguers; Mr. Atkins, a tide-waiter; Matthews and Gurley, who were with me at the execution of Murphy, and myself, were included in this lot. The moment Matthews put his head out of the jail, he was shot dead, which I believe would have been the fate of us all, had not Mrs. Dixon, when Matthews fell, immediately advanced, and desired they would desist, as they ought to allow the people on the bridge *the pleasure of seeing us*. We were accordingly marched to the bridge. When we came in sight of the people assembled there to witness the executions, they almost rent the air with shouts and exultations. I and my sixteen fellow-prisoners knelt down in a row. The blood of those who had been already executed on this spot (eighty-one in number), had more than stained, it streamed upon the ground about us. They began the bloody tragedy by taking out Mr. Daniel, who, the moment he was touched with their pikes, sprung over the battlements of the bridge into the water, where he was shot. Mr. Robinson was the next; he was piked to death. The manner of piking was, by two of the rebels pushing their pikes into the front of the victim, while two others pushed pikes into his back, and in this state, writhing with torture, he was suspended on the pikes till dead; he was then thrown over the bridge into the water. They ripped open the

* Hay's *History of the Insurrection of the County of Wexford*, a work written with strong party feeling, and in many of the statements in which we cannot place much confidence.

belly of poor Mr. Atkins, and in that condition he ran several yards, when, falling on the side of the bridge, he was piked. Thus they proceeded till they came to Gurley, who was next to me. At that moment, one of them came up to me, and asked me if I would have a priest. I felt my death to be certain, and I answered, 'No.' He then pulled me by the collar, but was desired to wait till Gurley was finished. While they were torturing him, general Roche rode up in great haste, and bid them beat to arms, informing them Vinegar-hill camp was beset, and that reinforcements were wanting. This operated like lightning upon them; they all instantly quitted the bridge, and left Mr. O'Connor, an organist, Mr. Hamilton, the bailiff of the town, and myself, on our knees. The mob, consisting of more women than men, which had been spectators of this dreadful scene, also instantly dispersed in every direction, supposing the king's troops were at hand. We were so stupefied by terror, that we remained for some time in this posture, without making the least effort to escape. The rebel guard soon came to us, and took us back to the

gaol, telling us that we should not escape longer than the next day, when neither man, woman, or child, of the protestants, should be left alive. But it pleased God to prevent their dreadful intention from being carried into effect, by giving success to his majesty's arms."

Although Roche first called off the mob from their sanguinary employment, by announcing that reinforcements were wanting to resist the advance of the king's troops, it was a priest named father Corrin, the parish priest of Wexford, who put a stop to the massacre; we are informed that he, having vainly supplicated the assassins to desist, commanded them to pray before proceeding further in the work of death; and having thus caused them to kneel, he dictated a prayer that God would shew the same mercy to them which they should show to the surviving prisoners. The respite thus procured would doubtless have been short, but for the sudden arrival of a person in the town announcing that the king's troops were at hand, upon which the multitude of spectators were struck with fear, and began immediately to disperse.

CHAPTER XI.

BATTLE OF VINEGAR HILL; RECAPTURE OF WEXFORD.



HE government forces were now marching from different sides upon Enniscorthy and Vinegar-hill, with the intention of surrounding the rebels in their headquarters. On the 18th of June, lieutenant-general Dundas proceeded from Baltinglass to Hacketstown to form a junction with major-general Loftus from Tullow; but this plan was changed, and Loftus marched to Scarewalsh. Early on the 19th, major-generals Johnston and Eustace marched out of Ross and surprised the camp at Lacken-hill, but the insurgents were drawn off in good order by their general, father Philip Roche, and

effected their retreat to a strong post nearer Wexford called the Three Rocks. The two generals, Johnston and Eustace, then proceeded to Bloomfield, where they encamped on the evening of the 20th of June. On the same day general Needham encamped on Oulard-hill, whence he was to proceed to Enniscorthy. General sir James Duff, who had marched from Newtown-Barry, took his station with major-general Loftus at Scarewalsh. The whole force now collected round Vinegar-hill amounted to above thirteen thousand effective men, with a formidable train of artillery.

The attack began at seven o'clock on the morning of the 21st, with a heavy firing of cannon and mortars. The army, meanwhile, advanced in two divisions. General Duff proceeded along the Ferns-road, on the east

side of the river Slaney, and was supported on each flank by the light infantry, under general Loftus. The latter was detached, at the foot of the hill, to occupy an elevated position in advance, and though the hill was steep, and the ground divided by stone walls, he moved forward with great rapidity, breaking gaps in the walls, and dragging his guns through them. From the position he thus occupied, Loftus's guns drove in the lower line of the rebel army with considerable execution. While he effected this movement, generals Lake, Dundas, and Wilford, with colonel Campbell's light infantry, were advancing up the hill on the south-east side, where they were met with a brisk and well-sustained fire by the rebels, who retreated at the same time from one hedge to another, till they were driven over the hill. These inclosures protected the rebels, whose loss in the engagement was much less than might have been expected. General Lake had his horse shot under him, as he was directing the attack on the side of the hill. The two columns reached the top of the hill together.

Meanwhile the two generals, Johnston and Eustace, had performed their part of the aggressive operations with the utmost precision. On the evening of the 20th they advanced to Daphne, a place about a mile-and-a-half from Enniscorthy, where they encamped for the night. A large body of the rebels marched out of the town against them, and took up a position on an eminence about half-a-mile in front of them, where they showed a resolution to fight. Early next morning the king's troops drove them from this position into the town, after an obstinate resistance, for the rebels disputed every inch of ground, firing from behind the numerous hedges, which they occupied in succession. As general Lake had not yet commenced his attack, the main body of the Vinegar-hill army was occupied in the defence of Enniscorthy, so that general Johnston met with a formidable opposition. The two armies continued to cannonade each other for about an hour after the rebels had retired into the town, and then the king's troops advanced, but they met with an obstinate resistance from the pikemen in the streets, and the musketeers who fired upon them with deadly aim from the windows of the houses. A party of soldiers having advanced with one gun to an open space before the court-house, a numerous body of pikemen rushed out of

that building, overpowered the soldiers, and seized the gun, and kept it for a few minutes, till it was retaken by a fresh column of troops. General Johnston now ordered the light infantry to charge over the bridge, and up the hill, which was here steeper than on the other sides, and was occupied by numerous bodies of rebels; but they showing some unwillingness to undertake this apparently desperate service, he called on the Dublin regiment to advance and unite with them. The latter, led by colonel Vesey and lord Blaney, gave three cheers, and then marched to the bridge, which was soon forced, and the united infantry marched up the hill, driving the rebels before them.

The rebels now fled precipitately. All the divisions of general Lake's combined army had reached their post at the appointed time, except that of general Needham, who, owing to some confusion in his orders, did not arrive till nine o'clock, when the business was over, in consequence of which some wags gave him the title of "the late general Needham." His absence left the country towards Wexford open to the rebels, who escaped from the field of battle by what was ludicrously termed "Needham's gap." Many were killed in the pursuit, and among these was a priest of Enniscorthy named father Clinch, a man of huge stature, who made so conspicuous a figure, equipped with a scimitar and broad cross-belt, and mounted on a large white horse, with long pistols, that he attracted the especial notice of the king's troops. The earl of Roden having singled him out among the fugitives, overtook him after a pursuit of about a mile, and received his fire, which he returned, wounding the priest in the neck. The latter then discharged his second pistol at lord Roden, on which an officer of lord Roden's regiment rode up and shot him. This man had been one of the most active members of the rebel committee at Enniscorthy. He wore his vestments under his military accoutrements; and when his pockets were examined, they were found to contain nearly forty pounds in money, with a gold watch and a remarkable snuff-box, all of which he was supposed to have acquired by plunder.

The loss of the rebels in this engagement was never known with any degree of certainty. In their precipitate flight they left a great quantity of rich plunder, with all their cannon, the latter thirteen in number, three of which were six-pounders. The loss

on the part of the king's forces was very inconsiderable, that of general Johnson's army, which suffered most, amounting but to twenty killed, sixty-seven wounded, and six missing. One officer, lieutenant Sandys, of the Longford militia, was killed, and four others, colonel King of the Sligo regiment, colonel Vesey of the county of Dublin regiment, lord Blaney, and lieutenant-colonel Cole, were slightly wounded. The advance of the different armies had been marked by a new devastation of the country, most of the houses of rebels being burnt, and the inhabitants who fell into the hands of the soldiery were put to death without mercy, and with very little care whether they were insurgents or loyal subjects. The battle of Vinegar-hill was followed at first by great excesses and outrages, in which the Hessian troops were especially active. Many individuals were put to death in Enniscorthy and the neighbourhood, and the soldiers set fire to a house which had been used by the rebels as an hospital, in which a number of men confined by sickness or wounds were burnt to death.

The main body of the fugitives from Vinegar-hill made their way to Carrick-bridge, about three miles from Wexford, where they halted, and separated into two columns, one of which hurried to the mountains of Forth, whilst the other marched into Wexford. After remaining there a couple of hours, to the great terror of the inhabitants, they left the town, and under the command of Anthony Perry, Esmund Kyan, Edward Fitzgerald, and a priest named father Kearns, marched northward to join the insurgents who were in arms in the mountains of Wicklow. In their way they committed a lamentable, but not an unprovoked, massacre in the neighbourhood of Gorey. When general Needham left this town to proceed towards Vinegar-hill, on the 20th of June, he had sent an express to captain Holmes, of the Durham regiment, who commanded in Arklow, ordering him to dispatch immediately to Gorey that part of the Gorey yeomanry cavalry which remained in Arklow, informing him that on their arrival there they would find an officer to command them, and a body of troops with which they were to unite. The Gorey infantry were to remain in Arklow. But the latter troop, and the refugee protestants of Gorey who had remained in Arklow, understanding that a large force was to be sent to protect their town, were so impatient to revisit their

homes, that they disobeyed general Needham's orders and followed the cavalry. On their arrival at Gorey, this body of cavalry, amounting only to seventeen, found, to their astonishment, neither officer nor soldiers; nevertheless, being joined by some other yeomanry, they proceeded to scour the country in search of rebels, and killed about fifty men whom they found in their houses, or who were straggling homeward from the rebel army. Next day, the 22nd of June, a body of about five hundred rebels, under Perry, who were on their march towards the Wicklow mountains, heard of this slaughter, and of the weakness of the party which committed it, and they hurried to Gorey to take vengeance on the perpetrators. Informed of their approach, lieutenant Gordon, a youth of only twenty years of age, who had the command of the party in Gorey, marched his men out of the town to meet the enemy, and took post in an advantageous position near a place called Charlotte-grove, where they fired some volleys on the rebels, seven of whom were killed. But finding that if they attempted to maintain their post any longer, they must be immediately surrounded and destroyed, this small party of soldiers retreated, and, each horseman taking a footman behind him, fled through the town towards Arklow, after leaving three only of the yeomanry infantry slain. The refugees fled again from Gorey in the utmost consternation, and the officer attempted to rally the yeomen on the road, to protect these unfortunate people in their flight, but in vain, for the yeomen galloped away towards Arklow, at full speed, in spite of his remonstrances, and the refugees were slaughtered along the road to the number of thirty-seven men, besides a few who were left for dead, but afterwards recovered. No women or children were injured, because the rebels said that their own women had been spared in the massacre of the preceding day. This sanguinary affair was long afterwards remembered among the inhabitants of Gorey under the title of “Bloody Friday.” After a short repast in Gorey the rebels, under Perry, resumed their march towards the mountains of Wicklow.

Among the arrangements for the attack on the rebel position of Vinegar-hill, brigadier-general Moore was to land at Ballyhack-ferry on the 18th of June, next day he was to proceed to Foulkes's Mill, a place about ten miles from Wexford, to co-operate with general Johnson, and intercept the

flight of the rebels in that direction. This officer accordingly marched with a body of twelve hundred troops, furnished with artillery, and encamped at Foulkes's Mill on the night of the 19th. The arrival of this army had occasioned great alarm in Wexford and at the Three-rocks camp, and on the evening of the 19th, the drums beat to arms in the former place, and the church-bell was rung, and all the soldiers in the town were sent to the camp, in order to co-operate against Moore. The road between the town and the camp was crowded on each side with old men, women, and children, on their knees, praying for the success of the rebel forces as they marched by. About half-way, a priest, held by the populace in extraordinary veneration, whose name was father Keane, but who was best known by the title of the blessed priest of Bannow, met them on horseback, and gave them his benediction. On the 20th the whole body of the rebels, under the command of father Philip Roche, commenced their march in the direction of Ross, which it is said to have been father Roche's design to surprise, while its defenders were occupied at a distance in the attack upon Vinegar-hill. Gordon tells us that in their march great numbers of the rebels under Roche exhibited much reluctance, and that they halted so frequently to kneel and pray, and receive benedictions of the clergy, that at length father Roche lost his patience, and, swearing violently, asked them if they thought they had come there for nothing but to pray, and whether they intended to fight or not.

While the rebels were proceeding thus, general Moore had also marched from his post at Foulkes's Mill towards Taghmon, on his way to Enniscorthy, and soon after three o'clock in the afternoon he was unexpectedly encountered by the force under father Roche, amounting to five or six thousand men, near a place called Goff's-bridge, not far from Horetown. When general Moore saw a body of rebels advancing towards him, he sent his advanced guard, consisting of two rifle companies, to skirmish with them, whilst a howitzer and a six-pounder were pushed on to a cross road above Goff's-bridge, and some companies of light infantry stationed on each side of them. The rebels made an attack on these, but were repulsed and driven beyond the bridge. A large body of rebels was perceived at the same time advancing

on general Moore's left, to meet which, he detached five companies of light infantry and a six pounder, and the sixtieth regiment, finding no further opposition in front, had also inclined to the left to engage this new body of assailants. The fighting was here very severe, and lasted till eight o'clock in the evening, when the rebels were finally repulsed with considerable slaughter, and not without a rather severe loss on the part of the king's troops, who had two officers mortally wounded, major Daniel and lieutenant Green. This little engagement is generally agreed to have been the best fought battle in the war, the rebel troops having shown that they had improved considerably in military discipline and strategics. Father Roche and others of the leaders were seen attempting to rally their troops with the greatest pertinacity, whenever they were driven back; and they went so far as to horsewhip and even fire pistols at some of the fugitives. The rebel general was not disheartened by this check, but it is understood that he was reassembling his army in the woods of Horetown and Ross-garland, with the design of renewing the attack on general Moore's division next morning; but his plans were disconcerted by the arrival of two regiments under lord Dalhousie. The king's army passed the night on the field of battle; the engagement had rendered it impossible for them to take part in the attack on Enniscorthy, but next morning, the 21st of June, general Moore resumed his march to Taghmon.

The writers who attempt to excuse the atrocities of the rebels, pretend that the horrible massacre of the prisoners in Wexford on the afternoon of the 20th of June, was caused partly by the accounts of the ravages of general Moore's soldiers, brought by the fugitives who had escaped from them on their march. It was the departure of the rebel troops from Wexford on the morning of the 20th to reinforce father Roche's army, which gave the long-desired occasion for the ferocious Dixon and his band of ruffians to get possession of the town and prison, and take out the prisoners to slaughter. The town continued for some time in the power of the mob, but general Edward Roche at length succeeded in drawing them away from the scene of their sanguinary proceedings, and leading them out of the town on the excuse that their assistance was wanted at Vinegar-hill. The town was cleared of them towards eight

o'clock in the evening, and somewhat later, the army under father Philip Roche having returned to the Three Rocks after its engagement with general Moore, the Wexford troops which had taken part in that action returned into the town. Wexford was now filled with apprehensions, and hurried meetings were held to consider the best steps to be taken on the approach of the king's troops, which were expected the next day. It was determined at last that the government of the town should be surrendered to lord Kingsborough, that the mayoralty should be restored to Dr. Jacob, who had been respected by the rebels during their occupation of the town, because he had been useful to them as a physician, and that lord Kingsborough should undertake to try and obtain terms from the royal army. Lord Kingsborough's life was still in danger, and it is probable that he would have been sacrificed, if he had not been considered as a valuable hostage, through whom they expected to obtain advantageous terms of surrender. There can be little doubt that on the morning of the 21st of June, the protestants in Wexford would have been subjected to a general and indiscriminate massacre, if they had not been persuaded by their leaders that conditions of surrender would be obtained. Messengers were sent to general Moore and to general Lake, with lord Kingsborough's proposals. Ensign Harman, of the North Cork militia, who carried lord Kingsborough's letter to general Lake, was intercepted by the fanatic leader, father Murphy, who said that he would have no peace, and ordered him to be shot. But the messengers sent to general Moore, two officers who had been prisoners with the rebels, captain M'Manus, of the Antrim, and lieutenant Hay, of the North Cork militia, fell in with that division of the king's army as it was on its march from God's-bridge to Taghmon. The proposals they brought were, that the inhabitants of Wexford should surrender the town, and return to their allegiance, provided that their lives and properties should be guaranteed to them. General Moore represented that it was not within his capacity to reply to such proposals, and he sent them on to general Lake; but he immediately changed his own plans, and, instead of proceeding to Taghmon, he directed his march to Wexford, and encamped within a mile of that town. Before his arrival, the fugitive army from Vinegar-hill, as already stated, had

passed through the town, and marched towards the north, and it was only on their departure that the protestant inhabitants and prisoners were relieved from fear of a general massacre. Apprehensions of this kind were also felt by the loyalists in general Moore's camp, and captain Boyd, whose wife (a niece of the earl of Courtown) and family were prisoners in Wexford, entreated the general to march without delay into the town, or to permit him to occupy it with a party of soldiers. General Moore was unwilling to assent to this request, fearful, it is said, that his soldiers might not be easily restrained from acts of violence; and the captain, overcome by his own impatience, at length, at five o'clock in the afternoon, with only eight yeomen of his troop, ventured to gallop into the town, and to their joy they found it entirely abandoned by the rebel forces. Detachments of the army soon followed captain Boyd, and the surviving prisoners were set at liberty.

One of these, Jackson, whose narrative we shall now cite for the last time, has given us a picturesque description of the change thus suddenly produced in the town of Wexford. After describing the anxiety of the night preceding, and the effect produced on the prisoners by the first sound of distant cannon on the morning of the 21st, he goes on to tell us how "our agitation increased, one moment expecting the troops to arrive, and the next that we might on the instant be put to death; when about eleven o'clock the turnkey came to us, to inform us that we might walk out into the large yard. He addressed us by the title of gentlemen, from which we were assured that some great alteration had taken place; but we suppressed our feelings, lest the news which influenced them might not be true. About three o'clock, the captain of the rebel guard, a Mr. Murphy, came in and addressed major Savage, one of the prisoners, offering him the keys of the gaol, and arms for us all, if we would admit some of the rebels into the jail, and strive to save them from that fate their own consciences told them they so richly deserved. His offer was instantly accepted by all, and accordingly we obtained the arms of those who a few minutes before were guarding us. The rebels now changed situations with us, and, as agreed upon, were locked up by major Savage, who brought all of us who had muskets to the iron rails on each side of the great prison door. Here we stood, deter-

mined to conquer or die, if attacked. About five o'clock, we had the heartfelt gratification of seeing the gallant captain Boyd, accompanied by eight of his own corps, riding full gallop through the town; but not a rebel was there to be found. All the green boughs were immediately torn from the windows, and 'liberty and equality,' which before were conspicuous on every door, were now nowhere to be seen. Captain Boyd was member of parliament for the town of Wexford, and colonel of the Wexford cavalry. He recommended to us not to leave the jail at present, as the troops expected in town might suppose us their enemies. This precaution proved not to be necessary, for the troops were encamped a mile short of the town, and orders issued by the generals, that no man should be put to death unless he had been tried and condemned by a court-martial. In about an hour after captain Boyd left us, two companies of the queen's royals arrived, and, giving three cheers, set us at liberty. Reprieved criminals only have experienced such feelings as ours on being released. The scene that followed no pen can describe. Women running in every direction towards the gaol, trembling for the fate of their relatives who had been imprisoned; wives seeking for their husbands, mothers for their sons, sisters for brothers, and children for their fathers. The ecstacy of those who discovered their friends, and the distraction of others who had lost their dearest connections, cannot be imagined. The gallant soldiers, who were witnesses of what passed, though now accustomed to distressing spectacles, could not refrain from shedding tears or joining in the exultations. In some instances, the wife, seeing her husband, would rush into his arms, and overwhelm him with caresses; but on enquiring for a brother, learnt he was no more. One instance I cannot refrain from mentioning: a woman of the name of Smith, whose husband was a hatter, and brother-in-law to Gurley, who suffered on the bridge, came with her seven children to the cell where I had been confined, to inquire for her husband; he was put to death the night before; while she heard his fate, she saw his hat lying on the ground; she seized it, and the children clung to it, with shrieks and screams till she fainted away, and was carried off, followed by her weeping babes. But to relate the particulars of that never-to-be-forgotten day would fill a volume."

The inhabitants of Wexford had good cause for rejoicing, for they had narrowly escaped from the fury of the defeated rebel army. It has been already stated that one column of the insurgents, headed by father Murphy, Edward Fitzgerald, Perry, and others, proceeded direct to Wexford, and that on their way they fell in with ensign Harman, the bearer of dispatches to general Lake, and put him to death. The command of the town had not been long surrendered to lord Kingsborough, when this column entered it, with father Murphy at its head, who led them immediately to the lodgings of that nobleman. Murphy is described as being mounted on a fine horse, fully caparisoned, with a case of pistols and a broadsword. Lord Kingsborough addressed him from the window, urged him to deliver up his arms, and promised to endeavour to obtain favourable terms for him and his friends. The priestly hero, in a paroxysm of rage, dismounted and went up to lord Kingsborough's apartment, where he demanded roughly who he was, and, on being informed, he said insolently, "I had you tried and condemned this morning at the camp at Vinegar-hill, and I'll have you taken out and executed this night." Dr. Caulfield, the titular bishop of Wexford, now arrived, and did his utmost to protect the nobleman from the fury of the rebels. At first Murphy flourished his hand in anger over the bishop's head, exclaiming, "I was once your priest, but now I am a general;" but his anger soon cooled, and he acknowledged the authority of the prelate. Nevertheless, Murphy's aide-de-camp, Whelan, the same who had killed Harman, and who now presented himself with a pistol in his hand, and a large whiskey bottle very visible in his pocket, held out the former and threatened to shoot lord Kingsborough. At this instant the rebel general, Perry, entered the room, and succeeded in dragging Murphy and Whelan away, and as the king's troops were now expected every minute, they began to draw the rebels out of the town. In their retreat one or two shots were fired, and at least one man was killed. They passed over the bridge, the scene of the horrible massacre of the preceding day. In the midst of the confusion, Thomas Dixon rode through the streets, mounted on a very fine horse which he had stolen from one of the townsmen, with a broadsword in his hand, upbraiding the rebels for their cowardice, and for their indulgence, "for," he cried aloud,

"if you had followed my advice in putting all the heretics to death three or four days ago, it would not have come to this pass." Mrs. Dixon who accompanied him, also on horseback, with a sword and a case of pistols, was seen clapping the rebels on the back, and encouraging them, by crying "We must conquer! I know we must conquer!" and she was heard repeatedly to exclaim, "My Saviour tells me we must conquer!" Finding that their efforts to arrest the flight of the rebels in the streets were useless, they hurried to the bridge, and made an attempt to raise the portcullis to stop their retreat, and there Mrs. Dixon is said to have drawn a pistol, swearing vehemently that she would shoot any one of them who would refuse to return with her to put the remainder of the heretics to death. Others cried out that they should burn the town before they left it. But the fear of the arrival of the king's army soon overcame every other sentiment, and within a few minutes the town was entirely abandoned by the rebels. The two Dixons appear to have accompanied the column which fled to the Wicklow mountains.

The envoys from Wexford reached Enniscorthy, and were received by general Lake, on the evening of the 21st. At three o'clock the next morning, the army was ordered to march from Enniscorthy, and, before it left the town, the Wexford envoys were called before the general, and the following answer to their message was delivered to them in writing. "Lieutenant-general Lake cannot attend to any terms offered by rebels in arms against their sovereign; while they continue so, he must use the force entrusted to him, with the utmost energy, for their destruction. To the deluded multitude he promises pardon, on their delivering into his hands their leaders, surrendering their arms, and returning with sincerity to their allegiance." On their return, they found that the town had surrendered, without any conditions, to general Moore. Early in the forenoon, general Lake entered Wexford, and established his head-quarters in the house of the rebel commander Keogh. While the main column of the rebels directed their retreat northward, those who remained under the command of father Philip Roche, consisting chiefly of the army which had been encamped on the Three Rocks, marched into the barony of Forth, and encamped during the night of the 21st of June at Sledagh. Next day Roche himself,

who imagined that terms had been arranged by lord Kingsborough, rode back to Wexford to learn the result of the negotiations, when he fell into the hands of the king's soldiers, who pulled him from his horse and dragged him ignominiously to general Moore's camp on the Windmill-hills. His followers took father John Murphy for their commander, and marched by Foulkes's mill, and through Scollagh-gap into the county of Carlow.

As soon as Wexford was occupied by the king's troops, most of the more eminent of its catholic inhabitants were thrown into gaol, from whence they were taken to be tried before courts-martial, but they were in general either acquitted or pardoned. General Keogh had remained at lord Kingsborough's lodgings, and two sentinels were placed over him there till, two days after the surrender of the town, he also was removed to the gaol. Mr. Cornelius Grogan, another gentleman who had been active among the rebels, was taken at his seat at Johnstown. Bagenal Harvey had retired to his residence at Bargy-castle, in the hope that he should escape under cover of the capitulation which he believed to have been made through lord Kingsborough; but when this hope failed, he hurried to rejoin Mr. Colclough, who had fled with his wife and child to one of the Saltee islands, where he hoped to have remained concealed in a cave in the rocks, which he had fitted out as a retreat, until the vengeance of government had passed over. Harvey followed him thither, and the incautious manner in which he landed in the island led to the discovery of their retreat, in consequence of which they were arrested and carried prisoners to Wexford.

It now only remained to judge and execute the insurrectionary leaders who were in prison, and a court-martial was established for this purpose. Father Philip Roche was first tried and condemned by this tribunal; he was followed by Keogh, who made an able, but a fruitless, defence. They were both hanged at the entrance to the wooden bridge, the scene of the massacre on the 20th, and both died with firmness. Father Roche was bulky and heavy, and the first rope with which he was hauled up broke with his weight, so that the executioner was obliged to obtain another and hang him up a second time. The head of general Keogh was severed from his body, and placed on a pike over the front of the court-house. Their bodies were stripped,

and thrown over the bridge into the river. Harvey and Grogan, the latter of whom had served as commissary to the rebel army, were tried on the 26th, and next day those two gentlemen, with Mr. Patrick Prendergast, a rich maltster of Wexford, were executed at the bridge. Their bodies, after the heads of Harvey and Grogan had been cut off and placed by that of Keogh, were in the same manner stripped and thrown into the river. Mr. Colclough was tried on the 27th, and executed next day, but his body, at the intercession of his lady, was given up to her to be interred. Mr. John Kelly, of Killan, who had distinguished himself by his activity in the attack upon Ross, and who

lay ill of his wounds in Wexford, was taken from his bed to prison, tried and condemned to die, and brought on a car to the place of execution. His head was placed beside those of Keogh and his companions on the court-house, and his body was thrown like theirs into the river.

These were all the persons executed in Wexford on this occasion. On the 28th of June, general Lake quitted Wexford, and left the command to general Hunter, whose moderation and humanity contributed not a little towards calming the troubled spirit which still prevailed through districts but lately the scene of so much turbulence and distress.

CHAPTER XII.

STATE OF THE COUNTRY ROUND WEXFORD DURING THE REBELLION; PRIVATE JOURNAL OF A LADY.



It is a special object of history to make us intimately acquainted with the character of the past, and this is sometimes done more effectually by the private memoirs of a contemporary who moved in a sphere below that of those who took an active part in the events they witnessed, than by the elaborate diaries of the great, or by the profound dissertations of the historian. A journal of the kind to which we allude, offers itself on the present occasion, and, as it gives a very interesting picture of the state of the country round Wexford during the occupation of that town by the rebels, it will be not altogether an uninteresting interruption of the onward course of the history, if we halt to give a few extracts from it. It is not the relation of a partisan, but it details the sufferings of a protestant lady, who tells us what she saw, without colouring, and it gives us perhaps a more vivid picture of Wexford under the rebel government, than we could obtain elsewhere. Mrs. Adams, the writer of this journal, appears to have been a young married woman with two children, living with her aged father, Mr. Owen, at his resi-

dence at Summerseat, near Wexford.* It commences in a letter to one of the lady's friends, detailing the alarming symptoms which began to show themselves in the country around, and the anxiety of the writer to persuade her father to leave a place which was no longer secure. On Whit-Sunday, the day the insurrection began, she says, "While at church, Mr. Bevon [the protestant clergyman] hurried over the communion service, and told us he was not without his fears that we should be surrounded by rebels while at the communion-table. I am told the whole country is up. Mr. Bevon, as he rode to church, saw the smiths openly at work making pikes. In my way home we met Mr. Percival's carriage, the coachman driving furiously; he would scarcely wait to tell us he had left some of the children in Wexford, and that he was returning for his mistress and the rest—that an express had arrived in Wexford, saying there were seven thousand rebels within three miles of the town. I will continue to write, and collect all for to-morrow's post. Mrs. Percival and many others are getting off to England, caring little for accom-

* I print the extracts from the original manuscript, kindly communicated to me by Mr. Crofton Croker.

modation, if they can get any kind of boat. This is truly alarming. Mr. Percival is high sheriff! The North Cork are sent for, and all the yeomen and cavalry, to rout the rebels. In vain do I implore my father even to come to Wexford. Whit Sunday evening.—Every moment becomes more frightful; an account is just arrived to say, the North Cork are all put to death by the rebels in an engagement, and that the unfortunate soldiers' wives are screaming through the streets of Wexford, and that every creature that appears is put under arms; the thatch is stripped off the houses in the suburbs of the town; that Ennis-corthy is burnt, and the inhabitants are pouring into Wexford; women of fortune half dressed—some without shoes or stockings, with their children on their backs and in their arms; many without a stitch but their under petticoats, endeavouring in this state to get on board ship. I am told that never was a more frightful scene than Wexford at this moment exhibits. Eight in the evening.—I am assured there are but four of the North Cork have escaped the fury of the rebels—one hundred have been put to death! Major Lombard, whom I think you knew, has fallen. I am told the post cannot proceed, that the roads to Dublin are all occupied with rebels. Captain Boyd has sent for the thirteenth regiment to Waterford. Thank heaven I wrote to poor Mr. Adams, and Letty Kynaston yesterday; what dreadful anxiety they must be in. Whit-Monday.—A report to-day that the thirteenth are taken prisoners by the rebel army, and that Mr. Coquely [Colclough] and Mr. B. Harvey have been sent to the rebel camp to compromise with its leaders—a compromise with rebels seems strange to me. . . . So far I had written last Tuesday; what I have suffered since I cannot describe. On Wednesday, the army and all the loyalists fled; we saw them on the hill to the left of our house. Can you believe it? My father still persevered in making light of it, ordered his horses, and would have rode into town, but for some ladies who were flying from it, and assured him the rebels had full possession. Whilst he was away, I had had a bed and what things I could collect sent on a car to the strand, where Hayes (our gardener) went to procure a boat. We fortunately had a good deal of cold meat, which, with a basket of wine and a small cask of brandy, I sent off in the hope of prevailing

on my father to leave the house and try to get on board ship. We saw several lying-to. My strong desire to get to England enabled me to be a little peremptory to my father, when he returned; poor man! he seemed quite subdued and thunderstruck! and we all got into a boat, and many of the peasantry, strangers to me, forced their way into it. When we got off a little, we found it impossible to get to a ship, and were advised by our gardener, who rowed us with another of our servants, neither of whom had ever rowed a boat before, to make to an island within a few miles of us, and at least remain there till we could get some further intelligence of affairs in Wexford. While debating on this subject we saw a boat sailing towards us full of men, with boughs in their hats, and a white handkerchief displayed as a rebel flag. They soon got up to us, and said, 'if we would go home and turn christians we should be safe enough.' This speech conveyed enough. I thought I should have fainted, but was soon roused by their vociferation to put back, to return, that all was peace and liberty; that they had chaired Dr. Jacob—he was their mayor. I begged, however, to prefer the liberty of the island till the first fury of the mob abated, and my poor father consented, but a Mr. and Mrs. Woodcock, who were with us, said they would return. We soon landed at our island, and there I found many of the peasantry who had made their escape at the early part of the day. We had brought plenty of provisions with us, and those poor people had contrived to light a fire, and were boiling their potatoes, which they seemed most heartily to enjoy. But, alas! *we* were not so well off. The servant who had a basket of bread and wine was knocked down on his way to the boat, and I had neither for my poor father. Night was now approaching, where to place his bed was my next object. There was scarcely a bush on the island, but a friendly thorn tree enabled me to throw a temporary curtain over his bed, which he went into, thanking God with as much devotion as if lying down in his best bedchamber. I put my two dear children at one side of him, and sat at the other, to keep the clothes over him. I was soon roused from every thought but present danger. I heard the dashing of oars and a whispering among the people. I had hoped we were in security, at least till morning, as they all told me no one could land till the tide was full in, but what was

my horror when the oars ceased, and by the dim light I observed a man walking towards me. I jumped up, he seized me by the arm, I could scarcely breathe, with terror, when poor Hayes said, 'Don't be frightened, madam, it is I; happy am I that you are here. It was scarcely night when a party of rebels came to the house, and fired several shots over the hall-door, insisted on admittance, went up to all the bed-rooms in search of arms, and said if I concealed an orangeman they would have my life. They then swore me into their gang, and brought me to give them up everything they wished to take. They carried away all the bacon pigs, broke open the cellar-door, and took the wine and rum away. Such a wreck as they have made of the place, madam! they had six carts with them. It is dreadful, madam. I could scarcely prevail on them to let me remain after them.' You may think how happy I felt at this temporary escape, though almost the moment before I had reproached myself when looking at my dear father asleep on the ground. I begged of our faithful Hayes to return, and try to save what he could, and come for us in the morning. I saw the impossibility of remaining where there was no shelter of any kind. 'I will, madam, but——' 'What, Hayes? speak out.' 'Why, madam, they did say they would come in the morning to burn the house.' He then pointed out to me the many distant fires. I really felt as if my head would burst. At length I determined on his returning, making him promise to come as early as he could for us."

Next morning Summerseat was not burnt, and Hayes returned with a boat to carry them from the island. On landing they were received by an armed multitude who occupied the shore, but their fears were somewhat appeased when a man, who called himself captain Butler, promised them protection. He had been coachman to one of their neighbours, Mr. Percival, and had experienced personal kindness at the hands of Mrs. Adams. "They were all contending for rank, were all wielding pistols, guns, and blunderbusses, in the most vociferous manner. I expected every moment that the contents would be lodged in our heads, from accident, if not design." A guard was at length chosen, and the fugitives were conducted back towards Summerseat; but on their way Mrs. Adams became so faint, that she asked permission to stop at the house of their neighbour, Mrs. Woodcock, the same

who had accompanied them part of the way to the island in the boat, and the rebel guard there left them.

"When we arrived at Mr. Woodcock's we found them all in the greatest confusion and dismay; they had been up all night, at the mercy of several parties of rebels, who came repeatedly, insisting on examining every part of the house, and possessing themselves of everything they chose to take. The moment Mrs. Woodcock had to herself she employed in hiding flour and everything in the way of food; she had some in the chimneys and roof of the house. Many of the rebels threatened her with a pistol to her breast, that if she had arms or orangemen concealed, she should pay for it with her life. While she was tremblingly recounting this to me, we saw the party our guard left us for, approaching towards the house with carts. Mr. Woodcock went out immediately to meet them; they obliged him to open all his barns and offices (he was a respectable farmer and a quaker), out of which they filled their carts with flour, potatoes, &c., but not contented with this, they insisted on coming into the house, and after searching the lower part they crowded up stairs where Mrs. Woodcock, her family, and my poor dear father and children were waiting with terror their departure. On hearing them, I actually pushed my father and children behind a bed. But by the time the rebels reached the room, I pulled them out again, fearing had they found them hiding it would have made them more desperate. I stood before them, and again my friend captain Butler came up to me, and said, 'no harm should happen to me,' and begged that I would tell his mistress, that as long as he was captain he would protect her house. He believed she had got to England, but he did not know what had become of his master the high sheriff, 'but he was done with that now.' The party examined every drawer, press, and chest in the house, and one of them said on going away, 'I would have you take care of the next party, they are coming to burn all your houses.' With what horror did we hear them! We looked at each other, and literally without the power of utterance, for several minutes. At length I said, anything was better than to be burned to death; and we had better collect what we could and return to the island till the fury of the day was over."

They now made another attempt to proceed to the island, but they were driven back by

the rebels, and were at length obliged to return to Summerseat. There they found that the house had been ransacked and plundered, and that all the servants had fled, except one faithful maid, Alice. The beds had been taken away, and the yard was covered with feathers thrown out of them in order to convert them into bags for carrying away other plunder. Among other things the rebels had taken away a favourite guitar, and not being able for want of ropes to carry off the piano, they had thumped it with their fists till it was in danger of being broken to pieces. They remained in their ransacked dwelling, disturbed only by frequent passing visits of parties of insurgents, till the 2nd of June, when it was rumoured that a party of rebels was approaching to take them to gaol. "In a few minutes a party of fifty men, armed with blunderbusses and pistols, arrived, and made their way to the room in which my father was. I found him with a large prayer-book in his hand, reading the prayer for the universal catholic church—this had little effect on them, and my remonstrances had less. One of them said to me, 'Mr. Owen has been favoured more than any gentlemen in the barony'—that we should have sent for the priest long ago; and wickedly added, that our Saviour's prophecy was now fulfilling, when he said, the first shall be last, and the last shall be first—that we had been first long enough. This shocked me, and confirmed the opinion that it was a religious business, and that they came for my father to put him to death. Fearing that he may be put into a dungeon without food that he could eat, I had all the eggs that I could get boiled hard, and some cheese, wrapped up in separate papers; concealed them about me, and slipped some into his coat pockets. I asked one of the guards if they intended to murder my dear father, and said, 'if that be your intention, I implore you put us all to death this moment, and let me have the comfort of knowing that he and my children are at peace before you shoot me.' They said, 'you had better not repeat that, we might do it if we choose—there is no one to punish us—we may do as we please.' 'Come, come,' they continued, 'there is no use in delaying—take him we will.' I then said, 'it is impossible, the carriage horses have been taken, and our coachman, there is no possible conveyance for my father.' They answered, 'Oh! we'll get a cart for him, and you are young enough to walk.'

Another of them objected to my coming, but I said with some warmth, I hoped if any of them had a father and children, they could not have the heart to separate me from mine. This seemed to make an impression, and a few of them went in search of a cart, and in their absence I went to Alley, and told her if she heard that we were to be murdered, to come immediately to Wexford, as I had thirty guineas sewed round my waist, which I desired she would take as a reward for her faithful and compassionate feelings towards us."

They were now dragged to Wexford, and carried to the gaol. "On our arrival there, a person who opened the door said to me, 'You must not go in.' 'Not go in with my father! No one shall prevent me.' They instantly put their pikes across me. I implored them not to separate me from my father. One of them gave me a push, and said there was no room for women. I turned round almost distracted, and, seeing a person amongst the crowd who had the appearance of a gentleman, I implored him not to suffer those fellows to prevent my going with my father into the gaol, that he was extremely ill, and never had been separated from me. 'I would not leave him for worlds! My children, too—do, dear sir, I entreat you, let me share his fate; let us at least be together.' He seemed affected, and said, 'Certainly, madam, you shall go in,' and after taking my poor father and children out of the cart, he handed me in after them, and with the utmost concern of countenance lamented the shocking place he was leading us to. It was a small front room, so crowded there was not room to sit, nor indeed a chair to sit on. I begged permission to get the feather-bed that was in the cart, which request was complied with, and just as I was putting it into a corner, to lay my poor father on it, a gentleman came up to me, and lamented very much seeing us in such a situation. This gentleman was *priest* of our parish. He apologised for never having been to wait on Mr. Owen and myself since our residence in his parish, that he had heard much of both, and again expressed his concern at the place he first saw us in. I said I had hoped my father's age would have screened him, that he was not a magistrate, nor had he anything to do with public affairs, that he was extremely ill, and what to do I knew not, that the crowd in the room was enough to kill him (fortunately the panes of glass were all broken

outside the iron-bars.) He very kindly told me he would do what he could, and at the same time beckoned to the young gentleman who had already evinced so much compassion for me. The priest whispered him for some time, when he left the room, and in less than an hour returned with a pass from general Keogh, directed to all united-men, and desiring they would suffer Mr. Owen and family to pass to Summerseat as prisoners, and to protect his property. We were immediately liberated. My father asked were there any fees to be paid, and upon being told there was not, he begged of the gentleman who had taken so much trouble to accept of the few guineas he was putting into his hand, but which he politely though positively refused. He took care of us to the door, where there was a guard of fifty to guard us home. Upon inquiring for our humble vehicle, we were told Dr. Jacob had ordered it to the camp, with flour for the army. This was his second act of *kindness* to us. When we were in the gaol he was on horseback near the window, I called out to him, and holding a guinea between my fingers, said, 'Dr. Jacob, my father has not had any bread since the rebels have had possession of the town.' He answered me with the utmost *sang froid*, saying he could get me none, he was on suffrance himself. We were very anxiously inquiring for Mrs. Harvey and family, and while making the inquiry at the gaol-door, we saw two carts filled with prisoners, and on their coming close we discovered her, her mother, her four daughters, the nurse, and her infant son-and-heir, packed in two small carts, guarded by a strong party of pikemen. She begged to stop a moment to speak to us, and while I was telling her I knew not how to get my poor father home, as the cart he was brought on had been taken, one of her guard, a young gentleman, politely got off a small pony he was riding, and kindly said he would walk with pleasure to accommodate that fine old gentleman. He went up to my poor dear father, and begged to help him on his pony, which he assured him was perfectly quiet. Mrs. Harvey had a pass similar to ours, and had only just been released from imprisonment, though not in the common gaol, it being too full to receive her. When we got a short way from Wexford, we met above two thousand rebels drawn up ready to march to the battle of Ross. Overcome with fatigue, I sat down on a heap of stones,

and seeing a girl run quickly past with something in her apron, it occurred to me it might perhaps be bread. I called to her to beg she would let me have a crown's worth. She said there was not a bit to be had. I lifted up my eyes, and said it would have been more charitable to put us to death, than to starve us. In an instant one of the rebels broke from the ranks, and threw a large lump of bread and cheese into my lap, and with the utmost compassion of countenance begged of me to take it. I had just time to return thanks to him, and was trying to slip some money into his hand, when he darted from me with a significant look, and appeared frightened lest he had been observed; he rejected the money, and I have never since heard of this noble creature, nor had I time to ask him his name. How unlike Dr. Jacob's conduct, by whose activity for the rebel camp we were deprived of our cart and valuable carriage-horse, that had cost my father above forty guineas about three months before. When we returned home, we met our faithful Alley at the town gate, and all the rest of the servants who had not been ordered to the camp; their joy at seeing us appeared indeed unfeigned. Alley did all in her power to keep up my spirits, and when I expressed my fears that we should be all starved, reminded me that we had a good garden, plenty of potatoes, fruit, and abundance of milk, eggs, and some young pigs; that she was sure God Almighty would send us enough, and never let us want. As we passed on to the house, I met a most respectable farmer who lived near us, and was surprised at seeing a pike in his hand; on asking him the reason, he looked fearfully about, and finding our guard had left us at the gate, he told me he had endeavoured to escape, but was seized and sworn; that they had plundered his house and barns, and that he feared Mrs. Parker (his wife) was at that moment at her house without food. 'It is owing to my infirmity,' he added, 'I am appointed to guard this place, and see that you do not attempt your escape; they found me too feeble for anything else.' When I parted from Mr. P—— I went into a little flower-garden in the shrubbery Hayes had made for dear Susan, and I sat embracing and rejecting hope by turns, till I was roused from reflection by a number of persons walking quickly past. I stood on a garden-seat, and saw them all walk into the hall-door. I instantly followed, trembling at every step, but before

I reached the door I distinctly saw them entering into the drawing-room, with lights, passing and repassing. I hurried on, and after entreating my father to remain with the children in the breakfast-room, I went up to them. On entering the room I was accosted by a hideous fierce-looking man, who was half-drunk; there were above twenty of them, armed with pikes. I saw at the end of the room a most gigantic-looking woman, with a hat and feather, a muslin gown richly trimmed with lace, and a cloak of the same. She was tossing over the music-books. On approaching nearer she turned round, and I found this strange-looking figure was a man dressed in woman's clothes, no doubt some of the plunder of the day, and very valuable it was, being deep and fashionable Brussels. The man standing near him had a brace of pistols in his belt, and a blunderbuss in his hand. He took hold of me, and said, 'I want a book I saw here yesterday; it was a great big one, and the cover will do for me for a saddle.' I begged most *quietly* that he would take anything he wanted, upon which he lifted up a very large edition of the *History of London*, with fine engravings of the different buildings, which dear Susan had been copying. Recollecting that she had been in the habit of putting each copy in the leaf she was drawing from, I requested he would allow me to shake the book, upon doing which, you can scarcely believe, that with some of her drawings there fell on the floor a copy of 'Croppies lie down;' I snatched it up, and put it in my pocket unperceived. This was a popular song. Can I ever sufficiently thank my God? I have since been assured that an entire family lost their lives by a similar circumstance; one of the rebels found this song on a drawing-room table, and they were all so outrageous they put the family to death. One of the party came up to me and said, 'It was I that took your big fiddle, or *tar*, as the maid calls it; we can't make music *in it*, but we will come for you soon, we are to go a great way off to-morrow.' The next day a large party rode up to the door, and called for me. I was frightened almost to fainting, thinking it was this man that had encouraged them to come and take me to the camp. Poor faithful Alley begged them not to make a noise, that her master was in bed and ill, but they would not be dissuaded from their purpose, and insisted on having me out. When I came to them, they desired I would get

breakfast directly. I assured them there was no provision of any kind in the house, it having been taken the night we escaped to the island. They then said, 'Well, give us the whisky, till we drink success.' Upon my bringing out a bottle of what we brought from the island with us, one of the men advanced, and desired I would drink some myself, that they had got an order not to take anything from *us* without making us previously taste it; upon which another advanced and said he would take the first glass himself, that the gentlewoman was above any such work. It instantly occurred to me that were this man to be taken ill, or any of the party, they might come and revenge it on me; I therefore thanked the man, and calling for a glass of water, I put some whisky in it, and took a glass myself, and gave a little to each of my children. They were then satisfied, and after finishing the bottle they rode off."

After they were gone Mrs. Adams was able, with some difficulty, to get a breakfast for her family, and afterwards, with the assistance of Hayes, contrived to roast a little pig for dinner, to which she invited Mrs. Parker, the wife of her guard. Next day Hayes brought her intelligence that even this little freedom had been reported to the rebels in the town, and that she was so severely censured for it that he urged her, for her own safety, not to repeat it. The same night he came and secretly killed another pig for them, which they concealed under a heap of stones.

A new subject of anxiety now fell upon the troubled mind of Mrs. Adams. Her brother had been taken by the rebels, and she learnt that he was one of the prisoners who had been brought from Gorey to Wexford, and that the outrages to which he had been subjected had driven him mad. "This so completely shocked me I was overpowered. I fell against a table, and was some time before I could utter. Everything I had suffered felt light compared to the horror of his malady. What was to become of his family? When I could collect my thoughts, I charged Hayes to keep this dreadful intelligence from my dear father and children. How often did I thank heaven that my mother had not lived to come to the county of Wexford, where she had planned so much happiness for her family. What blind creatures are we! How often did I wish my poor father quietly laid by her, expecting, as I did, that he would be

murdered before my eyes. Oh! how impious is it to despair! Hayes added they were irritated against him, because he laid hands on a priest, and that it was with difficulty he could prevent them coming to Summerseat, to revenge it on his master and family, but his own opinion was that all they said about the priest was only to excuse themselves for using him so ill, 'because *he is a clergyman*.' He begged of me not to suffer his master to go out on the road, as there was a party coming to put him again in gaol on account of Mr. Owen. I asked where my brother was, and what was become of his family. He assured me he did not know. My fear that he had been put to death was soon relieved. In about an hour after this information I received an open note written in his hand, but in so agitated a manner I could scarcely read it. It ran thus:—'Dear Fanny, I never was merrier or happier in my life. Nancy, the children, and Mary, are gone off, I know not where. Come see me, and bring me some vegetables and cucumbers. Wexford gaol.' It was in the evening when I received this note. I called for Hayes to consult about what was to be done. He was gone to the camp. It was too late to attempt to go that night, but I determined on going early next morning. How to frame an excuse for my absence to my poor father I knew not, and to tell him I dared not venture. Indeed my fears were that I should be seized on and put into the gaol, with this intended victim of their ferocity. It is impossible to give an idea of all the ills I foreboded for myself, father, and children; but all was overcome by the faint hope of saving him; and, humbly trusting in the protection of heaven, I was on the point of setting out when Hayes returned from the camp. I told him where I was going. He started, and said, 'I beg, madam, you will not be so mad; it is but five o'clock, the roads are crowded relieving guard, and if they know you are going to take part with Mr. Owen, you will bring trouble on yourself and master. He is hated by the people, and boasted of being an orangeman, and if you wont be too much troubled by hearing it, he is quite out of his senses, and it was that that saved his life, for he was dancing through the streets of Wexford, and singing out that he was an orangeman, and feared no one. They were taking him to gaol, and, indeed, he was every way in a bad condition. I would have put my own coat and hat on him, but

for fear of my life, for there were two hundred guarding him.' Instead of poor Hayes's zeal for me awakening my fears, it more strongly determined me to risk everything to try and get him to Summerseat, and I told him nothing could dissuade me from my purpose. He entreated me again not to go, for he was to be tried by the committee at twelve o'clock. This only added wings to my impatience. I lost not a moment, though every pebble impeded my speed. Dear little Susan cried so violently at my leaving her, I turned back and brought her with me. My poor Letitia, who is, you know, nine years older, I left to take care of my father, and I own when I kissed her at the door I thought it was for the last time. When I got to Wexford, a distance of near three miles, which I was obliged to walk, having neither coachman or horse left me, I knew not to whom I could apply to get me into the gaol. The street exhibited the most frightful appearance. The church was shut up, though on Sunday; a ragged boy beating the drum belonging to the unfortunate north Cork militia; thousands of pikemen marching in the middle of the street; not a female in it but myself and child. Terrified at this, I involuntarily stopped,—stood motionless, till I observed myself the object of universal attention, and heard one of them say, 'She's a spy.' 'Who the d—l is she?' another said; and a third, 'She'd make a good wife for the camp.' Had I seen one amongst the hundreds that passed me who had the slightest look of a gentleman, I would have implored his protection for myself and child, but they were all drunken, ill-looking fellows; in this distress I saw with joy at the opposite side of the street our friendly priest who got us liberated from gaol. I called to him to cross over to me, being afraid to break through the multitude that were marching; but to my utter amazement, though he evidently saw me, he turned his head and walked forward, faster than the rebels marched, to avoid me. In this dilemma it occurred to me that if I walked up and down before the gaol, I might possibly see the object of my anxiety, as he was likely to be in the room we had so lately occupied; but I soon found this impossible, the crowds of pikemen passing and repassing prevented my getting near, and they looked so horribly at me, and shoved me about so savagely, I was afraid to speak or make any inquiry. Seeing the impossibility of

effecting my purpose, I returned to Summerseat. There I found my poor father very ill, and unable to get up. Such were the scenes that presented themselves to my imagination, I should have rejoiced at seeing him sink into a quiet *natural* death. I told him the confusion I found Wexford in prevented my seeing my brother, but that I hoped to be more fortunate to-morrow. He violently opposed my going. I told Alley of my disappointment about the priest, and begged her to try and get him to come to me—that I wanted much to speak to him. When she returned from his house I saw she wished to say something that she hesitated about. I begged she would speak openly to me, and asked her would the priest come to me. ‘Yes, madam, but don’t be angry, madam.’ I assured her I believed her perfectly in my interest, and could not be angry at any thing so faithful a creature could say. ‘Well, madam, if you would allow father O’Connor to christian my master, the young ladies, and yourself, it might be the saving of you all.’ I quickly answered, ‘He may do anything if he will assist me in getting my brother out of gaol.’ The priest promised to meet me at Mrs. Moore’s in Wexford, an old lady of my acquaintance, who had been overlooked in the hurry, and I believe was the only individual not visited by the rebels. Delighted at the prospect of accomplishing my wishes, I again set out with my dear companion Susan, without having closed my eyes, or lain on a bed since the night before; but I felt as if nothing had power to tire me, though I could not eat a bit, and my thirst was not to be satisfied. When I had reached the distance of half-a-mile, I heard some one running violently after me, and on stealing a look round, frightened at every footstep, I perceived it was Alley, who had followed me with a message from the priest to request, should I see him in the street not to appear to know him; that he found he was obliged most unwillingly to refund his promise—it would ruin him in the eyes of the *people*. This frightened me so much, I questioned myself was it not temerity to proceed; but I soon rejected the idea, and trusting in that almighty power who had hitherto spared me, I told Alley, nothing should deter me were I only to gratify my poor brother by seeing me; but I will own I was not without my fears that I was only exposing myself and child to the fury of the mob, and perhaps the

unfortunate object of my anxiety to their greater vengeance by my interference. I felt, however, a something within me which impelled me forward, spite of all the dangers that fancy had conjured up. When I got to Wexford I was as much as ever at a loss to whom to apply for admittance to the gaol. I saw immense numbers of rebels running in great confusion, and heard one of them say, ‘Make haste to parade, general Keogh is gone.’ It immediately occurred to me to follow at a distance, and that this general might be of a superior order to those common ill-dressed men, who were in such numbers I thought they never would cease. At length they all got into an immense field, where general Keogh paraded them for above an hour, all which time I stood at a distance under the most parching sun I ever felt, though my blood ran cold at times to see their numerous pikes, and knowing the intention of them. When the parade broke up, I took the opportunity of addressing Mr. Keogh. He was dressed in full uniform, green and gold, with a cocked hat trimmed with gold lace. He strove to avoid me, but I courageously called to him to stop a moment. I told him in as few words as possible the situation of my brother. He said he knew it well, and lamented it, but that he had no longer any charge of the prisoners; that department he said had been taken from him; that Mr. Kearney had the care of them at present. (This general Keogh had been a captain in the king’s army for years, and was hanged when the army came to our relief.) I then made inquiries about Mr. Kearney’s residence, and immediately went to him. In him I met with a man of great humanity, though a rank rebel. He was much affected at my account of my brother’s situation. . . I begged he would allow me to see him, with which he complied, and walked with me to the gaol. He desired me to go to the front window, and said that he would have him brought there, which was all he could do, but advised me to come the next day and he would endeavour to interest the committee in his favour. He said he would himself give him the vegetables and cold meat I had brought in a napkin. He then took his leave, and I with difficulty made my way to the window. The panes of glass were fortunately in the state they were when I left that abode of wretchedness; this enabled me to look in—I soon saw some person hurrying towards me, held by two men whom he

was endeavouring to force from. Oh! shall I ever forget the sight! he almost flew when he saw me; stretched out his burning hand through the bars, and endeavoured to force out to kiss dear Susan. He had on him an old flannel waistcoat, neither shoes nor stockings, his beard an inch long, his hair cut close to his head; the rebels had put on a pitch plaster, which he had torn off. I was obliged to hold the bars of the window to prevent my falling; I reached him a leaf of cherries and some cucumbers, which he devoured, saying—‘Don’t be afraid, Jenny; I have sent an express this day to lord Castlereagh and the bishop of Ferns—I shall desire them to buy a harp for dear Susan. How is my friend Tommy Boyd?’ (Mr. Boyd had been an active magistrate, and had a corps with which he was obliged to fly, the day the rebels entered Wexford). The moment they heard my brother inquire for Mr. Boyd, I had twenty pikes over my head, I believe with an intention to put me to death, till one less savage than the rest restrained them. I assured them I knew nothing of Mr. Boyd, nor had I seen him since I came to Summerseat. My brother, not knowing what they were saying, called aloud to me—‘Jenny, Jenny, my dear, tell me have you seen my friend Haydon?’* He started, paused, and repeated, ‘Haydon, Haydon!’ his face became quite convulsed, and when he could utter, he said, ‘Excellent man! these villains have murdered him.’ Then clasping his hands together, he looked up and said, ‘Oh God! the dear body of thy servant have they given to the fowls of the air, and the flesh of thy saints to the beasts of the land! Oh! let the vengeance of thy servant’s bloodshed be openly showed upon the heathen in thy sight! Oh! let the sorrowful sighing of the prisoners come before thee.’ He was agitated beyond description, said he must go and read prayers for the poor people up stairs. I could bear his madness no longer; I endeavoured to restrain myself before him, but finding it no longer possible, I walked from the window and went into the first door I found open; there I burst into the most frightful fit of screaming, which I had not power to stop, and instead of being relieved it agitated me to such a degree, I was wholly deprived of the power of my limbs for

* Mr. Haydon was a brother clergyman whom the rebels had murdered at Enniscorthy, of which we have before given an account.

near an hour. When I could look round, I found I was in a common ale-house, four women sitting in a corner of the room at breakfast, and all this time unmoved, though my beloved dear Susan repeatedly begged them to give her mamma a glass of water; but to the disgrace of *our sex*, she called in vain, till two men came into the house, and rendered me every assistance in their power—brought me water, and one of them turned most angrily to *Judy* (his wife, I suppose), for not asking the lady to take a cup of tea. I continued so ill, I dreaded being obliged to remain in this house, but in about an hour the numbness of my limbs abated, and I crept as far as Mrs. Moore’s, where I got hartshorn, which relieved me so much I was able to walk about the room, and at length a violent flood of tears relieved me more than medicine could. I told her my poor brother’s situation, and she kindly promised to send him tea and bread. When able, I returned to Mr. Kearney’s, who assured me he would himself take him his breakfast. Shocked at the little I had effected compared to the risks I had run, I again reluctantly turned my steps toward home. It was by this time six in the evening, and I was wretched at the uneasiness I knew my poor father and Letitia must suffer at my being so much longer away than they expected. Overcome with fatigue, the heat of the day, and the violent agitation I had gone through, I sat down about a mile from town on a small bridge over a rivulet. There I remained almost petrified with horror at our situation, when I saw a number of pikemen coming towards me. I started up, and my first intention was to hide my darling child, but they came too quickly towards me to do anything but stand; they saw terror in my countenance, and humanely, and in a voice, desired me not to fear. One of the men knew me, though I had not the most remote knowledge of him. They all advised me not to venture so far from home, lest I might meet strangers to me. I trembled so violently I could scarcely walk, and was obliged to take hold of one of their arms to enable me to proceed, which the man perceiving desired me to be of good heart, he would take care of me; ‘No one shall harm you, ma’am, and if you wish it, we’ll try and help you, and turn about, at Summerseat.’ There was an honesty of manner about those poor deluded fellows that precluded doubt or suspicion. I thanked them, and gratefully ac-

cepted a service offered with such humane warmth. They left me safe at home, and promised to return at night."

Some of these men came frequently afterwards and brought wine and bread. Next morning Mrs. Adams, with her younger daughter Susan, left home at six o'clock, and proceeded again to Wexford. They arrived safe at Mr. Kearney's without interruption, and by his intercession her brother was at last allowed to join them at Summerseat, and remain there a prisoner until sent for. She obtained one of their old servants to be appointed as one of his guards, and hoped through this man to obtain some information relating to the fate of her brother's family, but "he could give us no account of Mrs. Owen, or his children, but that they had got off he knew not where. While we sat at dinner, I was called out of the room, and on looking towards the yard I perceived a large party of pikemen, and Alley walking in a state of distraction, talking to them. I went into the yard, and asked the occasion of it. 'Oh! my dear mistress! I knew what trouble you would bring on yourself and my master; my mother has sent for me; they say unless you give up Mr. Owen to them, the house will be burned this night.' All this time the rebels were consulting together at the coach-house gate. I implored her to be quiet; she was in fits of tears, and quite hysterical. I went over to the men; they called out, 'produce Mr. Owen, or we will tear the house down!' I endeavoured to excite their compassion by assuring them he was quite out of his senses—that if he was with me a few days, it would calm him, and he might then be able to give an account of anything he had done to cause this violence. They said he had owned himself an orangeman, and have him they would. I then took Mr. Kearney's pass from my pocket, and read it to them, after which I said with a resolution I am now amazed at, 'at your peril lay a finger on him!' Never can I forget the look of amazement, and as if with one consent they literally marched out of the yard, muttering, 'this night the house shall be burnt.' On my going into the dining-parlour, I found my father and brother in such deep conversation they had not missed me. Again Alley made her appearance at the door, and beckoned to me; she told me the men who had left the yard met her mother, and told her to send for her daughter, swearing a

great oath that this night the house would be burnt, as I would not give up the orangeman that was in it. She implored me not to sacrifice her master and the young ladies."

The violence of young Mr. Owen gave them much trouble, and added to their previous anxieties, for in his deranged state of mind it was impossible to make him understand the danger with which they were surrounded. In this manner the time passed over until the nineteenth of June. "We were under great uneasiness about our faithful Hayes; he had been four days absent, and we feared he had been killed. At ten o'clock at night there came into the house two horrid-looking fellows—they told me they were come for Mr. Owen—he must go to gaol. Whilst I was remonstrating with them, there rushed in five or six, calling the guard that had been left to watch my brother. I entreated them to leave Matthew with me, but the man who came for them said they were all too little—the road must be doubly guarded. Had I understood him, it would have given me some comfort, for I have since heard they had that night had intelligence that the king's army were making towards the town. They then had not time to seize my poor brother, and he most providentially escaped for *that* night, and it was under the providence of God the means of saving his life, though the next day they brought a written order for him. I detained them as long as I could, much against his will—he had no fear, he vowed he would go with them. Mr. Kearney sent me an assurance nothing should happen to him. I delayed the guard as long as I could on different pretences, till eight soldiers took him. I walked with him nearly half-way to Wexford; it was getting late, and I returned home, almost distracted, fearing I had taken a last leave of him. To the delay, and the providence of God, does he owe his life, for while on the road a party went to the gaol to take the prisoners to the bridge to put them to death. Mr. Owen, the protestant clergyman, was the first they called for; not finding him, they took out seventy-five prisoners, and were taking them to the bridge in the opposite direction to the road my brother was on. Mr. Kearney most humanely (and may God for ever bless him for it!) went to meet him; told the guard he would take care of their prisoner, and pointed to them to follow the crowd. Can

I ever cease to be thankful to God! to the delay I owe his life; for had he been ten minutes sooner nothing could have saved him; he must have shared the fate of those unfortunate victims the murder of whom must ever be a disgrace to the country. They went on murdering the prisoners with the most barbarous ferocity, till a priest, whose name I forget, went on his knees to them to desist, saying that surely they had blood enough for that night. A Mr. Cox, after receiving the most dreadful pike wounds, made an effort and leapt the bridge, they then fired at him till he sunk. At this time we were fortunately ignorant of all that was going on at Wexford, but I had determined to go there the next day, and get my brother back. About nine o'clock that night I found the servants in the greatest confusion and consternation—messages coming back and forward to them every moment. As soon as the day appeared, I observed a large ship outside the harbour, and saw the rebels galloping back and forward towards the coast. We began to hope that this vessel had brought troops to our assistance, but the rebels gave out it was their *friends the French* that were coming to their assistance. They knew nothing to a certainty, till a boat was sent out. I kept watching at the drawing-room window, and plainly saw them firing from the vessel, and at last the boat was brought to its side. This was a boat the rebels had sent out to their *friends the French*, but they were soon made prisoners, and this confirmed our hopes that there were troops on board, but even this hope was accompanied with fear, the shore and hills were crowded with pikemen, and we were in terror for our troops landing amongst such a ferocious set. I was preparing to go to Wexford in spite of all remonstrance, when our faithful Hayes made his appearance after an absence of some days. He looked miserably, and was scarcely able to walk. Susan flew to him, leapt into his arms, kissed him, and burst into tears. He was scarcely able to hold her; he was greatly attached to her, and the day before he went away he seemed very melancholy. She asked him what ailed him, and if the rebels had ordered him to kill her. He started up, and took hold of the sword that was lying by him, and broke it to pieces, most solemnly saying he never would lift his arm but in his own defence, and turning towards her said, 'Kill you, my dear child! God forbid I should live

to see the day any one would attempt it; if they did, it should be through my heart, while *it's in me*, to protect you!' This poor honest creature I am certain had heard the intention of putting all protestants to death, and his fears were that he might be ordered to be one of the executioners. You cannot wonder at the dear child's delight at poor Hayes' return; indeed we were all happy at seeing him, and anxious to do everything in our power for him. The poor creature was so overpowered with gratitude at our attending on him, he said he was made amends for all his sufferings. He showed us his hat perforated with two balls, while he was lying concealed in the ditch during the heaviest cannonading he ever heard, and told us that the man who was with him was shot dead through the head; never was such a fight—the dead were lying in heaps, and that there could not be less than ten miles of the road covered with the king's troops. This was joyful news to us, but my unhappiness and suspense about my brother made me fearful of indulging hope. He concluded his history by saying, 'what could we expect, madam, the generals (that is the priests, who were *generals*, madam) told them not to fear, for as fast as the red-hot balls were fired on the rebels, they would catch them in their hands, and that they had not power to hurt them; there were many among them that believed it, but I am sure I saw hundreds dropping before my eyes as fast as the balls were fired from the cannon.' Though this account was dreadful, yet it gave us an assurance that the army were coming to our relief; but my terror lest the gaol should be set fire to by the rebels made me so wretched, I insisted on going to Wexford, and just as I had got ready to set out, our friendly priest, whom I have before mentioned, rode up to the house in great agitation, saying, 'the king's troops have taken possession of Wexford without firing a shot.' I instantly asked, 'was the gaol safe.' He looked shocked. 'Pray, for God's sake, can you tell me anything of my brother?' He said, 'I hope he's safe, but there were dreadful doings on the bridge last night.' I ran out of the room, calling for my hat and Hayes, and while standing in the hall, I heard a horse gallop furiously to the door, and in a moment my dear brother had me in his arms. He was so much agitated, and indeed we were all in such a state of surprise, joy, and gratitude to heaven for our

deliverance, that we were some time incapable of saying anything but 'praise be to God! Oh, God, make us thankful!' Never can I forget the sensation of that moment. In a little time we saw the rebels flying in all directions; at night one of them came to me with his wife and six children, and implored me to give them protection; that he must fly, that his cabin was to be burned, and she had brought her blanket with her; he was in such distraction I promised I would let her sleep in the coach-house. They all fancied they were to be burned in their cabins. When I ordered potatoes and milk for the wretched children (the only food in my possession) who really looked starved, the poor woman prepared her bed with such confidence in me as produced a most pleasurable feeling. Removed so suddenly myself from the terror of my own situation, I could hardly believe it was in my power to give protection to any one; but after leaving her, and turning into the yard, I found it crowded with men, women, and children; they implored me to give them shelter anywhere about the house; they were really in a distracted state, being sure they were all to be shot. I did everything in my power to quiet them, and assured them I would write to the commanding officer in the morning, and that meantime I would have cards nailed on all the cabins within the reach of me to certify their good conduct, and refer them to Summerseat for further account of those who behaved well. This appeased the poor deluded creatures, who were most of them forced into this dreadful business. As night approached, all the back offices and yard became crowded with rebels, imploring protection for themselves, wives, and children; they besought liberty to lie on the walks in the garden, such of them as could not elsewhere find room; every office and bit of ground near the house was crowded with them, and when the proclamation was issued next day, they thought it was only to delude them into the town to be shot. Many gave up their pikes and arms to my father. Two days after the army came to our relief, a young priest begged to speak to me; he was disguised in the dress of a peasant; after entreating secrecy, he told me who he was, and begged I would give him permission to administer the sacrament to a young man I had given protection to; that he was in a desperate state with a ball in his arm, and that all who were found

wounded were ordered to be shot without trial, and that there were soldiers sent through the country to search for them. I in vain endeavoured to convince him that the king's free pardon would be given to all those who gave up their arms, and returned to their allegiance. This poor young man was so very ill, I had him in one of the spare rooms, where I brought the priest to him, and left them together. He remained above an hour where he had performed his last office. I went to the young man and begged he would allow me to send for Dr. Johnson, who would extract the ball from the arm, and that he would get well directly; he appeared in great torture, but all I could say he would not consent, so sure was he that were it found out he would be shot. Whilst I was endeavouring to give him confidence in the proclamation, and saying everything I could think of to compose him, a person desired to speak to me, whom I found was this lad's mother. I desired she should be shown up-stairs, and really dreaded the affecting scene I thought must have ensued; but she strutted into the room with the greatest effrontery, turned to him more with an air of command than tenderness, and said, 'What signifies your arm? if you suffer death, it is in the *good cause*; your Saviour suffered for you.' I was shocked at her countenance, but assured her he was in no danger except from his wound, and urged her to let me send for Dr. Johnson, which she refused very bluntly, and desired her son to take her arm and come home, that 'all was not over with us yet.' This horrid woman frightened me so much, that I most gladly saw her departure, though I offered to keep her son till he was better able to return to his wretched cabin. When I found myself at liberty again to ask a friend to dine, I wrote to our friendly priest, and told him how happy my father and I should be to see him at dinner, and that he should have a bed. He wrote to say he was afraid to stir out of his house without a protection, and that it would extremely oblige him if we could procure him one. I wrote in my father's name to the commanding officer, stated his humane conduct, and was happy in immediately getting a protection which I sent him."

Many affecting scenes now occurred, among which not the least affecting was the return of the protestant clergyman, Mr. Bevon, to his family. "The Sunday after his return, Mr. Bevon read prayers in our

drawing-room; all the neighbouring protestants attended, and never, I suppose, did a congregation offer up their prayers with more true devotion or gratitude to the Almighty power, who granted us the happiness of again meeting to acknowledge his great mercies. But though we were surrounded by the king's encampments, I perceived a murmuring that a protestant clergyman was again allowed to do his duty; they did not speak *out*, but discontent and disappointment was visible, and I believe they were far from giving up hopes that the day (to use their own language) would yet be their own. Many of them openly said so, with the king's pardon in their pockets. The Sunday following we once more ventured to Mr. Bevon's church (which is quite in a remote corner of the barony), but not without fear and trembling I *own*, though *he* disdained the offer of a guard of soldiers during service. His confidence was too forcibly set in that divine providence which

had so miraculously restored him to his family, and preserved them in the midst of such peril. Poor Mr. Bevon had suffered a vast deal, but we were too happy to allow ourselves to talk of the past. It was several days since I had heard from Charles, and I grew very apprehensive for his safety, as there were constant accounts of marauding parties doing great mischief in the country, which was by no means quiet. After we returned from church, I mentioned my alarm to Mr. Bevon, who did all he could to quiet my fears, but I thought there was mystery in every one's countenance." In fact it was a long time before the county of Wexford was restored to the same tranquillity which it had enjoyed before the rebellion; and it remained so unsettled and insecure, that Mr. Owen and his daughter (the writer of the foregoing journal) took the earliest opportunity of proceeding with their family to Dublin.

CHAPTER XIII.

STATE OF ULSTER; INSURRECTIONS IN ANTRIM AND DOWN.



THE north of Ireland, contrary to what we might reasonably have expected, remained all this time in comparative tranquillity. It was there, especially in the counties of Antrim and Down, that the organization of the United Irishmen had first taken root. We have already seen how, as the moment fixed for the insurrection approached, the northern leaders became apprehensive and wavering, and how they separated from their fellow-conspirators in Dublin; some of them turned informers, while others were soon arrested and thrown into gaol, and the country was carefully watched by the force under general Nugent, who commanded in these districts. An autobiographic memoir of James Hope, one of these leaders, gives us some curious information on the effect this dis-

union had on the fate of the conspiracy in Ulster. He tells us that, "at the moment of taking up arms, Russell, the first appointed general of Down, was a prisoner in Kilmainham. The rev. Steele Dixon was appointed in his stead. The general of Antrim was arrested with Russell, but was liberated, and had gone home when the tortures commenced. It was agreed between him and another chief, who was to lead a forlorn hope in case of necessity, that I should attend either as aid-de-camp. The general of Antrim either misunderstood, or knowingly and wilfully misrepresented, the signal for rising on the twenty-first of May, and kept us in suspense until the beginning of June. Blood had been shed in the south, and the people of the north became impatient. I went to the general of Antrim, and told him that an irregular movement could not long be prevented. He said he would certainly call them out; I went among the people and told them what he

said; they wanted to know who he was; I said, they would know that when he appeared, not being at liberty to tell his name. The general summoned me, and sent me on a command to the south, and said he had called a meeting of his colonels that day. I was met on my way by Henry J. M'Cracken, who stopped me, and said the general had not obeyed the signal for general action, and must be watched. I went home by his orders, and that evening he came to my house, we learnt that the general had resigned; and John Hughes, the informer, being the medium of communication between Down and Antrim, he sent me with a letter to Mr. Dixon, but he had been arrested that day. Hughes sent me subsequently to different places to look for him, but he knew well my labour was lost. The organization of the north being thus deranged, the colonels flinched, and the chief of the Antrim men, the forlorn hope party of the union, not appearing, the duty fell on Henry J. M'Cracken; he sent fighting orders to the colonels of Antrim, three of whom sent the identical orders to general Nugent, and the messenger he sent to Down proving unfaithful, the people of Down had no correct knowledge of affairs at Antrim, until they heard of the battle of the seventh of June. The greatest part of our officers, especially of those who were called colonels, either gave secret information to the enemy, or neutralized the exertions of individuals as far as their influence extended. I never knew a single colonel in the county of Antrim, who when the time for active measures came, had drawn out his men, or commanded them in that character."

Intelligence having thus gone abroad of the intended outbreak, a meeting of the magistrates was called to take place at Antrim on the seventh of June, for the purpose of concerting measures to prevent it. The rebel leaders immediately resolved to begin the rising on the very day of the meeting of the magistrates with an attack upon Antrim, in the hope of seizing upon the magistrates and keeping them as hostages. A quantity of arms was known to be deposited in that town, of which they expected to obtain possession. General Nugent soon received intelligence of their intentions,—indeed we are assured that some of the United Irishmen carried directly to him the directions they had received for the rising. He lost no time in sending orders to Blaris camp, for the se-

cond light battalion, consisting of the sixty-fourth regiment, and the light companies of the Kerry, Dublin, Tipperary, Armagh, and Monaghan militia, and one hundred and fifty of the twenty-second light dragoons, with two six-pounders and two howitzers, to march to Antrim with all possible despatch. Other reinforcements were ordered to hasten to the scene of danger, and orderly sergeants were dispatched to major Seddon, who then commanded at Antrim, to inform him of the intended attack.

Antrim was a long narrow town, consisting chiefly of one main street, with a continuation at one end called the Scots' quarter, and terminated at the other end by the garden-wall of the house of lord Massareene, to the right of which another long narrow street, called Bow-lane, leads into the country. Lord Massareene's garden-wall commanded the main street, which ran parallel to a river called the Six-mile-water, and about half-way between the garden-wall and the commencement of the Scots' quarter, in the middle of the street, stood the market-house, then used as a guard-house, in which some prisoners were confined. At the corner where the Scots' quarter turned off from the main-street, stood the churchyard, on rising ground, and surrounded by a wall. The plan of the rebels had been arranged with deliberation; four columns were to advance upon the town at the same time on different sides. One of these, gathered from the district between Antrim and Belfast, was to enter the town by the Belfast road, while a second column gathered from Ballynure, Ballyclare, and Doagh, marched in by the Carrickfergus road, and joined the former at the end of the Scots' quarter. A third column from Connor, Kells, and Ballymena, was to enter by a lane called Paty's-lane, which branched from the main street between the church and the market-place; and a fourth, from Shane's castle, Randalstown, and Dunoilty, was to enter by Bow-lane, under lord Massareene's garden-wall. It appears that the first three columns were to make their attack on the town exactly at half-past two o'clock, and that the fourth was to arrive a few minutes later.

The orderlies were sent to inform major Seddon of his danger; they reached Antrim at nine o'clock in the morning, and observed no movement in the country through which they passed, yet the information was so

precise that the major caused the drums immediately to beat to arms to assemble the yeomanry, and the inhabitants of the town were called upon to arm in their own defence. It was then discovered that all those of the townsmen who were suspected of disaffection had left their homes early in the morning. In the course of the morning, intelligence was brought in that the peasantry was rising in various parts. Parties of yeomanry and regulars arrived meanwhile in the town, but the advanced guard of the second battalion, commanded by colonel Lumley, with its two guns, only passed over the bridge from Lisburne, which led into the main street on the opposite side to Paty's-lane, and somewhat nearer the market-house, as the two columns of rebels from the Belfast and Carrickfergus roads joined at the entrance to the Scots' quarter. The two guns were placed in the middle of the main street, opposite the bridge, and were supported by the troops, where they commanded a part of the street of the Scots' quarter.

The united rebel column advanced boldly along the street, in spite of the case-shot from the two guns, and whenever the soldiers appeared in sight, their musketeers, who were good marksmen, began firing upon them. When they came within about a hundred and fifty yards of the guns, a six-pounder which they had brought with them was suddenly exposed to view, with which they fired two rounds of grape, and killed or wounded ten or twelve of the military. The second discharge, however, damaged the gun so much, that it could not be fired again, and then they rushed forwards once more, and their musketeers, under their leader M^cCracken, obtained possession of the church-yard. From this new and advantageous post they kept up a galling fire on the military in the street; and the main mass of the pikemen having run across the fields and formed in Bow-lane, to attack the army in the rear, it was found necessary to retreat with the guns to the garden-wall of lord Massareene, where they commanded Bow-lane at the same time with the main street. To cover this backward movement, the dragoons under colonel Lumley charged past the church-yard wall and into the Scots' quarter, where they drove the rebels before them, but in passing and repassing the church-yard they suffered considerable loss in killed and wounded. Among the latter was colonel Lumley himself.

The yeomanry now retreated, and took

possession of lord Massareene's garden, the wall of which having a high terrace behind, served as a rampart, and from it they could protect the guns on one side and arrest the progress of the body of insurgents which was advancing along Bow-lane on the other. But in spite of the heavy fire which was kept up on them from the wall, this rebel column continued to advance with the same intrepidity as the others, until colonel Lumley, severely wounded himself, abandoned his guns, and, retreating with his dragoons across the river, proceeded along the Lisburne-road to join the second battalion of the king's troops which were within two miles of the town. Most of the magistrates had received timely warning, and kept away, but lord O'Neil, who was proceeding from Dublin to preside at the meeting, and who had slept the previous night at Hillsborough, entered Antrim about half-past twelve o'clock, not till then aware of the danger in which the town was placed. He and Dr. Macartney, the protestant incumbent of Antrim, remained in the street with a party of the dragoons during the action. When the dragoons fled, his horse, which was wounded, became restive and refused to proceed, and the rebels coming up, one of them seized his horse by the bridle, on which lord O'Neil immediately shot him with his pistol. Another rebel knocked lord O'Neil off his horse with his pike, and while on the ground he received other wounds, of which he died two or three days afterwards. Dr. Macartney tried to get him away, but finding it impossible, he galloped through the rebels, and joining Mr. Staples, the member for the county, they got into a boat and rowed across a part of Lough Neagh into the county of Tyrone, and hurrying to Dungannon, gave general Knox, who commanded there, the first information of the events which had taken place at Antrim. He immediately assembled all the yeomen of the county, marched to Toome with a force of fifteen hundred men, and prevented the peasantry of the county of Derry from rising to join the other insurgents.

When the rebels saw the retreat of the dragoons, they imagined that they had gained the victory, and, flushed with success, they rushed on with a terrible yell, and seized upon the two guns under the garden-wall, but they were soon driven back by the fire of the yeomanry in the garden. The two sons of Dr. Macartney,

one a lieutenant of the Antrim yeomanry, and the other holding the same rank in the royal Irish artillery, both mere lads, placed themselves at the head of a small party of the Antrim troop, sallied out into the street, in the midst of the rebel fire, and succeeded in drawing into the garden the guns and the ammunition cart. The guns were now placed upon the terrace, and brought to bear with effect upon the street. The confusion in which the rebels were thus thrown was increased by the arrival of a new body of rebels, and the insurgent forces were suddenly seized with a panic, from which M'Cracken attempted in vain to recover them. They had nearly evacuated the town, but are said to have been so far encouraged by their leaders as to have been ready to enter it, when colonel Durham arrived with the reinforcements from Blaris and Belfast. Imagining that the rebels were in possession of the town, he brought up his cannon to batter it, upon which the insurgents fled, pursued across the fields by parties of the military. The rebels are supposed to have had in the engagement and flight, about two hundred killed.

The morning of the battle of Antrim, a body of rebels had attacked the town of Larn, where they were repulsed by a small detachment of the Tay fencibles. Some other feeble attempts were made, and they obtained possession of Randalstown, where fifty of the yeomanry were taken prisoners. They were, however, driven thence the same night, and marched to Toome, where they remained two days, and broke down the bridge to prevent general Knox from crossing the Bann to attack them. The main body of the Antrim rebels retired to Donaghorehill, where, discouraged by their ill-success, and urged by the exhortations of a magistrate named M'Cleverty, whom they had taken prisoner, they gave up their arms and dispersed.

The object first aimed at by M'Cracken, the Antrim rebel chief, was to effect a simultaneous rising of the adjoining county of Down, and by gaining possession of the most important towns in the two counties, open a communication with the insurgents in Wexford, Carlow, and Kildare. A body of the Down insurgents, commanded by one Dr. Jackson, an inhabitant of Newtownards, made their appearance near Saintfield. In their progress, besides some other outrages, they set fire to the house of

a farmer named M'Kee, who had been an informer of treasonable meetings, and burnt his family of eleven persons, with circumstances of great cruelty. They then elected for their general Henry Munro of Lisburn, a celebrated leader of the United Irishmen, and under his command, on the ninth of June, hearing that colonel Stapleton had marched against them from Newtownards, with a body of cavalry, the York fencible regiment, and two pieces of cannon, they placed themselves in ambush in his line of march, behind a thickset hedge on either side of the road where it was deep. When about half of Stapleton's force was between the hedges, the insurgents suddenly attacked them, and a clergyman, the rev. Mr. Mortimer, vicar of Portaferry, with his nephew and seven or eight yeomen, fell by the first fire. Several officers were killed or wounded in attempting to dislodge the insurgents from the hedges, and the cavalry was soon thrown into confusion, and many of them were shot or put to death with pikes. But the infantry was rallied by the exertions of colonel Stapleton, and charging the rebels with cool intrepidity, dislodged and dispersed them. Yet the military had suffered so much in this engagement, that, after remaining two hours on the field of battle, they retreated to Comber.

On the tenth colonel Stapleton marched from Comber to attack the Ards insurgents, but after he had proceeded a short distance he changed his route and retreated to Belfast. The people of the southern barony of Ards had risen, and attacked Portaferry, where they were vigorously opposed by a small body of yeomanry, under captain Matthews, and after a number of pikemen had been killed, were compelled to retreat. After this engagement, which was fought with obstinacy, Matthews, apprehending a second attack, and satisfied of the inadequacy of his force to resist it, abandoned the town, and proceeded to Strangford. On the tenth Newtownards was attacked. The assailants were at first repulsed, with loss, but in the course of the day they returned in much larger force, and found the town deserted by the troops. They proceeded thence to Saintfield, which had become the principal rendezvous of the insurgents of Down, whose force, assembled there on the 11th, amounted at least to seven thousand men. Others have estimated their numbers at from eight to ten thousand. They proceeded thence to Ballinahinch, and

established their camp, as they called it, in the demesne of lord Moira, on a commanding eminence skirted with thick wood. Requisitions were sent round to the gentry and small farmers for provisions, which were carried to them in considerable quantities. The son of one of the former accompanied his father's servants to the rebel camp, where he remained all night, and from his relation, published long afterwards in the *Belfast Magazine*, we have a curious account of the appearance of the insurgents on this occasion. "When we arrived," he says, "there were on the ground a considerable number of females, chiefly servants, or the daughters or wives of cottiers or small farmers. They were almost all employed on the same business as ourselves, though it is said that two or three of them remained on the field during the night, submitting to their share of the labours or dangers, and performing as valiant deeds as the men. Nothing could surpass the delicacy and kindness with which these female visitors were received and conducted through the camp. When those of our party entered the field they were immediately lightened of their burdens, and escorted along with them to a particular part of the ground, where the provisions were placed under the care of persons appointed to receive and distribute them, and two or three young men offered their services to conduct us through the field. Everything was explained with minuteness; pikes of different constructions were pointed out, and their uses explained; the cannon and ammunition were shown, and the tremendous effects glanced at which they were calculated to produce. The leaders were also pointed out, the more distinguished and the greater favourites among them with pride and exultation. A mixed and motley multitude met the eye; some walking about, others stretched listlessly on the green turf or along the field, a considerable number sheltering themselves from the scorching sun under the shade of the trees with which the field was skirted, and many sleeping on the grass. They wore no uniform, yet they presented a tolerably decent appearance, being drest, no doubt, in their Sunday clothes, some better and some worse, but none in the ragged costume that is often to be seen in other parts of Ireland. The only thing in which they all concurred was the wearing of green, almost every individual having a knot of ribbons of that colour, sometimes intermixed with yellow,

in his hat. Most of them, besides, had their hats and button-holes decorated with laurel from the adjoining grounds. The leaders in general wore green or yellow belts, and some of them green coats; and those under their command bore accoutrements of various descriptions, and of different degrees of taste and execution, the most of which had been presented as tributes of regard and affection, and as incentives to heroic deeds, by females, whose breasts beat as high in patriotic ardour as those of their husbands, their sweethearts, or their brothers. The most common of the decorations was the harp entwined with shamrock or bays, but without the crown; the British lion and unicorn in a falling attitude; and many other symbolic representations, with various corresponding inscriptions, expressive of the wishes and feelings of the people, such as, 'liberty or death,' 'downfall to tyrants,' 'freedom to Ireland,' and many others of a similar character. In their arms there was as great a diversity as in their dress. By far the majority of them had pikes, which were truly formidable instruments in close fight, but of no use in distant warfare. These had generally wooden shafts seven feet long, with sharpened heads of steel of different forms, and commonly ten or twelve inches long; some of these heads consisted simply of one longitudinal piece; but others had another piece crossing this, and forming a sort of hook, which was thought likely to be of use in cutting the bridles of their opponents' horses. Others wore old swords, generally of the least efficient kind, and some had merely pitchforks. Those of the higher class were armed with guns. There were also seven or eight pieces of small cannon, mounted on common cars, which were not calculated to produce much effect."

Munro made his military arrangements with considerable skill. He sent a part of his force, under a leader named Townsend, in whose courage he placed great confidence, to take possession of the town of Ballinahinch. The few troops who occupied the town fled on the approach of the insurgents, having first hanged the only baker in the town, "to prevent his baking for rebels." Munro with the rest of his troops continued to occupy the surrounding heights. He stationed a strong force at Creevy Rocks, to oppose the march of the troops from Belfast, and to preserve his communication with Saintfield. When it was known on

the 12th that the king's troops under generals Nugent and Barber were on their march, Munro placed a party of his best musketeers under a leader named M'Cance, in ambuscade on an advantageous position at Windmill-hill, about a quarter of a mile from the town, while the remainder of his force was drawn up on the hill of Ednavady, overlooking the town of Ballinahinch. General Nugent was joined on his march by colonel Stewart with the troops from Downpatrick, and the whole force under his command now amounted to about fifteen hundred men. They easily dispersed the insurgents posted at Creevy Rocks, but they met with more resistance at Windmill-hill, where M'Cance, who displayed the most extraordinary courage and considerable military skill, kept the army in check for upwards of an hour, and then withdrew to the main force at Ednavady. As general Nugent drew up his forces in the valley between Windmill-hill and the rebel station, Munro withdrew his men from the town and all his outposts; but it was now late in the afternoon, and the army showing no intention of making an immediate attack, he made his dispositions at leisure for the engagement which was inevitable next day. At night the troops entered the town, and began plundering and burning the houses. One of the inhabitants went to the rebel camp, and informed Munro of the disorders of the soldiery, assuring him that they were scattered in such an unguarded manner over the town, that they might easily have been destroyed. The leaders were called together, to deliberate on the propriety of an immediate attack, but Munro was opposed to this measure, and his opinion ultimately prevailed.

Munro had exerted himself to the utmost to sustain the spirits of his men. In the earlier part of the night he went from rank to rank to cheer them with his presence, and communicate his orders of battle. Early next morning, the 13th of June, the rebel general commenced the action by a discharge of eight small pieces of cannon, which were replied to by the heavy artillery of the army; but, though this cannonade continued for some time, it did no great hurt on either side. At length one division of the insurgents made an attempt to penetrate into the town, while Munro, at the head of the remainder of his force, attacked the main body of the king's troops. Munro's men charged with the utmost courage, drove

their opponents back, and made their way into the town, though exposed to a shower of musketry and grape shot, which swept away whole ranks of the insurgents. At the market square, in the centre of the town, the struggle was for a short time very obstinate, and the efforts of the rebels so great, that general Nugent judged it necessary to withdraw his troops from the town. The sound of the bugle for the retreat is said to have been mistaken by the rebels, who imagined that it announced the arrival of new troops for a renewal of the combat, and were seized with sudden panic and confusion. For a moment the town was evacuated by both parties, and then the king's troops rallying, charged through it, and pursued the insurgents, who were flying up the hill of Ednavady. Munro attempted to rally them at the top, where a stand was made in some ancient entrenchments, but the hill being now almost surrounded by the king's troops, he led off the small force that still remained with him, which is said not to have exceeded a hundred and fifty men, through the only opening which afforded him a retreat.

The slaughter in this engagement appears to have been much less than might have been expected. The king's troops lost about forty, killed and wounded, and the rebels are said to have lost in the fight not more than a hundred and fifty men, but their loss in the flight was much greater. The yeomen, who were usually foremost in the pursuit, and who, in these lamentable hostilities, were generally actuated by a feeling of personal revenge for the injuries which they had themselves experienced, seldom gave quarter. Among the fugitives who perished in the flight from Ballinahinch, was a girl of extraordinary beauty, whose fate has since been celebrated in the poetry of her country. "Elizabeth Grey, of Killinchy," we are told, "went to the camp of the people at Ednavady, near Ballinahinch, with some things for her brother and an associate of his who was her sweetheart, on the Saturday before the battle. She remained with them, and determined to share their fate. They procured a pony for her, and thus mounted she went into action, bearing a green flag. On Wednesday, the day of the fight at Ballinahinch, after the people were defeated, she and her friends fled, and on their retreat they were overtaken by a party of the Hillsborough yeomen, within a mile and a half of Hills-

borough. The young men were at a little distance from the girl, seeking a place for her to cross the river, and could easily have escaped. But when they saw her in the hands of the yeomen, they ran to her assistance, and endeavoured to prevail on the men to release her, offering themselves as prisoners in her stead. Their entreaties were in vain, the girl, her brother, and her lover, were murdered on the spot. The two wretches who perpetrated this brutal act were Little and Thomas Neilson, of the parish of Anahilt. The young woman was the first who suffered; Neilson shot her through the right eye, the brother and lover were then despatched, and their dead bodies were found and buried by their friends. (Little's wife was afterwards seen wearing the girl's ear-rings and green petticoat.) An officer of the regulars came up shortly afterwards with the party, and he reprobated their conduct in the strongest terms.*

The main party of the fugitives from

Ballinahinch fled to the mountains of Slieve-Croob, where they soon dispersed. Some surrendered, and others escaped to their homes. Thus ended the weak attempt at revolution in the north, where the divisions among the united Irishmen are said to have been widened by the old jealousies between catholics and protestants, the distrust being increased by the reports of the massacres of protestants in the south. Munro had fled from Ballinahinch almost alone, and took shelter in the house of some poor people, who, for the sake of the reward, gave information of his place of concealment. He was taken, with another rebel chief named Keane, to Hillsborough, and thence to Lisburn, where Munro was tried by a court martial, condemned, and executed the same day. His head was cut off, and placed over the market-house, where it remained for some months, until it was taken down by order of lord Bredalbane. His house in Hillsborough was destroyed by the yeomen.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE WEXFORD REBELS IN KILKENNY; THEY JOIN THEIR COMRADES IN THE WICKLOW MOUNTAINS; ADVENTURES OF HOLT.



It has already been stated that the main body of the insurgents from Wexford and the encampment of the Three-rocks, said to have amounted to as much

as fifteen thousand men, marched under the command of father John Murphy north-westward to Scollogh-gap, an opening in the great ridge of mountains which separates Wexford from Carlow. Their design was to penetrate into the county of Kilkenny, where they expected to be able to raise an insurrection, especially among the colliers about Castlecomer. Having defeated a few troops who attempted to oppose their progress through the gap, they burnt the little town of Killedmond, and

continuing their march, arrived at Gore's-bridge, or Newbridge, a village on the river Barrow, in Kilkenny, on the 23rd of June. They there defeated a small body of troops, consisting of a troop of the fourth dragoon guards and a company of the Wexford militia, who had attempted to hinder their passage over the bridge. A few of the soldiers were killed, and twenty-seven were taken prisoners; and, of the latter, seven were condemned to be shot as orangemen, and their fellow-soldiers were compelled to act as executioners. The rebels, after this success, made a hurried march to a long mountainous ridge, five miles from Castlecomer, where they passed the night.

The rebel force was now diminished by desertion to about eight thousand men.

* This account, taken from the relation of persons well acquainted with these events, is given in the *Lives of the United Irishmen*, by Dr. Madden, who has collected many curious anecdotes relating

to this melancholy period. The death of Elizabeth Grey has been made the subject of a poem by Miss Balfour.

Early in the morning of the 24th of June, they descended from the heights which they had occupied during the night, defeated a body of two hundred and fifty men at a place called Coolbawn, and obtained possession of Castlecomer with the slaughter of about fifty loyalists. The town was soon on fire, and the rebels were occupied in plundering it, when major-general sir Charles Argil, who had been too late to stop the progress of the rebels at Newbridge, and had followed their progress thence, arrived at the head of about a thousand men. Sir Charles was not aware that a great part of the loyal inhabitants were still defending themselves against the rebels, and he fired with his artillery on the streets and houses, to the equal danger of both parties. The rebels, however, soon withdrew from the town, which gave the protestant inhabitants time to secure their retreat with the army to Kilkenny, leaving their goods to the mercy of the insurgents, who rushed into the town as soon as they had left it, and plundered it. They then retired again to the high grounds, where they remained till the following day.

They soon found that there was no prospect of raising an insurrection in the county of Kilkenny. The few who had joined their standard consisted chiefly of forced recruits, who were more anxious to escape than to fight. Desertion had made such progress, even in their own ranks, that their numbers were now reduced to between four and five thousand, and, as they had nearly or quite expended their ammunition, they resolved to return by the way they had come, through the pass of Scollogh-gap into the county of Wexford. For this purpose, they descended from their post on the mountainous ridge on the morning of the 25th of June, and directed their march towards Newbridge. But this time the king's army was not too late, for having encamped during the night at a place called Kilcommy, near Newbridge, they were attacked early next morning, the 26th, on three sides at once, by the army of general Asgil, amounting to nearly twelve hundred men, and that of major Matthews, of about five hundred, chiefly Downshire militia, which had come from Maryborough. After a cannonade of about an hour, the rebels, fearing to be surrounded, fled towards the gap, with so much precipitance that they left behind them their plunder and artillery, the latter consisting of ten light pieces.

Seven hundred horses were among the plunder. Some of the royalist cavalry pursued them six miles, and in the engagement and the flight they are said to have had two or three hundred killed, while the loss of the king's troops was officially stated to be only seven men killed. Among the missing, on the part of the rebels, was their leader, father John Murphy, the priest of Boulavogue; he was captured in his flight, and taken to Tullow in the county of Carlow, where he was recognised, and executed by martial law. His capture had not been observed in the confusion of the defeat, and the multitude long after believed that he was still alive, and would reappear to lead them to victory on some future occasion. The insurgents forced their way through Scollogh-gap, where they were opposed only by a small body of men, and then directed their course in a north-eastward direction, through the dwarf woods near Ferns, to join their fellows in the mountains of Wicklow.

The column which had left Wexford and committed the slaughter at Gorey, had joined another large body of rebels in the mountains of Wicklow, under the command of Garrett and William Byrne. The united body now constituted a very formidable force. Its principal leaders were Perry, the two Byrnes, Esmond Kyan, and Edward Fitzgerald. Anthony Perry was a gentleman of respectability, who seems to have been driven into rebellion by the severe treatment he had received from the authorities and from the king's troops, and he and Esmond Kyan had uniformly exerted themselves to check the barbarities of their followers. Edward Fitzgerald, of Newpark near Wexford, who has been already spoken of as a commander in the Wexford army, was also a gentleman of independent property; and the two Byrnes, gentlemen of Ballymanus in Wicklow, piqued themselves on the antiquity of their family. One of the first undertakings of this formidable body was an attack upon Hacketstown, a large village in the county of Carlow. They had proposed an attempt upon Arklow, but the preparations there deterred them from that enterprize.

The garrison of Hacketstown consisted only of forty of the Antrim militia, commanded by lieutenant Gardiner, and fifty of the Hacketstown yeoman infantry, under captain Hardy. They were alarmed on the 24th of June by the unusual assemblage of peasantry on the surrounding hills, and im-

mediately sent intelligence to the officers of yeomanry in the neighbourhood to assemble their different corps. Early in the morning of the twenty-fifth several bodies of yeomanry arrived in Hacketstown, by which the garrison was increased to about a hundred and seventy men, and at the same time information was received that the great rebel column was approaching. The garrison marched out a little distance to meet them, but finding that they were much more numerous than they expected (the force which marched against Hacketstown has been estimated at thirteen thousand men), and perceiving that they were making a movement to surround them, they retreated in haste, and in their return captain Hardy and four men were killed. The cavalry, who were in advance, found it impossible to regain the village, and made their escape along the road to Clonmore. The infantry, now amounting to a hundred and twenty men, posted themselves in the barrack, and a clergyman, named Magee, having collected nine protestants, well armed, they established themselves in a house which commanded the main street and one side of the barrack, and in which the protestant women of Hacketstown had taken refuge.

After setting fire to all the houses in the village, they proceeded to attack the barrack and the garrisoned house which flanked it, and during nine hours of constant firing every effort was made to overpower the small garrison, who defended their post with so much pertinacity. The assailants attempted to set fire to the buildings, and approached the doors under cover of feather-beds, but the musketry of the garrison was directed upon them with such deadly effect, that towards four o'clock in the afternoon they began to retreat, although it was seven o'clock in the evening before they quitted the town. The rebels are said to have had at least two hundred men killed in this attack, and it is said that many perished in the burning houses. Among their killed was Michael Reynolds, who had led the rebels to Naas in the first morning of the rebellion. The loyalists had ten slain, and twenty wounded; but convinced that their position was untenable in case of a second attack, they all retreated the same night to Tullow, which was eight miles thence. In the course of this engagement the wives and daughters of two of the officers of the royal troops fell into the hands of the insurgents, but through the influ-

ence of Perry, and another chief named Mc'Mahon, they were carried to a place of safety, and protected from insult. The wives of Perry and Byrne were in the hands of the royalists, and experienced the same courtesy.

The rebels who had failed in raising Kilkenny joined the Wicklow insurgents soon after the repulse at Hacketstown, and the whole force now acknowledged Edward Roche, who had been appointed to succeed Bagenal Harvey after the defeat at Ross, as their general. Holt, with his party, also united with the main body at this time, and the account which he gives of their proceedings in his autobiography furnishes a curious and interesting picture of rebel life in the mountains of Wicklow. We have already seen this chief collecting a few followers about him in the Devil's-glen and on the Luggelaw mountain; after describing how he taught them the use of the pike, and initiated them in military exercises, he proceeds to tell us how, "On the 15th of June we marched to the old iron mills, where we killed a bullock, being much in need of food. On the 16th we marched to Fancy-mountain, and there encamped. I sent out a foraging party, who brought a bullock to the camp, the property of Andrew Price, esq. It was a beast I had myself reared, and it was much against my inclination that I allowed it to be killed, but there was no help for it; we must kill it or starve. I heard here from my unhappy family. The foraging party brought with them eight prisoners, Joseph Thomson, Richard Barry, David Edge, William Edge, and four others. They were brought before me for examination. Thomson was first examined. He was woodkeeper to Francis Synge, esq. I found nothing against him but negligence of duty. He had been attested as a united Irishman, but had not attended his duty. Barry was proved to have taken the oath of secrecy, and was liberated. The two Edges were accused of being orangemen, but it was mere accusation, no evidence was produced against them, so I ordered them to be kept till the evening, when I let them go, and that night they told lord Powerscourt what had happened, and instantly joined his corps.* On the 17th of June

* Holt has not told all that happened to these prisoners. The following affidavit of Joseph and John Thomson, relative to this occurrence, is printed in Musgrave, Appendix, xvi. 4:—

"County of Wicklow, to wit: The informations of

I marched to Glandisoun, which lies over the valley of Glendalough or the Seven Churches, where I fell in with one hundred and eighty poor devils, in a most deplorable situation, who all joined and placed themselves under my command. On the 19th I got information that some yeomen were burning the cabins in the adjacent neighbourhood. We had among us but thirteen guns fit for use, but we were not deficient in pikes, of which I wished to try the effect. I called my men to arms, and was determined to arrest the progress of destruction if possible; at all events to disturb the gentry in their amusement. They were at least five miles from our encampment, and it was necessary to move rapidly. We met them on Ballinvalla hill. I got to windward of the army, and commenced firing. I was anxious to bring the pikes to action, but having no officers in whom I could confide, I was unable to do so with effect, and I did not much admire the position I was in. However, I sent two of my best men to the left, with directions to fire on their flank; this threw them into confusion, which gave an opportunity to the pikes to retreat down the hill, where the horse could not follow them. I thus secured a retreat without the loss of a single man. The next government bulletin announced pompously that the rebels retired behind a ditch, but there was no ditch in the place, and the story was but a flourish, to account for their own defeat, which was the truth, for they were stopped in their amusement, and suffered some loss. On their return some of them got their horses shod by Phelim Sally, who, wishing for payment, they shot him at his anvil. I then marched over the mountain till I became weary, when I laid down and fell asleep. In the morning I found myself on Blackamoore

Joseph and John Thomson of Roundwood in the said county, yeomen, father and son, who being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists, say, That shortly after the patron of the Seven Churches, in June, 1798, they were taken prisoners by the rebels, and after some time they were brought to the Seven Churches, and kept prisoners in an old yard. When the Wexford rebels joined those of the county of Wicklow, they asked them, what they, the informants, and the other prisoners were? They received for answer, that they were bloody orangemen. The Wexford men said, 'Why are you keeping them there, they should die?' They were then driven by a mob of the rebels to the butt of the steeple [*the ancient round tower*]; they surrounded them, and made them kneel down and were going to pike them, when some of the rebels cried out, that, as they were

hill, near the heap of stones which made fast the gibbet where one Walter Read was suspended for some atrocious crime. On the 20th my men had dispersed after the action, and I wandered down to Whelp Rock, where I found a great number of poor creatures assembled, without order or control of any sort. I spoke to some of them who bore the title of captains, and asked them what they proposed to do in case they were attacked, and if they had any plan, but they seemed to be completely ignorant, and without system or any notion of regularity or discipline. I set about putting them in order, and forming them into companies, and commenced exercising them in the use of the pike. I found them pretty tractable, and they soon saw the advantages which were likely to result from the system I endeavoured to establish, and immediately agreed to obey me. If taken, instant death awaited us all; it, therefore, behoved us to make the best fight we could, and not throw away our lives as dastards or fools. Our numbers were every day increasing, and our drilling and exercise were as regular as his majesty's troops' roll call, and also the inspection of new comers, who were not permitted to join without examination, nor were any allowed to depart without leave. Information easily travels, and men may be destroyed by spies and informers.

"We had several women in the camp, and it will appear that they were not useless. I chose from among them, a tall rattling strong woman, and gave her the name of 'The Moving Magazine,' from the use I intended to make of her; and the following narrative will show the very important services rendered by this person. I despatched her to purchase two large earthen crocks, or vessels, such as butter-milk is kept in, and a quantity of saltpetre

protestants, their blood should not be spilled on that blessed ground; they were then taken to another part of the Seven Churches, again put on their knees and surrounded, first having been stripped of their shoes, hats and clothes; and again some of the rebels cried out, that was blessed ground, and no protestant blood should be spilled there, and that they should be taken to the mountains, there to be piked; that some of them so far interfered in their behalf with the officers, that at last their lives were spared on condition of their joining the rebels, which they did, till they had an opportunity of escaping.

"JOSEPH THOMSON.

"JOHN THOMSON.

"Taken and sworn before me, this 20th day of June, 1799.

"WILLIAM COLTHURST."

and sulphur, with which she soon returned. I made the men pull heath; and burning it, turned it into charcoal, by covering it with dry mould when fully ignited: I then ground it fine, and infused it in the crocks with the saltpetre and sulphur, and having mixed it well and allowed it to subside, poured off the water and dried it in the sun. I thus obtained a good supply of tolerable gunpowder. It was soft indeed, and not quite so good as the Battle or Dartford; but it exploded, drove a ball, and by using better powder for priming, it answered well enough.* My Moving Magazine had a basket supplied with fruit, gingerbread, and such like trifles, as a cover to her real character; she had also two large bags or pockets, one before and the other behind, under her petticoats, where she stowed away ball-cartridges and ammunition, which she obtained from the king's troops, especially from the militia, who were generally disaffected, and many of whom afterwards deserted to me, and brought with them their arms and ammunition. My Moving Magazine was about thirty years of age; she was the daughter of Phelim Toole, a smith, near Annamoe, who having no son, employed Susan in handling the sledge,—not a very ladylike or feminine accomplishment, it must be admitted,—but it qualified her admirably for the part she had to act in my service. She was about five feet eight inches high, when she stood upright, which was not often, for by the habit of sledging she had acquired a stoop; but her shoulders, although round, were broad, and her limbs strong and sinewy. Her face, when young, was broad as a full moon, and her nose nearly flat to her face, having been broken by a stone in a faction fight, which much injured the uniformity and beauty of her countenance, and certainly made her anything but an inviting object, giving her head very much the appearance of that of a seal. Her eyes had been both spared in the conflict, and were black and sparkling; what they would have been in a handsome face, with a decent nose between them, I will not venture to say; but where they were, they had, when excited, a fiendish expression; yet she could put on an imploring and supplicating look to admiration. The mutilation of her countenance made

* "Holt's mixture," in the slang of the day, was a term for inferior gunpowder. "Lake's pill for a breaking out," (from General Lake), the term applied by the yeomanry and militia to ball-cartridges.—

her look very old, and when she wished to assume the appearance of age, no one would take her to be less than seventy. She had an extraordinary power of lengthening her face, by dropping her jaw, which altered her whole countenance so much, that she did not seem the same person. With her outside dirty pepper-and-salt coloured frieze cloak, her stoop, and dropped jaw, she could appear a decrepid, miserable baccagh [cripple], scarcely able to crawl, but when it was necessary to act with vigour, her powerful muscles and brawny limbs made her more than a match for many men. A blow from her clenched fist would alarm a man almost as much as a kick of a horse. She was not deficient in eloquent blarney; and although she had never been at Cork, had a tongue quite equal to her necessities; she was quick in expedients, and ready with a reason for all occasions.

"We remained unmolested, and I believe unobserved, at Whelp Rock for some time, where we were joined by Garrett Byrne, of Ballymanus, Fitzgerald, and many others, and among them by captain John O'Neill. The latter I found entitled to the name of captain, but it was of a band of robbers; he was destitute of every quality necessary for a military command; he had no military economy. We were also joined by captain Perry, a most respectable gentleman of the county of Wexford, who was always ready to suppress improper conduct, and to prevent cruelty. With him Esmond Kyan, another worthy Wexford gentleman. Many skirmishes occurred at this time between our people and the yeomanry, with various success; we generally had the best of it. Returning from breakfasting with father Donelan, the priest of Black Ditches, where a council of war was held on the propriety of our moving into the county of Wexford, I saw a large body of my men collected together in a circle. I hastened to the spot, and rushed into the middle of them, where I found a young man on his knees. I asked his name, which he said was Pilsworth, and that he was servant to a clerk in the Ordinance. He was naked, and the monster, John O'Neill, said he was a traitor, and was about to pike him. The poor lad gave me a piteous look, which I shall never forget. I made the men stand by, and told him to "Holt's mixture" would have been perfect gunpowder, if he could have granulated it. From the want of granulation a considerable portion must have been blown away unfired in the explosion.

get up." The intended victim was saved by Holt's interference.

"From Black Ditches we marched to Hollywood-glen and Donard, passing the ruins of several houses which had been burned. I called at the house of Mr. Hynes, a justice of the peace, whom I had known and respected many years, and who assisted me in the apprehension of Rogers, the robber mentioned in the early part of this memoir, after which Mr. Hynes had always been kind and civil to me at the assizes and sessions at Wicklow, and wherever he had an opportunity. I advanced to the door with a few men, leaving the bulk of my party at a distance in the road. Two female servants came to the door, and said Mr. Hynes was from home. I told them they had nothing to fear, no injury should be done to Mr. Hynes's property, for he was a good man and kind to all, and in gratitude for his benevolence I would protect his house. Some of my unruly rascals began to break the windows, but I soon put an end to that by drawing my sword, and standing on the steps of the door, I declared that any man who committed the slightest injury should certainly die by my hand. This had a good effect, not only at the moment, for the boys found me out, and did not afterwards venture to disobey my orders. I requested the servants to bring us some refreshment. A bottle of wine was produced, which I divided with captain Perry and Garrett Byrne, and some whisky was given to the men, after which we marched on. A man was found hiding in a potato garden and was brought to the party: they made short work of him; he was tried and shot in a field adjoining, on the left side of the road leading from Donard, at the end of a cabin. I was not at his trial; it was short, and probably a very unjust one. His hiding was considered evidence enough of being guilty of orangeism. I never approved of these atrocities, and did what I could to prevent them, but Edward Roche at this time was the general of the rebels, and gave orders, which I possessed no power to countermand, and indeed was bound to obey. I had nine hundred and sixty men, all Wicklow men, under my command at this period; I therefore assumed the title of colonel.

* This is the last account we have of Mrs. Dixon, whose ferocious spirit seems never to have deserted her. It does not appear if her husband accompanied

"We then marched to Ballymanus, the estate of Garrett Byrne, where we joined the army under general Roche, and received regular orders. I was appointed to look to the night guards, and to station picquets at the advanced posts, which having fixed to my satisfaction, and given them their orders how to act in case of attack, or the advance of any persons whatever, I thought it a good opportunity to release Pilsworth, the prisoner. I wrote a pass for him, gave him money to pay his way to Dublin, and then sent William Lannin and another man to conduct him safely past the outposts. The next day we learned that the enemy was in full march from Rathdrum in quest of us, on which we moved slowly to Rodena Hill, where we took up a position, and shortly after the enemy appeared over Aughrim. With my glass I could form a pretty correct notion of their numbers, which did not exceed two hundred men. I asked the general what he thought of doing, as no time was to be lost in making our dispositions either for attack or defence. He said they had two field-pieces, which would play heavily upon us. I replied, that, if with eleven thousand men we were to be afraid of two hundred, we had better give up the business at once. We never could expect a victory, and our fate would be to be driven like grouse from hill to hill. I offered, with my regiment, to take the front, and lead the attack, and that the general should form the army into two bodies to support me in case of necessity. Roche wavered, and was evidently unequal to his task, if not a coward. He was ignorant of all idea of military movements. Ammunition was said to be scarce, and a hundred reasons were given to prevent fighting. Seeing that he had no wish to fight, I got angry, and told him and those who sided with him, that 'cowardice always made ammunition scarce.' Madge Dixon,* a woman of great bravery, abused Roche to his face, called him a coward, and offered to lead a party against the enemy. There was no time for trifling. I found the general would give no orders, or did not know how to conduct us, and that if we waited for him we should soon be dispersed. I ordered my own men to prepare for battle, and the green flag of Wicklow was unfurled, on which I declared that I hoped to have the

her, but it is probable he did. From this moment they disappear from view, and nothing appears to be known of their subsequent adventures or final fate.

field-pieces, with their ammunition. We advanced upon the enemy, determined to attack them. They fired two shells at us, which did not fall within one hundred and fifty perches of us. We then proceeded towards them, and but for the misconduct of Garrett Byrne I think we should have cut them off. But he did not advance across the hill with the quickness I had directed, and the enemy got safe through a pass where we might have destroyed them. Their trumpet sounded a retreat, and off they went. The people were dissatisfied with the conduct of our general, and he lost their confidence. Some openly accused him of cowardice, others defended him, but the difference of opinion produced a strong indisposition to follow him in future, which was soon indicated by decided marks of insubordination. A man named John Arundel, belonging to my regiment, was the same evening ordered by the general to be placed on a certain duty. He remonstrated, saying he had been on guard all night, and thought the orders should have come through his commander, colonel Holt, to whose corps he belonged, and who knew best what men had been on duty, and whose turn it was to take the guard. General Roche drew a pistol from his belt, and discharged it at the man's head; the ball passed through the crown of his hat, but did him no injury. One Cullen, my standard-bearer, told me of this business, and I immediately went to the general, and found him sitting with Garrett Byrne, captain Perry, and colonel Fitzgerald. They requested me to sit down, but I declined, and then declared the object of my visit was to demand satisfaction for an outrage committed by general Roche, who interfered with my command, by giving orders to my people without passing them in the regular way through me, and then fired a ball through the crown of Arundel's hat, which I considered an insult to myself, and would not submit to. I was ready to obey him as my commander, but would not submit to insult, or suffer my men to be assassinated, or even punished without due examination and trial. The general, at first, affected to deny the charge, but I had the man to prove it, and I demanded satisfaction by an exchange of shots, which he declined. The gentlemen present interfered, and begged me to be reconciled; this I refused, and retired from them, and kept my own men separate from the rest of the army. This conduct made

me popular with my people, who, finding I was steady in protecting them, declared their determination to obey no other commander. The next morning we marched to Wicklow-gap, and from thence to Moneyseed, where we halted. We were much in need of refreshment, and sudden death awaited the poultry; as we went along old and young suffered a common fate; they were plucked as we marched, and the leeward side of our line of march was marked by the feathers of the unfortunate cocks and hens, turkeys, geese, ducks, and chickens. The Wexford people were very kind and civil to us, and supplied us with everything we stood in need of. One young man came to invite me to the house of Knox Grogan, esq. [a loyal gentleman, of whose house the rebels had taken possession], where I was sumptuously entertained, and was enjoying myself with mulled wine and other delicacies, when one of my men came to me with orders from general Roche, to attend him immediately. I was soon at his tent; he told me the enemy were approaching, and he wished me to take the command for the day. My answer was, 'General, I shall endeavour to do my duty, and I hope the Almighty will give me strength and ability to direct the movements of the army so as to secure a favourable result.'

This occurred on the 30th of June. The insurgents having, as Holt intimates, resolved on making an excursion into Wexford, were on their march to surprise the garrison of Carnew. Intelligence had, however, been carried to general Needham, at Gorey, of the movements of this formidable column, and he detached two hundred cavalry, regulars and yeomen, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Puleston, of the Ancient Britons, supported by a body of infantry, to observe them. The rebels had advanced to Tinahely, from whence they turned off to Wingfield, to burn the old mansion there, and then proceeded to Moneyseed, where the reconnoitring party first came in sight of them as they were in full march towards Carnew. Instead of sending intelligence to the camp, and waiting for reinforcements, colonel Pulestone and his cavalry, although unsupported by the infantry, who for some reason or other had been recalled, galloped rashly after the rebels to attack them, and followed them about two miles, to a place called Ballyellis. Here they placed their musketeers in the hedges, who opened a destructive fire on

the cavalry, which, having advanced so far that it was impossible to retreat, found themselves under the necessity of pushing forward to Carnew, but they were so long impeded by the ears which the rebels had drawn across the road, that, without killing any of their assailants, they had from sixty to a hundred (according to different estimates,) of their own men slain, of whom twenty-eight were Ancient Britons. Those who escaped hurried to Carnew, and gave timely warning to the garrison of the danger to which that place was exposed, thus saving them from being surprised and cut to pieces. They had just time to collect in a malt-house, which served as a fortress, and which they defended so vigorously that after some loss the rebels drew off, and pursued their course to Kileavan hill.

Holt, who tells us that he commanded in these actions, has left the following account of them, in which there is no doubt that he has given an extremely exaggerated account of the number slain at Ballyellis. He says, "I ordered all the officers to be at the head of their respective corps, to form them twelve deep, and then to wait for orders. The enemy were about a mile distant at this time. I then ordered five hundred of the best musketeers to form my advanced guard, and one thousand pikemen to follow close. I next examined the road by which the enemy were to advance, and soon determined on the point where we would receive the enemy. I caused three horses in cars to be placed across the road, and fastened them securely, so as to obstruct the passage, and stationed one hundred musketeers behind them. I had one thousand musketeers in reserve. The hedges on each side of the road were thick and strong of crab and thorns, and the dykes were five feet deep, so that a man would scarcely appear above them. I ordered the pikemen to make passages in the hedges, so that they might easily retire or advance as occasion should require, and soon had all my preparations complete. With my advanced guard I met the enemy, keeping all my other people out of sight, and commenced firing, and then we retreated as fast as we could, as I had directed, and everything had the appearance of a panic. The enemy, who were cavalry, were sure they had it all their own way, and had but to push on and cut down all before them, and they advanced upon us bravely, but with too much confidence. When they reached the cars I

brought my musketeers round upon them, who fired on their rear with murderous effect, put them into disorder, and they, finding themselves surrounded and falling in great numbers, were in a real panic. The pikemen now advanced through the hedges, and my reserve coming behind them, it was all up with the king's troops, and in less than twenty minutes there were three hundred and seventy of them slain. Our loss was but four wounded. A black trumpeter was most tenacious of life; he took more piking than five white men. Before he expired a fellow cut off his ears, for the sake of the gold rings, and put them in his pocket. The trumpeter, during his torture, exclaimed * * * * pass-words of a united Irishman. I saw a young boy from one of the dykes pass his pike into the side of a soldier, and could not extract it again; the soldier fell dead. The boy took from his pocket a purse with thirty-five guineas in it, some of the plunder he had made the day before. One of the boy's comrades instantly seized the purse, and tried to take the money from him. He cried out to me, and I caused his well-earned prize to be restored; he presented me with it. I kept it for him till I gave it to his father, one Gough, who lived near Clone, the residence of Charles Coates, esq. In this action a horse of one of the soldiers received a wound of a pike in the haunch, which made him carry himself and rider over the barricade of cars we had formed in the road, and thus he escaped to Carnew malt-house, in which there was a company of infantry, who kept up an incessant fire upon us. I examined the place, and found it impossible for us to get at them to expel them. I, therefore, determined to make a feint of retreating towards Slievebuoy, hoping they would leave their fortress, which they accordingly did, and made a pretence of following us, but as soon as we gave them a volley back they fled, and it was, 'The devil take the hindmost.' Three-fourths of my company never saw any of these men killed, and the only officer who appeared with me after the action was Garrett Byrne, who chided me for standing in the road exposed to the fire from the malt-house.

"It is very difficult," Holt continues, "for a man to do any effectual service with undisciplined people. Not a fourth of those with us were obedient to orders when fighting was necessary, but slunk off like dastardly cowards, as they were, if they had an

opportunity, and if not, they were sure to create a panic by running before the enemy. I found the cowardly rascals on Slievebuoy-hill, where I rated them soundly for their conduct, contrasting the behaviour of their fellows who carried themselves so well in the action. I call this the battle of Ballyellis. I was received by the Wexford gentlemen with acclamations of applause. They praised the bravery and skill with which the affair was managed, and contrasted the result with their own changeable and unmeaning proceedings, which had neither intention or plan, always on the defensive, yet never prepared to receive the enemy; quite forgetting, or not knowing, that dead men cannot attack, and that the surest defence is to cripple your enemy, and by anticipating his movements to take from him the means of offence. In a defensive warfare a man is driven to his expedients, and should make the best of his means. He who attacks may choose his ground, time, and circumstances. And this proves that ambuscade is the only successful practice for raw, undisciplined, or half-disciplined troops, under officers ignorant of military economy. The conduct of the Wexford people on this occasion, and the incapacity of their general, clearly convinced me that it was all over with them, and that they would soon be put down, and that all their leaders who escaped the sword or the bullet would die by the halter. As they were without judgment or common prudence in the management of their affairs, and would not have sense enough to make terms with the government, which was all they had to look to, I did not like to be mixed up with such blockheads, and I therefore determined to leave them. Mr. Byrne was employed to induce me to join them, and to march towards Wexford, to try and restore affairs there. He came to me for that purpose, but I declined, alleging as the reason the wasted state of the county, which was ravaged by the army, and had been so long convulsed, and was therefore so much distressed for provisions. I gave orders to hoist my colours,* and called on all those to follow me who preferred being under my command.

"I soon found myself at the head of one thousand and sixty men, with whom I im-

mediately marched towards Wicklow-gap. We halted that night at a small village. On the 3rd we again marched through the mountainous country from Ballymanus and Ballycurragh to Aughavanagh, where we halted to refresh ourselves, and from thence proceeded by the head of Glenmalure, by the Three Lough Mountain to Knockalt, and from thence to my old quarters at the Whelp-rock. About four, P.M., the inhabitants waited upon me to pay their respects, and tender me their services, but with most of them it was more from fear than affection, which I understood perfectly well, and acted accordingly. Having sent out a party to forage, prepare our commissariat, and secure a regular supply of provisions, I reviewed my men, and examined the state of their arms, ammunition, &c. I found myself well off in this respect, for I had taken a great many excellent horses at the battle near Ballyellis, or Clough, with broadswords, pistols, carbines, and a good supply of ball-cartridges, and other stores, the whole of which fell into our hands. This placed me in a situation to cope with the whole combined yeomanry of the country, and, indeed, made us more than a match for them. James Kelly, the only man, I believe, of the party of cavalry who escaped at the battle of Ballyellis by his horse leaping over the barricades, deserted to me about this time, and gave me a full account of the matter.

"I thought it necessary to reconnoitre the country round our encampment; as I had been sometime absent, circumstances might have altered, and unpleasant neighbours have taken up their abode nearer than I approved, so I ordered twenty-four of my best cavalry to be ready at a certain hour, to attend me in a ride through the country, leaving directions what was to be done if an enemy appeared in my absence. We crossed the commons of Broadlays to Ballyman, where we got some refreshment. From thence we went to the house of Mr. Bradley, who was from home; had he been there he would not have been injured. Mrs. Bradley gave the men plenty of drink. We took away a suit of her husband's military uniform, with his sword, and thirteen fat cows, which I ordered to be driven to our camp. We received information that there were at Cuddy Hornidge's two fitches of bacon and four sacks of oatmeal, which I instantly sent for, and likewise nine oxen, which we added to our drove, and then pro-

* "Holt's flag," Mr. Croker says, "I have been told, was made of green serge, about the size of a large pocket handkerchief; on one side the letters J. H. were marked in yellow paint on the other a rude representation of a harp."

ceeded joyfully to our camp, and delivered the stores and cattle over to my commissary. I left my compliments for the old joker with the servants, the least I could do for the liberty I had taken with his bacon and his live stock. As we showed towards Kilkullen we discovered a military station; they beat to arms on our approach, but did not quit their position. I now stationed my pickets half-a-mile farther from the camp, so that if alarmed their fire might give us timely notice of the approach of the enemy. I did not wish to be caught napping.

"I had now been three days from the main body, which I left at Slievebuoy-hill; they had marched to Carrigrua, where they had been fiercely attacked by the king's troops, and put to flight in all directions. They then sent me a despatch, that eleven thousand of their men were coming to join me. Supposing that as usual they would not be over well fed, it became necessary for me to make some provision for so numerous a company of visitors, and I determined not to be niggardly in hospitality, especially as the country about me was not destitute of the good things of this life, or the means of employing hungry fellows' jaws with considerable advantage to their strength and spirits. I wanted camp-kettles, and therefore took the liberty of borrowing two large metal boilers from Mr. Radcliff's factory at Ballynahoun, in each of which I could cook six hundred weight of beef. I next sent my compliments to Mr. Fynamore for seventy-nine head of cattle, which were soon in the possession of the commissary, with seven calves, six large swine, and a quantity of oatmeal and potatoes. I then caused all the houses within four miles round to be searched for salt, pepper, and spices, and thus obtained a fair supply of things necessary for the body. I now set the butchers to work, and put the beef into turf kishes. With the advantage of a dry summer we had plenty of fuel, and but little trouble in cooking. The beef was cut into small pieces and boiled, and when done was taken out and replaced in the turf kishes, and more beef put into the hot water, which became excellent soup, and was saved in tubs and casks. When my formidable company joined, I was able to give them a hearty meal of wholesome food, which satisfied their hungry stomachs, and revived their languid, depressed, and dis-

comfited spirits. Poor devils! they presented a melancholy picture of wretchedness and woe, but the news of beef and soup, and the entertainment I had prepared for them, renovated their almost exhausted powers, and made them men again. They had not been used to be taken care of, and were much left to their own resources; due forethought, therefore, was a surprise upon them, it was as welcome as it was unexpected. The poor creatures were delighted. I increased my popularity by ordering that the new comers should do no duty till they were recovered from their fatigue. I then set about instructing them in military manœuvres, by sham battles, shewing them how to use pikes against guns, and the advantage pikemen, if steady, had against cavalry, and told them to remember Ballyellis malthouse; that the pike, in a charge, was much superior to any other weapon. Thus, I instilled into them a confidence in their own strength they had never before felt.

"A great many persons came with the fugitives who called themselves officers, but general Roche was missing. Twenty-four of the said officers consulted with me what was best to be done. I proposed to march upon Newtown-Mount-Kennedy, where there were two field pieces and plenty of ammunition, which we could easily make ourselves masters of; then to march to Wicklow, release the prisoners there, and from thence to proceed to Dublin. My plan was opposed by father Kearns, who proposed that we should march upon Clonard, where we should much augment our numbers by our friends in that neighbourhood, and acquire a good store of ammunition. It went to a poll, and a majority of two decided in favour of father Kearns. We then completed our ball cartridges, and having all things in readiness, we commenced our march about eleven o'clock at night. Our number on the roll was thirteen thousand, seven hundred, and eighty men. By the time we arrived at Prosperous, we had lost by desertion two thousand five hundred. We halted at this place, and refreshed. While here, our picquets brought us word that a party of military were approaching us. I went to reconnoitre them, and finding they were only a few cavalry, I ordered two hundred men to attack them, but they moved off at the rate of a fox-hunt. We had here to march by a road through a bog, across

which a gulf was cut to render it impassable without a bridge, and we had no time to construct one. I had, therefore, recourse to an expedient which offered itself to my mind at the moment. We had taken a great quantity of cattle from a man named Wolfe, and others, and I ordered them to be driven with great precipitancy into this gulf, and this mass tumbling in filled up the gulf so as to enable some to scramble over, and the army following them, we crossed in safety and without delay. We halted at a village called Robertstown, where, having refreshed ourselves, we advanced on Clonard. Here we divided. I headed a corps of about three thousand men, and determined to attack a guard-house at the foot of the bridge, which had a garrison. There was a small house opposite, and a millrace which I had to cross. We proceeded between the two houses without opposition, but on passing them the body under my command met a very warm reception from the little garrison, which it was my intention to have surprised; but they were on the alert, and a few of my men fell by their first volley. Garret Byrne and Fitzgerald were sent to support me in this attack. Byrne observing the danger I was placed in, cried out, 'Holt, is there any use for you to get yourself and your men killed?' This no doubt had its effect upon the conduct of my party. It made them hesitate. Finding I could not get at the brave fellows on that side, I retreated and set two small houses on fire, the smoke of which kept us out of their view and fire. I then crossed the bridge with but fifty men, and lost eight of them before I got over. As soon as I saw but little hope of gaining the garrison, I went to the front of the barrack; the gates were very strong, but we forced them, and got several loads of straw, which, after great exertions and several attempts, we set on fire, with the intention of burning the barrack, but our efforts had not the desired effect. We then forced off the ceiling with our pikes, and at last succeeded in consuming the building. We were shortly after attacked by the flying artillery. At the first discharge they killed eight of the fifteen men I had placed in a shrubbery, and they fired with such murderous effect that we were compelled to retreat. We were deficient in ball-cartridge and ammunition, or we should certainly have been victorious on this occasion. Captain Perry and myself stopped

with five hundred men for some time, but finding success out of the question we retreated to Castle Carberry, where we halted and dressed our wounded. Next morning we marched to Corebuoy-hill, where we were getting some provisions cooked, and preparing for further operations, when I discovered several of the people intoxicated and reeling about. I suspected the cause and went to the commissary, and found the men had got at two puncheons of whisky, and would soon all be in a helpless state. With the butt end of a musket I stove in the heads of both, and having spilled the contents discharged the sentinels. Many of the men, when they discovered what I had done, were so exasperated that they threatened me with instant death. I endeavoured to appease them, and several sensible fellows coming up to my support, told them that by what I had done I had saved their lives. They were at length brought to reason, with a threat of punishment for mutiny against their best friend. I went round to those that I saw had some reason left, and argued with them on the folly of men expecting to be attacked every instant rendering themselves incapable of resistance. In a few minutes after I heard the signal from our pickets that the enemy were advancing, but on calling to arms I had not more than two hundred men in a fit state to fight. There were upwards of five hundred men lying on the ground in a state of beastly intoxication, which produced such a panic in the rest that they began to fly in all directions. I did what I could to rally them, and thus effected a retreat, leaving the drunkards to their fate, who were bayoneted on the ground. I was very much exasperated by the opposition I met with from my men, and their foolish conduct, and as I was almost as much intoxicated with passion as they were with whisky, I ordered all the houses in our line of march to be burned, and was tracked by the military from their smoke. Captain Dalton joined me with a few horsemen, and the artillery advanced upon us, but we gave the troops a reception warmer than they wished. So many of our men, however, were fatigued and incapable of the resistance necessary, that many were shot by the military without offering any resistance. In crossing a ditch, the top of which gave way, my horse fell, and, the soldiers being close upon me, I got up as speedily as possible, and made off towards my party; but be-

fore I reached them I received a slight wound in my head, and as I saw a great many falling around me, and that the military passed by all that fell to pursue the flying, I threw myself down by the side of a murmuring stream, where I lay bleeding. They passed me unnoticed, and I only heard one of them say, 'There are a brave parcel of the devils dead in all directions.' As soon as the military were got to a distance I ventured to look about me, and saw a great crowd of women crying bitterly. The enemy spared no one, putting all indiscriminately to death. I thought I could not be worse off, so I ventured over the stream, and went up to a respectable-looking woman. She was a yeoman's wife, and said to me, 'Sir, I am sorry to see you in such a situation, go up to that house, and make the girls take off your surtout, and they will wash it for you.' I went to the house, and she followed me, and brought me some spirits, bread, butter, and cheese, and was very kind to me. I was very thankful for her kindness, and gave her my silver-mounted sword, and told her where my horse would be found bogged. 'Go there, said I to her, 'and take the silver-mounted bridle, and you will find also my case of silver-mounted pistols.' She washed my head, and bound it with a handkerchief, and gave me a hat in exchange for my broken helmet, and dismissed me, saying, 'My husband is a yeoman, but I hope you will escape.' I answered, that 'the Almighty was able to save me, and could do more than that.' The maid-servant, who had been set to watch, now came in, and said that she saw a body of police approaching the house. The good woman wished me every luck, and I retreated by the back of her garden, but had not proceeded far before I met eight of the police. I went up boldly to them, and asked them which way the army had gone. One of them very fiercely said, 'What do you want to know about the army?' I answered that the rebels had robbed me, and taken my horse and hat, 'and I hope if any gentleman gets him he will be returned to the lawful owner.' 'You are right,' said one of the men, 'it should be done.' I showed them the wound in my head from a ball, and told them that I only escaped by pretending to be dead, and, perhaps, the approach of the army saved me, for the rebels all fled, leaving me on the ground. They pitied my misfortune, but said it was lucky for me it was

not worse, to which I most cordially assented, and after a few more words we parted, most willingly on my side, and most grateful to Providence was I, and fervently did I return thanks.'

"I now concluded that it was all for the better, and that all things might work together for my safety. I could see none of my people in any direction, and trying to find or follow them was out of the question. The bog was clear of the enemy; I began therefore to reflect on what was best to be done. I was completely out of my latitude, and never wanted a pilot more than at this time. I made my observations on the sun, and steered my course by it, and in a short time discovered a small cabin or house on the edge of the bog, which I approached. The owner was at home, and with him I got into conversation; he was kindly disposed, and very civil. I went into the house, and was surprised to find there an old woman from Newtown-Mount-Kennedy, the wife of Andrew Kearns, who was, like myself, a shipwrecked and miserable being. The man gave us instructions as to the roads of the country, and pointed out the way we should go. But we could scarcely hope to pass ourselves for anything but our true characters, a pair of unfortunate forlorn rebels. My trust in my Redeemer was strong, and the recollection of the acts of mercy I had done to the unfortunate who had fallen into the hands of my people were now sweet and comfortable to me. I had saved their lives, restored them to liberty, had prevented the shedding of blood whenever I had an opportunity, and I trusted that such conduct would be pleasing to the Almighty, and that the measure which I meted to others would be vouchsafed to myself in my misery and distress. I could not consider rebellion, *in my case*, a sin, because I had no alternative. I must either have joined the rebels, or have been sacrificed by my enemies. My life must have fallen by my persecutors, as my house had been burned, and my property made away with. I had unwillingly taken the united oath, and I had no one to absolve me from it. I was too good a protestant to break so solemn an obligation, even though keeping it was grief and pain to me. Most gladly would I have been fighting on the other side, could I have done so with a clear conscience; but an oath once sworn is *binding* for ever, at least I have not yet learned how I could be relieved from it. I des-

pised the cowardice, duplicity, and cruelty of some of my colleagues; but there were many of them noble and generous spirits, who were let into the rebellion by circumstances over which they had no influence and could not control in these unhappy times. The crimes of atrocious inhumanity, committed on both sides, were so dreadful, that I cannot trust myself with their description, nor could I find language competent to express the depths of iniquity or cruelty which the struggle produced. All the finer and better feelings of humanity were expunged from the hearts of those engaged in this terrible war. The sight of human blood seems to convert man into a savage monster; and once the hands are stained with the blood of our fellow-creatures, the thirst for it becomes an insatiable appetite, which it is impossible to restrain. I shall remember, to my latest hour, the delight I felt at having saved young Pilsworth's life.

"Katty Kearns and I proceeded till night approached, when we lay down on a bank at the back of a quickset hedge, adjoining a gentleman's lawn; but we were much disturbed by bulls and oxen who annoyed us early in the morning, and kept smelling and bellowing about us, which determined me to move on. The first man we met was what I may call a friend: he shewed us a bye-path, which he thought we might follow with safety, and we soon reached a house by the side of the road, into which we entered, and were scarcely there before a corps of cavalry approached. The owner trembled at the sound of the horses' feet, and said, if the troops had seen us, his life would have been forfeited as well as mine. The poor woman gave us some buttermilk, and told us she had no better cheer, but the man promised to get me a good breakfast. He then took us into a field of wheat, which was at the back of his house, and desired us to remain there. About nine o'clock he came with a large jug of hot tea, bread, butter, and cold meat. The reader may imagine how welcome was this providential supply. I had not tasted anything for more than thirty hours. The man told me his landlord, John O'Neill, was a united Irishman, although he was in a corps of cavalry, and that he would come and see me. After our repast we lay down and slept soundly till about twelve o'clock, when Mr. O'Neill came to us. He entered into conversation with me, and asked how it was that I should

be in the wretched situation he found me. He then left us; and about an hour after he sent his man with a cold fowl, some boiled potatoes, bread and bacon, and a bottle of whisky, with which Katty and I made a sumptuous feast. I cannot express the exquisite and savoury flavour which these things had. I returned thanks for this timely supply, but the whisky had been nearly my ruin. Poor Katty got a second glass, and it made her so chatty, and indeed clamorous, that I feared her tongue would have led to a discovery, and I began to think of breaking the bottle, lest she should get any more. Indeed, Katty became a regular nuisance to me, and I was most anxious to be rid of her. We were near the road, and her talk must have been heard by all passers by. However, after a little she fell asleep, and was quiet during the time. After nightfall the poor man, among whose wheat we had sheltered ourselves, returned, bringing me a pistol and ten ball-cartridges, which reanimated me, and restored my confidence. He acted as a guide to us for nine miles, when he pointed out the house of a farmer, who was a united Irishman, and wishing us safe, he returned. I went up to the house, accompanied by old Katty, whom I frequently wished at old Nick, or anywhere out of my way. It was about sunrise, and I rapped at the door, a voice answered, 'Who comes there?'—'A friend.' The man rose and admitted me. I passed the sign, which he acknowledged, and then brought me into an inner room, but desired Katty to sit in the kitchen, which irritated her not a little. She was not much more refined in her manners than a baboon, whose countenance indeed hers much resembled. However, she stayed in the kitchen, and some food was brought to me, with spirits and milk; nor was Katty without her share. Night approaching, I wished to move onward, and my friend brought me to a place, where he thought he could leave me safely; he pointed out the house of a united Irishman, but one cautious and stubborn, who required firm and determined conduct. It was about eleven o'clock, I rapped at the door, and was answered—'Who comes there?'—'A friend.'—'You shan't come in.'—'You are a sworn man, and must admit me on pain of perjury; and if you do not obey, I will burn your house over your head, and you in your bed, as a perjured villain.' This I spoke in a voice as if I had a great company at my back, and

it soon brought him to his senses; he cried out—'Sir, I will get up and let you in.' Which he soon did. I instantly seized him by the neck, and presented my pistol at his head, and said—'Are you not a sworn united Irishman?'—'Yes, sir.'—'Then I will let you know your duty, you perjured wretch. March on before me.' The creature thought I was going to take his life, and begged for mercy. I told him I would spare him if he piloted me safely across the Boyne, to James Kennedy's house at Navan; but if I was attacked by the way he should die by the contents of my pistol passing through his head. I then commanded him to march before me, and we reached the house without the least interruption. We arrived about sunrise; Kennedy took me to his barn; Katty wished to follow, but he ordered her into the house, and he placed me in a recess, behind a large heap of peas in the straw. As he was going out of the barn, two soldiers came up from Navan, and saluted him. Kennedy asked them what news they had. They answered, 'The rebels were all killed or dispersed, we shall now get rid of these damned militia, who torment us so much, and be at ease. Come, landlord,' said they, 'give us a drink of new milk.' They got their milk, lighted their pipes, and went their way. Then Kennedy brought me some new milk and spirits, which he and I drank, and he congratulated me on my escape hitherto, and he hoped I should now get safely over the rest of my road. He thought me a most fortunate man. Katty, who wished more for gossip than to get home, annoyed Kennedy so much, that he threatened to put her into a sack and throw her into the Boyne, adding, 'you old fool, you may travel all over the world safely, and no one will hurt you; but you must not be allowed to endanger this man's life by your prate. You must leave him, and stop here till an opportunity occurs to send you hence; and in the mean time keep your red rag quiet, or else you shall have a swim in the sack: but if you behave yourself, I'll send you on some of the corn cars to Dublin on Monday.' Poor Katty was alarmed at the determination with which Kennedy said this, and having witnessed acts as well as threats, and seen them follow each other more frequently than otherwise, she was very submissive, and promised to do as she was bid; so I got rid of Katty, to my great satisfaction.

"I was now conducted by Kennedy over the Boyne water, and put on a path which he said led to a house where I would be kindly treated; he then left me with many good wishes. I travelled on for some time, and came suddenly on a large farm-house, where I received a willing reception, and I may say, very hearty welcome. Two women, one young and good-looking, the other advanced in years, whose benevolent heart was exhibited in her countenance, each seemed to vie with the other in attention. They brought me hot water to bathe my feet, and clean stockings and linen, and took my own and washed them. They then gave me oat-cakes and butter-milk, which after I had eaten, they shewed me a comfortable bed, where I slept for several hours. When I awoke, I found my shirt and stockings beside me clean and well aired, and my shoes well cleaned. They asked me many questions about my misfortunes, and the actions I had been in. I was not a little gratified at the great commiseration and solicitude which they exhibited respecting general Holt, who, they said, had been killed; that many of the men they had seen had been much grieved, and felt very sorry for him, as he was a great loss to the cause. He knew how to conduct them, and they had great confidence in his bravery and skill; but the poor general was shot in crossing Longford bog. 'Avourneen,' added my pretty and kind-hearted young friend, 'he was a sore loss;' and the tears started to her beautiful blue eyes. 'Do not fret, my darling,' said I, 'Holt is not dead, he is alive and well.' She clapped her hands with joy, and exclaimed, 'thanks be to God! Mother, general Holt is not dead, but alive and safe.' And she was so overjoyed, that she knelt down to pray for my success. I cannot tell what I felt at this moment. I was affected in a manner as new as it was unexpected by me. I could keep the secret no longer. 'My good people,' said I, '*I am Holt.*' I shewed her the wound on my head, and that on my left arm; she again blessed God for my escape, and appeared astonished and delighted that I had taken refuge in her house, and that she had an opportunity of administering to my necessities. She had not long quitted the room, before twenty-four poor unfortunates came into the house, who were all desired to sit down, and oaten cakes were placed before them, and the young woman was busily employed in baking more cakes

on the griddle; she afterwards told me they had been so employed for some days past. These poor fellows related their misfortunes, and the circumstances of the late action. They seemed particularly grieved at the loss of their leader. 'And agra!' said the old woman, 'who was he?'—'General Holt,' was the answer.—'Avourneen, he is not dead but sleeping.'—'I saw him fall,' said one of the men, 'from his horse in leaping a drain in Longford bog, and bleeding from a wound in his head.'—'I tell you, avourneen, he is sleeping in the next room.' They were astonished and delighted when she brought them into the room, and there they saw me sleeping sure enough. They were anxious for me to rise and go with them; if I was not able to travel they would carry me. The bustle awoke me, and I arose and thanked them for their offer, but I thought it more prudent to proceed alone. They left me, and carried the first news of my safety to the county of Wicklow. These men were the first I saw afterwards, on my arrival at Glenmalur.

"I now began to think of how I could pass safely through Dublin. I was well known, and it was next to impossible but some one or other would recognise me. I had, however, escaped so often, that I trusted in Providence I should pass through safely. I rose early the next morning, and inquired the nearest road to Dublin; an old man pointed it out to me. I then took leave of my kind friends, proceeded to the road, and I soon arrived at a public house. It was about six in the morning, and the landlord was at the door. I asked for spirits, but he said he had none, but he had very good ale, and would mull a quart for me. I threw him the signal, which he affected to disregard, but he understood me, for he said, 'I am not a united man, nor do I belong to any party, but wish all well.' He said, 'Go into the barn, where there is some new hay that you can lie down upon, and I will follow you with the drink,' which he soon after did. I requested him, if any cars were passing towards Dublin, that he would let me know. He brought me a second pot of ale, and before it was drunk he told me that there were three loaded cars coming up. I went to the door and threw a signal to the drivers, who instantly answered me. I then offered the landlord a shilling for the ale, but he refused to take payment, and wished me safe. These cars

were from Castle Pollard,* laden with eggs, the driver's name was Kennedy. We settled that I was to appear as the owner of the cars, and we proceeded quietly along the road unmolested. I had heard that the military, as well as the police, were directed to have a look out for me and my fellow-sufferers; it therefore required the utmost circumspection on my part to avoid being known. On the road we frequently met with soldiers, and passed them at the doors of public houses drinking. On which occasions I showed much anxiety respecting the cars and their lading, doing something for their security, and bustling about; once we stopped to drink, and were in conversation with the soldiers, asking them questions about the rebels, and wishing them every success; in all the men I met that day, not a single man appeared to know me except one, who smiled a recognition. We arrived safely at Park-end-street, where the Kennedys and I went into a house to drink a parting glass of punch, after which we separated, they wishing me good luck and safe through Dublin. I directed my way over old Bow Bridge, by Old Kilmainham, through James-street, Thomas-street, and Francis-street, turned at the Cross Puddle, by New-street, to Harold's Cross. Here a woman, named Susy Needham, who was reared at Delgany, in the county of Wicklow, met and knew me, and instantly turned off very sharply. I understood her. She went to the barracks to give information to Mr. Beresford, and in a few minutes I heard the rattle of the feet of cavalry on the pavement. I instantly sealed the west wall of the road, and on the other side secreted myself close under it. They halted near the spot, and I began to think that I had been watched, and was discovered. I prepared for the worst, but was gratified to hear them ask a passenger they met and stopped, if he had seen me, describing my person. He said he had met a man but did not observe him much, he appeared in a hurry, and was gone towards Cromlin. The cavalry determined to proceed in that direction, and off they went in double-quick time. In a few minutes I arose and mounted my protector, the wall. I could see no one, so I crossed to the opposite side of the road, and took to the fields up to Hollypark, and thence to the enchanted house on Montpellier Hill."

* In the county of West Meath, distant about seventy-five Irish miles from Dublin.

The main body of the rebels had marched from Kilcavan on the 2nd of July, for the purpose of plundering and burning the houses of the loyal inhabitants of Coolkenna and its neighbourhood; but finding that they were pursued by a force of about a hundred and fifty yeomen, consisting chiefly of the Shilela troops and the True Blues of Tinahely, they changed their course, and took up a position on the hill of Ballyraheen, between Tinahely and Carnew. The more prudent of the officers of the yeomen urged that, considering the great force of the insurgents, and the strength of their position, they should content themselves with watching their movements until they could obtain a greater force of military; but the opinions of others, more eager, and as the sequel showed, more rash, prevailed, and an attack was made upon the hill with great courage on the part of the military. The rebels, however, who had been desirous of avoiding an engagement, rushed impetuously down the hill, and put their assailants to the flight, killing nearly a score of the infantry. The cavalry escaped without loss, but captain Chamney of the Coolattin, and captain Nickson of the Coolkenna companies were killed at the beginning of the action. About sixty of the infantry, under captain Morton and lieutenant Chamney, took refuge in the house of captain Chamney, which stood at the foot of the hill, and which they defended against the rebels during a continued attack of fourteen hours. They made repeated attempts to set fire to the house, and for this purpose some of them advanced to the hall door under cover of feather beds, which they carried before them; but the bullets penetrated even this covering. Among those who were killed in this manner was a very large man from Gorey, whose name was John Redmond, but who went by the nickname of Shaan Plunder, and who enjoyed not a very creditable reputation among the rebels. Some of the latter set fire to the neighbouring house of Henry Morton, Esq., which proved disastrous to their own party, for the illumination enabled the soldiers who garrisoned captain Chamney's house to take secure aim on their assailants during the night, and their loss was accordingly considerable.

The rebels now separated, and one body of them marched through the mountains of Wicklow to the county of Kildare; while another returned into Wexford, and en-

camped on a hill near the village of Coolgreney, at the foot of the Croghan mountain, called the White Heaps, from some heaps of white stones. When they had remained there two nights, general Needham, from Gorey, which was six miles distant from their encampment, in concert with sir James Duff, from Carnew, and the marquis of Huntley, with a body of highlanders, from Arklow, marched against them. General Needham was to attack them at the White Heaps, while the marquis of Huntley occupied the summit of the Croghan mountain to intercept them in that direction, and general Duff was to cut off their retreat through the Wicklow gap. The three commanders made their conjoined movements for this purpose in the night of the 4th of July, but the rebels received timely warning of their danger, and when general Needham reached the White Heaps early in the morning of the 5th, he found it deserted, except by a few stragglers, who were put to death. A thick fog concealed the march of the insurgents, and hindered the army from acting so completely in concert as it might otherwise have done. The first impulse of the rebels was to ascend the Croghan mountain, but meeting there by surprise with the corps under the marquis of Huntley, they descended rapidly and made for the Wicklow gap. The fog again hindered them from perceiving the force under sir James Duff, until they were close upon it, and then a few discharges of artillery compelled them again to turn their course towards Gorey. General Needham remained stationary at the White Heaps, waiting till the fog should clear off, or the rebels must have been surrounded and cut to pieces; but sir James Duff pursued them closely, and brought them to action at a place called Ballygullin, four miles from Gorey, where they made a stand on elevated ground, under cover of some strong hedges and a wood. They were here enabled by the advantage of their position to repulse the advanced guard of cavalry, and nearly captured the artillery, which accompanied them. But the remainder of general Duff's force arriving, they were soon dislodged by the fire of the infantry and the curried guns, and, with no great loss, dispersed in every direction, to reassemble on the hill of Corrigrua. They were annoyed in their flight by a body of the King's County militia, posted in Ferns, and finding themselves thus hunted from place to place by different

bodies of the king's troops, they soon dispersed from Corrigrua; and from this time the county of Wexford, though infested with small bands of plunderers and assassins, was not again visited by the insurgents in any considerable force.

The body of rebels which, after the affair at Ballyrahcen had marched into Kildare, formed a junction with a rather numerous party who had remained in arms from the beginning of the rebellion under the command of William Aylmer, and had hitherto eluded the pursuit of the king's troops by the rapidity of their movements between the Wicklow mountains and the bog of Allen. The two bodies, however, agreed but ill together, and on one occasion they were near coming to a battle. In their march over the Wicklow mountains, the column from Wexford was again joined by some of the smaller parties who had previously separated from it, and the united force resolved to march to Clonard, a village on the river Boyne, about twenty-five miles west of Dublin, with the intention of proceeding to Athlone, in the hope of raising an insurrection in the west. The attack upon Clonard, on the 11th of July, has been described with tolerable accuracy in the narrative of Holt, given above. Kept at bay by a party of only twenty-seven yeomen under lieutenant Tyrrell, in a fortified house, until the arrival of succours from Kinnegad and Mullingar, the Wexford insurgents, in their retreat, separating from their Kildare associates, about fifteen hundred of them kept together under the command of Fitzgerald. The night of their repulse from Clonard, they plundered the village of Carbery, and committed several atrocities, and next morning marched by Johnstown to a place called Summerhill, near Culmallyn, in the county of Meath. Several parties of soldiery were already in pursuit of them, and they were attacked at Summerhill by a body of troops from Edenderry, under colonel Gough, and were obliged to fly precipitately, leaving their plunder behind them. Finding no encouragement in the county of Meath, they made a rapid though circuitous march to

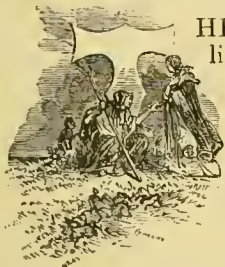
the river Boyne, and crossed it near Duleek into the county of Louth. On the 14th they were overtaken by the cavalry of major-general Wemyss and brigadier-general Meyrick, between the Boyne and the town of Ardee, and made a desperate stand, but on the arrival of the infantry and artillery, they fled and took refuge in a bog. Their force was now diminished by further desertions. Those who remained together, repassed the Boyne, and made a rapid march in the direction of Dublin, apparently with the intention of regaining the Wicklow mountains, but they were pursued by a body of the king's troops under captain Gordon, who dispersed them, with some slaughter, at Ballyboghill, near Swords.

In the retreat from Clonard there had been a general dispersion of the rebel leaders. Holt, we have seen, made his escape alone, and almost by accident. Perry, and the ferocious priest Kearns, who, according to Holt's statement, first proposed the expedition to Clonard, fled into the King's County, where, in attempting to cross a bog near Clonballogue, they were captured and carried to Edenderry, where they were both hanged on the 19th of July.

The rebellion now seemed to be reduced in every quarter. The only other outbreak which promised at all to be serious occurred in the county of Cork, where the peasantry rose and proceeded to the same acts of violence which were exhibited in other quarters. Lieutenant-colonel sir Hugh O'Reilly was on his march from Cloghnakilty to Bandon, with two hundred and twenty men of the Westmeath militia, and two six pounders, when he was attacked on the 19th of June, near the village of Ballynascarty, by three or four hundred pikemen, who had been placed in ambush in a very advantageous position. These were quickly driven away, but larger bodies now showed themselves, and the position of the military was critical, had not another body of militia come to their aid. The entire defeat of these rebels put an end to the insurrection in Cork.

CHAPTER XV.

CHANGE OF GOVERNMENT POLICY; THE MARQUIS OF CORNWALLIS APPOINTED LORD LIEUTENANT; COMPROMISE WITH THE STATE PRISONERS; SECRET COMMITTEE; DEPLORABLE STATE OF THE COUNTRY.



THE force of the rebellion was now entirely broken, but the country which it had passed over was reduced to the most deplorable condition, and a wound had been inflicted on the prosperity of Ireland

which it would require care and length of time to heal. That the intensity of the rebellion had been much increased by the severities employed against suspected persons and the unchecked licentiousness of the soldiery, none could doubt; and the same circumstance now prevented the insurgents from submitting and returning to their allegiance, and increased the desolation of the country. A rage for persecution seems to have pervaded every department of the state, and the government seemed only anxious to exterminate its enemies. In all parts courts martial were substituted for courts of justice; and a still more summary mode of proceeding against imputed rebels was practised by soldiers, yeomen, and supplementaries, who frequently executed without any trial such as they judged worthy of death, even persons found unarmed in their own houses. A proceeding which denied safety at home even to those who were peaceably inclined, augmented for a time the number of the rebels, and was calculated, by encouraging indiscriminate massacre, to complete the depopulation of the country. Had it not been for the religious character the insurrection had assumed in the south, and the excesses into which the bigotry of the popish rebels drew them, the Irish government would have experienced much more disastrous consequences of the unwise policy it had been pursuing. Lord Castlereagh, in a letter, dated the 12th of June, has left us the following curious statement of the sentiments of the Irish ministers at the moment when the rebellion in Wexford was at its greatest height. "It is of importance," he says, "that the authority of England should decide this

contest, as well with a view to British influence in Ireland, as to make it unnecessary for the government to lend itself too much to a party in this country, mostly exasperated by the religious persecution to which the protestants in Wexford have been exposed. In that county, it is perfectly a religious phrensy. The priests lead the rebels to battle; on their march, they kneel down and pray, and show the most desperate resolution in their attack. They put such protestants, as are reported to be orangemen, to death, saving others upon condition of their embracing the catholic faith. It is a Jacobinical conspiracy throughout the kingdom, pursuing its object chiefly with popish instruments; the heated bigotry of this sect being better suited to the purpose of the republican leaders than the cold reasoning disaffection of the northern presbyterians. The number of the insurgents is great; so great as to make it prudent to assemble a very considerable force, before any attempt is made to penetrate that very difficult and enclosed country. The conduct of the militia and yeomanry has, in point of fidelity, exceeded our most sanguine expectations. Some few corps of the latter, and but very few in that vast military establishment, have been corrupted; but in no instance has the militia failed to show the most determined spirit. In this point of view, the insurrection, if repressed with energy, will have proved an invaluable test of our national force, on the disaffection of which our enemies either actually did, or professed very extensively to rely."

The English ministers themselves now saw the necessity of adopting a more lenient policy, and to give their change of system more effect, they suddenly resolved upon recalling lord Camden from Ireland, and appointed as a successor in the lord lieutenancy the marquis Cornwallis, a nobleman qualified for the difficult task he was sent to undertake, not less by his great military talents than by his political knowledge and activity. In respect of the latter quality, the conduct of the new viceroy was

a novelty in a country where the governor had been often little better than a pageant of state, while the real rulers of the country were the officials of the castle. On the 20th of June, lord Cornwallis made his modest entrance into Dublin, which formed a contrast to the pompous parade of his predecessor's departure a few days afterwards. The character of the new governor's policy was not long concealed. On the 3rd of July, a proclamation appeared in the Dublin Gazette, authorizing the king's generals in Ireland to give protections to such insurgents as, being simply guilty of rebellion, should surrender their arms, abjure all unlawful engagements, and take the oath of allegiance to the king. To give the full sanction of law to this measure, a message was sent to the House of Commons on the 17th of July, signifying his majesty's pleasure to that effect, and an act of amnesty was accordingly passed, embracing all engaged in the rebellion, who had not been leaders, or committed manslaughter, except in the heat of battle.

The good effects of this act of mercy were soon felt, not only among the mass of insurgents who were at liberty, but even among the leaders of the united Irishmen, who had been in rebellion since the beginning of the rebellion, and whose trials had already commenced. Henry and John Sheares were brought to trial on the 12th of July, and condemned and soon afterwards put to death. The trial of John M'Cann, who had been secretary to the provincial committee of the united Irishmen of Leinster, followed on the 17th, and he also was condemned and executed. On the 23rd Michael William Byrne and Oliver Bond were tried and condemned, and the former was executed, but Oliver Bond was relieved, in consequence of a communication made to the government on the part of the other prisoners. It is understood that counsellor Dobbs, a member of the house of commons, was the chief promoter of an offer made by the state prisoners to buy their own safety, by giving full information on the internal transactions and foreign negotiations of the society of united Irishmen, on the condition that they should not be obliged to implicate individuals; and the government was too anxious to obtain a justification of its proceedings not to listen to such a proposal. A paper drawn up, apparently by lord Cornwallis's direction, and published among the correspondence of lord

Castlereagh, gives us a clear statement of the progress of this transaction. It was sent to the ministers in England by the lord lieutenant on the 14th of September. After stating that on the 24th of July (the day after Oliver Bond's trial), counsellor Dobbs and Mr. Archer, sheriff of Dublin, called on lord Castlereagh, and delivered a paper, signed by a number of the state prisoners, offering to make confessions on receiving pardon for themselves and Byrne and Bond, on condition of their quitting the kingdom; the paper proceeds to inform us that "lord Castlereagh laid the above paper that evening before the lord lieutenant. His excellency, on the following morning (the chancellor being out of town), communicated with lord Carleton, lord Kilwarden, the prime serjeant, and the attorney and solicitor-general, upon the subject of it. It was their unanimous opinion that the conditions proposed on the part of the state prisoners would not warrant the crown in extending mercy to Byrne and Bond, then under sentence of death, the former ordered for execution on that day, the latter on the day following. The principal grounds upon which they relied for the opinion they gave were, that several of the most notorious traitors, particularly the O'Connors and Sampson, had not signed; that there was nothing in the terms of the engagement to prevent the prisoners, if released and permitted to leave the kingdom, from passing into France, and that their offer of giving information did not to them appear, in point of advantage, to counterbalance the discontent which would be occasioned by saving two of the most leading traitors from the punishment due to their crimes. They particularly also relied on the injurious effects such an act of undeserved mercy would have on the administration of criminal justice, by discouraging jurors hereafter from coming forward to discharge an odious duty. Their reasoning did not altogether satisfy the lord lieutenant. His excellency, however, felt that he could not do otherwise than abide by the opinion of the first law authorities in the country, thus peremptorily and unanimously stated; accordingly Byrne was executed on that day. The following morning Mr. Dobbs and Mr. Alexander, member for Londonderry, a distant relation of Mr. Bond's, called on lord Castlereagh. They intimated to him that Arthur O'Connor, Sampson, Hampden, Evans, and several others, who had declined

signing the former paper, were now desirous of soliciting the mercy of the crown, in common with the other prisoners; that they were ready to communicate to government every information in their power, provided they were not required to criminate individuals; and to guard against the danger which the state might apprehend from their passing, if liberated, into an enemy's country, that they were willing to leave the time of their liberation, so long as the war lasted, to the discretion of government, as also the place of their exile; it being understood they were not to be transported as felons. This communication was stated by lord Castlereagh to the lord lieutenant. His excellency immediately summoned the same persons with whom he had before consulted, and having intimated to them the above proposition, strongly expressed his disposition to grant a respite to Bond, in order precisely to ascertain what might be expected from the renewed offer of the state prisoners. The opinions of these gentlemen perfectly coincided with that of his excellency. The alterations in the terms of the proposal, but more particularly the offer of O'Connor to disclose his treasons, appeared to them to make it highly expedient to entertain the proposition so submitted. Bond was accordingly respited until Monday, the 30th of July. Lord Castlereagh, by the lord lieutenant's direction, transmitted to the lord chancellor, at Mountshannon, a statement of what had passed. His lordship highly approved of what had been done, and stated in the strongest manner his opinion of the expediency of obtaining, on any terms consistent with the public safety, the confessions of the prisoners, particularly of M'Nevin and O'Connor, as the only effectual means of opening the eyes of both countries, without disclosing intelligence which could by no means be made public. The secret committee of the commons was at the same time appointed, and proceeding with its inquiry. It was intimated to the prisoners that no further respite could be granted to Bond, unless they, in the meantime, gave government unequivocal proofs of their serious intentions to make a full disclosure of all their treasons. On Sunday M'Nevin, O'Connor, and Emmett requested an interview with lord Castlereagh, that they might understand the wishes of government, and explain their own intentions. This was accordingly complied with, under the lord lieutenant's directions; the

lord chancellor, who came to town that day, and Mr. Cooke, being present at the interview. The substance of the explanation which took place was as follows:—The only observation made on the part of the prisoners was, that they should not be required to implicate persons by name, and that the place of their banishment should neither be Botany-bay nor any other part of the world to which convicts are sent. On the part of government a full discretion was reserved of retaining any or all of the prisoners in custody so long as the war should last, provided their liberation was deemed inconsistent with the public safety. And it was intimated to them that they could not be permitted to reside on the continent during the contest, and that if they were suffered to retire to America they must be prepared to give security for conforming faithfully to the terms of their liberation. On these conditions they declared themselves ready, with the most perfect good faith, to give the fullest information to government of the treason in all its branches, foreign and domestic, in whatever manner the lord lieutenant should point out. It was proposed by them that some persons on the part of the government should proceed to examine them. In reply to this it was suggested that it was difficult for any person to frame questions, not being in possession of the extent of the information which it was in their power to give, and that it would be more desirable that they should state facts, in the shape of a narrative, upon which afterwards explanations might be required. To this they assented, requesting two or three days to arrange their ideas, which was granted. Under these circumstances a further respite of a week was granted to Bond. On the same evening a paper, signed by seventy-nine of the state prisoners (including O'Connor, Sampson, &c.), was delivered to lord Castlereagh. This paper, after being perused by the chancellor, was laid before the lord lieutenant. The terms on which the disclosure was to be made by the prisoners being perfectly understood, it was not thought advisable to enter into any discussion on the wording of the above paper, nor to insist on a formal recognition in writing of that subscription which appears on the face of the bill since passed for enforcing their banishment. It was evident, in the course of the communications which took place on this subject, that the greater number of the prisoners

entered very unwillingly into the agreement of confession and banishment. Bond and Neilson were naturally anxious upon the subject, and appeared to leave no means untried to induce the others to accede to the measure, but not so as to indicate any disposition to betray their party to save their own lives. M'Nevin, feeling himself in danger, was proportionably inclined to a compromise, but O'Connor and Emmett, particularly the former, were most reluctant to accede to either stipulation, and would willingly have availed themselves of any pretence which might justify them to their own party in refusing to make this sacrifice to save Bond's life. As the evidence of the above-named persons was considered of the last importance to both countries, and as there were little hopes of convicting the leading traitors then untried (Neilson excepted), by due course of law, it did not appear to his excellency, and those with whom he consulted, expedient to contest expressions in all probability at the hazard of losing the now substantial advantage of having the treasons of the distinguished members of the union proved by their own confession. A copy of this paper, which was meant for publication, having been confidentially entrusted to Mr. Pollock, then employed in conducting the criminal trials in the north (perhaps without instructions sufficiently explicit), it was inadvertently published in a proclamation of general Nugent's. In pursuance of the above conversation, a memorial, signed by O'Connor, Emmett, and M'Nevin, a copy of which has been already transmitted to Mr. Wickman, was delivered in a few days after. This paper was returned to the prisoners by the lord lieutenant's orders, as inadmissible, being rather a justification of their treason than a statement of facts. They professed that it was not their wish to offend, that they were ready to separate, if directed so to do, the facts from what they called the explanations, but submitted whether, as government was now in possession of the leading facts of their information, the best mode of obtaining the statement in the shape most acceptable would be to bring them before either the privy council or secret committee. This was accordingly assented to, and they were examined before the secret committees of both houses. Although there was little appearance upon their examination of contrition or of change of principle, yet it was the unanimous

opinion of both committees, that their evidence as to facts was given freely and without reserve, and that they had fairly adhered to the spirit of their engagement. From this time the strictness of their confinement was in a great degree relaxed. Being no longer objects for prosecution, their intercourse with each other within the gaol was permitted, and leave was granted them to see their families under certain regulations, which regulations, it since has appeared, were not sufficiently enforced by the keepers of the several prisons."

The paper handed to the ministers by the seventy-three prisoners on the 29th of July, was worded as follows. It stipulated "that the undersigned state prisoners in the three prisons of Newgate, Kilmainham, and Bridewell, engage to give every information in their power, of the whole of the internal transactions of the United Irishmen; and that each of the prisoners shall give detailed information of every transaction that has passed between the United Irishmen and foreign states; but that the prisoners are not, by naming or describing, to implicate any person whatever; and that they are ready to emigrate to such country as shall be agreed on between them and government, and give security not to return to this country without the permission of government, and not pass into an enemy's country; if, on so doing, they are to be freed from prosecution; and also Mr. Oliver Bond be permitted to take the benefit of this proposal. The state prisoners also hope that the benefit of this proposal may be extended to such persons in custody, or not in custody, as may choose to benefit by it." In consequence of this agreement, several rebel chiefs who had hitherto remained in arms, among whom was Aylmer, the Carlow chief, surrendered, and claimed to share the benefit of it.

The secret committees of the two houses of parliament proceeded with activity, and O'Connor, Emmett, M'Nevin, Neilson, and other principals of the union were examined before them. The object of these committees was to collect such information, and embody it in a printed report, as would make the public fully acquainted with the origin and progress of the conspiracy, and furnish the Irish government with a defence for its rigorous measures of depression. The prisoners afterwards complained that their confessions were printed in a garbled state,

and the committees appear to have had no little difficulty in discriminating that which was to be published from that which it was more prudent to suppress. Many persons, against whom the government did not wish to institute prosecutions, were involved more or less in the rebellion, and it was wished to throw a veil over their past conduct; in other cases the information which had been most valuable to government, and which would afford its best justification, had been obtained in a manner which forbade its publication. Lord Cornwallis wished everything to be laid before the parliamentary committees, but in this he was overruled by the ministers in England. The duke of Portland wrote to him on the 25th of July, "I received in due time the honour of your excellency's despatch (secret), of the 19th instant; in which you represent the advantages which might result from laying before the committees of secrecy of the two houses of parliament in Ireland, the whole, or at least a part, of the very secret and authentic documents relating to the conspiracy in that kingdom which I had the king's permission, from time to time, to transmit to the late lord lieutenant. I lost no time in acquainting his majesty's confidential servants with your excellency's sentiments upon this very important and delicate question, and I am now to inform you that, after its having repeatedly undergone the most serious investigation and discussion, the result of our unanimous opinion is, that the communication of the *whole* of those papers cannot on any account, or in any situation of the country, be suffered to be made to a parliamentary committee, under whatever qualifications or conditions it may be appointed, consistently with that secrecy which, in certain cases, the honour and safety of the state require to be observed. We agree, however, in opinion with your excellency, and for the reasons you have stated, that the same objection does not exist to the production of the greater part of Dr. M'Nevin's memoir, and I have therefore had an extract made of such parts of it as it appears to us may be laid before the public without inconvenience, which I send inclosed. Impressed also with the same ideas as your excellency, respecting the effect which must be produced by the whole of the papers being made fully known, and restrained from it only by the sense of our public duty, we have ventured to have a selection made of some of the most leading

facts which they contain, which we think may with safety be laid before the committees, under the restriction, and in the manner prescribed by your excellency; but we are persuaded, and confidently trust that the communication will not be made to the committee, *even in this form*, unless your excellency shall have such reasonable assurance as satisfies you that the committee will receive the facts, so given, on the authority of your excellency's sanction, without permitting themselves to make any enquiry or attempt to authenticate them by any other means, and will adopt them, and give them as unquestionable truths of their own knowledge, in the report they will make to the house; and, further to effect this purpose, I am commanded to empower your excellency to direct your chief secretary to make this communication to the committee, and to authorize him to declare that his majesty's confidential servants have most solemnly pledged themselves to you for the authenticity of every fact which it contains. To prevent as much as possible any occasion being given which can tend to a discovery of the channels by which this intelligence has been obtained, I most earnestly recommend to your excellency to do your utmost in procuring that the facts which are stated from it, may not stand in the report of the committee in the exact order in which they are here given, but that they may be mixed with other information which has been derived from other sources; and it appears to me that the measure which your excellency has so judiciously proposed, in consequence of which, 'the committee will lay before the public a circumstantial and detailed statement of the progress of the treason and rebellion, with all the various turns it has taken,' will furnish the best of all possible means of effecting this object without any appearance of suspicion or difficulty."

Another letter, from lord Castlereagh to the duke of Portland (the British minister), dated on the 30th of July, explains to us the principles on which the final bill of pardon and indemnity was drawn up. "It is the wish of the lord lieutenant," says lord Castlereagh, "that the measure should have all the grace possible, and that the principle of pardon should be pushed as far as may be at all compatible with the public safety. At the same time, his excellency feels it necessary to advert to the peculiarity of this act of grace being

granted pending the rebellion. In every other instance, the bill of pardon has followed the struggle, and the principal object in view has been the quieting of the minds of those who have been engaged in the treason. In the present case, the rebellion, though crushed in a military sense, is yet in organised force; and, in many parts of the kingdom, disturbances still exist, and the people retain their arms with an obstinacy that indicates the cause is not yet abandoned. Under this impression, his excellency is of opinion that the pardon must be granted upon a principle of precaution, as well as of clemency; and that, although it might be highly dangerous, by the terror of severe punishment, to drive numerous classes of men, however deeply implicated in the treason, to despair; yet that it is still necessary for the safety of the state, to keep the leaders under the restraint of the law, holding out to them such a principle of compromise as shall not drive them to take up arms, as the only means of preserving their lives, but shall leave government at liberty to look to its own safety. The first exception proposed is that of prisoners in custody previous to the lord lieutenant's message. Prisoners since committed not to suffer from the delay which has unavoidably occurred in carrying his majesty's gracious intentions into execution. Persons guilty of murder or conspiring to murder. The troops to be excepted, and left subject to the mutiny act. The yeomanry not being subject to martial law, it is proposed to except out of the pardon such as have deserted their corps and joined the rebels; also those who have administered illegal oaths since they became yeomen—this description of yeomen being the active seducers of their own body, and, in many instances, having entered into the service expressly for the purpose. Persons having had direct communication or correspondence with the enemy. In the civic organisation, it is proposed to except the members of the executive, provincial, and county committees, as in those situations the persons most dangerous to the state have been employed. The county delegates, being pretty numerous, were the exception, in all cases, to be followed by punishment, it would certainly operate far too extensively; but, as its operation will only be to bring their claims to favour under consideration upon their individual

cases, and as much danger might arise from discharging, without any conditions whatever, a class of men, many of whom are still active rebels, it is thought most advisable that they should stand excepted, the rather as it is proposed, by a general clause, to pardon all persons, even of the excepted cases (save those who have been guilty of deliberate murder, or been in direct correspondence with the enemy), who shall surrender within such time as the lord lieutenant in council may prescribe, upon condition of banishment for such time as may be enjoined, with reference to their degrees of criminality, or upon giving such security for their future good behaviour as may be demanded. It is thought that this will so soften the rigour of the exception, that it will in itself be considered as an act of grace even to the most guilty, and the state will be equally secured by their removal as by their punishment. Upon the same principle, in the military organisation, the exceptions are made to extend to captains. It has appeared to his excellency the more necessary to have this reserve in giving an unqualified pardon to captains and county delegates—the only two classes upon which much doubt has been entertained, as, in many counties where the organisation of the treason was only in progress, the elections have not proceeded beyond these degrees; and the individuals who would shortly have been raised to the rank of generals and executive committee, are to be found in the humble class of county delegates and captains, a description of persons too formidable to be dismissed harmless, without being brought under some regulation either of security or temporary banishment. My lord lieutenant will always have it in his power either altogether to pardon or merely to require security, when the nature of the case will enable his excellency to dismiss the individual with safety to the state, upon these mild conditions. The above, with the persons to be excepted by name, comprehend all the limitations which have occurred to his excellency as necessary to be connected with the act of general pardon."

The necessity of the change in the government policy must have been evident to every one, for a great portion of the population of extensive districts, driven to despair by the conviction that there was no pardon for them, were roving over the

country in large bands, and ravaging it in the most deplorable manner. "The burnings and plunderings committed by these desperadoes," says Gordon, who was a witness of what he describes, "augmented, in some degree, the desolation caused in the counties of Wexford, Wicklow, and the neighbouring parts, by the ravages of rebellion. Such was the desolation, that, together with a multitude of cabins, farm-houses, and gentlemen's seats in the open country, the towns of Carnew, Tinahely, Hacketstown, Donard, Blessington, and Killedmond, were destroyed by fire, besides partial destructions in other towns, as Ross, where above three hundred houses, mostly cabins, were consumed, and Enniscorthy, much the greater part of which was ruined. Where a town remained any time in possession of the rebels, what houses escaped the flames, were in general so damaged as to be reduced barely to the walls and roof; the door-cases, window-cases, bases, and surbases of the chambers and chimney-pieces being destroyed, and the furniture broken, burned, or carried away. Most of the devastations by fire, perpetrated in the county of Wicklow, and the adjoining districts, had place after the cause of the rebels was become desperate—after they had been dislodged from all their posts in the county of Wexford, and obliged to take refuge in the desert mountains; whence we may infer, that the object of these rebels, when their hopes of revolution were frustrated, was to render the country of as little value as possible to their opponents. The devastation and plundering sustained by the loyalists was not the work of the rebels alone. Great part of the damage was committed by the soldiery, who commonly completed the ruin of deserted houses, in which they had their quarters, and often plundered without distinction of loyalist and croppy. The Hessians exceeded the other troops in the business of depredation, and many loyalists who had escaped from the rebels were put to death by these foreigners. To send such troops into the country in such a state of affairs was, in my humble opinion, a wrong step in government, who cannot be supposed indifferent to the lives of loyal subjects. By what influence the plundering was permitted so long to the soldiery, in some parts of the country, after the rebellion was quelled, I shall not at present pretend to state. The publication of some facts, of which I have acquired information,

may not perhaps be yet safe. On the arrival of the marquis of Huntley, however, with his regiment of Scottish highlanders, in Gorey, the scene was totally altered. To the immortal honour of this regiment, its behaviour was such as, if it were universal among soldiers, would render a military government amiable. To the astonishment of the (until then miserably harassed) peasantry, not the smallest trifle, even a drink of butter-milk, would any of these highlanders accept, without the payment of at least the full value. General Skerrett, colonel of the Durham fencible infantry, who succeeded the generous marquis in the command of that post, observed so strict a discipline, that nothing more was heard of military depredation. But though by the conduct naturally expected in general officers, the royal troops assumed their proper place, in becoming the protectors, instead of pillagers of the people, the country was miserably afflicted all the ensuing winter by gangs of nocturnal marauders, as is generally the case after the commotions of civil warfare. These appear to have consisted solely at first of the lower classes of loyalists, some of whom might think, or pretend to think, that they were making reprisals from those who had plundered them or their friends in the rebellion. But a system of unlawful violence, if not speedily coerced, will be carried to excesses which admit no excuse or palliation. Should we suppose that none except persons guilty of rebellion and pillage were the subjects of plunder to these marauders, yet the loyalist landlords and creditors of these ruined people must also be sufferers. But by whatever pretences they might endeavour to impose even on their own consciences, lucre was their object, without regard to the guilt or innocence of the persons who were the subjects of their depredation. With these erroneously-termed loyalist robbers, in a little time some crop-pies were admitted to associate, and the latter sometimes formed separate parties; but the Romanists alone were the subjects of pillage, because these, being disarmed at the quelling of the insurrection, were incapable of defending their houses, while to attack protestants, who were everywhere furnished with arms, appeared too dangerous to these adventurers. The wretched sufferers were not only destitute of the means of resistance, but even of the sad consolation of complaint; threatened with death and the burning of their houses,

if they should dare to give information of the robbery. Many houses, in fact, were fired in the course of this melancholy winter, the inhabitants hardly escaping from the flames, and the cattle sometimes consumed alive in the conflagration. How some survived the hardship of this dreary season, who were deprived of their provisions, beds, bed-clothes, and nearly of their wearing apparel, in the midst of deep snow and severe frost, seems not easily accountable. The magnitude of the evil, which tended to desolate the country, and which is suspected to have been most unwisely encouraged by the connivance of some yeomen officers, roused at last the attention of some public-spirited gentlemen, by whose exertions these violences were, by degrees, restrained, but not completely suppressed. One species of mischief was the burning of Romish chapels in the night, of which hardly one escaped in the extent of several miles around Gorey. This, though it evinced a puerile spirit of religious antipathy, little honourable to any description of people, was of a nature far less cruel. I have heard Roman catholic gentlemen say, that the burning of one poor cabin must cause more actual misery than that of hundreds of chapels. To form a proper estimate of the detriment sustained by the country, in consequence of the united conspiracy, would be doubtless a matter of considerable difficulty. Some idea of it may be conceived from the claims of compensation for their losses made on government by suffering loyalists, according to an act of parliament, which marks very strongly the amiable nature of the political constitution which the British islands enjoy. Soon after the commencement of the insurrection, and the flight of many loyalists to the metropolis, and other places, for safety, the sum of a hundred thousand pounds was voted by the house of commons, for the immediate relief of such among them as should appear destitute of the means of subsistence; and for the distribution of this money, a most respectable body of commissioners was appointed, who gave to the claimants, according as the circumstances of the several cases appeared to require, sums not exceeding fifty pounds. The claimants were so numerous, that the sum of ten thousand pounds, which was at first delivered, soon fell short of the purpose, but the deficiency was from the same fountain supplied, and relief was refused to none

who appeared proper objects. Government confined not its views to the immediate or temporary relief of the suffering loyalists. In a message delivered by lord Castlereagh to the house of commons, from the lord lieutenant, on the 17th of July, the compensation of their losses was recommended by his majesty. The sufferers were directed to send authenticated estimates of their losses to the commissioners, and provision was afterwards made by act of parliament for the compensation of these losses, altogether or in part, according to circumstances. The authentication required was the affidavit of the claimant, together with affidavits of the minister of the parish and the claimant's landlord, or the landlord's agent, declaring their sincere belief of the claimant's loyalty, and of the truth of his estimate. As these authenticated affidavits of the clergy were indispensably required to be all in their own handwriting, while those of the landlords or agents might be written by any person, the gratuitous labour consigned to the parish ministers was great, in some cases enormous. Sometimes a clergyman, in the absence of others, was obliged to act for more parishes than one, while business was multiplied by various causes. Frequently, different sons and daughters of the same man, though unmarried, and constituting part of his household, made separate claims, beside that of the father. Frequently, four affidavits were demanded for one claimant—for subsistence, his house, his instruments of agriculture, and his general losses. If any informality was found in the estimates (which from the hurry of the persons paid to draw them often happened), the three latter affidavits must be made again a second, or perhaps a third time; so that ten affidavits were sometimes made by a clergyman for one person. The number of claimants whose affidavits were sent to the commissioners before the 10th of April, 1799, from the counties of Kildare, Wicklow, Wexford, and Kilkenny, was three thousand seven hundred and ninety-seven; and the estimates which they made of their losses amounted, in all, to the sum of five hundred and sixty-one thousand, two hundred and thirteen pounds. Of these claimants, the county of Wexford furnished two thousand one hundred and thirty-seven, the estimates of whose losses amounted to almost three hundred and seven thousand pounds. The claims of some, I believe, greatly exceeded their

losses; and some who acquired by plunder, perhaps, more than they had lost, made large demands of compensation. To the latter circumstance, the commissioners seem not to have sufficiently attended at first, though they have afterwards considered it. On the other hand, a few were so modest as not to claim half the compensation which they might have claimed with truth; and in general the estimates were so moderate, that the sum total of them, in my opinion, bore to that of the losses no greater proportion than that of two to three. Many claims were sent from other counties; and, since the 10th of April, 1799, a number also from the counties above mentioned. The sum total amounted to a million and twenty-three thousand pounds, of which more than the half, or five hundred and fifteen thousand pounds, was claimed by the county of Wexford: but who will pretend to compute the damage of the crops, whose houses were burned, or effects pillaged or destroyed, and who, barred from compensation, sent no estimates to the commissioners? Perhaps, if the whole amount of the detriment sustained by this unfortunate island, in consequence of the united conspiracy, were conjectured at two millions, a sum of such magnitude might not exceed, or even equal, the reality. But the destruction of property was not the only species of damage resulting to the community from this ill-fated combination. To this may be added the loss of lives, the neglect of industry, by an idle turn acquired by the minds of men for warfare, or the preparations for it, the obstruction of commerce, the interruption of credit in pecuniary transactions, and the depravation of morals in those places which were the seats of civil violence."

A few further remarks from the same candid writer will serve to complete our picture of these melancholy events. "Whoever denies," says Gordon, "that the rebellion, from its first eruption, was made a religious war by the lower classes in the south of Ireland, may as well deny the existence of any rebellion at all—the evidence of facts being as clear in the one as in the other case. But since many persons, even citizens of Dublin, who were so near the scene of action, could not believe that a rebellion, originating from a conspiracy of different sects, under a most solemn renunciation of all religious discord, could, in times when sentiments of a liberal nature

prevailed in general throughout Europe, become at its rise a war of religion, I have added a short appendix in proof of this point, and as an illustration of the atrocious practices of that calamitous period. Of ten protestant clergymen who fell into the hands of the insurgents in the county of Wexford, five were put to death without mercy or hesitation—Robert Burrowes, Francis Turner, Samuel Haydon, John Pentland, and Thomas Troche—all men of regular conduct, and quite inoffensive. Joshua Nunn, rector of Enniscorthy, was preserved under the protection of father Sutton of Enniscorthy; Roger Owen, rector of Camolin, escaped by feigning to be deranged in his understanding. This clergyman has given, since the rebellion, full proof of a genuine spirit of christian charity, of which I had before believed him possessed. Though treated with such cruelty by the rebels, that he could hardly be expected to survive his hardships, he has endeavoured since, as far as in his power, to mitigate the rage of the lower classes of the protestants, who have been too apt to regard all Romanists in the same light. John Elgee, rector of Wexford, was with difficulty saved from death by the gratitude of some of the lowest peasants, for his humanity to prisoners in the gaol of that town. Henry Wilson, incumbent of Mulranken, was, with peculiarly good fortune, preserved by the timely interposition of Bagenal Harvey. I have already mentioned the fate of Mr. Farris, of Killeghny. The rest of the Wexfordian clergy escaped to different places, particularly nine of them, with many other fugitives, to Wales, where, at Haverfordwest, they were generously relieved by the inhabitants, and by money remitted to them by the humane attention of Dr. Cleaver, bishop of Ferns. That protestants also acted with religious bigotry, may be urged in opposition to what is asserted concerning that of Romanists. Many of the lower classes of protestants, previously to the rebellion, possessed of an opinion that they were destined to destruction by the Romanists whenever the latter should rise in force, acted on that presumption, grievously insulted many Romanists who had not shewn any sign of hostility, accused the whole sect indiscriminately of a murderous conspiracy, and thus made on their part a religious quarrel. Very sorry am I to have to say, that in the rebellion, and after its suppression, many acts of cruelty were committed by protes-

tants on their Romanist countrymen with little attention to personal guilt or innocence. After all, however, their animosity was rather of a political than religious nature, directed against a description of men whom they regarded as their irreclaimable enemies, watching for means to extirpate them from society. No such opinion is entertained even by the lowest protestants, that all beyond the pale of their own church are so accursed, such objects of divine wrath, that to kill them is meritorious. They forced not Romanists, whose lives were in their power, to conform to the established church; while, on the other hand, baptism by a Roman catholic priest, and conformity to the Romish worship, were in general indispensably necessary steps for the preservation of the lives of protestants in the hands of the Wexfordian insurgents. Women and children were not put to death by the insurgents, except in the tumultuary and hasty massacre at Scullabogue; but how far they would have been spared, in case of ultimate success, notwithstanding their baptism, is a matter of some doubt. That in this case the protestant men, baptised by the priests, would have suffered as insincere converts, is too probable. This horrible spirit of bigotry I conceive to have been possessed only by the vulgar, and a very few persons in the rank of gentry. Much has been said against the Romanist clergy; I believe the same sort of difference to subsist among priests, as among other men, with respect to clearness of judgment, natural humanity, and religious benevolence, or christian liberality. If some were actuated by vulgar bigotry, and the absurd notion (admissible only by an irrational mind) of the exclusive appropriation of the divine favour to their own mode of worship, others appear to have been possessed of superior ideas. Some of the latter, as well as the former, were employed in the baptising of protestants; but their motive was compassion, to save the lives of the objects from the rage of a fanatic mob, not their souls from eternal vengeance. Instances might be adduced, if necessary. I shall mention only that of father Corish, of Mulranken, who, being requested by a protestant lady to baptise herself and family, replied, that except for protection from the fanaticism of the ignorant multitude, the ceremony was useless; that he would be on the watch for her safety, and give her timely notice if he should find the performance of that rite ne-

cessary. That among the insurgents, the men who were the most scrupulously observant of the ceremonial of religion, were the most addicted to cruelty and murder, has been observed by those who had the best opportunity of observing. For this alliance of cruelty with superstition, since both are congenial with littleness of soul, we may perhaps be more able to account than for the grounds of another observation, of the justness of which I have no sort of doubt; those who had been heroes of the cudgel, or shilela, the bullies of the country at fairs, and other public assemblies of the peasantry, and who consequently were expected to be the most forward and active in the rebellion, were, on the contrary, when the insurrection took place, in general the most placid and reserved, the most shy of the firearms, and the most backward in battle. The men who had been quiet and industrious in time of peace, were found the most resolute for combat, and most steady under arms, in times of warfare. A lesson to legislators! Those habits of order and industry, on which the civil prosperity of a state so much depends, are the best preparatives to form an efficient soldiery. The hands best employed for the maintenance of the nation by the products of the soil, may, with proper direction, be most efficacious for its defence. Chiefly by those who were boldest in fight was displayed some kind of ingenuity in their tumultuary warfare, in which they may be said to have had no regularity, subordination, or leaders. They converted books into saddles, when the latter could not be procured, placing the book, opened in the middle, on the horse's back, with ropes over it for stirrups. Large volumes, found in the libraries of the bishop of Ferns, and Mr. Stephen Ram, were considered by these revolutionists, as fit for their purpose. Being very scantily stored with ammunition, they frequently used small round stones, and hardened balls of clay, instead of leaden bullets, and, by the mixing and pounding of the materials in small mortars, they fabricated a species of gunpowder, which was said to explode with sufficient force while fresh, but not to remain many days fit for service. They found means to manage immediately, doubtless in an awkward manner, the cannon taken from the army, sometimes applying wisps of straw in place of matches. In their engagements with the military, they mostly availed themselves of hedges, and other such kind of shelter, to

screen them from the shot of their opponents, and they generally arranged themselves in such order as to suffer little from the fire of the artillery, which they sometimes also seized by a furious and rapid onset. The Wexfordian insurgents never made an attack on any part in the night, as they were not, like regular troops, under any real command of officers, but acted spontaneously, each according to the impulse of his own mind; they were watched in battle one of another, each fearing to be left be-

hind in case of a retreat, which was generally very swift and sudden; but in the night, when a man could not see the position of his associates, who might make their flight, or what they called *the run*, before he could perceive it, and thus leave him in the hands of those who never gave quarter, they would not trust one another in an attack; a circumstance very favourable to the loyal party, since to withstand a well-conducted nocturnal assault with pikes would be much more difficult than one in day."

CHAPTER XVI.

THE FRENCH EXPEDITION TO KILLALA, AND ITS CONSEQUENCES: TRIAL AND DEATH OF WOLFE TONE.



WHILE the rebellion seemed to be entirely appeased in the districts where alone it had hitherto assumed any formidable character, events were in progress which threatened to revive it in another part under a still more dangerous form. The envoys of the United Irishmen in France had never slackened in their efforts to procure foreign aid, and the French government, well aware of the advantages that might be derived from such a diversion in a war with England, continued to encourage them with promises and with preparations. With the death of Hoche, who had this expedition most at heart, the hopes of the Irish agitators sunk for a moment, but they were revived by the appointment of Bonaparte to the direction of the armament which, under the high-sounding name of the army of England, was announced as being intended for a descent on the British isles. The seizure of so many of the chiefs of the United Irishmen in Ireland, cut off the communication between their foreign envoys and the body they represented; for, to ensure the secrecy of their conspiracy, a system had been established which left each party connected with it in nearly total ignorance of all but those

with whom they were to hold immediate communication, and the moment one link was destroyed, that communication was so far entirely cut off, until it had been restored by a new arrangement, which, with the vigilance of the English government, it was not easy to do with regard to agents in a foreign country. Nevertheless, such intelligence was conveyed to Ireland that the rebels everywhere believed that, if they could hold out long enough, they would receive substantial assistance from France, although they were quite in the dark as to when this assistance would be sent, or where the foreign auxiliaries would land.

The envoys themselves were doomed to perpetual disappointments, and soon began to think that they were made the mere sport of the personal ambition of the French commander. Bonaparte is understood to have been always opposed to the plan for the invasion of Ireland, and, before the rebellion actually broke out, he had drawn off the flower of the troops of what was called the army of England, to carry them with him to Egypt. The news of the Irish insurrection, and of the first successes of the Wexford insurgents, encouraged the French directory to plan a new expedition, and preparations were hastened for that purpose. Theobald Wolfe Tone, who had received the commission of adjutant-general in the army

of England, and was then at its headquarters at Rouen, was sent for to Paris to consult with the directors on their plan of operations. This plan was to despatch small detachments from several ports, to land in Ireland, and keep the insurrection alive until a favourable opportunity occurred for landing the main body under general Kilmaine. For this purpose general Humbert, who had been Hoche's second in command in the Bantry Bay expedition, was quartered at Rochelle with about a thousand men; general Hardi was at Brest with three thousand; and Kilmaine, with nine thousand, remained in reserve. In spite of the pressing necessity of assistance in which the Irish insurgents stood, many causes combined to retard the French preparations, and numerous refugees soon arrived in the French ports to announce that the rebellion was crushed, and that all the hopes of the insurgents were at an end, unless they received immediate aid. These refugees brought exaggerated accounts of the eagerness of their countrymen to join any foreign force which could be sent for their emancipation. They were supported in their representations by Napoleon Tandy, who had formed a party of the Irish in France opposed to Tone, and whose vanity caused him to form an extraordinary estimate of his own popularity and influence in his native country. He boasted openly that thirty thousand men would rise in arms on his appearance, and the directory seems to have given credit to his assertions. While they were still hesitating, general Humbert, it is said, fired by the recitals of the Irish refugees, determined to begin the enterprise on his own responsibility, and oblige the directory to second or desert him. Towards the middle of August he called together the merchants and magistrates of Rochelle, and compelled them to advance him a small sum of money and other necessities, and embarking with the men under his command, a considerable quantity of arms, and a few pieces of artillery, he set sail for Ireland. Several Irishmen, including Matthew Tone, Bartholomew Teeling, and Sullivan, the nephew of the Irish agent in Paris, Madgett, accompanied him.

It was evidently useless, with a force like this, to land in the insurgent districts, where the king's troops were assembled in great force. Some tumults, and even partial insurrection, had occurred in the west

and south, but they had been easily repressed, without the necessity of sending any considerable force to ensure the tranquillity of the people; yet no doubt could be entertained, that a large mass of the peasantry were ready to rise, either on learning the triumph of their brethren in the east, or on the occurrence of any event which gave them a prospect of success. It was hither that Humbert directed his course. On the 22nd of August, general Humbert's small squadron, consisting of three frigates and a smaller vessel, and carrying on board troops to the number of a thousand and six men rank and file, with a very considerable proportion of officers, entered the bay of Killala, on the coast of Mayo, where there was only a small party of the Leinster fencibles with the Killala yeomanry to oppose his landing. An eye-witness has published, in one of the numbers of a popular Irish journal, an account of this event, so interesting and picturesque, that it deserves to be repeated:—

“A serene and cloudless sky, and brilliant sun, rendered the 22nd of August one of the finest days of that remarkable season. It was on the morning of that day, whilst proceeding from Palmerstown to Killala, I first beheld a ship of war; three vessels of unusual size, magnified by the still calm of the ocean, stretched slowly across the bay of Rathfrank (on the larboard tack), weathering the reef which divides it from the bay of Killala: a smaller vessel appeared in the offing. About twelve o'clock the frigates were visible from the Steeple-hill and the higher parts of the town; they showed English colours. The collector and some other persons proceeded on board; between two and three o'clock, p.m. the frigates were standing across towards the bay of Rathfrank; marks of agitation and restlessness became now apparent amongst several of the inhabitants. I met O'Kearney, the classical teacher, as he was returning from the 'Acres,' a remote and elevated quarter of the town; a half-suppressed smile of satisfaction played on his countenance as he saluted me; it was the last time we ever spoke. At four o'clock the agitation and alarm increased; the revenue officers had not returned. The inhabitants were fronted on the Steeple-hill, captain William Kirkwood of the yeomanry now joined in uniform, as were several of his corps, who now began to make their appearance. Two

officers of the carabineers arrived from Ballina; they had been at the Cape of Good Hope, and were judges of all those sort of things; we awaited their opinion with anxiety—they could form none. ‘Here,’ said captain Kirkwood, handing his telescope to an old seaman belonging to the town, who had served under Howe and Rodney, ‘here, tell me what these vessels are.’ ‘They are French, sir,’ replied the veteran, ‘I know them by the cut and colour of their sails.’ Quitting the crowd, captain Kirkwood was accosted by Neal Kerrugan (afterwards an active chief of insurgents), inquiring, what nation the frigates belonged to. ‘Ah, Neal,’ replied the captain, ‘you know as well as I do.’ Returning now to Palmerstown, I had scarcely arrived, when a neighbouring peasant on horseback, breathless, and with the perspiration of terror streaming down his forehead, announced that a body of strangers in dark uniforms, had landed from the ships—were distributing arms—had been joined by several of the inhabitants, and were actually advancing—‘There they come,’ said he, pointing to an eminence a mile and half distant, over which the road passed, and we beheld a dark and solid mass, moving onwards; their arms glittered in the rays of the declining sun. They were occasionally visible as they passed over the inequalities of the ground, till emerging from a banky part of the road, within a quarter of a mile of Palmerstown, we beheld their column of about eight hundred men, silently, but rapidly, advancing. They were preceded at some distance by a single horseman, a robust middle-aged man, dressed in a long green hunting frock, and high conical fur cap; stopping for a moment, he saluted us in the Leinster patois of Irish, with ‘*Go de mu ha tu*’ (how do ye do?)—A general officer (Sarrazin) and aide-de-camp (Mr. Tone) were now close up; a laugh of approbation was interchanged between the chasseur and his general.

“The commander-in-chief (Humbert) seated in a gig now advanced at the head of this celebrated band of warriors, which regularly, but with precision, pressed rapidly forwards; calm and unconcerned, they presented no indication of men going into combat. Having crossed the bridge of Palmerstown, about three hundred men were countermarched and bivouacked on the green esplanade in front of the village, the remainder marched on to Killala.

“The sun had set behind the western wave, and the grey twilight of evening was fast advancing, as the French, descending the hill of Mullagharn, beheld the yeomanry and a party of the Leicestershire fencibles, forming on a commanding ridge, at the entrance of the town; captain Kirkwood had been just apprised of the hostile landing, by a fisherman, who had crossed at Rathfran, whilst the French detoured by Palmerstown; and had ordered his men to this post; from this, however, they retired into the town, on the near approach of the French. Three streets diverge from the centre of Killala, in the form of a sportsman’s turnscrow: one southerly towards the ‘Acres;’ a second westerly, by which the French were advancing; the third or main street, easterly, winding by the church-yard wall, on a steep declivity to the castle, and onwards towards Ballina. It was on the edge of this declivity the military reformed; Moreau could not have chosen a more judicious position for a retreat. Humbert on reaching the outskirts of the town, made his dispositions: he detached a party under Neal Kerrugan (who had first joined him), across the meadows, to enter the Acres-road, in order to cut off the retreat of the military by that route, or turn them if in position; he advanced a few sections, *en tirailleur*, to occupy the ridge from which the military had retired. The chasseur galloped into the town to reconnoitre; he was scarcely out of sight in the winding street, when a single shot was heard, followed at a short interval by a random scattered volley:—it was a moment of anxious suspense, but the chasseur bore a charmed life. On approaching the market-place, he was challenged by a yeoman (a young gentleman of the place), who had loitered behind his companions, with ‘What do ye want, you spy?’ the answer was a bullet through the body, and he fell dead into the door of a house at which he was standing. The veteran then reconnoitred the line of the military, and receiving their fire, returned to his comrades: he related these events with the *sangfroid* of an amateur; he had been in twenty battles, and had never had the honour of receiving the entire fire of the enemy’s line before. The tirailleurs were warmly engaged; the column redoubled its speed, and at the centre of the town, a party of grenadiers which marched at its head, deployed on the main street; they were received by an ill-directed volley from the

military, at about one hundred yards distance; their captain was struck with a ball on the foot; foaming with rage, he ordered his grenadiers to charge. It was refused by the military; the yeomanry first broke ground, and were soon followed by the fencibles. Protected by the declivity and the church-yard wall, from the French fire, the yeomanry escaped through the castle gates; the fencibles fled onwards towards Ballina; captain Kirkwood turned down, by his own house, to the strand, expecting to reach Ballina, unperceived, by that route. One yeoman alone remained, Mr. Smith, the respectable apothecary of the town; aged and afflicted with gout, he was unable to keep pace with his companions; excluded, on shutting the castle gates, he struggled to reach his own house, it was not distant one hundred yards, but his days were numbered; the chasseur was at his heels, eager to make captain Kirkwood (whom he first observed), his prisoner, he disdained the same favour to a soldier belonging to the ranks—he fired, and the unfortunate man fell a lifeless corpse.”

Having thus made himself master of Killala, Humbert proceeded to take possession of the castle, the episcopal residence, where the bishop, Dr. Stock, totally unprepared for such a surprise, was entertaining a party of his clergy at dinner, preparatory to the intended visitation of his diocese on the following day. Here the confusion was great, for the protestant inhabitants of Killala, seized with the utmost terror, had in general rushed to the castle as to a place of refuge, and soon filled the upper rooms and the out-houses, while the better apartments were occupied by the French, who used the drawing-room as a prison for the confinement of about a score of the yeomen whom they had taken prisoners. “It is not easy,” the bishop himself tells us,* “by any force of language, to convey an adequate idea of the miseries of that first night which succeeded to the landing of the enemy. To the terrified imaginations of the townspeople the castle instantly presented itself, as the only place where they could have a chance of safety. Thither, accordingly, they fled, without distinction of age, sex, or condi-

tion, forcing their way into every corner of the house and offices, occupying the staircases, spreading through the bedchambers and some of them even thrusting themselves and their children into the same beds with the infants of the bishop's family. Women that had lain sick in their beds for a month before, and one old lady past eighty, who was bed-ridden and believed to be at the point of death, gathering strength from despair, contrived to work their way to the very top of the house. Chairs were placed round the lobby of the attic-story, on which the family, with some of their principal acquaintance, remained without a thought of repose for the whole night. Indeed, the leaden hand of sleep could not have closed any eyelids but those of an infant. The whole house resounded, like a bedlam, with the loquacity of the Frenchmen below, and the shrieks and groans of the fugitives above. Among the last there wanted not some who sought consolation from the whisky bottle, in consequence of which they became presently so clamorous and troublesome, that it was found necessary to restrain them by force.”

In general the French behaved with courtesy, and they committed no depredations, but they were not long inactive. Early next morning Humbert, with a detachment of a hundred men, pushed forwards to Ballina, from whence they drove the yeomanry who occupied it, after a short resistance. One of them only, a very corpulent man, was captured, and carried by the French commander in triumph to Killala. The latter place now became the head-quarters of the invaders. “A green flag was mounted over the castle gate, with the inscription, *Erin go Bragh!*” This flag was the signal to invite as many as had the spirit to assert their freedom to join a brave people, who were come for no other purpose but to make them independent and happy. The generous purpose was to be forwarded by the immediate delivery of arms, ammunition, and clothing, to the new levies of the country. Property was to be inviolable. Ready money was to come over in the ships expected every day from France. In the meantime, whatever was brought in voluntarily or taken by necessity, to answer the occasions of the army, should be punctually paid for in drafts on the future directory, of which the owners of the goods demanded were cour-

* The bishop of Killala subsequently published anonymously a pamphlet entitled, *A Narrative of what passed at Killala, in the county of Mayo, and the parts adjacent, during the French invasion in the Summer of 1798; by an Eye-witness.*

teously invited to accept. For the first two or three days many people did apply for such drafts to the French commissary of store, whose whole time appeared to be taken up with writing them. Indeed, the bishop himself was of opinion that the losers would act wisely to accept of them; not, as he told the people, that they would ever produce payment where it was promised, but because they might serve as documents to our own government, when at a future period it should come to inquire into the losses sustained by its loyal subjects. The trouble, however, of the commissary, in issuing drafts on a bank in prospect, was not of long duration. The people smiled first, and he joined in the smile himself at last, when he offered the airy security. But if cash was wanting, the promise of clothing and arms to the recruits was made good on the spot, and to a considerable extent. Chests containing each forty fusils, and others filled with new French uniforms, and gaudy helmets, being heaped together in the castle yard, the first that offered their service received complete clothing; and those, by credible report, were about a thousand in number. The next comers, who were at least as many, had everything but shoes and stockings. To the last, arms only were given, and of arms colonel Charost assured the bishop, not less than five thousand five hundred stand were in this place delivered out to the insurgents. The muskets were pronounced, by those who were judges of them, to be well fabricated, though their bore was too small to admit English bullets. The carabines were remarkable for their goodness. Swords and pistols, of which there was no great plenty, were reserved as marks of distinction, to be distributed only to the rebel officers. It was a melancholy spectacle to those in the castle, to witness the eagerness with which the unfortunate rustics pressed forward to lay hold of these fatal trappings, the sure harbingers of their own speedy destruction. A very little penetration was required to discover the madness of expecting final success in an enterprise conducted by such a force, against an army at that time in the kingdom of probably not less than a hundred thousand men. But though the bait was visible to people of any sense, to the multitude it certainly was in no small degree alluring. The uncombed, ragged peasant, who had never before known the luxury of shoes and

stockings, now washed, powdered, and full dressed, was metamorphosed into another being: the rather because the far greater part of these mountaineers were by no means deficient either in size or person. 'Look at those poor fellows,' said Humbert, with an air of triumph, to the bishop, 'they are made, you find, of the same stuff with ourselves.' A still stronger temptation offered itself, to people unaccustomed to animal food, in a full enjoyment of fresh meat. The lowest allowance of beef for a day, was one pound to each recruit; this was devoured with an avidity that excited sometimes the contempt of their French associates. An officer protested, that having for curiosity trusted an Irishman at once with an allowance of eight pounds of dressed meat, he saw the creature throw himself on the ground, and begin to gnaw it so eagerly, that he was sure he would not rise till he had consumed it."

Most of the peasantry who thus came forward were led rather by vanity than by any great ardour in the cause, and, at first at least, they showed little of the ferocity which had been exhibited in some other parts of the kingdom. "Indeed," the bishop goes on to say, "where there had appeared all along so few voices of rancour in these poor country folk, it was impossible for a spectator of their actions not to pity them for their very simplicity. It was such, that even the serious situation in which we were placed, was frequently insufficient to repress our laughter at it. The coxcombry of the young clowns in their new dress; the mixture of good humour and contempt in the countenances of the French, employed in making puppies of them; the haste of the undressed to be as fine as their neighbours, casting away their old clothes long before it came to their turn to receive the new; above all, the merry activity of a handsome young fellow, a marine officer, whose business it was to consummate the vanity of the recruits, by decorating them with helmets beautifully edged with spotted brown paper, to look like leopard's skin, a task which he performed standing on a powder barrel, and making the helmet fit any skull, even the largest, by thumping it down with his fists, careless whether it could ever be taken off again; these were circumstances that would have made you smile, though you had been just come from seeing your house in flames. A spectacle not less provoking to mirth

presented itself to your view, if you followed the new soldiers after they had received their arms and cartridge, and observed their manner of using them. It was common with them to put in their cartridges at the wrong end, and when they stuck in the passage (as they often did), the inverted barrel was set to work against the ground, till it was bent and useless. At first they were trusted with balls as well as with powder; but this practice was not repeated, after it had gone near costing his life to general Humbert. As he was standing at an open window in the castle, the general heard a ball whistle by his ear, discharged by an awkward recruit in the yard below, whom he instantly punished with an unmerciful caning. The ball passed into the ceiling, where the mark of it is still apparent. Lastly, it was quite unsuitable to the spirit of these rustic warriors to keep their firelocks idle till they should come in sight of an enemy, when there were so many inferior animals on which they might be tried. A crowd got about Charost one day, clamouring for a supply of powder and shot. 'Tell them,' said the commandant, in a passion, 'they shall have no more, till I am sure they will not waste their charges upon ravens.'

Although various circumstances seemed to show that some intelligence had been received by the disaffected in these parts, of the intended visit of a French force, the effect it produced was by no means equal to that which was expected from it. Perhaps this was partly owing to the small number of men who landed with general Humbert. Yet the conspirators in Dublin, both those who were in custody, and those who were

still undiscovered by the agents of government, felt their hopes revive, the more so because they believed that these were only the precursors of a much larger force, which was to follow them without delay. It appears that a meeting was held in Dublin, at a house in Pill-lane, when the indefatigable M'Cabe undertook to make his way to the French camp, to give the allies all the information and assistance in his power. He had recourse to his old arts and disguises, and, after having established a manufactory of pikes in Westmeath, he succeeded, in spite of the difficulty of traversing a country now covered with the king's troops, in reaching the French army, and he remained with it till its defeat. Agents were again sent abroad, though more secretly and cautiously, to agitate among the peasantry, and their hopes were excited and kept alive by prophecies and popular songs.* If Humbert had brought a larger force, there can be no doubt the rising would have been general, but as it was, only a few persons of any respectability in Connaught joined the revolutionary standard, with some of the more bigoted of the priests, who signalized their zeal by urging the catholic mob to persecute their protestant fellow-subjects.

After having landed his artillery and stores, Humbert prepared to march from Killala, and, everything being prepared for his march on the 25th, he left behind him two hundred of his own soldiers to garrison the town, and secure a place of retreat in case of defeat, and also, as he pretended, to protect the protestant inhabitants, who were in danger of being massacred by his new levies. The rest of the little French army,

* The following sample of these songs is printed by Sir Richard Musgrave, who tells us it "was found on the mother of Dogherty, an United Irishman, who was killed by Woollaghan, at Delgany, in the county of Wicklow, in autumn 1798. She was seen to throw it out of her pocket, yet she swore she never saw it." Sir Richard adds the following remark:—"By means of songs the passions of the multitude were very much excited."

Rouse, Hibernians, from your slumbers!
See the moment just arrived,
Imperious tyrants for to humble,
Our French brethren are at hand.
Vive la, united heroes,
Triumphant always may they be
Vive la, our gallant brethren,
That have come to set us free.

Erin's sons be not faint-hearted,
Welcome, sing then Ca Ira;

From Killala they are marching,
To the tune of Vive la.

Vive la, united heroes, &c.

To arms quickly, and be ready,
Join the ranks and never flee,
Determined stand by one another,
And from tyrants you'll be free.

Vive la, united heroes, &c.

Cruel tyrants who oppressed you,
Now with terror see their fall!
Then bless the heroes who caress you,
The orange now goes to the wall.
Vive la, united heroes, &c.

Apostate orange, why so dull now?
Self-willed slaves, why do you frown?
Sure you might know how Irish freemen,
Soon would put your orange down.

Vive la, united heroes,
Triumphant always may they be,
Vive la, our gallant brethren,
That have come to set us free

with a multitude of their Irish recruits, proceeded to Ballina on Sunday the 26th of August. Meanwhile the Irish government was not inattentive to the attack which had been made on it by this small foreign force, and troops were immediately sent towards the scene of action. Major-general Hutchinson, who commanded in Connaught, marched towards Castlebar with a small force; but the command of the troops now assembling in that province was given to general Lake, who was ordered to proceed to Galway. A force of seven thousand men, under major-generals Moore and Hunter, was moved towards the Shannon, and lieutenant-colonel Maxwell, who commanded at Enniskillen, marched with the whole of his garrison of five hundred men to Sligo. Brigadier-general Taylor moved from Sligo with twelve hundred men, chiefly yeomanry, towards Castlebar on the 25th, and the evening of the next day general Lake himself arrived at Castlebar, and took from general Hutchinson the command of the force then assembled there, which is said to have amounted to not less than between three and four thousand men.

Humbert had learned military tactics in a good school, and he was well aware of the necessity of vigour and activity in circumstances such as those in which he was now placed. As long as he remained at Killala the number of the Irish who joined him was comparatively small, but after his march to Ballina they flocked to his standard in greater numbers. He determined now to make as deep an impression as possible for the excitement of rebellion, by immediately attacking the English forces at Castlebar, before an army could be assembled there sufficient to overwhelm him. For this purpose he began his march on the morning of the 26th, with about eight hundred of his own men and a number of Irish, which cannot be estimated at less than a thousand. Instead of taking the usual road through Foxford, where a body of troops commanded by brigadier-general Taylor had been stationed to observe his motions, the French general, who was well informed of everything by his Irish allies, advanced through mountains by ways generally deemed impassable to an army, and would have taken the English entirely by surprise, but for an accident that happened to the carriage of one of his two curriele guns, which was broken by the ruggedness of the roads, and the reparation of which caused a consider-

able delay in his march. At two o'clock on the morning of the 27th a yeoman, who had been visiting his farm near Barnageehy, came in haste to Castlebar with the information that he had seen the enemy marching over the mountains. At first this information is said to have been discredited, but a party of cavalry having gone out to reconnoitre, was fired upon by the French advanced guard at a distance of only between two and three miles from the town.

It was now seven o'clock in the morning. The royal army, which was far superior to that of the invaders in numbers and artillery, and in being fresh while their opponents had been, during nearly twenty-four hours, laboriously scrambling through the mountains, without repose, was drawn out and posted advantageously on some elevated ground at the north-west extremity of the town. It was nearly eight o'clock, when the enemy was seen advancing in columns, covered with a numerous array of Irish recruits dressed in French uniforms, which gave a great apparent increase to their numerical force. The English artillery, which was excellently served under the direction of captain Shortall, was directed upon them with such effect, that they were checked in their progress, and recoiled for a few minutes. After some manœuvring in front, they were seen filing away in small parties to the right and left, as though they meant to take the king's troops in flank. This was intended as a feint. We are told that Humbert, who had been assured that the English army at Castlebar had no artillery, was so surprised at the warm reception he met, that he had determined to fall back on Ballina, and that he sent general Sarrazin, with some light troops, to make a false attack, for the purpose of covering his retreat. But the latter, perceiving the troops opposed to him, consisting of the Kilkenny and Longford regiments, begin to stagger, disobeyed his orders and pressed on them, on which they instantly took to their heels. A sudden and unaccountable panic now seized the whole line, and, in spite of the utmost exertions of their officers, they broke and fled through the town in the utmost confusion along the road to Tuam. The French did not pursue beyond Castlebar, with the exception of a small party of eight or nine men, who followed Bartholomew Teeling, one of the Irish refugees who had returned with Humbert, to the brow of a hill, from whence they were preparing to

annoy the rear of the fugitive army with a six pounder they had taken. But a party of lord Roden's light cavalry turned suddenly back, mounted the hill at full gallop, and cut down four of the Frenchmen. The others fled. Teeling took refuge in a bog, but, finding his escape cut off by the cavalry, he had the boldness to go into the English lines, pretending to be a French officer with a message from his general, and was allowed to depart before the truth could be discovered. His escape was facilitated by the general confusion; for the panic still operated on the king's troops to such a degree that they reached the town of Tuam, thirty miles distant from the scene of action, the same evening, and after a short refreshment, they continued their retreat towards Athlone. The official report of this defeat stated the loss of the king's troops at above fifty killed, and rather more than half that number wounded, while nearly three hundred, officers and men, were reported missing. The loss of the French was never known, but they are supposed to have had about the same number, or rather more, killed and wounded. The French captured fourteen pieces of artillery. Most of the missing, consisting of soldiers of the Longford and Kilkenny militia, joined the ranks of the enemy, which gave reason for suspecting that treason had some share in producing the defeat at Castlebar.

When the marquis of Cornwallis received intelligence of the landing of the French, he determined at once to proceed in person to the scene of action, to take effectual measures for preventing any danger that might arise from it, and he arrived at Philipstown on the 26th of August. Next day he proceeded to Kilbeggan, where, on the morning of the 28th, he received intelligence of the defeat at Castlebar. He immediately advanced to Athlone, and there he found several officers of yeomanry, who had continued their flight to that place, and who declared that general Lake's army had been pursued to Tuam. The alarm was so great, that even at Athlone preparations were made for resisting an attack. It was not till the 29th that lord Cornwallis received letters from general Lake, informing him of his retreat to Tuam. On the 30th he determined to move forward with the corps under his command, after having sent orders to general Lake to leave the sixth regiment, the Louth militia, the detachment of the Fraser fencibles, and lord Roden's

dragoons, at Ballinamore, and to direct the rest of his troops, whose conduct had been very disorderly in the retreat, to proceed on their march to Athlone. General Taylor, who was retreating with the troops he had collected, upon Carrick-on-Shannon, was ordered to halt at Boyle. Lord Cornwallis arrived on the 30th at Ballinamore; on the 1st of September he encamped his forces at Knock-hill; and on the 2nd he established his camp in a position about two miles from Tuam. He was distrustful of the yeomanry after the battle of Castlebar, and waited for two regiments of the line before taking any decisive step; though he was anxious to crush this attempt as quickly as possible, as he had received certain information that the Brest expedition, under general Hardi, was only waiting for a favourable opportunity to elude the vigilance of the English fleets.

Meanwhile general Humbert had been engaged since his victory at Castlebar in receiving recruits from among the Irish peasantry, who now flocked to his standard in great numbers, chiefly from the western and mountainous parts of Mayo. As he had now no more fire-arms to distribute among them, the multitude of insurgents who accompanied him proved very inefficient soldiers, and the French commander was disappointed not only in the little assistance which he had received from the United Irishmen, but in the delay in the arrival of reinforcements and stores from France. An insurrection had been planned in Roscommon, and a Mr. Plunket was appointed by the United Irishmen to command the rebels in that place, but the evening before the day fixed for the rising his heart failed him, and he surrendered himself to the bishop of Elphin. Disappointed at the failure of this plan, Humbert determined to proceed to Sligo, and, having on the 1st of September ordered the troops left at Killala to rejoin the main body, he began his march early on the morning of the 4th in the direction of Foxford, with his own collected force, accompanied by about eight thousand Irish insurgents. His advanced guard passed Tubbercurry, and, after a skirmish with some yeomen guards, reached Coloony on the 5th. They were there gallantly attacked on the same day by colonel Vereker with a part of the garrison of Sligo, who, after a smart action, which lasted about an hour, was obliged to retreat with the loss of his

artillery to Sligo, from whence he withdrew with his little army to Ballyshannon. His loss was six soldiers and an officer killed, and a much greater number wounded. It would no doubt have been still greater but for an error of the French, who mistook his small force for the vanguard of a much larger army, which hindered them from attempting to surround it. The French are said to have lost about fifty men in this action, but perhaps this includes such of their Irish auxiliaries as fell on this occasion.

Lord Cornwallis had intended to attack the French in Castlebar, but being informed of their march thence, lieutenant-colonel Crawford pushed forwards into the town, and found there several wounded officers, and a Mr. John Moore, the son of a man of considerable property, whom Humbert had appointed president of the council for the province of Connaught. This man was afterwards tried as a rebel, and sentenced to be transported, but he died before his embarkation. General Lake was now ordered with the troops under his command to support Crawford in following as close as they could on Humbert's rear, so as to harass and impede his march without risking an engagement, unless under very favourable circumstances. When they entered Collooney the morning after Vereker's unsuccessful attack, they found eighteen Frenchmen dangerously wounded, who were left behind their army. Lake was followed by major-general Moore, who, with another body of troops, watched the motions of the French at a greater distance, and lord Cornwallis himself, with the main army, moved in a nearly parallel direction, from Hollymount, through Clare and Ballyhaunis, towards Carrick-on-Shannon. He was informed of colonel Vereker's attack, on his arrival at French-park, on the 6th of September.

The action with Vereker, combined with intelligence of what was represented as a formidable insurrection at Granard, induced Humbert to relinquish his design upon Sligo, which must have surrendered to him if he had presented himself before it, to proceed towards Boyle and Carrick-on-Shannon. He crossed the Shannon at Ballintra, and attempted to destroy the bridge, but he was so closely pressed by the force under general Lake, that he was not able to effect his purpose. On the night of the 7th, Humbert halted at Cloon, where he

gave his troops two hours' repose, but when general Lake arrived the French had already evacuated the town. Lord Cornwallis had marched the same day from Carrick-on-Shannon to Mohill, distant but four or five miles from Cloon. In a few hours Humbert would have reached Granard, but he was so closely followed by Lake's cavalry, that, finding it impossible to avoid an action, he drew up his army at Ballinamuck. His position was now critical, for he was surrounded by two armies, amounting in all to between twenty and thirty thousand men, and any attempt he made at resistance could only be designed to give credit to his surrender. At seven o'clock in the morning of the 8th of September, colonel Crawford, after sending Humbert a summons to surrender, which was not attended to, attacked the rear guard, upon which two hundred of the French infantry of which it was composed threw down their arms. Expecting that the rest of Humbert's force were prepared to follow the example of the rear-guard, general Craddock, with some of his officers, rode up to them, on which they commenced a fire of cannon and musketry, by which general Craddock himself was wounded, and in the first confusion lord Roden was taken prisoner. General Lake now ordered their position to be attacked, and after an action of somewhat more than half-an-hour, the remainder of the British force making its appearance, Humbert surrendered at discretion. He has been blamed for making no stipulation for his Irish auxiliaries, which he appears to have had no power of doing. The latter immediately dispersed, but they were pursued in all directions by the troops, and slaughtered without mercy.

The number of the French who surrendered on this occasion was seven hundred and forty-eight privates, and ninety-six officers. Mr. Blake, of Galway, who had been an officer in the English army, Bartholomew Teeling, and a Mr. Roche, were taken prisoners, and treated as rebels. The loss of the French was probably small; that of the king's troops was stated to be three rank and file killed, twelve wounded, and three missing, and one officer died of his wounds. The number of the Irish who accompanied the French army had been reduced by desertion during their march to about fifteen hundred, of whom not less than five hundred are said to have been slaughtered. We are told by a writer of

the time, that, in rifling the bodies, "one of the most beautiful Irish girls ever seen, who had ventured probably into the fire to assist a brother or a lover, was found shot through the heart."

If the progress of the French had not been thus arrested at Ballinamuck, in a few hours they would have reached a district where the insurrection might have assumed a much more serious character. There can be no doubt that in various parts of the island leaders of the United Irishmen who still remained at large were actively employed in endeavouring to raise diversions in their favour. While they were marching from Castlebar, an attempt of this kind was made in the neighbourhood of Granard, where a conspiracy was formed, the object of which was to co-operate with the French and give them a post which was convenient for marching upon the metropolis. Several men of property had espoused the cause, and multitudes from Longford and the neighbouring counties were to rise at the summons of their chiefs in the neighbourhood of Granard, their plan being first to seize that town, and then, with the augmentation of force, which must naturally follow their first success, march to attack the town of Cavan, where there was a considerable depôt of arms and ammunition. On the morning of the 5th of September, a body, variously estimated at from three to six thousand men, armed chiefly with pikes, assembled from the counties of Longford and Westmeath, and advanced against Granard under the command of Alexander Denniston, a lieutenant of the Mastrim yeomanry, who had deserted his troop to join the insurgents. Fortunately for the town, just as the rebel force came within sight of it, between seven and eight o'clock in the morning, captain Cottingham arrived with eighty-five of the Cavan and Ballyhaise yeomen, which with the yeomanry of Granard formed a force of a hundred and fifty-seven infantry and forty-nine cavalry. With these captain Cottingham took up a strong position on the hill upon which Granard is built, at a little distance in advance of the town; but observing that the rebels separated into three columns to surround his position, he retired with his force nearer to the town. Here, protected by a bank and other fences, he awaited the attack. Between nine and ten o'clock, the rebels approached, driving before them a multitude of cattle for the purpose of break-

ing the line of the yeomanry, and throwing them into confusion, but this stratagem failed, and after receiving a destructive fire of musketry, they were compelled to draw back. They, however, repeated their attack several times, and did not give up their design till between two and three o'clock in the afternoon, when they fled and were pursued with slaughter. Their loss during the day must have been considerable. After their defeat, the strongest column of these insurgents, composed of people from Westmeath, directed their march to a charitable establishment six miles from Mullingar, known as Wilson's Hospital, which had been seized and plundered the same morning by another body of rebels, who were preparing to butcher twenty-eight protestants who had just been brought in prisoners from the surrounding country, so early was this insurrection taking the character of a religious war. Humbert is said to have expressed great surprise and disappointment when he saw that no protestants joined his standard. About four o'clock in the afternoon, these insurgents learnt that a force of two or three hundred men, composed of yeomen and Argyle fencibles, hastily collected by lord Longford, with one field piece, were approaching, and they marched out to meet them near the village of Bunbrusna. About five hundred of these rebels are said to have been armed with fire-locks. The contest was quickly decided, for after an attempt to seize the field-piece by an impetuous onset, in which many of them were swept down by a discharge of grapeshot, they soon fled, and being closely pursued, some of them took shelter in a farm-house and its offices, which were burnt, and a few of them are supposed to have perished in the flames. A considerable number of the insurgents were slain in this action, while the loss of the king's troops was only two killed. The latter lay on their arms all night, for it was dusk when this affair was ended, with the intention of attacking the hospital in the morning; but when morning arrived, they found that it had been abandoned by the insurgents.

The further progress of the insurrection was effectually checked by this defeat, and the surrender of the French troops, but the rebels continued in arms in the county of Mayo, where they were not informed of the fate of their French allies till some days after it had been decided. On the 4th of September, an attack had been made on

Castlebar, which the king's troops had occupied after Humbert's departure, by a body of rebels, said to be two thousand in number, who proposed to plunder the town, and, as it was said, to massacre the protestant inhabitants, but they were successfully resisted by the small garrison commanded by captain Urquhart of the Fraser fencibles. Several places which had fallen into the hands of the rebels, such as Newport and Westport, were now recovered, and Ballina and Killala alone remained in their possession. Humbert had left no part of his army at these places when he marched on the 4th of September, with the exception of two officers at Killala, and one at Ballina, to command the rebel garrisons there. The intelligence of the success of the king's troops was kept a secret by these officers, but at length stragglers from the scene of action brought the news to the insurgents, and then they became furious, and the protestant inhabitants were in constant fear of assassination. The delay of the king's troops in marching to their relief has not been very satisfactorily explained. At length, on the 22nd of September, they reached Ballina, and, after a few discharges of cannon and musketry, the rebels, with their French commander, an officer named Truc, fled towards Killala. Next day they were attacked at Killala by a large body of troops, under the command of major-general French, who would have been a day or two later in his arrival, had he not been hastened by a pressing message from the bishop, informing him of the extreme danger of his family, and the rest of the loyalists in that town. The bishop's narrative gives us a vivid picture of the condition of Killala under the French and their Irish auxiliaries.

The greatest alarm had been created among the protestant inhabitants of Killala by the intelligence of the victory of the French at Castlebar, which was kept alive by the impossibility of obtaining any other information but that furnished by their enemies. "A melancholy proof, however, that treason had a hand in the success of the French at Castlebar was soon exhibited in the bishop's court-yard. Fifty-three deserters from the Longford militia marched in, amidst the shouts of the multitude, with their coats turned, and there exchanged the uniforms given them by their sovereign for the blue coats of France! It was a strange sight, and, to protestant spectators, most

provoking. To comfort the bishop, the commissary made him a present of the deserters' uniforms. He took the gift, foreseeing that he should, ere long, find naked bodies in plenty to cover with them. Report said, that in a few days the rebel camp at Killala was joined by four score more deserters from the Longford and Kilkenny militia." On the 1st of September, the French commander Charost, who had gained much on the bishop's heart by his courtesy, was obliged to send after general Humbert the two hundred French troops who had been left at Killala, although he himself remained with another French officer in command of the town. The alarm of the protestants now became great, and the country around was so overrun with plundering parties, that Charost found it necessary to furnish the inhabitants of the town with arms for their own defence, in doing which he made no distinction between protestants and catholics. If the French were mortified that none of the protestants had joined them, the Irish were quite as indignant against their new friends for their want of zeal for the catholic faith. The distribution of arms began in the castle-yard on the evening of the 1st of September, and, says the bishop, "the commandant had now an opportunity of judging whether the fears of the protestants from their popish neighbours were justly founded. As the patrol was setting at that time, the rebels (all Romanists), began to murmur at trusting arms to the protestant townsmen, which they were sure, they said, would be employed against the French and their allies, the moment an English force appeared. Nor did the mutineers want a leader. One Mulheeran, a rebel officer, was their spokesman, a strong-made, stout fellow, who defended himself afterwards like a lion at the battle of Killala, against three or four troopers, all cutting him with their swords, and did not fall till his skull was hacked to pieces. This man resisted the commandant to his face, and went so far as to throw down the arms he had received from the French, when Charost told him he would trust all alike with arms who chose to take a musket in their own defence. The bishop laboured hard to pacify the malcontents, amidst darkness and clamour, and the confusion of three languages. After an hour's struggle, several of the protestants, intimidated by the menaces of the others, returned the

arms they had received, and said they would trust themselves to the protection of the patrol, which put an end, for that night, to the disturbance. It was renewed, however, the two following days with unabating violence; till at length the protestants, harassed by domiciliary visits of armed rebels in search of concealed weapons, agreed in a petition to the commandant that he would call in, by proclamation, what he had given out, and forbid in future any persons appearing in arms, except recruits for the French service. The terror of being thus stript of the means of defence was exaggerated by the alarming accounts of depredations on every side of Killala, to the distance of several miles. Not a night passed, but some house was rifled; scarce an hour in the day elapsed, in which the bishop was not importuned to lay some lamentation before the commandant, or to send out some guard for protection. Willing to do his best, he interpreted, he drew up petitions, he despatched guards to protestant families in the neighbourhood, he went from house to house in the town to inquire after abuses, till in the evening always, and frequently in the day time, he was forced to throw himself on a bed, unable to keep his feet. Yet his health and appetite seemed to be improved by the extraordinary fatigue, nor did he ever in his life sleep better."

On the 7th of September, confused accounts began to find their way to Killala, that lord Cornwallis was marching against the French troops, and that the latter were in danger of being surrounded and overwhelmed. The rebels now became mad with rage against the protestants, and new complaints were heard against the protection afforded them by colonel Charost. "Saturday, September 8 (a day memorable for the victory at Ballinamuck), exhibited to the town of Killala a new subject of alarm and terror. Hitherto it had been, to such as had anything to lose, matter of comfort to observe how awkwardly the armed peasants handled their firelocks, and how slow a progress they were making in the arts of destruction. This day, for the first time, pikes began to be talked of, instead of muskets. An officer of the rebels, one of the very few among them who seemed to have a head for mischief as well as a heart, signified to the commandant (still by the bishop, who made it a point to interpret faithfully, even where the matter of dis-

course made him shudder) that the friends of liberty, seeing the fire-arms were all distributed, and that they were not thought worthy of being trusted with the ammunition brought from France, had come to a resolution of forming a strong body of pikemen, who, they trusted, would be found capable of doing at least as much execution on the enemy as any of their fellows. They, therefore, desired permission to seize upon all the iron they could find in the stores of Mr. Kirkwood, or elsewhere, to fabricate pike-heads. Charost liked the proposal almost as little as the bishop did. As a soldier, he despised the service of pikemen against regular troops; as a man, he hated the use to which these weapons might be applied by the robber and the murderer. But it was not his place to throw obstacles in the way of any offer to advance the common cause. He contented himself, therefore, with applauding the zeal of the people, who, he said, should have leave to use Mr. Kirkwood's iron, as soon as there was an absolute need of making free with that gentleman's property, but advised them to try first whether they could not get iron enough in an honest way, by converting into pike-heads what they had at home of that material, their own forks, and other implements of husbandry. The answer was taken in good part, and saved the stores for the present. But as pikes were not forbidden, all the smiths and carpenters were presently set to work at making them, and every thief was busy in supplying materials for them. Pitchforks were lawful prize from that day forth; and young trees were more becoming as pike-handles in the grasp of a lover of liberty, than as ornaments to a gentleman's farm. In a short time a body of pikemen was raised, under the direction of the officer above mentioned, which receiving daily accessions of numbers, became the more formidable to peaceful people, because they carried their weapons everywhere, did no regular military duty, and mixed in every tumultuous assembly with a superior aptness for mischief."

Fortunately, the dissatisfied insurgents still refrained from absolute violence in the town, but from the country protestants were carried off as orangemen, and committed to prison at Ballina, where the French commander, Truc, was less scrupulous than Charost, and gentlemen's houses were attacked and plundered without any restraint. Among the houses plundered

were Castlereagh, the seat of Arthur Knox, esq., and Castle Lacken, the property of sir John Palmer, bart., which were broken open and completely rifled. "From Castle Lacken little or nothing could be saved. The manner in which this mansion, the old family seat of sir John Palmer, was surprised, is worth describing. Mr. Waldron, agent to the baronet, who rented the house, and had a very considerable property in and about it, had received a guard from the French, with which for some days he had been able to protect himself against his disorderly neighbours. The guard, however, required guarding as much as the rest of their countrymen; and a plan was concerted, in consequence of which the house should appear to be taken by a sudden assault, in spite of all opposition. A horseman came in full gallop through the surrounding crowd to the door, announcing himself to be an express from the bishop at Killala. The unwary owner unbarred his door, and in an instant the mob without and the guards within threw the unfortunate man on the floor, ran over him many times, dispersed his affrighted family of children and grandchildren, completely gutted the house, and even carried away the flooring, drove off his stock, and in short did him damage (as he afterwards proved to the committee) little short of three thousand pounds. It was truly melancholy to see a whole family, accustomed to ease and comfort, arrive the next day at Killala on foot, with nothing saved but the clothes on their backs. But this was a spectacle to which we had now been too much familiarised. Mr. Waldron had another house and farm in the vicinity, which were presently after destroyed in as merciless a manner by the same savages. The farm-house of Mr. John Boyd (a worthy man, respectable also for his skill as a surveyor), though greatly exposed by standing single at a considerable distance from the town, was preserved by a circumstance that may be reckoned curious, as it shows the light in which the insurgents beheld their French allies. Two soldiers of that nation, wounded, but not dangerously, at Castlebar, were sent to the commandant to be put into some place where they might be recovered. Mr. Boyd, by the bishop's advice, offered his own house as a quiet retreat for the men, who, at the same time, from the respect paid by the rebels to the French, might be a security to him and his family. The offer was

accepted, and proved effectual for the purpose intended; for though gangs of robbers frequently threatened the house, no attack was actually made on it, as long as the foreigners (very well-behaved poor fellows) continued in it, which was for upwards of a fortnight. It cost much exertion afterwards to defend the same house to the end of the troubles."

Fugitives from Ballinamuck at length reached Killala, and then the state of things could be no longer concealed from the insurgents there, who, not in immediate presence of an enemy, instead of dispersing and returning to their homes, thought of nothing but plunder and revenge. The distress of the protestants was very great, and the bishop, under pretence of sending messengers to plead for such of the insurgents as were prisoners at Castlebar, contrived to send private intelligence to general French of their extremely perilous position, and he promised to hasten to their assistance. On Sunday, the 23rd, hosts of fugitives, among the first of whom were Truc and O'Keon, announced to the people of Killala that the English army was on its march. Crowds of women and children, we are told, came running from Ballina, tumbling over one another, to get into the castle or into any house in the town where they could hope for a shelter. The armed multitude, however, prepared for resistance, and were drawn out in tolerably good order by their chiefs. The main body was posted outside the town, on rising ground on the road to Ballina, where they were sheltered on each side by low stone walls, which enabled them to take aim at the king's troops with advantage. General French had divided his forces at Crossmalina, and sent one division, consisting chiefly of the Kerry militia, by a circuitous route to intercept the fugitives on the other side of the town, where the rebels, probably informed of this circumstance, had also placed a strong guard. "The two divisions of the royal army were supposed to make up about twelve hundred men, and they had five pieces of cannon. The number of the rebels could not be ascertained. Many ran away before the engagement, while a very considerable number flocked into the town in the very heat of it, passing under the castle windows in view of the French officers on horseback, and running upon death with as little appearance of reflection or concern as if they

were hastening to a show. About four hundred of these misguided men fell in the battle and immediately after it. Whence it may be conjectured that their entire number scarcely exceeded eight or nine hundred. The whole scene passed in sight of the castle, and so near it, that the family could distinctly hear the balls whistling by their ears. Mr. Fortescue very humanely took upon him the direction of the women and children, whom he placed as far as he could from the windows, and made them remain prostrate on the carpets until the business was quite over. He himself could not refrain from taking his stand at a window of the library looking seaward, which, with the other window of that room, he had barricaded with beds, leaving room to peep over them. A malicious rascal in the sea-grove observed his position, and calling to a woman in the road to stand out of his way till he should 'do for that tall fellow,' he discharged the contents of a carabine full at the window, with such effect, that twelve slugs made as many holes in passing through the glass. The bed saved the lives of Mr. Fortescue and Henry Stock, the bishop's son, who was standing behind; but two of the slugs were lodged in Mr. Fortescue's forehead, providentially without penetrating the bone or hurting him materially, though one slug was not extracted till a considerable time afterwards, when he reached Dublin. The bishop saw the action from behind the breast of a chimney, where he could only be reached by an oblique chance shot. Curiosity, and the interest we all felt in the event, prompted every man in the house to expose his person by creeping to the windows. Our French officers thought it their duty to lead the rebels, as many as they could bring forward, to the onset, though they were sure it was in vain, and had avowed to us their determination to surrender to the very superior force that was coming against them. We kept our eyes on the rebels, who seemed to be posted with so much advantage behind the stone walls that lined the road. They levelled their pieces, fired very deliberately from each side on the advancing enemy, yet (strange to tell!) were able only to kill one man, a corporal, and wound one common soldier. Their shot, in general, went over the heads of their opponents. A regiment of highlanders (Fraser's fencibles) filed off to the right and left, to flank the

fusileers behind the hedges and walls; they had a marshy ground on the left to surmount, before they could come upon their object, which occasioned some delay; but at length they reached them, and made sad havock among them. Then followed the Queen's county militia, and the Downshire, which last regiment had a great share in the honour of the day. After a resistance of about twenty minutes, the rebels began to fly in all directions, and were pursued by the Roxburgh cavalry into the town in full cry. This was not agreeable to military practice, according to which it is usual to commit the assault of a town to the infantry; but here the general wisely reversed the mode, in order to prevent the rebels, by a rapid pursuit, from taking shelter in the houses of the town-folk, a circumstance which was likely to provoke indiscriminate slaughter and pillage. The measure was attended with the desired success. A considerable number was cut down in the streets, and of the remainder, but a few were able to escape into the houses, being either pushed through the town till they fell in with the Kerry, from Crossmalina, or obliged to take to the shore, where it winds round a promontory forming one of the horns of the bay of Killala. And here, too, the fugitives were swept away by scores, a cannon being placed on the opposite side of the bay, which did great execution. Some of the defeated rebels, however, did force their way into houses, and by consequence, brought mischief upon the innocent inhabitants, without benefit to themselves."

It was still difficult to save the town of Killala from the fury of the victorious soldiery. "In spite of the exertions of the general and his officers," the bishop tells us, "the town exhibited almost all the marks of a place taken by storm. Some houses were perforated like a riddle, most of them had their doors and windows destroyed, the trembling inhabitants scarcely escaped with life by lying prostrate on the floor as at the castle. Nor was it till the close of the next day that our ears were relieved from the horrid sound of muskets discharged every minute at flying and powerless rebels." Nor was this all. "If the people of Killala were distressed to find accommodation for the multitude of officers that now poured in upon them, they experienced yet greater inconvenience from the predatory habits of the soldiery. The regiments that came to

their assistance, being all militia, seemed to think they had a right to take the property they had been the means of preserving, and to use it as their own, whenever they stood in need of it. Their rapacity differed in no other respect from that of the rebels, except that they seized upon things with somewhat less of ceremony or excuse, and that his majesty's soldiers were incomparably superior to the Irish traitors in dexterity of stealing." The bishop of Killala's account of the disorders of the militia in Ireland at this time, is fully confirmed by other writers. The following extract from a letter from Waterford, dated the 29th of August, and printed in the Castlereagh correspondence, may serve as a confirmation of it, and will show at the same time some of the evils resulting from the state into which the country was thrown:—"I have little doubt of the Killala expedition proving a second edition of the Fishguard Bay; but I dread the indiscipline of the Irish militia—friends or foes are all the same to them, and they will plunder indiscriminately, advancing or retreating; and from what I have heard no effort is made to restrain them. The dread the inhabitants have of the presence of a regiment of militia is not to be told: they shut up their shops, hide whatever they have, and, in short, all confidence is lost wherever they make their appearance. This place is, in my opinion, as ill-calculated a *séjour* for the guards, in point of society, as possible; and I am persuaded we shall ere long perceive the bad effects of the intercourse our men necessarily have with the inhabitants. Drunkenness is prevalent beyond anything I ever witnessed before; and I am sorry to say our non-commissioned officers are not clear of this vice. Every other house in the town is a whisky shop, and I am convinced when our men cannot pay for liquor they get it for nothing. I am ready to believe that if we are employed in actual service at this moment our men will do their duty well and with zeal; but whether there will be the same zeal if we remain here six months longer is another question. I am rather surprised government has not fitted up Geneva barracks for the reception of troops, instead of quartering them in this town. The situation is healthy, at a distance from any town, at the same time near to Waterford, to support whatever detachment of troops it might be deemed necessary to leave here, which, being frequently relieved, would not be

contaminated by the vices and society of the place. Geneva barracks are at present appropriated to the reception of prisoners. One word on that subject and then I have done. Numbers of vagabonds are daily arriving from all parts of Ireland under sentence of transportation, or having volunteered transportation to avoid death, or rather to prolong life. I was informed by an officer at Geneva he had sent off a number of these fellows last spring, and that, to his certain knowledge, half of them had found their way back to this country. Many of these prisoners have their option of serving in the army. The intention was in the West Indies only; but most of the rascals, it is to be feared, will find their way to Chatham: many of them are uncommon fine fellows, and our regiments will be finally filled with them; if precautions, and the strictest precautions, are not taken on this head, what are we to expect? In my opinion, wherever we send them, we send emissaries. The mode of disposing of them is a dangerous one, and their admission into the navy or army is likely to be attended with consequences equally fatal."

The members of the French directory are said to have been astonished at the boldness with which Humbert had proceeded on this rash expedition, but the news of his first successes, told in exaggerated language, determined them to support him by sending off the division under general Hardi with as little delay as possible. After overcoming the difficulties presented by the state of the French navy and arsenals, Hardi's expedition at length set sail on the 20th of September. It consisted of the *Hoche*, of seventy-four guns, eight frigates, and a schooner, under the command of admiral Bompard, an experienced seaman. Theobald Wolfe Tone, who had been anxiously engaged in urging this expedition forward, accompanied general Hardi on board the *Hoche*. In order to avoid the English fleets, Bompard took a large sweep to the westward, and then to the north-east, in order to bear down upon the northern coast of Ireland, but, meeting with contrary winds, it was not till the 10th of October that he arrived off the entry of Loch Swilly, with the *Hoche*, two frigates, and the schooner. He was instantly signalled, and at break of day, on the 11th of October, before he could enter the bay or land his troops, the English squadron, under admiral Warren, was seen bearing down upon him.

After an obstinate engagement of six hours, which the French sustained with extraordinary bravery against overwhelming odds, the *Hoche* surrendered. The two frigates fled, but they were overtaken and captured, and most of the other ships which composed this ill-fated squadron were taken by the English fleet. The *Hoche* was brought into Loch Swilly, and the prisoners landed and marched to Letterkenny, but it was not known that Wolfe Tone was among them, until he was recognised by a gentleman who knew him well, seated with the other French officers, at a dinner given them by the earl of Cavan. He was immediately fettered, and sent to Dublin as a state prisoner.

While these things were going on in the west, a still more ridiculous attempt was made on the coast of Donegal. Napper Tandy, who, as we have already stated, was led by his vanity to imagine that his mere presence in Ireland was sufficient to raise a formidable rebellion, gathered a number of Irish refugees and some French soldiers and officers, and embarking with a considerable quantity of arms in a French brig called the *Anacreon*, sailed from Dunkirk, and on the 16th of September, eight days after the surrender of the French force under Humbert at Ballinamuck, cast anchor in the little harbour of Rutland island. A part of this small force immediately landed, and, proceeding to the town of Rutland, seized upon the deputy post-master, who appears to have been the most important personage in the island; but they were disconcerted on learning Humbert's defeat, and the compromise between the state prisoners and the government. Their operations extended no farther than the distribution of a few papers, addressed to the United Irishmen, headed "liberty or death," professing to come from the "northern army of avengers," and dated in "the first year of Irish liberty." The first of these was signed by a French officer, general Rey, "in the name of the French officers and soldiers now on the coast of Ireland," and informed the United Irishmen that, "the soldiers of the great nation have landed on your coast, well supplied with arms and ammunition of all kinds, with artillery worked by those who have spread terror among the ranks of the best troops in Europe, headed by French officers; they come to break your fetters, and restore you to the blessings of liberty. *James Napper Tandy is at their head; he has sworn to*

lead them on to victory or die. Brave Irishmen, the friends of liberty have left their native soil, to assist you in reconquering your rights; they will brave all dangers, and glory at the sublime idea of cementing your happiness with their blood. French blood shall not flow in vain—to arms! freemen, to arms! The trumpet calls, let not your friends be butchered unassisted; if they are doomed to fall in this most glorious struggle, let their death be useful to your cause, and their bodies serve as footsteps to the temple of Irish liberty." The address of general Napper Tandy himself was, if possible, still more bellicose. "What do I hear?" it said, "the British government have dared to speak of concessions! would you accept of them? Can you think of entering into a treaty with a British minister? a minister, too, who has left you at the mercy of an English soldiery, who laid your cities waste, and massacred inhumanly your best citizens; a minister, the bane of society, and scourge of mankind; behold, Irishmen, he holds in his hand the olive of peace; beware, his other hand lies concealed armed with a poignard. No, Irishmen, no, you shall not be the dupes of his base intrigues; unable to subdue your courage, he attempts to seduce you, let his efforts be vain. Horrid crimes have been perpetrated in your country; your friends have fallen a sacrifice to their devotion for your cause; their shadows are around you and call aloud for vengeance; it is your duty to avenge their death; it is your duty to strike, on their blood-cemented thrones, the murderers of your friends. Listen to no proposals, Irishmen; wage a war of extermination against your oppressors, the war of liberty against tyranny, and liberty shall triumph."

These high-sounding proclamations produced no effect, and discouraged at the small sympathy they met with, and at the disastrous news which came from all quarters, Tandy and his companions, instead of marching to conquer or die, quietly re-embarked the same day, and, to avoid the British cruizers, sailed for Norway, where they arrived in safety, and from whence Tandy proceeded overland to Hamburgh. He was there placed under arrest by order of the senate, and delivered up to the British government, who also gained possession of the persons of two chiefs of the United Irishmen who had accompanied him in this fruitless expedition, Corbet and Blackwell.

Among the various prisoners thus collected

together, none excited more interest than Theobald Wolfe Tone, who had been so active in the first commencement of the disastrous combination of the United Irishmen. After his discovery and arrest at Letterkenny, he was conveyed to Dublin under an escort of dragoons. On the 10th of November, Tone was brought to trial before a court martial, consisting of general Loftus, who acted as president, colonels Vandeleur, Daly, and Wolf, major Armstrong, and a captain Curran. The prisoner appeared in the uniform of a French chef-de-brigade, and when the charge against him was read, he made an open avowal of his guilt in its fullest extent, declaring that it was his intention to overthrow the English government and separate the two countries, and professed his readiness to meet the consequences; but he claimed to be considered as a foreign soldier acting in an invasion, and to be treated in no other manner than as a prisoner of war. After his address and other papers had been laid before the lord lieutenant, sentence was delivered that he should be hanged on the 12th of November.

On the morning of the day of execution, Curran applied to the court of king's bench for a writ of habeas corpus to bring the condemned man before the court. Lord Kilwarden, who was ever anxious to assert the supremacy and the purity of the law, immediately granted the writ, and, while it was preparing, officers were sent to announce this to the provost marshal and to stay the execution of the sentence of court martial. They were refused admittance to the barracks in which Tone was confined, but they learned that on the previous night the prisoner, having been informed of his sentence and of the refusal of his request to be shot instead of hanged, had attempted to evade the punishment of the law by cutting his throat, and that he lay in bed in so dangerous a condition that he could not be removed but at the risk of his life. He lingered till the 19th, on which day he expired. His brother, Mathew Tone, and Bartholomew Teeling, who were taken prisoners with the army of Humbert, had been condemned and executed at the latter end of September.

CHAPTER XVII.

DEVASTATIONS OF THE REBEL BANDS UNDER HOLT AND OTHER LEADERS IN THE WICKLOW MOUNTAINS.



THE rebellion at this time may be considered to have been finally ended by the surrender of the last leader of any consequence, Joseph Holt. Long after the insurrection had been

entirely suppressed in other parts, the mountainous districts of Wicklow continued to be the centre of operations of numerous groups of rebels who, sometimes in small parties, at other times joining in larger bodies, spread desolation over the country around. They ranged securely over about twenty-five miles of mountains, rocks, and ravines, which afforded them innumerable posts of security and facilities for escape, and which were in most cases inacces-

sible to cavalry and artillery. From these fastnesses they issued suddenly to perpetrate burnings and massacres, retiring before troops could arrive to intercept them. Some of them occupied the forest, and took the nick-name of *babes of the wood*. While the rebellion promised any chance of success, the militia had in general proved faithful to the government, but now, singularly enough, considerable numbers, especially of the Antrim and King's county regiments, led apparently by no other motive than the love of wild adventure, deserted their ranks and fled to the standard of these desperadoes. Their principal leaders were Holt, Hacket, and Dwyer. Holt may be considered as the hero of this latter period of the rebellion; and his own narrative, however biassed it may be, furnishes us with so

remarkable a picture of rebel life in the mountains, that we will again follow it to the period of his surrender.

We last left Holt a fugitive, stealing through Dublin in his way back to the Wicklow mountains. "I proceeded," he tells us, "to the small village of Pipers-town, where I found a piper who was playing *Erin-go-Bragh*, and a little girl, whom I asked if she knew the Holts of Bohernabreena, in the Chapel house; she answered me that she did, and I sent a note by her to my brother, to request him to send me a loaf of bread, some cheese, and a pint of whiskey. On receiving the note, he said to his wife, 'Joseph is not dead, here is his handwriting.' He sent me what I wanted, and a note desiring me to meet him in a field near Carysfield. To which place I repaired, and met him in company with Richard Johnson, a farmer who lived near Tipper. We sat together for some time and talked of my adventures. Johnson proposed to go to Mr. Beresford to obtain my pardon, but I was afraid of him, and I had reason. I now had the satisfaction of seeing my afflicted and beloved wife; our meeting was sorrowful, the sight of her was a gratification to me, a great one, but it was a melancholy meeting: I was an outlaw, a price was set on my head, my adherents were discomfited and dispersed, I was a poor forlorn wretched fugitive, with the blood-hounds stirred up by the hopes of blood-money in full cry after me. I indeed embraced her who was most dear to me on earth, perhaps for the last time. I told her I would surrender if his majesty's pardon was proclaimed, and I did all I could to make her mind easy. I despaired of doing more than negotiating terms, and I had nothing left for it but to make the best fight I could, or die an ignominious death by surrendering at discretion." It is said that Holt might have surrendered on the same terms which had been accepted by the other state prisoners, but that he declined them, because he could not obtain a protection for the deserters from the militia who were serving under him.

"I now left Glenasmoel and crossed Butter Mountain to Ballyfofen and Scurlock's Leap, and stopped in Adown. I went to the house of a widow Kirwan, who refused me refreshment, declaring she was destitute of anything save some cabbage leaves which were in the pot, and that she had nothing else in the house. I drew my

sword, and with it examined the contents of the pot; but though I could not convict her of the falsehood she told me, I felt satisfied that it was one. A few days after I had her house searched, and found four sacks of oatmeal, two flitches of bacon, and other things. I now proceeded to Ballydaniel, to the house of Simon Kearney, who received me with warm greetings, and supplied me with every necessary. He entreated me to remain with him, but I declined, bade him farewell, and proceeded by Ballylow to Whelp Rock, where I was hailed with acclamations of joy. The people were desirous I should remain with them, but I was anxious to visit the sick and wounded in Glenmalure, and passed over the Three-Lough Mountain, on the top of which I met a young woman gathering froughans, a small black fruit which grows in elevated places, and who gave me some. I had saved her life in Longwood, by rescuing her from the military, when I received two slight wounds. One of her brothers was killed at Cloward, and another was wounded at Castle-Carberry. The mountains here are the highest in this county, and nearly uninhabited, without roads or any means of approach for horses or carriages; it requires good lungs to breathe the pure air, and sound limbs to encounter the fatigue of crossing them. The Whelp Rock is situated between Ballylow and Lavarna, in the centre of this dreary and inhospitable district, and was fixed on by me as a position almost unapproachable to the military; here I considered myself safe in my own little territory, and by judicious arrangements and prudent precautions, was enabled to hold out against the united efforts of the king's army and the yeomanry of the country for so long a period. The young woman went with me to Glenmalure, which valley is about two miles and a half long, and three quarters of a mile wide; a branch of the river Ovoca runs through it. On one side the mountains which bound it are nearly perpendicular, and in many places absolutely hang over it, apparently threatening to crush the spectator by the fall of the enormous masses of rocks, of which they are composed. It is a beautiful and interesting place. I stopped at Pierce Harney's house, and slept there; the next morning, about three hundred men came to Harney's house, who were part of the poor wretches that escaped from the expedition to the Boyne, a scheme of father Kearns',

ill-conceived and worse executed; but so it is, and always will be, when too many heads are employed to direct a multitude; fools and cowards predominate, and as they are the decided majority of mankind, therefore in times of trouble, when promptitude and vigour are required, delay and consequent loss of opportunity are inevitable,—plans are always published and counteracted, and eventually the majority, nine times in ten, decide wrong. We left a strong country, where we could have made a good resistance and obtained terms, and moved into an open one apparently for the express purpose of delivering ourselves into our enemies' power. We were defeated, multitudes destroyed, taken, and gibbeted; the folly of our acts brought on its due punishment. To have proposed prudent measures, previous to our advance to the Boyne, it would have produced certain death to any one—Father Kearns, who had most influence over the Wexford fugitives, having suggested that measure; and although I saw the folly, and tried to prevent it, the holy father was, from his sanctity of character, too much for me, and I was outvoted. The priests could not err, and many thousand poor devils fell victims to their confidence in the sanctified sagacity of their spiritual guides. They might know something of their religious economy, but in military affairs they were worse than fools. Had I but the command of the rebel army before they left Whelp Rock for the Boyne, I would have made a dart at Newtown-Mount-Kennedy, and do not doubt I should have succeeded in capturing the guns and ammunition there: I would then have sent a proposal to the government for a submission on the best terms which could be obtained. I saw the game was up, but we were still in such force, and in so strong a position, that we might probably have obtained terms for our lives at all events, if not a pardon. The government would have been glad to put an end to the contest, and were mercifully inclined. I fought for no other object than to save the lives of my followers and my own. The poor creatures whom I found here, were principally composed of those who had fled to the mountains to save themselves, after their houses had been burned, and they were overjoyed to see me; vowed to follow my directions, and implicitly to obey my instructions and commands to the last moment of their lives. I issued orders to them to be formed into companies, and

appointed the steadiest and smartest men to be officers; desired them to collect and be provident of their gunpowder; pointed out to them that we might be supplied with lead enough from Glenameth house; and ordered them to recruit with expedition, promising that every man who raised one hundred men should be appointed a captain; thus in a short time I found out the best men and the most prudent economists.

"My old and trusty friend the 'moving magazine' again appeared, and was furnished with a basket of gingerbread, fruit, &c., with her two satchels, or pockets, fore and aft, to convey ball cartridge, which she readily procured from the disaffected soldiers at the different military stations. She also was a spy on the movements of the army, and a most useful ally I found her. The slightest motion was instantly communicated by her means to my outposts, and they speedily conveyed the intelligence of it to head-quarters, so we were tolerably safe against surprise. I next examined the most suitable position, and the best calculated for defence and retreat, for having purchased experience by this time, I became cautious and provident. I examined the state of the road at each end of the glen, and finding a kind of pavement at the west, I made my men roll great stones down the sides into the river, and thus closed the end effectually, by making a gulf across the road, which in twenty-four hours was thirty feet deep, so that neither man nor horse could penetrate on that side. I then went to the east and threw down the bridge; I thus secured myself from surprise, and obstructed the sudden approach of an enemy. My numbers increased greatly, every day or night thirty or forty returned from the Boyne. Twenty-eight deserters from the Antrim militia joined me from Arklow, with soldiers from various other regiments; some from the Longford; in short, I had under me deserters from thirteen different regiments, most, if not all, of whom came well prepared; some brought with them sixty rounds of ball cartridge."

These events occurred in the latter days of August, and before the end of the month Holt had become so formidable, that he promised his followers to take them to perform some more considerable exploits. "I then gave orders to march, and advanced into Inmail, where we pitched our tents, and remained ten days. Three corps of cavalry

came to attack us from Hacketstown; we soon dispersed them, taking a few prisoners, who, when examined, were found to be United Irishmen, wearing two faces, one for their country and the other for their king; I did not admire such double-faced fellows, but my people were partial to united men, and they were enrolled among us. We then moved on to the Whelp Rock, where a party of the 89th regiment, some regular cavalry, with the Blessington and Donard cavalry, came after us. I led them through Imail to the side of Lugnaquilla mountain, and stationed my men about the centre of the hill, behind a rock, with orders not to fire till the army was within pistol shot, and then to take care to aim well. They advanced, and we let fly a volley, which killed thirty-five men on the spot; and had captain Hughes obeyed my orders, not a man of them would have escaped, for I sent him round the hill to cut off their retreat, but he was not as expeditious as he ought to have been. They retreated with the loss of the thirty-five killed and three prisoners. These men submitted without firing, so I caused them to be liberated, and gave them their choice to return to their regiments or join me; they chose the former. I told them that they must go without their arms or ammunition, but they said if they did they would be shot. I told them I would give them a certificate that the rules of my camp were so, but they did not like returning, so they joined me, and I armed them with pikes. Two of them were killed in passing through Glenbride, and the other deserted, and I saw no more of him. In staying at Whelp Rock, being out of gunpowder, I found I could do nothing, so I went to Aughavanagh, and thence to Gold Mines, and halted on Croghane, near Arklow, to try and procure a supply of gunpowder. One day I had a fancy to reconnoitre, and ordered out twenty-four horse to attend me; we went to Kilmanor, where we saw a few cavalry at exercise; we bore down upon them quickly, in hopes of getting between them and the barracks. They soon perceived us and retreated into the barracks of Coolgrany, from whence they fired upon us. In an engagement my habit was to dismount, and being armed with an excellent light fusee, I made good use of it. One M'Dermot from the Antrim militia, who was with me, received a ball, of which he died that night; I saw the man fire the shot, and brought him down with my fusee.

They continued firing at us from the windows, but we broke in and set the house on fire. John Moon, from the Antrim militia, shot one man and knocked out the brains of another. I then retired to Croghane, much concerned for the loss of M'Dermot, who was a brave man, and a good soldier. This barrack was within two miles of Arklow.

"I knew there would now be a sharp look out for me, so I removed and pitched my camp on the hill above Clone. Colonel Skerret's corps was placed at Killaduff, within a mile and a half of me, and general Craig the same evening pitched his tent on the side of Aughrim hill, and a third body, whose commander's name I did not learn, occupied the side of the hill of Tinnakilly, all within two miles of me. I saw what they were about, and had made up my mind what to do. Some of my men, whom I allowed to make free with me, came to ask me what I intended to do, and how we should escape. I asked them how many legs the soldiers had, they answered *two*. 'Well,' says I, 'has not God given you as many and equal ability to use them?' 'Yes,' said they, 'but we are surrounded.' 'Obey orders,' said I, 'and by God's blessing we will give them the go by.' They had had a few tastes of the consequences of rashness; and I did not fear a sudden attack. It was about five o'clock p.m.; I then directed my men to make one hundred and fifty heaps of furze and thorn bushes, and sent four steady men to go to four different farm houses, with orders that three hundred weight of potatoes should be boiled precisely at seven o'clock. I walked about, putting on a steady and determined face, and said we shall have sport to-morrow morning. I remained in this position till about seven o'clock, and on the approach of night, as soon as it was dark, I ordered all the heaps of furze and bushes to be set on fire, and made the men pass in rapid succession before them several times, and then retire behind and march off in silence, with orders that any man who spoke above a whisper should be instantly piked by the man next him. In this manner we marched unobserved to the houses where I had ordered the potatoes to be boiled, and the men having obtained refreshment, I marched on, giving directions to the pickets not to fire unless they came very near the enemy. They very soon encountered colonel Skerret's corps, and fired on each other; my men said they saw some of the enemy fall.

I continued my march, and passed safely between the two positions of the enemy to a village called Shealstown, about six miles distant. I made my men take possession of six houses in the village, and I secured the doors to prevent them getting out, not being able to keep them quiet, from their unruly and boisterous disposition; keeping thirty-six men of the most trusty and steady for pickets. Next morning the army advanced upon the hill where they had seen the fires over night, and found the ashes, but the birds were flown, nor could they ascertain what had become of us."

Holt's reappearance at the head of these formidable bands had now created considerable alarm, and the military were collected on different points. A proclamation was published, offering a reward for Holt's apprehension, but in vain, and the rebel leader continued to set his enemies at defiance. "I marched," he says, "to Knockalt, a mountain village, on the King's river, and had my head-quarters at Oliver Hoey's house, a good and faithful man, ready at all times to render me service. Here I drilled my men, and used them to act in bodies, forming them into divisions, marching and counter-marching, dispersing and forming again, having sham battles, &c., until I had them very expert. I found that the musket and bayonet were not to be compared in effect to a pike. If the men were steady and well disciplined, a charge of pikes would be irresistible against the musket and bayonet; so much superior are they, that after a few months' practice, I should have no fears of the result, if I were to meet the best regiment in the king's service, with an equal number of good men with pikes. My men never were well disciplined; discipline was out of the question where every man thought himself equal to his officer, who had not martial law to back his commands. One morning, while we were engaged in a sham battle, the pickets announced the approach of about three hundred men of the army from Blessington, and that we were soon to have the reality of war. I addressed my men—"Boys, I like sport, we shall soon have some, but you must be steady, obey orders, and we shall give a good account of these gentlemen." I had no drum, therefore, I adopted as a call to arms, a quick discharge of my two pistols, which soon brought the men under arms. I had a plan of defence contrived on the side of Knockalt hill, where

three thousand men might lie in ambush. I had three hundred and eighty well disciplined and armed resolute men, mostly deserters; these I placed in the said intrenchments under the command of Francois Joseph, a Frenchman, a deserter from the Hessian regiment which was in Imaal. I had also four hundred pikemen, whom I placed in another part of my ambuscade, and then gave my orders to the officers. I then remained a quiet spectator of the enemy's motions, waiting for their visit with all due patience and humility, and amusing myself by observing them with my glass. They halted on the bank of the King's river, and got hold of an old woman, and began asking her questions. She had received her lessons from me. 'Have you seen that rebel rascal Holt?' 'Faith and troth, have I. Do you see that place on the side of Knockalt hill? I saw him and his men in them two green fields this morning, and mighty busy he was, moving them backwards and forwards;—he must have plagued the craturs, for they have been on the trot all the morning.' 'Has he any deserters with him?' 'Faith, has he, two red coats to a grey one.' I was watching them all this time. They hesitated, and I went to my men, and brandishing my sword, said, 'Have I any volunteers who will cross the river, and give those cowards a broadside?' The Leitrim light company instantly offered their services; I told them I should move to their support if I saw them pressed. They crossed the river in gallant style, advanced, and gave the enemy a volley, which brought several of them to the ground. The cowards were so terrified that they did not return our fire; but sounded the trumpet for a retreat, and made off helter skelter. We pursued them more than four miles, when I ordered a retreat, and on our return we found the trophies of this affair were eighteen muskets, twenty-four cartridge boxes, thirteen bayonets, and ten dead men."

"I knew," he continues, "there would be a formidable party to attack me the next morning, and therefore gave orders for all to be on the alert and ready to move at a moment's notice. My enemies finding me a subtle subject, and one not to be trifled with, would, I knew, if they were wise and did their duty, use such means to trap me as were likely to be effective. One day a smart-looking tall girl met me with a basket on her arm, and came up to me,

saying, 'general, I have brought you some very fine apples from Rathfarnham.' 'Have you?' said I. 'Yes,' she answered, 'and there will be a great number of the boys with you, who are gathering gunpowder these three weeks, and sure they bid me come and tell you.' I looked her earnestly in the face, and then asked their names. She answered, 'faith, sir, I do not know: you know them yourself.' I then asked her several questions, and was perfectly satisfied that she was a spy sent to entrap me. I knew my friends would not employ a person who was ignorant of our tokens. I ordered her to be tried, and after a fair investigation, she was found guilty. I directed her basket to be kept, and that she should receive a dozen lashes, with a bunch of nettles, and then be ducked in the river and turned adrift, which was done accordingly. My men wanted to cut off her ears, but I would not allow this; and I heard no more of her. She carried back little information of use to her employers. Although I was an admirer of the fair, even the bait of a pretty girl would not do. A boy came to Whelp Rock on the same scheme; I observed him walking through the camp, and asked him what he wanted. He answered that he was looking for his father, whose name was James Connor, of Hackets-town. I ordered an inquiry; but such a man was not with us. At length he was recognised to be the son of a basket-woman, named Murphy. I ordered lieutenant Pluck to tie him up to the three-legged horse and give him a dozen; on receiving three lashes he confessed he had been sent by captain M'Donnell to observe our situation, and bring him an account, who gave him three guineas, which he handed over to his mother, and promise of a suit of clothes on his bringing the information. I let him go; and at his return he was tried, found guilty, and sentenced to death, which was carried into effect in twelve hours after. What for? He deserved death at my hands, but not at those of his employers. Next morning we moved across the mountains to Ballybracka, near Adown.* My men asked for orders how they were to act to the inhabitants. My answer was, 'free quarters.' These people were all sworn united men, but they resorted to my camp

to procure plunder, steal horses, &c., and then to cover their nefarious thieving, they gave information of our state to the enemy, which made me determined to punish them.

"I now received information that the army were advancing on all sides to endeavour to surround me. I, therefore, moved to Imaal, where I remained three days. The inhabitants were all united men. I sent Francois Joseph, the Frenchman, to call on them to fulfil their vow, and render us assistance. He went to the house of one James Byrne, and asked him where his sons were. The old man answered, 'What is that to you?' On which Joseph drew a pistol and shot him dead on the spot. I had him instantly arrested, and brought to trial; but the jury acquitted him. Being apprehensive of the vengeance of the friends of the deceased, I removed to Glenmalur, when I had my head-quarters at Pierce Harney's house, and had picquets at every point of approach. I heard that powder had been collected for me at Cronebane, and I made my arrangements with colonel Matthew Doyle about going for it, and ordered out three hundred of my best men for that purpose. We proceeded at dusk, and on passing down by a wood called the Flanker, I ordered the Antrim, Leitrim, and King's County companies to march near me, and observe a profound silence, keeping the advance about fifty yards before us. The road was passed through a bog, and at the end of the bog there was a cross-road. Some time previous the yeomen had burned several houses at the end of this cross-road, and in the ruins of these a party of yeomanry from Rathdrum had concealed themselves in ambush. When we got within pistol shot of them, they gave us a volley, but not a man of us fell, though several were slightly wounded, and our clothes touched with their balls. I had a slight wound on the sole of my foot. I called out loudly, 'surround the bridge of Greenane, and we shall have them all!' We gave them a salute in return, on which they immediately fled, absolutely rolling over each other in the greatest confusion. They were under the command of lieutenant John Sutton. The next morning we found several of their accoutrements on the ground. They had a narrow escape, for we were more than a match for them, and they made good use of their scrapers. I knew the

* The valley of Adown extends from Sally Gap, which is about ten miles south-west of Dublin, to a spot called Scurlock's Leap, between three and four miles east of Blessington.

ground well, and if I had got hold of the bridge of Greenane before them, I should have cut off their retreat, which alarmed them so much, that they did not fire a single shot beyond the first volley. We returned to Glenmalur, and called the roll, and found our loss trifling. I received information that Mr. Allen, the clothier, was about making his house at Greenane a barraek, in order to intercept reinforcements coming to me. I, therefore, called a council of war, and it was determined to burn it. I kept my intentions secret, lest I should be betrayed. I fired my signal, and marched to Greenane. One of my piequets observed a man named Whelan, running before us, who was known to be an enemy. John McEvoy, and Antrim John, whom I had promoted to be field officers, seeing this man running, the former fired at him, and hit him in the shoulder, but he did not fall; McEvoy fired again and shot him through the heart. We then marched on to Allen's house. I was on my horse while the men proceeded to set fire to the house, and heard a female voice shouting in great distress. I leaped over a quick-set hedge into the garden, and soon discovered a man struggling with a very pretty girl, who turned out to be the daughter of Mr. Allen. She cried to me for relief; the fellow persisted in his rudeness, on which I clove him down from the shoulder to the ribs with my broad-sword, and relieved the poor girl from her melancholy situation. I found her sister, mother, and aunt in the garden, on which I called a guard, and sent them off to a village near Rathdrum, where I knew the army would protect them. They were very grateful to me for my conduct to them. The house was now in flames, and some of my men were missing; I enquired for them, and found they were endeavouring to force in an iron safe. I commanded them to come out, but they refused until they forced open the safe, which after a time they accomplished, and found a few papers, about which these fools were going to cut one another's throats, but I interfered and took possession of the disputed spoil, telling them they should be examined on our return to the camp, and duly accounted for, which satisfied them.

"The day after the burning of Mr. Allen's house, 'my moving magazine' arrived with the seasonable supply of two hundred and fifty ball cartridges, and the next morning very early, the pickets brought

intelligence of the approach of a large body of military towards Balliboy, and the pickets from the other side of the glen, announced that another body were coming south, from Fananerrin, on that side, so we had them advancing over the mountain upon us, from the north and south at the same time. We could not retreat at the west end of the glen, there being no passage. I walked out to reconnoitre, and found they could not approach at either end of the glen, as the bridge was thrown down, and the gulf I had formed at the other, stopped their advance that way. I took my glass to ascertain their number, but they were so numerous that I could not count them accurately. I walked about for some time examining the motions of the enemy, then called upon the Shelmaliers to examine their guns, and get them in order; these men had long guns for shooting water-fowl on their lakes, which carried a ball one-fourth farther than a musket. They fell in; my number altogether this day was seven hundred and eighty-six. I placed the long guns in front, and then the muskets, and the pikes in the rear, I ordered them to march slowly, the band to play '*God speed the Irish.*' I watched the motions of the enemy closely, and having advanced about a mile towards them, I ordered the Shelmaliers to fall on their knees, and suppose themselves shooting geese on the Blackwater. Sixteen of them fired at once, I saw an instant gap in the enemy's line. 'Charge again my brave boys!' said I, 'the line at Balliboy is breaking.' I advanced again, and gave them another volley, the trumpet sounded, and I beheld a hurry and bustle in their lines. I now made a feigned dash toward Imaal, watching their motions, ordering my men to proceed in quick time after me, but not to go before me; to be steady, and I would disappoint the enemy once more. We had a great advantage over them, not being encumbered with pouches, cross-belts, or heavy accoutrements, with a good road, while they had an intricate boggy mountain, with the passes of which they were unacquainted, so that we could retreat two perches to one they could advance. Notwithstanding, I found they were surrounding us in all directions; we retreated, keeping up our fire, and checking their advance. All along I had a retreat in view, but I did not let any one know my plan, lest I might be betrayed, and the line of retreat cut off. I also

thought, that had my own men known of it, they would have taken French leave of me; but now they all thought their safety depended on obedience, and they were steady. The line of retreat I had in view, was an old path, by which the miners formerly descended from their work. The army had now advanced so far towards Imaal, that they could not intercept our retreat, so we wheeled about and got safely to nearly the top of the mountain, on the north side of the glen, where we found a few of the light brigade, who were so much fatigued by forced marches, as to be incapable of much exertion. I ordered the Shelmaliers to give them a volley, and let them know what sort of subjects they had to deal with, on which they gave way, very much to my satisfaction and surprise. I was determined to fight to the last, knowing well if we were taken alive, we should put the government to no small expense at some rope-walk in Dublin. When the enemy, advancing from Balliboy, saw this transaction, they began to run, both men and officers, but could not stop my Shelmaliers. I must do the troops justice on this occasion, they behaved gallantly, and exerted themselves exceedingly, stripped to their shirts, to get within shot of us, and often fired, but it was without effect. The troops from the other side, when they saw the soldiers from Balliboy running in their shirts, mistook them for my people, and began to fire on them as rebels, with small grape shot, which was very useful and amusing to me. The first discharge killed seventeen men, the trumpet sounded, and the firing ceased. At this time we had gained a hill, at least a mile and a half from the enemy, and were in perfect safety.

"In the evening of this day I was reinforced with a hundred and forty men, who brought with them two prisoners, named Marks and Chapman, from Ashford Bridge. I had not time to try them, but I told the party they were two men who attempted to take me after my house was burned. When my men heard this, they piked them immediately. This transaction took place on the mountain over the Seven Churches. It put the commanders of the army in a great rage when they found themselves outmanœuvred, and came up to the bodies of these two men; but the shades of night put an end to this day's turmoil, and we were in perfect safety from our enemies. I now called a council of war as to our

point of retreat, and it was determined that we should go to Oakwood, Knockadrew, and Knockalt, on the King's River, about six miles to the westward of the Seven Churches, where we then were; and, notwithstanding the darkness of the night, and the intricate route, we had no occasion, like a ship at sea, to fire a gun for a pilot, for we had the best guides in the country marching with us. On our march, we met with flocks of sheep belonging to Samuel Snell, George Manning, of Ballyteague, and another gentleman; and notwithstanding the advanced period of the night, we set the butchers to work, and had a comfortable meal of mutton chops and boiled potatoes, which did us no harm after our fatigues. We then retired to our quarters without fixing picquets, as no spy or informer could possibly know our route.

"I was up early, and each man, on my firing the signal, falling in, we were soon on the march. I changed the countersign, and marched at the head of my men, asking them questions respecting the day before. They expressed their gratitude and delight at the way I had got them safe out of that difficulty, and declared themselves determined to obey my orders on all occasions. I call this affair the battle of the Hills of Glenmalure. My head-quarters were at Oliver Hoyle's house. I walked about the whole day, examining the country, to lay my plans for future proceedings, in case the army should be polite enough to pay me another visit. In the evening, I received an express, to inform me that Hunter Gowan had taken up his quarters with his yeomen cavalry at Anghrim, and that he vauntingly declared, 'he would make a six-penny loaf sufficient for the breakfast of Holt and his men by the Saturday following.' I smiled at the expression, but took no further notice of it. However, I determined, in my own mind, to pay my brave Hunter a visit, and spent the night in contemplating how I could do it in the most genteel and soldier-like manner. Next morning, 'my moving magazine' arrived with three hundred ball-cartridges, and information that my son had been killed by the cavalry on the side of Mainredum hill. I fired my signal, and issued orders to be ready to march in thirty minutes, each man to put two days' provisions into his haversack. We marched about nine in the morning, and about two o'clock we reached Ballyhonal, a small village, about a mile

and-a-half from Ballymanus, and three from Aughrim. I ordered the men to cook their dinners, and no man to leave the main body without orders. I directed Antrim John to place the picquets and outposts, and then dispatched a messenger to ascertain if my son had been killed. He soon returned, with intelligence that my child was living, but that a boy had been killed, who was supposed to have been him. The child was met by a corps of cavalry, and was asked where he was going; he answered, he was seeking his father: they then asked his father's name; he said, Tom Howlet; which name sounding like Holt, one of the soldiers cut him down with his sword, cleaving his skull, and killed him on the spot. I knew and respected the boy's father many years; he was a miller, and lived at the Stamp-mill Bridge, near Newbridge. I regretted much that the poor child should have been sacrificed on account of the similarity of his father's name to mine. He was but eleven years old, exactly the age of my own son. These wanton, detestable, and abominable cruelties, excited feelings of animosity, ferocity, and revenge, and caused an increased shedding of blood, and the putting to death of many unfortunate victims, whose tender age and sex ought to have been sufficient to protect them from vengeance; it was my unfortunate lot to witness deeds perpetrated on both sides, at which my soul shuddered with horror and disgust, each party adducing the preceding cruelty as a justification of their own diabolical acts. One of the picquets now informed me that four of my men had been dreadfully cut up in the shebeen-house at Ballymanus, where whisky was sold; I instantly fired my signal, and commenced my march, lest others should get too much of this detestable beverage, when taken to excess. I lost more men, and suffered more disasters, from the effects of whisky, than from the sword or musket of my enemies.

"I issued orders that the men should be silent and steady, and not leave their post or line of march on any account, reminding them of the mischiefs they had suffered from want of discipline, and the victories they had achieved by a contrary conduct. We advanced in quick time, and soon came in sight of Aughrim, where my gallant Hunter was lord of the ascendant, at the head of his band of heroes, with whom he promised to do so much. I soon saw him

advancing to meet us. He had a gallant bearing, and seemed to promise to keep his word, at least to try to do so. I took a post on the side of Redena hill, near the confluence of the two branches of the Ovoca. John M'Evoy, of the Antrim, was my aid-de-camp this day; standing by my side, he saw the enemy present their muskets, and called out, 'Down every man!' We all fell instantly. The enemy fired, and the ground was cut just above us with their balls. I never saw a better-directed volley; but it did us no mischief. We were soon on our feet, and returned the compliment with some effect. I then ordered one hundred and fifty of my men down to the river side, to get into the wood, but not to fire a shot until Gowan had advanced as far as Redena bridge, and then to get between him and the barrack. The party were not steady, and fired too soon; and the enemy, perceiving themselves attacked from the wood, instantly retreated, both horse and foot, into the town. My brave Hunter, finding himself uncomfortably situated, and unable, or unwilling, to make effectual fight, abandoned the barracks, and retreated across Aughrim bridge, and over Killycloragh hill. We continued our pursuit, and seeing the route they took, I called out, 'Boys, are there any of you who can swim?' In two minutes, I had forty men in the river, holding up their muskets with one hand, and swimming with the other: they soon got over, and commenced firing on the flank of the enemy's line, whilst I kept up a fire on their rear. The valiant Hunter Gowan was now forced from his line of march, and being turned, took the road towards Whaley's Abbey. It gave me pleasure to see the gallant Hunter twice dismounted; but the third horse carried him safe off out of our reach. From that day he never headed a corps. I have heard he received a wound, but of this I am not certain; at all events, his vain boast of 'the sixpenny loaf' turned out a flam. We continued our chase as far as Mr. Coates' house, at Clone, and then returned to Aughrim, where my men were very impatient to burn every loyal man's house. The barrack was completely consumed, and every house in the town that we believed to belong to our enemies. After taking some refreshment, we returned to Ballyhorra; about sunset, we put out our picquets, and then retired to bed—that is, those who could procure a bed; but

most of us bivouacked in the best way we could.

"Next morning, early, one of the picquets brought intelligence, that a small party of the military were marching towards Tinnahely. I immediately ordered out some cavalry, proceeded in pursuit, and soon came in sight of them. This party of the king's soldiers consisted of twenty-four men, with a commissary, fourteen cars and horses, and a gentleman of the name of Coates, who, with the commissary, were in a coach. I heard afterwards they were going to Tinnahely, for wheat belonging to Mr. Coates. They were proceeding along by the Derry river, and as soon as they saw us, the soldiers threw away their arms and ammunition, and stripping to their shirts, began to run as fast as their legs could carry them, except four men, who mounted behind some of the drivers, and rode off with the coach as fast as they could gallop. We pursued the fugitives in all directions. I got within pistol-shot of the coach, and attempted to fire, but missed, and I was surprised to find there was no priming in the pan. I immediately shouted out, and two of the soldiers, who were riding double, flung down their arms on the road, and made for a shrubbery. Seeing this, I dismounted, and took up their muskets, which I fired after them: one of the men screamed loudly, but whether from a wound or fear, I cannot say. My men returned with three prisoners, fourteen horses, and cars. The horses were good, and I mounted my men with them, thus adding to the strength of my cavalry. The cars we burned on the road. The prisoners were brought to head-quarters, and, upon trial, two were found guilty of being Orangemen, and were shortly after put to death. There was but little commiseration for these fellows: my people alleged, that they were known to be in the habit of informing against United Irishmen, and procuring their destruction.

"On the Sunday morning following, we marched to Knockannaga, a mountainous place, where was a Roman catholic chapel. Several of the men wished to hear mass, which was then celebrating, and we went in, as many of us as could get room, bringing our arms with us. When the priest saw the fire-arms, he said, 'Gentlemen, you never saw weapons like these brought into the house of God before.' I answered, 'Sir, you never saw times like these; and

you will oblige me by going on with the service of the mass, as probably some of the men now before you may never see a priest or hear mass again; I think, therefore, it is your duty to comply with our reasonable request.' One of my men, called by the name of 'Antrim John,' then remarked to his reverence, 'If you do not say mass now, I will take care you never shall say it any where else.' The priest took the hint, and went on with the ceremony, and it was well for him that he did so; for Antrim John declared, that had the priest refused, he would have shot him at the altar; and I believe he would, for he was a violent-tempered man."

After relating an instance of his own generosity to an officer who had fallen into his hands, and the subsequent capture of his brother by the Cronebane yeomanry, and his liberation, Holt proceeds to tell us:—"I was duly informed of this transaction, and was very anxious to come in contact with the Cronebane corps, to repay them the obligation. Next morning, the picquets brought me word that a party of military were marching towards Aughavanagh, across Ubank's hill, to Muckla hill. I went immediately to my look-out place, and on viewing them with my spy-glass, I saw that they were the very corps (the Bond men of Cronebane) I so much wished to have an opportunity of complimenting. I called my men to arms, and drew them up behind a large ditch, so that our numbers could not be discovered. The enemy advanced upon me to within musket-shot, but I kept my men quiet, wishing the Cronebane fellows to advance farther into the valley which lay between us, and commence the ascent of the rising ground on which I was posted. I then, as I walked before my men, with my sword drawn, addressed captain King, by means of my trumpet:—"I wish you had the courage to meet me in single combat, and let our men look on. You little thought when my house was burned, and my property destroyed, that I could or would give you so much trouble; and, by my oath, I could now die easy, if I was after settling the matter with you.' One of my men, Francois Joseph, asked me permission to fire a shot; I told him I thought they were too far off, but he said his rifle was good. He fired, and his assertion proved true, for he brought down his man, as I was told by captain King, in the castle of Dublin. When Joseph had

fired his piece, the trumpet sounded, and I began to suspect I was about to be attacked on more sides than one. I therefore said to my men, we are likely to be entrapped, but be steady and obedient to orders, and we will get out of our difficulties. I will show those fellows that my head is as good as any of theirs. I had sent Pat Dogherty, of the Carlow, out as a picquet on my rear, but the wretched coward had fled on the approach of the enemy, without firing the signal; the trumpet sounded behind me, and I was convinced there was an attempt to surround me. I instantly gave orders for the men to follow me in open and single files, that the enemy should not take off my number. I marched across the side of Ballyhena, towards Aughavanagh, and had the good fortune to get about twenty perches of the ground to the enemy's right, when I was attacked by seven different divisions. I called out, 'Let no man run—keep together;' and to show them a good example, I alighted from my horse, and having an excellent fusee, I used it with effect. A very hot fire now commenced, and, to my grief, I knew the deficiency of my ammunition. However, I ordered my men to march, and fight as they retreated. They behaved well; they halted and fired in sections with great order and steadiness, and thus checked the enemy's advance. I had seven men wounded, but none killed, and I received a slight wound myself, but not enough to cripple my exertions. At one period of the engagement, I was nearly left alone; and when I perceived it, I cried out, 'Are you about to abandon your general, who never deserted you? Cowards only do that! Return to my support;' and, kneeling down, I fired my fusee. It told well. My men instantly came back to me; and when the enemy saw them running forward, and make a movement in advance, they hesitated, halted, and were fearing that I had led them into a scrape. Their trumpet sounded a retreat, and again they returned home without their object. My head was safe on my shoulders—thanks be to God that it is so; and my men, with a few trifling exceptions, in sound skins. 'My head,' thought I, 'is still worth more than general Craig bid for it.' The corps, in addition to the Cronebane fellows, which were engaged with us this day, were the Rathdrum, Northshire, Southshire, Tinnahely, Hacketstown, Donard, and some others that I do not now recollect."

Frequent successes, and an increase in the number of his followers, encouraged Holt to undertake exploits of greater boldness, and he determined to attack the little town of Blessington, which was occupied by a small detachment of soldiers. These were driven into the church, where they remained in security till the rebels had plundered the town and departed. Holt gives the following account of the attack on Blessington, which occurred on the night of the 9th of September:—"Since my engagement near Aughavanagh, I found the enemy were well informed of my motions and position; I, therefore, felt it necessary to move about more rapidly. I had taught them, by their dancing after me, the mountain passes, and could perceive that they knew better than formerly my mode of carrying on the war. I began to fear too, that the reward offered for my head might gain it, and I resolved to make short stands in every place, so as to baffle spies and informers; and I kept my intentions still more to myself than I had hitherto done. Having nearly run the country out of provisions in my immediate neighbourhood, I marched from Oakwood to Knockalt, on the King's river, to the west side of the county, and there received information that there were several corps of cavalry at Blessington, with a great quantity of cattle in a park, under their protection. I fired my signal for marching, and went through Black-ditches, over the King's river to Balliboy, and soon came in sight of Blessington. A man named Jonathan Eves who lived near Balliboy, half quaker, half protestant, a good but no party man, who had harboured several wounded men in his house, and with the assistance of his amiable daughters, had cured them completely, was well known to me, and I considered him worth ten men in the open field, and prized him highly as a valuable friend. This poor man was met by Henry Downes, one of my men, and made prisoner. I had too much to attend to, to try him myself, and knowing I should acquit him, I thought to take him out of harm's way, and I ordered him to be sent to head-quarters, there to be kept till my return. At the moment I did not consider that a man going into battle, might not return at all, but the hurry of the moment was fatal to poor Eves. I heard a shot, and turning about, I saw the poor man lying dead on the road. Downes called out—'General, I have saved you the

trouble of trying him : I tried him myself and shot him.' 'More villain you,' was my answer. The firing in the town, from the steeple of the church of Blessington, now became so hot, that I had not time to consider about poor Eves, and as I could not bring him to life, I attended to the business I had come about, and issued orders that a shot should not be fired until I gave permission. Barney Holligan, of the King's county, was riding beside me as we entered the town ; a man ran out of a house and fired at him, and wounded him slightly in the arm ; he instantly turned round and knocked out the wretch's brains with the butt of his musket. We had not advanced far, before a ball from the steeple struck one of my men in the breast. While we were advancing towards the steeple, I sent about a third of my force by a circuitous route to the other side of the town, and as soon as this was accomplished, we commenced our attack in a more regular manner, whenever they made their appearance ; while the rest of the men were driving the cattle out of the park. They drove away one hundred and fifty sheep, thirty-two cows and bullocks, and ten horses, and among them a very beautiful three-quarter-bred mare, belonging to parson Benson. I expected this would have induced the soldiers to quit the steeple, and give us battle, but they took no notice of it, and we set off on our return with the booty."

One of Holt's next exploits was an unprovoked act of destruction. The marquis of Waterford was a nobleman remarkable for his humanity, as well as his loyalty. He had repaired to his beautiful mansion at Hollywood, and proclaimed his intention of rebuilding the houses of the poor people which had been burnt, if they would return to their allegiance and duty. In spite of this proceeding, Holt went to Hollywood on the 13th of September, and burned the marquis's lodge. He offers the following excuse for this act :—"Shortly after I heard that the marquis of Waterford's lodge, in Hollywood glen, was about to be made a barrack, and after consulting my officers, it was determined that we should burn it. I then ordered forty-nine of my best cavalry to get ready for the excursion, and when we reached to the head of the glen, the men were anxious to get into the house, no doubt to plunder it before it was burned. I sat on my horse outside, but hearing the cries of a female, I dismounted and went

in, and found a young woman supplicating them not to murder her. I ordered them to let her out ; they said they were not intending to abuse her person, but she had money about her, and have it they would. I endeavoured to extricate her but to no purpose ; they stripped her and found concealed fifty guineas in gold, and two watches, with some other articles of value, after which they let her go. The lodge was then set on fire. I had put tables against the cellar door, to prevent their seeing it, and so far succeeded in keeping them sober. They threw feather beds, looking-glasses, with other valuable articles, out of the windows. I ordered them to quit the place, and went to Miles Miley's, who kept a public house, and desired him to give them no liquor, but to bring up to the top of the hill three or four gallons of spirits, which was done. A great debate arose among the men, and on inquiry I found that one of them had found a great purse of guineas, which all claimed a fair share of. I desired the money to be given to me, and getting the men into line, I paid for the spirits, and then divided the remainder of the contents of the purse equally, giving each man a guinea, two men came short, and I gave them the watches. Thus were all satisfied, and we returned to the camp, except a few who deserted and became professed robbers, an unhealthy trade by which men are apt to lose their lives sooner or later. The next morning, I collected the men on parade, and addressed them on the dangers of the robbing system, assuring them that it would be sure to bring destruction on them some time or other. I then took measures to see my wife, and ordered the men to be ready to march. We proceeded towards Glenmalure, and an hour after our arrival, she came to see me. She had heard that I had been wounded and lost one of my eyes."

The same evening Holt received a letter from general Moore, intimating a wish to persuade him to surrender. "The bearer of this letter was Keogh, the miller of Whitestown bridge. When I had read it, I handed the letter to Colonel Doyle (one of the rebel officers), who read it out to the people. The moment he had finished, they appeared in a fury, and directly seized me and my wife, and placed us on our knees for instant execution. I was astonished, and could not imagine what had come over the people. I asked what they meant, and why they treated me with so much brutal

indignity? They answered, my wife had brought me that letter, and that I was going to make my escape and sell them all. My wife, who was very angry, exclaimed, 'Wretched and ungrateful men, why do not you stop the man who brought the letter, and who is riding down the hill on the gray horse there?' They instantly followed him, and brought him back, and he was examined before them all; after which he was dismissed, and the people became calm and appeared ashamed of themselves. My wife could not restrain her indignation; she said she always expected the ungrateful savages would treat me in this manner, and that they would sacrifice the man who had brought them through so many difficulties, and saved them from destruction so often. They now fixed a watch upon me, and had I attempted to go to the rear, I have no doubt that I should have been shot. Soon after a dispute arose among the men, which was very likely to have set one-half of them against the other; and to have ended in a battle. One party were very indignant that I and my wife should have been insulted. I interfered and reconciled them. The next morning, I called them together on parade, and addressed them as nearly as I can recollect as follows:—'I did not expect that I should ever have witnessed any thing like the events of yesterday. I was elected your chief, because you thought me best calculated to serve you. I have not disappointed your expectations; I have brought you through many difficulties, always safely, often with victory. My fidelity I thought above suspicion, but I have been treated like a traitor, and degraded to the situation of begging my life, had I condescended to do so; but I would not ask a life at your hands; and had not my wife desired you to satisfy yourself by calling back Keogh, I should have been murdered. My life was not worth saving, if I was to be degraded; I have therefore determined to resign the command of men who know not how to value an honest leader. I am ready to become a private, and now you have nothing to do but to choose another chief; I hope you will find a man as honest as myself, and one more able and willing to serve you.' The men appeared ashamed, and at length those who had espoused my cause the day before, cried, 'A cheer for general Holt—we will have no other general; he shall be our chief, and let any man show his face who will insult him!' A general shout of

approbation was the consequence, and they all appeared to have been really disgusted at and repentant of the treatment I had received. They all voluntarily made a promise of submission, and those who had been most vociferous against me, now began to fear the consequence of the reaction, and to tremble for their own safety, and appeared most zealous in my favour. But all this did not restore me to my former firmness and confidence; the unfortunate leader or chief of such a band of ruffians cannot often restrain their outrage and cruelty, or be sure of his own safety. Their inclination to thieve had been increased by permission to plunder the houses which had been burned, and they had broken out in mutiny, and even threatened the life of their commander.

"My 'moving magazine' arrived at this period with her usual supply, and brought me intelligence that at the camp of the King's county militia, which consisted of one hundred and sixty men, forty were ready to desert to me, and if I advanced to their neighbourhood, these men would bayonet forty of their loyal comrades before they deserted, which would reduce that corps one-half, besides adding forty disciplined men to our strength. Aware of the perilous situation in which I stood with my people, I would not act on the information of the 'moving magazine,' lest it might be false, and the attempt be a failure; and any such event would be attributed to treachery on my part. I therefore called a council of war, in order to ascertain the wish of the majority, and then called upon colonel Doyle to obtain this information for me. Doyle was the only sensible man among them; Hacket having separated from us with eighty men, merely because I protested against robbing, for the sake of plunder. I did not regret Hacket's absence, beyond the reduction to our numbers of the eighty men that left with him, as our strength had been diminished by desertions at every opportunity. The men also began to dread the approach of long nights and cold weather. Colonel Doyle communicated the intelligence to as many of the people as he thought necessary, and they requested to hear my opinion, which I gave them, when they unanimously agreed to follow any mode of proceeding which I thought best. I thanked them for their confidence in me, and desired them to retire to their quarters until further orders. I retained colonel Doyle with me, to have the

matter debated between us. I told him I had been often betrayed, and it behoved me to act with caution upon this occasion. The people knew that I was acquainted with every foot of ground on which the camp was fixed, it being within gunshot of the ruins of my own house, and a quarter of a mile from Roundwood. 'Sir,' said Doyle, 'I am not able to advise you; I therefore hope God will direct you for the best. You are beset with difficulties, but no other man has surmounted so many as you have.' The day had been wet, but the rain cleared off, and the evening was fine. I fired my signal, and ordered every man to be ready to march in an hour. This short notice prevented the spread of my intentions; spies were busy, but no man but myself knew what was about to be done; the blood-money bid for my head was a tempting sum, and many there were who desired to finger it. We proceeded without interruption till we came to Glenmalure river, which was very much swelled by the rain of the previous day. I halted till the rear came up, and took advice as to whether it was fordable, of which the opinions were various. I rode that day a huntress belonging to Buck Whaley, and leaped her into the river, keeping her head against the stream, and got over safely, but not without being wet to the chest. I then dismounted, and cried out, 'Come on, boys, cowards never gained anything.' They came over, but we were obliged to send the horses back for the foot-men. The most unpleasant and anxious thing to me now, was how to get over Mrs. Holt, who was with us. I knew her to be a firm-minded woman, and that she would not be alarmed or quit the horse's back if she could keep it; so I advised her to cross the stream. One of the men asked her to carry him over with her; she desired him to jump up behind her, and they dashed into the stream. The horse was not able to swim with the weight of both, and the current was so rapid that they were thrown off; the horse coming over without them, they drifted into deeper water. I jumped in to their assistance, but they were driven on a sand-bank near the other side of the river. Before I reached them I was nearly suffocated and quite exhausted, being a bad swimmer. A man named Miley, who had got over safe, cried out, 'Boys, we must not lose the general, or we are all lost ourselves; I will venture my life to save him and his wife.'

So saying, he leaped in. He took me by the hand; I held my wife, and the other man held her other hand. Miley kept next the stream, and so brought us all over in safety. My wife lost her beaver hat, but it was picked up about twenty perches farther down the river. She also lost one of her shoes. We then marched across Cullentrough, Derrybawn, Knockfinn bridge, Drummeen, and Old-bridge. We halted near Baltanamana wood, at the edge of the river, and were then within two miles of the place of our destination. Here I waited till the rear came up, and thus addressed my followers:—'Soldiers, we are now within two miles of the place of our operations; as soon as we are over this river I shall separate you into three divisions, and expect that every man will be steady, silent, and obedient to orders.' Colonel Doyle also spoke to the men, saying, 'If you take general Holt's directions, and carry them into effect, the business will soon be settled.' I knew every inch of the river we were about to cross perfectly, and I reined my horse into it, and soon got over, calling upon the men to follow, on which one of them cried out, 'He is going to sell us, or else he would never venture over as he did.' I heard the words distinctly, and turning my horse recrossed the stream, and called out for Doyle to seize and bring the man to me who had made use of that expression. Doyle answered, 'I am looking for him; unfortunately I do not know the voice, but if I can find him he shall suffer instant death.' I then spoke to them as follows:—'Wretches, it is not in my composition to sell any man, but I verily believe some of you will sell me to my enemies.' I had my sword drawn, and was determined to cut down the first man, and to cut away, had any of them replied. They were, however, silent. There then arose a great argument amongst them. I dismounted from my horse, and walked up and down. It was about twelve o'clock at night. Doyle, and some of the most sensible men among them, came to me to know what was to be done. I desired them to go and inquire for the villain who had cried out that I was about to sell them, and bring him to me, as I would run my sword through his heart. I then turned to my wife, and said, 'I wish you were on the other side of this river, you would then be within two miles of a friend's house, where our children are.' She replied, 'I will not quit you this night,

for if you find out the person who has insulted you, I am sure, from your state of mind, you will kill him, and then the others will put you to death.' I then determined to give up the enterprise I had undertaken, and to extricate myself as soon as possible from connection with the scoundrel party I commanded. I found it impossible to keep them from crime, their whole mind now being bent on robbery; and they were tired of a chief who restrained that propensity."

Holt goes on to tell how—"This period was to me one of great and the most irksome anxiety. I had not only to watch the movements of his majesty's forces, in constant hunt after me; to guard against the machinations of the spy, the informer, and blood-money man, but also treason in my own camp. Every moment I was under apprehension that the villains I nominally commanded would call me to a mock trial, and take my life. I therefore coolly deliberated on the situation and circumstances in which I stood, and decided, if possible, to quit the kingdom. I gave directions to my wife to call an auction and sell the little remnant of my property, which had escaped destruction; it consisted of potatoes in the ground, some oats, and live stock, every other thing having been burned or destroyed. She accordingly went to Mr. Price, who lived in the neighbourhood, and the business was soon arranged in the best practicable way. I also requested my wife, now my only counsellor, if possible to make up as much money as would pay our passage to America, but how to accomplish getting on board a vessel for that purpose, I could not devise. This scheme was soon put an end to; my poor woman lived in an old dwelling called the Mill house, and the very night after she had sold the property, she was attacked by robbers, who took from her every penny of the produce, and, indeed, the very clothes from her back, as well as the earrings that were in my daughter's ears. They also enquired for my watch, which my wife told them she had left with me when she was with me last. They said it was false, as they had seen me since she had, and I had no watch. I have no doubt they were a gang of deserters from my camp."

The exploits related by Holt himself give us a very feeble picture of the dreadful outrages committed daily by the bands of rebels who haunted the mountains of Wicklow. The newspapers of the time are filled

with details of murder and destruction, and the writer of a letter dated from Dublin on the 16th of September, says, "I had, last Sunday, occasion to go as far as Roundwood in the county of Wicklow, which is about fifteen miles from town; and though I must acknowledge, I thought, from the information I received of the state of the country, that much exaggeration took place, I was undeceived in my ride, disagreeably undeceived by the shocking appearance of the country. In order to acquire personal information, I rode several miles beyond Roundwood, (having set out early in the morning,) and must confess, that such a scene of desolation and misery never presented itself to my view; for five miles not a single cabin to be met with, all levelled to the ground; here and there the elegant mansion of a nobleman or gentleman in ruins, the bare walls only standing; large groups of females, old and young, with numbers of children—want visibly depicted in their countenances, declaring they had no home—they were starving;—they had lost their father;—they had lost their brother;—they had lost their husband;—they had lost their all! Good God! such scenes of misery!—they were new to me; I had only heard of them; they made me shudder; they surpassed even the cries of the unfortunate objects which I have often heard proceeding from the numerous places of torture, which, during the reign of terror, disgraced the metropolis. I arrived in town, from this desolating scene of misery, about four o'clock on Sunday evening, and am very sorry to be informed that such scenes are by no means confined to this county." People on both sides contributed to the work of desolation, for as the insurgents robbed and burnt all the houses of loyal people, the yeomanry believed themselves justified in considering most of those which were not burnt by them as rebels' houses, and they treated them accordingly. The protestants at length hit upon a mode of retaliation which, however unjust, had the effect, after a while, of putting a stop to the murders. Where any protestants were murdered by the banditti from the mountains, the yeomanry immediately put to death a greater number of Roman catholics in the same neighbourhood. In this manner many innocent persons lost their lives, but it checked the sanguinary proceedings of the rebels.

It is impossible to calculate the number of

lives lost in the frequent encounters between the insurgents and the military. Among the gentlemen of fortune who thus lost their lives, none excited more general sympathy than captain Hume, member of parliament for the county of Wicklow, who had distinguished himself by his zealous activity against the insurgents. On the 8th of October, this gentleman had spent the night in their pursuit, and in different encounters one of them was reported to have been killed and several were captured. As he was riding at the head of the troop of yeomanry under his command, he fell in with a party of rebels, whom, because they were clothed in uniform, he took for yeomanry, and incautiously riding up to them alone, one of them shot him in the side, and, as he fell from his horse, another advanced and shot him through the head. Holt has given his own version of this occurrence. "My old associate Hackett," he says, "now paid me his last visit, for the purpose of seducing more of my men to join him in robbing and plundering. I was glad to be rid of those inclined to go with him. His career was very short; he was soon after shot near Arklow, and his head fixed on a spike, on a building in the town, a just reward for his atrocious cruelties, and other misdeeds. I had great anxiety about my son, who was at this time at Aughavanagh; the yeomanry were nearly as anxious to get him into their power as myself; although he was but about twelve years old, he would be an object with them either to put to death, or to secure as a trap for me; I, therefore, frequently removed him from place to place; and I now determined to go and see him at all hazards. I accordingly fired my signal, and passing Knockadrew into Imail, soon arrived at Aughavanagh, where I took up my quarters at Byrne's house, and kept for my own guard John O'Neill, of the Antrim, and three deserters from the King's county militia, knowing that they would not deceive me, as their situation, if taken, would be as bad as my own. My entire force at this time was reduced to about two hundred men, including about fifty cavalry, among whom was my brother, Jonathan Holt. I was very unwell, in addition to the distressed state of my mind. My brother endeavoured to keep up my spirits, by saying he would instantly put to death any man who should dare to insult me. He then asked me to allow him a few men to recon-

noitre, lest we should be surprised, or surrounded. I gave him the men, and he sallied forth. I shortly after heard a firing, and saw John O'Neill running towards me, who told me they had met a party of military with whom they had a skirmish, and my brother was in the midst of them, and he was sur- I should never see him again alive. It was so; my poor brother Jonathan was killed in this affair. He also told me he saw Mr. Hume, a captain of the cavalry, shot. I asked him how he was situated; he said he had left his horse and ran up the hill. I told him I did not doubt the truth of his statement, that captain Hume was always a coward. I then proceeded, with the remainder of my men, towards the place where I heard the firing. The day was wet and foggy; so much so, that we could not see ten perches before us, and found it very difficult to march forward. The firing soon ceased, and I proceeded along the foot of Lugnaquilla, a large mountain, situated between Glenmalure and Imail, where I fell in with the remnant of my brother's party, who confirmed the statement of my brother's death, and that of Mr. Hume. I then got an account from John Moore, one of my cavalry, of the death of Mr. Hume, as follows:—Captain Hume was a little in advance of his corps, when Moore met him, and presented his piece at him, well knowing who he was. He cried out, 'Cavalryman, I am captain Hume! what party do you belong to?' Moore replied, 'General Holt's; and if you put your hands to your pistols, I will blow your brains out; dismount this instant!' Captain Hume then dismounted, and when on the ground Moore shot him, and another man came up and shot him through the head with a pistol. The troops appeared in a few minutes and began to fire, and my brother was killed before they retreated. The loss of my brother lay heavy upon me, but when I began to think of the uncertainty of life, and the precarious situation I was myself placed in, I concluded it would be folly to give up while I had the means of resisting, and that I had better see about some mode of carrying on our defence, till an opportunity of escape offered, and if I felt, why I could not help it. I then called colonel Doyle, and consulted him as to the last transaction, observing that there must be some informer in the neighbourhood, or so close a look-out could not be kept upon us. He agreed with me in opinion, and asked if we should

continue in our present position for the night. I told him I could see we were not in a safe position, and ordered them to fix pickets and outposts, and to have a sharp look-out. The next morning we marched early across the mountain, between Imaal and Knockadrew, where we halted."

The position of Holt became now every day more precarious. He no longer placed trust in his followers, and it was not without cause, for a series of narrow escapes convinced him that he had been repeatedly betrayed and sold by persons who were well acquainted with his movements, and that he owed his safety merely to accident. He was thus driven at length to separate himself from his men, and after wandering a day or two alone, over the mountains, he wrote to Mrs. Latouche, offering to surren-

der to lord Powerscourt, with whom he solicited her to intercede for him. The application was successful, and on the evening of the 10th of November, Holt presented himself at Powerscourt, and he was received with friendship and favour. Next day he was conducted a prisoner to Dublin castle, where he remained in confinement until the first day of the year 1799, when he was removed on ship-board, to be transported, according to the agreement, to New South Wales. After the death of Hackett, who was killed in an attack on the house of a young officer of yeomanry, captain Atkins, near Arklow, and the surrender of Holt, the numerous bands of robbers who had infested the Wicklow mountains soon disappeared, and the adjoining districts were reduced to something more like tranquillity.

CHAPTER XVIII.

CONSEQUENCES OF THE REBELLION; PROPOSALS FOR A LEGISLATIVE UNION.



HE rebellion was now at an end, but it had entailed on the unhappy country miseries and embarrassments beyond all calculation. The most moderate estimates make the loss of the English army,

during the short period it lasted, amount to about twenty thousand men. And not less than fifty thousand Irishmen are believed to have fallen in the various conflicts and skirmishes. To these we must add a great number of persons on both sides, murdered in their houses and put to death in the various massacres. The political and religious animosities, which had always been the curse of Ireland, were excited to an extraordinary degree of intensity. The revolutionary party, furious at the disappointment of their hopes, employed every means of throwing odium upon the government. It was said before, with some truth, that the severities employed against the United Irishmen had goaded the Irish into insurrection, but they now said that ministers had promoted the rebellion in a more direct

manner, and there were not wanting men to assert, and pretend they spoke from personal knowledge, that the horrible massacre in the barn of Scullabogue had been perpetrated by government agents in order to throw odium on the Catholics. On the other hand, the violent orange party, dissatisfied at the liberality and lenity of lord Cornwallis, made loud complaints against the policy of a chief governor who, they believed, was sacrificing English influence to a mistaken favour for Irish Catholics. The Catholics themselves were alarmed at the sanguinary scenes which had just passed before their eyes, and at the spirit of hostility now raised against them; and the United Irishmen began to plot again in the hope of finding their advantage in the dissensions of party which threatened to agitate the land.

It became necessary, therefore, to seek some new stroke of policy to counteract the evils which all thinking people anticipated. The measure proposed by the British ministry was one which had at various times been spoken of, and even looked forward to as the probable result of Irish faction,

that of a legislative union between Ireland and Great Britain. The first public intimation of the intention to bring this measure forward was an anonymous pamphlet, printed towards the close of the rebellion, and circulated throughout Ireland with incredible industry. It was said to have been written by Mr. Edward Cooke, the under secretary of the civil department, and was generally understood to express the sentiments of the government on this important question. The appearance of this pamphlet was followed by the publication of a great many others on the same subject, and the country became violently agitated by the controversy to which it gave rise. Cork and Limerick, and some of the great cities of the south, seemed to be in general favourable to the measure, and these were also at first the expressed or implied sentiments of the catholic clergy, who hoped that a measure of this kind might appease in some measure the odium brought upon them by the rebellion. The gentlemen of the Irish bar, who foresaw that it would injure their profession, took the lead in the opposition, and this influential body was supported by the city of Dublin. Several persons of some eminence, connected with or supporters of the ministry, were also opposed to the measure, among whom were Mr. Foster, the speaker of the house of commons, sir John Parnell, the chancellor of the exchequer, and Mr. Fitzgerald, the prime serjeant. Among the most active supporters of the measure were lord Castlereagh and the earl of Clare. The former nobleman was actively engaged during the month of November in ascertaining the sentiments of the leading men of the kingdom, and in endeavouring to secure their support. Lord Castlereagh was subsequently sent over to England to acquaint the British minister more fully with the result of his exertions; and the lord lieutenant, in a letter written to the duke of Portland on the 5th of December, then expressed himself as follows:—"I beg leave to refer your grace to lord Castlereagh (whom, I trust, I shall be enabled to dispatch from hence to-morrow evening), for the particular sentiments of the several persons who have been sounded since I last addressed your grace on the measure. The general result enables me to confirm the opinion stated to your grace in my former dispatch, that the prevailing disposition amongst those with whom I have had communication, is to entertain the question

dispassionately, and to rest their decision upon the merits of the arrangements when detailed, rather than to reject the principle of the measure. The opponents of the union are desirous to prevent the discussion of the subject, and leave no means untried to commit the public in the first instance, against the measure as subversive of the constitution and as such, not to be entertained. Pains have been taken to represent an acquiescence in its principle as a violation of the oath of a yeoman, in which he swears to support and maintain the constitution of this kingdom as by law established. The bar have been most forward in their opposition, and have been this day assembled as a corps, it is understood with an intention of taking up the question; should that learned body be so intemperate as to set an example to the yeomanry at large, unconstitutional in the extreme, and dangerous to the public safety, I shall feel myself called on, in the outset, to meet this attempt to overawe the king's government and the legislature with decision. I am happy to observe that the leading catholics, notwithstanding the measure is understood by them to be unconnected with any immediate extension of constitutional privileges to their communion, express themselves highly in its favour. Lord Fingall, whose good sense is as distinguished as his attachment to his majesty's government and to the British connection, has expressed much satisfaction that it was not meant to complicate the question of union by attempting at present any change in the test laws. He considers it would be injurious to the catholic claims to have them discussed in the present temper of the Irish parliament, and was satisfied it would hazard the success of the union without serving the catholics; and considers it much more for their interest that the question should rest, till it could be submitted in quieter times, to the unprejudiced decision of the united parliament, relying on their receiving hereafter every indulgence which could be extended to them, without endangering the protestant establishment. Lord Kenmure joined in this sentiment, and is a warm advocate for the measure; both these noblemen express an anxious wish to see the catholic clergy rendered less dependent on the lower orders, by having a reasonable provision under the state. Lord Castlereagh has seen Dr. Troy, and finds his sentiments perfectly correspond with those of my lord Fingall

and lord Kenmure. He expressed himself perfectly satisfied, provided no bar to their future hopes made a part of the measure, and was ready to use his utmost influence in its support. Upon the whole, it appears to me, as far as the dispositions of the catholics have yet disclosed themselves, that there is every reason to expect from them a preference for the measure. An active support from that body would not, perhaps, be advantageous to the success of the union. It would particularly increase the jealousy of the protestants, and render them less inclined to the question."

Two days after the date of this letter, on Sunday, the 7th of December, in pursuance of a requisition signed by twenty-seven lawyers of the first respectability, a numerous meeting of the Irish bar was held at the exhibition-house in William-street, to which place it had been adjourned from the courts. A resolution was proposed to the effect "that the measure of a legislative union of this kingdom and Great Britain is an innovation which it would be highly dangerous and improper to propose at the present juncture of the country." The friends of the government measure moved, as an amendment, the adjournment of the debate for a month, and a very long and animated debate ensued, the result of which was the rejection of the amendment by a majority of a hundred and sixty-six against thirty-two. The original resolution was then carried by the same majority. Meetings of the various parties now followed each other rapidly. On the 11th a meeting of the masters of the orange lodges was held in Dublin, but they came to a resolution that, having associated merely to resist insurrection, it did not become them to interfere with respect to any other political matter; and that, though they did not individually pledge themselves to any side on the question of the union, and should hold themselves at liberty to come forward on the subject in their towns and counties as citizens and freeholders; yet that, as orangemen, they should remain neuter. Nevertheless, the orangemen, in general, were opposed to the union, and their opposition, perhaps, rendered the catholics more inclined to be favourable to it. Two days after this meeting of the masters of orange lodges, thirty-seven of the leading catholics met at lord Fingall's, but without passing any decided resolution. On the 17th the corporation of Dublin held a public meeting; the citizens

were alarmed, for they believed that if the measure were carried their city would lose much of the advantages of a metropolis, and their language was proportionally violent. It was unanimously resolved, "that by the spirited exertions of the people and parliament of Ireland, the trade and constitution thereof were settled on principles so liberal, that the nation had risen ever since rapidly in wealth and consequence; and that having boldly defended the constitution in king, lords, and commons, against the open and secret abettors of rebellion, they were determined steadily to oppose any attempt that might be made to surrender the free legislation of that kingdom by uniting it with the legislature of Great Britain." The bankers and merchants of Dublin also entered their protest against the proposed union, in a meeting held at the Mansion-house on the 18th of December, when it was resolved, with the same unanimity, "that, since the renunciation, in the year 1782, of the power of Great Britain to legislate for Ireland, the commerce and prosperity of this kingdom have eminently increased; that we attribute these blessings, under Providence and the gracious favour of our beloved sovereign, to the wisdom of the Irish parliament; that we look with abhorrence on any attempt to deprive the people of Ireland of their parliament, and thereby of their constitution and immediate power of legislating for themselves; that, impressed with every sentiment of loyalty to our king, and affectionate attachment to British connection, we conceive that to agitate in parliament a question of legislative union between this kingdom and Great Britain, would be highly dangerous and impolitic. Resolved unanimously, that the lord mayor be requested to sign these resolutions in the name of the bankers and merchants of Dublin, and that the same be published in all the public papers."

Of this last meeting the bigotted Dr. Duigenan, who seems to have taken up the union with as much warmth as he opposed every step towards catholic emancipation, and who disliked lord Cornwallis for his lenity, gives a curious description. In a letter to lord Castlereagh, written on the 20th of December, he says, "You have been, before you will receive this letter, informed that the corporation of the city of Dublin has decided against a union of the two kingdoms, and published its resolutions in no very temperate terms. An assembly

of persons, styling themselves the bankers and merchants, have pursued the same line of conduct. Every traitor and democrat in the city of Dublin, who could pretend to the character of a merchant on the score of his having bought or sold a roll of tobacco, attended at this last meeting, which, however, was honoured with the presence of many very respectable citizens, headed by the Messrs. Latouches [the eminent bankers], for whose conduct on this occasion I cannot account. The Irish barred the way in this premature opposition, influenced by men to whom the government has heretofore shown great attention, as much, perhaps more, than their merits entitled them to. In short, my lord, the tide of opposition to this measure runs so strong at present in this city that some of the first and most popular characters, who are perfectly convinced of the expediency, nay, of the necessity of the measure, are afraid openly to proclaim their opinions, convinced that they would, by so doing, lose that popularity which they may, in proper season, use for purposes beneficial to church and state."

Similar meetings soon became general throughout the kingdom, and the strong resolutions passed at some of them, especially those of Galway, showed the extent of the exertions to make the measure unpopular. Meanwhile the ministers of the crown in Ireland and England were engaged in an active correspondence on the preparatory details of their plan, and on the manner in which it was to be brought forward. The points most difficult to arrange were the manner in which the Irish commons and peers were to be represented severally in the British parliament, the proportion of the revenue, and the compensation, if any, for injuries which different parties in the state were expected to sustain. As to the mode in which the measure was to be brought forward, the duke of Portland, in a letter to the lord lieutenant, written on the 24th of December, informed him that the plan proposed by the ministers in England was, "that the British parliament should adjourn to the 22nd of January, the day on which I conceive you are to meet for the dispatch of business, and that the measure should be recommended on the same day to both parliaments; to that of this kingdom (Great Britain) by a message to both houses, and to that of Ireland by your excellency's speech from the throne; with which view, I will not fail, in pursuance of the desire

you have communicated to me by lord Castlereagh, to send your excellency the draught of a paragraph for that purpose. The answer to the communications should in the first instance be quite general, and a day should be fixed for taking the subject into consideration, which day should be as nearly as may be the same in both countries, and should be sufficiently distant for a call of the house in Ireland; whether that call should be proposed by the opposers of the measure, or it should be thought advisable (as I rather collect it may), that the proposal should come from government; and upon talking the matter over with lord Castlereagh, it appears that, if your parliament meets, as I conceive it will, on the 22nd of January, the 5th of February will not be an improper day to appoint for the first proceedings in the question of union. On the 5th of February, then, or the day which may be fixed on, it does not appear to us that any other proceeding will be necessary than a joint address of the two houses in each kingdom, expressing their disposition to promote so desirable an object on suitable terms, and requesting the king to appoint commissioners of each kingdom to confer together, and to prepare a plan for that purpose to be submitted to his majesty, and, if his majesty shall think proper, to be laid before parliament." The plan seems to have been subsequently modified, in consequence of the alarming opposition which was anticipated, for no means were left untried to influence the populace against the proposal of a union, and the press was never more active in the cause of faction. Everything we know, seems to confirm the truth of lord Castlereagh's assertion in the December of 1798—"there is the utmost anxiety to make the terms unexceptionably just between the two countries, and ministers are determined upon its taking a wide range throughout the kingdom;" and his anticipations were not disappointed, when he added, "before we reach our port, we shall have many a rude blast; I trust our friends will not mind it, and we shall yet do well."

Thus ended the eventful year 1798. The Roman catholics had held another meeting at Lord Fingall's, and they had exchanged their first favourable sentiments for a policy of hesitation. "The catholics as a body," says the lord lieutenant in a secret and confidential letter to the duke of Portland on the 2nd of January, "still adhere to their

reserve on the measure of union. The very temperate and liberal sentiments at first entertained or expressed by some of the most considerable of that body were by no means adopted by the catholics who met at lord Fingall's, and professed to speak for the party at large. Whether it was their original sentiment to oppose the union unless their objects were comprehended in it, or whether this disposition was taken up when they observed government to be either weakly supported or opposed by the protestants, it is difficult to determine. Certain it is, they now hold off, which can only arise either from an original disinclination to the measure, or an expectation that government will be driven to a compliance with their wishes in order to carry it. What line of conduct they will ultimately adopt, when decidedly convinced that the measure will be persevered in on a protestant principle, I am incapable of judging. I shall endeavour to give them the most favourable impressions, without holding out to them hopes of any relaxation on the part of government, and shall leave no effort untried to prevent an opposition to the union being made the measure of that party; as I should much fear, should it be made a catholic principle to resist the union, that the favourable sentiments entertained by individuals would give way to the party feeling, and deprive us of our principal strength in the south and west, which could not fail, at least for the present, to prove fatal to the measure." The same day lord Castlereagh, who had just arrived from England, wrote an account of the state of affairs. "The inflammation in Dublin," he said, "is extreme, but is as yet confined to the middling and higher classes. The lower orders are naturally indifferent to the question, but will be easily set in motion, should their co-operation become of importance to the leading opposers of the measure. It is said Mr. Saurin has been but too successful amongst the officers of the attorneys and merchants' corps, in persuading them to lay down their arms. Dr. Duigenan, whose opinions on the question are strongly favourable, is, I understand, shaken by the protestant cabal in the city, with which he is much connected. Mr. Ogle, from his not having replied to my letter, I fear is similarly affected. I shall see Dr. Duigenan to-morrow, and shall endeavour to reanimate him. Your grace will easily conceive that the measure cannot be expected to be *peculiarly grateful* to the

members of either house of parliament; this naturally creates a decrease of zeal in our friends, and their spirits are not a little damped by the clamour of Dublin. I have found that the decided language which the lord lieutenant has been authorized by your grace to hold to them has the best effects, and will, I have no doubt, encourage them to give us a decided support. Nothing but an established conviction that the English government will never lose sight of the union till it is carried, can give the measure a chance of success. The friends of the question look with great anxiety for Mr. Pitt's statement; it is not only of the last importance, from the ability with which the subject will be handled, but from the opportunity it will afford him of announcing to this country the determined purpose of government in both kingdoms to be discouraged neither by defeat nor difficulty, but to agitate the question again and again till it succeeds. This principle is the foundation of our strength, and cannot be too strongly impressed on this side of the water."

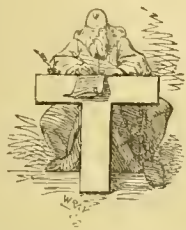
The Irish ministers now prepared to make a desperate effort to carry the measure, and they were evidently not scrupulous of the means employed to influence their supporters. A private letter printed in the Castlereagh correspondence seems to shew that pecuniary bribes were not spared. A pressing circular was addressed to all members of parliament who were likely to be favourable, to urge their early attendance. The arrival of the speaker of the house of commons was looked forward to with alarm, for he was known to be violently opposed to the measure, and when he did arrive his influence was immediately felt. The north had been extensively agitated against the question, and the catholics were becoming apparently more hostile. A favourable address from the city of Cork appeared to be almost the only counterbalance to these unpalatable symptoms. Some men in office were at the same time taking so hostile a position, that the propriety of displacing them was already under consideration. A secret letter from lord Cornwallis to the duke of Portland, written on the 11th of January, gives the following picture of the state of affairs at that moment:—"My lord," he says, "I feel it necessary to apprise your grace that a very unfavourable impression has been made within the two last days against the union, partly by the arrival of the speaker, but still more by its

being generally circulated and believed in town that both lord Downshire and lord Ely are adverse to the measure. There seems but too much reason to apprehend, from some expression in a letter of lord Downshire's to lord Castlereagh, that his lordship's opinion is, at best, unsettled on the subject; and by the enclosed copy of a letter from lord Ely to a friend here, it is evident that his support can by no means be relied on. Your grace will observe that lord Ely's expressions are verbatim those of the speaker, lord Downshire, lord Cork, &c. It is reported that he means to bring Mr. Luttrell forward, who has been peculiarly active in London against the measure, which, if true, is not only a proof of his lordship's present sentiments, but of the school in which they have been formed. I need not press upon your grace's attention the insuperable difficulties so unexpected and so important a defection as this must occasion in the accomplishment of the measure. It not only transfers eighteen votes in the commons to the opposition, but strikes a damp among the supporters of the measure, which may operate to a fatal extent against us. Lord Castlereagh has been endeavouring to bring forward the friends of the measure to declare their sentiments openly, and with some success, notwithstanding the natural apprehension of committing themselves in so important a contest without being assured how the strength will lie; but he finds the unfortunate circumstances above alluded to have thrown new and considerable impediments in his way. In stating these considerations to your grace, I have only most earnestly to entreat that every possible effort may be made on your side of the water to overcome the difficulties of these important characters, and to send us whatever assistance can be collected from thence. I conclude that his majesty's ministers will feel, whatever may be the issue of the present attempt, that they owe it not less to themselves than to the empire, and particularly to those individuals who, at their instance, and under their assurance of a decided support, have been induced to declare themselves in favour of the measure, to bring it into discussion with every advantage which decision on their part can give it. Should it fail, it will require a very mature consideration how the powers of the state

can be best exercised, with a view to its future success, without materially impeding the present administration of the government. I have already felt it a question of considerable delicacy to decide in what instances and at what period it was expedient to remove persons from office who have either taken a decided line against the measure, or who, without acting publicly, hold a language equally prejudicial to its success, and equally inconsistent with their connection with government. In the instance of Mr. J. C. Beresford, whose conduct has been very hostile at many of the Dublin meetings, the difficulty has been peculiarly felt. With a view of impressing our friends with the idea of our being in earnest, his dismissal seemed desirable; on the other hand, as we profess to encourage discussion, and neither to precipitate parliament or the country on the decision, much less to force it against the public sentiment, there seemed an objection to a very early exercise of ministerial authority on the inferior servants of the crown. I have, therefore, thought it expedient to proceed in the first instance with the chancellor of the exchequer [sir John Parnell,] who has not been altogether punctual in his engagement with lord Castlereagh, of being here on the 10th, and not being yet arrived, and shall then proceed, according to circumstance or such directions as I may receive from your grace, with the inferior members of the administration. There certainly is a very strong disinclination to the measure in many of the borough proprietors, and a not less marked repugnance in many of the official people, particularly in those who have been longest in the habits of the current system. The secondary interests, of course, look to it as the destruction of their authority, and the leading interests as exposing them to fresh contests. These impressions, connected with the natural expectation which every individual forms of deriving some personal advantage by the change, make its accomplishment full of difficulty. The steady purpose of the English government, and the natural authority of the state in this kingdom, will counteract these principles in a great degree; but weighty names may encourage a general resistance, which would certainly leave those who are supporters of the measure from a conviction of its necessity in a minority."

CHAPTER XIX.

OPENING OF THE IRISH PARLIAMENT; FIRST DEBATES ON THE UNION.



THE Irish parliament met on the 22nd of January, 1799, and the lord lieutenant, after congratulating with them on the recent successes of the English fleets, dwelling on the ordinary topics contained in speeches from the throne, and alluding but slightly to the rebellion of the preceding year, spoke in very general terms of the measure which was now exciting so much attention. "The more I have reflected," he said, "on the situation and circumstances of this kingdom, considering on the one hand the strength and stability of Great Britain, and on the other those divisions which have shaken Ireland to its foundations, the more anxious I am for some permanent adjustment which may extend the advantages enjoyed by our sister kingdom to every part of this island. The unremitting industry with which our enemies persevere in their avowed design of endeavouring to effect a separation of this kingdom from Great Britain, must have engaged your particular attention, and his majesty commands me to express his anxious hope that this consideration, joined to the sentiment of mutual affection and common interest, may dispose the parliaments in both kingdoms to provide the most effectual means of maintaining and improving a connection essential to their common security, and of consolidating, as far as possible, into one firm and lasting fabric, the strength, the power, and the resources of the British empire."

In the lords government had a large majority, but in the commons the question of the union was immediately and warmly debated. The address was moved by the earl of Tyrone, and seconded by colonel Fitzgerald, one of the members for the county of Cork, and the paragraph relative to the union was a mere re-echo, nearly in the same words, of the paragraph in the lord lieutenant's speech. The opposition was led by sir John Parnell, whose hostility to the measure appears to have been embittered by the loss of his place. He said that, as the speech did not avow the measure of legislative union between Great Britain and Ire-

land, nor recommend it directly to the consideration of the house, it would be unnecessary at this time to discuss the question, but the measure having been publicly avowed, and being introduced by a side-wind into the speech, he should oppose it *in limine*, as being a question simple in its nature, and on which no further information was necessary than to show that they were called upon to put an end to the existence of an Irish parliament, and to determine on the permanent and essential interests of their country for ever. "They were called on to decide their constitution, their trade, their property, and on what was of still more consequence, the feelings of the public connected with a surrender of the constitution, an affrighted commerce, and a diminished property. This would lay a ground for growing discontent, not promoted by declamation or irritation, not to be treated as the momentary convulsion of popular feelings, but proved by facts, which, aggravated by experience, must acquire force the longer it was suppressed, and produce consequences greater than he wished to venture to state." He then entered into a brief examination of some of the arguments adduced in favour of the union, and he was supported by Mr. Tighe. The allusion to the general terms of the paragraph in the speech drew an explanation from lord Castlereagh, who said that although there were not in the address any specific pledge to a measure of union, yet it was clearly implied in the wish to strengthen the resources of the empire, for he had no difficulty in saying, that he thought the only means of settling that unhappy country in permanent tranquillity and connexion with Britain, were to be found in a legislative union, and on that subject he did intend, at an early day, to submit a specific motion to the house. Upon this Mr. George Ponsonby entered on a more direct attack upon the government measure, boldly asserting the principle, that neither the legislature, nor any power on earth, had a right or authority to annihilate the Irish parliament, and deprive people for ever of their right to the benefits of the constitution and to civil liberty. The minister, he said, had told

them they ought to discuss this measure with coolness, but when the minister himself would not leave men to the free exercise of their understanding, but turned out of office the best and oldest servants of the crown because they would not prostitute their conscience, when the terror of dismissal was thus held out to deter men in office from a fair exercise of their private judgment, how could he talk of cool discussion? Mr. Ponsonby then moved, as an amendment, that after the passage which declared the willingness of the house to enter on a consideration of what measures might best tend to confirm the common strength of the empire, the following words should be inserted—"maintaining, however, the undoubted birthright of the people of Ireland to have a resident and independent legislature, such as was recognised by the British legislature in 1782, and was finally settled at the adjustment of all differences between the two countries."

This amendment was seconded by sir Lawrence Parsons. It was warmly opposed by Mr. Conolly, who said that the notion of two independent legislatures in one empire was as monstrous and absurd as two heads upon one pair of shoulders. He gave a short sketch of Irish political history since 1782, and endeavoured to show that many of the evils they had since experienced had arisen from the independence of the legislature. He dwelt especially upon the fact that there had been a hundred and sixteen placemen and pensioners at one time in the house of commons ever since that period. "What," he exclaimed, "was such independence worth?" Other members supported the amendment, and among them Mr. Fitzgerald, the late prime serjeant, who was smarting under the loss of his office. Nothing, he said, could contribute to defeat the measure, or to awaken the honest indignation of the independent gentlemen of Ireland, so effectually as an open and avowed war against the freedom and liberties of parliament, by the removal of the trusty servants of the public from their situations, which they held with honour to themselves and advantage to their country; it being thought necessary to hold them out as examples to stop the growing mutiny and insurrection of honour and conscience against the influence of office. No man could hold a place under government who did not vote for that measure. If the amendment should not be carried, that, he feared, would be the

last time he should have the honour of addressing an Irish parliament, for though the pageantry and ceremony of its funeral might take up some time, and give opportunities for lamentations, yet, if the amendment were negatived, the character of parliament would be extinguished; and character, he said, "was a phoenix, which died but once, and from its ashes there was no resurrection." Considering that the question involved everything that could be dear to a nation, he would trespass upon the house, and briefly state the principle of his vote. Contrary to the influence of every private affection, and differing from those with whom he had long acted, and to whom he would yield his own opinion on any measure of temporary effect, he adopted the amendment, because his mind was impressed with this conviction, that the extinction of the legislature of Ireland would, sooner or later, produce a convulsion in which the connection between Great Britain and Ireland would be at stake, and would render that devoted country more than ever subject to the intrigues of France, emasculated of that vigour and energy with which it ever had, and he trusted, while it retained its independence, ever would, stand by Great Britain. It was not, in his opinion, within the moral competence of parliament to destroy and extinguish itself, and with it the rights and liberties of those who created it. The constituent parts of a state are obliged to hold their public faith with each other, and with all those who derive any serious interest under their engagements. Such a compact may, with respect to Great Britain, be a union, but with respect to Ireland it will be a revolution, and a revolution of a most alarming nature. After quoting Dr. Johnson's remark to an Irishman on the subject of a union, "Don't unite with us, we shall unite with you only to rob you; we should have robbed the Scots, if they had anything to be robbed of," Mr. Fitzgerald proceeded to say that the British nation had been deceived into thinking that the people of Ireland were tired of their parliament, that their parliament was unworthy. It would, indeed, prove its unworthiness by consenting to its own extinction.

Several members of the opposition took their stand on the ground that parliament was not competent to entertain such a question. Colonel Maxwell, who agreed in this view of the powers of parliament, added that a parliament which could be base

enough to betray the rights and liberties of their country, not only at present, but to all future generations, would deserve annihilation. He conjured the house, as they valued their own character, as they valued the liberties of themselves and their posterity, as they valued the British constitution, to convince the minister of Great Britain that they were determined, at the risk of everything that was dear to them, to support and hand down unimpaired to their posterity the rights, liberties, and independence of their native land. On the other hand, Mr. St. George Daly, while he allowed that parliament was incompetent to take away the rights of the people, denied that any right would be violated by the proposed union; and the knight of Kerry (Fitzgerald), concluded a speech against the amendment, by stating that with regard to the civil rights of the people of Ireland being surrendered by a union, he knew of no rights which they had not from the law of England, and by that law they would continue to be governed after a union, perhaps better than before.

At this stage of the discussion another officer of the crown, Mr. Barrington (judge of the admiralty), rose in great agitation to support the amendment. He said that the existence of Ireland was in question, and that he felt his feeble talents shrink before the colossal magnitude of the subject; he had heard of calm and dispassionate discussion—it was the language of a slave. He who could reflect on the annihilation of his country with apathy or indifference must be less than man, or more than mortal. Whatever capacity, whatever spirit, whatever energy, God or nature had given him, he considered himself as holding but in trust for his country, to be expended for her use whenever her oppressions or distresses drew for their assistance. He loved his king, he adored the constitution, and he now considered himself as defending both against the desperate system of an indefinitely ambitious minister. The Irish parliament had heretofore deliberated on revocable local regulations, or national arrangements, but now a mighty and imperial question opened itself for their discussion; a project to subject irrevocably one independent country to the will of another, and both to the will of a minister already stronger than the crown, and more powerful than the people; and this great and important usurpation stolen into parliament through the fulsome

paragraphs of an echoing congratulation, pledging the house to the discussion of a principle subversive of their liberties, and in the hour of convalescence calling on it to commit suicide. Ireland had not fair play; her parliament had not fair play; the foulest and most unconstitutional means, he believed, had been used to intimidate and to corrupt it, and either to force or to seduce a suffrage, when nothing but general, independent, uninfluenced opinion could warrant for a moment the most distant view of so ruinous a subject. He had good reason to believe that corrupt and unconstitutional means had been used by the noble lord to individuals of the Irish parliament. Some of those means were open and avowed: two of the oldest, most respectable, and most beloved officers of the crown had been displaced, because they presumed to hint an opinion adverse to the stripling's dictates, on a subject where their country was at stake; their removals crowned them with glory and the minister with contempt. He asserted that other gentlemen in office, whose opinions were decidedly adverse to the measure, but whose circumstances could not bear similar sacrifices, were dragged to the altar of pollution, and forced against their will to vote against their country. He had good reason to believe that unconstitutional interference had been used by the executive power with the legislative body; one gentleman refused the instructions of his constituents, and had been promoted. Peerages (as was rumoured) were bartered for the rights of minors, and every effort used to destroy the free agency of parliament. If this were true, it encroached on the constitution, and if the executive power overstepped its bounds, the people were warranted to do the same on their part, and between both it might be annihilated, and leave a wondering world in amazement how the same people could have been wise enough to frame the best constitution upon earth, and foolish enough to destroy it. One king and two kingdoms was the cry of the people of Ireland. The British minister had too much wisdom to have pressed this measure on Ireland, had he known her temper and situation; but he had been greatly deceived by misrepresentation from that country; hot-headed injudicious spirits had been listened to, while the sage and honest representation of the wisest of Ireland's children had been disregarded. These were objections to any

discussion of the subject; and, much as he respected Great Britain, no idle parade of compliment should prevail upon him one moment to lose sight of Ireland. Mr. Barrington proceeded to argue at some length on the incompetence of the Irish commons to destroy themselves; and then resuming his argument against the measure itself, he said that the treacherous reasons assigned for the completion of this project were their differences and misfortunes; differences which arose from the duplicity of that same minister who now sought to subdue them, and misfortunes which were stimulated by him to adopt them for his own conquest. Why should they apply to five hundred and forty-seven English and Scotchmen to arrange their trade and modify their national establishments? It was absurd and insolent to demand, and it would be mean, vicious, and pusillanimous to submit to it. Great Britain had nothing to give which could compensate the loss of independence; they asked no favour from her, and would submit to no injury; they would unite with her as a friend and as a sister in the common cause; their lives and their properties should be united with her in support of their king and constitution; they would rise and fall with her; but they would not submit to be ruled by a British faction, and plundered by a British minister, to satisfy the avarice or the jealousy of those persons to whose confidence and liberality that minister owed his gratitude, and which he could only repay by heaping burthens upon Ireland. It was clear as noon-day, that his system had been most treacherous; his government in Ireland excited the different sects to oppose each other; an indolent system was adopted, to permit some strength to the disaffected; then a vigorous system to give energy to the loyalist. Then government acted on the defensive against treason; then the minister plunged into martial law; the catholic and the protestant were alternately encouraged and depressed; the loyalty of the yeomanry saved Ireland; both parties had bled and were weak, and what is called the lenient system was adopted; the rebel was pardoned, and sent back to rob, to murder, and burn; the yeoman and the loyalist were either insulted, oppressed, or degraded, in some instances executed; the loyal national spirit was purposely suppressed; and when all was ripe for a government revolution, the measure of a union, equally oppressive and disgusting

to every class and every sect, was brought forward, in expectation that the Irish were too worn, too weak, and too indifferent to resist or reject anything which professed to be for their tranquillization; and to prove that this system was adopted for these purposes, it was only necessary to recollect the words of the noble lord who proposed it—"that it had been a measure long considered and maturely weighed." If that were the case, it was obvious that it might have been brought forward in a time of tranquillity; and equally obvious, that it had been purposely postponed, till that desperate system had sufficiently worked upon the nation, to adapt it to the minister's will and pleasure. But the parliament had yet virtue enough to resist an act of national degradation. The British minister had better be aware of this system of treachery and fraternization; it was by the very same means, and for the very same objects, that the French republic had overrun all Europe; and with the very same system, and for the very same purposes, that she had assailed Ireland. A desperate example to the British empire, and an attempt unworthy of the generosity and character of the British nation. The compact between Great Britain and Ireland was not all on one side. She took Irish linens; Ireland fed her fleets. She protected Irish trade; Ireland gave her soldiers. There was no nation on earth would not be proud of their connexion on the same terms. It never, therefore, should be said, that the dependence was solely on one side. England might ruin Ireland; but in doing so she would destroy herself; and she is too wise and too cunning to suppose that a wounded limb could give vigour to an enfeebled body. On the abstract question he was clear and decided; the discussion of detail admitted a principle which he was determined to resist by every means and to every extremity. He declared his sentiments openly, boldly, and decisively, that no terms which Great Britain could grant, no favour she could bestow, could form any compensation for the loss of their independence and security; and though he had on most subjects freely and zealously given his support to the king's government, on that question no earthly consideration could ever console him for surrendering the honour, the security, and the liberties of his country.

The speech of Mr. Barrington embraced most of the grounds on which the opponents

of the union rested their opposition, and it was warmly attacked by the supporters of that measure. Lord Castlereagh seized upon this moment to address the house. He felt that in justice to himself and to his country he ought to state his reasons for favouring the measure of a legislative union with Great Britain. He had listened with patient attention to much heated declamation, but had heard very little sound reasoning. He had heard imputations cast against his side of the house, which might have been retorted, but for the interference of more refined manners. He trusted that no man would decide on a measure of such importance as that in part before the house, on private or personal motives; for if a decision were thus to be influenced, it would be the most unfortunate that could ever affect the country. What was the object of this measure, but such as every loyal man, who really loved his country, must feel the strongest attachment to; by an incorporation of their legislature with that of Great Britain, it would not only consolidate the strength and glory of the empire, but it would change their internal and local government to a system of strength and calm security, instead of being a garrison in the island. That was but a part of many and numerous advantages, which the stage of the business did not then render necessary to be entered into, and which would come more suitably at a future period. As to the argument of the parliament's incompetency to entertain the question, he did not expect to hear such an argument from constitutional lawyers, or to hear advanced the position, that a legislature was not at all times competent to do that for which it could only have been instituted, the adoption of the best means to promote the general happiness and prosperity. After the melancholy state to which that country had been reduced, his majesty's ministers would feel that they abdicated their duty to the empire, if they did not seriously consider that state and adopt the best remedy for the evils which it comprised. It was the misfortune of that country to have in it no fixed principles on which the human mind could rest, no one standard to which the different prejudices of the country could be accommodated. What was the price of connexion at present with Great Britain? A military establishment far beyond their natural means of support, and for which they were indebted to Great Britain, which

was also obliged to guarantee their public loans. It was not by flattery that the country could be saved. Truth, however disagreeable, must be told; and if Ireland did not boldly look her situation in the face, and accept that union which would strengthen and secure her, she would perhaps have no alternative but to sink into the embrace of French fraternity. The speakers against the union talked of national pride and independence, but where was the solidity of this boast? They had not the British constitution, nor could they have it consistently with their present species of connexion with Great Britain. That constitution did not recognise two separate and independent legislatures under one crown. The greater country must lead; the less naturally follow, and must be practically subordinate in imperial concerns; but this necessary and beneficial operation of the general will must be preceded by establishing one common interest. As the pride of Ireland advanced with her wealth, it might happen that she would not join Great Britain in her wars. It was only a common policy that would make that certain. Incorporate subjection, resist it; but if she wish to unite with you on terms of equality, it is madness not to accept the offer. Gentlemen had distinguished the case of Scotland from that of Ireland; but they were directly the same. All questions had arguments on both sides; the least evil was to be chosen. One objection to the measure was, that the legislature would not be local. For that reason the measure should be adopted. With a local legislature, and the present division of the people, Ireland could not go on. Other objections arose; but they all terminated in local prejudice or pride, and all of them had been started, discussed, and refuted in the case of Scotland. Absentees formed another objection. They would be somewhat increased, no doubt, by an union; but the evil could be compensated by other advantages, and among them by the growth of an intermediate class of men between the landlord and the peasant, a class of men whose loss was felt in Ireland to train the mind of the lower class. These a union would bring over from England. They would also have capital from thence. And as to emigration, the difficulty and expense would counteract that evil. At all events, these inconveniences would be but a grain of sand compared with the advantages which would be

derived from internal security and their growing together in habits of amity and affection. It was his conviction that the interests of that country would be promoted permanently and effectually by an incorporation of the two legislatures.

Mr. Plunket, who spoke with great warmth, rose to reply to lord Castlereagh. He congratulated the house on the candid avowal of the noble lord, which had exposed the project in its naked hideousness and deformity; he had told them that the necessity of sacrificing their independence flowed from the nature of their connexion; it was now avowed that the measure did not flow from any temporary cause; that it was not produced in consequence of any late rebellion or accidental disturbance in the country; that its necessity did not arise from the danger of modern political innovations, or from recent attempts of wicked men to separate their country from Great Britain: no; they were now informed by the noble lord, that the condition of their slavery was engrafted on the principles of their connexion, and that by the decrees of fate Ireland had been doomed a dependent colony from her cradle. After that barefaced avowal, there could be little difference of opinion; he trusted that every honest man, who regarded the freedom of Ireland, or who regarded the connexion with England, would by his vote on that night refute the unfounded and seditious doctrine. He had borne arms to crush the wretches who propagated the false and wicked creed, "that British connexion was hostile to Irish freedom;" and was he now called on to combat it, coming from the lips of the noble lord at the head of administration? The freedom of discussion which had taken place had given great offence to gentlemen on the treasury bench; they were men of nice and punctilious honour, and they would not endure that anything should be said which implied a reflection on their untainted and virgin integrity. They had threatened to take down the words of one honourable gentleman who had spoken before him, because they conveyed an insinuation; and he promised them on that occasion, that if the fancy for taking down words continued, he would indulge them in it to the top of their bent. He was determined to keep his word with them; he would not insinuate, but directly assert, that base and wicked as was the object proposed, the means used to effect it had been more flagitious and abo-

minable. Did they choose to take down his words? Did they dare him to the proof? He had been induced to think that they had at the head of the executive government in that country a plain honest soldier, unaccustomed to, and disdaining the intrigues of politics, and who, as an additional evidence of the directness and purity of his views, had chosen for his secretary a simple and modest youth—*puer ingenui vultus ingenique pudoris*—whose inexperience was the voucher of his innocence; yet was he bold to say, that during the viceroyalty of that unspotted veteran, and during the administration of that unassuming stripling, within the last six weeks, a system of black corruption had been carried on within the walls of the castle, which would disgrace the annals of the worst period of the history of either country. Did they choose to take down his words? He needed to call no witnesses to their bar to prove them. He saw two right honourable gentlemen sitting within those walls, who had long and faithfully served the crown, and who had been dismissed, because they dared to express a sentiment in favour of the freedom of their country. He saw another honourable gentleman, who had been forced to resign his place as commissioner of the revenue, because he refused to co-operate in that dirty job of a dirty administration. Did they dare to deny this? He said that at that moment the threat of dismissal from office was suspended over the heads of the members who sat around him, in order to influence their votes on the question of that night, involving everything that could be sacred or dear to man. Did they desire to take down his words? Let them utter the desire, and he would prove the truth of them at the bar of the house. He would warn them against the consequences of carrying this measure by such means as this, but that he saw the necessary defeat of it in the honest and universal indignation which the adoption of such means excited; he saw the protection against the wickedness of the plan in the imbecility of its execution, and he congratulated his country, that when a design was formed against their liberties, the prosecution of it was entrusted to such hands as it was now placed in. Mr. Plunket then proceeded to take a general view of the subject, and in conclusion, inveighed bitterly against the British minister for having acted insidiously towards his friend and ally in the hour of her cala-

mity and distress. At a moment when Ireland was filled with British troops, when the loyal men were fatigued and exhausted by their efforts to subdue rebellion—efforts in which they had succeeded before those troops arrived—whilst their *habeas corpus* act was suspended, whilst trials by court-martial were carrying on in many parts of the kingdom, whilst the people were taught to think that they had no right to meet or to deliberate, and whilst the great body of them were so palsied by their fears, and worn down by their exertions, that even the vital question was scarcely able to rouse them from their lethargy; at a moment when they were distracted by domestic dissensions—dissensions artfully kept alive as the pretext for their present subjugation, and the instrument of their future thralldom. He thanked the administration for the measure. They were, without intending it, putting an end to their dissensions. Through that black cloud which they had collected over them, he saw the light breaking in upon their unfortunate country; they had composed dissensions, not by fomenting the embers of a lingering and subdued rebellion, not by hallooing the protestant against the catholic, and the catholic against the protestant, not by committing the north against the south, not by inconsistent appeals to local or party prejudices: no; but, by the avowal of that atrocious conspiracy against the liberties of Ireland, they had subdued every petty feeling and subordinate distinction. They had united every rank and description of men, by the pressure of that grand and momentous subject; and he told them, that they would see every honest and independent man in Ireland rally round her constitution, and merge every other consideration in his opposition to that ungenerous and odious measure; for his own part, he would resist it to the last gasp of his existence, and with the last drop of his blood, and when he felt the hour of his dissolution approaching, he would, like the father of Hannibal, take his children to the altar, and swear them to eternal hostility against the invaders of their country's freedom.

Such was the general complexion of this first important parliamentary debate on the project of a union between the two countries. There was great eloquence on the side of the opposition, much declamation and invective, but not much argument. The proposal was attacked as though it

were a mere plan to enslave the Irish nation, and while its opponents complained indignantly of the means employed by government to coerce or seduce public opinion, they overlooked the means scarcely less objectionable by which they were themselves biasing in. One member, Mr. Knox of Philipstown, spoke of it as an "accursed measure;" another, the right honourable George Ogle, "execrated the principle of it." Several declared that they would die in opposing it. Colonel O'Donnel, who described it as an "infamous measure," announced that "should the legislative independence of Ireland be voted away by a parliament which was not competent thereto, he should hold himself discharged from his allegiance; the constitution would be violated, and he would join the people in preserving their rights; he would oppose the rebels in rich clothes with as much energy as he ever had the rebels in rags." Other members described it as "an unconstitutional and profligate measure," one that was "infamous, wicked, and degraded," one "derogatory from the dignity of Ireland," and "fatal to its liberties." Lord Corry described it as "disgraceful to the country, as well as pregnant with every possible mischief to its constitution, commerce, and manufactures."

This animated debate began at four o'clock in the afternoon of the 22nd of January, and was continued, without intermission, during twenty-two hours, until two o'clock on the afternoon of the following day, when on a division the numbers were found to be, for the amendment a hundred and five, against it a hundred and six, leaving to ministers the unsatisfactory majority of one vote. The result was hailed by the opposition as a decided victory. During the whole of the debate, the avenues to the house were crowded by the populace of Dublin, and the members who were known to be unionists were exposed to insult and even to outrage as they went in or came out. When the result was known, it was a signal for the most tumultuous rejoicing, and every demonstration of joy was made in the metropolis.

The house had adjourned till ten o'clock on the following day, the 24th of January. The address was then reported, and on the reading of that part which related to the union, sir Lawrence Parsons moved that it should be expunged. This motion gave rise to another animated debate. Sir Lawrence

said, that before 1782, when Ireland was struggling for her independency, and the English government contending against it, the consequence was, that all the principal persons in official situations at that time, by voting continually with the minister against their national claims, became so odious, and were so blackened in the eyes of the people, that, even after they had obtained their independency, the people could place no confidence in government composed of those men who had so long resisted it. Sixteen years had removed many of these men, and nearly obliterated the recollection of these old conflicts; and just at the time that it might be hoped that a government well conducted might possess the public confidence, this unfortunate measure of a union was now brought forward, reviving political controversies, kindling new political jealousies between the two kingdoms, and debasing and blackening all the official men in high situations here, in the opinion of the people. For never, never, could the people of Ireland place confidence in an administration composed of men who on this occasion had shown their promptitude to betray the dearest rights and privileges of their country. No! they were blackened and blackened for ever in the eyes of the people of Ireland! Yet the independent gentlemen of Ireland, in despite of all direct and indirect means which had been employed to pervert them on this occasion, had proved to the nation that their present independent parliamentary constitution was dearer to them than their lives, and that it was but with their lives that they would ever surrender it. There was not in the world a more open, warm-hearted, grateful, and unsuspecting people, than the people of Ireland. This unfortunate and ill-advised attempt must, however, destroy in them all future confidence towards the government, as long as it was constituted of those men who on that occasion had been so forward to sacrifice the rights of their country, even though that day should put a complete termination to the fatal project; for they might rest assured, it was necessary they should put it down decisively, otherwise their country would continue in a state of ferment and agitation, every day more and more prejudicial to the connexion between the two kingdoms. The noble lord had admitted that Ireland must lose somewhat by the increase of absentees, but said that loss

would be countervailed by the number of English merchants and manufacturers that would come and settle there. He represented them immediately covering the face of the whole island, and producing every where a new and valuable middle order of men. The same had been said in the American war, when they obtained a free trade, but no Englishman came to settle there in consequence. After noticing some of the arguments which had been adduced in favour of a union, sir L. Parsons asked, were the union ever so good a measure, why bring it forward at that time? Was it not evidently to take advantage of England's strength there, and their own internal weakness? It was always in times of division and disaster that a nation availed itself of the infirmities of its neighbour to obtain an unjust dominion. That Great Britain should desire to do so, he did not much wonder; for what nation did not desire to rule another? Nor was he surprised that there should be some among them base enough to conspire with her in doing so; for no country could expect to be so fortunate as not to have betrayers and patricides among its citizens. But if that assembly, the chosen protectors of the people's rights, should agree thus to betray them, that indeed would be matter of such surprise and indignation, that he wanted mind to conceive or language to express it. So natural was it for a nation to encroach upon the rights of another, at the time that it was weakened and distressed, and so clearly was the design of England manifested by their history, English usurpations continually treading upon the heels of Irish infirmity. In the American war, however, Ireland burst the chain of those usurpations—how? by her parliament. It was her own parliament then, aided and urged by a high-spirited people, whose hearts throbbed with liberty, and whose hands were strong with voluntary arms. It was there, within those walls, that this assembly, the organ of the popular will, put forth its voice, and demanded the freedom of their constitution, and the uncontrolled legislative and supreme authority of the land. It was here, before the breath of the parliament of Ireland, that the usurping domination of England bowed its head and dropped the sceptre of its power, and therefore it was, that her parliament was to be utterly destroyed, root and branch, not a fibre of it left in the land, lest it should

grow again and shoot, spread, and flourish, and lest Ireland at some hallowed moment should once more, through the medium of that assembly, recover its freedom. "Annihilate the parliament of Ireland! that is the cry that came across the water. Now is the time—Ireland is weak—Ireland is divided—Ireland is appalled by civil war—Ireland is covered with troops—martial law brandishes its sword throughout the land—now is the time to put down Ireland for ever—now strike the blow—who? is it you? will you obey that voice? will you betray your country?"

The train of declamatory invective into which sir L. Parsons had indulged, provoked lord Castlereagh, who immediately arose to retaliate on the somewhat incongruous party which had united to oppose the favourite measure of government. He disclaimed any desire to reargue the question which had been so fully considered in the former debate, but, as the object of the honourable baronet was to expunge this paragraph from the address, to that question only he would speak. What did the paragraph imply to any man who took the pains of reading it? Nothing more than the readiness of the house to enter into the consideration of such measures as should be most likely to consolidate the strength of the empire. Could any man deny that that was a desirable object? or could any man expect that such a metaphorical expression would be laid hold of to imply that by it that house was specially pledged to the measure of a union? It was urged, that the person representing government in that house had not declared positively to the house that he would not again bring forward the question that session. Could that be a motive for refusing assent to the paragraph? What was the declaration made by that person? That he would look to the sense of parliament and of the nation, and give it its fair weight, in the prudential consideration of rearguing the question. But convinced, as he was, that the measure was one of great and important advantages, he would never lose sight of it; and if he felt that conviction, he should desert, basely desert his duty, were he influenced by clamour to abandon it. He had not pledged himself to renounce it for the session; and he was pledged by a stronger tie—his attention to the opinion of parliament and the country. Had it been necessary to bind him by such a promise, had he been such a

person as nothing but an extorted consent could bind, how easy would it be for the minister to elude such a promise; how easily, if the sense of the country should change, would he be able, by a prorogation, to put an end to that session, and propose the measure in a new one. Was the parliament so distrustful of itself as to find such a promise necessary? Was it so afraid of the change of sentiment in the country, as to wish to tie up its own hands against the measure? If it were so, might not such a parliament be sent back to its constituents, if it were frantic enough to bind itself by a resolution which might render it necessarily regardless of the voice and interest of the country? Parliament had at all times the power of dismissing from immediate discussion any measure proposed, but it could not exclude future discussion; it was the duty of the minister to offer whatever he thought for the national advantage; by the constitution, he could not be precluded from proposing such measures; it was his imperative duty, which he must discharge. Had such been the opinion, or such the rule, of parliament, they would not have the British constitution. Were party cabal or party trick to influence his exercise of duty, they would not enjoy that constitution; for by the British constitution the origination of great national measures was placed in the crown. Had it been heretofore in the power of party cabal to resist even the investigation of such measures, would that constitution have been what it is? Were a British minister to be influenced by "round Robins" and cabals, by combination to withhold from men, on account of their political conduct, the bread due to their professional labours,* the British empire would not be in the glorious situation in which it then stood. If that country were to be governed by combinations, it was brought to absolute ruin. Government had been charged with dismissing its servants for political opinions. It was the right and privilege of government to do so. If the minister must retain those persons who are hostile to his measures, because such is the will of a faction, the constitutional power of the crown, and with it the constitution itself, were at an end. What kind of an opposition had been

* Alluding to a resolution of the members of the bar, by which they proscribed any individual of their profession accepting the office made vacant by the dismissal of the prime serjeant, who had opposed the government measure.

arrayed against the measure? Some of the very men who, by attempting to degrade and vilify parliament, had given a pretext to traitors and rebels. What were the last words of the person now most forward, upon his seceding from the house? "That the parliament was so lost to every constitutional principle, that he was ashamed to continue to sit in it, and therefore abandoned his duty:" this was his last expression. What was the last effort of his public life? To assimilate the parliament of Ireland to the government of France, to carve out the country into French departments, and, by a system of representation which had destroyed France, to introduce anarchy and massacre into that country. After failing in this project from the spirit and good sense of parliament, did he not shrink from the contest excited by his own principles and his own example? Had the loyal gentlemen who now strangely voted with him and his party, so forgotten all these circumstances? Had they so lost the recollection of those calamities, that they could look to him and his friends with confidence for the future government of that country? It was impossible. The phrenzy of a moment might have seduced them into such strange company; their returning good sense would permit them to look upon it as it deserved. Another description of the opponents of the measure was of a very opposite kind indeed to that person and his friends. They were the men who, in the time of danger, stood forward like men to rescue their country from the consequences produced by those who were their allies. But those men never could so far forget the common object—the connexion with Great Britain (for which both sides were labouring, though with different opinions as to means), as to disgrace themselves by acting with those who wished to debase parliament and destroy their constitution. Let those loyal gentlemen assure themselves that they could never raise those persons to their own proud rank, though they might unhappily degrade themselves to their level. Let them not be so hurried away by their feelings, as to entertain for a moment an idea that because they happened to agree in that one point, a common co-operation with their enemies was necessary. Let them not be imposed upon by the artifice of these insinuations, that the measure was to be carried by a military force; it was a fraud practised upon their honesty; it would be a wretched

government indeed, which would destroy the attached adherents of monarchy by employing force or corruption to carry any measure, however advantageous in prospect. Resolved as he was never to be deterred by cabal from offering any measure to the discussion of parliament, he never could embark in so absurd a scheme as to conceive it possible to intimidate or corrupt the country into any measure whatsoever. There had been in the course of debate insinuations of a general nature, that ministers had employed illicit means to secure support. He passed them by as they deserved, with contempt; but he had also heard particular circumstances mentioned, as facts, of so base and false a tenor, that he would trace them to the individual, be he who he might, from whom they originated, and force him to make a public disavowal. He deprecated that species of equivocal language which was neither personal, nor altogether parliamentary. If gentlemen conceived that any man on that side of the house had done them personal injury, let them come forward and seek redress like men. If they wished to enter into personal contest, let them avow that wish and come forward like men. But let them not resort to that kind of language, which was just so far short of personal offence as to shelter them from personal chastisement. Let them not disgrace parliament by introducing that which had proved so fatal to the country—angry invective and illiberal personality.

This attempt to sow division among the opposition gave great provocation, especially to the members of the bar, who complained indignantly that their public proceedings should be compared to what was popularly termed a round Robin. George Ponsonby retorted the attack of the minister in no measured terms. He asked if he imagined the country gentlemen of Ireland tame enough to bear the imputation of being tools—instruments that were used by a few factious men for the worst of purposes? Would they submit to such a declaration from a young man, who had nothing to shield him from their contempt, but the office which he abused? Of what men was the body which opposed the minister on this subject constituted? Certainly men of different political principles were to be found amongst them. But was the constitution of Ireland to be surrendered, because there was a difference of

opinion on some questions between those who were unanimous on that? "You, Mr. Speaker," he said, "are of that number—and no doubt it is the weakness of your mind which thus renders you the tool of party—or it is its factious disposition which has placed you at the head of that party. Where are the cabals and round Robins of which the noble lord speaks? Is it in that profession, which is truly called the first profession in the country; and in which are to be found men to whom compared, the noble lord, in every point of view, is but a puny child? That profession have this day declared unanimously, that they will not accept of the office from which a right honourable gentleman near him was dismissed, because he would not submit his understanding and his conscience to the will of the noble lord. Was that the result of interested faction? Had they been hunting for places, from which the intemperate folly of the noble lord had displaced the old and faithful servants of the crown, his charge would have been founded; but acting as they have done, what honest man but must feel indignation at the aspersions which are wantonly thrown on them."

In this strain of mutual recrimination the second parliamentary debate on the union was carried on through some hours. The government was, perhaps, on the whole, better supported in the debate than on the former night, but the opposition rallied in still greater numbers, and obtained a more decisive victory. It was resolved that the paragraph should be expunged from the address, by a majority of a hundred and eleven against a hundred and six. The exultation of the anti-unionists was extreme. Lists of the voters were printed and distributed about the streets, and the supporters of government were insulted by the mob. The government, however, still saw room for hope in the discordant materials of which the opposition was composed, and the intrigues of party were equally active on both sides. The catholics, as a body, continued to hold back. The lord lieutenant, writing to the duke of Portland on the 25th of January, the day after the second debate, said, "Your grace will recollect that I stated some time since that the catholics stand aloof, apparently with a view of inducing government to compromise with them, in order to gain popular strength in favour of the union. Since the opposition has assembled in force, I have reason to believe that a negotiation

has been set on foot to connect them with the opposers of the measure." "The impression of the second debate," lord Castlereagh wrote on the same day to the British minister, "was more favourable than its issue. It was argued with effect by our friends, that the disinclination of the house to adopt Mr. Ponsonby's resolution is a tacit though not a recorded assent to the future agitation of the subject. The opposition, exclusive of the speaker, sir J. Parnell, and the Ponsonbys, is composed of country gentlemen, who are alarmed at a measure so new to them, and which interferes with their election politics. Were it possible, by adopting the principle of partial compensation, to give a greater proportionate weight to the counties, without provoking an increased resistance from the borough proprietors, the measure would meet with much less resistance, particularly with that class of men who carry most weight with them, the country gentlemen. Considering the temper of parliament and of the country, I do not see the possibility of re-agitating the question this session with any advantage. Indeed, I have great doubts whether it should be tried again in the present parliament, it being, as I had the honour of stating to your grace, most unfortunately composed, unless the leading interests can be prevailed on to embark more heartily in its support. Although no deliberate proceeding should be taken at present in either parliament, it is for your grace and the other ministers to consider whether much benefit might not arise from a statement from authority, in either or both parliaments, of the outline of the measure. The resolutions might be laid on the table and printed, and not proceeded in."

Before he received these communications, the duke of Portland had given his opinions on the state of affairs, as indicated in the first debate, in a letter dated the 26th of January. "Although," he said, "the result of the debate in the house of commons, on your excellency's speech from the throne, makes it necessary for you to defer for the present the consideration of the measure of union, and may possibly render it advisable not to resume it in the course of the present session, we are unanimously of opinion that nothing that has happened ought to occasion any alteration in the intentions we had formed, or any deviation from the plan which it was in our contemplation to pursue, and Mr. Pitt will,

accordingly, open to the house of commons on Thursday next the resolutions, of which I sent your excellency a copy on the 17th instant; will resume them on the Thursday following, for the purpose of taking the sense of the house upon them, and, should it be as favourable as there is certainly every reason to expect, he will bring them up in the course of a few days for the concurrence of the house of lords, whose dispositions, I flatter myself, were too plainly manifested by the manner in which they received the king's message of the 22nd, not to entitle me to presume that they will feel, upon this important subject, an equal degree of liberality with the commons and the rest of the nation, and that I shall receive his majesty's commands to transmit the resolutions to your excellency, to be communicated to the parliament of Ireland, at such a time and in such manner as you shall judge most proper and expedient. The union of the kingdom is a measure so evidently beneficial to the interests of Ireland, that it is not possible seriously to suppose that the good sense of that country will not prevail, and ere long get the better of the opposition which it has now met with from the passions and prejudices of the day; and it is, moreover, so necessary to the strength, the security, and the tranquillity of the empire, that his majesty will never suffer his servants to lose sight of it, nor will they, I trust, be ever so remiss or unmindful of their duty as to omit or neglect any means of attaining so salutary and important an object, and which, unless it be accomplished, will ever leave incomplete that final adjustment which was so much professed to be the view of the arrangement which took place between the two kingdoms in 1782. This would naturally lead me to observe upon the extraordinary assertions of the speaker and others, who have affirmed that the proceedings at that time were to be considered as a final adjustment between the two kingdoms; but though I cannot pass them entirely by without notice, I will satisfy myself with referring you to the journals (I believe) of either parliament, but to those of the house of commons of this country, from the 9th of April to the end of that session, where you will find the most ample means of contradicting and putting down this assertion. I, therefore, proceed to the only other point on which your excellency expresses, and on which you instructed captain Tavior to urge, your desire

of being immediately informed of the sentiments of his majesty's ministers, I mean the removal from office of those persons who have taken a part respecting the union in opposition to government. There can be no doubt of the measure to which our feelings would carry us, and that duplicity and treachery would not receive from us a greater degree of indulgence and forbearance than open and active hostility. But we are sensible that in such a crisis as the present other circumstances must be attended to, and that, though it may be necessary to make the speaker himself and the country sensible that his rank and situation cannot preserve their employments to such of his family and dependents as act in opposition to the measures of government, it may not be advisable to use the same degree of severity to those who, though they may have shrunk from their duty, and given way to the timid and speculative disposition of their minds, have not taken so decided a part as to force you to deem them irreclaimable and incapable of being restored to a proper sense of their duty. As for the actors of an inferior order, I pass them over entirely, and have only to recommend it to you to rely upon your own judgment respecting the treatment of political offenders of every description. At this distance from the scene of action, the imperfect view and judgment which can be formed of the state of things, very little enables me to prescribe the proportionate measure of firmness and moderation which the occasions may require. Your own discretion will certainly be your best guide, and I hope it is unnecessary to assure your excellency that whatever your decisions may be, you may depend upon their receiving the unreserved sanction and support of his majesty's servants. Whatever may be the conduct your excellency may pursue with respect to the delinquents, I am persuaded that every conciliatory measure will be pursued by you, and that nothing will be omitted on your part which can convince the misguided of their errors, and that can reconcile them to a proper sense of their own interests, and of the real tendency of the measure you have in view."

In a letter written to the duke of Portland on the 28th of January, lord Castlereagh gives the following view of the political difficulties with which he had to contend:—"I feel it my duty to call your grace's attention, and that of his majesty's

other confidential servants, as well to the measures which are hereafter to be pursued in the government of this kingdom, as to the state of parties which is likely to arise out of the late discussion of the union and the removals connected with it, trusting that the points which I shall have the honour of submitting will receive an early and full consideration, and that I shall receive, with as little delay as possible, directions for the government of my conduct on the several delicate questions which may be brought into public discussion in the course of the present session. The question of union was brought forward upon the principle that two independent legislatures had a tendency to separate, that the independent legislatures of Ireland and England had shown that tendency, and that the effects of it were felt in divisions at home, and attempts of invasion from abroad. Parliament refuses to listen to the question of union, at the same time wishes to continue and strengthen the connexion. The opposers of the union, with a view of consolidating, as far as possible their party, and at the same time of diminishing the motives which exist for the adoption of the measure, will probably bring forward separately several of the points which are relied on by the friends of the union, in order to render either its adoption less necessary, or to embarrass government by throwing upon them the onus of rejecting them. The evils proposed to be cured by a union are:—Religious divisions, the defective nature of the imperial connection, and commercial inequalities. Additional motives in favour of the measure have arisen from an expectation that it would lead to a regulation in respect to tithes, the most comprehensive cause of public discontent in Ireland, and an arrangement in favour of the catholic and dissenting clergy. These questions may, and probably will, be brought forward upon an anti-union principle, and the resistance of them by government must tend to divide the parliament and the kingdom into unionists and anti-unionists. In the establishment of this party principle, the question of British and Irish authority will be strongly at issue. The religious question will, probably, be the first taken up. It is plain that, upon a mere principle of pursuing power, ambition, and revenge, it is the interest of the catholics to obtain political equality without a union, for, as the general democratic power of the state is increasing

daily by the general wealth and prosperity, and as the catholics form the greater part of the democracy, their power must proportionably increase, whilst the kingdoms are separate, and the Irish oligarchy is stationary, or declining. The catholics, therefore, if offered equality without a union, will probably prefer it to equality with a union; for in the latter case they must ever be content with inferiority, in the former they would, probably, by degrees gain ascendancy. In addition to the usual supporters of emancipation, many of the anti-union party will now take up the catholic cause, the better to defeat the question of union. They will thus expect to detach the catholics from government, and to engage the mob of the whole kingdom against the union. Were the catholic question to be now carried, the great argument for a union would be lost, at least as far as the catholics are concerned; it seems, therefore, more important than ever for government to resist its adoption, on the ground that without a union it must be destructive, with it that may be safe. I am of opinion that the measure hereafter, to secure its success, must be proposed on a more enlarged principle; but if the immediate object of government is to resist the catholic claims rather than to renew the question of union, I much doubt the policy of at present holding out to them any decided expectations; it might weaken us with the protestants, and would not strengthen us with the catholics, whilst they look to carry their question unconnected with union. With a view to obviate some of the imperial embarrassments arising out of our present principle of connection, a regency bill, making the regent of Great Britain *ipso facto* regent of Ireland, will probably be proposed; they may also make a parade of offering to contribute proportionably to general expenses; farther than this I do not think they can attempt to go, and I should beg your grace's ideas on the best mode of meeting these propositions for partial and imperfect accommodation. The commercial question will be urged, and stated not to be necessarily connected with the union; it cannot be pressed at present, however, with a very good grace, after the parliament has refused even to deliberate on a question of imperial safety. Your grace must be aware that the party will carry the feeling of the country more with them upon the question of tithes than any other. They will press government

to bring it forward, and impute their refusing to do so to a determination to force the question of union, by withholding from the people advantages which might be extended to them equally by the Irish legislature. They will also call upon government to make provision for the catholic and presbyterian clergy, as they have been taught to expect it; how far this measure is connected with the union, it is for ministers to decide."

In another letter written on the same day, lord Castlereagh gives the following explanation of the defeat of ministers in the Irish house of commons:—"When I had the honour of seeing your grace, I did not apprehend that the question would have been fought on the address. I did imagine that whatever repugnance the house might ultimately feel to the measure, they would not resist the discussion, and that all opposition would be postponed till a specific proposition on the subject was brought on by government. The opponents of the measure, feeling it more advantageous to resist it by clamour than by argument, in the several public meetings which took place, the principle of the incompetence of parliament, and the justifiableness of resistance on the part of the people, was openly relied on. This warmth, added to the feelings of the country gentlemen for their country interest, sent them up to town much better prepared to talk treason than to listen to argument on the subject. Although I had written to every individual member, requesting to communicate with him on the subject, previous to the meeting of parliament, many only came to town on the day of the debate, which precluded my seeing them till I met them in the house. I the less apprehended any bad consequences from this, as I did not conceive that clamour would so far prevail as to induce them to refuse to entertain the question. The event, as your grace has been already informed, happened otherwise; and the country gentlemen as if they had been engaged in a fox-hunt, instead of a debate on a momentous question, seemed to contend who should indulge most loudly in an outcry too frequently unconstitutional. This was not the only untoward circumstance that attended us. The disinclination, or, at best, the lukewarm disposition shown by lord Downshire and lord Ely, threw a manifest damp on our party. This was strongly confirmed by lord Ely's not voting himself in the house of lords, in the early part of

the evening. Instead of bringing forward eighteen members, as these noble lords might have done, but five appeared, and one of lord Downshire's, my colleague, Mr. Savage, voted against us the second night. I could neither be prepared for nor guard against this misfortune by any previous communication, as lord Downshire was absent, and lord Ely did not land till the lord lieutenant was at the house delivering his speech. The same neglect or inattention prevailed on the part of other principal supporters in bringing their members, as your grace will observe by the lists. Some absolutely deceived us; others from whom we had expectations were deterred by the appearance of disturbance in the metropolis, and even by personal threats; but what seemed to operate most unfavourably was the warmth of the country gentlemen, who spoke in great numbers and with much energy against the question. I should despair of the success of the measure at any future period, so weighty is the opposition of the country gentlemen in our house, were I not convinced that their repugnance turns more upon points of personal interest than a fixed aversion to the principle of union. Indeed their violence subsided evidently in the progress of the second night's discussion. Whether a more acceptable distribution of the representation can be made before the measure is again agitated, will deserve the attention of ministers. I am aware of the strong objections which exist to the admission of more than one hundred members from Ireland; perhaps they are so weighty as to render the measure, under different arrangements, neither desirable nor admissible, but I see no plan which would disarm private interest, and put the question at issue upon its own merits, but that of leaving the counties as they now stand, with two representatives, giving the thirty-one open boroughs and the university one member each, which would be esteemed equivalent to the two they now return, and giving pecuniary compensation to the remaining eighty-six boroughs, for whatever diminution of their value might be occasioned by the mode of classing them adopted. If two boroughs are united the loss of value will be about one-half, or £7,000, calculating an Irish seat at £2,000; if three boroughs are united the compensation must be proportionally larger; in the former case the gross expense would be £562,000, or, if funded at six per cent., £33,720 per an-

num. An annuity of £40,000 would pay the interest and sink the capital in a term of less than forty years. The gross number of representatives, were the above plan adopted, combining only boroughs, and giving Dublin and Cork two members each, would be a hundred and forty-one; if three boroughs are combined, the numbers would be reduced to a hundred and twenty-six."

The objects of deliberation with ministers were now to conciliate the private interests of those opposed to the measure, and to gain others by direct or indirect means. Government was especially anxious to impress the catholics with a notion that a union would bring them the emancipation which they would expect in vain from an Irish parliament; and they made great exertions to effect this object. "I wrote to the lord lieutenant yesterday," says the duke of Portland, in a letter to lord Castlereagh, dated the 29th of January, "on the subject of his conversation with lord Kenmare, in

which I deprecated, in the strongest terms, any encouragement being given to the catholics to hope for any alteration in their situation as long as the parliament of Ireland should continue in its present state. The more I consider that proposition, the more I am convinced that it never ought to be attempted, unless a union takes place; that, in the present circumstances—I mean the state of Ireland's present dependence—it would be equally injurious to the orderly catholics, who are now possessed of landed and personal property, and to the protestants, and that it would once more deluge the country in blood, and that what is called catholic emancipation cannot be attempted with safety to the persons of either persuasion but through the medium of a union, and by the means of a united parliament. Nor do I hesitate to add that, for sake of the professors of both religions, I hope it will not be one of the first acts of that parliament."

CHAPTER XX.

PROCEEDINGS RELATIVE TO THE UNION, IN THE PARLIAMENT OF GREAT BRITAIN.



HE measure of the union had advanced further in the English house of commons than in that of Ireland. On the 22nd of January, 1799, the day of meeting of the Irish parliament, a royal message was delivered to the British peers by lord Grenville, informing them that, "his majesty is persuaded that the unremitting industry with which our enemies persevere in their avowed design of effecting the separation of Ireland from this kingdom, cannot fail to engage the particular attention of parliament; and his majesty recommends it to this house to consider of the most effectual means of counteracting and finally defeating this design; and he trusts that a review of all the circumstances which have recently occurred (joined to the sentiments of mutual affection and common interest) will dispose the parliaments of

both kingdoms to provide, in the manner which they shall judge most expedient, for settling such a complete and final adjustment as may best tend to improve and perpetuate a connexion essential to their common security, and to augment and consolidate the strength, power, and resources of the British empire." An address in reply to this message passed next day without opposition; and the peers declared that they would maturely deliberate on the subject recommended to their notice, and promote any adjustment for consolidating the general interests of the British empire.

When on the same day a similar message was presented to the house of commons by Mr. Dundas, Sheridan gave notice that the measure was to be opposed, as inopportune, and calculated at that moment to produce mischievous effects; and when next day an address to the king was moved, he led the opposition, and his speech contained the principal reasons which were urged in the

English parliament against the union. He said that he conceived it incumbent upon ministers, before they proposed the discussion of a plan of union, to offer some explanations with regard to the failure of the last solemn adjustment between the two countries, which had been generally deemed final. There was the stronger reason to expect this mode of proceeding, when the declaration of the Irish parliament in 1782 was recollected. The British legislature having acquiesced in this declaration, no other basis of connexion ought to be adopted. The people of Ireland, who cherished the pleasing remembrance of that period when independence came upon them as it were by surprise, when the genius of freedom rested upon their island, would come to this second adjustment with a temper which would augur not tranquillity but disquietude, not prosperity but calamity, not the suppression of treason, but the extension and increase of plots to multiply and ensanguine its horrors. There was a time when it would have been intimated to him, that to agitate in that house any question relative to the affairs of Ireland would be an encroachment on the rights of the parliament of that country; and that such an insult to the dignity of that body, and to its competence of legislation, would inflame that quick spirit of independence which the sister kingdom knew how to express, and had ever appeared both able and ready to infuse into a system of ardent, intrepid opposition to every act of ulterior domination. But now that the question involved the independence and very existence of the Irish parliament, he did not suppose that any speaker would have recourse to such an argument. In discussing the intricate and delicate interests which the king's message embraced, he could see the possible danger of increasing the discontent of the people of Ireland; but danger was to be apprehended from a violation of the rights and the independence of Ireland. Whatever might be the consequence of the present scheme, he was disposed to give credit to ministers for purity of intention. He could not suspect that they would propose a measure which they believed would ultimately cause a separation of Ireland from this country. He feared the agitation of the question might rather encourage than deter our foes, and that the distraction which it might produce would aid their purpose. To render an incorporate union in any respect a desirable

measure, the sense of the nation ought to be freely manifested in favour of it; but there was no prospect of obtaining such a concurrence, and a union carried by surprise, by intrigue, by fraud, corruption, or intimidation, would leave both countries, with regard to permanency of connexion, in a situation worse than the present. Nor ought the union to be obtained by following the advice of a pamphleteer (Mr. Cooke), who hinted that we should recollect the game played off by the volunteers of Ireland to take advantage of Great Britain, and play the same game against them. Let them never have to say to the English, "You offered us your assistance, against domestic and foreign enemies; we accepted it, and in return gave you affection and gratitude, and the irrevocable pledge of all the support in our power. You then took advantage with your forty thousand soldiers; you constrained us to submit to a union; you would not wait for our consent. Some were afraid of being suspected of disloyalty if they should come forward; others were banished; all were sensible that it was in your power, by acts of negative intimidation (the expression would be understood by those who talked of negative success), by refusing to send more men, or to relieve our pecuniary difficulties, to force a union." If by such acts they deprived Ireland of the power of resisting any claims made upon her, if thus they wrung from her her independence, if thus they intimidated and corrupted her parliament to surrender the people to a foreign jurisdiction, he would not justify the Irish in a future insurrection, but he would say that the alleged ground for it would wear a very different complexion from the late. That the proposition itself should be entertained in Ireland, must be considered as an extraordinary case. To the period of the last solemn adjustment, the great impolicy and heinous injustice of the British government towards Ireland for three hundred years is notorious and avowed. Is it then reasonable to suppose, that a country the object of such insult for three centuries, when at last she had wrung from our tardy justice that independence which she had a right to claim, and had obtained commercial advantages, should, only sixteen years afterwards, so far forget all prejudices, as to surrender the means by which she acquired those advantages? Would this be the case, if the free sense of the country were manifested? But

it is possible that during those sixteen years the parliament may have forfeited the confidence of the country. Do the Irish plead guilty to this charge? On the contrary, did not his majesty congratulate Ireland, that by the vigour of her parliament she had acquired an increase of prosperity? and that by the vigilance of the Irish parliament the late conspiracy was detected and brought to light? and when new disturbances are dreaded, was it to be dismissed? Was the detection of plots likely to be better effected by the English parliament? Would it be maintained that the measure of a union would not wholly dissolve the legislature of Ireland—that independence would survive union, though in a modified state—and that the parliament would be left to judge of the local affairs of Ireland? Really this seems almost too much for men's feelings! A parliament! A sort of national vestry of Ireland, sitting in a kind of mock legislative capacity, after being ignobly degraded from the rank of representatives of an independent people, and deprived of the greatest authority that any parliament could possess! Could such a state be called a state of independence? And could we suppose that the Irish would agree to such a union under any other circumstances than those of force? Was the parliament of England competent or qualified to legislate for the parliament of Ireland? Impossible. Every advantage of situation favoured the one; the other was unfitted for governing, or giving law, by every disadvantage of situation and every dissimilarity of temper and habit. Lord chancellor Clare said, that the English parliament was less acquainted with the state of Ireland than any other body of men in the world. How then was the parliament of England better fitted to legislate for Irishmen, than that of Ireland with its experience? With respect to the general effect of intimidation, it did not rest upon presumption. Had not a threat been thrown out, in what might be considered as an official proclamation, that the troops which had been sent to Ireland might be withdrawn, that the money with which she was aided might be withholden, and the country left helpless and devoted? Must not the Irish, then, who have supported the connexion, feel that they are not at liberty to choose? Such insinuations an Irish clerk or secretary had thought proper to throw out in his official pamphlet. The effect,

then, upon the Irish must be, that it is impossible for them to come to a free discussion of the subject. Such hints from persons in office, and the dismissal of the best friends of Ireland from office, warranted this inference, that if a person, whether in or out of office, should oppose the union, he will be considered as a traitor to his country? What must be the effect upon the minds of the officers and volunteers throughout the kingdom? He was willing to believe that the noble lord at the head of affairs in Ireland had been directed to do what had been alluded to, and that it was not of his own accord. But to talk of free will under such circumstances, was only adding mockery to injustice, and insult to injury. The adjustment proposed would only unite two wretched bodies. The minds would still be distinct; and he believed that eventually it might lead to separation. The king of Sardinia had lately consented to the surrender of his territory, and said it was right; but did any one believe that the consent was real? The case was the same with respect to Ireland. We could not have her real consent; we do not wish it, or would not have had recourse to corruption or intimidation. They had heard much abuse of French principles, but he recommended the abstaining from French practices. Let no suspicion be entertained that we gained our object by intimidation or corruption; let our union be a union of affection and attachment, of plain dealing and free will; let it be a union of mind and spirit, as well as of interest and power; let it not resemble those Irish marriages which commenced in fraud and were consummated by force. Let us not commit a brutal rape on the independence of Ireland, when, by tenderness of behaviour we may have her the willing partner of our fate. The state of Ireland did not admit such a marriage; her bans ought not to be published to the sound of the trumpet, with an army of forty thousand men. She was not qualified for hymeneal rites, when the grave and the prison held so large a share of her population. Some delay in this matter could produce no danger; and it was incumbent on the projectors of the plan to state the reasons which rendered them so eager to press it. After some further criticisms on Mr. Cooke's pamphlet, Sheridan proceed to state what he considered the probable risk of changes in the political system of Great Britain from the introduction of a hundred

members—members who, having sacrificed the parliament of their own country, might not be scrupulously tender of the British constitution. He disputed the competency of the Irish legislature to sacrifice itself and transfer its power to the legislation of Great Britain. He concluded with moving an amendment, expressing the surprise and deep regret with which the house learnt from his majesty that the final adjustment which, upon his gracious recommendation, took place between the kingdoms in the year 1782, and which, by the declarations of the parliaments of both countries, placed the connexion between them upon a solid and permanent basis, had not produced the effects expected from that solemn settlement; and also intimating, that his majesty's faithful commons, having strong reason to believe that it was in the contemplation of his ministers to propose a union of the legislatures of the two kingdoms, notwithstanding the said adjustment, felt it to be their bounden duty, impressed as they were with the most serious apprehensions of the consequences of such a proceeding at this time, to take the earliest opportunity humbly to implore his majesty not to listen to the counsel of those who should advise or promote such a measure at the present crisis, and under the present circumstances of the empire.

Mr. Canning combated the objections which had been urged by Sheridan, especially the notion that the settlement of 1782 was ever intended to exclude the consideration of a question like the present. He described the lamentable state of Ireland, and pointed out what he conceived the fitness of the time for such an incorporation of the two countries as would alleviate the sufferings of the one and add to the strength of the other. But the most remarkable speech delivered on this occasion was that of Mr. Pitt, who at once undertook the defence of the proposed measure. The address, he said, would only pledge the house to take into serious consideration a subject which was earnestly recommended to its notice, and which was closely connected with the interest of the British empire. The mover of the amendment had deprecated all deliberation upon the subject, and even insinuated that the Irish parliament had not the power of carrying the result of its deliberations into effect, if it should determine in favour of a union, without an appeal to the people. That position, if

true, would be applicable to the parliaments of both countries, the rights and privileges of both being the same; would go to invalidate the acts of the last ninety years, and tend to annihilate the whole authority of the British parliament. To say that the ministers wished to surprise the house into this measure, was also an ill-founded assertion; for they had rather been scrupulous in the opposite extreme. The question was, whether the house should proceed to deliberate in a grave and solemn manner, or should, without examination, pronounce the union to be unnecessary, dangerous, or impracticable. That gentleman and his friends had, in the course of many years, loudly complained of the mismanagement of the affairs of Ireland, expatiated on the deformity of its constitution, and lamented the miseries of its inhabitants. Would it not then be more prudent to apply a promising remedy at the present time, than to risk the effects of long delay, by which the evils of the country might be aggravated and embittered? These evils had a deep root, being involved in the prevailing character, manners, and habits of the people, in their want of knowledge and intelligence, in the state of property, in the separation between certain classes, and in the rancour of religious dissensions. Catholic emancipation and parliamentary reform had been recommended as remedies; but there was little doubt that these pretences covered dangerous designs. If those objects could be obtained by calm investigation, and should seem adequate correctives, few would decline an acquiescence in them. But if the state of society be such, that laws, however wise in themselves, would be ineffectual as to their object, until the manners and customs of the people were altered—if men were in a state of poverty, in which it was impossible that they could have any comfort—if the progress of civilization depended in a great measure upon the distribution of wealth—if the improvement of that wealth depend much upon the distribution of capital—if all the advantages to be derived from an increase of national wealth depend much upon the temper of the inhabitants—if those advantages, together with the still greater advantage of mental improvement, be all retarded by the distractions and divisions of party, by the blind zeal and phrenzy of religious prejudices, by old and furious family feuds—if all these things combine to make a country

wretched, what was the remedy? A legislature standing aloof from local party connexion, sufficiently removed from the influence of contending factions to be the advocate or champion of neither; being so placed as to have no superstitious reverence for the names and prejudices of ancient families, that have so long enjoyed the monopoly of certain public patronages and property, which custom had sanctioned, and which modern necessity might justify; a legislature that would neither give way to the haughty pretensions of a few, nor open the door to popular inroads, to clamour, or to the invasion of all sacred forms and regularities, under the false and imposing colours of philosophical improvement in the art of government. All that was wanted for Ireland. Where was it to be found? In the country where the evils which he had enumerated existed, or in this? Where should that legislature deliberate? In a place where the utmost effort of what was called patriotism amounted to nothing more than an aim at temporary popularity, as was evident from what had happened; or in a place where the discussion was calm and temperate? Certainly the latter; that is, in England. To neglect the establishment of such a legislature, when it was possible to do so, was an imprudence which nothing could justify. He did not assent to Mr. Sheridan's assertion, that England had oppressed Ireland for three hundred years; but he would say, that for one hundred years this country had followed a very narrow policy with regard to that kingdom. When the connexion with Ireland was something more than a name, when that connexion was ascertained, and the imperial parliament of this country exercised a supremacy over Ireland, it did happen that during that period the narrow policy of Great Britain, influenced by views of commercial advantage, tainted and perverted by selfish motives, treated Ireland with illiberality and neglect, and did not look upon her prosperity as that of the empire at large. He reprobated, as much as the honourable gentleman, that narrow-minded policy, as mischievous and pregnant with the most fatal consequences to both kingdoms. These jealousies, however, would be buried by the plan which would soon be brought forward. They all had in their mouths a sentence, importing that every good Englishman and good Irishman felt they must stand or fall together; that they should live and die

together; and yet without such a measure as that which was about to be proposed to them, there could be no security for the continuance of that sentiment. The happiness of both countries ought to be perpetual. As it then stood, it was liable to a thousand accidents; it depended upon the violence of the moment; it might be governed upon views of temporary popularity, or by the personal convenience of a few individuals; a tenure upon which the happiness of a nation ought never to depend. As to the settlement of the year 1782, the very authors of the measure were not satisfied with their own work, as appears from the journals of the house. They saw the imperfections of their own measure; and, as a supplement, it was recorded on the journals, that such other terms should be settled as should be agreed on between the two nations. But nothing had been done to give it effect, and therefore he had their own authority to say that it was defective. It was incumbent, he said, on those gentlemen to show the bad tendency of the present measure, rather than requisite for its advocates to enlarge on its probable benefits; for the conduct of the former proclaimed the necessity of making some new attempt in favour of Ireland. Those who sanctioned the independence of the Hibernian parliament, without any security that the two legislatures would never differ essentially upon any point in which the happiness of the British empire might be involved, were particularly bounden to shew that such a difference was not likely to happen, or that it might easily be remedied. How stood the case in point of experience as to the regency? The honourable gentleman said there was no difference between the parliaments as to the regent. There was indeed no difference as to the *person* who was to be regent; but there was an essential difference as to the *principle* on which that person was to be regent: the Irish parliament decided on one principle, the British parliament on another; their agreement with regard to the person was accidental; and upon the distinct principles on which they proceeded, they might as well have differed in the choice of the person who was to be regent, as in the adjustment of the powers which were to be granted to him. Would any one say, there was no necessity for arrangement, for securing a uniformity of opinion on points essential to the existence of the empire, and guarding against all those evils which must arise,

when two bodies, which should act in concert, move in contrary directions? That they had not hitherto differed in the great and momentous events which had been agitated before parliament, was a good fortune which had arisen from one general cause; from the union of all descriptions of persons against one common enemy, with the exception only of a few, whose counsels, happily for both countries, and for the civilized part of the world, had lost all their influence. Could any man say, that such difference as was manifested in the time of the regency would never occur again? When they came to treat of peace, for instance, or to consider the subject of alliance with any foreign power, or any question of trade or commerce, might not local prejudices occasion a difference between the legislatures upon points essential to the welfare of the British empire? What would have been the consequence, both to England and to Ireland, had the dissensions in Ireland been the same in point of force against the executive government in parliament, since the commencement of the present war, as they were at the time when the Irish propositions were rejected? If, in the present contest, the leaders of opposition should have as much influence in Ireland as they formerly possessed, a vote for peace might pass, and the efforts of Great Britain might be paralyzed. Would the honourable gentleman say, that the parliament of Ireland might not in such a case neutralize its ports, prevent the raising of recruits for the army and navy, strike a fatal blow at the power, and endanger the existence of the empire? Let any man maturely reflect on the dangers that might result from the present situation of both countries, and he would tremble at the perils to which they were exposed? Under these circumstances, would they do justice to either country by neglecting to bring forward the proposal of union? In concluding this appeal to the house, Mr. Pitt said, "I see the case so plainly, and I feel it so strongly, that no apparent or probable difficulty, no fear of toil, or apprehension of a loss of popularity, shall deter me from making every exertion to accomplish the great work on which, I am persuaded, depend the internal tranquillity of Ireland, the general interest of the British empire, and perhaps the happiness of a great part of the habitable world."

On this occasion Pitt dealt only with the

general question on union; but his most important speech was made on the 31st of January, when, the temper of the house having been shown in the rejection of Sheridan's amendment almost unanimously, he brought forward a series of resolutions on the subject. On this occasion, Pitt began with a reference to the proceedings of the Irish house of commons. That the parliament of that kingdom had the right and the power of rejecting a proposition of that nature, he did not presume to deny; yet, convinced as he was that the measure would not only tend to the general benefit of the empire of Great Britain, but would particularly increase the prosperity and insure the safety of Ireland, he deeply lamented the unfavourable reception of the scheme in the Irish house of commons. He did not mean to speak disrespectfully of the conduct of that house; but, while he admitted and respected their rights, he felt that, as a member of the parliament of Great Britain, he also had a right to exercise and a duty to perform. That duty was to express as distinctly as he could the general nature and outline of a plan which he considered as pregnant with the most important advantages. If the British parliament, upon full explanation, and after mature deliberation, should be inclined to favour the scheme, he would propose that its opinion should remain recorded as a determination by which it would abide, leaving to the dispassionate judgment of the legislature of Ireland the future adoption or rejection of the plan. With regard to the general principle of the measure, both sides of the house seemed to consider a perpetual connection between Great Britain and Ireland as essential to the true interests of both. Assuming it, then, as a proposition not to be controverted, that it is the duty of those who wish to promote the interest and prosperity of both countries, to maintain the strongest connexion between them, he asked, what situation of affairs had called them to the discussion of this subject? This very connexion, the necessity of which had been admitted on all hands, had been attacked by foreign enemies and domestic traitors. The dissolution of this connexion was the great object of the hostility of the common enemies of both countries; it was almost the only remaining hope with which they still continued the contest. A close connexion with Ireland having been allowed to be essential to the interests of

both countries, and that connexion being dangerously attacked, it was not to be insinuated that it was unnecessary, much less improper, at that arduous and important crisis, to see whether some new arrangements, some fundamental regulations, were not requisite to guard against the threatened danger. The foreign and domestic enemies of these kingdoms had shown, that they thought this the vulnerable point in which they might be most successfully attacked. Let us derive advantage, if we can, from their hostility; they felt the most ardent hope, that the two parliaments will be infatuated enough, not to render their designs abortive by fixing that connexion upon a more solid basis. The nature of the existing connexion evidently did not afford that degree of security, which, even in times less dangerous and less critical, was necessary to enable the empire to avail itself of its strength and resources. The settlement of 1782, far from deserving the name of a final adjustment, was one that left the connexion between Great Britain and Ireland exposed to all the attacks of party and all the effects of accident. That settlement consisted in the demolition of the system which before held the two countries together—a system unworthy of the liberality of Great Britain, and injurious to the interests of Ireland. But to call that a system in itself—to call that a glorious fabric of human wisdom, which was no more than the mere demolition of another system—was a perversion of terms. He quoted the parliamentary journals to prove that the repeal of the declaratory act was not considered by the minister of the day as preclusive of endeavours for the formation of an ulterior settlement between the kingdoms; for, under his auspices, an address had been voted, requesting his majesty to take such measures as might “establish by mutual consent the connexion between this kingdom and Ireland upon a solid and permanent basis.” No measures of that kind, however, had since been adopted. The two countries were left with separate and independent legislatures, connected only by the identity of the executive government; and that was not a sufficient tie to unite them in time of peace, to consolidate their strength in time of war, to give to Ireland her full share of commercial and political advantages, or to both nations that due degree of strength and prosperity to which they were entitled. On

this head he referred to the opinion of Mr. Foster, who was chancellor of the exchequer in Ireland at the time when the commercial propositions were brought forward. That minister then said, “Things cannot remain as they are; commercial jealousy is roused; it will increase with two independent legislatures; and, without a united interest in commerce, in a commercial empire, political union will receive many shocks, and separation of interest must threaten separation of connection; which every honest Irishman must shudder to look at as a possible event.” The evil apprehended by Mr. Foster could only be remedied by two means; either by a commercial compact, similar to that which was rejected in 1785, or by a union of the two legislatures. He urged the peculiar importance of drawing out the whole strength of the empire, and thus ensuring its safety at that critical moment. The people of Ireland were proud, he believed, of being associated in the great contest, and must feel the advantage of augmenting the general force of the empire. Every statesman, every writer of any information on the subject, has held that the measure most likely to augment the power of the British empire, was the union and consolidation of every part of it. Great Britain had always felt a common interest in the safety of Ireland; but that interest was never so obvious and urgent as when the common enemy made her attack upon Britain through the medium of Ireland, and when the attack upon Ireland tended to deprive her of her connexion with Britain, and to substitute in lieu of it the new government of the French republic. When that danger threatened Ireland, the purse of Great Britain was open for the wants of Ireland, as for the necessities of England. He well knew that as long as Ireland was separated from Great Britain, any attempt on our part to pursue measures which we might think necessary, with respect to questions of contending sects or parties, the claimed rights of the catholics, or the precautions necessary for the security of the protestants, must certainly be a violation of the independence of that kingdom, and a usurpation of the right of deciding points which could only be brought within our province by compact. He could not be inattentive to the events that were passing before him, and he affirmed, that whoever considered the French as showing by their conduct that they

deemed Ireland the weakest and most vulnerable part of the empire—whoever reflected on the dreadful and inexcusable cruelties instigated by the enemies of both countries, and on those lamentable severities with which the exertions for the defence of Ireland were unhappily, but unavoidably, attended, and the necessity of which was itself one great aggravation of the crimes and treasons which led to them, must feel that, as it then stood composed, in the hostile division of its sects, in the animosities existing between ancient settlers and original inhabitants, in the ignorance and want of civilization which marked that country more than almost any other country in Europe, in the unfortunate prevalence of jacobin principles, arising from these causes, and augmenting their malignity, and which had produced the distressed state that all now deplored—must agree in thinking that there was no cure but in the formation of a general impartial legislature, free alike from terror and from resentment, removed from the danger and agitation, uninfluenced by the prejudices, and uninflamed by the passions, of that distracted country. Among the great and known defects of Ireland, one of the most prominent features was its want of industry and of capital. How were those wants to be supplied, but by blending more closely with Ireland the industry and the capital of Great Britain? But, above all, in the great religious distinctions between the people of Ireland, what was their situation? The protestant feels that the claims of the catholics threaten the existence of the protestant ascendancy, while, on the other hand, the great body of catholics feel the establishment of the national church, and their exclusion from the exercise of certain rights and privileges, as grievances. In this state of affairs, it becomes a matter of difficulty in the minds of many persons, whether it would be better to attend to the fears of the former, or to grant the claims of the latter. He was well aware that the subject of religious distinction was a dangerous and delicate topic, especially when applied to such a country as Ireland, where the established religion of the state was the same as the general religion of the empire, and where the property of the country was in the hands of a comparatively small number of persons professing that religion, while the religion of a great majority of the people was different; it was not easy to say, on general principles, what system of church

establishment in such a country would be free from difficulty and inconvenience. By many it would be contended, that the religion professed by the majority of the people would at least be entitled to an equality of privileges; but those who applied such an argument without qualification to the case of Ireland, surely forgot the principles on which English interest and English connexion had been established in that country, and on which its present legislature was formed. No man could say that, in the present state of things, and while Ireland remained a separate kingdom, full concessions could be made to the catholics, without endangering the state, and shaking the constitution of Ireland to its centre. On the other hand, when the conduct of the catholics should be such as to make it safe for the government to admit them to the participation of the privileges granted to those of the established religion, and when the temper of the times should be favourable to such a measure, it was obvious that this question might be agitated in a united imperial parliament with much greater safety than it could be in a separate legislature. He also thought it certain that, even for whatever period it may be thought necessary after the union to withhold from the catholics the enjoyment of those advantages, many of the objections which at present arose out of their situation would be removed, if the protestant legislature were no longer separate and local, but general and imperial; and the catholics themselves would at once feel a mitigation of the most goading and irritating of their present causes of complaint.

The English minister went on to recapitulate the general advantages which Ireland would derive from the effects of the proposed arrangement; the protection which she would secure to herself in the hour of danger; the most effectual means of increasing her commerce and improving her agriculture, the command of English capital, the infusion of English manners and English industry, necessarily tending to ameliorate her condition, to underrate the progress of internal civilization, and to terminate those feuds and dissensions which distracted the country, and which she did not possess within herself the power either to control or to extinguish. She would see the avenue to honours, to distinctions and exalted situations in the general seat of empire, open to all those whose abilities

and talents enabled them to indulge an honourable and laudable ambition. After pointing out the benefits which Ireland would derive from the union in her commerce and manufactures, Mr. Pitt proceeded to notice some of the objections which had been urged against it, especially those which related to parliamentary competency, and to the loss of Irish independence. With regard to the latter, which would operate as an objection to every union between separate states, he did not contend that there was in no case just ground for such a sentiment. Far from it: it might become, on many occasions, the first duty of a free and generous people. If there existed a country which contained within itself the means of military protection and naval force necessary for its defence—which furnished objects of industry sufficient for the subsistence of its inhabitants, and pecuniary resources adequate to a dignified maintenance of the rank which it had attained among the nations of the world—if, above all, it enjoyed the blessings of internal content and tranquillity, and possessed a distinct constitution of its own, the defects of which, if any, it was within itself capable of correcting—if that constitution were equal, if not superior, to any other in the world—or (which was nearly the same thing) if those who lived under it believed it to be so, and fondly cherished that opinion—he could easily conceive that such a country must be jealous of any measure which, even by its own consent, under the authority of its own lawful government, was to associate it as a part of a larger and more extensive empire. But if there were a country which, against the greatest of all dangers that threatened its peace and security, had not adequate means of protecting itself without the aid of another nation—if that other were a neighbouring and kindred nation, speaking the same language, whose laws and customs were the same in principle, but were carried to a greater degree of perfection, with a more extensive commerce, and more abundant means of acquiring and diffusing national wealth, the stability of whose government, and the excellence of whose constitution, were more than ever the admiration and envy of Europe, and to which the very country of which they were speaking could only boast an imperfect resemblance—under such circumstances, what conduct would be prescribed by every rational principle of dignity, of honour, or

of interest? He asked whether that were not a faithful description of the circumstances which ought to dispose Ireland to a union, and whether Great Britain were not precisely the nation with which on those principles a country situated as Ireland was would desire to unite. Did a union, under such circumstances, by free consent, and on just and equal terms, deserve to be branded as a proposal for subjecting Ireland to a foreign yoke? Was it not rather the free and voluntary association of two great countries, which joined for their common benefit in one empire, where each would retain its proportional weight and importance, under the security of equal laws, reciprocal affection, and inseparable interests; and which wanted nothing but that indissoluble connexion to render both invincible?

“ — Nec Teucris Italos parere jubebo,
Nec nova regna peto ; paribus se legibus ambæ
Invictæ gentes æterna in fœdera mittant.”

The objection drawn from the injury which Ireland might suffer by the absence of her chief nobility and gentry, who would flock to the imperial metropolis, was obviated by remarking that, though this effect would take place during a part of the year, the disadvantage would be more than counterbalanced by the operation of the system in other respects. He then argued this part of the question from presumption, analogy, and experience in the case of Scotland. As it had been represented that the main principle of the measure was to subject Ireland to a load of debt, and an increase of taxes, he again looked to Scotland, and asked if there was any instance where, with only forty-five members on her part, and five hundred and thirteen on ours, that part of the united kingdom had paid more than its due proportion to the general burthens. Could it then be apprehended that we should tax Ireland more heavily when she became associated with ourselves? To tax in its due proportion the whole of the empire, to the utter exclusion of the idea of the predominance of one part of society over another, was the great characteristic of British finance, as equality of laws was of the British constitution. When they should come to the details of that proposition, it would be in their power to fix, for any number of years that should be thought fit, the proportion by which the contribution of Ireland to the expenses of the state should be regulated, and to determine that these proportions should not

be such as would make a contribution greater than the amount of its present necessary expenses as a separate kingdom. Even after that limited period, the proportion of the whole contribution from time to time might be made to depend on the comparative produce in each country, of such general taxes as might be thought to afford the best criterion of wealth; or the system of internal taxation might gradually be so equalized and assimilated on the leading articles, as to make all rules of specific proportion unnecessary, and to secure Ireland from being ever taxed but in proportion as we should tax ourselves. The application of these principles would form matter of future discussion; he mentioned them only as strongly shewing, from the misrepresentation which had taken place on that part of the subject, how incumbent it was upon the house to receive these propositions, and to adopt, after due deliberation, such resolutions as might record to Ireland the terms upon which we were ready to meet her; and in the meantime wait, not without impatience, but without dissatisfaction, for that moment when the effect of reason and discussion would reconcile the minds of men in that kingdom to a measure, which he was sure would be found as necessary for their peace and happiness, as it would be conducive to the general security and advantage of the British empire.

This important speech made the country fully acquainted with the sentiments of the British ministers on the question now brought forward, and in concluding, Mr. Pitt read the following resolutions, as embracing the general plan of the union.

"1. In order to promote and secure the essential interests of Great Britain and Ireland, and to consolidate the strength, power, and resources of the British empire, it will be advisable to concur in such measures as may best tend to unite the two kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland into one kingdom, in such manner, and on such terms and conditions, as may be established by acts of the respective parliaments of his majesty's said kingdoms.

"2. It would be fit to propose as the first article, to serve as a basis of the said union, that the said kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland shall, on a day to be agreed upon, be united into one kingdom, by the name of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

"3. For the same purpose it would be

fit to propose, that the succession to the monarchy and the imperial crown of the said united kingdom, shall continue limited and settled in the same manner as the imperial crown of the said kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland now stands limited and settled, according to the existing laws, and to the terms of the union between England and Scotland.

"4. For the same purpose it would be fit to propose, that the said united kingdom be represented in one and the same parliament, to be styled the parliament of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland; and that such a number of lords spiritual and temporal, and such a number of members of the house of commons, as shall be hereafter agreed upon by acts of the respective parliaments as aforesaid, shall sit and vote in the said parliament on the part of Ireland, and shall be summoned, chosen, and returned, in such manner as shall be fixed by an act of parliament of Ireland previous to the said union; and that every member hereafter to sit and vote in the said parliament of the united kingdom, shall, until the said parliament shall otherwise provide, take and subscribe the same oaths, and make the same declarations, as are by law required to be taken, subscribed, and made, by the members of the parliaments of Great Britain and Ireland.

"5. For the same purpose, it would be fit to propose, that the churches of England and Ireland, and the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government thereof, shall be preserved as now by law established.

"6. For the same purpose it would be fit to propose, that his majesty's subjects in Ireland shall at all times hereafter be entitled to the same privileges and be on the same footing in respect of trade and navigation, in all ports and places belonging to Great Britain, and in all cases with respect to which treaties shall be made by his majesty, his heirs or successors, with any foreign power, as his majesty's subjects in Great Britain; that no duty shall be imposed on the import or export between Great Britain and Ireland of any articles now duty free; and that on other articles there shall be established, for a time to be limited, such a moderate rate of equal duties as shall, previous to the union, be agreed upon and approved by the respective parliaments, subject, after the expiration of such limited time, to be diminished equally with respect to both kingdoms, but

in no case to be increased; that all articles which may at any time hereafter be imported into Great Britain from foreign parts, shall be importable through either kingdom into the other, subject to the like duties and regulations, as if the same were imported directly from foreign parts; that where any articles, the growth, produce, or manufacture of either kingdom, are subject to an internal duty in one kingdom, such countervailing duties (over and above any duties on import to be fixed as aforesaid,) shall be imposed as shall be necessary to prevent any inequality in that respect; and that all matters of trade and commerce other than the foregoing, and than such others as may before the union be specially agreed upon, for the due encouragement of the agriculture and manufactures of the respective kingdoms, shall remain to be regulated from time to time by the united parliament.

“7. For the like purpose it would be fit to propose, that the charge arising from the payment of the interest or sinking-fund for the reduction of the principal of the debt incurred in either kingdom before the union, shall continue to be separately defrayed by Great Britain and Ireland respectively; that, for a number of years, to be limited, the future ordinary expenses of the United Kingdom, in peace or war, shall be defrayed by Great Britain and Ireland jointly, according to such proportions as shall be established by the respective parliaments previous to the union; and that, after the expiration of the time to be so limited, the proportion shall not be liable to be varied, except according to such rates and principles as shall be in like manner agreed upon previous to the union.

“8. For the like purpose it would be fit to propose, that all laws in force at the time of the union, and all the courts of civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction, within the respective kingdoms, shall remain as now by law established within the same, subject only to such alterations or regulations from time to time, as circumstances may appear to the parliament of the United Kingdom to require.”

These resolutions, if agreed to, were to be embodied in an address to the crown, as the basis of the proposed measure of union. They were opposed by Sheridan, but, after a short debate, a division gave the ministers a majority of a hundred and forty against fifteen. Sheridan had given notice of his

intention to move two resolutions, one declaring that no measure of this kind should be brought forward without the free consent of the parliaments of both countries, the other, that whoever should obtain the appearance of such consent and approbation in either country, by employing the influence of government for the purpose of corruption or intimidation, was an enemy to his majesty and to the constitution. The second, of course, pointed at the charges which had been made against government of using intimidation and corruption to gain supporters to the measure in Ireland. On the 7th of February, the day fixed by Pitt for going into a committee of the whole house on his resolutions, he consented to the discussion of Sheridan's motions before the speaker left the chair. They were defended by much the same arguments which Sheridan had used before, and were defended by Grey and Tierney; but they were strongly opposed by Pitt, Windham, and Dundas, and were rejected by a large majority. On the 11th, when the house again went into committee on this subject, and again, on the following day, the proposal gave rise to new discussions, but always with the same results. When the report of the committee was brought up on the 14th, it was opposed by Mr. Hobhouse, and among the speakers in favour of the government plan was Mr. Robert Peel, afterwards sir Robert, who had, in 1785, appeared at the bar of the house as a petitioner against the commercial propositions. He declared that the support which he now gave to the scheme of incorporation, arose from a change of circumstances, rather than of sentiments, as the former plan, in offering extraordinary advantages to an inferior state, which had in some measure a diversity of interest, was much less expedient than one which would promote a community of interest by a completeness of union. He affirmed that both kingdoms would derive additional strength and security from union, but that Ireland would have the greater share of benefit; and in illustration, he stated the case of two commercial houses, one being of the first respectability, having an immense capital, and extending its concerns to every part of the globe, while the other was in a comparatively low situation, with little property, limited credit, and confined connexions. A proposal being made by the former to take the latter into partnership on equal terms, it might be supposed

that the offer would be eagerly accepted; and, each party losing its distinct firm, the two houses would then become one. One member opposed the union on account of the danger of introducing a hundred Irish members into the British house of commons, which he said, by adding to the "minister's muzzled majority," might be fatal to the independence and happiness of both countries.

The report of the committee was finally agreed to by a majority of a hundred and twenty against sixteen. On the 18th, the resolutions were communicated to the lords, who ordered them to be printed, and gave a month's interval for consideration, before they entered upon the discussion of them. It was deemed expedient to give every opportunity for examining carefully a question of so much importance.



CHAPTER XXI.

AGITATION IN IRELAND; FURTHER DEBATES IN THE IRISH PARLIAMENT; DEBATE IN THE ENGLISH HOUSE OF LORDS.

MEANWHILE agitators had been busy at work in Ireland, and the popular excitement was at this moment at its greatest height. Not only had the defeat of ministers, by the refusal of the Irish house of commons to take the question into consideration, been celebrated throughout Dublin with bonfires and every noisy demonstration of joy, but Mr. Foster, the speaker, who had been a very unpopular man, became suddenly the idol of the mob. Addresses were carried to him by the corporation, and by the merchants and others, landing as the saviour of his country the man who not long before had been looked upon as its betrayer. Similar demonstrations were made in various parts of the country, and the majority of the nation seemed decidedly hostile to the proposed measure of union. Towards the latter end of January, strong declarations against a union were voted by the freeholders of the several counties of Fermanagh, King's County, and Limerick. The electors of Monaghan and Clare voted thanks and congratulations to the members of the house of commons who had opposed it. Their example was followed early in February in Cavan, Tyrone, and other counties. In a few places the union was more popular. In Cork opinions were divided, many of the traders and other inhabitants pronouncing strongly in favour of the ministerial measures, while others were equally hostile to it. About seven hundred of the latter

signed an address of thanks to the parliamentary anti-unionists, and especially to the earl of Charlemont and Mr. Foster, which was printed and distributed about the kingdom. At the same time, the anti-unionists circulated Pitt's speech of the 23rd of January, and some passages in it as they commented upon them, especially that in which the English minister declared that he would continue to cherish the project, increased the general agitation. On the other side, no town declared so unhesitatingly in favour of the ministerial measure as that of Galway, where an address was voted containing the following remarkable language:—"In the constitution of the empire, as it at present stands, we discover the seeds of party animosity and national jealousy. A protestant parliament and a catholic people! Hence religious dissension and civil discord. Two legislatures in the same empire! Hence local prejudices and commercial rivalry. By the settlement of 1782, the Irish parliament acquired the right of independent legislation—a right equally unsafe to exercise or not to exercise. To exercise it would have been to endanger the unanimity, and thereby to hazard the division of the empire; while, by declining to exercise this right, the Irish parliament brought upon itself the imputation of abject submission to the British legislature. This imputation begot contempt, that contempt discontent, and that discontent rebellion. For this radical defect in the polity of the empire, we can see

but one remedy; and that remedy is a union."

After the defeat of ministers in the Irish house of commons, lord Castlereagh moved an adjournment of the house from the 28th of January to the 7th of February, in order that he might learn the result of the debate in the English house of commons before committing himself in any further steps. The adjournment was opposed by sir John Parnell, on the ground that it was necessary for the house to be assembled and at its post, to watch not only the suspicious proceedings at home, but also those on the other side of the water. He said that that house and the people of Ireland had learnt, since the decision of Thursday last, to consider the question as at rest, but the declaration of the British minister could not fail now to excite new alarms, nor could these alarms ever be quiet in that country, so long as the people could consider the measure as still hanging over them; and if the British minister were to persist in the declaration after the sense of the Irish parliament and Irish people were known to him, it was impossible for any friend to his country or British connexion to contemplate the consequences without the most serious alarm. The adjournment was carried, and then sir Henry Cavendish brought before the house the attacks which had been made on the members who had voted for the union by the mob out of doors, and moved a resolution on the subject. The opposition members denied the excesses of the mob; colonel Barry said he had seen no one insulted, and declared, that "if the right honourable baronet alluded to the joy shown by the people on a late occasion, he thought, considering the exultation universally felt, the conduct of the people extremely calm and patient before and during the discussion, and that they were extremely moderate in their expression of triumph on the defeat of the measure." Some other members then complained that threats were said to have been held out of removing the parliament to Cork, that it might no longer be overawed in its deliberations by such popular demonstrations; upon which the attorney-general said it was notorious that both the persons of members had been assaulted and abused by the most opprobrious names, their houses attacked by mobs, and themselves declared traitors to their country, for having voted in favour of union, and that certainly such attempts

to overawe the parliament would warrant its removal to Cork. Such was the temper now shown even within the walls of parliament. The Irish government seemed at first paralysed—certainly much embarrassed—by the force and violence of the opposition which it had to encounter. But it soon recovered courage, and the whole influence of the castle was employed, not without success, to gain proselytes. Personal applications were made by lord Cornwallis to some of the leaders of the anti-unionists, and to such of the members of parliament who had voted against the union as it was thought prudent; and the respect which the lord-lieutenant had gained by his wise government went far in giving effect to his remonstrances. These, joined with the natural reaction that follows a moment of exaggerated excitement, were rapidly producing their effects, and encouraged the ministers to believe that in another year their favourite measure of a legislative union might be brought forward with every prospect of a very different result from that which had attended it on the present occasion. The progress of this change is described in a letter from lord Castlereagh to the duke of Portland, written on the 27th of March, in which he says, "As far as I have yet been informed of the proceedings at the several assizes, they have been much less unfavourable on the question of union than we had any right to expect. The question has been stirred in but few counties; the grand juries of Meath and Cavan are the only two that have come to resolutions against the measure. In Tipperary, which is a leading county, from its extent, the party favourable to the measure has prevailed. I have the honour to enclose, for your grace's information, Lord Donoughmore's letter on this subject; upon the whole, I consider the general silence of the grand juries as a very favourable indication. It was not thought prudent to urge our friends in the several counties to a trial of their strength on the present occasion. Our arrangements may be better prepared before the autumn circuit; and I do not despair of operating most powerfully on the public mind in the mean time, by the diligent circulation of the many able arguments which the debates on your side of the water have furnished us with. Arrangements have been made for the most extensive and general distribution of these valuable productions, and I am happy to learn that they

are read with avidity, even in Dublin. I am happy to inform your grace (perhaps it is a tolerable indication on which side the strength is likely ultimately to be), that lord Ely has declared positively for the union. The alteration intended in the plan for the representation has had its weight, no doubt, with his lordship. I cannot but consider this determination, taken at the present moment, as a very favourable omen, and extremely important, notwithstanding it is clogged with some awkwardness. He has brought into parliament a Mr. Shaw and Mr. Luttrell. Lord Ely says that neither shall vote against us, and promises, if possible, to get rid of Mr. Shaw. I should hope the lord lieutenant might succeed in persuading lord Carhampton, that his son had not sufficiently considered the question; at present, his lordship's efficient force is reduced to six. I should submit to your grace, whether it might not be advantageous that lord Downshire should be early apprised of the scheme of representation at present in the contemplation of ministers. It might, perhaps, tend to reconcile him. His declaration in favour of the measure would have the most powerful influence. I also beg leave to suggest that lord Donegal is an object of considerable importance. His friends in parliament during his father's lifetime, voted against us. Lord Leitrim is not well satisfied with the part his son took in his absence, and well disposed to avail himself of a change of circumstances, to prevail on his friends to alter their conduct."

The alterations in the details of the government measure alluded to by lord Castlereagh are thus described by lord Portland, in a private letter to the lord lieutenant, written on the 8th of March:—"By a very ingenious and interesting letter of lord Castlereagh's, which I had the pleasure of receiving on the 7th ult., (and to which I have not sooner adverted, from the necessity of acquiescing, for the present, in what was to be collected from the debate on the report at the address to be the opinion of the Irish house of commons), the different descriptions of persons whose present interests dispose them to be adverse to the measure are so justly and accurately defined, the causes of their opposition are so clearly and distinctly detailed, and the means of removing them so judiciously and satisfactorily pointed out, (and they seem, moreover, so much within reach,) that I

should advise your excellency to resort to them without loss of time, were I not sensible that your general local knowledge, and the means your situation gives you of observing the temper of the country, as well as the disposition of its leading interests, enable you to choose the most favourable mode and opportunity of making the new arrangement known, either by an open avowal of it, and specification of it in detail, (which, at this moment, we conceive, would scarcely be prudent,) or by letting it get out by degrees, as a project that might be in the contemplation of government, if, on communication with individuals, it should be found likely to recommend the general measure of the union. But, at whatever time, whether on receipt of this despatch, or at a more remote period, your excellency shall determine to open this plan, I conclude that your first communication will be of that part of it which is intended to conciliate the county interests, and to restore you the support of the independent and most respectable members of the house, and that they will be informed, in the first instance, that their relative situation in respect of seats will be exactly the same in the union as in the Irish house of commons. For, upon the best consideration which his Majesty's servants here have been able to give the subject, they are convinced that, under whatever circumstances the measure of union may be brought forward, the county representation should remain exactly on the same footing that it is at present, and that, consequently, each county should continue to send two representatives. By this arrangement, the two most important of lord Castlereagh's classes, viz., the first and second interest of counties, considered in that point of view only, are left, not only without a pretext of complaint, but without their being exposed to any risk, expense, or trouble, in addition to that which they are now subject to; their situations necessarily become doubled in value and importance. How far it may be insisted on that a union will give additional security to the first country interest, your excellency will best judge; but inasmuch as it will necessarily reduce the number of all species of parliamentary adventurers, they will gain in common with all other landed proprietors, and, as it may render it less an object to any one to endeavour to create a catholic

interest in a country, both these classes, but the first in particular, cannot but find themselves considerably benefited. These, however, are contingencies on which I lay no particular stress; there are such abundant other reasons for reconciling these two classes to the measure, that, when once their fears respecting their own situations are quieted, they cannot but anticipate the personal as well as public advantages which must result from its adoption, and become strenuous advocates in its favour."

At this time the question of the union had been again discussed in the English house of peers, when lord Grenville had brought the matter forward, according to the adjournment, on the 19th of March. He said that, in the performance of his duty, it afforded him some relief to find that the two main points on which the resolutions were founded, had been sufficiently established to preclude the necessity of dwelling upon them. These were, that the legislature of Ireland had an independent right of deciding upon any proposal of union as fully as the parliament of Great Britain, and that the interest of the empire at large, and of every branch of it in particular, required the maintenance and improvement of the connexion between the countries. So far from being unseasonable, he was of opinion that it was highly expedient and politic, to enter upon a speedy inquiry into the merits of the measure. Its nature had been misconceived in Ireland, the views of its advocates had been misrepresented, prejudices and unfounded alarms had thrown an odium on the proposition. To dissipate such delusions, and repel such assaults, early deliberation was necessary, that national animosity might not be embittered or inflamed into a decisive rejection of the offer. It could not justly be thought an ill compliment to the commons of Ireland to discuss a scheme which they had not finally exploded, though it did not appear to have received their strong approbation. In examining the state of connexion between the kingdoms he observed, that the settlement in 1782 did not supply the link which, by the abrogation of the former system, was destroyed. It did not provide both for the independence of the parliament of Ireland, and for the close connexion so essentially requisite for the common interests of the two countries. The supposed identity of the regal power in both was the only bond and security of

that connexion. That in a pure and un-mixed monarchy might be sufficient, because the power of the sovereign could be exerted in the same manner in every part. The case, however, was different in a mixed government, where the exercise of authority was limited by the different privileges of its component parts. In Holland, for instance, from the time of sir William Temple to the late subversion of the government of that country, every friend to the states had lamented the imperfect connexion which subsisted between them, and every enemy had availed himself of the defect. The Americans, on the establishment of their independence, had experienced a similar inconvenience. The power which existed in each of the federal states was found to be too great, and that of the whole too feeble. It had been thought necessary, therefore, to abridge the authority of the states individually, in order to draw closer the general union, and to enlarge the authority by which the whole was governed and holden together. Even now, perhaps, it was one of the principal defects in the constitution of the American states, that the power of each was too extensive, and that of the general legislature and government too weak for the public interest and security. The want of a general government, to direct the efforts and employ the resources of the whole confederacy, had contributed to the ruin of Switzerland. Had that country possessed a government capable of employing and directing its united strength, it might have opposed an effectual resistance to the violence and injustice of its perfidious enemy. Considering the supposed bond of connexion between Great Britain and Ireland, his lordship did not hesitate to say that it was absolutely null. If by the constitution the royal power could soar above the control of parliament, the regal identity might operate as a medium of connexion, but if the parliament could check that power, and the crown required the aid of the legislature, even for ordinary occasions of government, the connexion was nugatory while each realm had a distinct parliament. Lord Grenville proceeded to treat in detail of the chief branches of the royal prerogative, with a view of illustrating the manner in which they were or might be exercised in the two kingdoms. He argued distinctly upon the exercise of the ecclesiastical, military, fiscal, and political prerogatives of

the crown, and plainly showed how it might be checked and perverted from the constitutional ends of vesting them in the executive, by the possible (and as had actually happened in the case of regency) discordance of independent parliaments. In the present state of connexion, he contended, that the crown itself might give rise to a contest. The title to the crown was created by parliament, which was at all times competent to alter it. On what foundation, then, did the succession rest? It was regulated by the act of annexation. The Irish parliament was independent, and might vary the tenure as well as that of great Britain. Hence it was necessary, for the general interest of the empire, that some measure should be taken for strengthening this connexion. In the adjustment of a scheme of this nature, the local interests of Ireland claimed particular attention, and, indeed, the proposed plan would consolidate and extend those interests. The evils of that kingdom obviously called for a speedy remedy. The present government, unfortunately, had not grown up with the habits of the people. The English connexion was begun among them by the worst of all conquests, one that was incomplete and partial. At different times the invaders made occasional progress, and renewed hostilities kept alive the flame of animosity. He next went into an historical disquisition on the progress of that country to civilization and its present state. The good consequences of union would quickly appear in the progress of civilization, the prevalence of order, the increase of industry and wealth, and the improvement of moral habits. The Hibernian protestants would feel themselves secure under the protection of a protestant imperial parliament, and the anxiety of the catholics would be allayed by the hope of a more candid examination of their claim from a parliament not influenced by the prejudices of a local legislature. A free admission of the catholics into the Irish parliament might lead to a subversion of its constitution, but all fear of their preponderancy would vanish under a general legislature, as they then would be far outnumbered by the protestants. The animosities of these rival parties would be allayed, and a tranquillity, which Ireland had rarely enjoyed, would be the pleasing result. It was absurd to suppose that the independence of Ireland would be sacrificed in the event of a union. It would still re-

main, and even derive fresh vigour from being consolidated with the proudest and most solid independence that ever was enjoyed. Before the union, which took place in 1707, England and Scotland were, in fact, less independent than when they afterwards composed the kingdom of Great Britain. By this union each kingdom had become more independent of foreign nations, and more independent, if he could so speak, of human events; each had become more powerful, and had increased in prosperity. In like manner, if this legislative union should take place, no individual would suffer in dignity, rank, or condition, but, in a national view, all would receive an addition. When the union with Scotland was in agitation, loud clamours arose against it, but time had shewn that they were ill-founded. It was promotive of the general interests of the empire to consult the interests of every component part of it; and, as this had proved true with regard to Scotland, in consequence of a union with that country, so, he was persuaded, a similar measure would operate with respect to Ireland. Nothing could be adduced as a more powerful motive to union than that both countries were assailed by a common enemy, whose aim was to destroy Great Britain, by making Ireland the medium of that mischief. Before the union with Scotland it was also the aim of the French to render that country subservient to their insidious designs. At present the chief hope of resistance to the tyrannical power of France seemed to rest on Great Britain, and Ireland, in her weak and disordered state, could look to this country alone for support. Her independence was essentially involved in her connexion with Britain, and if she should shake off that tie, she would inevitably fall under the French yoke.

Earl Fitzwilliam opposed the resolutions which were now brought before the lords, chiefly on the ground that, as the Irish people were hostile to the union, it would be indecent and impolitic to press it upon them. He went on to speak of relieving the catholics, and entered into the defence of his own conduct when lord lieutenant of Ireland. Lord Camden, on the other side, also took the opportunity of defending his administration, when lord lieutenant. Some doubted if the union were practicable, others thought it was not a favourable moment for bringing it forward. The earl of Moira declared that no one would more

heartily concur in the proposed measure than himself, if it should meet the approbation of the greater part of the Irish community, but, as it had excited general disgust and vigorous opposition, he was convinced of the danger of prosecuting the scheme. Even if the Irish parliament should be disposed to adopt it, the disinclination of the people ought to have been deemed a sufficient ground for relinquishing it, otherwise we might nourish in delusive security a secret fire which might ultimately consume the vitals of the empire. If he should admit the probability of a change in the disposition of the people, he must contend, as the measure was to be suspended, that it was at least imprudent to pledge the British parliament to specific resolutions, which might be superseded by the future relative situation of the countries. Was it to be supposed that the tenor of the resolutions would alter the sentiments of the Irish nation with regard to a measure which they had contemplated, in the aggregate, with such distaste? Were the provisions judiciously calculated to promote such an effect? By one of the resolutions the test act was to be still operative against the catholics and the protestant dissenters of Ireland. Did not this go to establish a strong jealousy, if not estrangement, in the breasts of such a majority of that community, whose confidence and concurrence were desirable? The earl had predicted that the system of government which had been pursued in that country could not go on, and he had, unfortunately, proved too true a prophet. That however, was not a consequence flowing from the constitution of Ireland, it was solely the result of a frantic exercise of severities on the part of government, as much in contempt of that very constitution as in defiance of every principle of policy that had hitherto been current among men. He animadverted on several parts of lord Grenville's speech, particularly on that in which he had said that a case might occur in which the parliament of Ireland might refuse to pay the troops, and seemed to think that his position on this ground of argument was strengthened by the difference of the test taken by the military body of Ireland from that which was taken by the troops of England; but a man might be a brave soldier, and a trusty supporter of his country's cause, even though he should believe that there were seven sacraments. In fact, there

was no separate regular Irish army; his majesty might call away any regiment to this country, and replace it by another from England, without any explanation to the legislature of Ireland. There was, indeed, a stipulation that Ireland should have a certain number of troops for her defence, and those troops she engaged to pay. But the secretary argued that she might refuse to pay them. So might the British parliament refuse to pay the army in this island. The question, by which the house ought to form an opinion respecting the expediency of bringing forward those resolutions, was not what the Irish ought to think, but what they did really think upon the subject. Whether justly or not, it appeared they did think the demand upon Ireland was nothing less than the whole body of her laws, her rights, her liberties, her independent parliament, the blood, the labour, the wealth, and resources of the people. And under what circumstances did the mass of the Irish nation come to weigh such a supposed demand? Disgusted by recent outrages, still smarting from the lash of late severities, and irritated by threats of continued infliction, how was it to be supposed that they could meet with temper the proposition for drawing closer the ties by which, they had been mischievously told, all their past sufferings were occasioned? For it was one of the most serious evils of the late troubles, that those who were trampling upon the feelings, the properties, and the lives of their fellow-creatures, disguised their own passions under the profession that such acts of violence were necessary for the preservation of English connexion, thereby falsely representing English connexion, which ought to be the source of every blessing to Ireland, as the spring from which all their calamities had flowed. The Irish government stigmatised with the name of rebellion that which was only indignation at some unconstitutional measures, and, having once made the charge against its opponents, thence deduced the right and the necessity of abandoning the paths of the law, and of making its own conception of expediency the exclusive rule of conduct towards the multitude. The legislature readily lent its aid in passing the most severe penal statutes, and these even their angry and vindictive ministry soon refused to abide by. Anything that bore the semblance of law was too tardy for their impatient spirit. Forgetting that the correc-

tive conduct of a government ought to be sober as well as firm, dignified and conciliating as well as vigorous, they even seemed to affect the peevishness of individual animosity, and in that temper they proceeded with eagle swiftness, and more than eagle fierceness, to pass a sweeping condemnation of the whole people of Ireland. Mercy, justice, and policy, were left far behind, as unprofitable associates. He did not accuse earl Camden of having given directions for such horrible outrages, but hinted that the viceroy, being taught by the cabinet to believe that extraordinary rigour was necessary, had connived at excesses which arose from that system. If it were true that so great a proportion of the adult and effective population of the country as five hundred thousand had engaged in the traitorous conspiracy, it was the greatest censure that could be passed on any government. When, to the misconduct of the British ministers, he laid the evils and the miseries of Ireland, it was to their misinformation and ignorance of the state of the country; not to deliberate inhumanity that he ascribed them. He trusted that the time would soon arrive when remorse would take place of apathy, and when they would earnestly wish that their system of conduct had uniformly enforced on their servants the necessity of respecting with awful veneration the right of humanity. Lord Grenville had imputed the rebellion in Ireland chiefly to the propagation of French principles, but the effect of these, without ministerial misconduct, would have been inconsiderable. It was remarkable that the noble secretary should suppose mere barbarians, whom he represented as incapable of comprehending the meaning of catholic emancipation or parliamentary reform, to be fully competent to the admission of ideas respecting the principles and forms of government, and the sovereignty of the people. Of that sovereignty his lordship observed, that it did not, as some had ignorantly or invidiously asserted, imply the authority or the power of the mob. The misconstruction of the phrase had produced much mischief in that country, by aiding the views of certain zealots, who, from the most malignant motives, confounded the maintenance of constitutional doctrines with the support of jacobinical tenets. The principle, properly understood, was opposed to the odious doctrine of divine indefeasible right, it was not plebeian but national sovereignty the rights

of the people, not of the populace, were the basis of the English constitution.

After some further debate, the resolutions were adopted by the lords without a division, and a day was fixed for moving an address to the crown on the subject, when, among other supporters of the measure of union, the bishop of Llandaff delivered his sentiments. He said that he had, so long ago as the year 1785, intimated his opinion to the late duke of Rutland, that he and his friend the minister would gain immortal honour if, instead of the propositions which were then under discussion, they could accomplish, by honourable means and upon equitable terms, a union of the two kingdoms, but his grace had answered, that the man who should venture to bring forward a scheme of such a nature at that time would have been *tarred and feathered*. Whether the repugnance to the measure were then general, or were confined to the leading men of the country, he knew not, but he was fully convinced of the policy and utility of the scheme at any time. It would enrich Ireland, and would not impoverish Great Britain. The consolidation of Ireland with this country would render it the strongest empire in Europe. If the lands in Great Britain and Ireland should be well cultivated, as in the event of a union they probably would be, they would maintain a population of thirty millions, six millions of which number would be capable of bearing arms; and this population, in case of necessity, might afford one million to be in arms, without distressing agriculture, manufactures, or commerce. Then we might, with safety, despise the politics of the continent, and without contributing our forces or our wealth, allow the princes of Europe to settle among themselves the equilibrium of despotic power, while, conscious of the blessings of liberty, we must lament that despotism should exist in any part of the world. With regard to the catholics, some contended that, as they formed the most numerous class of the community, they had a right to some kind of ecclesiastical establishment, and to an exemption from political disabilities. This point was rendered difficult by the distribution of property, which was in the hands of a small minority, who would have no interest in, and would derive no benefit from such establishment. The point was of great delicacy and importance, but the sooner it should be agitated the better. In the mean-

time he would recommend to both parties the advice given by a father of the church on another occasion, that both should give up little things in order to secure great ones, tranquillity and peace. The link which now held the two countries together was very imperfect; it was the sameness of one of the branches of the legislature in both. This link, by what had been foreseen, and what was unforeseen, might be endangered, and the interests of Ireland might be exposed to hazard; but when three parts of the legislature of Ireland should be incorporated with the legislature of this country, the failure of the link would be impossible, except in an event dreadful even to contemplate, the absolute destruction of the whole government and constitution. In urging the necessity of close connexion, he affirmed that Ireland, as a shoot from the stem of Great Britain, had brought forth fruit, but that, as a separate plant, it would neither strike its roots downward, nor spread its branches above; it would bear no fruit for at least a hundred years. It must either be shaded by the British oak, or it must be poisoned by the pestilential vapours of the tree of French liberty, that tree which had brought forth no fruit but the apples of Sodom. That great states should allow the smaller to enjoy their independence unmolested, was more to be wished than expected. Ireland could not stand alone; in the present state of Europe she must be united either to England or to France. Fully convinced of the beneficial tendency of a union, he looked forward with satisfaction to the change which it would produce in Ireland. English capital would seek employment in Ireland, and diffuse improvement and wealth. The bogs would be converted into fields covered with smiling harvests, the barren mountains would be covered with cattle, mines would be wrought, and canals would unite the most distant parts of the country, the old sources of wealth would be extended, new ones would be discovered, and the inhabitants of Ireland, now poor, idle, and discontented, would be rendered rich, industrious, and happy. This change must be the work of time, and posterity would bless the wisdom and firmness of the parliaments of two countries which effected so great a plan, and generously superior to partial views and selfish considerations, coalesced into one for mutual interests. Union was a contract that ought to be

founded upon free consent, arising from a persuasion of utility. He was afraid that Ireland was not yet persuaded of the advantages which she might derive from it, and that she had not taken that comprehensive view of the subject which would be quickly followed by her full consent. In such a case this nation and the parliament of this country ought to show that they were not actuated by any narrow and selfish views, and that they disdained to employ any corrupt influence for the purpose of obtaining that concurrence, which ought to be the result of conviction; at the same time they ought to deprecate all opposition arising from partial views, local interests, selfish considerations, or what, with liberal minds, might have weight no less powerful, the love of popular applause. They ought to show that they respected the independence of the Irish parliament, and that they were ready to acquiesce in that decision which, after due deliberation, it should embrace. Such alone was the course suited to the high character of the British nation, and such, indeed, was the course which the legislature had avowed its determination to follow. This proceeding alone was consonant with eternal justice and with the dignity of the country, fitted to conciliate the affections of the Irish, a high-spirited but warm-hearted people. In the present contest all our firmness and energy were required. France was supported in every country but her own, no less by the sword than by her pestilential doctrines, and by the corrupt ambition of the desperate. Armed with these instruments of destruction she went on, spreading desolation wherever she appeared, crushing in the dust equally all civil government and all ecclesiastical establishment. When he contemplated this hideous monster at a distance it was with horror; near, he viewed it with anxiety, but without despondence, trusting that under the protection of Providence this country would be able to meet the danger. No human means, he was convinced, could contribute more to this end than a liberal, free, and equitable legislative union between Britain and Ireland.

One of the most elaborate speeches in favour of the union in the English house of peers was that of lord Minto, who pointed out, at some length, the evils necessarily arising from separate governments and separate parliaments in one empire. He spoke of the union as the natural condition

of the two kingdoms, to which they must come sooner or later; and he considered that it would be destructive to the interests of both if they continued longer separate. He said that he would not detain their lordships by describing the extent or the violence of those passions which now inflamed and exasperated both parts of the Irish nation against each other. Every one knew the firm and immovable basis on which their mutual hatred stood, the irreconcilable nature of its motions, its bitter, malignant, and implacable character. In this frame and temper of mind, however, towards each other, one of those portions of Ireland claimed and exercised what was felt by both to be a species of dominion over the other. It was hardly too much to say, that there were two nations in Ireland, the one sovereign, the other subjects. The sovereign class or cast of Irishmen claimed their sovereignty as of right, and grounded it on an old title of conquest, confirmed, as they contended, by possession, acquiescence, and prescription. They claimed also the federal support of Great Britain in maintaining that dominion, on the solemn grounds of fidelity to implied compact, compensation for sacrifices, and rewards for services. They shewed a close alliance and identity of views between themselves and the English interest in Ireland at all times, and they relied as strongly on recent, and even on present exertions in a common cause, as the uniform tenor of their ancient services. In a word, they called at once upon the honour and gratitude of Great Britain, and supported that appeal by a stream and series of facts. But he never could admit the ascendancy of one part of a nation over another part of the same nation, to the extent and to the purpose claimed in Ireland, as capable of assuming any character deserving the denomination of right. That which was wrong on one side could never become a right on the other. Neither possession, nor prescription, nor any limitation of time, which are supposed to cure the vices of bad titles, were at all applicable to the case of perpetually subsisting, and, as it were, renovating wrongs, especially such as affected the political rights of great numbers of men. If possession, then, would not constitute this singular right, which is claimed in wrong, as between the parties themselves, neither could it be improved by the interests, the engagement, or the obligations of a third

party; he could not see how the *jus tertii*, as it might be called, of England, could affect the relative claims of these two Irish nations, or of these two parts of the Irish nation. The catholics of Ireland claimed not only political equality in the government of their country, a claim in which his lordship sympathised with them, but they were thought to entertain, and to nourish yet more fondly and anxiously, claims on the *property* of protestants, the present possession of which they treated as mere usurpation, and these claims were of no trifling extent. If to the physical force already possessed by the catholic body, were added (by any revolution) the advantages of political power, and the weight and influence which belonged to the authority of government and legislation, some danger might accrue to the property, the establishment, and even the personal security of the protestants in Ireland, and hence arose an alarming dilemma. The protestants could not be supported in that ascendancy which seemed necessary even for their protection, without derogating from what might appear to be a natural right of the catholics. The catholics could not be supported in their claim of equality, without transferring to them that ascendancy which equality of right must draw to the larger body, and which from that moment must expose the protestants to dangers from which they ought to be protected. Such seemed to be the practical difficulties in the way of abstract justice, while the government of Ireland continued merely local. An Irish parliament, in which the ascendancy was either protestant or catholic (and it could not but lie on one side or the other), might be expected still, he feared, to gore and lacerate the country by one or other of the horns of that dilemma; and he saw no perfect remedy for Irish division, and its lamentable consequences, while these two enraged and implacable opponents were still shut up together, and still enclosed within the very theatre, on the very *arena* of their ancient and furious contention. That divided and double condition of the Irish people required something of an imperial *aula*, a legislature founded on a broader and more liberal basis, to administer impartial laws to all, and to reconcile security with justice. While one of these parties must judge the other, in whichever hand the fasces might be placed, there was reason to expect only violence in the suit,

and if not injustice, at least slow and imperfect justice in the decree. A strong conviction arose out of these considerations, that the united parliament of Great Britain and Ireland would, in the peculiar circumstances of Ireland, constitute a better legislature, and a more perfect, because a more impartial parliament for all Ireland, than any representation of a minor part or section of that country in a separate local parliament ever could. Laws, therefore, beneficial to the mass of the people of Ireland, and promoting its general prosperity and happiness, must be expected with greater confidence from the united parliament, in which local partialities, interests, and passions, would not divert the straight and equal current of legislation, than from an Irish parliament, where these stumbling-blocks must for ever bend or impede its course. In the united parliament right might be done unaccompanied by wrong. Irish catholics might be invested with their political capacities, without the slightest danger to the protestant establishment or property. These, on the contrary, must acquire a tenfold and hundredfold security in the protestant parliament, and the genuine protestant ascendancy of the united kingdom. The protestant church and property might be secured without perpetuating the present humiliating and degrading

exclusion of the catholic part of the Irish nation. For these reasons he advised the insertion of an explicit article in the treaty or act of union, providing for the just claims of the catholic Irish, but he was not strenuous or decisive in his recommendation; for he added that, "if any political peculiarities of the present time should render it impracticable to engross these wholesome provisions in the written treaty itself," he would rather repress his wishes for the immediate accomplishment of this desirable end, than "expose this great transaction to needless and unprofitable hazard by unseasonable pertinacity or impatience," and would be content to leave it to the mature deliberation and impartial judgment of the imperial legislature.

On this occasion all the speakers in the lords were in favour of the union, and only three peers, lords Holland and King, and the earl of Thanet, carried their opposition so far as to sign a protest against it. The address was agreed to without a division, and then it was communicated to the commons for their concurrence, in order that it might be presented as the address of both houses of parliament. This led to another discussion in the house of commons, but the address was agreed to there also without a division, and it was presented in due form to the king on the 26th of April.

CHAPTER XXII.

IRISH PARLIAMENT; CASE OF MR. WRIGHT OF CLONMEL; THE REGENCY BILL; SPEECH OF MR. FOSTER, THE SPEAKER; QUESTION OF PARLIAMENTARY INFLUENCE; CLOSE OF THE SESSION.



THE Irish parliament was meanwhile giving its attention to a variety of other legislative measures of importance, not connected with the great question of the union between the two countries, although, from time to time, this subject of universal agitation was dragged into the debates, and seldom failed to produce a warm discussion. A motion by Mr. Dobbs for a commutation of tithes, the loyalists' claim bill (for indemnifying

them for the losses they had sustained in the rebellion,) and a bill for preventing persons who had ever taken the oath of the United Irishmen from voting for members to serve in parliament, were the subject of long and earnest debates. The latter, which appears to have originated with the orangemen of the city of Dublin, was thrown out on the second reading. In the midst of these questions, a matter was unexpectedly brought before the house, which, while it threw light on the injustice practised by many of those who were in authority to seek out and punish the United Irish-

men at the breaking out of the rebellion, excited public attention to a considerable degree. A petition was presented from a Mr. Fitzgerald, who at the time of the rebellion had served the office of high-sheriff of the county of Tipperary. He complained that having, as high-sheriff, felt it necessary, in order to prevent the insurrectionary spirit, which was shewing itself everywhere around, to commit various acts of severity which were not authorized by the law, actions at law had of late been brought against him by various persons aggrieved, who had obtained heavy damages, and he asked for an act of indemnity against such proceedings. Several members rose to speak of the services which Mr. Fitzgerald had rendered to government, and attempted to excuse and palliate particular cases of injustice as unavoidable in moments of turbulence and rebellion. The case more especially referred to was that of a Mr. Wright, of Clonmel, who had been flogged by order of Mr. Fitzgerald in a very unjustifiable manner, and the honourable Mr. Yelverton, the son of lord Yelverton, one of the judges, rose in his place in the house to answer the remarks of the friends of the sheriff. He said that he should be one of the last men to refuse indemnity or protection to any serving magistrate or loyal man, for acts warranted by justice or necessity, in putting down conspiracy or rebellion, but he could not sit silent and hear the falsehood attempted to be palmed on the house by "this almighty sheriff." The petition stated that the judges who presided at the trial (Mr. justice Chamberlain and lord Yelverton), had given their opinion in point of law, that unless Mr. Fitzgerald could produce the information on oath to justify the flagellation of the plaintiff, he could not come under the provisions of the indemnity act. Mr. Yelverton asserted that no such thing had been said by either of the judges; he was present at the trial, when no evidence was brought in defence of Mr. Fitzgerald, and not even a pretence shown for suspicion against Wright, and a most respectable jury awarded five hundred pounds damages, which the judges said was much less than the plaintiff might justly have claimed. He then proceeded to state the case of Mr. Wright, who was a teacher of the French language, and was employed as such in two eminent boarding-schools at Clonmel, and in the families of several respectable gentlemen in the town and neighbourhood.

Wright had heard that Mr. Fitzgerald had received some charges of a seditious nature against him, and he immediately proceeded to the sheriff's house, to offer himself for trial. On his first application, Mr. Fitzgerald was not at home, but next day he went again to Mr. Fitzgerald's house, accompanied by a gentleman, and was shown into the presence of the sheriff, to whom he at once explained the object of his visit. Mr. Fitzgerald immediately drew his sword, and in a threatening tone, said, "Down on your knees, you rebellious scoundrel, to receive your sentence!" and, in spite of the man's protestations of innocence and demand of a trial, he condemned him to be flogged, and then shot. Wright now delivered up his keys that his papers might be searched, and, while he expressed his readiness to suffer any punishment which might be justified by proofs of guilt, still implored that he might have a trial; but the only answer he obtained, was, "what, you Carmelite rascal, do you dare to speak after sentence?" and the sheriff struck him, and ordered him to prison. Next day he was dragged to a ladder in Clonmel street to undergo his sentence, where the sheriff, finding him praying with his hat before his face, snatched his hat from him and trod upon it, and then seized him by the hair and threw him down, kicked him, and cut him across the forehead with his sword, and finally had him stripped to the skin and tied up to the ladder, and ordered him fifty lashes. Just as the fifty lashes were completed, major Rial, an officer of the town, came up and inquired the cause, upon which the sheriff handed him a note written in French, observing that he did not himself understand French, though he understood Irish, but he knew that the letter contained what would justify him in flogging the scoundrel to death. Major Rial read the letter, and found it contained a few words addressed to the victim, which were correctly translated as follows:—"Sir, I am extremely sorry I cannot wait on you at the hour appointed, being unavoidably obliged to attend sir Lawrence Parsons. Yours, Baron de Clues." Major Rial read this translation to Mr. Fitzgerald, who, instead of relenting, immediately ordered fifty more lashes to be inflicted, and with such peculiar severity, that the bowels of the bleeding man could be perceived to be convulsed and working through his wounds. Finding he could not continue the applica-

tion of the cat-o-nine-tails in that part without cutting a way into his body, the sheriff ordered the waistband of his breeches to be cut open, and fifty more lashes to be inflicted. He then left the unfortunate man bleeding and suspended, while he went to the barracks to get a file of men to shoot him; but the commanding officer refused him, and he then returned and sought a rope to hang his victim, but could not obtain one. Thus disappointed, he ordered Wright to be cut down, and sent back to prison, where he was confined in a small dark room, furnished only with a little straw, and was allowed to remain there six or seven days without medical assistance.

Such was the uncontradicted statement upon which judgment had been given against the sheriff, and which was now repeated in the house of commons. Some further observations were made on the great services rendered by Mr. Fitzgerald in preventing rebellion, and the result of the debate was the appointment of a committee to take the sheriff's petition into consideration. The committee did nothing, and the matter was allowed to die away in parliament without any further proceedings. The barbarous treatment of Wright excited much public indignation against his persecutor, who, however, was afterwards rewarded by government with a considerable pension for his active services in quelling the rebellion. There had been too many similar instances in which the men employed to hinder revolt possessed more zeal than judgment or humanity.

A bill for suppressing rebellion met with considerable opposition, because it was considered as giving larger powers in case of insurrection, to the lord lieutenant, than was either prudent or necessary; but it was the regency bill which now provoked the warmest discussion. This bill was brought into the house by the anti-unionists, and was intended to embarrass the advocates of the union by depriving them of one of their arguments in favour of it. The Irish ministers appear to have been, at first, undecided on the manner in which they should deal with this question; they seem to have looked upon it as a bill of no great importance, but one on which the excitement which had been raised through the country might be allowed to evaporate, and they gave it no decided opposition until it went into committee, on the 11th of February. Lord Castlereagh

then announced his opposition to it on the ground that this bill was no remedy for the evil it professed to obviate, that it was calculated only to blind the country, and, by its ridiculous inefficiency, to bring the legislature into contempt. Mr. Fitzgerald, with whom the bill originated, replied to lord Castlereagh's objections, and he was followed by Mr. Foster, the speaker of the Irish house of commons, who now, for the first time, declared publicly his repugnance to the union. He began with an attempt to demonstrate the finality of the settlement of 1782. He censured Mr. Pitt's recent speech on the question of the union, which he called a paltry production, a mere tissue of general assertion without proof, high flowing language without meaning, and assumption without argument. One point, he observed, was a new and incontrovertible ground of constitutional permanence and finality, namely, that modification of Poynings' law which secured the continuance of the connexion between the kingdoms, by rendering the great seal of Britain necessary for every Irish law, and making the British minister responsible to the British nation, if any bill tending to injure the empire, or to separate Ireland from it, should receive the royal assent in the western realm. This regulation, he argued, was intended to secure union and connexion on a firm, lasting, and unalterable basis. It gave to the British parliament, as Mr. Dundas had observed, a control over the third estate of the Irish parliament, but it was a control over the king's naked power of assent only, which gave to Great Britain an effectual pledge that Ireland retained no power to do any act (*i.e.* without the concurrence of Great Britain,) to weaken or impair the connexion. For his having recommended the commercial propositions of 1785, he had been accused of great inconsistency, but he denied that an atom of the constitution would have been surrendered by the plan of 1785; but this new system would lead to its utter annihilation. The measure of 1782 was all constitutional—that of 1785 all commercial. The pretences for a legislative union were ill supported. The risk of a disagreement on the subject of peace or war, or with regard to foreign treaties, would not justify the adoption of a measure so unconstitutional. The case of regency afforded the only apparent foundation of alarm; but the bill now under

consideration would remove all apprehensions on that head. The arguments adduced for a union of the two legislatures were, he said, equally applicable to the union of the two houses of either parliament; these might disagree, and ought, by parity of reasoning, to be formed into one assembly; where would then be our constitution? It would yield to monarchical or republican despotism. The balancing principle composed the chief excellence of our constitution; and why might not the two legislatures, guarded by one head, perform national and imperial functions in a better and more efficacious manner than a combined parliament. Mr. Foster then took a very wide and minute review of the trade of Ireland, and declared his opinion, that it would not flourish more after a union than under a resident parliament. It was already in a thriving state; it enjoyed all desirable freedom; and required only the care and attention of its natural protectors. On the subject of religion he barely remarked, that an Irish parliament might adjust all points in which the protestants and catholics differed, as judiciously and effectually as an imperial legislature. He severely censured that want of political wisdom which had induced the English minister to hold out Ireland to the enemy as the most vulnerable part of the empire, torn by internal factions, barbarous, weak, and contemptible. It was painful even to refer to the phrases by which he insulted them. Had they been true, it was the duty of a discreet statesman to have concealed with reverence the failings and weakness of so considerable and important a part of the empire. He tells the enemy the danger and the remedy; the danger immediate, the remedy distant and uncertain. He destroys a constitution which the Irish hold as the dear sacred palladium of their liberty, and would persuade the world there would be more zeal in Ireland when the constitution should no longer remain to animate its spirit and invigorate its exertions. Another advantage mentioned by the advocates of the measure was still more strange, namely, that it would tranquillize Ireland. If a resident parliament and resident gentry could not soften the manners and amend the habits, or promote social intercourse, would no parliament and fewer resident gentry do it? What was the great misfortune with respect to the tenantry of that kingdom? The

middle-men, who intervene between the owner and the actual occupier, and these are mostly to be found on the estates of absentees. It had remained for Mr. Pitt to advance a new system; that of depriving a country of its native resident landlords, encouraging land-jobbers and land-pirates, degrading the hospitality of the old mansion-house into the niggardly penury of agents' dwellings, was become the approved modern mode of making happy and contented tenants, of forming good men and good subjects. That the adding to the bishop's duty of attending to his diocese the new imperial duty of quitting the kingdom for eight months in the year, was the best way of making him acquainted with his clergy, and of enforcing attention to their parishioners—that a parliament, unacquainted with the local circumstances of a kingdom, ever at too great a distance to receive communication or information for administering in time to the wants or wishes of the people, or to guard against excesses or discontent, was more capable of acting beneficially than the one which, by being on the spot, and acquainted with the habits, prejudices, and dispositions of their fellow-subjects, best knew how to apply relief. In adverting to the late treason and rebellion, there they applied to fact. Could any parliament sitting in Great Britain have developed the secret system of conspiracy, animated the loyal, and supported the executive, with the effect that very parliament had done? What would the ridiculous exhibition have been at that time of a united parliament walking through St. James's-park with their address? And yet what vigour and energy did the instant procession of near two hundred members, with the mace, to the castle, give to the loyal ardour of the country; it animated the loyal spirit which crushed the rebellion before a single soldier could arrive from England, notwithstanding the uncommon exertions made there to expedite their sailing. The extraordinary, wise, and necessary measure of proclaiming martial law, required the concurrence of parliament to support the executive. The time would have passed by before that concurrence could have been asked for and received from London; and it would have given a faint support, coming from strangers, compared with the impression of its springing from Irishmen, all liable to every danger and inconvenience from its operation, and

yielding themselves and their properties to its control. The volunteers—said the speaker—the saviours of their country, and terror of its enemies, when their great work was effected, and by the indiscreetness of a few leaders, their zeal was misled, and they began to exercise the functions of parliament, we spoke out firmly—they heard our voice with effect, and took our advice, instantly returning to cultivate the blessings of peace. I ask you, would equal firmness, in a parliament composed five parts in six of strangers, sitting in another country, have had the same effect? You know it would not. Personal character, respect to individuals, opinion of their attachment to one common country, all impressed an awe which was irresistible.” After having spoken very warmly to the incompetency of parliament to surrender their legislative powers, he made an earnest appeal to their feelings. “Were I,” he said, “to address the catholics, the protestants, and all religions, I would say, your country is in danger; a desperate attempt is on foot to seduce you to surrender the independence of your parliament. You are all natives of the same island, interested in its trade, its prosperity, its freedom, and in all the blessings of a glorious and happy constitution; bounden by every tie of duty to yourselves, your country, and your posterity; to preserve it, join all hands and hearts together: bring the vessel into port; forget all family differences, all local or partial jealousies, and save Ireland—save your country. Tell the bold minister, who wants to take away your constitution, that he shall not have it—that you will not be his dupe—that you love Britain as a brother, but you will be his brother, not his dependent; and that you will not degrade yourselves from an independent kingdom into an abject colony. To any of you who have doubts on the measure, I would say, these very doubts call on you to vote against it. Do not hazard a change where you have a doubt—a change from which there is no return. Accept it—you have it for better, for worse; you never can untie the knot. No appeal—no parliament left, to hear, to argue, or to speak for you; and if the step you take should prove wrong—if it should, unfortunately end in the nation’s calling again for her old constitution, and the politics of the British cabinet should be so desperate as not to listen to that call, think of the

dreadful consequences of which you may be the cause, if, fatally, the shock of arms should follow. Even to you, whose conviction is clear, I would say, if the majority of your countrymen think differently from you—if even a respectable part of them only think so, do not rest so confidently on your own judgments as to risk a measure which you cannot undo. Remember, then, if the direful necessity should ever arrive to make it expedient, you may embrace it when you please; but if once adopted, it is irrecoverable. Were I speaking in another assembly, and if, in such assembly, any member sat returned for a borough, where the wishes of the electors followed the voice of some one individual, by which he became to have an habitual superiority, and, of course, a strong interest in its preservation, (I do not say such a case exists here, though it might not be unparliamentary to support it,) I would tell him, he is a trustee, and without positive and direct desire, he should not do an act which is to annihilate the interest he is entrusted with. No, no; let all join in cherishing the parliament: it is a good one, and has done its duty; it has proved itself competent to every purpose of legislation, to procure peace, and to put down rebellion. Refuse the measure, but refuse it with calmness and dignity; let not the offer of it lessen your attachment, or weaken your affection to Britain; and prove that you are, and wish to be (as the duke of Portland told you that you were) indissolubly connected with Great Britain—one in unity of constitution, and unity of interest. But, above all, revere and steadily preserve that constitution which was confirmed to you under his administration in 1782, and which has given you wealth, trade, prosperity, freedom, and independence.”

This speech of the speaker caused a considerable sensation throughout the country, and was lauded in the most extravagant manner by the anti-unionists. Lord Castle-reagh replied to it, but in spite of all his exertions, the majority of the house went with the bill. Ministers, however, obtained an adjournment till the 18th of April, in order that they might have time to communicate with the British ministers. The following extract from a letter written by the duke of Portland to the lord lieutenant on the 18th of March, shows us the sentiments which the ministers in England held on the subject:—“The communication

made to your excellency of the sentiments of the king's confidential servants, respecting a regency bill," the duke said, "at the time I was first informed of them giving reason to believe that it was in the contemplation of the gentlemen of the opposition to bring forward such a measure, and the observations then submitted to you as to the terms and conditions on which its introduction might be consented to, inclined me to imagine that it would not be necessary for me to recur to that subject; and I was the more confirmed in that opinion by your excellency's despatch of the 23rd of February, by which you informed me of the very able and judicious manner in which lord Castlereagh had proposed to treat the subject, and the advantages which he expected to derive from the discussion of it in favour of the union. But as I find that my conclusion was not well founded, and that the bill as now suspended for the purpose of allowing time for further consideration, and for your receiving any observations or suggestions which may have occurred to his majesty's government here, I hasten to acquaint you that the opinion we originally entertained of the measure remains exactly the same; that though it was generally considered to be unnecessary and a consequence which might be well insisted on to be necessarily dependent on the annexation, that as it did not appear that any injury to the constitution or connexion of the kingdoms was to be apprehended from it, should it be adopted, with the restriction I had the honour of stating to you, it was judged advisable in the pressure of the moment, and assailed as you then were by every description of parliamentary schemers, to waive the objection which its futility and uselessness suggested, and to make this concession with the view of the possibility of its enabling you the better to resist attempts of a more insidious and dangerous tendency. The objection which is suggested by lord Castlereagh, and in which there is certainly great weight, namely, it is a measure which ought not to have found its way into the house but by a message from the crown, did not, I confess, occur to any of us at the time of our deliberation upon the intended bill, and it has now been so long before the house, that I incline to think that the point would not now be brought forward with any kind of grace, were the expectations of the advantages that are to arise from the

discussion of a measure to be wholly abandoned; but even supposing the objection should be started by some independent member, who is a friend to order, I should recommend that it should be resisted on the ground of the distinction which exists between an act for the appointment of a particular person to be regent, or which gives a power of such appointment to the crown, and one which purports only to be explanatory of the act of the 33rd of Henry VIII."

In a letter written to the duke of Portland, on the 14th of April, lord Castlereagh, after alluding to the speaker's declaration of hostility, and expressing the opinion that it was advantageous that "his attack should have been wasted at a moment when the question of union was not really at issue," proceeds to observe that, "the discussion and decision on the regency bill have been of much service to the cause of union: by throwing the labouring oar entirely upon the opposite party, we have obtained complete admission of the danger resulting from the present principle of connexion, and of their inability to remove it, without altering and surrendering up their final and immutable settlement of 1782. The measure was brought forward to place government in the dilemma of refusing a remedy to an evil on which they relied, or of diminishing the necessity for a union, by providing for the case of regency. The attempt has completely failed; the dilemma has been thrown back on the proposers, by compelling them to relinquish this attempt as impracticable, unless they proposed to surrender up their parliamentary independence, and with it their assertions that the settlement of 1782 was fundamental and irrevocable. Notwithstanding a visible impression produced by the speaker's argument, I can confidently assure your grace, that the measure of union is making its way in proportion as it is canvassed and understood. At the same time, I feel it my duty to guard your grace's mind against an impression which might lead to disappointment, namely, as to the degree in which the public sentiment has undergone a change. The clamour has certainly subsided, and the measure has more open advocates, who were before silent; but I cannot perceive either in or out of parliament, that impression which can lead me to form any opinion of when the measure may be carried. Within the house, some persons who were not decided on a late occasion, are now more explicit, but I cannot

as yet reckon on many declared converts. I only mention the subject in this point of view, and think it of importance to state that, although the difficulties which stand in our way may yield without any very considerable delay, yet we must neither be dispirited nor disappointed if the resistance should prove obstinate, and the opposition be kept together to a degree which may render the accomplishment of the measure in the next session extremely problematical."

At length, on the 18th of April, when the adjourned debate on the regency bill took place, the bill was rejected; and this triumph showed that ministers were gradually regaining their influence.

Among the proceedings in this session of the Irish parliament, a vote in the house of lords created considerable alarm among the Roman catholics, and which is interesting as connected with the political agitation of the day. When the annual grant for the college of Maynooth came before the lords, a speech was made by the chancellor, lord Clare, setting forth abuses and mismanagement in that establishment, which led to the rejection of the bill. The government was embarrassed and provoked by this occurrence, and a large portion of the catholics, with many of the protestants also, imagined that the college of Maynooth was to be suppressed. Among the private correspondence of the Irish ministers on this somewhat delicate subject, a letter from the bishop of Meath to lord Castlereagh, dated on the 27th of April, contains some pertinent and interesting observations. "From the attention I have paid to the establishment of the Roman catholic college at Maynooth," says the bishop, "I considered it to be one of those objects which, in the situation to which your lordship was so instrumental in raising me, required a considerable share of my observation. The interests of religion and the public morals could not fail of being materially affected by such an institution, and it was of the greatest consequence to see that, planned as it had been in the soundest policy and truest wisdom, its purposes should not be frustrated by the manner of regulating and conducting it. Whether it was wise at the present moment to irritate the minds of the Roman catholics by the late decision of the lords, your lordship may be assured is not a question on which I shall presume to enter. I am happy to hear that it is not to

be final, as to the institution itself, but that your lordship has wisely determined to revive it by a new bill. It is in this stage of the business that I am encouraged to submit my observations to your lordship. One of the great objects of the institution was to bring the education of the Roman catholic clergy, on whom the morals and conduct of the Roman catholic body so exclusively depend, into contact with the government, and to subject them, as far as might be, without outraging their religious prejudices, under its control. For the accomplishment of this object, I thought, from the very first, that the board of trustees was improperly constituted. The great majority were Roman catholics, and the few protestants who were joined to them seemed to have been nominated rather as a compliment, than as forming an active and efficient part of their body. It is certain that in no instance (and one or two of very great importance, such as the expulsion of the United Irish students, and the removal of Hussey have occurred) did any of the protestant trustees interfere, nor were they ever called in by the others; I very humbly submit to your lordship whether occasion might not now be taken to correct what I account a great error. I submit whether, in addition to the present number of protestant trustees, the archbishop of Dublin, as metropolitan, the bishop of Kildare, as the diocesan, and some additional officers of the crown should not be appointed; whether it should not be provided that, for all the great objects of the institution, in its management, its discipline, or the nomination of its members, no meeting of the board should be held without proper notice being given to the protestant trustees, and a specified number of them being present; and whether, altogether and of the whole body appointed, there should not be a majority of protestants. I perfectly agree with the chancellor," the bishop continues, "that a protestant government and a protestant legislature would act a most absurd and inconsistent part in continuing, at an immense national expense, an establishment, the conductors and teachers of which maintain, and consequently inculcate to their pupils a principle of inextinguishable opposition and enmity to the established church; but, if his speech has been properly reported in the newspapers, he has taken no notice of what is most dangerous and insufferable in the system on

which the Roman catholic bishops have agreed to act, and which is openly and daringly avowed in Hussey's letter. I mean, the regulation of deterring by menaces of excommunication, and immediate exclusion from all the benefits and blessings of the church, such parents as shall send their children to be educated at protestant schools. The worst enemies of Ireland could not devise a scheme more effectually calculated to keep this description of the king's subjects a distinct people for ever, and to maintain eternal enmity and hatred between them and the protestant body. It was obviously a scheme to raise a spiritual wall of separation between them, in the place of that civil wall which the legislature had removed, and to counteract the effects of that liberal intercourse, which every friend of his country rejoiced to see so generally taking place, but from which the Roman catholic priests, imprudently left to depend for their subsistence on the number of their respective congregations, naturally dreaded to be the sufferers. This was precisely the same tyranny of which they had themselves so long complained, as violating the first principles of nature, by denying the parent the right of educating his child as seemed best to himself; it differed only in the nature of the punishment, and it was the more oppressive, as they are more inexorable in inflicting their spiritual than the legislature ever was with its civil penalties. But this was not the only evil to be apprehended from this system of exclusive education; it was obviously calculated to bring into their own hands the education of all the lower orders throughout the kingdom. Of this I had myself a convincing proof in the diocese of Ossory, some short time before I was removed from it. In several parishes, the ministers complained to me that their protestant schoolmasters had thrown up their schools; the Roman catholics had withdrawn all their children, and the protestants were not sufficiently numerous to afford them a livelihood by continuing to teach them. As the rule was become universal, the consequences must become equally so; and, as the protestants of the middling and lower orders must necessarily procure some kind of education for their children, the instruction of the youth of those classes would inevitably be engrossed by the Roman catholic clergy, who have the entire direction of their schools. I need not observe to your lord-

ship how much more effectually this system was calculated to diminish the number of protestants in Ireland than all the institutions which have been established at the national expense to increase it. Another dangerous part of the system avowed by Hussey, and put into practice by all the Roman catholic clergy, is that of denying to admit to confession, or to the sacrament, those servants who, in the houses of pious and devout protestants, attend their masters at their family prayers; they shall commit any crime and be absolved from it; but to join in prayer with the family whose bread they eat, although it be notorious that there is nothing in those prayers that interferes with their particular tenets, is represented to those poor creatures as a crime of so heinous a nature, as not even to entitle them to approach the confession-box. This is obviously in the same view of securing their adherents from all risk of deserting them as the former regulation; but with what evident evil consequences is it pregnant! and can we be surprised at what so many protestant families witnessed among their servants during the rebellion? This spiritual horror which their priests took such pains to infuse into them against their masters, proved but a step to arm them against their lives. Persons of that level cannot so nicely distinguish between their duties; they cannot weigh so much social good-will against so much religious abhorrence, nor understand why they are to show any fidelity or attachment to him as a man, whom they are taught to hold in abomination, and to exclude from all communion and intercourse, as a Christian. Religion is allowed to be the great bond of society: where that is not only broken, but converted into an instrument of endless disunion, to what other restraints will a common Roman catholic hold himself bound to submit in any of the relations in which he stands connected with a protestant? Nothing remains to restrain or coerce him but the dread of punishment, and the rigour of the laws; and, let but the circumstances of the times give him a hope of escaping or eluding these, and he will plunder, he will open his master's door to the midnight assassin, and join in his murder. These are words that convey no idea of criminality to him, and, instead of incurring guilt, he thinks he serves his religion. Connected with this abuse, and directed to the same object, is that part of the system alluded to in

the report of the chancellor's speech, that forbids all Roman catholics to enter a protestant church, to assist at a protestant sermon or exhortation, or to receive any kind of moral or religious instruction from a protestant minister; as this is one of the greatest objects of their dread, so they inexorably punish all who transgress with public excommunication. With us in England, excommunication has long been disused, but even when it made a part of the practical discipline of the established church, it required a regular legal course of proceedings in the ecclesiastical courts. But the Roman catholic priests exercise this dangerous engine of their power at discretion, and almost altogether to deter from heresy; amongst them it is accompanied by all its ancient terrors and effects; the excommunicated person is driven from society; no one converses with him; no one serves, no one employs him. Of this, there came before me a remarkable instance in a man from Thomastown, who, in his family, constantly read an English bible, and sometimes went to hear a sermon at the protestant church. His priest admonished, but to no effect: a sentence of excommunication was then publicly pronounced against him, and the immediate consequence was, the entire loss of his business as a house-painter, and that he and his family were reduced to poverty. He was frequently advised to bring an action of damages against the priest, but he was afraid for his life should he attempt it, and he was finally obliged to quit the country. Your lordship will judge whether this is an instrument to be left in such hands, uncontrolled and unregulated, and how far it is bearable that these men should exercise an authority unknown to the laws of the land, assuming a power above these laws, and tending to deprive the subject of his legal rights, beyond the most arbitrary and tyrannical exertion of the civic authority."

The session of the Irish parliament was now approaching its conclusion, but the very last day of its meeting, before the prorogation, witnessed one of the warmest debates of the session. The ministers had been using every exertion to increase their number of votes in the house of commons, and sometimes the course they adopted for this purpose was not of the most liberal or generous description. A member of the house of commons who was an officer in the army, colonel Cole, was appointed to serve

with his regiment in the isle of Corfu, and he had asked for the vacant office of escheator of Munster, in order that his constituents might elect another representative in his place. The government refused his demand, because by forcing him to retain his place as member of parliament the opposition to the union would lose a vote by his absence, and the escheatorship was given to Mr. Oliver, the representative of the borough of Kilmallock, a supporter of the government measure, who was sure of being re-elected. On the 15th of May, upon the usual motion of issuing a new writ for Kilmallock, a violent debate arose, first upon the particular case of colonel Cole, and then upon the general charge brought by the opposition against the government, of exerting corrupt and unjustifiable means in forcing upon Ireland the measure of the union. Among those who spoke with the greatest warmth on this occasion was Mr. Plunkett, who said that the question of the union had been brought into that house, accompanied by the execrations of the people of Ireland, but at the same time with the proud boast, and childish hope, on the part of the noble lord (lord Castlereagh), that it would be carried by a triumphant majority; it was dismissed and defeated by the instinct, and the reason, and the virtue, and the talents, and the property of the country. Let it not then be said that the union had been defeated by a faction, unless it were that faction to whom it was owing that a vestige of the British government was to be traced in the country, without whom they would have lost Ireland in the last year, and without whom they could not hold it during the next. At first the noble lord professed that no man should be allowed to vacate, unless he gave satisfactory assurance that his seat was not to be sold. He stated it as a fact, and desired to be contradicted if it were not so, that the noble lord had totally abandoned that principle, which he admitted was a fair and honourable one; he stated it as a fact, that since he made that profession he had allowed seats to be vacated, where he knew that money was to be given by the successor, and that he had refused permission to vacate, as in the instance of the honourable colonel, where he knew that no money was to be given. He stated it as a fact, that it was publicly avowed by government, that voting or not voting for the union was the sole rule by which the permission to vacate

should be regulated. Would any man after that be so senseless as to believe that government wished for the fair sense of the parliament or of the people? Would they deny that they had purchased the newspapers to admit publications only on one side? Would they deny that they had instructed sheriffs to prevent the sense of the counties being collected by the convening of the county meetings? Were they ready now to have the counties of Ireland convened, and to abide the test of their declaration on the question? It was notorious that the power of the government had been strained, in every corner of the kingdom, to prevent the sense of the people from being declared. He was informed that their emissaries actually descended so low as to threaten a publican in the city of Cork that his licence should be withdrawn, if he ventured to receive into his house a number of gentlemen, who afterwards affixed their signatures to an address, thanking the parliament for having rejected the union. They were told distinctly that the measure was not to be pressed against the sense of parliament and people, but whilst they shewed that they were straining every nerve to corrupt the sense of parliament, and to stifle the voice of the people, they could not be believed. Mr. Plunkett was replied to by the attorney-general, who recommended the minister to keep the disposal of offices to himself, and not to betray that part of the prerogative of the crown, by answering the interrogatories of any member of that house. Mr. J. C. Beresford then asked how would it appear to the people of the country when they should see members of that house, who were adverse to the measure of an union, and who happened to hold rank in the British army, sent out of the country in order to thin the house, and give a majority to government, and when it should be seen that the place bill was made a tool of in the hands of government, to enslave parliament, instead of maintaining it free. This speaker was called to order by the honourable F. Hutchinson, who said his object was rather to recal his attention to the question under debate, than any apprehension that he could succeed in his endeavour to inflame the people. The season for that delusion was now past; the discussions which had taken place in both countries had informed the public judgment, and it was too late now to practise any delusion upon it with effect. To the best of his observation, there was a

strong growing sentiment in favour of the union in many parts of the kingdom. To speak more particularly of the south, where his connexions lay, he said he believed it to be true, that fifteen parts out of sixteen of the property of the county of Cork had, by public resolutions, declared their opinion in favour of the measure; that the sentiment of a most numerous and respectable meeting holden in Cork had been long since known; that he had taken pains to inform himself of the opinion of the county of Kerry, and that he had the best grounded reasons to think that nearly the whole weight of the property of that county was favourable to the union. He said he referred to those parts of the kingdom only with which he happened to be particularly connected; that from these and similar facts, which other gentlemen might state from their local knowledge, he desired permission to controvert the assertion so often repeated, that the sense of the majority of the nation was adverse to the union. He could not help observing that this assertion contained in itself a monstrous assumption, when it was a fact which could not be controverted, that the catholics who composed that majority had, as a body, cautiously refrained from delivering any public opinion upon the question. Having mentioned the catholic body, he stated, among other grounds of argument, that he sustained the union principally because it was his firm persuasion that it would have the effect of restoring to the catholics their just rights, and would place them in a situation of perfect equality with their protestant fellow-subjects; that in speaking of Ireland it ought always to be remembered that no nation had ever been in this respect similarly circumstanced. It was time to apply a remedy to the evils arising from that exclusion; and that, conceiving the union to be that remedy, he would sustain it whensoever brought before parliament, considering it as a measure calculated, among other wise purposes, to heal the dissensions of that country, and to strengthen and cement the force of the empire. He begged leave, before he sat down, to advert to some observations which had been made on the conduct of sheriffs. He had the honour of standing in that situation for the county of Tipperary. He had been applied to to call a meeting of certain baronies, and afterwards had received a requisition to convene the county, to consider of the question of

a legislative union. He had declined to comply with either of these requisitions, but in so doing he acted in compliance with the opinion and advice of the majority of the rank and property of that great county, whose sentiments he had thought it his duty to consult, and by whose sentiments he had been directed. They conceived, from the disturbed state of the country, among other reasons, that the time for this meeting was inopportune; they had stated this opinion to him in a public paper, conceived in the strongest terms. His opinion coincided with theirs, and he had acted accordingly.

Such was the temper in which the Irish commons separated. The house was on this occasion thinly attended, and the ministers came off with a small majority. The house was then adjourned from the 15th of May to the 1st of June, when parliament was prorogued. The resolutions of the English parliament on the question of union had, in the meantime, been sent over to the lord lieutenant, with directions to communicate them to the parliament in Ireland in the most delicate manner he could devise. He accordingly introduced the subject into his speech from the throne in the following words. After alluding to the disturbed state in which some districts still remained, thanking the parliament for their zeal against rebellion, and for their liberal supplies, and congratulating with them on the recent successes of the allies, he went on to say:—"I am to return you his majesty's acknowledgment for the many important measures you have accomplished this session. Your liberality and justice to those who have suffered from their loyalty, will confirm the exertions of the well-disposed; and your judicious provisions for the regulation of paper currency are calculated to preserve its credit from depreciation, without diminishing the necessary circulation. I am sensible of the confidence which you have reposed in me, by enabling me to exercise the powers of martial law in the manner best adapted to the present circumstances of the country. It will be my care to employ those powers for the purposes for which they were given, by taking the most effectual and summary

measures for the suppression and punishment of rebellious proceedings, interfering as little as possible with the ordinary administration of justice among his majesty's peaceable subjects. I have his majesty's particular commands to acquaint you, that a joint address of the two houses of parliament of Great Britain has been laid before his majesty, accompanied by a resolution proposing and recommending a complete and entire union between Great Britain and Ireland, to be established by the mutual consent of both parliaments, founded on equal and liberal principles, on the similarity of laws, constitution, and government, and on a sense of mutual interest and affection. His majesty will receive the greatest satisfaction in witnessing the accomplishment of a system which, by allaying the unhappy distractions too long prevalent in Ireland, and by promoting the security, wealth, and commerce of his respective kingdoms, must afford them at all times, and especially in the present moment, the best means of jointly opposing an effectual resistance to the destructive projects of foreign and domestic enemies; and his majesty, as the common father of his people, must look forward with earnest anxiety to the moment when, in conformity to the sentiments, wishes, and real interest of his subjects in Great Britain and Ireland, they may all be inseparably united in the full enjoyment of the blessing of a free constitution, in the support of the honour and dignity of his majesty's crown, and in the preservation and advancement of the welfare and prosperity of the whole British empire. I feel most sensibly the arduous situation in which I am placed, and the weight of the trust which his majesty has imposed upon me at this most important crisis; but if I should be so fortunate as to carry this great measure, I shall think the labours and anxieties of a life devoted to the service of my country amply repaid, and shall retire with the conscious satisfaction that I have had some share in averting from his majesty's dominions those dangers and calamities which have overspread so large a portion of Europe."

CHAPTER XXIII.

STATE OF THE COUNTRY; REMAINS OF THE REBELLION; CHANGE IN THE PUBLIC SENTIMENT RELATING TO THE UNION; CONDUCT OF THE MARQUIS OF DOWNSHIRE.



ALTHOUGH the question of the union seemed now to occupy the whole of public attention, the spirit of rebellion still lurked, not unobserved, among the lower orders, and was kept alive by the exertions of a few bold political agitators. Some of the most violent leaders of the United Irishmen, had, at the suppression of the rebellion in 1798, succeeded in escaping to the continent, and establishing themselves in Paris, and at Hamburg, and other places, they continued in secret their plots for revolutionizing their country. These, on one side, contrived to communicate from time to time with their friends in Ireland, and keep up the agitation there, while on the other they gave information and encouragement to the rulers of France, who still talked openly of their intention to invade Ireland, and alarmed the English government with ostentatious preparations. The violent agitation on the subject of the union with England gave new spirit to the remains of the democratic party, which, although the dangerous name of United Irishmen was abandoned, still plotted together and cherished hopes of new rebellions, and believed that France would come to their rescue at last. So far was the Irish government from considering that this spirit was reduced to harmlessness, that the ministers were alarmed at the very suggestion of withdrawing the regiments of English militia, on which they placed their greatest dependence in the field, and they did not dare to relax in any point their vigilance and severity. Suspected persons continued to be arrested, and martial law to be put in force. Some districts were from time to time proclaimed, but even this was insufficient against the popular discontent, as it now showed itself; for the open hostilities of the rebellion were exchanged for a system of midnight murder and depredation. Lord Cornwallis wrote to the duke of Portland on the 14th of February, 1799, "It is with much pain I am to acquaint your lordship that the lenient measures adopted by the legislature, at the instance of his majesty, towards the close of the last session, have not been productive of those good effects in recalling the people to a sense of their allegiance, which was due to, and might have been expected from, so merciful an interposition in their favour. The same spirit of disaffection continues to pervade the lower orders; and though the rebellion is less openly persisted in, it does not fail to show itself in various outrages and depredations not less destructive and infinitely more embarrassing than open insurrection. The province of Ulster is, upon the whole, more exempt from disturbance than any other portion of the kingdom; but even in this quarter the disaffected are not inactive; and in the county of Antrim, during the last month, the houses of several loyal persons have been by night entered and stripped of arms. In the other provinces, the treasonable disposition exists in its full force, and a general insecurity prevails; the mails and travellers are frequently intercepted and robbed, the roads being infested by banditti. The counties of Wicklow and Wexford remain disturbed. In the county of Cork the usual resistance to the payment of tithes continues, accompanied by the cruel persecution of those employed in collecting them; and in the west the old system of houghing cattle has been of late revived, and carried to an extent which threatens the most serious consequences, not only to this kingdom but to the empire. The amount of the cattle destroyed is already very great. The evil pervades the counties of Galway and Mayo, and is likely, if not speedily checked, to extend itself. I have made the necessary distribution of troops, to repress as far as possible this mischief; but your grace must feel how little it is in the power of the military to prevent the commission of crimes perpetrated at night, over the face of so extended a district."

Towards the spring of 1799, various secret informations obtained by the agents

of government showed that there was at least an attempt to get up a new insurrection, and that the disaffected had received assurances of support from France.* On the 28th of February, lord Castlereagh's confidential correspondent in London, sent him, by direction of the English ministers, copies of secret information which left no doubt that a formidable expedition was fitting out at the port of Brest, and seemed to point to Ireland as its destination. This was coupled with new revelations relating to the activity of the old party of the United Irishmen. "It appears also certain," says the writer, "from authentic information lately collected here, that the United Irishmen in Dublin have received advices from France, and have communicated the same to their friends here, that an expedition will be undertaken from Brest to the coasts of Ireland in the course of the ensuing month, or the beginning of April. In a late letter I mentioned that one Doyle had then lately gone over to Ireland with a number of printed cards (one of which I send enclosed) struck in commemoration of what the disaffected call the martyrdom of Quigley. This man is lately returned, and has brought with him, to the leaders of the union here, the assurance that such an expedition will take place at the time above-mentioned, and that measures are now taking, with the utmost activity, for a general rising in Ireland as soon as the French shall appear on the coast. He brings instructions, at the same time, which have been communicated only to three leading persons here, to en-

deavour to cause a rising at the same moment of the united men in the capital, and, if possible, in Bristol and Manchester, so as that this country may be prevented from sending any troops to Ireland. If a rising cannot be effected, they hope to be able either to set fire to a dockyard, or to assassinate his majesty or Mr. Pitt, in the hope of making as much confusion and creating as great an alarm as possible. I am sorry to inform your lordship that, in furtherance of these views, the organisation of societies of United Irishmen in this capital is now carried on with all-alarming activity, and that all their proceedings are directed by Irishmen lately come over, all of whom have been more or less concerned in the late rebellion. All of them, however, are more or less under the direction of the Binuses; and, as the duke of Portland is positively informed, and as he has every reason to believe, are subject to the control and direction of the executive committee in Ireland, which has been appointed by such of the state prisoners as originally filled that office, and who are now, of course, incapable of executing it. Under these circumstances, the lord lieutenant will probably receive immediately a dispatch from the duke of Portland, recommending the renewing, enforcing, and even extending the provisions of last year, with respect to persons passing from one country to the other; and similar provisions will also be made, and similar precautions taken, on this side of the water."

* A curious example of the informations which were now continually given to government, and assisted in keeping up the alarm, is furnished by the following paper given in by the celebrated Joseph Holt, while waiting at the Cove of Cork to sail for New South Wales, and printed in the correspondence of lord Castlereagh. It is dated on the 27th of February, 1799, and shews the anxiety of the writer to find favour with the court. In this paper Holt says, "that since the arrival of the convicts from Cork, viz., Dry, Desmond, Cox, Fitzgerald, and several others, they have held conversations, all of which tend to state positively that there are twenty thousand rebels organized at Cork and its neighbourhood, and that they are determined to make a rising on the evening of Easter Sunday next, when they expect the French. A feint is to be made at Killala, but the principal attack is to be made about Cork. That he has heard through those people, and from the conversations of several there, that the whole country is organizing with more activity than ever, especially in Munster, and is assured and believes that great numbers of the militia soldiers are sworn and ready to join them, and expresses strongly a desire that the government will be very attentive to

the conduct of the militia soldiers. He is certain they have given up meetings; but they carry on their plots by writing little notes to one another, and that they encourage the disaffected to enlist in the regiments of militia. These are, on what they call the big day, (Easter Sunday) to assassinate the well-disposed, and to secure their arms and ammunition. He is certain that the country will experience great disorder next summer, and recommends again and strongly, the strictest watch of the militia, who he says, and is certain, are not to be trusted, and that the country is now preparing for rebellion more strongly than ever, and in greater numbers. The Dutch, and particularly the Spaniards, are expected to come to their assistance. With great anxiety he again entreats that government may exert itself in time, and take measures to prevent a rebellion, that is certainly determined on, and that of the most universal nature. The common conversations are, that there is not a catholic who would not kill a protestant as soon as he would a rat. He is satisfied, that if there were but five catholics they are determined, and will pursue this principle and intent as long as they exist. Joseph Holt adds, that he is himself a protestant."

This letter shows us the extraordinary system of espionage which had been established by the English government, and which made them thus acquainted with the secret designs of the revolutionary party. Subsequent letters informed the Irish ministers of the places in Dublin and elsewhere, where Doyle and some of the other revolutionary missionaries were to lodge, and of the length of time that they were likely to remain in each. Information of this kind now multiplied upon the minister's hands; and intelligence was received that another fleet assembled in the Texel was also destined for Ireland. This last circumstance created great uneasiness, and when, at the latter end of April, it was known that the Brest fleet had put to sea, every preparation was made in Ireland for a vigorous resistance, in case an attempt was made to land troops. A formidable fleet was at the same time sent to watch the Irish coast. But, after cruising for some time off the coast of Portugal and Spain, the French fleet returned to Brest, and Ireland was not only relieved from this danger, but, towards autumn, the spirit of rebellion seemed to be rapidly disappearing. Threatening notices were, however, still common, and were often followed by individual outrages, and government received information of secret meetings of revolutionist committees. According to some of these informations, a new organization was taking place, under pretence of agitating against the union; it was said that Dublin was soon to rise as a signal for rebellion throughout the country, and that large quantities of arms were concealed in different parts ready for use. Towards winter, as usual, the disturbers of the public peace, encouraged by the long nights, became bolder and more numerous, and rumours were again spread abroad of an intended insurrection. The popular feeling was further provoked at this moment by several executions, chiefly of persons who had been active in the outrages at the rebel post of Vinegar Hill; and one of these, named James Beagham, made a public declaration relating to the treasonable conduct of the priests, which was printed and circulated by the orangemen, and gave great offence to the catholic party. The bitter hostility of the orange party served more than anything else to gain over the catholics to support the union, for they began to see that their only hopes of toleration and protection lay in the removal of

the legislature to a country where there was less bitterness of prejudice.

Nothing could exceed the activity with which both parties on this important measure canvassed their supporters and laboured for converts. The anti-unionists accused their adversaries of practising the meanest artifices, in order to obtain signatures in favour of the union; while on the other hand the unionists accused them of imposing upon the public with shameless misrepresentations. We trace the progress of the unionists, who were certainly increasing in numbers and force, in the correspondence of the lord lieutenant and the active promoter of the measure, lord Castlereagh. On the 22nd of June, the former, writing to congratulate the duke of Portland on some conversions in the house of commons, goes on to say:—"Having stated to your grace the result of our exertions as far as parliament is concerned, I wish to give you some idea of the prospects we have out of doors. I feel the direction of the public sentiment superior in importance to every other object, and shall leave no effort unmade to turn it to advantage. Every publication of merit has been systematically and most extensively circulated, and certainly with the best effects; I have most earnestly recommended it to the friends of government to exert themselves during the summer in their several counties, and have urged them, without risking popular meetings, to obtain declarations similar to those of Cork and Galway in favour of the measure. The efforts necessary to procure these declarations have roused our friends to exertion, and inspired them with a proportionate zeal; and we find in the counties in which it has been successfully tried, that it has been not less useful in pledging individuals in favour of the measure than in disposing the timid to declare themselves, and will not only encourage, but justify, the opponents of the question in parliament in a change of conduct. Our situation in the counties is at present nearly as follows:—Galway, King's County, Mayo, and Kerry have already come forward; Cork, Mayo, and Kerry, with a unanimity unexampled on any public measure. We expect to have nearly equal success in Clare, Derry, Tipperary, Waterford, and Wexford. We reckon the strength divided in different degrees, and of course the point is to be contested, in Antrim, Armagh, Donegal, Down, Kilkenny, Leitrim, Limerick, Long-

ford, Monaghan, Meath, Queen's County, Roscommon, Sligo, Tyrone, and Westmeath. In Carlow, Cavan, Dublin, Fermanagh, Kildare, Louth, and Wicklow, we reckon little strength, and of course can look only to time for making an impression. The temper of Dublin remains strongly adverse, but not in the degree it did; some of the commercial body have altered their sentiments. Dublin is not without materials for a counter-party, which I should have sanguine hopes of collecting, if my endeavours to produce a schism in the corporation should prove successful."

A letter from the earl of Altamont, written at the beginning of the same month, had already given a favourable account of the counties of Mayo and Sligo:—"In regard to the union," says lord Altamont, "I have got the names of most of the property of Mayo to it. Lord Lucan's friends have been zealous in promoting it; lord Trawley's have been as yet neutral; the O'Donnells alone opposing; but they have not yet been able to influence one man of a hundred a year, that I can trace. If the Roman catholics stand forward, it will be unwillingly; they are keeping back decidedly, but many will be influenced, and some few who connected themselves with the protestants during the disturbance, will be zealously forward on the present occasion. The priests have all offered to sign; and, though I am not proud of many of them as associates, I will take their signatures to prevent a possibility of a counter-declaration; I hear the titular archbishop has expressed himself inclined to the measure. This day I have sent round to all the catholics of property in the county: I may be mistaken, but, in my judgment, the wish of most of them would be to stand neuter; or, perhaps, if they had any countenance, to oppose it—that is the fact. Several will sign from influence, some from fear; but the majority, I believe, will pretend that they have given opinions already, and cannot decently retract them. You shall know exactly when I get to Dublin. Every man applied to, of all persuasions, wants to make it personal compliment. I have found, to my infinite surprise, that the county and the town of Sligo, without the slightest interference, and against all their representatives, are decided friends to the union; I know of no part of Ireland where the *unbiassed* mind of the public is so generally with it. When I see my way a little,

I will set it agoing there. Roscommon is against it; but for that, the bulk, or indeed the entire, of the province might be considered as pledged to the measure, or ready to be so."

All these documents show the extreme anxiety with which the government urged on the measure, and their determination eventually to carry it. Converts began now to multiply. On the 6th of July, lord Castlereagh wrote to the duke of Portland, "I am happy to inform your grace that, amongst other converts, we have to include the archbishop of Cashel, who yesterday intimated to the lord lieutenant that the measure should have his decided support. Although we have not had reason to apprehend much difficulty in the house of lords, yet we must consider his grace's name as a very valuable acquisition. Lord Carhampton having disposed of his estate and place at Luttreldown to Mr. White, the town contractor, has, I understand, parted with much of his indisposition to union along with them, and now declares his intention of voting for the measure. So decided a change of sentiment in two of our most determined opponents is peculiarly advantageous at this moment, as tending to correct the bad effect resulting from the part lord Downshire has hitherto taken. If your grace could by any means prevail on lord De Clifford to take a decided part with us, which, from some circumstances which have come to my knowledge, I should conceive not quite impossible, it would have at this moment the most salutary effects in shaking the confidence of our opponents. A very general declaration in favour of this measure has been signed in the city of Waterford; the county is also coming forward with great unanimity. The conduct of the city is the best surety of the public disposition being with us, notwithstanding the corporation is strongly disposed, at all times, to disputation, and jealous to the last degree of lord Waterford's influence. Very active measures are making against us at Limerick by Mr. Prendergast, who has the leading influence in the corporation; lord Carhampton has gone down, and will probably, from his extensive property in the town, secure a sufficient support from that quarter."

In order to secure and improve the advantages thus gained, lord Cornwallis determined, in the course of the summer to make a progress through the provinces, and add his personal influence to the

exertions of the friends of government. On the 20th of July, before starting on this tour, he wrote to the duke of Portland, "I propose leaving town on Monday for the south. My intention is to pass by Kilkenny, Waterford, Cork, Limerick, and Athlone. I shall visit the principal persons who lie in my route, and be absent about three weeks. This tour will enable me to speak with more precision of the state of the public mind on the union, than I have hitherto been able to do. My observations have yet been altogether confined to Dublin, which is certainly the point of resistance. If I may confide in the accounts I receive, the measure is working very favourably in the south. Within these few days the catholics have shown a disposition to depart from their line of neutrality, and to support the measure. Those of the city of Waterford have sent up a very strong declaration in favour of union, at the same time expressing a hope that it will lead to the accomplishment of their emancipation, as they term it, but not looking to it as a preliminary. The catholics of Kilkenny have agreed to a similar declaration; and, as the clergy of that church, particularly the superiors, countenance the measure, it is likely to extend itself. In the north the public opinion is much divided on the question. In Derry and Donegal, the gentry are in general well disposed. The linen-merchants are too busily employed in their trade to think much on the subject, or to take an active part on either side; but I understand they are, on the whole, rather favourable, wishing to have their trade secured, which they do not feel, notwithstanding the Speaker's argument, to be independent of Great Britain." On his return from this tour in the south, lord Cornwallis wrote to the duke of Portland as follows:—"I returned to town on Friday, from my southern tour, and am happy to have it in my power to convey to your grace the most satisfactory accounts of that part of the kingdom, as well in point of tranquillity as in general good disposition towards the government, and cordial approbation of the measure of union. This sentiment is confined to no particular class or description of men, but equally pervades both the catholic and protestant bodies; and I was much gratified in observing that those feelings which originated with the higher orders have, in a great degree, extended

themselves to the body of the people. I received, in the course of my tour, addresses from all the public bodies connected with the towns through which I passed, as also from those in the neighbourhood of the places where I made my stay (with the exception of those corporations which happened to be under the influence of individuals who had taken a part in parliament against the measure); they universally declared themselves most warmly and unequivocally on the question of union; and, since my return, a meeting in the county of Tipperary, convened by the sheriff, and most numerous and respectably attended, has entered into strong resolutions, and instructed their representatives to support the union. Lord Lismore and some few of Mr. Ponsonby's friends attended, but their strength was so inconsiderable that they withdrew, and the proceeding was unanimous. The accession of Tipperary to those counties before declared, gives us the entire province of Munster; and its weight will be the more authoritative, as it is an inland county and not decided merely by commercial prospects. The province of Connaught is going on well; the town of Galway has recalled its former decision, and declared strongly for union. I hope the county will shortly follow this example. The measure has not, as yet, made the same progress in the province of Ulster. Although we have very formidable opponents to contend against in that quarter of the kingdom, I by no means despair of the public sentiments being ultimately favourable, and feeling strongly the importance of the object, my exertions shall be particularly directed to dispose the public mind to the union. In the northern counties, we have already established the question strongly in Derry and Antrim." In a subsequent tour through the northern counties, the lord lieutenant seems to have been equally successful.

The success which had thus attended the exertions of the ministers naturally provoked their opponents, who now exerted themselves with redoubled zeal. Several meetings of the corporation of Dublin voted strong declarations against the union. The manufacturers of the north were told that it would destroy their linen trade. Similar representations were made in other parts of the country, and the approach of the opening of a new session of parliament

increased the zeal of the agitators. In the January of the year 1800, the marquis of Downshire (the most uncompromising of the anti-unionists), with the earl of Charlemont, and William Brabazon Ponsonby (the member for the county of Kilkenny), sent circular letters to the gentry and yeomanry of Ireland, stating that they were authorised by a number of members of both houses of parliament, among whom were thirty-eight representatives of counties, to recommend the expediency of sending petitions to parliament against the union, and urging the gentlemen to whom the circulars were addressed, to use their exertions in procuring such petitions. It was also reported that these noblemen, with others, had joined in forming a fund for defraying the expenses of opposing a union. The personal influence of lord Downshire, a nobleman of unblemished character, was very considerable, and his opposition gave great displeasure to the ministers, who took advantage of an act of indiscretion into which he was led by his zeal, to visit him with a public mark of their displeasure. Lord Downshire was colonel of the Downshire militia, a body of about twelve hundred men, then quartered at Carlow, and he sent a petition to the officer in command there, with directions to cause it to be signed by the men of the regiment, who obeyed almost to a man. Intelligence of this proceeding was immediately conveyed to the ministers,* who caused a searching investigation to be made, and the accuracy of their information being thus established, the marquis was removed from the government of the county, and from the colonelcy

* The following anonymous letter was addressed to lord Castlereagh on this occasion; it shows, by the replies of the soldiers, the ignorance of the Irish peasantry, and how they were constantly made the tools of agitators of every description:—

“ Carlow, February 2nd, 1800.

“ MY LORD,—As I am an old man, and somewhat tamed, I hope you will take an opportunity, in some of your speeches in the house, to inform us if it is consistent with the safety of his majesty's peaceable subjects, for military bodies to be stirred up against a measure our worthy viceroy professes to have at heart, and how far we, who are not able to fight for ourselves, may depend upon a corps (should the present contest end in blows) who decidedly petition against and reprobate the measures of the government who pay them. Don't you think, my lord, we may be in some danger of a second part of the concerto played at Castlebar? What has led me into these reflections, my lord, is this:—I am told, and I believe my authority is pretty good, that an express came into this town last night from a noble marquis, in consequence of which there was a general call of

of the regiment, and his name was erased from the list of privy councillors. The disgrace of lord Downshire was warmly resented by the anti-unionists, who declaimed on this new proof of the corruption and intimidation by which the government were carrying their object.

The body to which the eyes of the unionists had been directed most anxiously, the Roman catholics, had long hesitated in espousing either party, for they were equally mistrustful of the government and of the opposition. Lord Cornwallis, who personally had obtained their respect, gained over by degrees some of their leaders, and the example thus set soon found followers. They saw that the most obstinate opponents of the measure were the orangemen, from whom they were at this moment suffering persecution, and they began to entertain some vague expectations that from a united imperial parliament they would not only receive more protection and kindness, but that they might obtain the complete emancipation which they had so long and so ardently desired. These expectations were encouraged by the government, which held out everything short of an absolute promise that emancipation should be the price of their support. From this moment the leaning of the catholic body towards the measure became more general and decided; although still the catholics were far from unanimous in their sentiments on the subject. This division of opinion was especially shown in the city of Dublin, where the clergy and many of the respectable catholic inhabitants were desirous of supporting the measure, while a large portion this regiment this morning to meet, the officers to meet at the major's room, the men somewhere else. When the officers met, a letter from the noble lord was first presented to them, saying he had no doubt of his officers and men signing the petition sent therewith, which petition you will have the pleasure of seeing. All signed that were present, but one—freeholders, non-freeholders, children, &c., &c.; and as for the men, drum-boys, fifers, &c., all signed, or were signed for, as your lordship will see, by comparing it with the muster-roll. I had the curiosity, in my morning rambles, to ask several of the soldiers what they had signed. One answered, he did not know; another, that he signed for the union; a third, that the union may not be carried out of the kingdom; and so on. Some replies were so very ludicrous, that, in spite of my apprehensions and indignant feelings at such a farce being acted, my risible faculties were moved. However, my lord, I hope you will speak a word of comfort to us ignorant politicians, and believe me, my lord,

Your well-wisher,

JEFFREY PORESIGHT.

of the Roman catholics of the metropolis were as decidedly opposed to it. The lawyers, who believed that their personal interests would be largely affected by the passing of the measures, were here the great agitators; and it was on this occasion that the celebrated Daniel O'Connell first stepped into political life. Towards the middle of January, just before the opening of parliament, the catholics of Dublin who were opposed to union held a grand meeting at the royal exchange. As the proclamation against seditious meetings was still in force, the military at first interfered, but the lord lieutenant, on being informed of what had taken place, authorized the meeting to proceed, and then, the assembly having obtained permission to speak, Mr. Moore was unanimously called to the chair. Mr. O'Connell opened the business with observing, that under the circumstances of the present day, and the systematic calumnies flung against the catholic character, it was more than once determined by the Roman catholics of Dublin to stand entirely aloof, as a mere sect, from all political discussion, at the same time that they were ready, as forming generally a part of the people of Ireland, to confer with and express their opinions in conjunction with their protestant fellow-subjects. This resolution, which they had entered into, gave rise to an extensive and injurious misrepresentation, and it was asserted by the advocates of union—daringly and insolently asserted—that the Roman catholics of Ireland were friends to the measure, and silent allies of that conspiracy formed against the name, the interests, and the liberties of Ireland. This libel on the catholic character was strengthened by the partial declarations of some mean and degenerate members of the communion, wrought upon by corruption or by fear, and unfortunately it was received with a too general credulity. Every union pamphlet, every union speech, impudently put forth the catholic name as sanctioning a measure which would annihilate the name of the country, and there was none to refute the calumny. In the speeches and pamphlets of anti-unionists, it was rather admitted than denied, and at length the catholics themselves were obliged to break through a resolution which they had formed in order to guard against misrepresentation, for the purpose of repelling this worst of misrepresentations. To refute a calumny directed against them as a sect, they were

obliged to come forward as a sect, and in the face of their country to disavow the base conduct imputed to them, and to declare that the assertion of their being favourably inclined to the measure of a legislative incorporation with Great Britain, was a slander the most vile, a libel the most false, scandalous, and wicked, that ever was directed against the character of an individual or a people. "Sir," said Mr. O'Connell, "it is my sentiment, and I am satisfied it is the sentiment, not only of every gentleman who now hears me, but of the catholic people of Ireland, that if our opposition to this injurious, insulting, and hated measure of union were to draw upon us the revival of the penal laws, we would boldly meet a proscription and oppression, which would be the testimonies of our virtue, and sooner throw ourselves once more on the mercy of our protestant brethren, than give our assent to the political murder of our country; yes, I know—I do know, that although exclusive advantages may be ambiguously held forth to the Irish catholic, to seduce him from the sacred duty which he owes his country—I know that the catholics of Ireland still remember that they have a country, and that they will never accept of any advantages as a *sect*, which would debase and destroy them as a *people*." Mr. O'Connell then moved the following resolutions, which were unanimously agreed to by the persons there assembled, and were afterwards printed in the newspapers:—"Resolved—That we are of opinion that the proposed incorporate union of the legislature of Great Britain and Ireland is, in fact, an extinction of the liberty of this country, which would be reduced to the abject condition of a province, surrendered to the mercy of the minister and legislature of another country, to be bound by the absolute will, and taxed at their pleasure by laws, in the making of which this country could have no efficient participation whatsoever. That we are of opinion that the improvement of Ireland for the last twenty years, so rapid beyond example, is to be ascribed wholly to the independency of our legislature, so gloriously asserted in the year 1782, by the virtue of our parliament co-operating with the generous recommendation of our most gracious and benevolent sovereign, and backed by the spirit of our people, and so solemnly ratified by both kingdoms as the only true and permanent foundation of

Irish prosperity and British connexion. That we are of opinion, that if the independence should ever be surrendered, we must as rapidly relapse into our former depression and misery; and that Ireland must inevitably lose, with her liberty, all that she has acquired in wealth, and industry, and civilization. That we are firmly convinced, that the supposed advantages of such a surrender are unreal and delusive, and can never arise in fact; and that even if they should arise, they would be only the bounty of the master to the slave, held by his courtesy, and resumable at his pleasure. That having heretofore determined not to come forward any more in the distinct character of catholics, but to consider our claims and our cause, not as those of a sect, but as involved in the general fate of our country, we now think it right, notwithstanding such determination, to publish the present resolutions, in order to undeceive our fellow-subjects who may have been led

to believe, by a false representation, that we are capable of giving any concurrence whatsoever to so foul and fatal a project; to assure them that we are incapable of sacrificing our common country to either pique or pretension; and that we are of opinion that this deadly attack upon the nation is the great call of nature, of country, and posterity, upon Irishmen of all descriptions and persuasions, to every constitutional and legal resistance, and that we sacredly pledge ourselves to persevere, in obedience to that call, as long as we have life."

This protest of the portion of the catholics of Dublin who were opposed to the union, appears to have produced no great effect on their brethren throughout the country; and its chief effect at the time seems to have been to make a schism in the catholic body, which their enemies were ready to turn to their disadvantage.

CHAPTER XXIV.

LAST SESSION OF THE LAST IRISH PARLIAMENT; ITS FIRST DEBATES ON THE UNION; MR. GRATTAN'S REAPPEARANCE; MINISTERIAL MAJORITY.



THE ministers now felt themselves sufficiently strong to be willing to meet parliament on the subject which engaged all attentions, and some correspondence had passed with the British government on the propriety of opening the session before the end of the year, but it was thought that, in the way things were going, a little further delay would only add to the strength of the unionists. The session of the parliament of Great Britain had been opened on the 24th of September, and the king's speech had again pressed the subject of union between the two kingdoms on the attention of the legislature. But, when the Irish parliament met on the 15th of January, 1800, the speech from the throne contained no allusion to the subject. It congratulated parliament on the success which had crowned the

arms of England and its allies during the recess, warned them against the insidious designs of France, and the example of its revolutionary principles, and expressed his confidence in their wisdom. The mover of the address, lord Loftus, made but a slight allusion to the subject of the union, and it seemed as though it was to be passed over in silence, until sir Lawrence Parsons rose to open a violent attack on the government. After having required that the speeches of the lord lieutenant at the opening and close of the preceding session of parliament should be read, sir Lawrence said, that when at the close of last session a recommendation on the subject of union had been made from the throne, all deliberation on the message had been prevented by a sudden prorogation, and when the speech just delivered had studiously avoided all mention of the measure, there was not a man in the house who did not know the reason of this proceeding. The measure

had been fully and fairly rejected last session, and the minister waited now to get, if possible, a packed parliament, to deprive Ireland of her ancient constitution. This was a plain, undeniable, flagrant fact. Was the house to wait until his practices should be matured? Were they to remain inactive while his machinations were going on—while the serpent was collecting into his coils to spring upon them with greater vehemence, were they to remain spiritless and dead, without courage to attack him? He would not blame the minister for urging a measure which he might think beneficial to the country, but he should do it in a fair, free, uncontaminated manner; this was not the case here—means were employed to carry the measure which, if it even were of advantage to the country, would pollute all the benefits it could produce. Alluding to the changes which had taken place during the recess in the representation of various places under ministerial influence, he said that the representatives of the people might be dismissed—it mattered not whether turned out by the sword of the army or the gold of the treasury, whether by a Cromwell or a secretary—the means and the act were still equally abominable. The great charge against James II. was attempting to pack a parliament. What did ministers do now? They prostituted the prerogative of the crown, by appointing men to places so as to pack a parliament. Had anything so flagrant occurred in either kingdom since the reign of James II.? He entreated gentlemen not to hang back through any false delicacy, at a time when it was evident that the minister was only lying in wait to attack them; the measure of a union had been rejected last session; it had been condemned by the voice of the nation, and now he was preparing to bring it forward anew, at a time when the country was covered with armies, when martial law was predominant, at the very moment when a formidable invasion was preparing against the country; when apprehensions prevailed from without and from within—where the exercise of the public mind is by these circumstances precluded. If the British minister meant fairly, would he not wait till a moment of peace to propose this measure—a measure which, upon no principle of sound policy, could require haste? The Irish parliament had lasted for six hundred years; might it not be allowed to endure for one or two years more, until a period of tranquillity

should arise? In this strain sir Lawrence proceeded to attack the desigus of the government; he pointed out the past merits of the local parliament, and what he considered its future advantages, declaimed against the English parliamentary supremacy, spoke of the evils of absentees and non-resident landlords, asserted the finality of the arrangements of 1782, and ended by moving an amendment, "To assure his majesty that this, his majesty's kingdom of Ireland is inseparably united with Great Britain, and that the sentiments, wishes, and real interests of all his subjects are, that it should continue so united in the enjoyment of a free constitution, in the support of the honour and dignity of his majesty's crown, and in the advancement of the welfare of the whole empire; which blessings we owe to the spirited exertions of an independent resident parliament, the paternal kindness of his majesty, and the liberality of the British parliament in 1782, and which we feel ourselves at all times, and particularly at the present moment, bound in duty to maintain."

Lord Castlereagh replied to sir Lawrence Parsons, treated his arguments with derision, and repelled his attack in the best manner he could. The honourable baronet had, he said, expressed his surprise that after a message had been delivered to parliament last year, communicating the resolutions of the British parliament, a sudden prorogation took place, and the parliament of Ireland had not an opportunity of returning an answer to that communication. The reason was sufficiently obvious—the proceedings of the British parliament were not laid before the Irish parliament with a view to their immediate adoption or rejection, but that the latter might be put in full possession of the whole subject, and be thus prepared for its consideration whenever his majesty should think proper to call their attention to it. The subject of the union was not alluded to in the lord lieutenant's speech, because it was intended to make it a subject of distinct communication to parliament. Last year, when the subject was brought under their consideration, the question was not thoroughly understood, and the parliament did not think proper to entertain it; the subject was then withdrawn, and it was stated that it would not again be proposed without full and fair notice, and until there was reason to believe that the parliament and the country had changed their opinions

upon it. He had withdrawn the question last year under a persuasion that the measure was not completely understood, but, thinking as he did upon this subject, convinced of the many commercial and political advantages it would produce to Ireland, and of its tendency to increase the general strength and prosperity of the empire, and being fully satisfied that it was now approved of by a great majority of the people, he should think that he had betrayed his duty to his sovereign and to his country, if he did not again submit the question to the cool and dispassionate consideration of the parliament of Ireland. He protested against the attempt to prevent a calm investigation of the merits of the measure, by thus extinguishing it by anticipation. He thought it absurd thus to decide upon a question before they had investigated it, and said that the proper time to discuss it would be when, a few days thence, it should be regularly brought before them. He said that, at the opening of the last parliament, an attempt had been made, which had partly succeeded, to prevent the discussion of the question, and it had only succeeded, because many members were led to decide hastily on a subject they had not duly considered. A learned and honourable member made an attempt to draw the house into a solemn pledge never to entertain the question again, but the country gentlemen saw the object of that motion, and resisted it; they would not bind themselves up from the future discussion of the question for ever, and the consequence was, that they made the honourable gentleman withdraw his motion. In a very short time, however, after gentlemen had in the most decided manner opposed all discussion of the question whatever, they felt that they had not managed matters well, and they then expressed a wish to discuss the subject, when the crown, under the then circumstances of the case, had withdrawn it. After gentlemen had expressed a wish to argue it last session, was it consistent that they should at present refuse all consideration of the question whatever? Was it consistent that when the public voice had not been spoken upon this subject, gentlemen were willing to argue the question, but now, when so large a part of the kingdom had expressed their approbation of the measure, they did not think it even fit for discussion. This was contrary to the dictates of sound sense. Lord Cas-

lereagh, for these and other reasons, gave his decided opposition to the amendment.

A warm debate followed, and the amendment was supported strongly by lord Cole, Mr. J. C. Beresford, Mr. Ogle, and others. The gentleman last mentioned did not imagine that, after the sense of the house had been so clearly ascertained on this subject, the Irish minister would have been bold enough to introduce, or the British minister wicked enough to persevere, in the measure of union. He thought it a measure fraught with every ill to Ireland and Great Britain, a measure whose tendency would be to render the British minister triumphant over the constitutions of both countries. Dr. Browne, one of the representatives of Trinity College, had become more inclined to an union than he had been in the preceding session, because he thought it more necessary from intermediate circumstances. After the scenes which he had witnessed in that country during the rebellion, and for some time after, he expressly declared to some very respectable and dignified friends, who well remembered it, that he thought such a union under the then existing circumstances desirable, and he never did at any time shew the heat and fury upon the subject, which other men had done. The disposition of the college in general was against it; but this feeling was so far from being universal, that nearly half of the government part of the society favoured it, and some of them had said, they would never vote for the man who opposed the union. It did not seem to him a good method of opposing the union, to persecute every man with calumny and abuse, who said, that he thought he ought to hear what England proposed, even though he rested that opinion merely on his notion of its propriety. If opposition to the union proceeded from love of the nation, he respected it; if from regard to individual power, or personal aggrandisement, he concerned not himself about it. Had he seen, after the rejection of the union last year, any measures brought forward to conciliate the people, to heal the distractions of the country; had he seen any reviviscence of that spirit, which produced the constitution of 1782, coming forward, to preserve it, he should not have listened to proposals of union. But for gentlemen to suppose that if parliament did not support itself, it could be supported; to suppose that without domestic virtue, the nation would trouble

itself about its existence, was absurd. The truth was, apathy had gone through the nation upon the subject; in 1782, the idea of a union could not have been brought forward; in 1785 it could not have been brought forward; why could it now? Because the parliament had then the warm affections of the nation, and now it had not. The method of preventing union was not by rebellion, nor by orange systems; nor by looking for a republic, nor by holding up every man as a rebel who disapproved of particular measures; it should have been by regular obedience to the laws, and constitutional parliamentary opposition to the proposed measure. The measures of last session to which he had alluded to particularly, were the rebellion bill and the Fitzgerald bill. The first, which he knew was rather forced upon the government, than sought for by it, and which, therefore, was not imputable to the executive power, enabled any petty officer to take up any person on the vague charge of assisting the rebellion, on his mere suspicion, founded on any foolish word, or indiscreet, trifling action, try him, and execute him without the possibility of appeal to any other tribunal. This law still existed: why did they not feel it? Why not know it? Why were they ignorant that they lived under such power? Because the wisdom, the prudence, the temper, the humanity, the goodness of the chief governor prevented it; he could not forget that he lived under such a law; he could not forget that the parliament, while it contended against the ademption of its rights, voluntarily relinquished them all, or that to-morrow, a hot, or imprudent, or weak successor, might make them feel this unbounded power in its excess. The other, which he called the Fitzgerald bill, was made for a particular instance; it was thought it would screen the greatest outrage upon private innocence that was ever known. To his certain knowledge, no measure ever so much promoted the union, nor made so many converts among the dispassionate viewers of their conduct in England, and that country. The abuse upon that occasion neither tended to peace, nor was true; he had found in England, and so he said a year ago to his constituents, more coolness, more kind disposition to their country, than among the sons of Ireland, and to represent it as always hostile, evidently tended to separation.

Mr. Plunkett, who continued his violent

opposition to the measure of union, in a very long and animated speech, reflected severely on Dr. Browne's change of opinion. He went over the old field of argument; traced the proceeding of the government from the beginning; censured both the measure, and the means taken to enforce it, and earnestly exhorted the ministry not to offer violence to the settled principles, or to shake the settled loyalty of the country. The next speaker was the prime serjeant, who retaliated by pointing out the arts which had been practised by the anti-union faction, to delude and inflame the people. He accused the leaders of that party of having resorted to the usual auxiliaries of a bad cause—virulence, misrepresentation, clamour, and sedition. He then appealed to the well meaning, and highly respectable gentlemen, who had opposed the union from a sincere opinion of its impolicy, whether it were just or candid, to co-operate with such a faction, in preventing a cool discussion of the measure. As a great proportion of the kingdom had declared in its favour, he thought it the duty of the representatives of the people to give it a fair investigation. Mr. Barrington, by serious reflection, was confirmed in his opinion, that a revolutionary measure arising from the ashes of a rebellion, and grounded on the distractions of a nation, could not be permanent; and he dreaded the ultimate loss of British connexion from the pertinacity of those ministers, who wished to deprive Ireland of her independence.

A sort of dramatic effect was given to the debate at this stage by an unexpected circumstance. In the agitation of the union, Grattan had suddenly returned to political life, and had been elected to represent the borough of Wicklow, vacant by the death of Mr. Gahan. He entered the house between Mr. William B. Ponsonby and Mr. Arthur Moore, at the moment that one of the speakers against the union, Mr. Egan, was referring to the constitution of 1782. The reappearance in parliament of the founder of that constitution, at that critical moment, and under those circumstances, filled the house and galleries with an extraordinary emotion. On rising to speak, he referred to the adjustment of 1782. The minister of Great Britain, he said, had come forward in two celebrated productions; he declared his intolerance of the parliamentary constitution of Ireland—that consti-

tution which he ordered the several vice-roys to celebrate, in defence of which he recommended the French war, and to which he swore the yeomen—that constitution he now declared to be a miserable imperfection, concurring with the men whom he had executed for thinking the Irish parliament a grievance; differing from them in the remedy only. They proposing to substitute a republic, and he the yoke of the British parliament. They had seen him inveigh against their projects; let them hear him in defence of his own. He denied, in the face of the two nations, a public fact registered and recorded; he disclaimed the final adjustment as being no more than an incipient train of negotiation. That settlement consisted of several parts, every part a record, establishing, on the whole, two grand positions:—first, the admission of Ireland's claim to be legislated for by no other parliament but that of Ireland; secondly, the finality imposed upon the two nations regarding all constitutional projects affecting each other. Finality was not only a part of the settlement, but one of its principal objects; finality was the principal object of England, as legislative independency was the object of Ireland. Having spoken very largely to the two points of regency and war, on which the unionists rested their strongest arguments against the constitution of 1792, he continued,—“I will put a question to my country. I will suppose her at the bar, and I will then ask, will you fight for a union as you would for a constitution? Will you fight for those lords and commons who, in the last century, took away your trade, and in the present, your constitution, as for that king, lords, and commons, who restored both? Well, the minister has destroyed this constitution. To destroy is easy. The edifices of the mind, like the fabrics of marble, require an age to build, but ask only minutes to precipitate; and as the fall is of no time, so neither is it the effect of any strength. That constitution which, with more or less violence, has been the inheritance of this country for six hundred years; that *modus tenendi parlamentum*, which lasted and out-lastet of Plantagenet the wars—of Tudor the violence—and of Stewart the systematic falsehood; even the bond and condition of our connexion, are now the objects of ministerial attack. The constitution which he destroys is one

of the pillars of the British empire; dear in its violation, dear in its recovery. Its restoration cost Ireland her noblest efforts; it was the habitation of her loyalty as well as of her liberty, where she had hung up the sword of the volunteer; her temple of fame, as well as of freedom, where she had seated herself, as she vainly thought, in modest security and in a long repose. I have done with the pile which the minister batters, I come to the Babel which he builds; and, as he throws down without a principle, so does he construct without a foundation. This fabric he calls a union, and to this, his fabric, there are two striking objections. First, it is no union; it is not an identification of people, for it excludes the catholics: secondly, it is a consolidation of the legislature; that is to say, it merges the Irish parliament, and incurs every objection to a union, without obtaining the only object which a union professes; it is an extinction of the constitution, and an exclusion of the people.” What, said Grattan, was the language of the ministers' advocates to the catholic body? “You were, before the union, as three to one; you will be, by the union, as one to four.” Thus he founds their hopes of political power on the extinction of physical consequence, and makes inanity of their body and the nonentity of their country, the pillars of their future ambition. The minister, he continued, by his first plan, as detailed by his advocates, not only excluded the catholics from parliament, but also deprived the protestants of a due representation in that assembly; he struck off one-half of the representatives of counties, and preserved the proportion of boroughs as two to one; thus dismissing for ever the questions of catholic emancipation and parliamentary reform; instead of reforming abuses in church and state, he wished to entail them on posterity; in lieu of protestant ascendancy and catholic participation, he proposed to constitute borough ascendancy in perpetual abuse and dominion; it was his aim to reform the British parliament by nearly sixty boroughs, and that of Ireland by nearly five hundred and fifty-eight English and Scotch members, and thus, by mutual misrepresentation, frame an imperial house of commons who would become the host of ministers, not the representatives of the people. As to the predicament in which the new members would be placed, never

was there a situation in which men would have so much temptation to act ill, and so little to act well. Subject to great expense and consequent distresses, having no support from the voice of an Irish public, no check, they would be, in situation, a sort of gentlemen of the empire; that is to say, gentlemen at large—unowned by one country, and unelected by the other—suspended between both, false to both, and belonging to neither. The sagacious British secretary of state had remarked how great would be the advantage to the talents of Ireland, to have this opportunity in the British empire thus opened! That was what they dreaded: that the market of St. Stephen would be opened to the individual, and the talents of the country, like its property, draughted from the kingdom of Ireland to be sold in London. These men, from their situation (man was the child of situation), though their native honour might struggle, would be the adventurers of a most expensive kind—adventurers with pretension, dressed and sold, as it were, in the shrouds and grave-clothes of the Irish parliament, and playing for hire their tricks on her tomb, the only repository the minister would allow to an Irish constitution; the images of degradation and the representatives of nothing. He spoke of the bribes offered by Mr. Pitt. To the protestant church perpetual security was promised; but a measure that would annihilate the parliament by which that church was upholden, and disfranchise the people who supported that establishment, would rather tend to its disgrace and ruin. To the catholic clergy salaries were promised. Those who had been strongly accused of disloyalty were to be rewarded for imputed treasons against the king, if they would commit real treasons against the people. Salaries, he allowed, might reasonably be given to those secretaries for the exercise of religious duty; but he could not approve of the grant of wages for political apostacy. According to this plan, the catholic religion would seem to disqualify its followers from receiving the blessing of the constitution, while their hostility to that constitution qualified them to receive a salary for the exercise of their religion, which would thus be at once punished by civil disability, and encouraged by ecclesiastical provision; as good catholics they would be disqualified, and, as bad citizens, would be rewarded.

A commutation of tithes formed another bribe. It had formerly been observed by some of the king's ministers, in opposition to a proposal of that kind from him (Mr. Grattan), that it would tend to the overthrow of the church; but now the premier was not unwilling to overturn the church, if he could, at the same time, overturn the constitution. Bribes were also offered to the mercantile body. Commercial benefits were holden out for political annihilation, and an abundance of capital was promised; but first a great part of the funded capital of this country would be taken away by the necessary operations of a union. This rival being removed, commercial capital, it was supposed, would quickly take its place. But these and other promises of the minister would probably be found visionary. "He goes on," said Grattan, "asserting, with great ease to himself, and without any obligation to fact, upon the subject. Icarian imagination is the region in which he delights to sport. Where he is to take away your parliament—where he is to take away your first judicature—where he is to take away your money—where he is to increase your taxes—where he is to get an Irish tribute—there he is a plain, direct, matter-of-fact man; but where he is to pay you for all this, there he is poetic and prophetic: no longer a third-hand financier, but an inspired accountant. Fancy gives him her wand—Amalthea takes him by the hand—Ceres is in his train. The English capitalist, he thinks, will settle his family in the midst of those Irish catholics whom he does not think it safe to admit into parliament: as subjects, he thinks them dangerous; as a neighbouring multitude, safe. The English manufacturer will make this distinction—he will dread them as individuals, but will confide in them as a body, and settle his family and his property in the midst of them; he will therefore, the minister supposes, leave his mines, leave his machinery, leave his comforts, leave his habits, conquer his prejudices, and come over to Ireland to meet his taxes and miss his constitution. The manufacturers did not do this, when the taxes of Ireland were few, or when there was no military government in Ireland. However, as prejudices against this country increase, he supposes that commercial confidence may increase likewise. There is no contradicting all this, because arguments which reason does not suggest, rea-

son cannot remove. Besides, the minister, in all this, does not argue, but foretels: now you cannot answer a prophet; you can only disbelieve him. The premier finds a great absentee draught; he gives you another; and, having secured to you two complaints, he engages to cure both. Among the principal causes of complaint, we may reckon another effect, arising from the non-residence of Irish landlords, whose presence on their own estates is necessary for the succour, as well as the improvement of their tenancy; that the peasant may not perish for want of medicines, of cordial, or of cure, which they can only find in the administration of the landlord, who civilizes them, and regulates them in the capacity of a magistrate, while he covers them and husbands them in that of a protector, improving not only them, but himself, by the exercise of his virtues, as well as by the dispensation of his property, drawing together the two orders of society, the rich and the poor, until each may administer to the other, and civilize the one by giving, and the other by receiving; so that aristocracy and democracy may have a head and a body; so that the rich may bring on the poor, and the poor may support the rich, both contributing to the strength, order, and beauty of the state, may form that pillar of society where all below is strength, and all above is grace. How does the minister's plan accomplish this? He withdraws the landed gentlemen, and then improves Irish manners by English factors. The minister proposes to you to give up the ancient inheritance of your country, to proclaim an utter and blank incapacity; to make laws for your people, and to register this proclamation in an act, which inflicts on this ancient nation an eternal disability: and he accompanies those monstrous proposals by undisguised terror and unqualified bribery; and this he calls no attack on the honour and dignity of the kingdom. The thing which he proposes to buy is what cannot be sold—liberty. For it, he has nothing to give. Everything of value which you possess you obtained under a free constitution; if you resign this, you must not only be slaves, but idiots; and he affects to prove it by experiment. Jacobinism grows, he says, out of the very state and condition of Ireland. I have heard of parliament impeaching ministers; but here is a minister impeaching parliament. He does more, he impeaches the parliamentary constitution

itself. The abuse in that constitution he has protected; it is only its existence that he destroys: and on what ground? Your exports since your emancipation, under that constitution, and in a great measure by it, have been nearly doubled; commercially, therefore, it has worked well. Your concord with England, since the emancipation, as far as it relates to parliament and the subject of war, has been not only improved, but has been productive; imperially, therefore, it has worked well. To what, then, does the minister, in fact, object? That you have supported him—that you have concurred in his system: therefore he proposes to the people to abolish the parliament, and to continue the ministry. He does more: he proposes to you to substitute the British parliament in your place; to destroy the body that restored your liberties; and restore that body which destroyed them. Against such a proposition, were I expiring on the floor, I should beg to utter my last breath, and to record my dying testimony."

It was ten o'clock on the following morning when the debate was brought to a close, and then, on a division, the ministerial measure obtained a hundred and thirty-eight votes, while the opposition counted but ninety-six. The ministers were overjoyed at their large majority, and their confidence of ultimate success was confirmed; while the anti-unionists, in desperation, caught at any plan calculated to embarrass their opponents. An aggregate meeting of the freemen and freeholders of the city of Dublin, was convened by instant requisition, and met in the course of the day, when the high sheriff took the chair, and at the instigation of the defeated minority, they passed a series of rather violent resolutions, against the proceedings of government. They declared "that the constitution of Ireland, as established at the memorable period of 1782, is the indefeasible and unalienable right of ourselves and our posterity;" they "solemnly and firmly" protested against "any act which, in destroying that constitution, exceeds the powers with which our representatives in parliament have been invested;" and, it is added, "we do assert that they have no right to adopt the disgraceful proposal of this our extinction for ever—their powers are limited in time and extent, but the rights of the people are unprescribable and immortal." The meet-

ing further declared in these resolutions, "that the reproposal of the measure of a legislative union with Great Britain, to the same parliament, which not a year since rejected even its discussion with indignation, is as insulting as its consequences may be dreadful;" and, "that the means resorted to for the purpose of procuring a parliamentary concurrence in this measure, and a delusive approbation of the people, are base and unconstitutional, and we call on those who supported the measure, to recollect, that while they think they can violate the constitution with impunity, we remember we have taken a solemn oath to maintain it." Thanks were voted to the minority in the house of commons, and especially to the two popular heroes, the speaker and Mr. Grattan. Another plan for intimidating the government, was the getting up of petitions to parliament against the union, and the anti-unionists were everywhere busy obtaining signatures, reckless how they were obtained, while they accused

their opponents of adopting unconstitutional means to counteract their exertions. A number of petitions from different parts of the country were presented to the house of commons on the 15th of February, when sir Lawrence Parsons made a complaint that a meeting to petition parliament on this subject had in one place been put an end to, by the interference of the military, and added that "these were the dreadful measures by which government endeavoured to force the union upon the people of Ireland, by stifling their sentiments, and dragooning them into submission." Lord Castlereagh, on the part of government, disclaimed all knowledge of the circumstances mentioned by sir Lawrence Parsons, and expressed his doubts of their truth. The motion was, he said, one of the many inflammatory tricks which had of late been frequently played off, and he complained of resolutions brought before the house with no other object than to excite or continue agitation.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE GOVERNMENT MEASURE BROUGHT BEFORE PARLIAMENT; CONTINUED MAJORITIES IN ITS FAVOUR.



IN the all-important question of the union the government now determined to make their final struggle. They felt confidence

in their parliamentary majority, and they believed that throughout the country there had been a considerable reaction in favour of the measure, and that this reaction was increasing. In the belief, therefore, that they would be gainers even by a short delay, parliament had been adjourned to the day just mentioned, the 15th of February, when a message from the lord lieutenant communicated to the house the resolutions of the English parliament of the preceding year, and the wish of the king that they should concur in them. It was on this occasion that lord Castlereagh made his grand speech on the union in the Irish parliament, and laid before it the de-

tails of the ministerial plan. He began with some remarks on the unfavourable reception which the proposal had experienced from the houses in the preceding year, and on the change of sentiment which had taken place in the minds of many who were then hostile to it. The resistance to it had been principally occasioned by ignorance of its nature and misrepresentation of its effects. In proportion as it was more deliberately and fully investigated, the opposition to it became less general, and the clamour less violent. The great body of the landed property in Ireland became friendly to the principle; for the property of those who had declared in favour of it in the two houses of parliament, was, in comparison with that of its opponents, nearly in the proportion of three to one. Nineteen counties, whose superficial contents formed five-sevenths of the island, had come forward in its support. He did

not mean to assert that these counties were unanimous in approving the measure. Complete and perfect unanimity was not to be expected upon any great political question; but he would venture to assert, that a very great proportion of the property in those counties decidedly favoured it; and most of the great commercial towns in the kingdom had also declared in its favour. Dublin was then affected as Edinburgh had been at the time of the union with Scotland; and he trusted would, like Edinburgh, have cause to be thankful to Providence for the accomplishment of a union with Great Britain. He then animadverted on the proceedings of the chief adversaries of the union, who, not satisfied with exercising their deliberative power within those walls, but organizing themselves in another place, empowering certain persons to send their letters missive through the country, and establishing agents in the different counties, to bring the mass of the people to the bar of that house as petitioners against the measure of union. He was sorry to say, that some of the agents of those gentlemen had gone forth with the most unwarrantable pretences, and adopted the most treacherous artifices, and the most ludicrous misrepresentations to deceive and distract the populace, whose signature against a union they wished to obtain. That had also been the case in the Scottish union; the table of the parliament was, day after day, for the space of three months, covered with such petitions; they considered only the public advantage; and steadily pursuing that object, neither misled by artifices, nor intimidated by tumult, they received, in the gratitude of their country, that reward which amply compensated their arduous labours in the great work so happily accomplished. With regard to the mode of proceeding, which the projectors of the scheme intended to adopt, he premised that it was originally their wish to follow the form pursued in the union with Scotland, and so to propose the appointment of commissioners of both realms, who might digest articles for the consideration of the two parliaments; but that as this plan had been prevented by the refusal of the Irish house of commons to allow a discussion of the question, it became expedient for his majesty's ministers to adopt a measure which might defeat the misrepresentations of their views, and unfold to this kingdom the liberal intentions of Great Britain. For this purpose they had

introduced into the British parliament those articles which had been now transmitted to Ireland, forming a basis for more extensive resolutions. After the minute investigation of these articles in the parliament of Ireland, and the detailed application of the general principles involved in them, the matured schemes would be submitted to the approbation of each legislature, and eventually sanctioned by solemn acts.

The secretary's first proposition stated the great object in terms similar to those of the first resolution of the British parliament. The three articles which followed tended to establish the complete identity of the executive power in every possibility of circumstance, and in every application of authority. Some would think that this object was secured by the act of annexation; but though he venerated that act as the only bond now connecting this realm with Britain, he considered it, both in principle and operation, as extremely defective. In principle it gave to the parliament of another country, in which the Irish are not represented, one of the most important legislative powers, that of regulating the succession to the crown. That the practice was not less defective than the principle appeared in the case of the regency; for the prince of Wales was absolutely constituted regent by the address of the Irish legislature before any regent was appointed by Great Britain. To prove the danger of so imperfect a connexion, he instanced the conduct of James II., when, after his abdication of the crown of England, he repaired to Ireland, and made use of the parliament as an instrument for erecting his opposition to England, and establishing a distinct monarchy in Ireland. Lord Castlereagh then put some illustrative questions respecting the predicament in which Ireland stood in the important cases of war, of peace, and of treaties. He then referred to a more frequent and just ground of complaint in that house, that the Irish minister, acting as he did under the direction of a British cabinet, was not responsible to the Irish parliament from the moment of his withdrawing from this kingdom, unless, by a derogation from their independence, they should impeach him at the bar of the parliament of Great Britain for offending against the constitution of Ireland. Who, he asked, advised the measures of the Irish government? The English minister, and how could the Irish parliament reach *him*?

Who administered the great seal of England, without which no legislative act could be ratified? An English minister, and how could the Irish parliament reach *him*? In short, how could an efficient and constitutional responsibility be obtained, but by making the jurisdiction of parliament as comprehensive as the executive power? And this could be effected by union alone. He separately and successively refuted all the objections made against the union, as to its reducing Ireland to a mere colony, as to its weakening the executive power in Ireland, as to the impotency of a non-resident parliament, and as to future commercial and financial arrangements. He then entered into the following detail, upon a comparison of the average value of the imports and exports of Great Britain for three years, ending with January, 1799. Compared with those of Ireland, ending on the 25th of March preceding, he found that the value of British commerce amounted to seventy-three million, nine hundred and sixty-one thousand, eight hundred and ninety-nine pounds, and that of Irish commerce to ten million, nine hundred and twenty-five thousand, nine hundred and sixty-one pounds, and that they bear the proportion to each other of nearly seven to one. On a similar comparison of the value of the following articles, viz., malt, beer, spirits, wine, tea, tobacco, and sugar, consumed in the respective counties, he found that the value of the British articles amounted to forty-six million, eight hundred and ninety-one thousand, six hundred and fifty-five pounds, and that of the Irish articles, to five million, nine hundred and fifty-four thousand, eight hundred and fifty-six pounds, forming a proportion of seven and seven-eighths to one. The medium, therefore, or seven and a-half to one, was to be taken as the fair proportion; and upon this principle Great Britain ought to contribute fifteen parts, and Ireland two, to the general expenses of the empire.

In the article which related to this head, the first section provided, that the past debts of the two kingdoms should be borne by them respectively; and, if they coupled this liberal provision with the ninth section of the article, which gave to Ireland a participation in whatever sums might be produced from the territorial revenues of the dependencies of Great Britain and India, they would acknowledge not only the justice, but the generosity of the terms.

Great Britain held out to Ireland a proportional enjoyment of all the advantages of the empire, without requiring the smallest participation in the burthens, which she had incurred to procure them; and Ireland would acquire a revenue of fifty thousand pounds a-year, in ease of her own burthens, out of the revenues paid by the East India company, from the territories subdued by British arms.

By the second section, the proportional contribution of fifteen to two, would continue for twenty years, that the system of the union might acquire stability before it should be subjected to the slightest modification. When he stated the system of contributing on the principle of proportional ability, he was aware that a natural objection would arise; that, however fair or liberal the system might appear at present, it might, at a future period, and under different circumstances, prove to be both partial and disadvantageous; it was therefore intended, that the imperial parliament should have a power to revise the proportion at the given period he had mentioned; but that the revision should be grounded upon the same principles upon which the original proportion was formed, and limited to the result of those principles. Their contributions, therefore, might hereafter vary according to their relative increased or diminished ability. But, until the period of common taxation should have arisen, their principles, and the basis of their contribution were unalterably fixed. The only power reserved to the imperial parliament, was to examine and ascertain the criteria, by which the abilities of the two countries were to be determined: the criteria themselves were to remain unaltered and unalterable; and, since they were of such a nature, that they could not fail of tending to a fair result, Ireland had, by these means, the utmost possible security that she could not be taxed beyond the measure of her comparative ability, and that the ratio of her contribution must ever correspond with her relative wealth and prosperity.

By the fourth section, the revenues of Ireland would constitute a consolidated fund, which would be charged in the first place with the interest and sinking fund of the debt of Ireland, and be afterwards appropriated to its proportional contribution. The fifth section gave power to the imperial parliament to impose such taxes in

Ireland as might be necessary for her contingent, but it should in no case be enabled to impose higher taxes, after the union, upon any article in Ireland, than the same article should bear in Great Britain. The sixth section ascertained the manner in which any surplus of the revenues of Ireland might be applied. There were four considerations which occurred with respect to any occasional excess of revenue. The first, and most obvious, was the diminution of taxes; the second, the application of excess to local purposes of ornament or improvement in Ireland; the third, to provide against any possible failure of revenue; the fourth, to suffer such excess to accumulate at compound interest, in case of their contribution in a period of war. It was provided by the seventh section, that all loans, for the interest and liquidation of which the respective countries had made provision in the proportion of their respective contributions, should be considered as a joint debt; and, on the other hand, that where they did not make corresponding provisions, their respective quotas of the sum so raised should remain a separate charge.

The eighth section contained a provision, that, when the separate debts of the two kingdoms should be either extinguished, or in the proportion of their respective contributions, the general expenses of the empire might be thenceforward borne by common taxes, in lieu of proportional contributions. It might perhaps be alleged, that common taxes with Great Britain, would impose upon that kingdom heavier burthens than she would otherwise be required to support. But let the house consider that the charges of the debt of Great Britain amounted to twenty millions a-year, and the charges of the debt of Ireland, to one million three hundred thousand pounds of British money a-year; and that common taxes were not to take place, till either the separate debts of both countries should be liquidated, or till they should become to each other in the proportions of their contributions; that is, in the ratio of fifteen to two. Before that could take place, the taxes of Great Britain must be reduced by the amount of ten millions a-year; in which case, the scale of her remaining taxation would be lowered to the scale of taxation of Ireland, and the adoption of British taxation would become a benefit. A similar result would take place, and to a great degree, were the past debt of

the two countries to be entirely liquidated; for, in that event, Ireland would be exonerated from taxes to the amount of one million three hundred thousand pounds a-year, and Britain to the amount of twenty million pounds, and the system of common taxation would become still more beneficial to Ireland. It might happen, however, that if war should continue, and Ireland fund her supplies, whilst England raised a great part of her's within the year, and mortgaged her income-tax to their rapid reduction in peace, the proportion of the debt of Ireland might rise, and her scale of taxation increase accordingly. In this case, also, the system of common taxation perfectly secured the interests of Ireland, being produced by natural causes, and in no degree forced. It could not impose any burthen on that country, to which she would not, in the ordinary course of her expenditure, be liable, whilst the provision which went to preclude any article from being subject to a higher rate of duty in Ireland, than the same article paid in Great Britain, would exempt her from having the scale of her taxation raised above that of England, even though the natural progress of her expense should lead to it; and whilst Ireland was thus secured against any injustice in substituting a system of common taxes for proportional contribution, the united parliament would be enabled to make abatement in Ireland, as the parliament of Great Britain always had done in Scotland, since the union, where, from local circumstances, the high duty could not be levied, without either rendering the revenue unproductive, or pressing with too much weight upon the poorer classes. It remained for him to consider the operation and effect of this article, and how far the proportion of seven and-a-half to one might be favourable or otherwise to Ireland, considered with reference to the past expenses of the two countries, as also to their probable future expenditure. The peace establishment of Great Britain, in the year preceding the war, amounted to five million eight hundred and six thousand seven hundred and forty-four pounds, and that of Ireland to one million twenty-two thousand five hundred and twenty-three pounds. The proportion of these sums is about five and-three-quarters to one. On an average of seven years, from the commencement of the war, Great Britain had expended in each year, twenty-seven million six hundred and fifty

thousand six hundred and forty-nine pounds, and Ireland, three million seventy-six thousand six hundred and fifty-one pounds; the proportion of these sums was about nine to one. As, however, upon the experience of the past century, it had been found that there were three years of peace to two of war; if they formed their calculations upon that proportion, the past expenses of Great Britain and Ireland might be considered in the ratio of seven and-three-quarters to one. Such was the result as to past expenditure. He should next state what they might expect from the proportion of seven and-a-half to one in their future expenses. The expense of Great Britain, for the year 1799, was thirty-two million seven hundred thousand pounds, and that of Ireland, five million forty-nine thousand pounds. If that expense had been borne in the proportion of seven and-a-half to one, Great Britain would have expended thirty-three million six hundred and fifty-two thousand and fifty-nine pounds, and Ireland, four million four hundred and eighty-six thousand nine hundred and forty-one pounds; the latter would have, consequently, saved nine hundred and fifty-two thousand fifty-nine pounds, or one million twenty-five thousand two hundred and ninety-four pounds in Irish currency, so long as the war should last, and if they should continue separate from Britain, they could not suppose that their expense would be reduced; and therefore, they would in future expend more by one million a-year, than if they were united with Great Britain. He then adverted to the probable future expenses of Ireland in time of peace; which, if they considered the advanced pay of the army, the increased charge of the militia, the necessity of keeping up some part of that invaluable force, the yeomen, they would find it impossible to maintain a peace establishment of only twelve thousand men at home, at a less charge than one million five hundred thousand pounds a-year; and if they should increase their establishment to twenty thousand men, the whole charge would amount to one million nine hundred thousand pounds a-year. Now, from the best documents which he had been able to procure, it was probable that the peace establishment of Great Britain would amount to about seven million five hundred thousand pounds; and if they should add that of Ireland, the whole charge would be nine million; if that charge were borne in the ratio of seven

and-a-half to one, there would be a saving to Ireland of four hundred and fifty thousand pounds British, or nearly five hundred thousand pounds Irish currency.

He now turned to the situation of the public revenues. The produce of all taxes in the last year amounted merely to one million eight hundred and fifty thousand pounds; and the present charges of the debt alone are one million four hundred thousand pounds, Irish currency. He would, however, admit, that the revenues of this kingdom had, during that present year, experienced an extraordinary increase; and though it were not to be supposed that the whole of that increase could be permanent, when they might account for it by the particular circumstances of the times, he would suppose that their revenues might produce a permanent sum of two million three hundred thousand pounds. The charge of their debt was one million four hundred thousand pounds; and the peace establishment, at the lowest computation, would be one million five hundred thousand pounds. The total expense, therefore, would be two million nine hundred thousand pounds; and, if they remained a separate state, there would be an annual deficiency of six hundred thousand pounds, which they must endeavour to supply by new burthens upon the people, besides raising additional taxes of two hundred and fifty thousand pounds a-year, so long as the war should continue. If, on the contrary, they wisely united with Great Britain, and agreed in a system of contribution proportionate to their respective means, the future charge of their war expense would be diminished a million a-year, and they should be able to support their peace expenditure with a very slight addition to the present taxes. He confidently then appealed to those gentlemen around him, who had a real stake in the interests and happiness of that country, and he trusted they would seriously pause and deliberate before they suffered advantages like those which he had stated to be rejected without discussion, or to be decided by wild and senseless clamour.

The affairs of commerce formed the next branch of inquiry; and on that head his lordship observed, that the principles which were to form the basis of the agreement did not materially differ from the plan brought forward in the year 1785. It was highly desirable, he said, that the commerce and intercourse between Britain and Ireland

should be as free as between two counties of the same kingdom; but there were two circumstances which prevented such an adjustment: these were, the necessity of securing particular manufactures by protecting duties, and the difference of internal taxes consequent on the disparity of burthen sustained by Great Britain.

As to the first section of the commercial article, by which the subjects and the produce of each country would be placed upon an equal footing for ever, with regard to privileges, encouragements, and bounties, that gave the continuance for ever of the British and Irish bounties on the exportation of Irish linen, and afforded a full participation in the great article of sail cloth. As to the next section relative to the exportation of all commodities from one country to the other without duty, that secured to Ireland for ever the raw materials which she received from Britain, and which she could procure from no other country—coals, tin, bark, alum, hops, and salt; also conceded to Ireland the staple commodity of English wool. The same section put an end to all bounties whatever on the articles of trade between the kingdoms, with the exception of malt, flour, and grain, which, it was proposed, might still be regulated on the present system. The third section, respecting the articles which should be subject to duty in either country, gave rise to the following observations. To give adequate protection to the fabrics of that kingdom, a duty of ten per cent. on the true value would be fully sufficient, in addition to the charges of freight, &c., which were estimated at five and-a-half per cent. Any manufacture in Ireland that could not be carried on with a protecting guard of fifteen and-a-half per cent. against the manufacture of England, where taxes were higher and labour dearer, could not deserve much encouragement. Nor was it fair, in such a case, to sacrifice the interests of the consumer, or encourage, by high duties, the habits of indolence. In fixing that rate of protection, he wished it to continue for such a period of years as would give security to the speculations of the manufacturers; at the same time he looked forward to a period when duties of that kind might gradually be diminished, and ultimately cease. It was evident, that if their manufactures kept pace, for the next twenty years, with the progress they had made in the last twenty years, they might,

at the expiration of the term, be fully able to cope with the British, and the two kingdoms might be safely left, like any two counties of the same kingdom, to a free competition. It was therefore provided, that after twenty years the united parliament might diminish the duties of protection in such a ratio as the situation of their manufactures at that period might render expedient. As all articles, except those enumerated in the resolutions, are to be free from duty upon import, he called the attention of the house to the perpetual security offered to the linen manufacture of Ireland. It had been frequently asserted, that that manufacture derived all its prosperity from the encouragement which it had received from their local parliament; but he had ever contested the truth of that statement. The prosperity of the linen manufacture resulted not from domestic encouragement, but depended on its possession of the British market, and the British bounties on re-exportation. What then gave them that market but the liberality of Great Britain, which imposed a duty of thirty-three per cent. upon foreign linens, and admitted Irish linens without duty. The whole quantity of linen imported into Great Britain amounted to fifty million of yards, of which thirty-three million went from Ireland. Now, if a duty of thirty-three per cent. should be laid upon Irish linen as well as foreign, it would produce a sum of more than a million a-year to the revenue of Britain, and the trade would thus be thrown altogether into the hands of the foreign manufacturer.

It had been urged, that the encouragements granted to Irish linen were in consequence of a compact that the Irish parliament should give up the woollen manufacture. It must have been a singular compact indeed, by which Great Britain was invariably to bind herself to impose on her own subjects the burthen of a million sterling per annum, in order to secure an export of woollen goods, which had never exceeded six hundred and eighty thousand pounds a-year. But if he should allow that a compact existed, Ireland, by that proposal, would have both parts of it; she would keep what she had by linens, and receive that which she was supposed to have given up in woollens as the price of these encouragements. She would not only enjoy for ever the British markets for her linen trade, but would receive the raw material of

England for the improvement and extension of her woollen trade; and she would have British bounties to favour the re-exportation of the former, and low British duties to encourage the importation of the latter. Some had affirmed, that Great Britain laid the high duty on the foreign linens to protect her own manufacture, and not to favour the Irish. If that were admitted, what then prevented her from laying the same duties on Irish linens? Could any other reason be assigned than a disposition to protect the manufactures of Ireland? If Great Britain should only impose a protecting duty of ten per cent. on the import of Irish linens in favour of her own, she would only act towards them as they had acted towards her in almost all the leading articles of British manufacture; and what would be the effect? It would exclude them, in great measure, from her market. The foreign manufacturer, who now supplied nearly one-third of her demand, even under the disadvantage of a duty of thirty-three per cent., would then supply nearly the whole. The English consumer would buy his linens nearly at as cheap a rate, whilst the state would levy an annual revenue on the import, which was now sacrificed to the encouragement of the manufacture of Ireland. Was it then to the local parliament, or to the parliament of Great Britain, that Ireland stood indebted for these advantages? Was it not to the parliament of Great Britain alone—to the parliament of that country which had been described as the natural and instinctive enemy of Ireland, that they owed the obligation? That hostile country annually sacrificed a sum to the protection of the linen trade of Ireland equal, in amount, to the total expense of our peace establishment, as it stood before the war; and, by treaty, she had bounden herself to continue it for ever.

As to the countervailing duties (mentioned in the fourth section) necessary to balance internal imposts, the necessity was evident, while the two countries should be subject to unequal taxes; and when the inequality of taxes should cease, and a common revenue take place, they would be discontinued. The two next sections might be of great commercial consequence, as they provided that the charges upon the re-exportation of native, foreign, and colonial goods, should be the same in both countries; and that no drawbacks should be retained upon any article exported from

either country to the other. All who considered and understood the nature of our commerce, and the advantages of our situation, must allow the great benefit of securing the perpetuity of these regulations to Ireland. It had been acknowledged that the situation of Ireland was much more convenient for the re-export trade than Great Britain, not being subject to the dangerous and tedious navigation of the channels; but when it was considered that the transit or re-export trade of Britain amounted to fourteen million pounds a-year, gentlemen would admit, that the prospect of national advantage from that part of the system highly deserved their attention, and that there was no benefit which the cities of Cork and Dublin might not expect, when, in order to carry that article into effect, the system of bonding foreign goods for exportation should be extended, and arrangements made for converting those harbours, as far as possible, into free ports. Upon a review of the result of that article, they would find their linen trade secured, the prospect of a great woollen trade opened, a great manufactory of sail-cloth encouraged, the British market opened by low duties (in case of their skilful use of domestic advantages), and, at the same time, secured for their great provision trade, whilst an additional encouragement was given to their farmers, in taking off the duty from the produce of their lands. In considering the effect of the proposed commercial regulations upon the revenue, they would again find the advantage of the system. The duties of the exportation of hides, tallow, cattle, and provisions, which produced forty-four thousand pounds, would cease; and the loss of revenue by taking off duties, and by lowering duties from twelve and-a-half to ten per cent., would amount to thirty-two thousand pounds. Thus the total loss would be seventy-six thousand pounds; but to balance that loss, they would gain the duty of one shilling and three pence a ton upon coals, which then was raised upon Irish consumption, and amounted, per annum, to seventeen thousand pounds; they would gain the duties retained in England on subsidy goods, nine thousand pounds; they would receive their proportion of five hundred thousand pounds, from the India Company, fifty-eight thousand pounds; the whole amounting to eighty-four thousand pounds. Thus taxes would be

remitted, at present raised either on Irish produce or Irish consumption, whilst the loss of revenue would be fully compensated by a transfer of duties then payable into the British exchequer.

The eighth section provided that a sum equal to what then was applied to charitable purposes, and to the encouragement of manufactures, should continue to be so appropriated annually by the united parliament; thus securing a continuance of the linen board and other local institutions, which had hitherto received parliament bounty. He then reverted to the fifth article, and briefly discussed the ecclesiastical part of the plan of the union. The leading features of the whole system, he said, were, one state, one legislature, one church; and, if there should not be an identity with Britain in these great points of connexion, Ireland could not expect to enjoy real and permanent security. The church, in particular, as long as the separation should continue, would ever be liable to be impeached upon local grounds, and would be unable to maintain itself effectually against the argument of physical force, by which it was continually affected; but, when once it should be completely incorporated with the church of England, it would be placed upon such a strong and national foundation, as to be above all apprehensions or alarms from adverse interests. The protestant, so long as the establishment remained separate, and was impeachable on local grounds, would feel his power, his property, and his government, insecure, and most naturally look with distrust and jealousy on the catholic: and the catholic would feel proportionate alienation and resentment, and would continually urge his claims against the establishment of the minority; and thus there appeared no ray of hope of a termination to distrust, jealousy, and alarm. But when the ecclesiastical establishment of the two kingdoms should have been incorporated into one church, the protestant would feel himself at once identified with the population and property of the empire, and the establishment would be placed upon its natural basis; the cause of distrust vanish with the removal of weakness; strength and confidence would produce liberality, and the claims of the catholics would be discussed in parliament, divested of those local circumstances which would ever produce

irritation and jealousy.—Lord Castlereagh next took notice of the imputation, that the catholic clergy have been bribed to support this measure; that was an illiberal imputation, thrown out for the dangerous purpose of weakening their authority over, by lowering them in the opinion of, their flocks; for it was known that an arrangement for the clergy, both catholic and protestant dissenters, had been long in the contemplation of his majesty's ministers. As to the insinuation, that the measure of union was a measure of bribery; if bribery and public advantage were synonymous, he readily admitted it to be a measure of the most comprehensive bribery that was ever produced. It bribed all the inhabitants of Ireland, by offering to embrace them within the pale of the British constitution, and to communicate to them all the advantages of British commerce. But, perhaps there was one class in the community to which a union would not act as a bribe; he alluded to those who called themselves lovers of liberty and independence—of that liberty which consisted in the abdication of the British constitution; that independence which consisted in the abandonment of British connexion. He acknowledged that those were bribes he was not prepared to offer; there were many with whom he was not prepared to make any treaty, but the treaty of the law. The only remaining question of importance was that which related to the constitution of the parliament. The representation of Ireland by equal numbers having been urged as a measure requisite for a fair union, his lordship reprobated the idea, as founded on the common and refuted error, that the two kingdoms, after a union, would retain distinct and adverse interests. If this should be admitted, the proposed remedy would even augment the disorder. Rival interests, far from being remedied by equality of members, would, from the circumstance of such equality, break forth into jealousy and hostile competition. It would, therefore, be advisable to proceed upon an opposite principle, and, on the ground of a community of the interest between incorporated kingdoms, adjust the number of representatives by the criteria of wealth and population. The population of Ireland was in general estimated from three million five hundred thousand to four million. The population of Great Britain is supposed to exceed ten

million. The contribution proposed for Ireland to furnish to the expenses of the empire, is as one to seven and-a-half. These two proportions taken together, will produce a mean proportion of about five and-a-quarter to one. If, therefore, Ireland should send one hundred members to represent her in the imperial house of commons, she would be fairly and adequately represented.

With reference to the peerage, he would propose that the representative body for Ireland should consist of four spiritual and twenty-eight temporal lords; and when it was considered that above forty noblemen who had great interests and stakes in Ireland were already peers of Great Britain, he flattered himself that their interests in that branch of the legislature would be sufficiently maintained by a body so numerous and respectable. With regard to the appointment of the peers, who were to sit in the imperial parliament, he should propose that the four spiritual peers should sit by rotation of session, and that for the prevention of the inconveniencies which resulted from septennial elections, the twenty-eight temporal peers should be returned for life. Such an arrangement appeared at once best calculated to secure their independence, and to preserve, as far as possible, the hereditary principle of the peerage. It was also intended to interfere in as small a degree as possible, with any existing privileges of the peerage of Ireland; and he should suggest, with that view, that the peers of Ireland might still be allowed to sit in the house of commons of the united parliament for any county or borough of Great Britain, but that during the period of their thus sitting as commoners, they should be tried as commoners, and be precluded from representing the Irish peerage, or voting at the election of any peer; and as the Irish peerage materially differed from the Scotch, the titles of the latter being entailed generally, and the former limited to the heirs male, it was intended to reserve a power to the crown of creating Irish peers, provided that the number of peers existing at the time of the union were not augmented. In forming the representation of the commons of Ireland, he should suggest the expediency of increasing the proportion, and strengthening the influence of the counties. That principle was wisely adopted in the Scottish union, when the representatives for the counties amounted to thirty, and

those of the boroughs to fifteen. In following that precedent he intended to propose that the sixty-four members for counties should be elected as at present, and that thirty-six should represent the chief cities and towns of the kingdom. Here the proportion was nearly the same.

In order to produce a return of thirty-six members only to represent the boroughs and cities of Ireland, which consisted of one hundred and eighteen places, recourse must be had to some principles either of selection or combination. The latter principle was followed in the union with Scotland, where the boroughs were divided into fifteen classes, each class consisting of four or five boroughs, each borough electing a delegate, and the majority of delegates choosing a burgess. It had, however, been found by experience, that this mode of election was subject to much inconvenience and cabal, and he would therefore advise, that only the most considerable towns in the kingdom should be permitted to send representatives, and that the privilege of the other boroughs should cease. He would propose that Cork and Dublin should each send two representatives as at present; that one should be returned by the university; and that thirty-one of the most considerable cities and towns of Ireland, whose relative importance was to be measured by the joint consideration of their wealth and population, should each send a member to the imperial parliament. In selecting the town which should retain the privilege of sending members to parliament, the criterion he suggested would be from the combined result of the hearth-money and window tax. As the disfranchisement of many boroughs would diminish the influence and privileges of those gentlemen whose property was connected with such place of election, he endeavoured to obviate their complaints by promising that if the plan submitted to the house should be finally approved, he would offer some measure of compensation to those individuals whose peculiar interests should suffer in the arrangements. Much and deep objection might be stated to such a measure; but it surely was consonant with the privileges of private justice, it was calculated to meet the feeling of the moderate, and it was better to resort to such a measure, however objectionable, than adhere to the present system, and keep afloat for ever the dangerous question of parliamentary reform; if this was a measure of purchase,

it should be recollected that it would be the purchase of peace, and the expense of it would be redeemed by one year's saving of the union. Some might object that a representation formed on the principle suggested would be too popular in its nature and effect; and, indeed, if Ireland were to remain separate from Great Britain, he should feel the full weight of that objection; but as their representation was to be mixed with that of Britain, any danger arising from its popular constitution would be sufficiently counteracted by the consistency and stability of that body.

The last article would provide for the continuance of the existing laws, for the preservation of the courts of justice in their present state, for the removal of appeals to the house of lords of the imperial parliament, and for subjecting the prize court of admiralty to the lord high admiral of the empire. "Having now," Lord Castlereagh said in conclusion, "gone through the outline of the plan with as much conciseness as possible, I trust I have proved to every man who hears me that the proposal is such a one as is at once honourable for Great Britain to offer, and for Ireland to accept. It is one which will entirely remove from the executive power those anomalies which are the perpetual sources of jealousy and discontent. It is one which will relieve the apprehensions of those who feared that Ireland was, in consequence of a union, to be burthened with the debt of Britain. It is one which, by establishing a fair principle of contribution, tends to release Ireland from an expense of one million in time of war, and of five hundred thousand pounds in time of peace. It is one which increases the resources of our commerce, protects our manufactures, secures to us the British market, and encourages all the produce of our soil. It is one that, by uniting the ecclesiastical establishments, and consolidating the legislature of the empire, puts an end to religious jealousy, and removes the possibility of separation. It is one that places the great question which has so long agitated the country upon the broad principles of imperial policy, and divests it of all its local difficulties. It is one that establishes such a representation for the country as must lay asleep for ever the questions which have produced our distractions and calamities." Then lord Castlereagh, in a warm panegyric on the British minister, concluded that, as on a recurrence of dan-

ger, Great Britain might not have such a character to rise up again for her salvation, it was highly expedient to seize the present moment, and strengthen the Irish constitution by blending and uniting it for ever with the great and powerful empire of Britain. If that important object should be accomplished, and if at any future time the enemies of Britain and of mankind should be let loose upon the social world, Ireland, he doubted not, would be in such a situation of unanimity and power, as to bear a conspicuous part with Great Britain in the glorious task of restoring the liberties of Europe.

Lord Castlereagh's statements were received with an outburst of declamatory disapprobation by the anti-unionists of the house of commons. George Ponsonby said it was a visionary project, and would end in the disgrace of the peerage, and the degradation of the country. Mr. Dobbs consoled himself with the reflection, that the fate of nations was not in the hands of man, and that the independence of Ireland was written in the immutable records of heaven. John Claudius Beresford denied that the greater part of the property of the kingdom favoured the union; and Mr. Burrowes declared that detestation of the measure was strikingly apparent in every quarter of the kingdom, and among all classes of people, and that this display of the national sentiment was an awful warning. One or two members inveighed against the "apostates and traitors" who aimed at the ruin of their country. Grattan also raised his voice against the measure again, but more briefly. On the other hand, the ministerial measure found several able supporters, and, when the house at length divided on lord Castlereagh's motion for entering upon the question, it was carried by a hundred and fifty-eight votes against a hundred and fifteen.

The exasperation of the mob was now so great, that they collected tumultuously about the parliament house, and insulted the members who had voted for the union on their way home. Applications were in consequence made to the lord lieutenant for protection, and a guard of cavalry was mounted, and ordered to parade during subsequent debates on this exciting subject. The anti-unionists declaimed against this proceeding as an attempt to check the freedom of their debates. Meanwhile the subject had been carried from the commons to the lords, where it was introduced by the

lord chancellor (lord Clare) in a very elaborate speech. He stigmatized in strong language the factious manner in which the measure had been opposed, pointed out not only what he considered the advantages of the union, but the necessity of the measure—a necessity which had long pressed itself upon his attention. He gave a long historical sketch of the condition of Ireland, which Grattan, in a printed reply to it, said, “was an attempt to make the Irish history a calumny against their ancestors, in order to disfranchise their posterity.” He traced the growth of faction, and declared his belief in the impossibility of withstanding it as long as Ireland retained its separate legislature. The chief speaker against the project in the house of lords was the marquis of Downshire. In this first debate of the lords, the ministers obtained a majority of seventy-five votes against twenty-six.

Other debates on the subject followed, which were generally distinguished by the warmth of the speakers, and on one occasion the acrimonious personalities of Corry and Grattan led to a duel between those gentlemen. The aim of the opposition was now to produce as much delay as possible, but they were only partially successful, and the house of commons proceeded, on the 17th of February, to appoint a committee for considering the particular terms of the union. On this occasion general Hutchinson ridiculed the pretended fears of those members who alleged that the measure would subvert the independence of Ireland, and enslave her to a foreign parliament. To the control of that legislature, he said, the Irish were already subject in all questions of external legislation. The co-equality of their parliament with that of Great Britain was the dream of fancy, which never could be realized. It would be better to be a component part of a free and flourishing empire, than to be a weak and petty state, convulsed with faction, or the deluded victim of treacherous allies and unfeeling despots. Great Britain could not be false to Ireland, and at the same time true to herself. Her capacious wisdom had long since taught her that the prosperity of each island was necessary to the other. The experience of two centuries tended to destroy the hope of the stability of the present constitution of the Hibernian parliament. Its failure was manifest; it had weakened the empire, without

strengthening Ireland. Formed for the infancy of a foreign and a small colony, it had sunk before the manhood of a great nation, and had become private property, instead of public right. The national tranquillity could not be secured by such a parliament, amidst the disorders and tumults of Europe. If within, everything were hollow—if without, everything menacing, where was the remedy against internal distraction? Where the shield against foreign invasion? What was property without security? What liberty when life was in danger, and when the house of a country gentleman must either be his garrison or his tomb? All the arguments which he had heard against the union were addressed to the pride, the passions, the prejudices of an irritable nation, more accustomed to act from the impulse of quick feeling, than from the dictates of sound discretion and sober reason. He admitted the necessity of endeavouring to preserve a sense of national dignity; it was the source of all pre-eminence, of all power, strength, and greatness. He wished that Ireland had something to nourish this noble passion; but for the last six centuries she had exhibited the melancholy picture of savage acrimony and barbarous discord—of party zeal and sectarian struggle; of a fugitive government without fixed principles; a minister without responsibility; a parliament fearless of the people, from whom it did not derive its origin; a triumphant aristocracy, and a deluded nation. For eighty years of this century, the government had been the most arbitrary and oppressive of any in Europe. The treatment of the catholics, in particular, had been brutally inhuman; and though some of the laws against that sect had been repealed, the consequences of a barbarous code were still evident. Under such a mode of administration, it was impossible to hope for love of the laws, zeal for the constitution, or attachment to the government. That pure, unsullied, unalloyed allegiance, the vital principle of states, the only solid foundation of legitimate rule, which would not yield to the clumsy chain of force, but was created by benefits, acknowledged by gratitude, and nourished by hope, could only be expected by a good and beneficent government from a happy and contented people. The powers of the earth would at length learn this salutary truth, that government must ever be in danger when the

subject had nothing to lose. In a country where equal law and equal liberty were unknown, the progress of French principles, to which he chiefly attributed the late rebellion, would be more rapid than in other states. An island thus misgoverned was a prepared soil for the reception of Jacobin principles, and they flourished in it with the growth of rank luxury. General Hutchinson concluded by declaring, that no popular delusion, no idle clamour or misrepresentation, should ever induce him to depart from what he considered a great fundamental truth—that the best government for these countries would be one executive and one legislature, a connected people, and an united parliament.

Among others who took part in this debate, was Mr. Foster, the speaker, who affirmed that the boasted terms, instead of offering great benefits, were replete with injury; that every point to which they tended might be as well secured by a separate parliament; that all contained the seeds of constant jealousy and avowed distinct interest, the continuance of which they ensured, and therefore must promote separation. He entered into the details of the proposed plan of future finance, revenue, and commerce, in which there was not one article to which an Irish parliament was incompetent, or one to which an united parliament was not less adequate, inasmuch as the regulation of duties and of trade between the kingdoms required a quick and ready knowledge of the local circumstances of Ireland, which could be effectually obtained by a resident legislature alone. As to the constitutional effect of the scheme, he observed that the upper house created a sort of mongrel peer, half lord, half commoner, neither the one nor the other complete, and yet enough of each to remind you of the motley mixture. Everybody knew, or should know, that by the original and uninterrupted constitution of parliament, a lord could not interfere in the election of a commoner; yet here he was not only to interfere, but might be a candidate, and might sit and act as a commoner. The twenty-eight chosen lords were to sit for life, though they were only representatives; thus counteracting one great principle, that representatives shall only act for a time limited, acknowledged by the septennial and octennial bills, and by the articles of the Scotch union in respect to the lords. With this

seat for life to the chosen lords, what was to become of the remaining peers, perhaps nearer two hundred than one hundred in number? They then were legislators; pass these articles, they would instantly cease to be so: they would be the only subjects in Ireland incapable of acting as legislators—a degradation ruinous to the nobility. This fatal measure of election for life would leave so little hope and so little chance, that all inducement to improvement, to education, to study the interests of their country, would be done away. It would depress the spirit and enervate the exertions of all the rising nobility of the land. Further, by a strange sort of absurdity, the measure, in suffering the noble as a commoner to take a British seat, and refusing to allow him an Irish one, admitted this monstrous position, that in the country where his property, his connexions, and his residence were, he should not be chosen a legislator; but where he was wholly a stranger, he might: the certain consequences of which were, that it would induce a residence of the Irish nobility in Britain, where they might be elected commoners, and must, of course, solicit interest; thereby increasing the number of Irish absentees, and gradually weaning the men of largest fortune from an acquaintance or a connexion with their native country. As to the commons, this fatal union would not be less unconstitutional. It reduced their number from three hundred to one hundred. One great principle was, that in the house of commons every species of property was represented, and the wisdom of the whole increased by a mixture of country gentlemen, merchants, lawyers, and men of all professions. But that measure shut the door against commercial men and against the professors of the law, who could not desert their business to attend parliament in another country. In controverted elections, the impracticability, expense, and difficulties in bringing over evidence, must necessarily leave the nomination with the sheriff. After some other observations, and several repetitions of previous remarks, Mr. Foster spoke of the tendency of the measure to an augmentation of the influence of the crown; censured the unconstitutional use to which the peace bill had been perverted by the minister and his friends, the appeal nominal, to which they had resorted, against the decision of parliament, and the mon-

strous proposal of applying the public money to the purchase of public right from private individuals, and finally moved for a rejection of the project.

The ministers obtained on this occasion a majority of forty-six. The anti-unionists, however, continued their opposition with the utmost pertinacity, and another warm debate arose on the 21st of February, when lord Castlereagh moved for the assent of the committee to the first article of the scheme of union. On the 4th of March, George Ponsonby attempted to create a further delay by moving an address to the king, informing him of the hostility of the Irish to the measure, when the question if public opinion had changed, was again debated. The committee, however, continued its deliberations, and the subject of parliamentary representation was discussed on the 10th of March, and the government plan carried by a majority of nineteen. On the 13th of March, Sir John Parnell moved that the king should be addressed to convoke a new parliament before any final arrangement of union should be adopted. This proposal was warmly supported, and as earnestly opposed, and after a long night's debate it was rejected by a majority of a hundred and fifty to a hundred and four. Another very violent debate occurred on the 19th of March, on the motion for the presentation of the committee's re-

port. The report was presented to the house on the 21st, when sir Lawrence Parsons expressed his hope that when the scheme should appear in the form of a bill, the anti-unionists would assail it with redoubled energy. On the 22nd the articles of the union were sent up to the lords, when the opponents of the measure objected to the clause which provided that twenty-eight temporal and four spiritual peers should represent Ireland in the imperial parliament; but it was carried by a majority of thirty-four. Lord Clare then proposed two amendments, which were adopted; the first providing, that on the extinction of three Irish peerages, one might be created, till the number should be reduced to a hundred, and afterwards one for every failure; the other, that the qualifications of the Irish for the imperial parliament should be the same in point of property with those of the British members. On the 26th, when the report of the lords' committee was presented for confirmation, the anti-unionists in the upper house imitated their friends in the commons by bringing forward a motion for delay, but it was negatived by a majority of forty-seven votes against eighteen. The plan was then agreed to in all its details, and the grand measure of the union thus passed the Irish legislature, and was sent over for the final approbation of the British parliament.

CHAPTER XXVI.

COMPLETION OF THE ACT OF UNION.



THE Irish parliament had now adopted the plan of union which had been approved in the preceding year by the legislature of Great Britain, with no alterations except such as had been approved by government. The resolutions of the lords and commons of Ireland, embracing this plan, were sent with an address to the king, and on the 2nd of April these documents were communicated to the Eng-

lish house of lords with a royal message, recommending them "to take all such further steps as may best tend to the speedy and complete execution of a work so happily begun, and so interesting to the security and happiness of his majesty's subjects, and to the general strength and prosperity of the British empire." On the 21st the lords, after a short debate, adopted the first three resolutions, three peers only, the earl of Derby, and lords Holland and King, voting against the measure. The opposition was greater in the commons, where, on the same day (April 21st), the

house formed itself into a committee to take the king's message and the Irish resolutions into consideration. Mr. Pitt, assuming the sense of the house to have been declared favourable to the principle of union, entered upon the discussion of the particular mode of carrying it into effect. As to the propriety of allowing one hundred members to sit for Ireland in the imperial house of commons, he was sensible of the difficulty of finding a precise ground upon which a just estimate of that point might be formed, but he was the less anxious about it as the particular number was not very important; if there should be a sufficient number of representatives to make known the local wants, state the interests, and convey the sentiments of that part of the empire, that impartiality and collective wisdom of the united parliament would ensure a due attention to the general security and welfare. Population alone would not form a good criterion, but if it should be combined with the idea of the proportional contributions of the two countries to the public exigencies, the result might be fairly applied to the present occasion. It would allow more than five for Great Britain to one for Ireland, and thus one hundred members might be deemed a satisfactory number for the latter country. The mode of selection was the next point of consideration. It was not his wish to augment by this arrangement the influence of the crown; the selection adopted by the parliament of Ireland might rather be thought favourable to the popular interest. The members for counties and the principal cities would be sixty-eight, the rest would be deputed by towns the most considerable in population and wealth. Thus the choice would provide both for the security of the landed interests and for the convenience of local information; and, as the proposed addition would not be accompanied with any change in the internal form of British representation, it would not alarm the enemies of innovation. Whatever were the opinions which he formerly entertained on the subject of parliamentary reform, he was not ashamed to acknowledge that he now thought it imprudent and hazardous to make any attempt of that kind. When he reflected that the spirit of reform had led to mischievous changes and dangerous subversions, he dreaded the effects of political experiment. When he considered also that, amidst the late fiery trials, the constitution

of this country had remained pure, untouched in its vital principles; that it had supported itself against open attacks as well as against insidious machinations; that it had disappointed the hopes of France, and baffled the efforts of Jacobinism; and that, during the whole contest, it had retained the confidence of the nation, he should deserve the strongest censure should he attempt, in the vain hope of improvement, to disturb a system which had been found sufficient, in the most perilous of times, to protect the general interests, and to maintain the public security and happiness. As it might be wished that very few of the members thus sent from Ireland should hold places under the crown, he proposed that the number, for the present, should be limited to twenty, and that the imperial parliament should afterwards regulate this point as circumstances might suggest. The number of peers who should represent the whole body of the Irish nobility might, he said, be properly fixed at thirty-two, four would suffice to inform the parliament of the state of the church, and the rest would form a fair proportion, considered with reference to the case of Scotland, and to the number of delegates from the commons of Ireland. The election of the temporal peers for life he recommended as a mode more conformable to the general spirit of the establishment of nobles, than that which was settled at the Scottish union. The right of reserve for Irish peers to sit in the house of commons as representatives of the counties or towns of Great Britain he was likewise disposed to approve, as, without violating the constitution, it would furnish them with opportunities of acquiring political and legislative experience, which, certainly, would not render them less qualified for serving their country in a higher parliamentary assembly. The permission of creating new peers of Ireland he also justified, for, though in Scotland the peerage might maintain itself for a very long course of time without any accession, from the great extent of inheritance allowed by the generality of the patents, there was a risk of such a diminution of the number of Hibernian peers, from the limitation of the right of succession, as might at no very distant period render the election individual. In the article respecting the church, he noticed the clause introduced by the parliament of Ireland, providing for the presence of the clergy of that country at con-

vocations which might be holden in this island. This he pronounced a reasonable addition, and the propriety of leaving to the imperial legislature the discussion of the claims of the catholics would at the same time be generally allowed. The next article, he said, would grant a general freedom of trade, with only such exception as might secure vested capital, and prevent a great shock to any particular manufacture, or to popular prejudice. It was stipulated that almost all prohibition should be repealed, and that only protecting duties to a small amount should be imposed on some few articles. If the British manufactures should sustain partial loss in consequence of any of the new regulations, their liberality would induce them to consider it as compensated by general advantage. His arguments in support of the intended regulations of finance between the countries were similar to those of lord Castlereagh. "The ample discussion," he said in conclusion, "which every part of this subject has met with (so ample that nothing like its deliberation was ever known before in any legislature) has silenced clamour, has rooted out prejudice, has overruled objection, has answered all argument, has refuted all cavils, and caused the plan to be entirely esteemed. Both branches of the legislature, after long discussion, mature deliberation, and laborious inquiry, have expressed themselves clearly and decidedly in its favour. The opinion of the people, who, from their means of information, were most likely, because best enabled to form a correct judgment, is decidedly in its favour. Let me not say, for I do not intend it, that there were among the intelligent part of the public none who were against the measure. I know there were, and I know, too, that in a question involving so many interests, the same thing will, to different individuals, appear in different points of view. Hence arises a diversity of opinion. That has been the case in almost everything that ever was urged, and must be so in everything that is contested. But after all it is clear that the parliament was in a situation, that the people of Ireland was in a situation to judge of this measure; it was not because the measure was not vigorously opposed; the friends of the measure have had to stand against the threats of popular violence, against the enemies of the government under the lead of protestants, against the violent and inflamed spirit and fierce attack of the Irish

catholics, and against the aggregate of all evils, the spirit of all mischief, the implacable opposition and determined hostility of furious jacobinism. They had to meet the inflamed passions of disappointed ambition, which, under the name and pretext of superior patriotism, under colour of jealousy for our freedom, under affected tenderness for landed interest, affected care for commercial welfare, would reduce the state to ruin, because they were not its rulers. Notwithstanding all this opposition, the parties engaged in it have been able to prove anything but that their own fury was ungovernable, their predictions chimerical, and their hopes delusive. The friends of the measure have had to stand against the principles which fomented, and, unhappily, inflamed the late Irish rebellion. They had to contend against the active but mischievous efforts of the friends and champions of jacobinism, to whom it was enough to make them hate the union, that it had a tendency to preserve order, because anything like order was an extinction of their hopes. We have seen that the wisdom of parliament and the good sense of the people of Ireland have prevailed over this mighty host of foes; we have seen the friends who supported, and the enemies who opposed this great national object, and are enabled, by all that has happened, to judge pretty accurately of the sentiments of both, with their tendency or effect on the fate of the British empire. It is under that confidence that I do what I am now doing, and will continue to do whatever may depend on me to submit to the committee all necessary measures to carry this great and important work to its full, and, I trust, speedy accomplishment."

Mr. Grey, who led the opposition, repeated the arguments which had been before urged against the measure. He said that the majority of the Irish people was opposed to the measure; that the natural position of the country, divided from England by an arm of the sea, marked it out as a separate kingdom, requiring its own executive administration, and that this was the grand point of distinction between the cases of Ireland and Scotland. A wise and conciliatory system, he said, would tend more effectually to allay the distractions of the country, and dissipate the dangers with which it was threatened from foreign or domestic enemies, than any attempt to incorporate its legislature with that of Great

Britain. The catholics might, in his opinion, be relieved from all remaining disabilities by a separate parliament, without the risk of their party gaining the prevalence. On the other hand, if this projected union should succeed, it would place at the disposal of the crown a number of abject instruments that might be employed against the privileges of their fellow-subjects. He moved an address to his majesty, praying him to direct his ministers to suspend all proceedings on the union, till the sentiments of the people of Ireland respecting that measure should have been ascertained. Mr. Grey's motion was supported by Sheridan and others of the opposition, but it was rejected by a majority of two hundred and thirty-six votes against thirty.

So large a majority left no doubt of the ultimate success of the measure, and the three first articles were adopted as in the house of lords, and on succeeding days the other articles were carried with similar majorities. On the 28th of April some articles of this measure were debated in the house of lords with somewhat more warmth. Lord Grenville, drawing the attention of the house to three points of difference between the Irish and Scottish peers, observed that the former, when chosen, would hold their seats till death, except the spiritual peers, who, if they should be deputed for life, would be too long absent from their sees. This arrangement, he said, seemed better calculated than a temporary delegation to guard against the effects of undue influence and control. The second point was the eligibility of the peers of Ireland to a seat among the commons of the empire. A considerable number of those peers had so little property or influence in that country, as to have scarcely any chance of being deputed to a representation of the peerage, and the election of such individuals as commoners would strengthen the connexion of classes, and constitute a desirable union of feeling and interest between the houses of parliament. The third point, the eventual creation of new peers, would be necessary for the prevention of too rapid a progress towards the extinction of the peerage. The clause allowing the Irish peers to sit in the house of commons, was warmly objected to by some of the lords, as tending to degrade the peerage, and break down the fence which divided them from the commoners, but the motion for omitting it was supported only by seven votes against fifty.

On the 30th of April lord Holland moved for the insertion of a clause containing an implied pledge to grant emancipation to the catholics. This was opposed on the ground that it was, at that time, inopportune to discuss the question. The earl of Moira on this occasion declared that his objections to a union were in a great measure superseded by the late determination of the Irish parliament, and he was ready to admit that the points of detail were founded, for the most part, on just and equitable principles. Apprehending that lord Holland's motion might obstruct the success of the scheme, he wished it to be withdrawn or discountenanced. It was finally thrown out, without debating the principle or merits of the question, by voting the previous question. Messrs. Peel and Wilberforce, in the commons, opposed a clause which affected the English woollen manufacture. Other matters of debate arose in the progress of the resolutions through parliament, but they were finally passed, and presented with a joint address to the king on the 9th of May. They were then transmitted to Ireland, and each parliament proceeded separately to embody them in the form of an act.

Previous to the introduction of this bill into the Irish parliament, it was thought necessary to pass there a separate bill for regulating the election of the representatives of Ireland in the imperial parliament. It was arranged by this bill that a certain number of towns should return each one member, that Dublin and Cork should each return four members, with one for the university, and that there should be sixty-four representatives of counties, making in all a hundred representatives. It was further provided by this act that, if the king should authorize the present lords and commons of Great Britain to form a part of the first imperial legislature, the sitting members for Dublin and Cork, and for the thirty-two counties of Ireland, should represent the same cities and shires in that parliament; that the written names of the members for the college and for the cities and towns previously agreed upon should be put into a glass, and be successively drawn out by the clerk for the crown; and that, of the two representatives of each of those places, the individual whose name should be first drawn should serve for the same place in the first united legislature. With reference to peers, the act provided

that the primate of all Ireland should sit in the first session of the combined parliament, the archbishops of Dublin, Cashel, and Tuam, in the second, third, and fourth; that the bishops of Meath, Kildare, and Londonderry, should sit in the first session with the primate; the bishops of Raphoe, Limerick, and Dromore, were to sit in the second session; then those of Elphin, Down, and Waterford; next those of Leighlin, Cloyne, and Cork; after them those of Killaloe, Kilmore, and Clogher; and, lastly, those of Ossory, Killala, and Clonfert; and that the same order should then recommence and continue for ever. For the election of the twenty-eight temporal peers who were to sit in the imperial parliament, each of the Irish nobility was to prepare a list of twenty-eight of his brethren, and those who should have a majority of votes in such lists were to be considered as peers of parliament for life.

This bill passed the Irish house of commons on the 20th of May. The bill for the union of the two countries was brought forward by lord Castlereagh next day. Both met with a warm opposition, for the anti-unionists shewed the disposition to dispute the ground at every opportunity which offered. On the motion to go into committee on the union bill, on the 26th of May, Grattan again attacked it, and repeated his former objections. He said the measure was a breach of a solemn covenant, on the basis of which the separate, reciprocal, and conjoint powers of the two countries relied; an innovation promoted by the influence of martial-law; an unauthorised assumption of a competency to destroy the independence of the realm; an unjustifiable attempt to injure the prosperity of the country. The bill would be, *quoad* the constitution, equivalent to a murder, and, *quoad* the government, to a separation. If it should be carried into effect, he declared his opinion that it could not be permanent, and he foresaw that it would lead to general discontent, and perhaps to rebellion. After a warm debate the bill was carried through by a large majority. The third reading took place on the 7th of June, and the bill passed the upper house on the 13th of June, 1800, by a majority of forty-one against fourteen. A bill in the same form having been brought into the English parliament, passed through both houses with scarcely a debate, and received the royal assent on the 2nd of July. The royal assent was given in Ireland on

the 1st of August, the anniversary of the accession of the house of Brunswick, and next day this important session was brought to a close. The following was the last speech of a lord lieutenant to an Irish parliament:—

“My lords and gentlemen,—the whole business of this important session being at length happily concluded, it is with the most sincere satisfaction, that I communicate to you, by his majesty’s express command, his warmest acknowledgment for that ardent zeal and unshaken perseverance which you have so conspicuously manifested in maturing and completing the great measure of a legislative union between this kingdom and Great Britain. The proofs you have given on this occasion of your uniform attachment to the real welfare of your country, inseparably connected with the security and prosperity of the empire at large, not only entitle you to the full approbation of your sovereign, and to the applause of your fellow-subjects, but must afford you the surest claim to the gratitude of posterity. You will regret with his majesty, the reverse which his majesty’s allies have experienced on the continent; but his majesty is persuaded, that the firmness and public spirit of his subjects will enable him to persevere in that line of conduct, which will best provide for the honour and the essential interests of his dominions, whose means and resources have now, by your wisdom, been more closely and intimately combined.

“Gentlemen of the house of commons,—I am to thank you, in his majesty’s name, for the liberal supplies which you have cheerfully granted for the various and important branches of the public service in the present year. His majesty has also witnessed with pleasure that wise liberality which will enable him to make a just and equitable retribution to those bodies and individuals whose privileges and interests are affected by the union; and he has also seen, with satisfaction, that attention to the internal prosperity of this country, which has been so conspicuously testified by the encouragement you have given to the improvement and extension of its inland navigation.

“My lords and gentlemen, I have the happiness to acquaint you that the country in general has in a great measure returned to its former state of tranquillity. If, in some districts, a spirit of plunder and disaffection still exists, those disorders, I believe, will prove to be merely local, and will I doubt

not, be soon effectually terminated. The pressure of scarcity on the poorer classes, though much relieved by private generosity, and by the salutary provisions of the legislature, has been long and unusually severe; but I trust that, under the favour of Providence, we may draw a pleasing prospect of future plenty from the present appearance of the harvest. I am persuaded that the great measure, which is now accomplished, could never have been effected but by a decided conviction on your part, that it would tend to restore and preserve the tranquillity of this country, to increase its commerce and manufactures, to perpetuate its connexion with Great Britain, and to augment the resources of the empire. You will not fail to impress these sentiments on the minds of your fellow-subjects. You will encourage and improve that just confidence which they have manifested in the result of your deliberations on this arduous question. Above all, you will be studious to inculcate the full conviction that, united with the people of Great Britain into one kingdom, governed by the same sovereign, protected by the same laws, and represented in the same legislature, nothing will be wanting on their part but a spirit of industry and order, to insure to them the full advantages under which the people of Great Britain have enjoyed a greater degree of prosperity, security, and freedom, than has ever yet been experienced by any other nation. I cannot conclude without offering to you, and to the nation at large, my personal congratulations on the accomplishment of this great work, which has received the sanction and concurrence of our sovereign, on the anniversary of that auspicious day which placed his illustrious family on the throne of these realms. The empire is now, through your exertions, so completely united, and by union so strengthened, that it can bid defiance to all the efforts its enemies may make, either to weaken it by division, or to overturn it by force. Under the protection of the divine Providence, the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland will, I trust, remain in all future ages the fairest monument of his majesty's reign, already distinguished by so many and such various blessings conferred upon every class and description of his subjects."

It was determined that the first Irish representatives to the imperial parliament should not be chosen by a new election, but that they should be selected out of the

parliament then existing, according to the clause in the act so providing. Not one of the anti-unionist peers were chosen, and but a small number of the members of the lower house, who had distinguished themselves in opposing the measure, retained their seats. The union was to take place on the 1st of January, 1801, the first day of the new century, and on the previous day the imperial British parliament was opened by the king in person; and after the king's speech, the following proclamation was read by the clerk at the table:—

"George R.—Whereas, by the fourth article of the articles of the union of Great Britain and Ireland, as the same are ratified and confirmed by two acts of parliament, the one passed in the parliament of Great Britain intituled, 'An Act for the Union of Great Britain and Ireland,' to have force and effect from the first day in January, one thousand eight hundred and one, it is provided, that if we, on or before the said first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and one, on which day the union is to take place as aforesaid, should declare, under the great seal of Great Britain, that it is expedient that the lords and commons of the present parliament of Great Britain should be the members of the respective houses of the first parliament of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, on the part of Great Britain; then the said lords and commons of the present parliament of Great Britain should accordingly be the members of the respective houses of the first parliament of the United Kingdom, on the part of Great Britain. And whereas it is our intention to appoint Thursday, the twenty-second day of January next ensuing, for the assembling of the parliament of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, by proclamation under the great seal of the United Kingdom, we do judge it to be expedient, that the lords and commons of the present parliament of Great Britain should be the members of the respective houses of the first parliament of the United Kingdom, on the part of Great Britain; and we do, pursuant to the said article of union, and to the acts of parliament ratifying and confirming the same, hereby declare, under the great seal of Great Britain, that it is expedient, that the lords and commons of the present parliament of Great Britain should be the members of the respective houses of the first parliament of the united kingdom

of Great Britain and Ireland, on the part of Great Britain; and the said lords, spiritual and temporal, and commons, are hereby required and commanded to take notice hereof, and to give their attendance accordingly at Westminster, on the said twenty-second day of January next ensuing. Given at our court at St. James's, the first day of November, one thousand eight hundred, in the forty-first year of our reign. God save the king."

Immediately after the king had left the house, he held a grand council, and many promotions were made in honour of the union, and several new titles created. Next day, the 1st of January, the incorporate union of Great Britain and Ireland was formally announced in the following proclamation:—

"George R.—Whereas by the first article of the articles of the union of Great Britain and Ireland, ratified and confirmed by two acts of parliament, the one passed in the parliament of Great Britain, and the other in the parliament of Ireland, and respectively entitled 'An Act for the union of Great Britain and Ireland,' the said kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland should upon this day, being the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and one, and for ever after, be united into one kingdom, by the name of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland; and that the royal style and titles appertaining to the imperial crown of the United Kingdom and its dependencies, and also the ensigns, armorial flags, and banners thereof, should be such as we by our royal proclamation under the great seal of the said United Kingdom, should appoint: we have thought fit, by and with the advice of our privy council, to appoint and declare, that our royal style and titles shall henceforth be accepted, taken, and used as the same are set forth in manner and form following: that is to say, the same shall be expressed in the Latin tongue, *Britanniarum Rex, Fidei Defensor*, and in the English tongue by these words, *George the Third, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith*. And the arms or ensigns armorial of the said United Kingdom shall be quarterly: first and fourth, England; second, Scotland; third, Ireland; and it is our will and pleasure, that there shall be borne therewith, on an escutcheon of pretence, the arms of our dominions in

Germany ensigned with the electoral bonnet. And it is our will and pleasure that the standard of the United Kingdom shall be the same quartering as are hereinbefore declared to be the arms or ensigns armorial of the said United Kingdom, with the escutcheon of pretence thereon hereinbefore described; and that the union flag shall be azure, the crosses, saltires of St. Andrew, and St. Patrick quarterly per saltire, counterchanged, argent and gules; the latter imbrated of the second, surmounted by the cross of St. George of the third, as the saltire. And our will and pleasure further is, that the style and titles aforesaid, and also the arms or ensigns armorial aforesaid, shall be used henceforth, as far as conveniently may be, on all occasions wherein our royal style and title, and arms or ensigns armorial, ought to be used; but, nevertheless, it is our will and pleasure, that all such gold, silver, and copper monies as, on the day before this first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and one, were current and lawful monies of Great Britain, and, all such gold, silver, and copper monies as shall, on or after this day, be coined by our authority, with the like impression, until our will and pleasure shall be otherwise declared, shall be deemed and taken to be current and lawful monies of the united kingdom in Great Britain, and that all such gold, silver, and copper monies as on the day before this first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and one, were current and lawful monies of Ireland; and also all such gold and silver and copper monies as shall, on or after this day, be coined by our authority with the like impressions, until our will and pleasure shall be otherwise declared, shall be deemed and taken to be current and lawful monies of the said united kingdom in Ireland; and all such monies as shall have been coined for and issued in any of the dominions of the said United Kingdom, and declared by our proclamation to be current and lawful money of such dominions respectively, bearing our style, or titles, or arms, or ensigns armorial, or any part thereof, and all which shall hereafter be coined and issued according to such proclamations, shall continue to be lawful and current money of such dominions respectively, notwithstanding such change in our style, titles, and arms, or armorial bearings respectively as aforesaid, until our pleasure shall be further

declared thereupon. And all and every such monies as aforesaid shall be received and taken in payment in Great Britain and Ireland respectively, and in the dominions thereunto belonging after the date of this our proclamation, in such manner, and of the like value and denomination as the same were received and taken before the date thereof. And it is also our will and pleasure, that the several dies and marks, which have been used to denote the stamp duties, and all other stamps and marks and instruments which, before the issuing of this our proclamation, shall have been actually used for any public purpose, and in which our royal style and titles, or our arms or ensigns armorial, or any parts or part thereof respectively, may be expressed, shall not, by reason of this or any

other proclamation, or anything therein contained, be changed or altered, until the same may be conveniently so changed or altered, or until our pleasure shall be further declared thereupon; but that all such dies, stamps, marks, and instruments respectively, bearing our royal style and titles, or arms or ensigns armorial, used before this first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and one, or any parts of such style, title, or such arms or ensigns armorial, shall have the like force and effect as the same had before the said first day of January instant. Given at our court at St. James's, the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and one, in the forty-first year of our reign. God save the king."

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE ACT OF UNION.



HE act by which the two kingdoms were finally united is one of so much importance, and it has been so much discussed, and is still a matter of discussion, that it seems necessary it should be given entire, or at least so near so, that nothing material may be omitted. It commences with a brief preamble to the following effect:— "Whereas in pursuance of his majesty's most gracious recommendation to the two houses of parliament in Great Britain and Ireland respectively, to consider of such measures as might best tend to strengthen and consolidate the connexion between the two kingdoms, the two houses of the parliament of Great Britain, and the two houses of the parliament of Ireland, have severally agreed and resolved that, in order to promote and secure the essential interests of Great Britain and Ireland, and to consolidate the strength, power, and resources of the British empire, it will be advisable to concur in such measures as may best tend to unite the two kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland into one kingdom, in such manner, and on such terms

and conditions, as may be established by the acts of the respective parliaments of Great Britain and Ireland."

The act then proceeds as follows:—

"And whereas, in furtherance of the said resolution, both houses of the said two parliaments respectively have likewise agreed upon certain articles for effectuating and establishing the said purposes in the tenor following:—

"Article I. That it be the first article of the union of the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, that the said kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland shall, upon the first day of January which shall be in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and one, and for ever after, be united into one kingdom, by the name of *the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland*; and that the royal style and titles appertaining to the imperial crown of the said United Kingdom and its dependencies, and also the ensigns, armorial flags and banners thereof, shall be such as his majesty, by his royal proclamation under the great seal of the United Kingdom, shall be pleased to appoint.

"Art. II. That it be the second article

of union, that the succession to the imperial crown of the said United Kingdom, and of the dominions thereunto belonging, shall continue limited and settled in the same manner as the succession to the imperial crown of the said kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland now stands limited and settled, according to the existing laws and to the terms of union between England and Scotland.

“ Art. III. That it be the third article of union, that the said United Kingdom be represented in one and the same parliament, to be styled *the parliament of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland*.

“ Art. IV. That it be the fourth article of union, that four lords spiritual of Ireland, by rotation of sessions, and twenty-eight lords temporal of Ireland elected for life by the peers of Ireland, shall be the number to sit and vote on the part of Ireland in the house of lords of the parliament of the United Kingdom; and one hundred commoners (two for each county of Ireland, two for the city of Dublin, two for the city of Cork, one for the university of Trinity College, and one for each of the thirty-one most considerable cities, towns, and boroughs,) be the number to sit and vote on the part of Ireland in the house of commons of the parliament of the United Kingdom: that such act as shall be passed in the parliament of Ireland previous to the union, to regulate the mode by which the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons, to serve in the parliament of the United Kingdom of the part of Ireland shall be summoned and returned to the said parliament, shall be considered as forming part of the treaty of union, and shall be incorporated in the acts of the respective parliaments by which the said union shall be ratified and established: that all questions touching the rotation or election of lords spiritual or temporal of Ireland to sit in the parliament of the United Kingdom, shall be decided by the house of lords thereof; and whenever, by reason of an equality of votes in the election of any such lords temporal, a complete election shall not be made according to the true intent of this article, the names of those peers for whom such equality of votes shall be so given, shall be written on pieces of paper of a similar form, and shall be put into a glass by the clerk of the parliaments at the table of the house of

lords, whilst the house is sitting; and the peer or peers whose name or names shall be first drawn out by the clerk of the parliament, shall be deemed the peer or peers elected, as the case may be. That any person holding any peerage of Ireland now subsisting, or hereafter to be created, shall not thereby be disqualified from being elected to serve if he shall so think fit, or from serving or continuing to serve, if he shall so think fit, for any county, city, or borough of Great Britain, in the house of commons of the United Kingdom, unless he shall have been previously elected as above, to sit in the house of lords of the United Kingdom; but that so long as such peer of Ireland shall so continue to be a member of the house of commons, he shall not be entitled to the privilege of peerage, nor be capable of being elected to serve as a peer on the part of Ireland, or of voting at any such election; and that he shall be liable to be sued, indicted, proceeded against, and tried as a commoner, for any offence with which he may be charged. That it shall be lawful for his majesty, his heirs and successors, to create peers of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland, and to make promotions in the peerage thereof, after the union; provided that no new creation of any such peers shall take place after the union, until three of the peerages of Ireland, which shall have been existing at the time of the union, shall have become extinct; and upon such extinction of three peerages, that it shall be lawful for his majesty, his heirs and successors, to create one peer of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland; and in like manner so often as three peerages of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland shall become extinct, it shall be lawful for his majesty, his heirs and successors, to create one other peer of the said part of the United Kingdom; and if it shall happen that the peers of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland, shall, by extinction of peerages or otherwise, be reduced to the number of one hundred, exclusive of all such peers of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland, as shall hold any peerages of Great Britain subsisting at the time of the union, or of the United Kingdom created since the union, by which such peers shall be entitled to an hereditary seat in the house of lords of the United Kingdom, then and in that case it shall and may be lawful for his majesty, his heirs and successors, to create one peer of that part

of the united kingdom called Ireland, as often as any one of such one hundred peerages shall fail by extinction, or as often as any one peer of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland shall become entitled, by descent or creation, to an hereditary seat in the house of lords of the United Kingdom, it being the true intent and meaning of this article, that at all times after the union it shall and may be lawful for his majesty, his heirs and successors, to keep up the peerage of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland, to the number of one hundred, over and above the number of such of the said peers as shall be entitled by descent or creation to an hereditary seat in the house of lords of the United Kingdom. That if any peerage shall at any time be in abeyance, such peerage shall be deemed and taken as an existing peerage; and no peerage shall be deemed extinct, unless on default of claimants to the inheritance of such peerage for the space of one year from the death of the person who shall have been last possessed thereof; and if no claim shall be made to the inheritance of such peerage, in such form and manner as may from time to time be prescribed by the house of lords of the United Kingdom, before the expiration of the said period of a year, then and in that case such peerage shall be deemed extinct; provided that nothing herein shall exclude any person from afterwards putting in a claim to the peerage so deemed extinct; and if such claim shall be allowed as valid, by judgment of the house of lords of the United Kingdom, reported to his majesty, such peerage shall be considered as revived; and in case any new creation of a peerage of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland shall have taken place in the interval, in consequence of the supposed extinction of such peerage, then no new right of creation shall accrue to his majesty, his heirs or successors, in consequence of the next extinction which shall take place of any peerage of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland. That all questions touching the election of members to sit on the part of Ireland in the house of commons of the United Kingdom shall be heard and decided in the same manner as questions touching such elections in Great Britain now are, or at any time hereafter, shall by law be heard and decided, subject nevertheless to such particular regulation in respect to Ireland as from local circumstances

the parliament of the United Kingdom may from time to time deem expedient.

“That if his majesty, on or before the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and one, on which day the union is to take place, shall declare, under the great seal of Great Britain, that it is expedient that the lords and commons of the present parliament of Great Britain should be the members of the respective houses of the first parliament of the United Kingdom on the part of Great Britain, then the said lords and commons of the present parliament of Great Britain shall accordingly be the members of the respective houses of the first parliament of the united kingdom on the part of Great Britain; and they, together with the lords spiritual and temporal and commons so summoned and returned as above, on the part of Ireland, shall be the lords spiritual and temporal and commons of the first parliament of the United Kingdom; and such first parliament may (in that case), if not sooner dissolved, continue to sit so long as the present parliament of Great Britain may now by law continue to sit, if not sooner dissolved: provided always, that until an act shall have passed in the parliament of the United Kingdom, providing in what cases persons holding offices or places of profit under the crown in Ireland, shall be incapable of being members of the house of commons of the parliament of the United Kingdom, no greater number of members than twenty, holding such offices or place as aforesaid, shall be capable of sitting in the said house of commons of the parliament of the United Kingdom; and if such a number of members shall be returned to serve in the said house, as to make the whole number of members of the said house, holding such offices or places as aforesaid, more than twenty, then and in such case the seats or places of such members as shall have last accepted such offices or places shall be vacated, at the option of such members, so as to reduce the number of members holding such office or places to the number of twenty; and no person holding any such office or place shall be capable of being elected or of sitting in the said house, while there are twenty persons holding such offices or places sitting in the said house; and that every one of the lords of parliament of the United Kingdom, and every member of the house of commons in the United Kingdom, in the first and all succeeding parliaments, shall, until the par-

liament of the United Kingdom shall otherwise provide, take the oaths, and make and subscribe the declaration, and take and subscribe the oath now by law enjoined to be taken, made, and subscribed by the lords and commons of the parliament of Great Britain.

“That the lords of parliament on the part of Ireland, in the house of lords of the United Kingdom, shall at all times have the same privileges of parliament which shall belong to the lords of parliament on the part of Great Britain; and the lords spiritual and temporal respectively, on the part of Ireland, shall at all times have the same rights in respect of their sitting and voting upon the trial of peers, as the lords spiritual and temporal respectively, on the part of Great Britain; and that all lords spiritual of Ireland shall have rank and precedence next and immediately after the lords spiritual of the same rank and degree of Great Britain, and shall enjoy all privileges as fully as the lords spiritual of Great Britain do now, or may hereafter, enjoy the same, the right and privilege of sitting in the house of lords, and the privileges depending thereon, and particularly the right of sitting on the trial of peers, excepted; and that the persons holding any temporal peerages of Ireland existing at the time of the union, shall, from and after the union, have rank and precedence next and immediately after all the persons holding peerages of the like orders and degrees in Great Britain, subsisting at the time of the union, and that all peerages of Ireland created after the union, shall have rank and precedence with the peerages of the United Kingdom so created, according to the dates of their creations; and that all peerages both of Great Britain and Ireland, now subsisting or hereafter to be created, shall in all other respects, from the date of the union, be considered as peerages of the United Kingdom; and that the peers of Ireland shall, as peers of the United Kingdom, be sued and tried as peers, except as aforesaid, and shall enjoy all privileges of peers as fully as the peers of Great Britain; the right and privilege of sitting in the house of lords, and the privileges depending thereon, and the right of sitting on the trial of peers, only excepted.

“Art. V. That it be the fifth article of union, that the churches of England and Ireland, as now by law established, be united into one protestant episcopal church, to be called the *united church of England and*

Ireland; and that the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government of the said united church shall be and shall remain in full force for ever, as the same are now by law established for the church of England; and that the continuance and preservation of the said united church, as the established church of England and Ireland, shall be deemed and taken to be an essential and fundamental part of the union; and that in like manner the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government of the church of Scotland, shall remain and be preserved as the same are now established by law, and by the acts for the union of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland.

“Art. VI. That it be the sixth article of union, that his majesty's subjects of Great Britain and Ireland shall from and after the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and one, be entitled to the same privileges, and be on the same footing as to encouragements and bounties on the like articles being the grown produce or manufacture of either country respectively, and generally in respect of trade and navigation in all parts and places in the United Kingdom and its dependencies; and that in all treaties made by his majesty, his heirs and successors, with any foreign power, his majesty's subjects of Ireland shall have the same privileges, and be on the same footing as his majesty's subjects of Great Britain.

“That from the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and one, all prohibitions and bounties on the export of articles, the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country to the other, shall cease and determine, and that the said articles shall thenceforth be exported from one country to the other, without duty or bounty on such export: that all articles, the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country (not hereinafter enumerated as subject to specific duties) shall from thenceforth be imported into each country from the other free from duty, other than such countervailing duty on the several articles enumerated in the schedule number one A and B, hereunto annexed, as are therein specified, or to such other countervailing duty as shall hereafter be imposed by the parliament of the United Kingdom, in the manner hereinafter provided; and that, for the period of twenty years from the union, the article enumerated in the schedule number two, hereunto annexed, shall be subject on importation into each country from the

other to the duties specified in the said schedule number two; and the woollen manufactures, known by the names of the *old and new drapery*, shall pay, on importation into each country from the other, the duties now payable on importation into Ireland; salt and hops, on importation into Ireland from Great Britain, duties not exceeding those which are now paid on importation into Ireland; and coals, on importation into Ireland from Great Britain, shall be subject to burthens not exceeding those to which they are now subject. That calicoes and muslins shall, on their importation into either country from the other, be subject and liable to the duties now payable on the same on the importation thereof from Great Britain into Ireland, until the fifth day of January, one thousand eight hundred and eight; and from and after the said day, the said duties shall be annually reduced, by equal proportions as near as may be in each year, so as that the said duties shall stand at ten *per centum* from and after the fifth day of January, one thousand eight hundred and sixteen, until the fifth day of January, one thousand eight hundred and twenty-one; and that cotton-yarn and cotton-twist shall, on their importation into either country from the other, be subject and liable to the duties now payable upon the same on the importation thereof from Great Britain into Ireland, until the fifth day of January, one thousand eight hundred and eight, and from and after the said day the said duties shall be annually reduced by equal proportions as near as may be in each year, so that as that all duties shall cease on the said articles from and after the fifth day of January, one thousand eight hundred and sixteen.

“That any articles of the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country, which are or may be subject to internal duty, or to duty on the materials of which they are composed, may be made subject, on their importation into each country respectively from the other, to such countervailing duty as shall appear to be just and reasonable in respect of such internal duty or duties on the materials; and that for the said purpose, the articles specified in the said schedule number one A and B, shall be subject to the duties set forth therein, liable to be taken off, diminished, or increased, in the manner herein specified; and that upon export of the said articles from each country to the other respectively,

a drawback shall be given equal in amount to the countervailing duty payable on such article on the import thereof into the same country from the other; and that in like manner in future it shall be competent to the united parliament to impose any new or additional countervailing duties, or to take off or diminish such existing countervailing duties as may appear, on like principles, to be just and reasonable in respect of any future or additional internal duty on any article of the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country, or of any new or additional duty on any materials of which such article may be composed, or of any abatement of duty on the same; and that when any such new or additional countervailing duty shall be so imposed on the import of any article into either country from the other, a drawback equal in amount to such countervailing duty shall be given in like manner on the export of every such article respectively from the same country to the other.

“That all articles, the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country, when exported through the other, shall in all cases be exported subject to the same charges as if they had been exported directly from the country of which they were the growth, produce, or manufacture.

“That all duty charged on the import of foreign or colonial goods into either country, shall on their export to the other, be either drawn back, or the amount, if any be retained, shall be placed to the credit of the country to which they shall be so exported, so long as the expenditure of the United Kingdom shall be defrayed by proportional contributions: provided always, that nothing herein shall extend to take away any duty, bounty, or prohibition which exists with respect to corn, meal, malt, flour, or biscuit; but that all duties, bounties, or prohibitions on the said articles, may be regulated, varied, or repealed, from time to time, as the united parliament shall deem expedient.

[The schedules referred to, consisting merely of lists of articles of commerce and their duties, are here omitted.]

“Art. VII. That it be the seventh article of union, that the charge arising from the payment of the interest, and the sinking fund for the reduction of the principal of the debt incurred in either kingdom before the union, shall continue to be separately defrayed by Great Britain and Ireland respectively, except as hereinafter provided.

“That for the space of twenty years after the union shall take place, the contribution of Great Britain and Ireland respectively towards the expenditure of the United Kingdom in each year, shall be defrayed in the proportion of fifteen parts for Great Britain and two parts for Ireland; and that at the expiration of the said twenty years, the future expenditure of the United Kingdom (other than the interest and charges of the debt to which either country shall be separately liable,) shall be defrayed in such proportion as the parliament of the United Kingdom shall deem just and reasonable, upon a comparison of the real value of the exports and imports of the respective countries, upon an average of the three years next preceding the period of revision, or on a comparison of the value of the quantities of the following articles consumed within the respective countries, on a similar average, viz., beer, spirits, sugar, wine, tea, tobacco, and malt; or according to the aggregate proportion resulting from both these considerations combined, or on a comparison of the amount of income in each country, estimated from the produce for the same period of a general tax, if such shall have been imposed on the same description of income in both countries; and that the parliament of the United Kingdom shall afterwards proceed in like manner to revise and fix the said proportions according to the same rules, or any of them, at periods not more distant than twenty years, nor less than seven years from each other; unless, previous to any such period, the parliament of the United Kingdom shall have declared, as hereinafter provided, that the expenditure of the United Kingdom shall be defrayed indiscriminately, by equal taxes imposed on the like articles in both countries: that, for the defraying the said expenditure according to the rules above laid down, the revenues of Ireland shall hereafter constitute a consolidated fund, which shall be charged, in the first instance, with the interest of the debt of Ireland, and with the sinking fund applicable to the reduction of the said debt, and the remainder shall be applied towards defraying the proportion of the expenditure of the United Kingdom to which Ireland may be liable in each year: that the proportion of contribution to which Great Britain and Ireland will be liable, shall be raised by such taxes in each country respectively as the parliament of the United King-

dom shall, from time to time, deem fit: provided always, that in regulating the taxes in each country by which their respective proportions shall be levied, no article in Ireland shall be made liable to any new or additional duty, by which the whole amount of duty payable thereon would exceed the amount which will be thereafter payable in England on the like article. That if at the end of any year any surplus shall accrue from the revenues of Ireland, after defraying the interest, sinking fund, and proportional contribution and separate charges to which the said country shall then be liable, taxes shall be taken off to the amount of such surplus, or the surplus shall be applied by the parliament of the United Kingdom to local purposes in Ireland, or to make good any deficiency which may arise in the revenues of Ireland in time of peace, or be invested, by the commissioners of the national debt of Ireland, in the funds, to accumulate for the benefit of Ireland at compound interest, in case of the contribution of Ireland in time of war; provided that the surplus so to accumulate shall at no future period be suffered to exceed the sum of five millions. That all monies to be raised after the union, by loan, in peace or war, for the service of the United Kingdom, by the parliament thereof, shall be considered to be a joint debt, and the charges thereof shall be borne by the respective countries in the proportion of their respective contributions; provided that, if at any time in raising their respective contributions hereby fixed for each country, the parliament of the United Kingdom shall judge it fit to raise a greater proportion of such respective contributions in one country within the year than in the other, or to set apart a greater proportion of sinking fund for the liquidation of the whole or any part of the loan raised on account of the one country than that raised on account of the other country, then such part of the said loan, for the liquidation of which different provisions shall have been made for the respective countries, shall be kept distinct, and shall be borne by each separately, and only that part of the said loan be deemed joint and common, for the reduction of which the respective countries shall have made provision in the proportion of their respective contributions. That if, at any future day, the separated debt of each country respectively shall have been liquidated, or if the values of their respec-

tive debts (estimated according to the amount of the interest and annuities attending the same, and of the sinking fund applicable to the reduction thereof, and to the period within which the whole capital of such debt shall appear to be redeemable by such sinking fund) shall be to each other in the same proportion with the respective contributions of each country respectively; or if the amount by which the value of the larger of such debts shall vary from such proportion shall not exceed one-hundredth part of the said value, and if it shall appear to the parliament of the United Kingdom that the respective circumstances of the two countries will thenceforth admit of their contributing indiscriminately, by equal taxes imposed on the same article in each, to the future expenditure of the United Kingdom, it shall be competent to the parliament of the United Kingdom to declare, that all future expense thenceforth to be incurred, together with the interest and charges of all joint debts contracted previous to such declaration, shall be so defrayed indiscriminately by equal taxes imposed on the same article in each country, and thenceforth, from time to time, as circumstances may require, to impose and apply such taxes accordingly, subject only to such particular exemption or abatements in Ireland, and to that part of Great Britain called Scotland, as circumstances may appear, from time to time, to demand. That, from the period of such declaration, it shall no longer be necessary to regulate the contribution of the two countries towards the future expenditure of the United Kingdom according to any of the rules hereinbefore prescribed; provided nevertheless, that the interest or charges which may remain on account of any part of the separate debt with which either country shall be chargeable, and which shall not be liquidated or consolidated proportionably as above, shall, until extinguished, continue to be defrayed by separate taxes in each country. That a sum not less than the sum which has been granted by the parliament of Ireland, on the average of six years, immediately preceeding the first day of January, in the year one thousand eight hundred, in premiums for the internal encouragement of agriculture or manufactures, or for the maintaining institutions for pious and charitable purposes, shall be applied, for the period of twenty years after the union, to such local purposes in Ireland, in such manner as the parliament of the United Kingdom shall

direct. That from and after the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and one, all public revenue arising to the United Kingdom from the territorial dependencies thereof, and applied to the general expenditure of the United Kingdom, shall be so applied in the proportions of the respective contributions of the two countries.

“Art. VIII. That it be the eighth article of the union, that all laws in force at the time of the union, and all the courts of civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction within the respective kingdoms, shall remain as now by law established within the same, subject only to such alterations and regulations, from time to time, as circumstances may appear to the parliament of the United Kingdom to require; provided that all writs of error and appeals, depending at the time of the union, or hereafter to be brought, and which might now be finally decided by the house of lords of either kingdom, shall, from and after the union, be finally decided by the house of lords of the United Kingdom; and provided that, from and after the union, there shall remain in Ireland an instance court of admiralty for the determination of causes, civil and maritime only, and that the appeal from sentences of the said court shall be to his majesty's delegates in his court of chancery, in that part of the united kingdom called Ireland; and all laws at present in force in either kingdom, which shall be contrary to any of the provisions which may be enacted by any act carrying these articles into effect, be from and after the union repealed.

“And whereas the said articles having, by address of the respective houses of parliament in Great Britain and Ireland, been humbly laid before his majesty, his majesty has been graciously pleased to approve the same, and to recommend it to the two houses of parliament in Great Britain and Ireland to consider of such measure as may be necessary for giving effect to the said articles: in order, therefore, to give full effect and validity to the same, be it enacted, by the king's most excellent majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that the said foregoing recited articles, each and every one of them, according to the true import and tenor thereof, be ratified, confirmed, and approved, and be, and they are hereby declared to be the articles of the union of Great Britain and Ireland, and the same shall be in force and

have effect for ever from the first day of January, which shall be in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and one; provided that, before that period, an act shall have been passed by the parliament of Ireland for carrying into effect, in the like manner, the said foregoing recited articles.

"11. And whereas an act, entitled 'An act to regulate the mode by which the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons, to serve in the parliament of the United Kingdom on the part of Ireland, shall be summoned and returned to the said parliament,' has been passed by the parliament of Ireland; the tenor whereof is as follows:-- An act to regulate the mode by which the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons, to serve in the parliament of the United Kingdom on the part of Ireland, shall be summoned and returned to the said parliament. Whereas it is agreed by the fourth article of union, that four lords spiritual of Ireland, by rotation of sessions, and twenty-eight lords temporal of Ireland, elected for life by the peers of Ireland, shall be the number to sit and vote on the part of Ireland in the house of lords of the parliament of the United Kingdom; and one hundred commoners (two for each county of Ireland, two for the city of Dublin, two for the city of Cork, one for the college of the Holy Trinity of Dublin, and one for each of the thirty-one most considerable cities, towns, and boroughs,) be the number to sit and vote on the part of Ireland in the house of commons of the parliament of the United Kingdom; be it enacted by the king's most excellent majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, in this parliament assembled, and by authority of the same, that the said four lords spiritual shall be taken from among the lords spiritual of Ireland in the manner following: that is to say, that one of the four archbishops of Ireland, and three of the eighteen bishops of Ireland, shall sit in the house of lords of the united parliament in each session thereof, the said right of sitting being regulated as between the said archbishops respectively by a rotation among the archiepiscopal sees from session to session, and in like manner that of the bishops by a like rotation among the episcopal sees: that the primate of all Ireland, for the time being, shall sit in the first session of the parliament of the United Kingdom; the archbishop of Dublin, for the time being,

in the second; the archbishop of Cashel, for the time being, in the third; and the archbishop of Tuam, for the time being, in the fourth; and so by rotation of sessions for ever, such rotation to proceed regularly and without interruption from session to session, notwithstanding any dissolution or expiration of parliament: that three suffragan bishops shall in like manner sit according to rotation of their sees, from session to session, in the following order: the lord bishop of Meath, the lord bishop of Kildare, the lord bishop of Derry, in the first session of the parliament of the United Kingdom; the lord bishop of Raphoe, the lord bishop of Limerick, Ardfert, and Aghadoc, the lord bishop of Dromore, in the second session of the parliament of the United Kingdom; the lord bishop of Elphin, the lord bishop of Down and Connor, the lord bishop of Waterford and Lismore, in the third session of the parliament of the United Kingdom; the lord bishop of Leighlin and Ferns, the lord bishop of Cloyne, the lord bishop of Cork and Ross, in the fourth session of the parliament of the United Kingdom; the lord bishop of Killaloe and Kilfenora, the lord bishop of Kilmore, the lord bishop of Clogher, in the fifth session of the parliament of the United Kingdom; the lord bishop of Ossory, the lord bishop of Killala and Achonry, the lord bishop of Clonfert and Kilmacduagh, in the sixth session of the parliament of the United Kingdom; the said rotation to be nevertheless subject to such variation therefrom from time to time as is hereinafter provided. That the said twenty-eight lords temporal shall be chosen by all the temporal peers of Ireland in the manner hereinafter provided; that each of the said lords temporal so chosen shall be entitled to sit in the house of lords of the parliament of the United Kingdom during his life; and in case of his death, or forfeiture of any of the said lords temporal, the temporal peers of Ireland shall, in the manner hereinafter provided, choose another peer out of their own number to supply the place so vacant. And be it enacted, that of the one hundred commoners to sit on the part of Ireland in the united parliament, sixty-four shall be chosen for the counties, and thirty-six for the following cities and boroughs, viz., for each county of Ireland two; for the city of Dublin two; for the city of Cork two; for the college of the Holy Trinity of Dublin one; for the city of Waterford one; for

the city of Limerick one; for the borough of Belfast one; for the county and town of Drogheda one; for the county and town of Carrickfergus one; for the borough of Newry one; for the city of Kilkenny one; for the city of Londonderry one; for the town of Galway one; for the borough of Clonmel one; for the town of Wexford one; for the town of Youghall one; for the town of Bandon Bridge one; for the borough of Armagh one; for the borough of Dundalk one; for the town of Kinsale one; for the borough of Lisburn one; for the borough of Sligo one; for the borough of Catherlough one; for the borough of Ennis one; for the borough of Dungarvan one; for the borough of Downpatrick one; for the borough of Coleraine one; for the town of Mallow one; for the borough of Athlone one; for the town of New Ross one; for the borough of Tralee one; for the city of Cashel one; for the borough of Dungannon one; for the borough of Portarlington one; for the borough of Enniskillen one. And be it enacted, that in case of the summoning of a new parliament, or if the seat of any of the said commoners shall become vacant by death or otherwise, then the said counties, cities, or boroughs, or any of them, as the case may be, shall proceed to a new election; and that all the other towns, cities, corporations, or boroughs, other than the aforesaid, shall cease to elect representatives to serve in parliament; and no meeting shall at any time hereafter be summoned, called, convened, or held, for the purpose of electing any person or persons to serve or act, or be considered as representative or representatives of any other place, town, city, corporation, or borough, other than the aforesaid, or as representative or representatives of the freemen, freeholders, householders, or inhabitants thereof, either in the parliament of the United Kingdom, or elsewhere, (unless it shall hereafter be otherwise provided by the parliament of the United Kingdom); and every person summoning, calling, or holding any such meeting or assembly, or taking any part in such election, or pretended election, shall, being thereof duly convicted, incur and suffer the pain and penalties ordained and provided by the statute of provision and premunire, made in the sixteenth year of the reign of Richard the Second. For the due election of the persons to be chosen to sit in the respective houses of parliament of the United Kingdom on the part of Ireland,

be it enacted, that on the day following that on which the act for establishing the union shall have received the royal assent, the primate of all Ireland, the lord bishop of Meath, the lord bishop of Kildare, and the lord bishop of Derry, shall be, and they are hereby declared to be the representatives of the lords spiritual of Ireland in the parliament of the United Kingdom, for the first session thereof; and that the temporal peers of Ireland shall assemble at twelve of the clock on the same day as aforesaid, in the now accustomed place of meeting of the house of lords of Ireland, and shall then and there proceed to elect twenty-eight lords temporal to represent the peerage of Ireland in the parliament of the United Kingdom in the following manner; that is to say, the name of the peers shall be called over according to their rank, by the clerk of the crown or his deputy, who shall then and there attend for that purpose, and each of the said peers, who, previous to the said day, and in the present parliament shall have actually taken his seat in the house of lords of Ireland, and who shall there have taken the oaths, and signed the declaration, which are or shall be by law required to be taken and signed by the lords of the parliament of Ireland before they can sit and vote in the parliament hereof, shall, when his name is called, deliver, either by himself or by his proxy (the name of such proxy having been previously entered in a book of the house of lords of Ireland, according to the present forms and usages thereof) to the clerk of the crown, or his deputy, who shall then and there attend for that purpose), a list of twenty-eight of the temporal peers of Ireland, and the clerk of the crown, or his deputy, shall then and there publicly read the said lists, and shall then and there east up the said lists, and publicly declare the names of the twenty-eight lords who shall be chosen by the majority of votes in the said lists, and shall make a return of the said names to the house of lords of the first parliament of the United Kingdom; and the twenty-eight lords so chosen by the majority of votes in the said lists shall, during their respective lives, sit as representatives of the peers of Ireland in the house of lords of the United Kingdom, and be entitled to receive writs of summonses to that and every succeeding parliament; and in case a complete election shall not be made of the whole number of twenty-eight peers, by reason of an equality of votes, the clerk of the crown shall return such

number in favour of whom a complete election shall have been made in one list, and in a second list shall return the name of those peers who shall have an equality of votes, but in favour of whom, by reason of such equality, a complete election shall not have been made, and the names of the peers in the second list, for whom an equal number of votes shall have been so given, shall be written on pieces of paper of a similar form, and shall be put into a glass by the clerk of the parliament of the United Kingdom, at the table of the house of lords thereof, whilst the house is sitting, and the peer whose name shall first be drawn out by the clerk of the parliament, shall be deemed the peer elected, and so successively as often as the case may require; and whenever the seat of any of the twenty-eight lords temporal so elected shall be vacated by decease or forfeiture, the chancellor, the keeper or commissioners of the great seal of the United Kingdom for the time being, upon receiving a certificate under the hand and seal of any two lords temporal of the parliament of the United Kingdom, certifying the decease of such peer, or on view of the record of attainder of such peer, shall direct a writ to be issued under the great seal of the United Kingdom, to the chancellor, the keeper or commissioners of the great seal of Ireland for the time being, directing him or them to cause writs to be issued by the clerk of the crown in Ireland, to every temporal peer of Ireland, who shall have sat and voted in the house of lords of Ireland before the union, or whose right to sit and vote therein, or to vote at such elections, shall, on claim made on his behalf, have been admitted by the house of lords of Ireland before the union, or after the union by the house of lords of the United Kingdom; and notice shall forthwith be published by the said clerk of the crown, in the London and Dublin Gazettes, of the issuing of such writs, and of the names and titles of all the peers to whom the same are directed; and to the said writs there shall be annexed a form of return thereof, in which a blank shall be left for the name of the peer to be elected, and the said writs shall enjoin each peer, within fifty-two days from the test of the writ, to return the same into the crown office of Ireland with the blank filled up, by inserting the name of the peer for whom he shall vote, as the peer to succeed to the vacancy made by demise or forfeiture as aforesaid, and the said writs and returns

shall be bipartite, so as that the name of the peer to be chosen shall be written twice; that is, once on each part of such writ and return, and so as that each part may also be subscribed by the peer to whom the same shall be directed, and likewise be sealed with his seal of arms; and one part of the said writs and returns so filled up, subscribed, and sealed, as above, shall remain of record in the crown office of Ireland, and the other part shall be certified by the clerk of the crown to the clerk of the parliament of the United Kingdom; and no peer of Ireland, except such as shall have been elected as representative peers on the part of Ireland in the house of lords of the United Kingdom, and shall there have taken the oaths, and signed the declaration prescribed by law, shall, under pain of suffering such punishment as the house of lords of the United Kingdom may award and adjudge, make a return to such writ, unless he shall, after the issuing thereof, and before the day on which the writ is returnable, have taken the oaths and signed the declaration which are or shall be by law required to be taken and signed by the lords of the United Kingdom, before they can sit and vote in the parliament thereof; which oaths and declaration shall be either taken and subscribed in the court of chancery of Ireland, or before one of his majesty's justices of the peace of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland, a certificate whereof, signed by such justices of the peace or by the registrar of the said court of chancery, shall be transmitted by such peer with the return, and shall be annexed to that part thereof remaining of record in the crown office of Ireland; and the clerk of the crown shall forthwith, after the return day of the writs, cause to be published in the London and Dublin Gazettes, a notice of the name of the person chosen by the majority of votes; and the peer so chosen shall, during his life, be one of the peers to sit and vote on the part of Ireland in the house of lords of the United Kingdom; and in case the votes shall be equal, the names of such persons who have an equal number of votes in their favour, shall be written on pieces of paper of a similar form, and shall be put into a glass by the clerk of the parliament of the United Kingdom, at the table of the house of lords, whilst the house is sitting, and the peer whose name shall be first drawn out by the clerk of the parliament, shall be deemed

the peer elected. And be it enacted, that in case any lord spiritual, being a temporal peer of the United Kingdom, or being a temporal peer of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland, shall be chosen by the lords temporal to be one of the representatives of the lords temporal, in every such case, during the life of such spiritual peer, being a temporal peer of the United Kingdom, or being a temporal peer of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland, so chosen to represent the lords temporal, the rotation of representation of the spiritual lords shall proceed to the next spiritual lord, without regard to such spiritual lord chosen a temporal peer; that is to say, if such spiritual lord shall be an archbishop, then the rotation shall proceed to the archbishop whose see is next in rotation, and if such spiritual lord shall be suffragan bishop, then the rotation shall proceed to the suffragan bishop whose see is next in rotation. And whereas by the said fourth article of union it is agreed, that if his majesty shall, on or before the first day of January next, declare, under the great seal of Great Britain, that it is expedient that the lords and commons of the present parliament of Great Britain should be members of the respective houses of the first parliament of the United Kingdom on the part of Great Britain, then the lords and commons of the present parliament of Great Britain shall accordingly be the members of the respective houses of the first parliament of the United Kingdom on the part of Great Britain; be it enacted, for and in that case only, that the present members of the thirty-two counties of Ireland, and the two members for the city of Dublin, and the two members for the city of Cork, shall be, and they are hereby declared to be, by virtue of this act, members for the said counties and cities in the first parliament of the United Kingdom; and that, on a day and hour to be appointed by his majesty under the great seal of Ireland, previous to the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and one, the members then serving for the College of the Holy Trinity of Dublin, and for each of the following cities or boroughs, that is to say, the city of Waterford, city of Limerick, borough of Belfast, county and town of Drogheda, county and town of Carrickfergus, borough of Newry, city of Kilkenny, city of Londonderry, town of Galway, borough of Clonmel, town of

Wexford, town of Youghal, town of Bandon-Bridge, borough of Armagh, borough of Dundalk, town of Kinsale, borough of Lisburn, borough of Sligo, borough of Catherlough, borough of Ennis, borough of Dungarvan, borough of Downpatrick, borough of Coleraine, town of Mallow, borough of Athlone, town of New Ross, borough of Tralee, city of Cashel, borough of Dungannon, borough of Portarlington, and borough of Enniskillen, or any five or more of them, shall meet in the now usual place of meeting of the house of commons of Ireland, and the names of the members then serving for the said places and boroughs, shall be written on separate pieces of paper, and the said papers being folded up, shall be placed in a glass or glasses, and shall successively be drawn thereout by the clerk of the crown, or his deputy, who shall then and there attend for that purpose, and the first drawn name of a member of each of the aforesaid places or boroughs, shall be taken as the name of the member to serve for the said place or borough in the first parliament of the United Kingdom, and a return of the said names shall be made by the clerk of the crown, or his deputy, to the house of commons of the first parliament of the United Kingdom, and a certificate thereof shall be given respectively by the said clerk of the crown, or his deputy, to each of the members whose name shall have been so drawn: provided always, that it may be allowed to any member of any of the said places or boroughs, by personal application, to be then and there made by him to the clerk of the crown, or his deputy, or by declaration in writing under his hand, to be transmitted by him to the clerk of the crown previous to the said day so appointed as above, to withdraw his name previous to the drawing of the names by lot; in which case, or in that of a vacancy by death or otherwise of one of the members of any of the said places or boroughs, at the time of so drawing the names, the name of the other member shall be returned as aforesaid as the name of the member to serve for such place in the first parliament of the United Kingdom; or if both members for any such place or borough shall so withdraw their names, or if there shall be a vacancy of both members at the time aforesaid, the clerk of the crown shall certify the same to the house of commons of the first parliament of the United Kingdom, and shall also express, in such return, whe-

ther any writ shall then have issued for the election of a member or members to supply such vacancy; and if a writ shall so have issued for the election of one member only, such writ shall be superseded, and any election to be thereafter made thereupon shall be null and of no effect; and if such writ shall have issued for the election of two members, the said two members shall be chosen accordingly, and their names being returned by the clerk of the crown to the house of commons of the parliament of the United Kingdom, one of the said names shall then be drawn, by lot, in such manner and time as the said house of commons shall direct; and the person whose name shall be so drawn, shall be deemed to be the member to sit for such place in the first parliament of the United Kingdom; but if, at the time aforesaid, no writ shall have issued to supply such vacancy, none shall thereafter issue until the same be ordered by resolution of the house of commons of the parliament of the United Kingdom, as in the case of any other vacancy of seat in the house of commons of the parliament of the United Kingdom: And be it enacted, that whenever his majesty, his heirs and successors, shall, by proclamation under the great seal of the United Kingdom, summon a new parliament of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the chancellor, keeper, or commissioners of the great seal of Ireland, shall cause writs to be issued to the several counties, cities, the college of the Holy Trinity of Dublin, and boroughs in that part of the united kingdom called Ireland, specified in this act, for the election of members to serve in the parliament of the United Kingdom, according to the numbers hereinbefore set forth; and whenever any vacancy

of a seat in the house of commons of the parliament of the United Kingdom for any of the said counties, cities, or boroughs, or for the said college of the Holy Trinity of Dublin, shall arise, by death or otherwise, the chancellor, keeper, or commissioners of the great seal, upon such vacancy being certified to them respectively by the proper warrant, shall forthwith cause a writ to issue for the election of a person to fill up such vacancy; and such writ, and the returns thereon, respectively being returned into the crown office in that part of the united kingdom called Ireland, shall from thence be transmitted to the crown office in that part of the united kingdom called England, and certified to the house of commons in the same manner as the like returns have been usually, or shall hereafter be certified; and copies of the said writs and returns, attested by the chancellor, keeper, or commissioners of the great seal of Ireland for the time being, shall be preserved in the crown office of Ireland, and shall be evidence of such writs and returns, in case the original writs and returns shall be lost. Be it enacted, that the said act so herein recited, be taken as a part of this act, and be deemed to all intents and purposes incorporated within the same.

“ III. And be it enacted, that the great seal of Ireland may, if his majesty shall so think fit, after the union, be used in like manner as before the union, except where it is otherwise provided by the foregoing articles, within that part of the united kingdom called Ireland, and that his majesty may, so long as he shall see fit, continue the privy council of Ireland to be his privy council for that part of the united kingdom called Ireland.”

BOOK X.

FROM THE UNION TO THE EUROPEAN PEACE IN 1815.

CHAPTER I.

REVIEW OF THE MEANS BY WHICH THE UNION HAD BEEN CARRIED, AS THEY BORE UPON THE FUTURE POLITICS OF THE COUNTRY.



HE great measure of a union between the two kingdoms was thus carried triumphantly, but the very means which carried it raised new subjects of discord, and gave a new character to the political agitation of the subsequent period. Convinced of the necessity of the measure, Pitt and his colleagues left no means in their power untried to accomplish it, and the king, equally eager to accomplish the same object, appears to have acted uncandidly in allowing, perhaps encouraging his ministers to make implied promises which it was not his intention to fulfil. The appointment of lord Cornwallis had been considered as a promise of a popular line of policy which it seems never to have been the king's intention to pursue. Thus there was deception everywhere; and there was, beneath the surface, distrust between the king and his ministers, and distrust between the ministers and the lord lieutenant of Ireland. It is in the private correspondence of lord Castlereagh, who was, no doubt, the principal agent in effecting the measure of the union, that we get a full view of all these distrusts and deceptions. It was, perhaps, more than anything else, the high character and popularity of lord Cornwallis, which rendered the union palatable to Irishmen in general. He had been appointed to the government of Ireland at a moment of great difficulty, and succeeded a lord lieutenant, lord Camden, under whom acts of oppression had been perpetrated, which had rendered his government odious. The only defence pleaded for it was, that the interests of the state rendered them necessary, and the wise and gentle rule of lord Cornwallis was fast healing the sores. Yet he was looked upon with great jealousy

by the tory party, and apparently his government was only allowed by the king, because he hoped to make it the means of carrying out a favourite object. Lord Cornwallis was, in fact, the instrument for effecting the union. In a "secret and confidential" letter from lord Camden to lord Castlereagh, written on the 11th of April, 1800, the jealousy of the tories towards lord Cornwallis is strongly manifested. "I was so certain," he says, alluding to some rumours from Ireland, "that your regard for my character would, above all, have induced you to speak of my conduct as I trust it deserves, that I should have conceived the account, if I had seen it, to have been perfectly unauthorized; but, if I could have doubted the care you would have taken of me, I should at least have given you credit for not deserting your own character, and have expected, for your own consistency, that you would show that, under change of circumstances, the principle lord Cornwallis and I have acted upon has been the same. After assuring you that I never entertained any other opinion of the line you took, than that of its being kind towards me, and judicious in your situation, and informing you that I believe the insinuations which were communicated to you and to me, came from discontented persons, I will tell you fairly, that the situation in which you were placed upon that question was not much less difficult than others, out of which you have extricated yourself so honourably. I am convinced that lord Cornwallis came into Ireland with a bad opinion of all the old advisers of government, and a determination to estrange himself from them; he also came at a moment when measures of lenity could have been carried into execution with advantage, which induced him to form the hope and

to attempt to execute the plan of restoring the country to peace by carrying that system to a greater extent than I am sure you or other of his friends *quite* approve of; and the insinuation thrown out against the yeomanry, an institution founded by me, could not be otherwise construed by the friends of that institution, than as a disapprobation of that conduct they had been suffered to pursue before; and yet the change of system crept so by degrees into his conduct, that I do not think it was possible for you, under the circumstances in which you stood, to represent *seriously* against it; and it was equally difficult for the ministers here, although they saw and felt that lord Cornwallis was *not* acting exactly as they liked, to send him an instruction to change his conduct. The alterations, however, which were made in the speech at the opening of the session, originally sent over, must have convinced his lordship what were our sentiments upon the advantages he held out in his original draft of the lenient measures he had pursued; and the last letter which has been written by the duke of Portland must evince that it has been the opinion of *all* the king's servants, that measures of severity towards rebels are as necessary as those of conciliation to the loyal; and I am truly happy to hear, although I have not seen the dispatch of this day, that lord Cornwallis's answer to the duke's letter is precisely what could be wished. I am quite correct when I tell you, that the opinion I mention is that of *all* the king's servants here. I am equally so when I tell you that it is no less the opinion of *all* who were in habits with me and others, their correspondents here. I should be glad, for my own satisfaction, to name the persons *who*, I *know*, entertain this opinion, but it is not fair towards them. I do not, however, think I can put you and your father ill-together, by saying he is among the number. If, however, this awkwardness has existed, I think there is every prospect of its being done away. If the loyal are protected, they will exert themselves; and if the system of activity is persisted in with the steadiness and the temper which I doubt not it will, I entertain sanguine hopes that the government will be carried on advantageously to the country, and satisfactorily to both sides of the water. I believe you know the above opinions have been long conceived by me. I do assure you, I have not influenced

those of others, as Irish questions in which the personal conduct of my successor is implicated, are those I never descant upon."

The point on which, no doubt, a great deception was practised by the English government, was that of catholic emancipation, which, if it was not directly promised, was so openly held out as a consequence to result from the union, that nobody could understand it otherwise than as an implied condition. Yet it is probable that Pitt knew well enough that it would never be granted, and it is certain that George III., while he allowed it to be promised, was fully resolved that the promise should never be fulfilled. There is a passage in a news-letter from lord Castlereagh's friend and correspondent, Mr. Cooke, addressed to lord Cornwallis, in the night of the 22nd of April, 1800, from the house of commons in England, in which, describing the debate which had just closed, he says, "Mr. Pitt made a fine and *prudent* speech. Mr. Grey took the line of the opposition in Ireland. . . . Grey tried to drive Mr. Pitt to a declaration on the catholic subject, by arguing that a union could do nothing but by the measures which should result from it. Mr. Pitt avoided it. Mr. Dundas was not quite so cautious; in talking of the union with Scotland, he said that the union led the way to the repeal of the heritable jurisdictions, which the parliament of Scotland would never have done; and so the union with Ireland would enable the parliament to do those things for Ireland which the Irish parliament could not do for itself."

It appears that in the June of 1800, when the bill had only just been carried, the English court was already preparing to repudiate the promises which lord Cornwallis had been privately authorized to make. The latter concludes an expostulatory letter to the duke of Portland on the 17th of that month—"I have now only to request that your grace will assure his majesty that I have on this occasion served him honestly and faithfully to the best of my abilities; that I have been biassed by no private motives or partialities, and that all my measures have been solely and uniformly directed to the attainment of that great object, in which the honour of his crown and the security of his dominions were so deeply involved. He will, I am persuaded, see the necessity of my having entered into embarrassing engagements, according to the

various circumstances which occurred during the long and arduous contest; and if any of them should appear so strongly to merit his disapprobation as to induce him to withhold his consent to their being carried into effect, he will be pleased to allow me to retire from a station which I could no longer hold with honour to myself, or with any prospect of advantage to his service." A private letter from lord Castlereagh to lord Camden, written on the following day, is equally explicit; the matter involved in this case appears to have been merely promises of individual favours to influential men who had supported the union. "I confess," says lord Castlereagh, "it appears to me that lord Cornwallis, having been directed to undertake and carry the measure of union, and having been fully authorized, by various dispatches, to make arrangements with individuals, to which not only the faith of his own but of the English government was understood to be pledged, will be very harshly treated, if the wisdom of his arrangements, now the measure is secured, is to be canvassed at a moment when the pressing necessities under which those arrangements were made cannot but be very fresh in the recollections even of persons on the spot, but certainly cannot be fairly estimated by those who were removed from the scene of action. If the Irish government is not enabled to keep faith with the various individuals who have acted upon a principle of confidence in their honour, it is morally impossible, my dear lord, that either lord Cornwallis or I can remain in our present situations; the moment it is surmised that we have lost the confidence and support of the English government, we shall have every expectant upon our backs, and it will remain a breach of faith, as injurious to the character of government as to our own, having given an assurance which we were not enabled to fulfil." In another letter, written to Mr. Cook on the 21st of June, lord Castlereagh speaks still more strongly on this attempt to repudiate lord Cornwallis's engagements. "I am not much surprised," he says, "that ministers should abstractedly wish to get rid of B—, though I should feel very much so if they should put that or any other awkwardness in competition with lord Cornwallis's honour. They sent him into this country, to risk an established character, at the close of a political life, and I cannot easily persuade myself that Mr. Pitt will give him up on a

point of patronage after what he has accomplished. But, from King's arguments, it appears that the cabinet, after having carried the measure by the force of influence, of which they were apprised in every dispatch sent from hence for the last eighteen months, wished to forget all this: they turn short round, and say it would be a pity to tarnish all that has been so well done, by giving any such shock to the public sentiment. If they imagine they can take up popular grounds by disappointing their supporters, and by disgracing the Irish government, I think they will find themselves mistaken. It will be no secret what has been promised, and by what means the union has been secured. Disappointment will encourage, not prevent disclosure; and the only effect of such a proceeding on their part will be, to add the weight of their testimony to that of the anti-unionists, in proclaiming the profligacy of the means by which the measure has been accomplished. [This is strong language for the pen of lord Castlereagh.] Both the duke of Portland's despatch and King's conversation seem to represent the sixteen new peerages as created for the sole purpose of carrying the elections, and they say, we don't care if the half of the number is chosen against government; the English of which is (if it has any meaning at all) that it is of little importance to us whether lord Cornwallis is enabled to fulfil the expectations he has given for the security of the measure to its friends in the lords or not: now the point is carried, let its supporters take care of themselves—let the government, under whose faith they acted, settle it themselves as they can; and, notwithstanding the authority under which lord Cornwallis acted, and which he never exercised in favour of a personal friend of his own, we are determined now to sit in judgment on all his engagements, to new-model them upon a communication not made in the most amicable terms, as best suits our own convenience, and having condemned his conduct, to call upon him to preach moderation to his supporters; and, instead of fulfilling his engagements, to acquaint them that it is expected, from their known attachment to the king's government, that they will waive their claims and be perfectly satisfied with whatever the *popular sentiment* enables his majesty's ministers to do for them. It appears singular to me, that the most superficial observer should suppose

the new peerages were conferred for any purposes of support connected with the house of lords: they are all granted either to persons actually members of or connected with the house of commons. The only question is, if peerages are to be granted, whether, in policy or upon constitutional grounds, we are called upon to forego their support in the elections, by postponing their creation till after the union passes. My only feeling has always been that, on the latter grounds, it is due to them to give them a participation in the elections. I think an opposite course shows that we are ashamed to face the act we are about to perfect; but, on the grounds of policy, the question is, whether a defeat will not bring upon government a number of disappointed claimants, to whom you can make retribution in no other way than by giving them British peerages; and, next, if we cannot afford to be beaten, whether it is not more desirable to take our security in the support of the new peers, who do not aspire to the representation themselves, than to depend altogether upon the support of the existing peers, who, if they can be prevailed upon to waive their own pretensions, will certainly rely much on the sacrifice; and we shall thus perhaps incur a new expenditure of patronage, as a reward for our scruples. If, by our weakness, we make the peers of our party, whom we do not mean to support, of too much consequence, they will certainly avail themselves of their authority (and we should recollect the bishops cannot assist), whereas, if they are kept a little in check by new creations, their support will be more easily had, less cabal will take place in the elections, and the general strength of government in the house of lords will refute any charge of the creations being for election purposes. I have not time to add more at present. I confess what has passed has wounded my feelings sensibly. I certainly was prepared for objections to an extensive arrangement, particularly on B——'s subject; but I thought they would have been urged with a cordiality towards lord Cornwallis which his services seem to command, and not in the tone and spirit of an adverse party. Efforts of influence more ostensible have been made by the government of this kingdom under the pressure of necessities less urgent than those he has had to contend with; they have received the countenance and support of the present ministers; and I should hope,

if lord Cornwallis has been the person to buy out and secure to the crown for ever the fee-simple of Irish corruption, which has so long enfeebled the powers of government and endangered the connexion, that he is not to be the first sacrifice to his own exertions; nor is the present the first occasion upon which the king's ministers will, I trust, think it expedient to conciliate popular opinion, by failing towards those who have served them to the best of their abilities."

It appears that the whole of this act of bad faith towards the Irish government proceeded from the king, and that, alarmed at the resistance, king George subsequently waived his objections, although with an ill grace. On the 25th of June, lord Castle-reagh wrote to lord Camden as follows:—"My dear lord, I am very thankful for your two letters, which reached me this morning by express. Although it must still be a subject of much painful reflection that any part of the arrangements suggested from hence should be unpleasant either to his majesty or his ministers, yet it certainly is comparatively a great relief to my mind, to find that the good faith of a government to which I am associated, and the honour of a person under whom I act, are to be supported at all events; and although I cannot hope that time will ever recommend a particular part of the arrangements to the approbation of ministers, I do not despair, when the whole of the transaction is understood in detail, that they will be of opinion that the measure has been accomplished on terms as little injurious either to the character or permanent interests of government as could have been reasonably hoped for. Assured that there is every disposition in ministers to uphold his engagements, lord Cornwallis is not less anxious, as far as he can in good faith, to accommodate to their sentiments. It may naturally occur to ministers, that embarrassment could not have arisen had there been an unreserved communication between the two governments on the subject of engagements at the time of making them, or rather previous to it; but then it is equally reasonable to consider how much difficulty and positive injury to the measure might have arisen from the Irish government not feeling itself enabled to act on the spur of the moment. The ministers, I am sure, will feel how impossible it would have been to enable them to estimate the necessities under which we

acted, and how difficult it would have been, in the progress of the struggle, to reconcile those who formed their opinions at a distance to measures which were felt to be indispensable by those on the spot. The delay and remonstrances to which such a course of proceeding must have led, would, I fear, have disabled us from acting with effect, and destroyed the confidence between the two governments so essential to our cause. It certainly would have been the safest course for the Irish government to have taken, had its first object been to avoid responsibility; but, looking only to the accomplishment of the object, and trusting to the liberal support of those under whom they were serving, they preferred acting upon the exigency as it arose: and I am satisfied, my dear lord, your own mind will easily suggest to you how fatal any opposition from your side of the water might have been, while the point was at issue, to measures of patronage suggested from hence; how injurious the delay of communication must have proved, and how unpleasant it would have been to the cabinet to have been called on, day after day, to sanction what they must feel a reluctance to concede under any circumstance but indispensable necessity, and yet, from the very nature of the case, precluded from forming any correct estimate of that necessity. You probably would have thought we were going too far; we should have thought you were not permitting us to go far enough. Under your representations, we should perhaps have been insensibly led to act with caution at moments when vigour was required; and after a fruitless expenditure of patronage, the measure might have been lost. The Irish government is certainly now liable to the charge of having gone too far in complying with the demands of individuals; but, had the union miscarried, and the failure been traceable to a reluctance on the part of government to interest a sufficient number of supporters in its success, I am inclined to think we should have met with, and in fact deserved, less mercy. Several of our supporters were speculating on which side the strength would ultimately lie, and things were so balanced as to enable single individuals, conversant with cabal, to have produced a very serious impression. The point is now secured; and, though it is much to be wished that nothing had arisen out of the struggle to be regretted, yet I trust you will feel that it is more natural to

wish than to expect such an issue; and, if reluctance is felt on your side of the water to the accomplishment of the proposed favours, be assured they were not entertained and promised without much pain by lord Cornwallis."

At length, on the 27th of June, the duke of Portland wrote a "secret and confidential" letter to lord Portland, the object of which was to silence all the alarm which the former letters had raised. In this, the duke said, "My dear lord, nothing certainly could be farther from my intention, than to propose any measure for your excellency's adoption that could place you in any distress whatever; and impossible as I conceived the dispatches which I had the honour of writing to you on the 13th, to have hurt any of your personal feelings, I most sincerely lament the impression they made upon your excellency; and I can assure you, for my own part, that, had it appeared to me possible that they could have produced such an effect, I think myself incapable of writing them to you, and, what is still more, I am satisfied that had they been seen in that light, either by his majesty, or by any of his servants to whom they were communicated, they would never have been suffered to have found their way to you. I hope I am not less sensible than any other person with whom I have the honour of acting in administration, of the severe trials your excellency has undergone, of the firmness and integrity with which you have conducted yourself, of your ability and success in conciliating the affections of the different descriptions of his majesty's Irish subjects, of the value of the important work which you have undertaken, and of the services you have rendered, and the honour you have acquired, by bringing the union, the greatest and most desirable measure which ever was in contemplation, to its happy and final accomplishment. Need I then, with such sentiments, disclaim any intention of hurting your peace of mind, much less of suggesting to you the breach of an engagement, or even the disappointment of a hope, which you had thought it right to encourage or to give sanction to? I will not enter into the defence of either of my despatches, further than to say that several of your engagements I considered, and I still think I was not mistaken in considering them, not to be absolute, but an appeal to yourself. I desire to remind your ex-

cellency that they were not his majesty's commands, but his opinions and wishes, that I signified to you. His majesty acknowledges the difficulty of the task you had undertaken, and the merits of your labours. He was not forgetful of the power you were necessarily entrusted with for that purpose, and if his being desirous that they should be used as temperately as the nature of the case would admit, occasioned him to direct me to represent to you his wishes that, in certain instances, the benefits to be derived from them should be suspended or restrained, having trusted the exercise of such powers to your excellency, his majesty was as little disposed as his servants to withdraw them from you, or to require you to break your engagements. It would still be certainly his majesty's wish that no new peer should be created until the election of the twenty-eight had taken place, and even, as I before stated, that the number could be made at different, rather than at the same time. But if you have entered into positive engagements upon that subject, his majesty will not refuse to confirm them, and your excellency will proceed to carry them into effect, at the time and in the manner you shall judge most expedient for his majesty's service. As his majesty had only authorized assurances to be given to lord Ely, that he might depend upon being made a peer of Great Britain, although the eminence of lord Castlereagh's services has been such, as in his majesty's gracious consideration, as well as in the unanimous opinion of the public, to entitle lord Londonderry to that distinction, as the claims of the marquis of Drogheda and of the earls of Ormonde and Carysford to be members of the representative peerage were irresistible, it will not appear so unreasonable that I should have imagined that some of your engagements in that respect must be conditional also; and I had nothing in particular to lead me to suppose that the displacing of the persons whom I suggested as most easily removable was inconsistent with your engagements; but the assurances I now understand to have been given by your excellency make me desist from urging that matter further, and I shall confine myself solely to recommend it to you to find an opening for lord Drogheda among the candidates for the representative peerages, and to reserve one for lord Lon-

donderry, if he should be prevailed upon to see that his majesty's interests will certainly be best promoted by his not having the British peerage added to his Irish honours, and that his family will be no sufferers by it, as his majesty is pleased to authorize your excellency to assure lord Londonderry and lord Castlereagh that, at any time that it may be the wish of lord Londonderry, or any of his descendants, when in possession of the title, to have a British peerage conferred on them, the sense his majesty has of lord Castlereagh's most distinguished and meritorious services will ever be remembered by his majesty; and his majesty will be ready to fulfil their wishes in such a manner that, should it not take place in the lifetime of lord Londonderry, his posterity, by his present or any future countess, would derive the same benefit from it as if the creation had taken place in the lifetime of the present earl. I abstain from entering into any reasoning about the marquises, as well as about the other promotions proposed in the peerage, upon the ground of the engagements your excellency has entered into with the parties being absolute and irrevocable, but by resorting to those means which of all others are the least likely to be recommended to or adopted by his majesty."

Although the lord lieutenant was thus appeased for the moment, he felt the nature of his position too strongly to wish to retain it, and we shall soon find him taking the first opportunity to obtain his recall. His government was facilitated by the general tranquillity of the country. The implied promise of catholic emancipation had done much to secure this tranquillity, and no one yet suspected that this promise was deceptive. Dwyer, with a few followers in the mountains of Wicklow, was all that remained of the late formidable rebellion, and the symptoms of discontent in other parts of the country were considerably few. Yet the government was well aware that the elements of insurrection were still ready at hand, and that the disaffected were kept down only by fear; and the utmost alarm was excited during the latter part of the year 1800 by new threats of invasion from France. Lord Cornwallis avowed his conviction, that if an enemy landed in Ireland, a great portion of the population would rise up and join him.

CHAPTER II.

THE QUESTION OF CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION ; RESIGNATION OF MR. PITT, AND OF LORD CORNWALLIS.



NE of the questions alluded to at the close of the last chapter, was now destined to take the first place in Irish agitation. The present century opened with the discussion of the necessity of making concessions to the Roman catholics, which, as we have seen, they were encouraged to expect as an inducement to support the measure of union. The unwillingness of George III. to make any concessions to the catholics is well known. He had allowed their hopes to be raised for the purpose of gaining an object, but now that the object was secured, he was resolved that their claims should be rejected, although his minister, Pitt, was in favour of them. Just before the opening of parliament the question began to be publicly agitated, and the intentions of the English government were gradually made known. A very interesting private letter from lord Castlereagh to Pitt, written on the 1st of January, 1801, makes us acquainted with the opinions entertained by the former and by lord Cornwallis. After alluding to a communication on the subject from the duke of Portland, lord Castlereagh, then in England, proceeds to say:—"When I left lord Cornwallis, he certainly was prepared for some difference of opinion in the cabinet on the principle of the measure itself, and for much caution on the part of his majesty's ministers in general, with respect to the period when they might think themselves justified, in prudence, in proposing to parliament so important an alteration of the test laws; but he did not apprehend, from anything that had hitherto passed on the subject, that their sentiments were adverse to the principle of the measure connected with the union, much less, that they were prepared to oppose the question on its merits, and to declare their determination to resist hereafter any further concession to the catholics. As this impression on his excellency's mind was, in a great measure, the result of what passed with reference to this subject when I was in England in the autumn of 1799, I think it necessary to

recal to your recollection that, after the details of the union had been completed, I was directed by the lord lieutenant to represent to you the state of parties as they stood at that time in Ireland, and particularly to request that you would ascertain what was likely to be the ultimate decision of his majesty's ministers with respect to the catholics, as his excellency felt it to be of equal importance to the future quiet of Ireland, to his own feeling, and to the credit of the administration in both countries, that he should so conduct himself towards that body, as to preclude hereafter any well-founded imputation, or even any strong impression on their mind, that they had been deceived. The statement I then made was, as I recollect, nearly to the following effect: that we had a majority in parliament composed of very doubtful materials; that the protestant body was divided on the question, with the disadvantage of Dublin and the Orange societies against us; and that the catholics were holding back, under a doubt whether the union would facilitate or impede their object. I stated it as the opinion of the Irish government, that, circumstanced as the parliamentary interests and the protestant feelings then were, the measure could not be carried, if the catholics were embarked in an active opposition to it, and that their resistance would be unanimous and zealous, if they had reason to suppose that the sentiments of ministers would remain unchanged in respect to their exclusion, while the measure of union in itself might give them additional means of disappointing their hopes. I stated that several attempts had been made by leading catholics to bring government to an explanation, which had, of course, been evaded, and that the body, thus left to their own speculations in respect to the future influence of the union upon their cause, were, with some exceptions, either neutral or actual opponents; the former entertaining hopes, but not inclining to support decidedly without some encouragement from government; the latter entirely hostile, from a persuasion that it would so strengthen the protestant interest as to perpetuate their exclusion. I represented that the

friends of government, by flattering the hopes of the catholics, had produced a favourable impression in Cork, Tipperary, and Galway, but that in proportion as his excellency had felt the advantage of this popular support, he was anxious to be ascertained in availing himself of the assistance which he knew was alone given in contemplation of its being auxiliary to their own views, that he was not involving government in future difficulty with that body, by exposing them to a charge of duplicity; and he was peculiarly desirous of being secure against such a risk before he personally encouraged the catholics to come forward, and to afford him that assistance which he felt to be so important to the success of the measure. In consequence of his representation, the cabinet took the measure into their consideration, and, having been directed to attend the meeting, I was charged to convey to lord Cornwallis the result, and his excellency was referred by the duke of Portland to me for a statement of the opinions of his majesty's ministers on this important subject. Accordingly I communicated to lord Cornwallis that the opinion of the cabinet was favourable to the principles of the measure; that doubt was entertained as to the possibility of admitting catholics into some of the *higher offices*, and that ministers apprehended considerable repugnance to the measure in many quarters, and particularly in the *highest*; but that, as far as the sentiments of the cabinet were concerned, his excellency need not hesitate in calling forth the catholics' support, in whatever degree he found it practicable to obtain it. I trust you will be of opinion that I did not misconceive or misstate what passed in that cabinet. I certainly did not then hear any direct objection stated against the principles of the measure by any one of the ministers then present. You will, I have no doubt, recollect that, so far from any serious hesitation being entertained in respect to the principle, it was even discussed whether an immediate declaration to the catholics would not be advisable, and whether an assurance should not be distinctly given them in the event of the union being accomplished, of their object being submitted, with the countenance of government, to the united parliament upon a peace. This idea was laid aside principally upon the consideration, that such a declaration might alienate the protestants in both countries from the union in a greater de-

gree than it was calculated to assist the measure through the catholics, and accordingly the instructions which I was directed to convey to lord Cornwallis were to the following effect:—That his excellency was fully warranted in soliciting every support the catholics could afford; that he need not apprehend, as far as the sentiments of the cabinet were concerned, being involved in the difficulty with that body which he seemed to apprehend; that it was not thought expedient at that time to give any direct assurance to the catholics, but that, should circumstances so far alter as to induce his excellency to consider such an explanation necessary, he was at liberty to state the grounds on which his opinion was formed for the consideration of the cabinet. In consequence of this communication, the Irish government omitted no exertion to call forth the catholics in favour of the union. Their efforts were very generally successful, and the advantage derived from them was highly useful, particularly in depriving the opposition of the means they otherwise would have had in the southern and western counties, of making an impression on the country members. His excellency was enabled to accomplish his purpose without giving the catholics any direct assurance of being gratified, and throughout the contest earnestly avoided being driven to such an expedient, as he considered a gratuitous concession after the measure as infinitely more consistent with the character of government. The union being carried, I was directed by the lord lieutenant, when last in England, to recal the attention of his majesty's ministers to the catholic question, and to impress on their minds the anxiety his excellency felt, that they should not suffer themselves to be anticipated in the purposed act of grace by the opposition. On my return to Ireland I communicated to the lord lieutenant what had passed in the cabinet with reference to this subject. I apprised his excellency that sentiments unfavourable to the concession had been expressed by the highest law authority, and that the cabinet at large did not feel themselves enabled, in his majesty's absence, and without sounding opinions in other quarters, to take a final decision on so momentous a question; but I did not feel myself warranted, from anything that had passed, to disappoint the hopes his excellency had been led so distinctly to form, and which he still continued to entertain, should the

ultimate decision of his majesty's ministers accord with the statement of the question to which I have alluded. You will easily conceive that, in addition to the public regret his excellency will experience at the abandonment of a measure which he considers to be essential to the future interests of the empire, he will feel a peculiar degree of pain on finding himself placed in those awkward circumstances with respect to the catholics, to which he foresaw the transaction in itself was so likely to lead, and which he took every possible precaution to avoid. You know lord Cornwallis is the last person in the world who would wish to consider what has passed on the part of the cabinet as a pledge given to him, though not to the catholics. You know his feelings are with respect to the disposal of this question, altogether public. I have merely presumed, and I trust you will be of opinion that I have not gone beyond my duty in doing so, to recal those communications which passed through me to your recollection, anxiously trusting that no additional difficulty has been introduced into the transaction from any inaccuracy on my part; and, feeling assured that you will give what I have stated, together with all the other considerations which bear on this important question, their due weight in your decision."

The foregoing letter leaves no doubt of the degree of encouragement which had been given to the Irish catholics by the British government, or of the disapproval by lord Cornwallis of the course which that government seemed now inclined to pursue. In a dispatch of the 2nd of January, the day after the union had been ceremoniously proclaimed in Dublin, the lord lieutenant says, in allusion to that event, "we fired our guns yesterday, and hoisted our new flags and standards; and, when I went to attend the council, I saw a number of people in the castle-yard, and the streets near the castle, but they seemed to be brought thither entirely by curiosity, and I did not hear a single expression of ill-humour or disapprobation. This calm, however, cannot be expected to last, if the evil genius of Britain should induce the cabinet to continue the proscription of the catholics. They are quiet now, because they feel confident of success. What a reverse must we not apprehend from their unexpected disappointment."

Pitt, whose conviction in favour of concession seems to have been sincere, now

found his position so embarrassing, that he felt it necessary to act with some sort of decision. Accordingly, in the debate on the address, he intimated that, although he had opposed catholic emancipation while the two kingdoms remained separate, he believed, now that the two countries were united, this important measure might be granted with advantage, and he did not deny that the Irish catholics had been encouraged to expect it. When, however, he brought the question forward in a cabinet council, he met with strong opposition, and he found that the king was determined to resist it. He had, therefore, no alternative but to resign, and this circumstance led to the formation of the Addington administration. The retirement of Pitt from the ministry was followed, as might be expected, by the resignation of lord Cornwallis. There were many, however, who believed that Pitt was not sincere. They said that he had gone out of office merely to save appearances, that he would pretend to support the catholics until their opponents had consolidated their strength, and that when they had no longer any hope of obtaining their desires, he would return to the cabinet, and resist them on the plea of expediency.

Lord Cornwallis acted openly and candidly. When he learnt the dissolution of the British cabinet, he called before him Dr. Troy, as the head of the Irish catholic hierarchy, and lord Fingall, as the representative of the catholic nobility, and stated to them his opinions on the subject, in such a manner as to encourage them to support their disappointment with patience. The following minute of this interview has been preserved. "When it was notified to the lord lieutenant that Mr. Pitt, lord Grenville, lord Spencer, lord Camden, Mr. Dundas, and Mr. Windham, had requested permission to retire from his majesty's councils, upon their not being sanctioned in bringing forward such measures as they thought essential to secure to the empire the full benefit of the union, the most important of which measures was a concession of further privileges to his majesty's Roman catholic subjects, his excellency conceived that it was expedient that the catholic body should have an authentic communication upon a subject so deeply affecting their situation and sentiments, and so calculated to influence their future conduct. His excellency had long held it as

his private opinion, that the measure intended by those of his majesty's ministers who were retiring from office, was necessary for securing the connexion of Ireland with Great Britain. He had been, however, cautious in his language on that subject, and had studiously avoided any declaration to the catholics, on which they could raise an expectation that their wishes were to be conceded. Through the whole measure of the union, which was in discussion for two years, and during which period every effort was made to procure a resistance to the measure on the part of the whole body of the catholics, no favourable assurance or promise was made to them. Their judicious conduct, during that trying period, confirms his excellency in the opinion, that every measure tending to secure their attachment to the empire in future, which they had in this instance so essentially served, ought, in true policy, to be attempted. His excellency did therefore recommend to his chief secretary, who was engaged with his majesty's ministers in the course of the summer, in England, to second every disposition for effecting the object of the catholics; at the same time, he retained a prudent reserve towards the catholics during the progress of the discussion in the cabinet. His majesty having approved of the solicitation of the majority of his majesty's ministers to retire from his majesty's councils, and his excellency having requested that his majesty would extend to him the same indulgence, it became a matter of public duty for his excellency to explain to the catholic body, the sentiments which had been held with respect to them

and to indicate the line of conduct which, in this arduous crisis, it became them to pursue. His excellency, therefore, being apprised of the sentiments held by Mr. Pitt, on the 13th of February, sent for lord Fingall and Dr. Troy, and gave them two papers, to be by them circulated among the principal catholics in different parts of Ireland. The first, his excellency felt assured, corresponded with Mr. Pitt's sentiments; and the other conveyed his own private sentiments, founded on the speeches and conduct of many of the most eminent characters of all parties and distinction. It being of great importance that any communication by his excellency should not be misunderstood or misinterpreted, and that it should make a due impression, and produce a general good effect, his excellency preferred a written to a mere verbal communication, which might have been ill reported, and might have been subject to perversion, according to the inclination or the capacity of those who should circulate and receive it. His excellency has seen a happy result from this mode of proceeding. Rumour having been transmitted from England that the wishes of the catholics were likely to be acceded to, every ill consequence from their disappointment has been avoided; and there is now every reason to believe, that they will take that line of conduct, which the well-wishers to his majesty's service, and the service of the empire, could desire."

Lord Hardwicke was appointed to succeed lord Cornwallis in the government of Ireland.

CHAPTER III.

STATE OF IRELAND FROM THE UNION TO THE YEAR 1803.



DURING the two years which followed the union, Irish history presents very few events of any importance. The country remained in tolerable tranquillity, though it had been thrown into great distress by the exhaus-

tion attendant on long political agitation, and by the failure of the crops, especially of the potatoes; yet all serious expression of discontent was checked by the great military force now established, and the catholics had formed new hopes from Pitt's retirement from office, and therefore refrained from agitating. Under these cir-

cumstances, the question of catholic emancipation was not brought directly before the imperial parliament during its first session; but there were some warm debates in both houses on the bills for the continuance of martial law in Ireland, and for the suspension of the habeas corpus. These had been among the last acts of the Irish parliament, and had been called for by the state of the country at the close of the rebellion. The first empowered the lord lieutenant and council to declare any county in a state of insurrection, on a report to that effect by a certain number of the magistrates; and upon this the magistrates were authorised to apprehend a person accused of being abroad after nine o'clock at night, or of aiding in any disturbance, and bring him before a petty session of two or three justices of the peace, by whom, without the intervention of a jury, he might be condemned to transportation as a disorderly person. There was reserved to the prisoner a right of appeal to a general sessions; but a very brief period was given for this appeal, which rendered it almost nugatory to the Irish peasantry, who were in general ignorant of the mode of proceeding, and not in a position to obtain advice. Lord Castlereagh moved in the house of commons for the renewal of this act, on the ground that rebellion still lurked secretly in Ireland to such an extent, that the exercise of martial law was absolutely necessary to give free course to justice. The statements which he made relating to the existence of this rebellious spirit, and to the acts of individual violence to which it led, were supported with similar statements by many of the Irish members, and the force of the opposition came from the English whigs. In the house of lords, the earl of Clare drew a fearful picture of the state of Ireland, in which he declared that there was no real security for person or property. He said that in Ireland, when he left his house, his servant brought him his arms as regularly as his hat. Acts of indulgence and concession, he said, had already had the most mischievous tendency, and martial law alone was sufficient to counteract the severe and promptly executed laws which were in force among the rebels. Soon after the passing of these laws, the earl of Hardwicke proceeded to Ireland to assume the office of lord lieutenant, so he took with him the right honourable Charles Abbot, as chief secretary.

The announcement of the Addington ministry was followed by negotiations with France, which ended in the peace of Amiens, concluded in the March of 1802. During these negotiations, the communications between the two hostile countries were more open, and the leaders of the united Irishmen who had escaped to Paris, sent their agents secretly to Ireland to lay the grounds of new acts of resistance to the English government. Some of the old Irish politicians were, at the same time, quitting the scene of their labours; among whom was the earl of Clare. On the death of this nobleman, early in 1802, Mitford the speaker of the English house of commons, raised to the peerage as lord Redesdale, was appointed to succeed him as lord chancellor of Ireland. Abbot was elected speaker in his place, and the chief secretaryship in Ireland was conferred on Mr. Wickham.

A great question was at this moment agitated with regard to the Irish church. The hopes which had been held out to the catholics raised the expectations of the presbyterians and of other dissenters from the church of England, and they also sought relief from disabilities under which they laboured. The question alluded to was that of making a government provision for the clergy of the two great bodies of Irish separatists, catholics and presbyterians. The presbyterians, however, on this occasion studiously separated their claims from those of the other protestant dissenters. The sentiments on this subject of the statesmen who carried through the union are shown in a long letter written by lord Castlereagh from Down, on the 21st of July, 1802, to Mr. Addington, the new prime minister. "I have," he says, "to acknowledge the favour of your letter of the 11th from Kensington, and feel excessively grateful for your kind intentions towards our union friends; indeed, I am truly sensible of the cordiality and zeal with which you have fulfilled not only every engagement, but even every fair expectation which the supporters of that measure were entitled to entertain; and it is, as you may suppose, a very great satisfaction to my mind to see every assurance we found it necessary to give for its accomplishment so honourably fulfilled, in which work it is impossible not to feel that lord Hardwicke has most faithfully acted up to your intentions and instructions. I take the liberty of enclosing

a private letter from Dr. Black, relative to the proceedings of the synod, the details of which have not yet reached me; but the enclosed hasty sketch will show you how much there is in the body which requires amendment, and how much may be done by an efficient protection and support given on the part of government to those who have committed themselves in support of the state against a democratic party in the synod, several of whom, if not engaged in the rebellion, were deeply infected with its principles. In our church, which is naturally attached to the state, I should dread schism as weakening its interests; but in such a body as the presbyterians of Ireland, who, though consequently a branch of the church of Scotland, have partaken so deeply, first of the popular, and since of the democratic politics of the country, as to be an object much more of jealousy than of support to government, I am of opinion that it is only through a considerable internal fermentation of the body, coupled with some change of system, that it will put on a different temper, and acquire better habits. Already those who have been induced to concur with the views of government have, from the mere act of opposing the popular party, improved their own principles by becoming, throughout the whole scale of their opinion, in a great degree, the counterpart of their opponents; and I am persuaded that the strength of this party will rapidly increase, if they are uniformly made to feel, as on the late occasion, that government will not abandon them to their adversaries. You will naturally infer, from what I have stated, that my opinion still continues strongly in favour of coupling regulation with the proposed increase of the *Regium Donum*. It certainly does, under a strong conviction that an opposite decision would surrender the authority of the body very much into the hands of its worst members, by accomplishing the whole of what they have from the first contended for. The distribution and government of the fund is a natural engine of authority. It has hitherto been exclusively in the synod. To render it still more subservient to democracy, an attempt has lately been made (but seasonably checked by lord Hardwicke) to introduce the authority of the lay elders into its management. This will prevent further mischief; but nothing short of its being placed on a wholly new footing can implant in the body a principle of amelioration.

The principles upon which such a change may be founded are few and simple. 1. Let it be an annual grant from the state to the individuals by name, and not from the body of its members. This cannot be considered as at all interfering with the government or discipline of their church, if the patronage of their congregations, as at present, remains in the people, and provided also the body may, for misconduct or any other cause, order their agent, who may still be made the medium of its payment to the respective ministers, to withhold the allowance from any individual clergyman they think fit, the agent to be accountable with government for sums so withheld.—2. That upon the appointment of a minister to a parish, proper certificates of his character, &c., should be transmitted by the presbytery (usually consisting of from twelve to fifteen ministers) of which he is a member, to be laid before the lord lieutenant, praying that his majesty's accustomed bounty may be granted to him.—3. If the certificates appear to his excellency satisfactory, that he should submit the name of the person so recommended to his majesty for the usual grant, which should be issued from henceforward, as of course, to the individual so long as he remained in that particular congregation, unless superseded, for ecclesiastical reasons, by an act of the synod itself. The whole of the above merely requires that, after a presbyterian congregation has chosen a minister, he should not be entitled, *as of right*, to derive a provision from the state without furnishing government with satisfactory testimonials from his own body of his being a loyal subject. Now, though many bad men might find their way into the body, notwithstanding such precautions, yet, beyond a doubt, the impression that character was requisite to advancement, and that government, in its discretion, *might* withhold the provision, though the certificate should be obtained, would in time have a material influence on their conduct. This, together with the income itself, making them less dependent on their congregations for subsistence, are the only means which suggest themselves to my mind for making this important class of dissenters better subjects than they have of late years proved themselves. The same general reasoning naturally applies to the other more numerous body of separatists, I mean the catholics, with this exception, that I believe much less dif-

ficulty would be found in reconciling them to any arrangement calculated to give the state authority, which government should think proper to require. Having a hierarchy of their own, they are less alive upon the principle of subordination than the presbyterians, whose church is republican in all its forms, and too much so in many of its sentiments. Since I last had the pleasure of conversing with you on this particular measure, I have endeavoured to find out what the temper and wishes of the catholic clergy and laity are upon the subject. As I have felt it my duty by you, not to seek my information in a manner which should rouse the body to any measure, my inquiries have not been sufficiently extensive to enable me to judge of the sentiments of the body at large, or to answer for more than the opinions of the individuals whose names I shall mention, and I am obliged to state even their opinions with the more caution, as I did not think myself authorized to apply to them directly, and, therefore, am only in possession of the opinions which they have recently expressed to those whom I have confidentially employed to sound them. I mentioned to you that Dr. Moylan, whom I look upon as one of the most discreet and respectable of the body, had expressed to lord Cornwallis, in London, a conviction that the Roman catholic clergy would, under the present circumstances, gratefully accept a provision from the state. I have since had reason to know that Dr. Troy, titular archbishop of Dublin, holds the same language. I am inclined to infer that these two persons speak the sentiments of the body of their clergy. Lord Fingall lately, to a friend of mine, expressed similar opinions and wishes on his own part, that the measure was taken up. In the catholic as in the presbyterian body, in proportion as the laity are democratic and disaffected, they are impatient of their clergy receiving favours from government, particularly when coupled with any regulations which seem to connect them in any degree with the state hereafter; and possibly something of the same spirit may show itself in the catholic as that which has taken place in the presbyterian body, though less I apprehend in degree, the latter being naturally more jealous of interference than the former, as I have before observed. If, however, the catholics of rank and property, of whom my lord Fingall is among the most distinguished, should countenance their clergy in accept-

ing of such a provision, the feelings of a different description of persons should not, in my judgment, if other difficulties were surmounted, discourage the attempt, and certainly need not call the policy of the measure in question; indeed, in proportion as their acquiescence was upon any occasion cordial and evident, I should be proportionably disposed to suspect the ground upon which we were proceeding; and this consideration weighs strongly in my mind against that measure of naked concession to either body; for, though at first it may seem to give most satisfaction, I am persuaded that, like all the indulgences that have hitherto taken place, no advantage, but rather the reverse, will result from it. Although I am disposed to be of opinion, from more general information as well as the above particulars, that the well-disposed catholics, both clergy and laity, are sincerely desirous that this measure should be accomplished, and would solicit it in the most earnest manner from government, if they had reason to know that their wishes would be gratified, yet, as things now stand, I do not conceive that it could be either expected or indeed desired that they should make the application; to risk it ineffectually would only involve them with government, perhaps with a proportion of their own body; but this principle of caution on their part, cannot be considered as any proof that they are not as anxious for it as the presbyterian clergy, though obliged to have a greater reserve in expressing those feelings. Neither does it prove that they do not *feel* that their claims, in point of engagement, are as strong as those of the dissenters. It appears, therefore, my dear sir, an essential preliminary to ascertain the practicability of executing this measure, before one can venture to enter into any explanations with the body; and that the measure cannot be proposed to parliament in favour of the presbyterians, passing by the catholics in total silence, after what has passed between the late government and that body, seemed to impress itself on your mind with the same force it does on mine. I should, therefore, submit to you the importance of coming to a final decision on this subject, with as little delay as possible, in order that the real obstacle, if it should unfortunately exist in a certain quarter, may be ascertained, so as to leave time, before parliament meets, to make the best provision against the embarrassments connected with it which

circumstances will permit. I trust, however, that is an event as improbable as I think it would be injurious to the best interests of the crown in this country. Having stated so much on these subjects, I am sorry to see, in the public temper of the country, strong additional motives for endeavouring to secure for government additional principles of authority and connexion over the higher classes, and particularly the clergy of the two principal sects. Nothing but time, and the operation of a steady and impartial administration of the government, such as it is your determination, and not less that of my lord Hardwicke, to employ, connected with such an influence as I allude to, can mitigate the religious animosities that unhappily prevail in this country, which, I am sorry to say, exist at present in a very strong degree, and have recently manifested themselves, both in the counties of Derry and Down, in an unpleasant manner. In the former a riot took place between the orange-men and the catholics, in which several of the latter, though supposed to have been the aggressors, lost their lives. A riot between the same parties took place near this town on the 27th of last month, at a well where the catholics assemble at midsummer to perform their penances, which terminated in two catholics being killed and several wounded. In this instance, I fear the protestants very much misconducted themselves. On this occasion lord Londonderry assembled the magistrates; and the determination which has been shown to put the law rigidly in force against all parties, without favour to any, will prevent further mischief, and give the proper impression to the minds of both; but still, to soften religious contention in this country, and to bring it gradually to a temper which shall, in future wars, deprive our foreign enemies of a certain ally in the resentful feelings of one of two contending parties, some effort must be made by the state to mitigate the struggle, which I see no means it has of accomplishing, if seven-eighths of our population are to remain wholly out of the reach of any species of influence or authority, other than that of the mere operation of the law. I have now troubled you at so much length, as to induce me to postpone some other points. I shall only express, with reference to Mr.

Broderick, whose letter I return, my satisfaction that, if a change in the secretaryship of the board of control is thought expedient, it is likely to be accomplished without any awkwardness to him. Mr. Huskisson's talents are such as to lead me, as far as I have the pleasure of knowing him, to be convinced that the important duties connected with it could not be placed in more efficient hands.* My election is fixed for Saturday next, and I have every reason to expect that I shall be returned quietly, although we have our Mr. Graham in this country, who talks after dinner of offering himself; but, as every individual of any importance has declared in favour of my colleague and myself, the issue cannot be doubtful."

Lord Castlereagh's plans appear to have met with at least the private approbation of the prime minister, and an active correspondence was carried on with some of the leading presbyterians on the subject. One of these was Mr. Alexander Knox, a friend of lord Castlereagh, whose numerous communications printed in the Castlereagh correspondence are full of good sense. In a letter of the fifteenth of July, 1803, Knox makes the following remarks on lord Castlereagh's proposal:—"On the whole, if nothing is now done or omitted to lessen its efficacy, I believe a happier policy has never been resorted to than this plan of your lordship's. Never before was Ulster under the dominion of the British crown. It had a distinct moral existence before, and moved and acted on principles, of which all we could certainly know was that they were not with the state; therefore, when any tempting occasion occurred, ready to act against it. Now the distinct existence will merge into the general well-being, the presbyterian ministers being henceforth a subordinate ecclesiastical aristocracy, whose feeling must be that of zealous loyalty, and whose influence upon their people will be as surely sedative, when it should be so, and exciting when it should be so, as it was the direct reverse before. There is one reason, not yet mentioned, for going beyond the sum proposed, which, I own, appears to me imperative. The agent must be the servant of government. The whole would be fruitless, if no means were secured of exercising that fair influence which the liberality of government will necessarily imply, but

* The office of president of the board of control had been given to lord Castlereagh, on the 6th of

July, and he was now in Ireland securing his reelection as member for Down.

which can only be realized by government having a confidential organ in the synod. Such an organ the agent will not fail to be, if he be strictly and exclusively the servant of government; but this he can only be by government paying him; nothing could be more awkward or more likely to frustrate all real advantages than for him who can alone exercise the trust referred to, to be the *imposed stipendiary* of every individual minister: such a situation would imply actual degradation. It would not only defeat every purpose of government as to influence, but it would place the agent in circumstances which to every man of honourable feelings would be insupportable. Hitherto he had nothing to do with individuals; he was the servant of the body, paid out of the general fund previously to distribution. Now, the distribution being made by government, every one could calculate to a fraction how much he was taxed for the agent. Would not such a feeling in the breasts of low, narrow-minded men, be likely to expose the agent to insult, and would it not be wholly incompatible with all useful objects? On the contrary, let government pay their own agent out of the public purse, and he becomes necessarily a sort of royal commissioner in the synod. He has all the influence of such an officer without the show; he will be looked up to with respect; he will be an efficient link by which the whole system will hang upon government. He will be a kind of permanent moderator, to whom, in all matters of a public nature, infallible attention and deference will be paid. I hesitate not to say that this advantage ought not to be lost for ten times what it will cost. I am confident that it should be regarded as the key-stone of the arch, without which all the rest of the work will be disjointed and unproductive. Let this, then, only be added, and government will have done more to promote peace and union in this grand outpost of the empire than ever was yet achieved, or could be achieved, by any other conceivable means. I speak from deep conviction when I make this assertion. I say more—this is perhaps a more favourable moment for forming a salutary connexion between government and the presbyterian body of Ulster than may again arrive. The republicanism of that part of Ireland is checked and repressed by the cruelties of Roman catholics in the late rebellion, and by the despotism of Buonaparte. They are, therefore, in a humour

for acquiescing in the views of government beyond what they ever were or (should the opportunity be missed) may be hereafter. How much, then, is it to be wished that while the tide of their wrong passions is so unusually low, a mound should be raised that will for ever after be a safe restraint to them. In building that mound, what a pity to stop at the coping."

The subject seems to have been dropped amid the excitement caused immediately after by the threats of a French invasion of our shores.

Towards the latter end of the year 1802 apprehensions of a renewal of the war with France began to be generally prevalent, and the preparations known to be going on in France caused the English government to suspect that Buonaparte meditated some hostile attack upon England. As Ireland was considered to be the weak point, and it was known that a few united Irishmen in Paris were in communication with the French government, the alarm was greatest in the sister kingdom, and the private correspondence of its ministers at this period related chiefly to the necessity of increasing its defensive force. The effective military force in that kingdom was rated at twenty thousand men—it was said to be the intention of the English ministry to increase it to twenty-five thousand; but it was considered also necessary to arm again either the militia or the volunteers. The objection to the volunteers was the strong religious animosity which they had shown in the late rebellion; while the militia had been far from steady in their loyalty. Numbers of them had in 1798 joined the ranks of the insurgents, and at this very moment disbanded militia men were actively engaged in exciting and organizing insurrection in the south. The pretended grounds for rebellion were the dearth of potatoes, and an old grievance in Ireland, the right of the old tenants to retain possession of their farms. The peasantry were urged to rise and demand that a fixed price should be established for potatoes, and to oppose the introduction of strangers to the occupation of farmers. They associated together under this pretext, and committed many outrages, but their combinations seem to have had nothing political in their character, although at one time there was a general rumour of a meditated attack on the city of Limerick. The disturbances were very general throughout the counties of Limerick and Tipperary,

and extended partially into that of Waterford, but they were suppressed at the close of the year, and in the January of 1803, judges were sent by special commission to try the prisoners. The punishments inflicted upon these offenders at least awed the districts which had been most disturbed into tranquillity, and the government wisely refused to listen to the petition of the local magistrates to give them the power of inflicting discretionary punishment and transportation under the insurrection act.

Although this insurrection was suppressed without difficulty, the government seemed more and more to feel the necessity of raising militia and yeomanry, which, in case of invasion, might keep the disaffected part of the population in check, while the regular troops were employed against the foreign enemy. A paper, furnished by Mr. Wickham to lord Castlereagh, on the 14th of August, 1803, gives the following summary of the military strength of the government of Ireland at that period:—

“On the first of this month, the state of our force was nearly as follows:—

“Our infantry of the line consisted of twenty-six regiments, including a battalion of invalids, called a garrison battalion, and the queen’s German regiment.

“These regiments furnished on paper 16,961 men only being deficient of their complement, on paper, 2,850, rank and file. The return of those present and fit for duty was only 13,930, rank and file.

“Of these regiments, five were in Dublin, two in Cork, two at Limerick, one at Naas, two at Kinsale, one at Armagh, one at Athlone, one at Wexford, two at Belfast, one at Waterford, one at Arklow, one at Clonmel, one at Londonderry, one at Newry, one at Enniskillen, one at Drogheda, one at Fermoy, and the garrison battalion at Cove.

“Our cavalry, consisting of seven regiments, furnished on the same day on paper, 3,298 men, being 1,175 short of the complement. The return of rank and file present and fit for duty was 2,755.

“Of these regiments, two were in Dublin, one at Longford, one at Belturbet, one at Limerick, one at Tullamore, one at Clonmel.

“Our militia, consisting of thirty-six regiments, furnished 17,339 on paper, being above 2,000 short of their complement. The return of those present and fit for duty, 15,100, rank and file.

“*Note.*—The recruiting of militia men has totally ceased since the bounty for the line was increased; so that the whole force that can be put in motion on the appearance of an enemy amounts only to regular infantry, 13,930; cavalry, 2,755; militia, 15,100; total, 31,785. The militia are dispersed over the whole country, in nearly the same proportion, and nearly on the same points, as the troops of the line.

“There are no camps formed, and general Fox objects to forming any, on account of the climate, which he considers as particularly hostile to troops under canvass.

“I have earnestly pressed the general to give in his plan for assembling the troops, because I am confident that whenever it shall be delivered in I can demonstrate, what indeed must appear on the plan itself, the impossibility of collecting 20,000 men, militia included, on any point near the coast, in less than twelve days. More than 20,000 cannot be assembled anywhere, because 14,000 men will be wanted for reserves, garrisons, and service on points remote from the scene of action.

“This force, I admit, to be sufficient to meet any force of the enemy that can be sent over in frigates or very small squadrons. But if they have anywhere the means of sending over from 15,000 to 25,000 men, supported by one or more small divisions directed to the most disaffected counties, I must consider it as wholly incompetent to our protection. I am ready to discuss this point whenever called upon to do so; with your lordship I am sure it will be unnecessary.

“Assistance from England would, I know, in that case be sent us, but, in the meantime, half the country would be lost, and the loss of territory, accompanied as it must be, more or less, by the loss of reputation, would in this country be fatal to us.”

At the time when these estimates were made, a mad attempt at revolution had been made in the capital, which will be related in our next chapter

CHAPTER IV.

ROBERT EMMETT'S REBELLION; MURDER OF LORD KILWARBY.



AMONG the young men who had entered most deeply into the revolutionary spirit of the united Irishmen was Robert Emmett. He was the younger son of Dr. Robert Emmett, who had long held the situation of state physician to the lord lieutenant. His elder brother, Thomas Addis Emmett, who had been brought up to the bar, had been deeply implicated in the rising of '98, and was one of those whose punishment had been commuted to imprisonment at Fort George in Scotland. At the period of the rebellion of '98, Robert was one of the nineteen students expelled from Trinity College, Dublin, for their republican principles, and from that time his movements were watched by the police. In the year 1800 he paid a visit to his brother in Fort George, and immediately after this interview, alarmed, it was said, at the suspension of the habeas corpus act, he proceeded to the continent, where he visited Switzerland, Holland, and France. He was at Paris in the autumn of 1802, in communication with the united Irishmen there, who were encouraged by the French government, which had now, under cover of peace, resolved upon a new war with England, to look forward to a renewal of the insurrection in their native land. With this view Emmett returned to Dublin in the October of 1802, and immediately placed himself in communication with some of the most desperate of the disaffected in Ireland.

The foundations of a conspiracy had already been formed in Dublin, in connexion with the wild plot of colonel Despard in London. Many of Despard's followers in London were Irishmen, and he had sent over to Ireland as his agent a man named Dowdall, to ascertain the feeling of the republican party there. Dowdall soon made himself acquainted with their remaining chiefs, but he was an indiscreet man, and acted with so much imprudence as to speak undisguisedly of Despard's plans in a mixed party. Intelligence was imme-

diately carried to the government, which was thus informed of the plot going on in London. When the news of Despard's arrest reached Ireland, Dowdall fled to Paris, and the Irish part of the conspiracy seems to have fallen into the hands of Emmett.

The latter had recently lost his father, by whose death he came into the possession of about two thousand pounds in money, with which he set about his plan of subverting the English government. It is pretended that he was encouraged in his project by some persons of a much higher position in society, but of this there is no proof. On his arrival in Ireland, one of his first friends was a Mr. Long, a Dublin merchant, who was possessed of money, and also lent him, towards his undertaking, various sums, amounting on the whole to nearly fifteen hundred pounds. One or two other persons of some respectability joined him, or at least encouraged him, but the mass of the conspirators were artisans or men of low birth. Soon after his arrival in Dublin, where he seems immediately to have been an object of suspicion to the agents of government, Emmett concealed himself in his father's country house at Clonskeagh, on the Dundrum road, which still remained in the occupation of the family. "An old and faithful servant of Dr. Emmett," says the writer of the memoirs of the united Irishmen, "Michael Leonard, a gardener, informed me in 1836, that after the doctor's death, a member of the family still resided there, and Robert Emmett remained there for some time; he had made trap-doors and a passage under the boards of one of the rooms on the ground floor, which could not be detected by any one who was not aware of their existence, which he thought he would be still able to point out to me. I visited the house, with Leonard, and found his account was in every respect true. In the ceiling, over the passage leading from the hall-door towards the kitchen, he pointed out to me the place where the boards over-head were sawed through; the square portion, thus cut, was sufficiently large to allow a person to pass through when the boards were removed,

which formed the trap-door, communicating from the upper part of the house to the hall. If attention had not been directed to it, no one would have observed the cutting in the boards. On the ground floor, on the left hand side of the hall, there is a small room adjoining the kitchen, which was called 'master Robert's bed-room.' In this room, Leonard likewise pointed out to me the place where the boards had been evidently cut through, in a similar way to the trap-door in the ceiling in the passage. This aperture, he said, led to a cavity under the parlour floor, sufficiently large to admit of a person being placed there in a sitting posture, and was intended to communicate, under the flooring, with the lawn. A servant-woman of Mr. Stapleton (the present possessor of the house) said there were some old things in a cellar, which were said to have served for enabling Mr. Emmett to descend from the upper floor to the passage near the hall door, through the aperture in the ceiling. On examining those things, they turned out to be two pulleys, with ropes attached to them, nearly rotten."

In the March of 1803, Emmett had left the house of his relatives, and taken up his residence, under a feigned name, in a small house at Harold's Cross, near the canal bridge, in the same neighbourhood which had afforded concealment to lord Edward Fitzgerald. "The same contrivances which Emmett had recourse to in his former abode were vainly put in practice at his lodgings in Harold's Cross. In the back parlour, which was his sitting-room, he made an excavation in the wall, low down, nearly on a level with the flooring, large enough to admit a man's body through the aperture; the masonry had been excavated inwards, in a slanting direction, and there was sufficient space thus made to enable him to draw his body in, and to place a board, painted the colour of the wainscot, against the open aperture, when he had thus drawn himself in." The house was occupied by a Mrs. Palmer. It was in the month of March that he began his active preparations; and in the latter part of April he removed again to take possession of a house of which he had taken a lease in Butterfield-lane, in the neighbourhood of Rathfarnham, where he went by the name of Ellis. He is understood to have chosen this locality because it was convenient for communicating with the mountains of Wicklow.

The period previous to this epoch seems to have been employed in attempting to organize a rising among the disaffected in the provinces. Emmett had been joined at an early stage of his proceedings by two active agents in the still recent troubles, Hope and Russell, the latter of whom proceeded on a mission into Ulster to reunite the republicans of the north. He had also entered into communications with the rebel chief Michael Dwyer, who still held out at the head of a few desperate followers in the Wicklow mountains, and who was to assemble the peasantry and to march down upon Dublin to his assistance, on the signal being given that his assistance was wanted. The adventures of this rebel were of the most romantic description, and furnish an extraordinary picture of the troubled state of Ireland at this period. His principal place of refuge was a deep glen called Emall, or Innel, where he lived with his followers in a subterranean cave, lined with wood and moss, the entrance to which was covered with a large sod cut out of a tuft of heath. They remained in this retreat all day, and took to the mountains at night. One of Dwyer's adventures at this time, which has been often told, and furnished the subject of a popular little poem by Mrs. Tighe, shows us the fidelity with which the outlawed chief was served by his men. One stormy night, he and nine of his comrades were out in the glen, and had taken shelter in two houses, communicating with each other, six in one, and four in the other, Dwyer himself being one of the four. It appears that they had gone to bed, unconscious of danger, but a traitor had carried intelligence of their place of retreat to a barrack at no great distance. A little before break of day, the house in which Dwyer slept was surrounded by a party of highlanders, commanded by colonel Macdonald. Dwyer heard the tramp of the soldiers, and he immediately aroused his companions, who were some of his most devoted followers: a deserter from the Antrim militia named Samuel M'Alister, a man named Savage, and another named Costello, who had been a tailor. On being summoned to surrender, Dwyer first bargained that the family who occupied the house should be allowed to quit it, and when they were gone he prepared for a desperate defence. He and M'Alister had each a blunderbuss and a case of pistols, with which they fired several times, and several of the military were killed or wounded.

The latter had, however, succeeded in setting fire to the house, and at the moment when the rebels felt that it was becoming no longer tenable, a musket shot broke M'Alister's arm. He then said to Dwyer, "I am done, but you have a chance of escape. Load your blunderbuss, and give it to me; and while you crouch on your hands and feet, I will open the door and discharge the blunderbuss; they will fire at me, and you may escape before they can load again." Dwyer acted upon his friend's suggestion, who, as he prepared to open the door, said to him, "Now let me see how you can spring!" As M'Alister expected, the soldiers discharged their volley at the door, and he and the two other rebels were killed. Dwyer made a desperate spring across a little stream which ran near the door, but he slipped down on some ice which had formed near a barn door. Shots were fired at him, one of which grazed his shoulder. Dwyer, however, recovered his feet and fled across an adjoining field; and one of the highlanders threw down his musket and followed him. This circumstance saved Dwyer's life, for the soldiers were afraid to fire again, lest they should kill their comrade, who followed the rebel so close, that he was obliged to stop suddenly and trip him up. The highlanders had been joined by another body of soldiers, and they continued the pursuit through the glen of Emall, until at Slaney they were obliged to give up the pursuit on account of the flooded state of the river across which he had passed. The six men in the other house having been captured, one of them saved himself by turning informer, and the five others were hanged.

The ultimate object of Emmett's ambition was to separate Ireland from Britain, and to raise it into an independent republic. There is reason to believe that he was disgusted with the selfish interference of the government of France, and that, knowing the designs of his countrymen in Paris, and of the French ministers, he was hastening his own preparations in order to effect a revolution independent of France. But we can hardly believe in the sanity of man who could enter upon such a project with means so utterly unproportionate to the work. He seems, however, to have been deceived by a belief in the great assistance which he was to receive from the country, and he went on working pertinaciously in manufacturing arms ammunition, and stores, for which

purpose he had established in Dublin several secret magazines and workshops. An accidental explosion of combustibles in one of these dépôts, situated in Patrick-street, on the 16th of July, nearly led to the discovery of the conspiracy. The explosion was not so great as to attract much attention, but two men at work in the room were severely injured, and one of them, to prevent suffocation, thrust his arm through the glass window, and received a wound by which he in a short time bled to death. The smoke chiefly attracted attention, and an alarm of fire was given; but when a fire-engine arrived, the persons in the house refused to admit the firemen or to allow the engine to be worked. The men went to a peace-officer to make their complaint, and the circumstances they related immediately excited suspicions. A search was thereupon made in the house, which led to the discovery of a quantity of saltpetre and other ingredients for making gunpowder, a machine for bruising saltpetre, about a hundred ball cartridges, and some pounds weight of bullets, several poles about three feet long, and three bayonets, but no pikes or fire-arms. In consequence of this discovery, the proprietor of the house, a man named Mackintosh, was sought for, but no traces could be found of him. One of the wounded men was taken into custody, and strictly examined, but he made no confession.

Vague suspicions of some plot against public order was thus excited, and they were increased next day by a report of two of the city watchmen, who stated that, during the preceding night, they had followed two men carrying a cask, who, on being asked where they were going, replied, "Come along with us, and you shall see." The watch accordingly followed them, till they rested the cask on the window of a house belonging to a man named Palmer, at the corner of the Coombe and New-street. Here the watch imagined that one of the men made a private signal, on which Palmer opened the door of his house, and, seeing the watchmen, took no notice of the men, but shut his door and walked out of the street. He had scarcely disappeared, when the cask fell down, and some ball cartridges and flints fell out of it. The two men immediately ran away, and the watchmen, taking possession of the cask, had carried it some way towards their watch-house, when they were stopped by a party of men, some

of them armed, who took it from them. The watchmen were joined by others, and assistance was demanded from the guard-house at the Coombe; but, as there were only three soldiers there, who refused to quit their post, the men escaped with the cask. On the report of the watchmen, Palmer was arrested, but he gave a plausible excuse for leaving his house so early in the morning, and, although his conduct excited grave suspicions, nothing could be proved against him, and he was set at liberty.

These accidents alarmed Emmett, and he is said to have been driven by them to the resolution of anticipating the date originally fixed for the outbreak of the insurrection. After communicating with some of his fellow-conspirators, he was determined to proceed to action on the night of the 23rd of July. Emmett's plans at this moment will be best explained by a paper written by himself, and sent to his brother in Paris. He there states that "The points of attack were three—the Pigeon-house, the castle, and the artillery barracks at Island Bridge. The attack was to begin with the Pigeon-house—the place of assembly, the Strand, between Irishtown and Sandymount—the time, low water—the men to divide into two bodies: one to cross by a sandbank between the Pigeon-house and lighthouse, where they were to mount the wall; the other to cross at Devonshire wharf; both parties to detach three men with blunderbusses, and three with jointed pikes concealed, who were to seize the sentries and the gates for the rest to rush in. Another plan was formed for high water, by means of pleasure or fishing-boats, going out in the morning, one by one, and returning in the evening to the dock at the Pigeon-house, where they were to land. A rocket from this was to be the signal for the other two points of attack, viz.:—

"The castle, the number of men, 200. The place of assembly, Patrick-street dépôt. A house in Ship-street was expected; also one near the gate. A hundred men to be armed with jointed pikes and blunderbusses, the rest to support them, and march openly with long pikes. To begin by the entrance of two job-coaches, hackney-coachmen, two footmen, and six persons inside, to drive in at the upper gate into the yard; come out of the coaches; turn back and seize the guard (or, instead of one of the job-coaches, a sedan going in at the same time with two footmen, two

chairmen, and one inside; at the same moment, a person was, in case of failure, to rap at Lamprey's door, seize it and let in others, to come down by a scaling ladder from a window, on the top of the guard-house, while attacks were made at a public-house in Ship-street, which has three windows commanding the guard-house, a gate in Stephen-street, another at the Aungier-street end of Great George's-street, leading to the ordnance; another at the new house in George's-street, leading to the riding-yard, and another over a piece of a brick-wall near the Palace-street gate. Scaling ladders for all these. Fire-balls, if necessary, for the guard-house of the upper gate. The lord lieutenant and principal officers of government, together with the bulk of artillery, to be sent off, under an escort, to the commander in Wicklow, in case of being obliged to retreat. I forgot to mention, that the same was to be done with as much of the Pigeon-house stores as could be. Another party, with some artillery, to come into town along the quays, and take post at Carlisle bridge, to act according to circumstances.

"Island bridge, 400 men. Place of assembly, Quarry-hole opposite and burying-ground. Eight men with pistols, and one with a blunderbuss, to seize the sentry walking outside, seize the gates, some to rush in, seize the cannon opposite the gate; the rest to mount on all sides by scaling ladders; on seizing this, to send two cannon over the bridge facing the barrack road. Another detachment to bring cannon down James's-street, another towards Rathfarnham, as before. To each of the flank points, when carried, reinforcements to be sent, with horses, &c., to transport artillery. Island bridge only to be maintained (a false attack also thought of, after the others had been made, on the rear of the barracks, and, if necessary, to burn the hay stores in rear).

"Three rockets to be the signal that the attack on any part was made, and afterwards a rocket of stars in case of victory, a silent one of repulse.

"Another point of attack not mentioned, Cork-street barracks; if the officer could surprise it, and set fire to it; if not, to take post in the house (I think in Earl-street, the street at the end of Cork-street, leading to New-market, looking down the street, with musketry, two bodies of pikemen in Earl-street,) to the right and left

of Cork-street, and concealed from troops marching in that street. Another in (I think, Marrowbone-lane), to take them in the rear. Place of assembly, fields adjacent, or Fenton-fields.

“Points of check.”—The old Custom-house, 300 men, gate to be seized, and guard disarmed, the gate to be shut or stopped with a load of straw, to be previously in the street. The other small gate to be commanded by musketry, and the bulk of the three hundred men to be distributed in Parliament-street, Crane-lane, and those streets falling into Essex-street, in order to attack them if they forced out. The jointed pikes and blunderbusses lying under great coats, rendered all these surprises unsuspected; fire-balls, if necessary, and a beam of rockets.

“An idea also was, if money had been got, to purchase Rafferty’s cheese shop, opposite to it, to make a dépôt and assembly; and to mine under and blow up a part of the Custom-house, and attack them in confusion, as also the castle. The miners would have been got also to mine from a cellar into some of the streets through which the army from the barracks must march. The assembly was at the coal-quay.

“Mary-street barracks, sixty men. A house-painter’s house, and one equally removed on the opposite side (No. 36, I believe), whose fire commands the iron gate of the barracks, without being exposed to the fire from it, to be occupied by twenty-four blunderbusses: the remainder, pikemen, to remain near Cole’s-lane, or to be ready, in case of rushing out, to attack them. Assembly, Cole’s-lane market, or else detached from custom-house body.

“The corner house in Capel-street (it was Killy Kelly’s), commanding Ormond-quay and Dixon the shoemaker’s (or the house beyond it), which open suddenly on the flank of the army, without being exposed to their fire, to be occupied by blunderbusses. Assembly, detached from custom-house body.

“Lines of defence.”—Beresford-street has six issues from Church-street, viz., Coleraine-street, King-street, Stirrup-lane, Mary’s-lane, Pill-lane, and the quay. These to be chained in the first instance by a body of chain men: double chains and padlocks were deposited; and the sills of the doors marked. The blockade to be afterwards filled up; that on the quay, by

bringing up the coaches from the stand, and oversetting them, together with the butchers’ blocks from Ormond market. The houses over the chains to be occupied with hand-grenades, pistols, and stones. Pikemen to parade in Beresford-street, to attack instantly any person that might penetrate; the number, 200. Assembly, Smithfield dépôt, where were 800 pikes for reinforcements. The object was, to force the troops to march towards the castle by the other side of the water, where the bulk of the preparations and men to receive them were.

“Merchants’-quay. In case the army, after passing the Old Bridge, marched that way, Wogan’s house, and a Birmingham warehouse next to it, to be occupied with musketry, grenades, and stones; also, the leather crane at the other end of the quay; a beam to be before the crane, lying across the quay, to be fired at the approach of the enemy’s column. A body of pikemen, in Winetavern-street, instantly to rush on them in front; another body in Cook-street to do the same, by five lanes opening on their flank, and by Bride-street in their rear. Another beam in Bridge-street, in case of taking that route, and then Cook-street body to rush out instantly in front, and the quay on the flank. [There was also a chain higher up in Bridge-street, as well as diagonally across John-street, and across New-row, as these three issues led into the flank of the Thomas-street line of defence, which it was intended only to leave open at the other flank, as it was meant to make them pass completely through the lines of defence. Wherever there were chains, the houses over them were occupied as above, and also such as commanded them in front. For this reason, the Birmingham warehouse, looking down Bridge-street, was to be occupied if necessary. There was also to be a rocket battery at the crane, on the quay, and another in Bridge-street. The number of men, 300. Assembly, Thomas-street dépôt.] A beam in Dirty-lane; main body of pikemen in Thomas-street to rush on them instantly on firing the beam. The body on the quay to attack in the rear; in case of repulse, Catherine’s church. Market-house, and two houses adjacent, that command that street, occupied with musketry. Two rocket batteries near the market-house, a beam before it; body of pikemen in Swift’s-alley and that range, to rush on their flank, after the beam was fired, through Thomas-street, Vicker-street,

and three other issues; the corner houses of these issues to be occupied by stones and grenades; the entire of the other side of the street to be occupied with stones, &c.; the flank of this side to be protected by a chain at James's-gate, and Guinness's drays, &c.; the rear of it to be protected from Cork-street, in case their officer there failed by chains across Rainsford-street, Crilly's-yard, Meath-street, Ashe-street, and Francis-street. The quay body to co-operate by the issues before-mentioned (at the other side), the chains of which would be opened by us immediately. In case of further repulse, the house at the corner of Cutpurse-row, commanding the lanes at each side of the market-house, the two houses in High-street, commanding that open, and the corner houses of Castle-street, commanding Skinner-row (now Christchurch-place) to be successively occupied. In case of a final retreat, the routes to be three: Cork-street, to Templeogue, New-street, Rathfarnham, and Camden-street department. The bridges of the Liffey to be covered six feet deep with boards full of long nails, bound down by two iron bars, with spikes eighteen inches long, driven through them into the pavement, to stop a column of cavalry, or even infantry."

Such was the extraordinary and complicated plan of action, formed by a young man, without military experience, and with preparations of the most imperfect description. Yet he was so sanguine that he had already drawn up an equally elaborate plan for the government of Ireland on the establishment of his projected republic. The following manifesto was found in one of Emmett's dépôts:—

"THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT TO THE
PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

"You are now called upon to show the world that you are competent to take your place among nations; that you have a right to claim their recognizance of you as an independent country, by the only satisfactory proof you can furnish of your capability of maintaining your independence, your wresting it from England with your own hands.

"In the development of this system, which has been organized within the last eight months; at the close of internal defeat, and without the hope of foreign assistance; which has been conducted with a tranquillity mistaken for obedience, which

neither the failure of a similar attempt in England has retarded, nor the renewal of hostilities has accelerated; in the development of this system you will show to the people of England that there is a spirit of perseverance in this country beyond their power to calculate or repress; you will show to them that as long as they think to hold unjust dominion over Ireland, under no change of circumstances can they count on its obedience—under no aspect of affairs can they judge of its intentions; you will show to them that the question which it now behoves them to take into serious consideration, is not whether they will resist a separation which it is our fixed determination to effect, but whether or not they will drive us beyond separation—whether they will by a sanguinary resistance create a deadly national antipathy between the two countries, or whether they take the only means still left of driving such a sentiment from our minds, by a prompt, manly, and sagacious acquiescence in our just and reasonable determination. If the secrecy with which the present effort has been conducted shall have led our enemies to suppose that its extent must have been partial, a few days will undeceive them. That confidence which was once lost by trusting to external support, and suffering our own means to be gradually undermined, has been again restored. We have been mutually pledged to each other to look only to our own strength, and that the first introduction of a system of terror, the first attempt to execute an individual in one country should be the signal of insurrection in all. We have now, without the loss of a man—with our means of communication untouched—brought our plans to the moment when they are ripe for execution; and in the promptitude with which nineteen counties will come forward at once to execute them, it will be found that neither confidence nor communication are wanting to the people of Ireland.

"In calling on our countrymen to come forward, we feel ourselves bound at the same time to justify our claim to their confidence by a precise declaration of our views. We therefore solemnly declare that our object is to establish a free and independent republic in Ireland; that the pursuit of this object we will relinquish only with our lives; that we will never, unless at the express call of our country, abandon our posts, until the acknowledgment of its

independence is obtained from England, and that we will enter into no negotiation (but for exchange of prisoners) with the government of that country while a British army remains in Ireland. Such is the declaration on which we call first on that part of Ireland which was once paralyzed by the want of intelligence, to show that to that cause only was its inaction to be attributed; on that part of Ireland which was once foremost in its fortitude in suffering; on that part of Ireland which once offered to take the salvation of the country on itself; on that part of Ireland where the flame of liberty first glowed; we call upon the north to stand up and shake off their slumber and their oppression.

"Men of Leinster! stand to your arms; to the courage which you have already displayed is your country indebted; for the confidence which truth feels in its own strength, and for the dismay with which our enemies will be overcome, when they find this effort to be universal. But, men of Leinster, you owe more to your country than the having animated it by your past example; you owe more to your own courage than the having obtained protection by it. If, six years ago, you rose without arms, without plan, without co-operation, with more troops against you alone than are now in the country at large, you were able to remain six weeks in open defiance of the government, and within a few miles of the capital, what will you now effect, with that capital and every other part of Ireland ready to support you? But it is not on this head we have need to address you. No! we now speak to you, and, through you, to the rest of Ireland, on a subject dear to us, even as the success of our country—its honour. You are accused by your enemies of having violated that honour by excesses, which they themselves had in their fullest extent provoked, but which they have grossly exaggerated, and which have been attributed to you. The opportunity for vindicating yourselves by actions is now, for the first time, in your power, and we call upon you to give the lie to such assertions, by carefully avoiding all appearance of intoxication, plunder, or revenge, recollecting that you lost Ireland before, not from want of courage, but from not having that courage rightly directed by discipline. But we trust that your past sufferings have taught you experience, and that you will respect the declaration we now make, which we are determined, by every

means in our power, to enforce. The nation alone has the right, and alone possesses the power of punishing individuals; and whosoever shall put another to death, except in battle, without a fair trial by his country, is guilty of murder. The intention of the provisional government of Ireland is to claim from the English government such Irishmen as have been sold or transported by it for their attachment to freedom, and, for this purpose, it will retain as hostages, for their safe return, such adherents of that government as shall fall into its hands. It therefore calls upon the people to respect such hostages, and to recollect that, in spilling their blood, they would leave their own countrymen in the hands of their enemies.

"The intention of the provisional government is to resign its functions as soon as the nation shall have chosen its delegates; but, in the mean time, it is determined to enforce the regulations hereunto subjoined; it, in consequence, takes the property of the country under its protection, and will punish with the utmost rigour any person who shall violate that property, and thereby injure the resources and future prosperity of Ireland.

"Whosoever refuses to march to any part of the country he is ordered, is guilty of disobedience to the government, which alone is competent to decide in what place his service is necessary, and which desires him to recollect, that in whatever part of Ireland he is fighting, he is still fighting for freedom. Whoever presumes, by act or otherwise, to give countenance to the calumny propagated by our enemies, that this is a religious contest, is guilty of the grievous crime—that of belying the motive of the country. Religious disqualifications are but one of the many grievances of which Ireland has to complain. Our intention is to remove not that only, but every other oppression under which we labour. We fight that all of us may have our country, and, that done, each of us shall have our religion.

"We are aware of the apprehensions which you have expressed, that, in quitting your own counties, you leave your wives and your children in the hands of your enemies; but on this head have no uneasiness: if there are still men base enough to persecute those who are unable to resist, show them by your victories that you have the power to punish, and, by your obedience, that you have the power to protect; and we pledge ourselves to you, that these men shall be

made to feel, that the safety of everything they hold dear depends on the conduct they observe to you. Go forth then with confidence; conquer the foreign enemies of your country, and leave to us the care of preserving its internal tranquillity: recollect, that not only the victory, but also the honour of your country is placed in your hands. Give up your private resentments, and show to the world that the Irish are not only a brave, but also a generous and forgiving people.

“Men of Munster and Connaught! you have your instructions, you will execute them. The example of the rest of your countrymen is now before you—your own strength is unbroken—five months ago you were eager to act without any other assistance—we now call upon you to show what you then declared you only wanted, the opportunity of proving that you possess the same love of liberty, and the same courage with which the rest of your countrymen are animated.

“We turn now to that portion of our countrymen whose prejudices we had rather overcome by a frank declaration of our intentions, than conquer in the field; and, in making this declaration, we do not wish to dwell on events, which, however they may bring tenfold odium on their authors, must still tend to keep alive in the minds, both of the instruments and victims of them, a spirit of animosity, which it is our wish to destroy. We will enter into no detail of the atrocities and oppression which Ireland has laboured under during its connexion with England, but we justify our determination to separate from that country on the broad historical statement, that, during six hundred years, she has been unable to conciliate the affections of the people of Ireland; that, during that time, five rebellions were entered into to shake off the yoke; that she has been obliged to enter into a system of unprecedented torture in her defence; that she has broken every tie of voluntary connexion, by taking even the name of independence from Ireland, through the intervention of a parliament notoriously bribed, and not representing the will of the people; that in vindication of this measure, she has herself given the justification of the views of the united Irishmen by declaring, in the words of her ministers, ‘that Ireland never had, and never could enjoy, under the then circumstances, the benefits of British connexion; that it necessarily must hap-

pen, when one country is connected with another, that the interests of the lesser will be borne down by the greater; that England had supported and encouraged the English colonists in their oppression towards the natives of Ireland; that Ireland had been left in a state of ignorance, rudeness, and barbarism, worse in its effects, and more degrading in its nature, than that in which it was found six centuries before.’ Now, to what cause are these things to be attributed? Did the curse of the Almighty keep alive a spirit of obstinacy in the minds of the Irish people for six hundred years? Did the doctrines of the French revolution produce five rebellions? Could the misrepresentations of ambitious designing men drive from the mind of a whole people the recollection of defeat, and raise the infant from the cradle with the same feelings with which his father sank to the grave? Will this gross avowal which our enemies have made of their own views remove none of the calumny that has been thrown upon ours? Will none of the credit which has been lavished on them be transferred to the solemn declaration which we now make in the face of God and our country.

“We war not against property—we war against no religious sect—we war not against party opinions or prejudices—we war against English dominion. We will not, however, deny that there are some men, who, not because they have supported the government of our oppressors, but because they have violated the common laws of morality, which exist alike under all or under no government, have put it beyond our power to give to them the protection of a government. We will not hazard the influence we may have with the people, and the power it may give us of preventing the excesses of revolution, by undertaking to place in tranquillity the men who have been guilty of torture, free-quarter, rape, and murder, by the side of the sufferers or their relations; but in the frankness with which we warn those men of their danger, let those who do not feel that they have passed this boundary of mediation, count on their safety.

“We had hoped, for the sake of our enemies, to have taken them by surprise, and to have committed the cause of our country before they could have time to commit themselves against it: but, though we have not altogether been able to succeed, we are yet rejoiced to find that they have not come forward with promptitude on the side of those

who have deceived them; and we now call upon them, before it is yet too late, not to commit themselves against a people which they are unable to resist, and in support of a government which, by their own declaration, had forfeited its claim to their allegiance. To that government, in whose hands, though not the issue, at least the features with which the present contest is marked or placed, we now turn. How is it to be decided? Is open and honourable force alone to be resorted to?—or is it your intention to employ those laws which custom has placed in your hands, and to force us to employ the law of retaliation in our defence?

“Of the inefficacy of a system of terror, in preventing the people of Ireland from coming forward to assert their freedom, you have already had experience. Of the effect which such a system will have on our minds, in case of success, we have already forewarned you. We now address to you another consideration: if in the question which is now to receive a solemn, and, we trust, final decision, if we have been deceived, reflection would point out that conduct should be resorted to which was best calculated to produce conviction on our minds.

“What would that conduct be?

“It would be to show us that the difference of strength between the two countries is such, as to render it unnecessary for you to bring out all your forces; to show that you have something in reserve to crush hereafter; not only a greater exertion of the people, but one rendered still greater by foreign assistance. It would be to show us, that what we vainly supposed to be prosperity growing beyond your grasp, is only a piratical exuberance, requiring but the pressure of your hands to reduce to form.

“But, for your own sakes, do not resort to a system which, while it increased the acrimony of our minds, would leave us under the melancholy delusion that we had been forced to yield, not to the sound and temperate exertions of our superior strength, but to the frantic struggle of weakness, concealing itself under desperation. Consider that the distinction of rebel and enemy is of a very fluctuating nature; that during the course of your own experience, you have already been obliged to lay it aside; that should you be obliged to abandon it towards Ireland, you cannot hope to do so as tranquilly as you have done towards America: for in the exasperated state to which you have roused the minds of the

Irish people—a people whom you profess to have left in a state of barbarism and ignorance—with what confidence can you say to that people, ‘While the advantage of cruelty lay upon our side, we slaughtered you without mercy, but the measure of your own blood is beginning to preponderate. It is no longer our interest that this bloody system should continue. Show us then that forbearance which we never taught you by precept or example; lay aside your resentment; give quarter to us; and let us mutually forget we never gave quarter to you.’ Cease, then, we entreat you, uselessly to violate humanity, by resorting to a system inefficacious as a mode of defence, inefficacious as a mode of conviction, ruinous to the future relations of the two countries in case of our success, and destructive of those instruments of defence which you will then find it doubly necessary to have preserved unimpaired. But if your determination be otherwise, hear ours. We will not imitate you in cruelty; we will put no man to death in cold blood; the prisoners which first fall into our hands shall be treated with the respect due to the unfortunate; but if the life of a single unfortunate Irish soldier is taken after the battle is over, the order thenceforth to be delivered to the Irish army is, neither to give nor to take quarter. Countrymen, if a cruel necessity force us to retaliate, we will bury our resentment in the field of battle; if we fall, we will fall where we fight for our country. Fully impressed with this determination, of the necessity of adhering to which past experience has but too fatally convinced us; fully impressed with the justice of our cause, which we now put to issue, we make our last and solemn appeal to the sword and to heaven; and, as the cause of Ireland deserves to prosper, may God give us the victory.”

“Conformably to the above proclamation, the provisional government of Ireland decree that as follows:—

“1. From the date and promulgation hereof, tithes are for ever abolished, and church lands are the property of the nation.

“2. From the same date, all transfers of landed property are prohibited, each person paying his rent until the national government is established, the national will declared, and the courts of justice be organized.

“3. From the same date, all transfer of

bonds, debentures, and all public securities, are in like manner forbidden, and declared void for the same time and for the same reason.

"4. The Irish generals commanding districts shall seize such of the partisans of England as may serve as hostages, and shall apprise the English commanders opposed to them, that a strict retaliation shall take place if any outrages contrary to the laws of war shall be committed by the troops under command of each, or by the partisans of England in the district which he occupies.

"5. That the Irish generals are to treat (except where retaliation makes it necessary) the English troops who may fall into their hands, or such Irish as serve in the regular forces of England, and who shall have acted conformably to the laws of war, shall be treated as prisoners of war; but all Irish militia, yeomen, or volunteer corps, or bodies of Irish, or individuals who, for ten days after the promulgation and date hereof, shall be found in arms, shall be considered as rebels, committed for trial, and their properties confiscated.

"6. The generals are to assemble court-martials, who are to be sworn to administer justice, who are not to condemn without sufficient evidence, and before whom all military offenders are to be sent instantly for trial.

"7. No man is to suffer death by their sentence but for mutiny; the sentences of such others as are judged worthy of death, shall not be put into execution until the provisional government declares its will; nor are court-martials, on any pretence or sentence, nor is any officer, to suffer the punishment of flogging, or any species of torture to be inflicted.

"8. The generals are to enforce the strictest discipline, and to send offenders immediately to the court-martial; and are enjoined to chase away from the Irish armies all such as shall disgrace themselves by being drunk in presence of the enemy.

"9. The generals are to apprise their respective armies that all military stores and ammunition belonging to the English government be the property of the captor, and the value equally divided, without respect of rank, between them, except that the widows, orphans, parents, or other heirs of those who gloriously fall in the attack, shall be entitled to a double share.

"10. As the English nation has made war on Ireland, all English property, in

ships or otherwise, is subject to the same rule, and all transfer of them forbidden and declared void, in like manner as is expressed in Nos. 2 and 3.

"11. The generals of the different districts are hereby empowered to confer rank up to colonels, inclusive, on such as they conceive merit it from the nation, but are not to make more colonels than one for fifteen hundred men, nor more lieutenant-colonels than one for every thousand men.

"12. The generals shall seize on all sums of public money in the custom-houses in their districts, or in the hands of the different collectors, county treasurers, or other revenue officers, whom they shall render responsible for the sums in their hands. The generals shall pass receipts for the amount, and account to the provisional government for them.

"13. When the people elect their officers up to the colonels, the general is bound to confirm it. No officer can be broke but by sentence of court-martial.

"14. The generals shall correspond with the provisional government, to whom they shall give details of all their operations; they are to correspond with the neighbouring generals, to whom they are to transmit all necessary intelligence, and to co-operate with them.

"15. The generals commanding in each county shall, as soon as it is cleared of the enemy, assemble the county committee, who shall be elected conformably to the constitution of united Irishmen; all the requisitions necessary for the army shall be made in writing by the generals to the committee, who are hereby empowered and enjoined to pass receipts for each article to the owners, to the end that they may receive their full value from the nation.

"16. The county committee is charged with the civil direction of the county, the care of the national property, and the preservation of order and justice in the county; for which purpose the county committee are to appoint a high-sheriff and one or more sub-sheriffs to execute their orders, a sufficient number of justices of the peace for the county, a high and a sufficient number of petty constables in each barony, who are respectively charged with the duties now performed by those magistrates.

"17. The county of Cork, on account of its extent, is to be divided, conformably to the boundaries for raising militia, into the counties of north and south Cork; for each

of which a county constable, high-sheriff, and all magistrates above directed, are to be appointed.

"18. The county committee are hereby empowered and enjoined to issue warrants to apprehend such persons as it shall appear, on sufficient evidence, perpetrated murder, torture, and other breaches of the acknowledged articles of war and morality on the people, to the end that they may be tried for these offences so soon as the competent courts of justice are established by the nation.

"19. The county committee shall cause the sheriff, or his officers, to seize on all the personal property of such, to put seals on their effects, to appoint proper persons to preserve all such property until the national courts of justice shall have decided on the fate of the proprietors.

"20. The county committee shall act in like manner with all state and church lands, parochial estates, and all public lands and edifices.

"21. The county committee shall, in the interim, receive all the rents and debts of such persons and estates, and give receipts for the same; shall transmit to the government an exact account of their value, extent, and amount, and receive the directions of the provisional government thereon.

"22. They shall appoint some proper house in the counties where the sheriff is permanently to reside, and where the county committee shall assemble; they shall cause all the records and papers of the county to be there transmitted, arranged, and kept, and the orders of the government to be there transmitted and received.

"23. The county committee is hereby empowered to pay out of these effects, or by assessment, reasonable salaries for themselves, the sheriffs, justices, and other magistrates whom they shall appoint.

"24. They shall keep a written journal of all their proceedings, signed each day by members of the committee, or a sufficient number of them, for the inspection of government.

"25. The county committee shall correspond with government on all subjects with which they are charged, and transmit to the general of the district such information as they shall conceive useful to the public.

"26. The county committee shall take care that all state prisoners, however great their offences, shall be treated with humanity, and allow them sufficient support to

the end, that all the world may know that the Irish nation is not actuated by a spirit of revenge, but of justice.

"27. The provisional government wishing to commit, as soon as possible, the sovereign authority to the people, direct that each county and city shall elect, agreeably to the constitution of united Irishmen, representatives to meet in Dublin, to whom, the moment they assemble, the provisional government will resign its functions, and without presuming to dictate to the people, they beg leave to suggest, that for the important purpose to which these electors are called, integrity of character should be the first object.

"28. The number of representatives being arbitrary, the provisional government have adopted that of the late house of commons, 300, and according to the best returns of the population of the cities and counties, the following number are to be returned from each:—Antrim, 13; Armagh, 9; Belfast town, 1; Carlow, 3; Cavan, 7; Clare, 8; Cork county, north, 14; Cork county, south, 14; Cork city, 6; Donegal, 10; Down, 16; Drogheda, 1; Dublin county, 4; Dublin city, 14; Fermanagh, 5; Galway, 10; Kerry, 9; Kildare, 14; Kilkenny, 7; King's county, 6; Leitrim, 5; Limerick county, 10; Limerick city, 3; Londonderry, 9; Longford, 4; Louth, 4; Mayo, 12; Meath, 9; Monaghan, 9; Queen's county, 6; Roscommon, 8; Sligo, 6; Tipperary, 13; Tyrone, 14; Waterford county, 6; Waterford city, 2; Westmeath, 5; Wicklow, 5.

"29. In the cities the same regulation as in the counties shall be adopted; the city committees shall appoint one or more sheriffs, as they think proper, and shall take possession of all the public and corporation properties in their jurisdiction, in like manner as is directed in counties.

"30. The provisional government strictly exhort and enjoin all magistrates, officers, civil and military, and the whole of the nation, to cause the law of morality to be enforced and respected, and to execute, as far as in them lies, justice with mercy, by which liberty alone can be established, and the blessings of divine providence secured."

This extraordinary document was so newly printed, that several bundles were found in the depôt wet from the press. The following shorter address had also been printed for circulation on the breaking out of the insurrection:—

"CITIZENS OF DUBLIN!

"A band of patriots, mindful of their oath, and faithful to their engagements as united Irishmen, have determined to give freedom to their country, and a period to the long oppression of England. In this endeavour they are now successfully engaged, and their efforts are seconded by complete and universal co-operation from the country, every part of which, from the north to the south, pours forth its warriors in support of our hallowed cause.

"Citizens of Dublin! we require your aid; necessary secrecy has prevented to many a knowledge of our plan; but the erection of the national standard—the sacred, though long degraded green, will be found a sufficient call to arms; and rally round it every man in whose breast exists a spark of patriotism or sense of duty; avail yourselves of local advantages; in a city, each street becomes a defile, and each house a battery: impede the march of your oppressors; charge them with the arms of the brave—the pike; and from your windows hurl stones, bricks, bottles, and all other convenient instruments, on the heads of the satellites of your tyrant—the mercenary and sanguinary soldiery of England.

"Orangemen! add not to the catalogue of your follies and crimes; already have you been duped, to the ruin of your country, in the legislative union with its ——. Attempt not an opposition which will carry with it your inevitable destruction; return from the paths of delusion; return to the arms of your countrymen, who will receive and hail your repentance.

"Countrymen of all descriptions! let us act with union and concert; all sects—catholic, protestant, presbyterian, are indiscriminately embraced in the benevolence of our object; repress, prevent, and discourage excesses, pillage, and intoxication; let each man do his duty, and remember, that during public agitation, inaction becomes a crime; be no other competition known but that of doing good; remember against whom you fight—your oppressors for six hundred years; remember their massacres—their tortures; remember your murdered friends—your burned houses—your violated females; keep in mind your country, to whom you are now giving her high rank among nations; and, in the terror of feeling, let us all exclaim—that, as in the hour of her trial we serve this country, so may God serve us in that which shall be our *last*."

During the week which followed the explosion in Patrick-street, rumours of plots and insurrections were commonly talked of, and the government received warnings from different quarters, which, with a strange remissness, they seem to have neglected. Emmett himself now lived almost entirely in his depôts, yet his preparations seem to have been very incomplete, his means limited, and as the day of the outbreak approached, most of his allies in the country failed him. The madness of the undertaking became more apparent as the day came nearer, and the morning of the 23rd is understood to have been spent by the conspirators in discussing and rejecting one plan after another, and it is even said that the whole would have been abandoned but for the pertinacity of Emmett. The only allies who came in from the country were the men of Kildare and two or three hundred from Wexford. The former, on a report that the day of action was postponed, left Dublin at five o'clock, but the latter remained during the earlier part of the night, and were assembled at the Broadstone, waiting in vain for Emmett's signal. Dwyer had promised to come in with the Wicklow insurgents, but the messenger who was sent to give him his directions neglected his duty, and they were not delivered. At eight o'clock Emmett had collected about eighty men in one of his depôts, situated in Marshalsea-lane, and others were assembled in taverns in the neighbourhood, drinking, but there seems to have been no very distinct understanding about their plans. He waited impatiently in the hope that more men would join him, but at nine o'clock his numbers had not increased, and he is said to have been much discouraged. At this moment one of Emmett's leaders, Michael Quigley, rushed into the dépôt, exclaiming, "We are all lost; the army is coming on us." On this Emmett formed the sudden resolution to march out in arms, and fight their way, rather than be surrounded and overcome in the confined room where they were then assembled, and he put on a green uniform, gave orders to distribute the arms, and, after sending up a single rocket, marched out with his eighty men into Thomas-street. At Vicker-street they were joined by about eighty more, and with this undisciplined force, consisting of men who were more or less intoxicated, he formed the wild project of attacking Dublin castle.

Meanwhile the officers of government had received distinct information during the day from various sources that an insurrection would break out that night, though they seem still not to have known who were the conspirators, or in what quarter the outbreak would commence. Consultations were accordingly held in the castle, but the ministers appear to have still doubted, and they had adopted no measures of prevention. The insurgents thus met with no obstruction as they marched along Thomas-street, but they soon fell into the utmost disorder, and appeared to be more bent upon plunder and murder than willing to follow their leaders to the castle, who moved about with drawn swords attempting in vain to enforce their authority. When Emmett reached the market-place in Thomas-street, he found that not above twenty of his followers had kept round him, and he seems then to have turned back for the purpose of making an effort to rally the others. These were now occupied in committing various acts of outrage. A custom-house officer, passing by accident in a hackney coach, was dragged forth, and placed on his knees, and the assailants were proceeding to pike him, when they were attracted by a nobler victim. The aged lord chief justice of Ireland, lord Kilwarden, had a country-seat about four miles from Dublin on the Wicklow side of the town. The dreadful scenes of 1798 are said to have made a deep impression on lord Kilwarden's mind, and, in the belief that his life was in danger, he had only recently ventured to sleep at his country residence. He had passed the week in fulfilling the duties of his judicial capacity, and on the morning of Saturday the 23rd of July, he went, as usual, to his house in the country to pass the sabbath with his family. Towards evening he was alarmed by reports that numbers of suspicious looking persons were observed hurrying into Dublin, and it was soon rumoured abroad that an insurrection was intended that night. The personal apprehensions of lord Kilwarden were immediately excited, and he came to the hasty and unfortunate determination of returning immediately to town. With this purpose, about the dusk of the evening, he set out in a postchaise, taking with him his daughter and his nephew, the rev. Richard Wolfe. They met with no obstacle till, on reaching the entrance of the town, lord Kilwarden, imagining that the

most frequented streets would be the safest, directed the coachman to drive through St. James's and Thomas streets, which were at that moment in the undisturbed possession of the insurgents. He arrived in the latter street, just as they were attacking the custom-house officer in the hackney coach, which they left immediately for the postchaise. When lord Kilwarden saw that his carriage was surrounded, he shouted out, perhaps in the hope of being allowed to pass on, "It is I, Kilwarden, chief justice of the king's bench!" One of the ruffians immediately exclaimed, "You are the man I want!" and stabbed him with a pike, and he was then dragged out, and covered with so many wounds, that it is said that the wretches fought over his body for the honour of striking a blow. Mr. Wolfe jumped out of the carriage, and attempted to make his escape, but he was pursued, brought back, and instantly dispatched. A portmanteau was in the meanwhile taken from the carriage, and broken open and rifled. Miss Wolfe remained inside the carriage, in a state of indescribable terror and distress, until one of the rebel leaders came and took her out, and conducted her through the crowd to an adjoining house, where she waited a while, and then made her escape on foot to the castle, where she gave the first intelligence of her father's murder. One of the insurgents afterwards said that it was Robert Emmett himself who rescued the lady from the mob. This statement, however, appears to admit of doubt; and as far as we can trace Emmett's movements, he seems to have become soon convinced of the hopelessness of a cause which depended upon such supporters, and to have made his retreat to his house in Butterfield-lane.

At the castle the danger was greatly overrated, and the official report of the proceedings there shows us the alarm which had taken possession of everybody's mind, and the confusion which prevailed. It appears that at least as early as eight o'clock reports began to come in thickly of assemblages of suspicious persons in various parts of the capital, and that not long after that hour several magistrates and captains of yeomanry came to the castle for information how they were to act. It was thought prudent to restrain the yeomanry captains from assembling their men, because, as it was known that few of them had arms and none of them ammunition, it was believed that

they would increase the general alarm without doing much service, and that the garrison of Dublin was quite sufficient to meet the danger. In the midst of these deliberations, to use the words of the official report, "several accounts reached the castle of the number of the mob increasing in Thomas-street and James's-street. A magistrate, who had left the castle a short time before it grew dark, returned, he having been fired at and wounded near the Queen's bridge. Not long after this it was reported that lord Kilwarden and his nephew had been killed, at a quarter before ten, and likewise colonel Browne of the 21st regiment. At later periods accounts came of yeomen being killed, and also of a dragoon having been piked. During this time, extreme anxiety was felt at the castle to hear of the march of the troops of the garrison to that part of the town where the riot existed. Notes were sent from the castle to the barracks, urging, in the most earnest manner, that parties should be sent into the streets; and the consternation increased among the magistrates and gentlemen who crowded to the castle, as no assurance could be given that the troops had actually quitted the barracks. At this moment the uncertainty of the extent of the danger became very great. For the actual safety of the castle no apprehension was entertained. Early in the evening, the usual guard, sufficiently strong, was reinforced by thirty men which major Donnellan, of the 2nd regiment, brought from that regiment, consisting of about six hundred men quartered at the old custom-house, within two hundred yards of the castle. Two pieces of cannon were got to the gates, and the yeomanry, beginning to assemble, came to the castle for ammunition and arms. The quantity there, was, however, inconsiderable, and that any was there was contrary to the orders of the officer who has the charge of it."

It was not till about eleven at night that any check was given to the insurgents. A party of the 21st regiment had been sent from Cork-street to escort an officer from his lodging to the barracks there, and on their way, falling in with the mob in Thomas-street, they fired upon them and compelled them to disperse. In their flight, they passed by the Coombe, and were there fired upon by the guard. After this they were not seen in any numbers in any part of the town. The troops were not marched out of the barracks till long after the insur-

gents had dispersed. About twenty-nine of the insurgents are said to have been killed, and many more were supposed to have been wounded. They had committed several murders besides those already mentioned. Colonel Brown, of the 21st regiment, was met in the street, and put to death; two dragoons of the 16th regiment, carrying expresses, were killed; and two yeomen were intercepted and slain, and three severely wounded. A cornet was dragged out of a carriage, in which he was passing, and severely wounded with pikes. The bodies of lord Kilwarden and his nephew were found on the spot where they were slaughtered. The former was not quite dead, and he was carried in a dying state to the watch-house in Vickar-street. Major Swan and some officers soon afterwards arrived. A number of prisoners had been taken, and one of the officers, horror-struck at the condition of the dying nobleman, declared aloud that he would have a gallows erected at the watch-house door to hang the villains who were confined there. Lord Kilwarden, with his well-known love of justice, said feebly, "What are you going to do, Swan?" "To hang these rebels, my lord," was the reply. "I desire," said Lord Kilwarden, "that no man should be put to death but by the laws of his country." These are said to have been the last words he uttered.

The movements of Emmett, after he deserted his companions, have been traced with sufficient accuracy by the accounts of some of those who were acting with him. It appears that about eleven o'clock at night on the 23rd of July, he arrived at his house in Butterfield-lane, accompanied by seven of his followers. They remained there that night and the next day, and on the Sunday night about ten o'clock, having received secret information that the house would be searched, they continued their flight to the Wicklow mountains. Next day the house was taken possession of by a magistrate at the head of a troop of yeomen. The fugitives gained the mountains unopposed, and there wandered about for two or three days, but, with a strange indiscretion, they rendered themselves conspicuous by wearing their green uniforms. Finding no sympathy beyond that of compassion for their desperate condition, and perceiving no indications of a wish to rise in his favour, Emmett returned from the mountains to his old residence at Harold's Cross, where he had a place of concealment. One of his companions betrayed

him to major Sirr, who was told to give a single rap at the door, and, when it was opened, to proceed suddenly into the parlour, where he would find his victim. It was the evening of the 25th of August, when the major acted upon this information. He rode to the house at Harold's Cross, accompanied by a man on foot, who knocked at the door. It was opened by a little girl, on which Sirr alighted, and ran immediately into the back parlour, where he found the object of his search, with Mrs. Palmer, who held the house, and whom with the little girl he ordered to withdraw. He then addressed himself to Emmett, inquiring his name, and was told in reply that it was Cunningham. The major then left him in the custody of his man, and went to Mrs. Palmer in the next room, who said, in answer to the same inquiry, that his name was Hewitt, the name he had assumed during his former residence there. The major returned to the back parlour, and found that the prisoner had made an attempt to escape, for he was bloody, and the man said he had knocked him down with a pistol. He asked him how long he had been there? and he said he had come there that morning; but when the same question was put to Mrs. Palmer, she said that he had been there a month. The major then went to the canal bridge for a guard, which he had desired to be in readiness when he passed by. He then surrounded the house, placed a sentry over the prisoner, and proceeded further to examine Mrs. Palmer and to search the house. While thus occupied, Emmett succeeded in escaping from his guard, and had already left the house, when he was overtaken by major Sirr himself, and recaptured. He was thence removed to the castle, where he acknowledged that he was Robert Emmett.

After the dispersion of the insurgents, as we have already stated, the military and yeomanry patrolled the streets during the night. One party, entering Marshal-alley, saw a hackney-coach standing at a warehouse door, with pikes and other suspicious articles lying about. They immediately broke open the door, and discovered a complete military storehouse; it was one of Emmett's principal depôts. Next morning, on further examination, it was found that the warehouse was shorter within by several feet than the external appearance of the building, and a partition wall was thus discovered, behind which were several floors

full of pikes, mattresses, blankets, ammunition, &c. The other depôts were found with equal facility, and they are said to have contained altogether forty-five pounds of cannon powder, in bundles; eleven boxes of fine powder; one hundred bottles filled with powder, enveloped with musket-balls, and covered with canvas; two hundred and forty-six hand-grenades, formed of ink-bottles filled with powder, and encircled with buck shot; sixty-two thousand rounds of musket ball-cartridge; three bushels of musket balls; a quantity of tow, mixed with tar and gunpowder, and other combustible matter, for throwing against wood-work, which, when ignited, would cause an instantaneous conflagration; sky-rockets, and other signals, &c.; and false beams, filled with combustibles; with not less than eight or ten thousand pikes.

The government seems, even in the night of the insurrection, to have been entirely ignorant of the authors of this conspiracy, and the prisoners who had been taken in the streets were men of the lowest description, but next morning full information was received. It appears that a man, passing by the principal depôt on the 22nd of July, being suspected of having observed their movements, was taken prisoner by the conspirators. They were desirous of putting him to death, but Emmett interfered, and saved his life. He was, however, detained a close prisoner until the night of the 23rd, when he made his escape, and gave full information of all he had witnessed in his confinement, and a description of the chief conspirators. This led to a search after the offenders, and to the arrest of Emmett. Russell, who had returned to Dublin from his unsuccessful mission to raise Ulster, was also captured soon after his arrival. The other principal conspirators fled. A reward of three hundred pounds each was offered for the arrest of Dowdall, Allen, Hamilton, Quigley, Lyons, and Stafford, who had been especially active, and two hundred each for three others, named Frayne, Wylde, and Mahon. A thousand pounds was offered for the discovery of the murderers of lord Kilwarden and his nephew, and fifty pounds each for the first hundred rebels who had appeared in the streets in arms. The consequence of these proclamations was, that the prisons were soon filled with persons accused justly or unjustly of being concerned in the outbreak. Some of the leaders made their escape

abroad. Among these were Dowdall and Allen. Quigley and Stafford remained long concealed in Galway, but they were arrested a short time after Emmett's trial.

The latter event took place on the 19th of September, before the special commission, when the case was stated at length by the attorney-general. The evidence consisted chiefly of two or three persons who had been employed in the depôts in Dublin; and, although Emmett had pleaded not guilty, he had directed his counsel to make no defence. Mr. Plunket, afterwards lord Plunket, summed up the evidence, and spoke with a severity which excited strong animadversion from Emmett's friends. The prisoner, when called upon for his defence, made a long and eloquent speech, in which he avowed and justified his treason, and declared that he was still ready to persevere in it. His execution took place on the following day, Tuesday, the 20th of September, in Thomas-street. He met his fate with great fortitude, persevering to the last in that enthusiasm of character which had marked his ill-fated career, and which now gained him much public sympathy.

Russell, on his mission to Ulster, had met with nothing but disappointment. He collected some people together, and addressed them, but ineffectually, for the revolutionary spirit of the north seemed to be extinguished. He was not only avoided, but he was threatened and denounced, and the catholic priests publicly exhorted their flocks not to listen to him. Feeling that his person was in danger, he now sought concealment, from whence he issued an inflammatory proclamation, in which he designated himself "general of the northern district." When brought to his trial at Down, he imitated Emmett in delivering a long discourse in justification of his treason, which was filled with a strange mixture of religious enthusiasm. He also submitted to his fate with the greatest fortitude.

After these executions, the government pursued a milder policy, though society was for some time troubled by a host of spies and informers, upon whose denunciations many people were thrown into prison, on charges of which they were entirely innocent. Bad men speculated on the fears of the court, and made a trade of informing. One of the most remarkable examples was that of a man named Houlton, who having

in the latter part of August obtained an interview with the under-secretary, Mr. Marsden, was by him brought before the privy council. He told them that he had private information that several of Russell's northern adherents were embarking in boats of fishermen and smugglers, with a design of surprising the Pigeon-house. He offered his services to government in any way that they might be made available, and it was determined to send him down to the north, where he was to pass for one of the rebel generals. He was accordingly furnished with a suit of uniform, and a superb cocked hat and feathers, and having received a hundred pounds to cover his expenses, was thus sent to Belfast. Instructions had been sent down to sir Charles Ross, who commanded there, to apprise him that the rebel general was a confidential servant of the castle, and that he was secretly to give him aid and assistance. It happened, however, that Houlton reached Belfast before the dispatch, and, with a want of discretion that showed he was totally unfitted for his mission, began to talk treason so openly, that he was immediately informed against, and he was arrested, paraded in his uniform round the town, and committed to prison. Soon afterwards the dispatch arrived, and sir Charles Ross discovered his mistake. As it was found necessary to cover the act of the government, Houlton was carried back to Dublin under a military escort, and imprisoned. He was soon afterwards rewarded by an obscure appointment under government on the coast of Africa.

The friends of Emmett said that the outlaw Dwyer had entered cordially into the plan of the insurrection, and that the day after its failure he was still willing to join in trying to excite a revolt. The arrest of so many persons connected with it seems, however, to have entirely discouraged him, and in the month of December he surrendered to captain Hume, on the condition, it was said, that he should be allowed to quit the country. It seems that his intention was to go to America, where so many of the united Irishmen had found a refuge. But, after he had been some time confined in Kilmainham jail, he was at length sent to New South Wales, where he died in 1826. Thus, by the surrender of the Wicklow outlaws, was extinguished the last remaining spark of the rebellion of '98.

CHAPTER V.

DEBATES ON IRISH AFFAIRS IN THE IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT; HABEAS CORPUS SUSPENSION ACT AND MARTIAL LAW; DISCUSSIONS RELATING TO THE CONDUCT OF THE IRISH GOVERNMENT.



THE insurrection on the 23rd of July had caused no little sensation in England, where its importance appears to have been at first exaggerated. On the 28th a message from the king was delivered to the house of commons, announcing what had occurred, and asking for new powers to be given to the lord lieutenant to enable him to overcome the supposed danger, and, after a rather warm debate, bills for that purpose were hurried through all their stages the same evening. As the circumstances became better known, people soon saw the true insignificance of what had been called a rebellion, and then there was a general feeling of astonishment at the extraordinary remissness of a government which had allowed such a conspiracy to be brought to a head under its very nose—which had not even taken warning by the explosion and discoveries in the Patrick-street dépôt—and which, after distinct intimation of the danger had been given, acted with so little vigour and foresight, that the capital was for some length of time at the mercy of a disorderly mob. On the 11th of August, a motion by colonel Hutchinson, the representative of Cork, led to a very warm debate on Irish affairs, in the course of which some severe remarks were made upon the Irish government, and the policy of the English ministry towards Ireland was attacked. The lord lieutenant was embarrassed by these attacks, and he attempted to defend himself by throwing the blame on the commander-in-chief, general Fox; while the latter indignantly repelled the charge. A dispute thus arose which ended in the recal of the general. These questions were much agitated during the autumn and winter; while a feeling of alarm and insecurity prevailed in Ireland, which added much to the growing discontent.

Parliament had been adjourned in the latter end of summer, but it was called together again on the 22nd of November, when the king, in his speech at the open-

ing of the session, informed the two houses that, "in Ireland, the leaders, and several inferior agents in the late traitorous and atrocious conspiracy, had been brought to justice; and the public tranquillity had experienced no further interruption. I indulge the hope," he added, "that such of my deluded subjects as have swerved from their allegiance are now convinced of their error; and that having compared the advantages they derive from the protection of a free constitution, with the condition of those countries which are under the dominion of the French government, they will cordially and zealously concur in resisting any attempt that may be made against the security and independence of my united kingdom."

It was, nevertheless, considered necessary to renew those great infractions of the liberty of the subject, the suspension of the habeas corpus act and the establishment of martial law. These measures were brought forward by Mr. secretary Yorke (the brother of lord Hardwicke), on the 2nd of December. He justified them by the necessity which was created by the unsettled state of Ireland, and referred to the insurrection of Emmett and his fellow-conspirators, and to the trials which had taken place since the close of the former session. They were seconded by colonel Hutchinson, who acknowledged their temporary necessity; but he urged that the only way in which tranquillity could be secured, was to inquire fully into the grievances of Ireland, and remedy them. Several of the Irish members spoke in support of the remarks of colonel Hutchinson, and deprecated the position taken by ministers, that it was not a proper time for entering on such a question as the correction of grievances. In replying to some remarks of Mr. Burroughs, the member for Enniskillen, who objected to the renewal of the martial law bill, lord Castlereagh said, that "the late mad attempt at rebellion showed how much improved the state of the country was, and he had no difficulty in ascribing to the operation of the measure which the honourable member had objected to, that augmentation of loyalty

which had been obtained during the interval which had taken place betwixt the rebellion of 1798 and the late attempt of a handful of deluded and desperate individuals. The experience of past consequences was the strongest inducement to renew the measure at the present moment. The use that had been made of the measure was a wise reason for again resorting to it. Though the government was vested with extraordinary powers, there was no reason to be apprehensive that they would be wantonly employed. The circumstance of government being vested with these powers, was the means of enabling them to resort only to the civil tribunals of the country. The civil tribunals, notwithstanding the existence of these powers, had been appealed to, and the result had been equally honourable to the laws and to the individuals to whom the extraordinary powers were delegated. This ought, in his opinion, to operate as an additional inducement to grant extraordinary powers, when it was ascertained that they were not in any instance abused—when discretion was employed, not in suspending, but in encouraging the operation of ordinary tribunals of justice. The great principle which a wise legislature wished to act upon, was a principle of precaution. Its object was to prevent, and not punish crimes after they were perpetrated. It might be argued, that there was at present nothing in the situation of Ireland to justify a measure which went to the suspension of the ordinary privileges of the constitution. The recent attempt at rebellion had not surely escaped the notice of gentlemen, and it could not in fairness be pretended that tranquillity could be so soon restored as to supersede the necessity of a measure, thus signally experienced by the timely interference of the legislature. A great deal of detailed misery which had formerly afflicted the loyal part of the community had been avoided; for every man who was acquainted with the situation of Ireland, knew that such scenes of detailed misery could not have been prevented, unless government had been armed with the powers adequate to the nature of the circumstances in which the country was placed. On the principle that it was wise, on the first appearances of the late rebellion, to arm government with these powers, he would contend that it was equally wise at the present moment. It would not be denied, that among those deluded individuals who constituted the

remains of the rebellion, every effort would be made to interrupt the continuance of tranquillity, more particularly when they were encouraged by the expectation of deriving foreign aid, from the enemy holding out threats of immediate invasion. It was, therefore, to those individuals themselves, an act not of severity, but of mercy, to continue the operation of the measure in question. It was necessary, by vesting government with these extraordinary powers, to convince them that perseverance in their treasonable designs was hopeless, before they could be induced to return to the habits of peaceable allegiance. When they found that they could not take a single step without being watched—when they saw that their pursuits could be blasted in a moment—when they perceived that government possessed the means of instant and signal punishment, it might be reasonably supposed that they would be induced to abandon pursuits evidently leading to inevitable ruin. It was barely an act of justice to make them take up such a view of their conduct and situation. The idea of rebellion ought to be banished from their thoughts, by showing them that it was a project altogether impracticable. On every consideration of experience, of policy, of justice, and of mercy, he was decidedly for re-enacting the bill. He trusted that the honourable gentleman would not contend that at least the re-enactment of the bill ought to be deferred. Nothing appeared to him so likely to encourage the loyal part of the community, which had such powerful claims to support. Nothing could so effectually discourage the designs, or extinguish the hopes of the disaffected. It was necessary to let the disaffected see that the government possessed the confidence of the legislature, and that they would receive whatever support the exigencies of affairs required. To refuse to invest government with powers which there was no danger of seeing, in any instance, employed with harshness, would elate the spirits of the deluded victims of rebellion, while it would paralyze the exertions and augment the fears of those firm and patriotic friends of the constitution whom it was the duty of parliament to support by every possible extension of liberal provision."

Both acts were opposed in their different stages on the ground that parliament ought not to be asked to take steps of such importance, until full information had been

laid before them on the state of the country which required them, and they called loudly for an investigation of the condition of Ireland. It was represented that the insurrection was acknowledged to be of an insignificant character, that it had been put down and the authors brought to punishment, and that the country was described in the speech from the throne as being in a state of tranquillity. There must, therefore, be circumstances unknown to parliament to induce ministers to call upon them to suspend the liberties of a whole people.

"The sum of their information," Colonel Craufurd (the member for East Retford) said, "if it could be called such, was, that the rebellion was suppressed, and that expectations of the continuance of tranquillity were entertained; this surely was a very strange kind of information to offer to the house as an inducement to pass a bill which could not be characterized as any other than a measure of severity. The extraordinary negligence of the government of Ireland had been the subject of animadversion this evening, and with the sentiments expressed by his right honourable friend who began the discussion, he most heartily concurred. The honourable secretary of state had endeavoured to show that such charges were unfounded, and he had rested his argument chiefly on the strength of the garrison, and the facility with which the rebels had been suppressed. But how did this representation accord with facts, at least with representations which had been given as such to the world. He had been informed that in the evening on which the insurrection burst forth the lord lieutenant had gone quietly to his country house as if no danger had been apprehended. The lord chief justice of the king's bench, though necessarily in the confidence of government, was not at all aware of any insurrection till the afternoon of the very day on which it exhibited itself in acts of public atrocity. But this evening the right honourable the secretary of state had in his place declared that government was aware of the projected insurrection that very day. How this declaration was consistent with the statement now made, he professed himself unable to discover. Credit was taken for the accurate information of ministers respecting the designs of the rebels, but it was admitted that the existence of their powder magazine was a profound secret. It certainly could not

be pretended that the government, ignorant of this very important piece of information, could be able to form an estimate, at least a correct one, of the force sufficient for the preservation of the tranquillity of the capital. But still ministers were indignant at any charge of negligence or want of sufficient information. How far they were entitled to be so, he left it for the house to decide. He had been informed of another circumstance, which was certainly no evidence of the foresight or information of the Irish government. It was very generally reported that so accurately were ministers informed of the intended rising of the rebels of the 23rd of July, that the regiments forming the garrison were provided with only three rounds of ball cartridge, and the yeomanry corps could not get a supply till after an interval of two hours. He had heard also a report, which, if true, still more forcibly demonstrated the shameful ignorance of the Irish government respecting the designs of the rebels. It was roundly asserted that, with the knowledge on the part of ministers of the intended rising on the evening of the 23rd, a certain proportion from each company of the regiments forming the garrison, had a few days before been allowed to go to the country to assist in a different species of work. Nothing could, in his opinion, more strongly discover a want of foresight; yet ministers took fire at the idea of the conduct of their colleagues in Ireland being censured for a flagrant deficiency of vigilance or talent. So far was he from agreeing with those who thought that this was not the time for discussing the affairs of Ireland, that he could not help lamenting the fact, that not a single expression had dropped from ministers expressive of their intention to adopt any measure for the conciliation of the unfortunate inhabitants of that country. The expression in his majesty's speech, alluding to the contrast between their situation and the situation of nations under the dominion of France, afforded him, and he was sure it would afford the inhabitants of Ireland, no great degree of satisfaction. He had hoped for acts of leniency instead of the renewal of measures of rigour, which could only keep alive feelings of animosity instead of inducing the Irish people to return to that cordial allegiance which could alone render them the bulwarks of the empire." The honourable gentleman sat down with saying that he should give his vote against the bill,

unless further information of its necessity were produced.

Mr. Francis followed Colonel Craufurd, and said, that he could not let a measure of such great importance pass without stating his opinion of it. "If his majesty's ministers have grounds sufficient to support so strong an act against a great portion of our fellow-subjects in Ireland, and so alarming to every other part of the empire, they ought to state those grounds to parliament. In fact, we were called upon to proceed without evidence in a manner which nothing but the clearest evidence can justify; that is, to put the kingdom of Ireland under martial law. I do not mean," said the honourable gentleman, "to bring any charge against the government of Ireland, until I know the contrary to be true. I must presume that they have furnished his majesty's ministers with facts and proofs adequate to the measure now recommended. What I complain of is, that ministers have not communicated those facts and that evidence, nor even the smallest part of it, to the house of commons. Necessity, I know, supersedes all argument. Let the case be ever so doubtful or questionable, or even criminal, it may find a justification in extreme necessity; but then, I say, prove it. You have no right to avail yourself of the plea until you have established the fact. All the evidence I have seen or heard of goes in the opposite direction. The only parliamentary document on this subject that has been laid before the house, is that passage in his majesty's speech which describes, in terms of the highest satisfaction, a general change in the disposition of his deluded subjects in Ireland, and his gracious confidence in the corrected judgment of those who had been misled out of doors; and even within these few days I have heard no other language among persons most disposed to favour the present government. But, when I came into this house, I find the case totally reversed. The measure now proposed indicates that Ireland is in such a state, and the occasion so pressing, that nothing less than extreme cures can save it; if the case be as violent as the remedy supposes, undoubtedly his majesty's ministers have a right to the remedy. If not, they call upon us to trust them with a dangerous power, which is not wanted, and by the very act of calling for it, run the risk of doing mischief in other senses, and counteracting their own purpose. By em-

powering the government of Ireland to proclaim martial law, they alienate the affections of the people whom they ought to conciliate, and, in effect, they invite and encourage the enemy to invade the empire in that quarter. For what does the proclamation of martial law, in effect, say to Bonaparte and to all the world, but that in Ireland we are vulnerable, and that there he may invade us with certainty of co-operation, and a reasonable prospect of success."

Lord Castlereagh replied to these speakers. He began by adverting to the charge of want of proper attention being paid by ministers, or the house, to the situation of Ireland. "He really was not aware on what grounds it was that such a charge was adduced. If it was because subjects of a delicate nature were avoided, and topics of discussion which could only be productive of dissension among a people too often hurried away by their feelings, instead of being guided by their cooler judgment, were abstained from, that the charge of inattention to Irish affairs and Irish interests was supported, he must take the earliest opportunity of protesting against such a doctrine. If any member conceived that any practicable measure could be brought forward for the advantage of Ireland, or any other part of the empire, it was his bounden duty to submit such a measure to the consideration of the house, and it would then be for the wisdom of the legislature to decide on its expediency, or its policy of originating some of those measures which, to some honourable members, might appear expedient and salutary. That, surely, was no argument to prove that the essential interests of Ireland, as far as ministers understood them, were for a single moment overlooked. It would not be argued, that because comparative unanimity at present prevailed, when the affairs of Ireland were considered, that there was, on the part of the house or ministers, any negligence or inattention to subjects which all admitted to be deeply interesting and important. It was not presuming too much to infer, that this unanimity on this subject arose from a conviction of the indisputable and imperative necessity of the measures which ministers proposed. He was sure that his right honourable friend did not hold such an opinion. He possessed an understanding too great, and feelings too liberal, to allow him to entertain such an idea for a moment.

As to the facts adduced by the honourable officer, he was ready at all times to meet an investigation, and satisfactorily to vindicate the conduct of the government of Ireland. If there was anything in their conduct at all deserving of censure, let it be fairly stated, and let them be candidly allowed to produce their defence. He took this opportunity, however, of deprecating the discussion of this important subject by a side-wind. Let facts be fully and honourably brought forward, and not frittered away and distorted. Let the whole conduct of the government of Ireland be considered, combined and arranged in all its bearings and relations, and then he should be ready to prove, that, instead of censure, it was deserving of approbation; instead of a charge of weakness, a confidence of foresight and energy. He had made these observations with the view of preventing an idea from going abroad, that assertions made with the greatest confidence were true, merely because they might sometimes happen to pass uncontradicted. Leaving these extraneous matters out of further consideration, the house had only to consider the question of necessity of the renewal of the bill.

"The speech of his right honourable friend did not seem to turn so much on this question, as on the conduct of the Irish government; a subject which was clearly uppermost in his honourable friend's mind. He begged the attention of the house while he stated what had been the grounds of the previous renewal of the bill. At its first introduction it was supported on the ground of the notoriety of the rebellion, and on that its necessity was admitted. It was renewed in 1799, when, though the rebellion was put down, there were partial insurrections in different parts of the country. At that period he allowed that two reports of a secret committee had been adduced to prove the necessity of the measure. He must, however, now be permitted to remark, that the expediency of such reports depended a good deal on circumstances. This was a mode of presenting information to the legislature and the public often highly advantageous. Occasions might occur, however, when the resort to it would be highly impolitic, and even dangerous. In such circumstances he thought that ministers now were placed. As to the propriety of presenting such information as the report of a secret committee would afford, it would be recollected that government was, even at

this moment, actively, and he was happy to add, successfully employed in tracing out even the remotest ramifications of the insurrection. While such inquiries were going forward, it would be a matter of peculiar difficulty to frame such a report as would disclose facts, the disclosure of which would not defeat the views of the government, and, at the same time, prove satisfactory to the legislature and the country. If a report were prematurely brought forward, government might be interrupted in its exertions to trace out the ramifications of rebellion. On the other hand, if the report was not detailed in its nature, it could not afford any criterion for judging of the necessity of a legislative measure, originating out of circumstances of peculiar emergency. To avoid the necessity of such a dilemma, it became necessary to resort to certain general principles which, while they were consistent with the greatest attachment to the constitution, were not incompatible with the idea of investing the executive government with extraordinary power, applicable to an extraordinary contingent crisis. He would not deny that the bill now to be renewed had never formerly been renewed where there was less actual or visible danger. He had no hesitation in applying this observation to all the periods of the renewal of the bill, from the time of its original introduction." He then took a review of the various renewals of the bill. "Though, however, he admitted that there was less visible danger; though he was happy to be able to state with truth, that the cause of loyalty had received a vast augmentation, while the numbers of the disaffected had materially decreased; still, however, there were traitors and malignant spirits in Ireland, bent on projects of the most atrocious nature. It was to counteract their views, it was to defeat their designs, that he thought the bill, as a wise measure of precautionary power, both expedient and politic. There was one other circumstance which materially strengthened his argument on this subject—he meant to allude to the menaced invasion of the enemy. In former times, in former wars, invasion had been often threatened, and perhaps at a certain period of the late war that threat was, to a certain degree, formidable. In no former period, however, had the threat of invasion assumed the same degree of consistency; and never have we had to encounter an enemy at once so malignant, and so well prepared for carrying

his hostile designs into effect. He had already adverted to the improved state of Ireland, but past experience demonstrated the imprudence of too flattering expectations of the continuance of this spirit. He wished in no case to depart from constitutional principles where they could be adhered to with safety; but the safety of the state was a consideration paramount to every other idea. This could best be secured by the renewal of the bill. The liberties of the people were as far as possible in every case to be respected; and it was his decided opinion that the renewal of the bill, while it was the most consistent with liberty, was the best pledge for the continuance of tranquillity. With respect to the observation made by an honourable gentleman (Mr. Francis) that the adoption of the present measure would tend to inspirit Bonaparte to make an attempt upon Ireland, as holding out to him the prospect of co-operation in that quarter, he entertained no dread on that subject; he was convinced that a consciousness in the mind of that man of the odium which uniformly accompanied his footsteps would point out to him the futility of such an expectation. The inhabitants of Ireland, when they joined their fate with Great Britain, and he, among the rest, anticipated the blessings which would result from that connexion; they were convinced that they enjoyed more happiness than even when they had a legislature of their own. They rested with firm confidence on the vigour of this assembly, and all the loyal inhabitants of Ireland were convinced that it had acted nobly by them."

Among other speakers on the measure was Mr. Wilberforce. It was remarked by colonel Hutchinson, partly in reply to him, "I perfectly agree with those who consider the re-enactment of the present bill as a most extraordinary exertion of legislative power; such a one as, in the judgment of a Briton, may almost appear unconstitutional; but, sir, the honourable gentleman under the gallery (Mr. Wilberforce) has given the true reason why a measure, which in this country would be exclaimed against as most severe, becomes unfortunately necessary for Ireland; namely, that its state is not like that of England: no, sir, there exists between the conditions of the two countries a melancholy dissimilitude, and it is only because I fear that the sad necessity exists for thus strengthening the hands of the executive in that country, that I am induced to

give my consent to the passing of the bills before the house. I do so in the hope, however, in the sanguine expectation, that the wisdom and justice of the united parliament towards Ireland will, at length, confer upon her those blessings to which she anxiously, and I must be allowed to add, justly looks; and that, by devising for her a system of extensive and harmonized polity, such as will ensure for the future the happiness and tranquillity of that people, a recurrence to such measures as these before us will be rendered unnecessary at any future period. I will not rake up the ashes of the dead, for the purpose of accusing your ancestors of cruelty and impolicy in the system they had adopted towards Ireland. I am ready with my countrymen to forget our sufferings, and to forgive our oppressors; and I do most solemnly declare, that, in looking wistfully to the future, I have no object but the prosperity of my country, and the consolidated strength of the empire. The proper subject for the consideration of parliament is speedily to inquire as to what ought to be done to ameliorate the situation of Ireland. It has been observed during the debate, that 'an improvement had taken place in the public mind, and that a better disposition was rapidly growing up there;' but I caution gentlemen not to allow themselves to be deceived as to the nature of that disposition: true, indeed, it was an increasing and improving disposition as against Bonaparte and his accursed satellites; but it did not, therefore, incline the more favourably towards a system truly vicious and defective, and approved by no honest-thinking man. The inhabitants of Ireland, when by the union they joined their fate with that of Britain, were, indeed, thought to anticipate the blessings, as a noble lord (Castlereagh) has justly observed, which would result from such a connexion; but I positively deny, that in these their expectations they have been satisfied; on the contrary, they have not advanced one step towards their accomplishment. It would, therefore, be preposterous to suppose, and most wicked to attempt to induce the house to believe, that there was a growing disposition of content and satisfaction, when there was every ground for the reverse; and I implore gentlemen not to be persuaded into any such most dangerous opinion. We who are deputed, on the part of Ireland, to assert her rights, to uphold her interests, and to enforce her claims, appear amongst you in

consequence of the most solemn engagements made to us on the part of your king and of the nation. I complain of the neglect and duplicity of the present ministers, which, if not calculated to alienate the affections, have at least marred the hopes, but, I trust, not irrevocably destroyed the confidence of the Irish people. I trust it is not in the power of those who have proffered union to be the cause of separation; and having sworn to uphold the throne of their sovereign and master, they will not, I hope, be suffered, by their conduct, to endanger the integrity of his empire. The responsibility they have incurred is possibly more than they are aware of. They are not to compare themselves with any other minister who has ever had to advise as to the management of Ireland; and should they persevere in their neglect and indifference to the interests of that country, he should hope to see them one day at the bar of another house, where the penalties, however heavy, which they might incur, would be but a poor and inadequate atonement for the mischief the prosecution of their present system is likely to entail upon the united empire. I venture to hope, that as so many gentlemen have so humanely adverted to Ireland, and have manifested a generous interest in her fate, that the house will speedily consider the means of relieving her; that while they give additional strength to the executive, they will, at the same time, think of administering some comfort to the people, not unbecoming the dignity of any government, or the wisdom of any legislature; to prove that it combines the power to repress rebellion with the determined disposition to remove all ground of complaint and dissatisfaction. Such is the course which any good government would gladly pursue, and which ministers, were they actuated by the principles of humanity, and an unmarrowed attachment to the entire of the empire, they would not fail immediately to adopt."

The bills were opposed in the house of lords with equal warmth, and with the same want of success. They were defended and attacked with similar arguments. The same complaints of the insufficiency of their information on the state of Ireland were made by the earl of Suffolk, lord King, and lord Grenville. The latter observed, that "when martial law was first introduced in Ireland, a rebellion of a most formidable nature raged with the utmost violence. That re-

billion, by the valour of the king's troops, and the spirit and zeal of the loyal inhabitants, was suppressed. As was to be expected, however, much rancour and much malignity continued to agitate those whose open attempts at rebellion had been defeated. When they found that they could not attack the king's troops, or the loyal part of the community in arms, it was necessary for them to change their mode of attack. A system of murder and intimidation was accordingly introduced, and a regular conspiracy was formed to interrupt the ordinary forms and proceedings of the courts of common law. Magistrates were prevented from performing the duties of their office at the peril of their lives. Judges were prevented from presiding at trials at the peril of their lives. Jurors were deterred from giving verdicts on the clearest evidence at the peril of their lives. Witnesses, at the same hazard, were deterred from giving their evidence. In a word, the proceedings of the civil and criminal courts of the country were totally suspended. A system of intimidation had, for the time, annihilated every form of law, and every privilege attached to fair and equitable justice. What was to be done under such circumstances? Some strong measure must have been immediately adopted, or the country must have been left a prey to all these horrors. The measure of martial law was adopted, and the effect which it produced on the restoration of tranquillity was immediate. Government, vested with extraordinary powers, was enabled to arrest the progress of these atrocious conspirators. Rebels, seeing the prospect of martial law before them, ceased to have any object in obstructing the proceedings of the ordinary tribunals. Things reverted to their former order; and the establishment of martial law, so far from suspending, was, in fact, the means of restoring the operation of the common law courts. It was from a contemplation of these circumstances, and a knowledge of these effects, that he had, on former occasions, supported the establishment of martial law in Ireland. Though he would not go quite so far as to assert, that these were the only grounds on which he could feel himself authorized in voting for a bill which went the length of establishing martial law in any part of the empire, yet he would assert unequivocally, that they were by far the strongest grounds which could induce him to sanction such a strong

measure. Having laid down this general principle, he begged leave to put it candidly to their lordships, whether any such evidence had now been adduced to justify the measure? Had the noble lord at all insinuated that any system of intimidation at present prevailed in Ireland? Were magistrates impeded in the exercise of their functions? Were judges unable to perform their duties without turbulence and anarchy? Could jurors not give verdicts according to the dictates of their conscience? Could witnesses not deliver their evidence without the dread of fatal consequences? He was confident that the noble lord would not make any one of these assertions. He appeared, on the contrary, to glory in the idea that the utmost tranquillity prevailed; that the proceedings of the civil and criminal courts experienced no interruption; that criminals were tried without molestation; and that they suffered the sentence of the law without any violation of the public tranquillity. He professed himself astonished, after such admissions on the part of his majesty's ministers, to hear them gravely asserting the necessity of establishing martial law in Ireland. He would concede to the noble lord, or any other of his majesty's ministers, that in case of actual rebellion, the proceedings of the civil and criminal courts must necessarily be suspended. Common law was, in that interval, annihilated. It was, during the continuance of such a calamity, virtually extinct. *Inter arma leges silent* was equally the institution of society and the dictate of reason and nature. He was far from wishing to dispute so obvious a position. But he must object to the introduction of any system to reconcile the existence of martial law and common law at the same period. If the courts of common law could go on with their functions, martial law was unnecessary and dangerous. On the other hand, if martial law were really necessary, the common law, however much the event must be lamented, must, for a period, lose its application and efficiency. On these principles he must, in an abstract view of the subject, disapprove of the re-enactment of the martial law bill. At the same time he had to lament what he observed at the outset of his speech, that he was so situated that he would not give a decided negative to either of the bills. He did not see sufficient grounds to induce him to think that they were necessary; but, as his majesty's ministers had declared them to

be necessary, he could not, at such a moment as this, oppose their future progress."

The mad attempt at revolution by Robert Emmett had produced disastrous effects on the social condition of the country. A new feeling of distrust was created, and the old hostility between the two great religious parties, which appeared to be softening down since the union, was revived. The orangemen became more active, and some men of consequence among the protestant party took the lead in the anti-catholic agitation which now manifested itself, and which appears to have been encouraged by members of the government. In the month of August, in the middle of the first excitement caused by Emmett's rising, the lord chancellor of Ireland, lord Redesdale, in transmitting to lord Fingall his appointment to be a justice of peace for the county of Meath, wrote him a long letter on the duties of his office, in which he reflected severely on the supposed disloyalty of the catholic body in Ireland. This led to a disagreeable correspondence between the two noblemen, which gave great offence to such of the principal catholics as were made aware of it. In the January of 1804 this correspondence found its way into print, and did much towards widening the breach between the two religious parties. Its publication was followed by a war of papers and pamphlets, attacking or defending the conduct of the Irish lord chancellor. The letters themselves became a sort of rallying point for the orange clubs, while they caused the utmost discontent among the Irish catholics.

In the middle of the discussion raised by these letters, the conduct of the Irish government was again dragged before the imperial parliament. Hitherto the ministers had evaded the demands for an investigation of the state of Ireland, and of the circumstances attending the late insurrection, and they had carried their measures of repression with comparatively little opposition. A feeling of the necessity of such inquiry was, however, gaining ground, and on the 7th of March an English member, sir John Wrottesley, rose in his place in the house of commons, according to notice, to move "That this house do resolve itself into a committee of the whole house, to inquire into the conduct of the Irish government relative to the insurrection of the 23rd of July, and the previous conduct of that gov-

ernment as far as relates to the said insurrection." The mover pointed out the heavy responsibility which had been entailed on parliament by the act of union, and the duty of instituting inquiries such as that for which he was asking. He spoke of the remissness of the Irish government, and the disaster which had resulted from its ignorance of what was going on even under the eyes of the castle. He defended general Fox, and threw the blame entirely on the lord lieutenant. Lord Castlereagh, in reply, defended the conduct of the lord lieutenant, and said that ministers objected to the motion, inasmuch as they had absolved from blame both the lord lieutenant and the commander-in-chief; and such an inquiry could only have for its object to gratify private resentment. Such an inquiry, he said, would be extremely inconvenient, as it would require the attendance in London of lord Hardwicke, as well as other members of the Irish government, during the investigation, during which time the administration of affairs in Ireland would be neglected. In defence of government, lord Castlereagh entered into details relating to the events of the 23rd of July. Mr. Canning, who spoke in support of the motion, described lord Castlereagh's argument against it as "a ground which might be urged against every motion that ever was made, or ever will be made, for any inquiry whatever into the conduct of any administration. It is not," he said, "in my opinion, wise to attempt to lay down any general rule to govern all cases of motions for parliamentary inquiry. The grounds in the present case are three. Two of them are of a general kind; the reason for or against the inquiry is not to be considered as conclusive on the one side or the other, but considered from both together. Each case of proposed inquiry in this house should be considered, not with reference to any rule that is supposed to be binding, but should be decided upon its own particular merits. It is injudicious to say that inquiries in this house are at all times improper, or at all times to be indulged; but the house will judge in each case as it appears before it; will judge when the topics are brought before it, whether the facts complained of are justly so complained of, and therefore ought to be inquired into, or whether they are assumed facts, and not to be considered; whether, in short, the accusation is justly made, or wantonly made; whether the resistance to it is made with a

sense of the integrity of the parties accused, and of the merit of their case; or brought forward to prevent its vileness and rottenness from being searched, and proceeds from an unwillingness to expose it. My noble friend, who now resists the present inquiry, has not been sparing in his general topics, but has urged them with a plainness of colouring hardly ever noticed before. What has my noble friend said against the inquiry now proposed? That it will take up the time, the valuable time of parliament. Undoubtedly it will do so. But how is the time of parliament, valuable as it is, to be applied at all? Is it not in the exercise of the most important functions? What but that of looking into the conduct of its government, to see whether the people are well or ill-governed; to see whether those who act in the government are deserving of confidence or not? How can this be known when complaints are most seriously exhibited, and offered to be proved, without an inquiry into the truth or the falsehood of such complaints? How can there be any confidence for the future, unless there is satisfaction as to the past? I must say, that the arguments offered in opposition to the present motion come with a peculiarly ill grace from the mouth of my noble friend. Sir, I voted for the union between this country and Ireland. I was then an English member of parliament; since that union I have sat here as an Irish member, and I will now ask, how is it possible for this house, the great bulk of which consists of English members, to refuse to inquire into a matter so generally interesting to the empire at large, and so particularly interesting to Ireland? Or am I to be told that I tricked Ireland, when I gave my vote for the union, as a member of parliament for England? That the valuable time of parliament should now be taken up in the discussion of this subject is, in my opinion, highly proper; for, had it not been for the union, the subject would have been long ago discussed in Ireland—in that house, at the door of which some of the outrages in question were committed. The very house in which the members would have assembled had nearly been a scene of action. They would there have most assuredly instituted an inquiry, whether they had or had not been properly defended by the executive government. But if the inquiry now proposed is to be refused, on the ground that the valuable time of parliament is not to be taken up with this matter; if this is to be

the specimen of attention, this the sample of diligence, this the scale of vigilance by which the anxiety of parliament for the welfare of Ireland is to be measured, I must repent of the vote I gave, as an English member, before the union, and in my present capacity of an Irish member, complain that Ireland has not her fair share of your attention. But not only is this motion supposed to be improper, on account of the valuable time of parliament which would be taken up by it, but it is improper also, because the valuable attention of my lord Hardwicke would be taken up by it. And it is asked how the government of Ireland is to go on if this motion is carried, for then he will be compelled to come over to this country for his defence? And here, sir, I must disclaim everything personal in the present motion. The noble personage supposed to be the most interested in it I have no knowledge of, otherwise than from the government of which he is the chief magistrate. I have no knowledge of my lord Hardwicke; I never saw him, nor ever heard of him but as lord lieutenant of Ireland. I beg leave to say, that I am not to be understood to intend anything personally disrespectful to that noble lord; I speak of him merely in his official capacity on this occasion; but still, when the question is, whether he has governed Ireland well or ill, I must be allowed to speak my mind freely, nor will I take the plea in bar which has been offered to this inquiry by my noble friend, that the noble lord has no time to defend his conduct. What if he be obliged to come away from Ireland? What if he be a valuable chief magistrate? 'I hope we have within the land five hundred good as he.' I see no absolute necessity for his remaining in Ireland. If he has incurred the suspicion of parliament, I see no reason why he should not be recalled, and brought before this parliament to make his defence, and another appointed in the office which he now holds. It may be urged, that this course would be indecorous towards the noble lord; but I would ask, whether a similar delicacy has been observed with regard to general Fox? Has it not been thought necessary to recal general Fox, even although it is admitted now that there was no objection to him? And why, if the lord lieutenant has incurred the suspicion of parliament, should not he also be recalled; It is now plainly admitted, that there was no objection whatever to the conduct of that

gallant officer, and yet he was recalled. I know not by what chain of necessity lord Hardwicke is so bound to the office of lord lieutenant of Ireland, that, however he may be accused, he cannot come home to defend himself. As to the arguments of my noble friend in bar of inquiry, he seems to have rested them upon three different grounds. First, that the government of Ireland had ample information; second, that the danger of the day was not so great as it has been represented; and, thirdly (a ground which has no relation to the motion), that since the surprise into which government was thrown upon that occasion, government has been vigilant. Now, if I were to admit the truth of this last ground of justification, if I were to admit in its full force the assertion, that from the moment of riot, or whatever it was proper to call it, on the 23rd of July, government has been the most vigorous, vigilant, and active that ever existed, yet no part of the accusation upon which this motion is founded would have been answered, for this motion is founded upon an allegation that they did not use proper precautions before and on the 23rd of July; the motion has no reference to anything which has happened since that period. Now it is complained of as a thing improper, that a better prospect has been held forth on the subject of the tranquillity and happiness of Ireland than ought to have been, or than the real state of things would warrant. And upon these topics my noble friend says that he has stated his opinion with no particular emphasis, but that what he said on that occasion was to be taken with shades and qualifications. Now, sir, my complaint is, that these shades and qualifications with which subsequent speeches of my noble friend abounded, were never made when the assertion of the tranquillity and happiness of Ireland was made. But when that assertion is complained of as being refuted by facts, then my noble friend turns round, and produces his shades and qualifications of what he said. This reminds me of the statement made by the chancellor of the exchequer last session, relative to the state of profound peace, in which that right honourable gentleman then represented Ireland to be. He insisted upon it, that when he talked formally of a peace, he did not mean profound peace; but that the words "profound" and "peace" were so apt to come together. Why they go together, I know not, unless, indeed, that

they both begin with a P. Now, I expect that ministers will deal fairly with parliament; I am of opinion that the words of ministers, especially when they are prospective, should be weighed well before they are delivered, for I do not understand the idea that men are to be called "nature's fools," for having believed the words of a minister; or, that it should be thrown in their teeth, that "none but fools could believe them." Now, the house is asked why they did not bring with them, when they believed the assertion that Ireland was likely to be tranquil and happy, these shades and qualifications to accompany their belief, so as to be prepared for what has actually happened? But these were not loose or vague assertions; they were the serious assertions of a gentleman well qualified to make them, and for that reason likely to obtain credit for them when made, from the great advantage he is well known to possess by local knowledge, and, therefore, it is not matter of wonder that the house of commons gave that assertion credit. But my noble friend has said, that upon the explosion in Patrickstreet, government began to think that all was not right. Now, that explosion was on the 16th of July; the insurrection took place on the 23rd. Here is a period of a week, during which nothing was done; no precaution was taken by this "wise, vigilant, and provident government," notwithstanding this abundant reason for precaution. The explosion happened on the 16th, which ought to have put ministers on their guard; nothing, however, was done until the 23rd. On the 23rd the insurrection takes place, and then, but not till then, government thinks of measures of prevention. Now, I must say, that if ministers did not believe there was danger after the 16th,—if they could not see it, there must be an extreme blindness; if seeing it, they did not provide against it, there was an extreme and culpable remissness. My noble friend found this a pinching part of the case, and therefore he took the usual course of very ingenious men upon such occasions; instead of meeting the thing itself, he endeavoured to call the attention of the house off from it, to another, namely, the supposed misinterpretation of his opponent; for he has said the number of pikes was not eight thousand, as had been erroneously stated, and so considerably exaggerated on the other side, but that there were only between three and four thousand. Now, my noble

friend ought to be correct upon the subject, because he has the best means of obtaining information; and when he made his statement, and endeavoured to divert the attention of the house to that which was not to the truth, or from pursuing that which was the truth, he ought to have taken care that he was accurate in his facts. And here I do not accuse my noble friend of an attempt wilfully to mislead the house; but I must say, he has some way or other failed to obtain correct information; upon this very subject, in which he has been correcting the honourable baronet in his statement, he is glaringly incorrect in his own. I hold in my hand a pamphlet, admitted, I believe, on all sides, to be pretty good authority, in which the fact upon the subject of the pikes, which my noble friend says, were only between three and four thousand, is stated so directly the contrary, and so entirely refutes the statement of the noble lord, that I shall beg leave to read a passage out of it. This pamphlet states, 'that the rebels had on this occasion thirty-six thousand four hundred ball-cartridges, scaling-ladders, pikes, rebel uniforms, &c., and colours; eight thousand copies of a proclamation of the provisional government, &c. ;' and that with regard to pikes, 'the mob having been supplied from the dépôt with arms, &c., there then remained the trifling number of between six and seven thousand pikes, &c.' But shall I be allowed to bring forward this assertion against that of his majesty's confidential servants? I trust I shall. And that the house may see on what authority this pamphlet rests, I will state who the author of it is. It is not a speculative or vague opinion of an individual who had no source of information on the subject on which he treated, but a grave document of perfect authority, no less than the speech of his majesty's attorney-general in Ireland, on the trial of Emmett; upon the accuracy of which, I apprehend ministers themselves will not affect to entertain a doubt. It has of late become the fashion in this country to run down the attorney-general's law; but I ask ministers, if they are ready, in like manner, to run down the attorney-general's facts? My noble friend has stated, that there were only three or four thousand pikes belonging to the rebels discovered. The attorney-general, in his speech addressed to the jury, the object of which was to persuade them to shed blood, says, that the number of pikes, after those who had been

discovered in arms had been supplied, was between six and seven thousand! Now, my noble friend shall take his choice. Did my noble friend make a wrong apology for the Irish government, in stating the number of these pikes too low? or was this prisoner, against whom this speech was opened, and who was convicted upon the proof of it, hanged upon a falsehood? Perhaps it may be said, that the speech of the attorney-general was an exaggerated statement of the facts; but I should think that a man in so grave an office, on so grave a subject—a man I do not, indeed, know personally, but of whom I have always heard much to his advantage as a professional man, and a man of honour—would not have exaggerated at all, for it was certainly a case in which he should say nothing but what was strictly correct, because it was a matter in which his fellow-creature was to be deprived of his existence. Now, if that learned gentleman did speak the truth on that most solemn occasion, my noble friend has been deceived in the amount of the arms of the rebels, and, consequently, in the amount also of the danger to which Ireland was exposed on the 23rd of July. But there are two ways of stating things in an argument, with both of which my noble friend is perfectly well acquainted, and of which he is always well aware: the one is to state and prove by facts; the other is to state a general result of assumed facts, and to prove nothing. My noble friend has taken the latter course, as most suitable to the case on which he was discoursing. He also claimed merit to the government for things which they had no concern in producing. He told the house that the bank had a strong wall, which I imagine will hardly be considered as a proof of the precaution and the vigilance of government. And as to the castle, although he admitted it would have been disgraceful it should have been occupied by rebels, he says, that if they had entered it in triumph, they would yet have found nothing in it. I hope ministers do not mean to invert this and say, that if they had entered the bank, they would have found nothing there too. But, surely, there is something in impression upon such an occasion as that of which I am now speaking. There is much to be considered in governing a people of high and quick feelings, and strong attachments; and, therefore, if the bank or the castle had fallen into the hands of the rebels; if either the castle or the bank

had been surprised, and taken, even if there had been nothing of value in either, it would have had a very bad effect on the feelings of the people of Ireland. I shall not follow my noble friend in the papers and minutes to which he referred, but all I can say is, that the statement did not strike me as having much in it. I may be wrong; my noble friend may be right; but nobody knows which of us is right; therefore let the house inquire, for that will be infinitely better than to depend upon assertions, unsupported by proof, in the speech of any minister, however respectable he may be as an individual. I have shown that my noble friend has suffered himself to be misled by defective information in one striking instance, and his other assertions may proceed from the same defective source. It has been said that the assertions of those who brought forward this were exaggerated."

In the course of this debate, which was carried on with some warmth, general Tarleton, who supported the motion, gave the following statement of facts from his personal knowledge. "The situation in which I was placed in Ireland," he observed, "enables me to form an accurate judgment. I was placed upon the Irish staff in last spring, but I was not ordered to join till after the explosion of the rebellion on the 23rd of July. I then lost no time in repairing to Ireland. On my arrival in Dublin some days had elapsed, and the transaction of the 23rd of July began to be viewed in different lights. I had opportunities of conversing with all parties, with the military officers, the commander-in-chief, the chief secretary, the officers of the volunteers; in short, with all those who were best enabled to furnish me with the means of forming an opinion; and the general impression of all I heard was, that the Irish government was taken by surprise. If the house goes into the inquiry, it will be found whether in fact it was so or not; but I confess that was the impression made on my mind. From what has come out on the trials, which Mr. Wickham directed in the best manner, I am sure he was convinced with me, that government was surprised. I will ask, if a powder-mill had exploded at Charing-cross, and no measures were taken by sir R. Ford to obtain information about it, would not every one be surprised? The explosion in Patrick-street was as near to the Castle as Charing-cross to this house,

or to St. James's, and active inquiry might have been the means of preventing the insurrection and bloodshed of the 23rd of July. With respect to the honourable officer (general Fox), the intelligence did not reach him till it was too late. Is it otherwise to be supposed that he would have put off the council of war, which he held in consequence, to so late an hour that one of the officers who attended at it was obliged to return back, the insurrection having already commenced, and the other found his safety in having a good pair of legs (which it is often very useful to have on such occasions), and being acquainted with the by-ways. The noble lord dwelt much on the strength of a garrison of four thousand men, and conceived the bank to be particularly secure, from being placed between the royal barracks and the sixty-second regiment. On speaking with the colonel of the sixty-second regiment, I was informed that the orders reached him so late, and from such a variety of quarters, that he could collect only sixteen men in sufficient time. The same officer informed me of the situation of a depôt of powder, of which he informed Mr. secretary Wickham, but that depôt was not discovered till after the rebellion, the ramifications of which were very extensive. I heard at Naas, the capital of the county of Kildare, that information had been conveyed from thence to government, but that it had been little attended to. I found that the conspiracy also extended to the south beyond Cork, where the conspirators learned, by means of telegraphic fires, the ill success of the insurrection in Dublin, before the king's officers knew it in Cork. It was by this information only that the insurrection was prevented from being general over the country. I do not think that general Fox, an officer who has done most meritorious service from a very early age, should be deprived of a command, superior in importance to every other in the service, without any reason being assigned for that privation. It was a command of much difficulty and danger, but there was the more room for reaping glory if the enemy should come. On these grounds, I conceive the inquiry to be loudly called for."

Mr. Fox interfered to defend the character of his relative, the late commander-in-chief, whom the government wished now to represent as never having been blamed, because they felt that his recal was a sufficient ground for the inquiry. After defend-

ing the general, Fox proceeded to observe: "It is impossible, in fairness, then to deny, that the Irish government does endeavour to defend itself, by attempting to blacken the character of the commander-in-chief. From this, however, two material inferences are to be drawn; the first is a personal one, and it is clear that the recal of general Fox was intended to imply a charge of misconduct on my right honourable relation, which is pursued up to this moment. The next is of a public nature, and it is, that the Irish government are aware that their defence is utterly untenable, unless they are permitted to throw the blame which exists somewhere on general Fox. They cannot deny that things are not right, but they would fain have it thought that they are not wrong. But an honourable gentleman (Mr. Dawson), thinks that he has a triumphant argument against the motion, because no Irish member came forward to make it. Having had that honourable gentleman with me on the question of the union, it may, perhaps, be a good answer to him to say, that one of the objections to the union here was, that it would tend to increase the influence of the crown in this house; and then it was prophesied, that of the one hundred Irish members, not one would be found to bring forward any charge against ministers. The prophecy in this instance seems pretty nearly realised. But, since no Irish member has thought proper to move the inquiry, we see that the *Dublin Journal*, with inferior authority, indeed, stated that the subject deserves inquiry, and the only objection to it is the inconvenience it might occasion to ministers at this critical moment. Now, the call for inquiry, even of the *Dublin Journal*, is important in every way; either as it speaks what is agreeable to the sense and feeling of a part of the people of Ireland, or as it speaks the sense of the castle, which, in the newspaper it influences, admits that blame is somewhere. To discover and decide where that blame really does lie, now remains for parliament. The honourable baronet who opened his motion with so much ability and good sense, asserts, and offers to prove the various facts. My honourable friend who spoke lately (general Tarleton), has likewise stated many important facts. But to these it is said, by the right honourable gentleman, they are all hearsay. Why, to be sure, they are hearsay; and what other ground has parliament to proceed upon in the first instance but hearsay? and what else can we have but

hearsay, unless the house will resolve to inquire? There has been some criticism employed by the right honourable gentleman on the word 'surprised,' as applied to the Irish government on the 23rd. After what had been admitted, almost by every person who had spoken, I did not expect to hear any dispute as to this point. Surprise may not necessarily imply blame. The greatest generals have been surprised. If the Irish government had fairly said, we have had so many false alarms, so much false information, that in this instance we have been surprised;—this defence might, perhaps, have been admitted: but they were not surprised! I have always considered surprise to signify being taken unprepared. If the Irish government had information at three o'clock, and were taken unprepared at nine, I must still think they were surprised; and they are the more inexcusable

if they did receive information and did not act upon it. This circumstance renders it more disgraceful, more unseemly. To be surprised, is *prima facie* evidence of neglect. If a ship is lost, a court of inquiry is held, because the rule is, that a ship ought not to be lost without an inquiry into the case, and this when there is not the slightest reason to suppose blame."

In the course of his speech, Fox spoke strongly of the mischief ensuing from the publication of lord Redesdale's letters to the earl of Fingall, and the same view was taken by some other speakers. The motion was rejected by a majority of more than two to one. Out of eighty-two who voted in the minority, three only were Irish members. It has been remarked, that in the parliaments which followed the union, the Irish members were not remarkable for their activity in the cause of their country.

CHAPTER VI.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE CATHOLICS; DEBATES ON THE FURTHER RENEWAL OF THE HABEAS CORPUS SUSPENSION ACT; ROMAN CATHOLIC PETITION, AND DEBATES UPON IT IN PARLIAMENT.



THE events of the year 1804 were calculated to disappoint and to irritate the catholics of Ireland, who had placed their hopes in the openly declared sentiments of Pitt. This minister was restored to power on the 12th of May, by the overthrow of the weak ministry under Mr. Addington, but in taking office, he accepted the condition insisted upon by the king, that he should abandon the question of catholic emancipation. The new ministry seem to have thought it necessary to adopt a policy repulsive to the Irish catholics, and there was an evident partiality shown towards the Orangemen, and an inclination to push the catholics into intemperate acts, which might serve for a reason against them. As might be expected, there was a renewal of agitation in Ireland, and the discontent had been increased by commercial embarrassments, caused by an exaggerated issue of

bank notes, and by some partiality believed to be shown in the distribution of the revenue. The discontent of the catholics increased towards autumn, and in the month of September, a great meeting was held in Dublin, to take into consideration their grievances, and petition parliament for relief. It was expected that this meeting would have led to some violent manifestation of discontent, but lord Fingall took the lead, and under his influence its proceedings were calm and temperate. The meeting was adjourned from time to time, at his recommendation, that its final resolutions might be cautious and deliberate.

The government pretended to see in this new threats of rebellion, and there can be no doubt that it gave encouragement to the disaffected. England was threatened by Bonaparte with an invasion, and secret emissaries are understood to have been again sent into Ireland to communicate with the remains of the republican party,

while a committee of United Irishmen was again pushed into prominent notice in Paris. This was assumed by the English ministers as a sufficient reason for again asking parliament to renew the bill for the suspension of the habeas corpus act, a measure which, under all circumstances, was probably prudent, and which does not appear to have been seriously abused; but it met with a very warm opposition in the house of commons. The measure was brought forward on the 8th of February, 1805, by sir Evan Nepean, who urged that the bill was rendered necessary by the existence of considerable disaffection in Ireland; by the avowed determination of the French to invade that country, and the preparations notoriously made for that purpose; and by the fact of the collection and association of a number of Irishmen with the forces designed for that purpose, and the actual sitting of a committee of united Irishmen at Paris, corresponding with the united Irishmen of Ireland, and stimulating them to continue in acts of treason. He was opposed by sir John Newport, colonel Hutchinson, and Mr. Windham, who demanded, as usual, fuller information on the state of Ireland, as a justification of such a measure. Pitt, now chancellor of the exchequer, replied to Windham with some warmth. He denied that it was necessary or customary to produce such information as the opposition required, when it had been thought expedient to suspend for a time the action of the habeas corpus act. It was well known that a revolutionary spirit was still widely spread through Ireland, and this was intended as a measure of precaution to defeat the designs of an enemy who was preparing to take advantage of that spirit. Fox combated the doctrines avowed by Pitt, and declared that he was not convinced of the necessity of the rigorous measure adopted by government towards Ireland during the last war. "The right honourable gentleman and his colleagues," he said, "appeared to me in every instance, to state insufficient grounds to call for the rigorous measures of the last war; but yet almost any grounds they urged at any time, were sufficiency itself, compared to those that are laid for the measure now proposed. How is the state of Ireland described, even by those who support this proposition? Why, that it is in general, and particularly in the province of Ulster, which is by far the most populous and important district of

the country, and once the most suspected of disloyalty, as sound, as well-disposed, and as loyal as any part of England. Here, then, we have a comparison made that enables us to decide as to the nature of the necessity that exists for the further continuance of such a bill. Here we have a rule and measure to guide our judgment—and, what is most extraordinary, furnished to us by the very men, who, notwithstanding, assert the necessity of this measure. But their reason for the assertion is truly curious—'because there are some disaffected persons in the country.' And where is it, I shall be glad to know, that such persons are not to be found? Are there not bad subjects of every kind to be met with, perhaps in every part of England? Yet, surely, no man will venture to allege that as a reason for extending the operation of the measure before the house to this country. Perhaps, some one may be found to do so. Possibly the right honourable gentleman may feel disposed to urge such a proposition. If he should entertain the wish, most certainly the adoption of the motion of the right honourable baronet will afford him a most encouraging precedent. Unless it be pretended that the measure of justice which is due to the people of Ireland is very different from that which belongs to the people of this country, and that different, nay, contrary principles of argument are applicable to the two countries, it cannot be said that the English nation enjoys the least security against the suspension of its constitution at the will of any minister, if the motion submitted by the right honourable baronet be acceded to upon such slight grounds, or rather upon no grounds whatever. I have stated, that I see not the least necessity for this proposition, and I always stated upon similar propositions in the course of the last war, that I never saw an adequate necessity for adopting them. This statement, my full conviction justifies me in repeating, and I say again to the right honourable gentleman, and to my right honourable friend also, that they never succeeded in their reasoning against my friends and me, but by mis-stating our argument. We continually put the question which naturally suggested itself to our minds, and which my right honourable friend has very properly put to night, namely, of what consequence is the discontent or disaffection of a few, if the great body of the people be sound and loyal? Certainly, the consequence is not

such as to warrant the suspension of public liberty; and I never imagined that any man would have the hardihood to assert in this house that it was. But the right honourable gentleman has exceeded my expectation. In the whole progress of his hostility to freedom, and the constitution of England, never has he uttered anything so dangerous and so alarming as we have heard from him to night. Never has he attempted to take so great a stride before. In addition to the existence of disaffection in Ireland, the right honourable gentleman states another reason for the adoption of the measure under consideration, and it is this, which he described in very lofty terms,—that we are engaged in war, and with an enemy who threatens to destroy our constitution and independence. I would ask were we ever at war with any power, particularly in France, that was not willing to destroy our independence, aye, quite as willing as the present government of France? I never heard that we were. It was, however, reserved for the right honourable gentleman to maintain that war is a good ground for suspending the habeas corpus act. But the right honourable gentleman states, that the enemy threatened Ireland with an invasion; and did he not also threaten Great Britain? Both these reasons, therefore, are as applicable to the one country as to the other, and would, as I said before, equally sustain the extension of the measure now before the house to both countries. When reasons of that sort, therefore, are stated, I must feel as much alarm for Great Britain as for Ireland. I approve highly the generous sentiments that have been expressed by the honourable baronet who moved the amendment. He feels a laudable tenderness and solicitude for Ireland, and so do I. But I feel also for Great Britain; and who knows how soon it may be doomed to suffer from the effects of that principle, which the right honourable gentleman seeks to establish in the adoption of the motion before the house?"

The bill, though warmly opposed in all its stages, was carried by large majorities. On the motion to go into committee upon it, on the 15th of February, the demand for inquiry and information was renewed, and resisted on the same ground, that the notoriety of the danger was a sufficient justification. Of this notoriety, the opposition denied the existence. "If," said Mr. Mar-

tin, the member for Galway, "notoriety were sufficient to warrant the suspension without inquiry, he should say that notoriety did not exist. He had conversed lately with many gentlemen from Ireland, who concurred in the opinion that the measure was not necessary to secure the peace of the country. It had been, indeed, spoken of as not likely to do harm; but such an infringement of the liberties of a people ought to be proved to be attended with positive good before it should be adopted. A bill of this description was not to be treated as lightly as a vote of credit. With regard to the secrecy so much contended for, and the danger and inconvenience said to attend inquiry, was there not considerable danger and inconvenience in exposing the affairs of the bank of England? and yet a committee had been some time ago appointed to investigate and make a report on that subject. Why should the people of Ireland be treated with less ceremony? As to the character of the lord lieutenant and his secretary, it made no legislative ground for so severe a measure as the present. He never knew a lord lieutenant in that country who was not represented as a very amiable man. He never heard of a secretary who was not said to be possessed of the highest talents, and overflowing with humanity and benevolence. But these accounts, coming from a certain description of persons, were not always to be depended upon. The flattery towards men in power was carried to such excess that he could recollect gentlemen having seriously asserted, and mentioned in public companies, that lord Holland was a much more eloquent man than Mr. Flood had ever been. These panegyrics were easily obtained, but he thought the people of Ireland would indeed be very hardly dealt with if they had no other security for their liberties than the character of those who may happen to be in power."

Among the speakers in favour of government on this occasion was Dr. Duigenan, who represented the county of Armagh. He confirmed the statement of lord de Blaquiere that Irish witnesses could not come with safety to London to give information before a committee. Assassination of persons known to have given evidence was very common in Ireland. The suspension of the habeas corpus could not prevent such outrages; but it certainly rendered them less frequent. "He had resided in Ireland from his youth, and he must of course know

its situation better than the honourable gentleman opposite; he took leave to say also, that he had a little more regard for it. The county of Waterford was notoriously disturbed, as was evident from the resolutions of the magistrates at a county meeting, at which the sheriff, a respectable member of that house, presided. An adjoining county also (Tipperary), the representative of which was present, was in such a state, that the houses of all loyal men who had not a number of servants, or a large family to defend them, were broken open and robbed of their arms, and these arms were certainly not intended for shooting snipes. The county of Carlow was the scene of nocturnal meetings, and so was the county of Limerick, the representative of which was also present. The city of Dublin itself was under the necessity of being patrolled every night, from the multitude of dangerous conspiracies and assassination-plots; sentinels were shot dead and maimed on their stands, and it was known that even committees were formed for systematising assassination. On all these grounds he thought the suspension indispensably necessary. We might truly say, *incedimus per ignes suppositos cineri doloso*."—Mr. May, another Irish member (representing Belfast), declared his conviction of the general loyalty of the north of Ireland; but in the south and west disaffection certainly existed. The suspension was necessary to satisfy the loyal, who, without this security could not sleep in their beds. It was necessary to keep down the majority of the people of Ireland, consisting of catholics, dangerously agitated and inspired by the confidence of French aid, with the hope of effecting a change in the establishment in their own favour. He was informed besides, that a strong measure was to be proposed from the other side of the house, to put the catholics on a state of perfect equality with the protestants; and if it did not pass this house, the suspension of the habeas corpus act would be necessary to prevent them from breaking out into violent outrage. Lord Temple said he had one word to offer in answer to the honourable gentleman who had spoken last but one, and a little to the last, both of whom had pronounced a libel on the majority of the people of Ireland—a libel which came particularly ill from the mouth of any one connected with that country. "He protested against the principles they maintained, and against the libel they had thrown out. He

protested also against the doctrine, that because he and his honourable friends did not represent Ireland, they could not feel for that country as warmly as the honourable gentleman (Dr. Duigenan). This was a charge of deficiency not only in the duty they owed to all the empire, but a direct charge that they did not pay the same attention to particular parts of it which was given by the persons representing these parts. He was sure it was not so, and he was happy the honourable gentleman was not supported in his insinuations by his brethren on that side of the house. If he and his honourable friends had not a right to interfere in the concerns of Ireland, the honourable gentleman must allow the principle a reciprocal force. He would here call to the recollection of the honourable gentleman the instance of the additional force bill of the last session, which was enacted for England, contrary to the sense of the majority of the English members, and on which the representatives of Ireland, and he believed among them the honourable gentleman, had claimed and exercised a full right of giving their votes. This, by the bye. Now for the honourable gentleman's arguments. The honourable gentleman, in answer to the alleged want of notoriety, cited a list of atrocities which appeared to astonish those in favour of the measure as much as those who opposed it. It would be as well, when the honourable gentleman should again be disposed to indulge the house with the recital of such a catalogue, if he would take the opportunity of telling us why, at the time the mover of the address, in answer to his majesty's speech, gave a flourishing representation of the tranquillity of Ireland, he did not stop him, and set him right, and prevent the house from carrying a false statement to the foot of the throne. If the honourable gentleman was so full to the mouth with outrages and enormities, he should not have sat silent on an occasion like that, and now for the first time, astonish the house with the production of this bead roll of iniquities. If half what the honourable gentleman had stated was true, his majesty's ministers were most negligent in suffering his majesty to take leave of his parliament at the close of that session, or to meet it at the commencement of this, without saying one word on the subject; and in allowing the parliament to go to the throne, with an address so little apposite. If no evidence could be had, at least a message

from his majesty might have laid a parliamentary ground for the discussion."—Mr. May, in explanation, said, he allowed the loyalty of the north, but disaffection existed in the south. "The lower class of the people were ready to rise at any time the appearance of a French force presented the opportunity, and it was necessary to keep them down with a strong hand. He did not mean to asperse the catholic gentlemen, who were good, loyal, and faithful subjects, but a low multitude, headed by a low and ill-educated clergy."

While parliament was thus occupied with measures of repression, the catholics of Ireland continued to meet and agitate, and at last, in the month of March, they embodied their grievances in a petition, which was signed by the duke of Shrewsbury, and lords Waterford, Wexford, Fingall, Kenmare, Gormanstown, Southwell, Trimlestown, and others. This proceeding was calculated to embarrass a ministry of which more than one member had formerly advocated their cause, yet government determined to oppose the petitioners with all its force. Since the desertion of Pitt, the catholics had put their chief trust in lord Grenville, who was chosen, on this occasion, to lay their petition before the house of lords, which he did on the 25th of March. It ran as follows:—

"The humble petition of the Roman catholics of Ireland, whose names are hereunto subscribed, on behalf of themselves and of others his majesty's subjects professing the Roman catholic religion:

"Sheweth,—That your petitioners are steadfastly attached to the person, family, and government of their most gracious sovereign; that they are impressed with sentiments of affectionate gratitude for the benign laws which have been enacted for ameliorating their condition during his paternal reign; and they contemplate, with rational and decided predilection, the admirable principles of the British constitution.

"Your petitioners most humbly state, that they have, solemnly and publicly, taken the oaths by law prescribed to his majesty's Roman catholic subjects, as tests of political and moral principles; and they confidently appeal to the sufferings which they have long endured, and the sacrifices which they still make, rather than violate their consciences, (by taking oaths of a religious or spiritual import, contrary to their belief), as decisive proofs of their profound and

scrupulous reverence for the sacred obligation of an oath.

"Your petitioners beg leave to represent, that by those awful tests they bind themselves, in the presence of the all-seeing Deity, whom all classes of Christians adore, 'to be faithful and bear true allegiance' to their most gracious sovereign lord king George the Third, and him to defend, to the utmost of their power, against all conspiracies and attempts whatsoever that shall be made against his person, crown, or dignity; to do their utmost endeavours to disclose and make known to his majesty and his heirs all treasons and traitorous conspiracies which may be formed against him or them; and faithfully to maintain, support, and defend, of their power, the succession to the crown in his majesty's family against any person whatsoever.' That, by those oaths, they renounce and abjure obedience and allegiance unto any other person claiming or pretending a right to the crown of this realm; that they reject and detest, as unchristian and impious, to believe that it is lawful in any ways to injure any person or persons whatsoever, under pretence of their being heretics; and also that unchristian and impious principle, that no faith is to be kept with heretics; that that is no article of their faith; and that they renounce, reject, and abjure the opinion, that princes excommunicated by the pope and council, or by any authority whatsoever, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or by any other person whatsoever; that they do not believe that the pope of Rome, or any other foreign prince, prelate, state, or potentate, hath, or ought to have, any temporal or civil jurisdiction, power, superiority, or pre-eminence within this realm; that they firmly believe, that no act in itself unjust, immoral, or wicked, can ever be justified or excused by or under pretence or colour that it was done for the good of the church, or in obedience to any ecclesiastical power whatsoever; and that it is no article of the catholic faith, neither are they thereby required to believe or profess, that the pope is infallible, or that they are bound to any order, in its own nature immoral, although the pope, or any ecclesiastical power should issue or direct such order; but that, on the contrary, they hold, that it would be sinful in them to pay any respect or obedience thereto; that they do not believe that any sin whatsoever committed by them can be forgiven at the mere

will of any pope or of any priest, or of any person or persons whatsoever, but that any person who receives absolution, without a sincere sorrow for such sin, and a firm and sincere resolution to avoid future guilt, and to atone to God, so far from obtaining thereby any remission of his sin, incurs the additional guilt of violating a sacrament; and, by the same solemn obligation, they are bound and firmly pledged to defend, to the utmost of their power, the settlement and arrangement of property in their country as established by the laws now in being; that they have disclaimed, disavowed, and solemnly abjure any intention to subvert the present church establishment, for the purpose of substituting a catholic establishment in its stead; and that they have also solemnly sworn, that they will not exercise any privilege, to which they are or may become entitled, to disturb or weaken the protestant religion or protestant government in Ireland.

"Your petitioners most humbly beg leave to show, that however painful it is to their feelings, that it should still be thought necessary to exact such tests from them, (and from them alone of all his majesty's subjects), they can with perfect truth affirm, that the political and moral principles which are thereby asserted, are not only conformable to their opinions, but expressly inculcated by the religion which they profess; and your petitioners most humbly trust, that the religious doctrines which permit such tests to be taken will be pronounced by this honourable house to be entitled to a toleration, not merely partial, but complete, under the happy constitution and government of this realm, and that his majesty's Roman catholic subjects, holding those principles, will be considered as subjects upon whose fidelity the state may repose the firmest reliance.

"Your petitioners further most humbly show, that twenty-six years have now elapsed since their most gracious sovereign and the honourable houses of parliament in Ireland, by their public and deliberate act, declared, that 'from the uniform peaceable behaviour of the Roman catholics of Ireland for a long series of years, it appeared reasonable and expedient to relax the disabilities and incapacities under which they laboured; and that it must tend not only to the cultivation and improvement of this kingdom, but to the prosperity and strength of all his majesty's dominions, that his

majesty's subjects, of all denominations, should enjoy the blessings of a free constitution, and should be bound to each other by mutual interest and mutual affection;' a declaration founded upon unerring principles of justice and sound policy, which still remains to be carried into full effect, although your petitioners are impressed with a belief, that the apprehensions which retarded its beneficial operation, previous to the union, cannot exist in the parliament of the United Kingdom.

"For your petitioners most humbly show, that by virtue of divers statutes now in force, his majesty's Roman catholic subjects, who form so great a proportion of the population of Ireland, and contribute so largely to the resources of the state, do yet labour under many incapacities, restraints, and privations which affect them with peculiar severity in almost every station of life; that more especially they are denied the capacity of sitting or voting in either of the honourable houses of parliament, the manifold evils consequent upon which incapacity they trust it is unnecessary to unfold and enumerate to this honourable house.

"They are disabled from holding or exercising (unless by a special dispensation) any corporate office whatsoever in the cities or towns in which they reside; they are incapacitated and disqualified from holding or exercising the offices of sheriffs and sub-sheriffs, and various offices of trust, honour, and emolument in the state, in his majesty's military and naval service, in their native land.

"Your petitioners, declining to enter into the painful detail of the many incapacities and inconveniences avowedly inflicted by those statutes upon his majesty's Roman catholic subjects, beg leave, however, most earnestly to solicit the attention of this honourable house to the humiliating and ignominious system of exclusion, reproach, and suspicion which those statutes generate and keep alive.

"For your petitioners most humbly show, that in consequence of the hostile spirit thereby sanctioned, their hopes of enjoying even the privileges which, through the benignity of their most gracious sovereign, they have been capacitated to enjoy, are nearly altogether frustrated, inasmuch that they are, in effect, shut out from almost all the honours, dignities, and offices of trust and emolument in the state, from rank and distinction in his majesty's army and navy,

and even from the lowest situations and franchises in the several cities and corporate towns throughout his majesty's dominions.

"And your petitioners severely feel, that this unqualified interdiction of those of their communion from all municipal situations, from the franchise of all guilds and corporations, and from the patronage and benefits annexed to those situations, is an evil not terminating in itself; for they beg leave to state, that by giving an advantage over those of their communion to others, by whom such situations are exclusively possessed, it establishes a species of qualified monopoly, universally operating in their disfavour, contrary to the spirit, and highly detrimental to the freedom of trade.

"Your petitioners likewise severely feel, that his majesty's Roman catholic subjects, in consequence of their exclusion from the offices of sheriffs and sub-sheriffs, and of the hostile spirit of those statutes, do not fully enjoy certain other inestimable privileges of the British constitution, which the law has most jealously maintained and secured to their fellow-subjects.

"Your petitioners most humbly beg leave to solicit the attention of this honourable house to the distinction which has conceded the elective, and denies the representative franchise to one and the same class of his majesty's subjects; which detaches from property its proportion of political power, under a constitution whose vital principle is the union of the one with the other; which closes every avenue of legalized ambition against those who must be presumed to have great credit and influence among the mass of the population of the country; which refuses to peers of the realm all share in the legislative representation, either actual or virtual, and renders the liberal profession of the law to Roman catholics a mere object of pecuniary traffic, despoiled of its hopes and of its honours.

"Your petitioners further most humbly show, that the exclusion of so numerous and efficient a portion of his majesty's subjects as the Roman catholics of this realm from civil honours and offices, and from advancement in his majesty's army and navy, actually impairs, in a very material degree, the most valuable resources of the British empire, by impeding his majesty's general service, stifling the most honourable and powerful incentive to civil and military merit, and unnecessarily restricting the crown, which encourages good subjects to

promote the public welfare, and excite them to meritorious actions, by a well-regulated distribution of public honour and reward.

"Your petitioners beg leave most humbly to submit, that those manifold incapacities, restraints, and privations are absolutely repugnant to the liberal and comprehensive principles recognised by their most gracious sovereign and the parliament of Ireland; that they are impolitic restraints upon his majesty's prerogative; that they are hurtful and vexatious to the feelings of a loyal and generous people; and that the total abolition of them will be found not only compatible with, but highly conducive to the perfect security of every establishment, religious or political, now existing in this realm.

"For your petitioners most explicitly declare, that they do not seek or wish, in the remotest degree, privileges, immunities, possessions, or revenues appertaining to the bishops and clergy of the protestant religion, as by law established, or to the churches committed to their charge, or to any of them, the sole object of your petitioners being an equal participation, upon equal terms, with their fellow-subjects, of the full benefits of the British laws and constitution.

"Your petitioners beg leave most humbly to observe, that although they might well and justly insist upon the firm and unabated loyalty of his majesty's Roman catholic subjects to their most gracious sovereign, their profound respect for the legislature, and their dutiful submission to the laws, yet they most especially rest their humble claims and expectations of relief upon the clear and manifest conduciveness of the measure which they solicit to the general and permanent tranquillity, strength, and happiness of the British empire; and your petitioners entertaining no doubt of its final accomplishment, from its evident justice and utility, do most solemnly assure this honourable house, that their earnest solicitude for it, at this peculiar crisis, arises principally from their anxious desire to extinguish all motives to disunion, and all means of exciting discontent.

"For your petitioners humbly state it as their decided opinion, that the enemies of the British empire, who meditate the subjugation of Ireland, have no hope of success save in the disunion of its inhabitants; and therefore it is that your petitioners are deeply anxious, at this moment, that a measure should be accomplished which will

annihilate the principles of religious animosity, and animate all descriptions of his majesty's subjects in an enthusiastic defence of the best constitution that has ever yet been established.

"Your petitioners, therefore, most humbly presume to express their earnest but respectful hope, that this honourable house will, in its wisdom and liberality, deem the several statutes now in force against them no longer necessary to be retained; and that his majesty's loyal and dutiful subjects, professing the Roman catholic religion, may be effectually relieved from the operation of those statutes, and that so they may be restored to the full enjoyment of the benefits of the British constitution, and to every inducement of attachment to that constitution, equally and in common with their fellow-subjects throughout the British empire."

The petition was laid on the table for the deliberate consideration of the lords, and it was not till the 10th of May, that lord Grenville moved for a committee of the whole house on the subject. In a long and eloquent address, he urged upon the lords the necessity of considering the question calmly, and setting aside all prejudice and party feeling. "I would begin," he said, "with that which is the system, the fact, and foundation of the whole proceeding, but which simply and plainly appears to me hardly to have made the least impression on the minds of those who are averse to the petition; I mean the fact, that you have in the united kingdom, consisting of three million, according to the lowest, and of five million, according to the highest computation, of fellow-subjects, who have been brought up and educated in the catholic religion, who profess that religion, who are attached to it, whom therefore you must consider, for every purpose of government, as persons to be treated as Roman catholics. When this question is brought before you, you are not to consider it as we in this country are apt to look at the Roman catholics,—as a body of men, however respectable, small in number, and forming only an exception to the general mass of population; but you are to consider, that in that part of the united kingdom called Ireland, three-fourths of the population are of the description of Roman catholics; that it is impossible for you, in taking any one single step towards providing for the exigencies of government, the happiness of the people, or the various matters com-

mitted to the legislature, ever to lose sight of the fact that three-fourths of the people of Ireland are Roman catholics, and must be provided for as Roman catholics. If I am asked, whether, supposing a man could regulate the thing by a wish, it would be desirable that the union which we have established in government, should prevail in matters of faith? I have no hesitation in saying, that it would be a happy thing indeed, if we were all united in our religious, as well as in our political and constitutional opinions. But we are to consider the question, not as we wish it, but as it is, as it has been since the revolution, and as it is likely to continue beyond any period of legislation we can contemplate. This being the case, I hope there is no man, who, merely because he wishes there was not this body, flatters himself that he may shut his eyes to the population of three-fourths of the country, and content himself with saying, 'I will provide for that which belongs to the protestants, but I will take no cognizance of the other larger proportion of the population.' I hope no man entertains such an opinion. If he does, I wish him to cast his eyes back to any period of the history of this country, and to point out what moment there was in which the distinction of religious faith, as it regarded the concerns of the large population of catholics, did not form, I will not say a leading circumstance, but the leading circumstance in the situation of the country; and I would ask him, whether he thinks it would be possible to carry on the legislation of the country, if parliament should shut its eyes to that which constitutes the leading circumstance and feature of the country. That parliament has always acted upon this distinction of religious faith, is a fact which I will not detail by long historical narration, because I take it for granted that your lordships have a full knowledge of the subject. It will be abundantly sufficient if I refer your lordships to what, since the revolution down to the present reign, and from the present reign to the present moment, has been the system. At the period of the revolution, this great mass of the population of Ireland was unhappily connected with political opinions adverse to the principles of the revolution. I believe I may state, without any deviation from the truth of history, that from the concurrence of circumstances familiar to all your lordships, the catholic opinions were at that time in-

timately blended with political opinions adverse to the government of the protestant interest. A great difficulty arose out of this fact, to those who wished to maintain the relation between Great Britain and Ireland. It was not to punish religious opinions, not to put down religious opinions, not even because the catholic religion, as such, implied particular civil opinions in church and state, but it was because those opinions were connected with opinions favourable to the exiled family, that it was found expedient to exclude the catholics from certain objects of participation in the constitution and government of the country. I conceive it is not necessary for me to arraign the policy of the measure. Whether it was expedient, depended on local circumstances, of which it would be difficult to judge at this distance of time; but this at least we know, that the situation of that day, is not the situation of this day. In justice to the memory of one of the greatest princes that ever existed on the face of the globe, and one of the warmest friends of liberty and toleration, let me say, that it is not to the memory of king William that we must attribute the measures that were taken afterwards. We may confidently say, they were measures forming no part of any system that could have obtained his approbation or concurrence. In a subsequent reign the system was this: an opinion was maintained that the catholics of Ireland, merely because they were catholics, must continue the irreconcilable enemies of the protestant establishment of Ireland, and the protestant government of England. That no kindness, no protection, no lapse of time, no community of interest, no intercourse, nothing could reconcile the eternal hostility of the catholics to the government of this country. Upon that assumption, incapable of proof by argument, the next principle adopted was this, that it was therefore necessary, not only to exclude Roman catholics from all participation in the government, and from all share in the constitution, but that they were not to be allowed even any influence, because influence led to power; not to be allowed to acquire any property, because property led to influence; not to enjoy the free toleration of religion, or the ordinary rights of marriage; not to be permitted to have the least intercourse with one set of the king's subjects. Means were devised by penalties, proscription, and disabilities, to drive the

whole catholic population from the island, or to reduce them to the state of a poor, ignorant, illiterate peasantry. Such was the principle; and, as it has been said by a great man, never was a system more admirably calculated to produce the object it had in view. The effect of it was, that those who were deprived of the benefit of education were kept in entire ignorance; those who were excluded from acquiring property, were left to languish in extreme poverty. Those who were persecuted, oppressed, and excluded from intercourse with their fellow-subjects, became altogether alienated from society; and in proportion, their minds were exasperated against their oppressors. If I could entertain the smallest question as to the impression on your lordship's minds by this statement; if I had the least doubt of the detestation with which every individual in the country considers such a system, I should perhaps have avoided stating the fact. I state it for this reason, because it enables me to exhibit the pleasing contrast of the measures adopted during the period of his present majesty's reign. I speak now of the period in which his majesty found three or four million of his subjects in the state I have described. I desire your lordships to consider what has been the conduct of his majesty's government; what has been the object, and what have been the consequences it has produced. I would desire you to consider the striking contrast afforded by the better system of policy during the present day; a system of gradual amelioration, by measures which have been the more effectual, because they have been gradual; measures which, by their mildness, have reversed the whole of the former system. It is perhaps hardly to be credited, that it was necessary, in the reign of the sovereign under whom we live, to pass an act to enable the Roman catholics to intermarry with the rest of his majesty's subjects. You have given them a full toleration, and the benefits of education; you have taken away those odious measures which produced the disunion of families; you have restored the industry of the country, by granting to the people a participation in the soil, and by allowing them to share in its benefits; you have extended to them all the advantages they are entitled to, except one, the most important of any you have given them, the exercise of the elective franchise, and a share in the executive administration. You have done

this, and the result has taken place which the measures were calculated to produce. By degrees the wealth of Ireland has extended itself. Few countries, if we except the calamitous period of the rebellion, even in so short a time, made such improvement in agriculture, commerce, wealth, and general civilization. When you gave this encouragement to agriculture in Ireland, and adopted measures to increase the prosperity of the country, you were aware that the augmentation of wealth would first show itself in the lower and middling classes of society. As the country advanced in wealth the people derived a greater share of influence, and you found it necessary to give them some share in the constitution. By the magnanimity of Great Britain you acknowledged the right of an independent government. This state of things brought you to the year 1792, when, by a measure which every one will reflect on with pride and satisfaction, you at last extended to the catholics of Ireland a participation of all the privileges of British subjects, with exception of those referred to in the petition. You gave them the privilege of voting at elections for members of parliament; you allowed them to be appointed to all offices except the small number mentioned in the act of Irish parliament. Here, then, was the fact of a system gradually pursued up to this period; and here for a time a stand was made, not, I hope, on the opinions of those who made it, that it was right to take a fixed stand, and say, we will admit you to these privileges, but from all beyond them we must exclude you. The reason, I apprehend, was entirely different. It was because the system of amelioration had not been sudden, but gradual; because experience had shown you, that denying a privilege at one period did not infer the expediency of denying it at another; because, when adopting measures of such extent, and operating so much on the passions of men, it was necessary to know what you would give without interruption to that harmony which it was your wish to maintain, in order that it might appear that what was given, large as it was, was granted with a liberal hand, and that the manner of the gift might tend to conciliate the minds of those to whom it was given. Independently of these considerations, there are others of great, I may say, almost decisive weight. I have no difficulty in stating, that they are considerations which make it doubtful whether these privileges

could have been given in the Irish parliament without the risk of something like a convulsion. In the first place, the parliament of Ireland, particularly the popular part, was constituted, not as ours is, rising up by a concurrence of accidental causes, and producing a just expression of the sense of the country, but it was constituted with the precise object of making the legislature a protestant one, to the exclusion of three-fourths of the population. You know, that when a large addition was made to the representation in the house of commons in Ireland, it was for the purpose, and with a view of rendering it as exclusively protestant as possible. It was a question much agitated, whether, if the right of sitting in the parliament of Ireland was conceded to the catholics, a grant of that nature would be made without leading to consequences which no man would venture to foresee. Another difficulty arose of great moment, which was, that supposing the objections were not so well founded as they were judged to be, or being well founded, measures had been proposed to remove them without danger or mischief, and that the parliament of Ireland could have been open to the catholic population of the country, it might have probably occurred to inquire whether such a measure would have been consistent with the interests of Ireland with reference to this country? I ask not your lordships, whether these difficulties ought to have existed. No man can deny that they did present themselves, and were considered of great weight. It happily is the case at the moment I am addressing you, that by a measure which I trust has rendered the most lasting benefits to the British empire, these difficulties are removed. By the operations of that great measure, the union of the two kingdoms, the objection that arose to the forms of the Irish parliament have no bearing on the representation of the united parliament. The other objection is also removed, because whatever influence and weight you would have given to the proportion of the catholics over the parliament of Ireland, exactly the same must be given to the proportion of the protestants of the parliament of the united kingdom; therefore you come to the question unfettered by the difficulties which prevented the adoption of the measure before, and, in the opinion of many, would have made it impossible to have carried it into effect in the Irish parliament. How-

ever, not only did the union remove these great and important difficulties, but it did two things more, which I trust you will not omit to bear in mind, on considering the motion with which I shall trouble your lordships. It did, in the first place, excite great hopes in the minds of the catholics of Ireland, that by the operation of the union they would be relieved from their disabilities. No authorised assurance was ever given, no promise was ever made to the catholics, that such a measure would be the consequence of the union; but it is no less true, that by the arguments of those who supported the union, by the course of reasoning, in doors and out of doors, hopes were given that the subject of catholic emancipation would be more favourably considered here than it was ever likely to be in the parliament of Ireland. Those who wished well to the union could not so far betray their trust as not to state, that one of the recommendations of the measure was, that it did seem to afford the only practicable mode of preventing the renewal of the disputes which had produced such calamities in Ireland. It was not, therefore, either from persons authorised, or not authorised, to make such assurances as to the effect of the union, that the hopes of the catholics were raised; it was from the nature of the subject itself that they entertained, and were justified in entertaining great and sanguine expectations that the measure would lead to the consequences so anxiously desired. This assurance was given to the catholics upon the authority of every man who spoke in parliament, whether in or out of office, that if the united parliament was assembled, they would undoubtedly be permitted to present their petition at the bar; that their petition would not only be received, but it would be deliberately considered; and that whatever difficulties had before stood in the way of the accomplishment of their object, it was impossible that the united parliament could refuse to give their utmost attention to the subject, to enter minutely into it, to examine it fully, not by one sweeping vote, but to pursue it in detail, and to investigate all the circumstances respecting the interests, state, and condition of that important part of the population of Ireland. It is this pledge which I now call upon you to renew. It is not now that I am going to call on you to adopt any measure. I shall state what is the measure you ought to take. All I have

to propose is, that having now, for the first time since the union, this great body of men coming before you with their petition, you will consider it with temper, and with a sincere desire to do all that lies in your power, to compose the animosities of that part of the kingdom, and to render all the subjects of the kingdom happy in the enjoyment of equal privileges, equal rights, and an equal participation of that constitution so justly entitled to universal admiration and respect. The question, therefore, which you will consider, and I shall conclude by moving, is, that the house will resolve itself into a committee, to consider the petition which has been read; and I hope it will not be forgotten that the motion cannot be negatived, except by those who are ready to say, not only that they are not prepared to go to the full extent, but that they will not enter into the consideration of the question. For my own part, I have no hesitation in saying, that, in my opinion, it is highly expedient the whole of what is asked in this petition should be conceded. What the union has imposed upon you is, the duty of providing in the most effectual manner for the real essential union of all the inhabitants of this kingdom; not in government, and policy, and law only, but in interests, in affections, in devotion to the maintenance of the constitution, and in that resolution with which we ought to inspire each other—a resolution to defend the country against all its enemies. The question is, in my view of the subject, a question of expediency to a certain degree; that is, I do unquestionably hold it to be for the benefit and safety of the whole country, that it should be adopted in cases where the safety of the whole empire requires it."

Such were some of the arguments which lord Grenville now urged in favour of the Irish catholics. He proceeded to dwell upon the loyalty and good behaviour of the catholic population in general, and to absolve the more respectable class from any participation in the rebellion; and to urge other reasons for listening to the petition of so large a portion of the population.

The motion was opposed by lord Hawkesbury, who declared himself opposed to all further concession to the catholics, and urged that the time was peculiarly unfavourable to the agitation of the question. He rested his argument principally on the danger of admitting to office and power

men who were known to be opposed to the established religion of the state, and he intimated his opinion, that they would be never satisfied until they had overthrown it. "In the year 1793," he said, "the elective franchise in the counties was granted to the Roman catholics of Ireland. This was considered at the time to be a great boon to them, not so much on account of the political power which it bestowed upon them, as because it placed the catholic tenantry upon the same footing with the protestant tenantry, and afforded therefore to landlords the same inducements to favour and conciliate the one as the other. The practical effect of it has, however, been to produce in the counties of Ireland something approaching very near to universal suffrage. As the law stands at present, no great inconvenience is, however, felt from this circumstance; they can vote only for a protestant candidate; and the great mass of property being in the hands of the protestants, the tenantry, according to the natural order of society, will generally follow their landlords. But I know it is the opinion of some of the persons best informed of the internal state of Ireland, that, if the doors of parliament were once thrown open to catholics—if catholics could once declare themselves as candidates in the different counties—the influence of the priests would be exerted in favour of the catholic candidates as such, and certainly against the protestants. The result would be, that the influence of property would be operating on one side and that of religion on the other. Such a state of things would not only produce much internal confusion and disorder, but it would operate most injuriously with respect to the lower orders of the people, who would unavoidably, in many instances and on many occasions, become the victims of these conflicting interests. I am therefore clearly of opinion that, upon general principles, it is to the highest degree inexpedient to relax any of those laws which have been enacted for the security of the establishments of the country. The noble lord has stated, that he could not see any thing in the present times which could render it inexpedient to grant the prayer of the petition. As to this point, my lords, I view the subject very differently from the noble lord; I consider the circumstances to be so materially changed since the years 1800 and 1801, as to absolve from inconsistency any person who might have been disposed to support the measure at

that period, and who may nevertheless be determined to oppose it in the present instance. The French revolution, as I have already stated to you, was founded in part on atheism; it was calculated to occasion new and great dangers to Europe; the cause of civil society was at that time naturally and justly considered to be the cause of all religions against those who had none. The circumstances of the moment induced many persons to feel an indifference respecting the subject of all former contests. To a certain degree, this change in our policy might be not only natural, but wise; but, as it repeatedly happens, in our exertions to avert the present danger we were not at all times sufficiently considerate of the past, nor so attentive as we ought to have been to the future. However this may be, we have witnessed a great change in Europe within the last four years; the extreme of democracy has given place, as in the end it naturally must, to the most arbitrary power which was ever erected in any country; and the person possessing that power has judged it prudent to reconcile himself to the pope and to the church of Rome, as a support and assistance to his authority. Whoever considers the extent of the power of France at the present moment—whoever reflects that almost all catholic Europe, with the exception of the dominions of Austria, is in subjection to France—whoever contemplates the absolute dependence of the pope on the will of France, and, what never happened in any former period, that there is at present no counterbalance whatever at Rome to the influence of that power—whoever gives due weight to the considerations arising out of the nature of the connexion subsisting between the catholics of Ireland and the pope, and will attend to the circumstance that the catholic church of Ireland is under the control and superintendence of a college of cardinals at Rome, must be convinced that there never was a moment more unfavourable for augmenting their political power. On every sound principle of reasoning, this could not be considered as a proper time for bringing forward such a claim. Those who do not agree with me in objecting to the measure on *principle*, should nevertheless wait for the result of the contest in which we are engaged. They should feel that this was the time, of all others, when it would be peculiarly hazardous to part with any share of that power which, once parted with, it might never be

possible to resume, and which, if abused, it might be beyond our own power to remedy."

The motion was supported by earl Spencer, and combated by the ex-premier, Addington, who had been received into the ministry, and sat in the upper house as lord Sidmouth. He also now assumed a different language from that which he had formerly held, and spoke of the disloyal views of the catholics, and the danger of giving them power. "It was not," he said, "merely a civil right, but political power, in the most comprehensive signification of the term, which they sought to attain. One consequence of acceding to what they demanded in their petition would be, that their clergy would acquire an authority which they, with the peculiar tenets of their religion, and the facilities it afforded, it was much to be feared would convert to a dangerous use. He called upon the house to think of two such dangerous powers as those of excommunication and auricular confession, and then to say, whether they would open a door to all the dangers that might accrue to the national church from the employment of such engines. The catholic clergy, there was too much reason to apprehend, had never relinquished the hope of becoming the hierarchy of the country. He had the authority of lord Clare for declaring, that there existed consistorial courts in every diocese in Ireland, and that there had been a person residing at Rome, charged to watch over the interest of the Irish catholic church. The ostensible object, and perhaps the real object of the petitioners was plain enough; but was that object the object of the great body of catholics in Ireland? Would not that body be inclined to extend their views a little farther? Would they not naturally look to the exaltation of their clergy, and to divers other privileges, which could not be granted to them without imminent danger to the present constitution in church and state? If the house should manifest a disposition to concede to them even the limited object they demanded, it could not be done without certain sacrifice of the act of settlement. What, he would ask, would be the consequences at an election in Ireland, if the catholics should be allowed to become members of the legislative body? In this country we had seen the tumult and inconveniences produced by the attachment of a certain description of the people to an individual. Whatever they were, they would

be infinitely aggravated in that country, where numbers would be found contending with property. He could not bring himself to concede what was required by the petition. It seemed to him a monstrous and shocking proposition, to be called to place the catholics in a different state from the rest of his majesty's subjects, owing only a limited allegiance. He called on the house to preserve their protestant king and their protestant parliament, and to recollect that it was a protestant parliament which rescued the nation from the dangers of a popish king. He exhorted their lordships to follow the example of their protestant deliverer, and to resolve to die in the last ditch of the constitution, both in church and state, rather than abandon one principle of either. There were two roads before their lordships: one of them was that old, venerable, and well-known way, which had been struck out for them by their ancestors; in pursuing that they could encounter no dangers: the other was a way untrodden and dangerous, leading to innovations, the consequences of which no human foresight could reach. He was not prepared to rush heedlessly into a path leading to such desperate results, and would consequently oppose the motion for referring the petition to a committee."

Lords Mulgrave and Holland spoke in favour of the catholic claims. "Would the noble lords," said the latter, "really call the periods when those laws had been enacted and enforced periods of tranquillity? Had they contributed to banish division and discontent from the country? Was this the state of Ireland which history would justify? On the contrary, did we not see in those laws the cause of perpetual dissensions, and the means by which every discontent was apt to become rebellion, dangerous to the state? The arguments against the motion were divided into two; those against the principle of repealing the restrictions on catholics, and those against the measure, not on its own account, but on account of the time. The noble secretary of state observed, that on a person coming into the house, and hearing the motion and the arguments in favour of it, he must imagine that it went to the repeal of the whole bill of rights and act of settlement, and to erect the catholics into a complete ascendancy in the empire. The noble lord said, too, that the repeal of the test act was a minor object compared with the claims

of the catholic petition. But was it a fair consequence to say, that because it was deemed prudent to place the catholics, in point of admission to power, on the same footing with protestant dissenters, it would be of consequence necessary to admit the protestant dissenters to some privileges they do not now enjoy? To do so might or might not be wise and expedient, but it by no means followed as a necessary consequence of granting the catholic claim. Surely, it was a strange argument to say that the catholics must be kept under a severe grievance, lest some other class, with which the catholics have nothing in common, should ask something else. Those, then, who were for negating the motion, must either do so as considering the code as to the catholics already what it ought to be, or that this was not the proper time. The noble baron, however, contended that all nations acted on the principle of tests. He forgot, nevertheless, that in this very house the principle of test was not pushed to the extent for which he argued, for there were persons admitted to sit in it who did not concur in the religious doctrines of the church establishment. Those persons might be liable to test if they accepted offices, but they were not prevented from sitting and voting in parliament, which the catholics now were. Besides, did the noble lord not perceive of civil right, and the enjoyment of political power, that the one was often nugatory without the other, and that political power was the only security for civil right? Here then this argument, that toleration is complete, is defective. Could the noble lord look at the situation of Ireland, and not know that from want of political power to raise them from degradation, that for want of political power to render effectual the indulgences which the law has conceded, many of those indulgences were vain and useless, and until they obtained that share of political power, the rest would be merely nominal? He (lord Holland), had not of late been in a situation to hear much of the grievances of Ireland, but he could not but conclude, that the privation of political power was of itself a great hardship. One reason why the people of this country made great sacrifices with cheerfulness was, that they loved the constitution in which they shared; but could it be expected that the Irish catholics, deprived of that share, could love the constitution so well, or be so zealous to sacrifice everything in its de-

fence? Besides, was it not perfectly well known, that when the union took place, the Irish catholics had the best reason to think that they in particular would be benefited in their political rights by that measure; and if their claims were rejected, by some, too, who had fostered those hopes, must they not be filled with indignation? Must they not feel that they had been deluded and abused? Must they not feel that they had not received that share of the constitution which we promised to them? Privileges of importance, formerly denied, had gradually been conceded, but without others, those would be fruitless."

The bishop of Durham opposed the motion, on the ground that further concession would be to break down the barrier which protected the protestant church, and he stated the arguments against it in the light in which it was viewed by a great proportion of its opposers. "Religious toleration," he said, "is the primary principle and peculiar characteristic of our established church. By the practice of it we have been habituated to respect and revere even the errors of the conscientious christian; and we have been enabled to preserve harmony and good will, not only between protestant sects, but between every denomination of christians. Under these impressions, my lords, I have attentively perused this petition. I have endeavoured to discover what extension of personal toleration is asked, that can be consistent with our civil and religious establishment. I have not considered what they would have given to us, but what we could with safety give to them; not what we might in justice have refused, but what we would in kindness have granted, as the offering of affection and good-will. How far it has been our disposition to show, not merely toleration, but real and active beneficence, to persons differing from us in articles of faith, may have appeared by the reception and protection which this country has recently afforded to the French priests, where to religious prejudices was superadded political danger; and when we had no security against the introduction of spies and enemies, nor any reasonable assurance that there might not be individuals among them desirous of purchasing their return on almost any conditions which the usurped power of the French government might think proper to dictate,—in that instance we had also to encounter religious danger from the bigoted spirit of conversion, which characterises

their religion; from the unfavourable sentiments which they had nourished from their earliest infancy with respect to English protestants, and from a peculiar species of domineering intolerance which distinguishes the French from all other nations. And yet these considerations, my lords, did not deter us from receiving them with all the warm charity of christians, and the liberality of Englishmen; exhibited not merely by the higher orders in the hour of plenty, but by the poor and necessitous at a period of general scarcity. If we could do so much, and do it so willingly, for foreigners and enemies, can it for a moment be supposed that we are not prepared to show every degree of warm and affectionate kindness to our friends and fellow-subjects in Ireland? Can it be imagined that we shall not be ready to forget every difference of opinion, and to endeavour to promote their happiness and improvement to the utmost of our power? In looking to the welfare of the great mass of Roman catholics in Ireland—I mean that useful body of men which in every country must compose the most numerous class of its inhabitants—it will be wise and benevolent so to use the power which the constitution has placed in us, as a part of a protestant legislature, as to do for them individually all that (were the power in their hands) they would be wise in doing for themselves. In this view, my lords, it may be a subject for our consideration, how far we can better provide for the discharge of their religious duties, and how far we may with propriety assist them in that respect. We may inquire how far we can improve their temporal condition, by supplying means and motives of industry, and by every exertion of kindness which can promote their domestic comfort, improve their character, and ameliorate their condition; and we may endeavour to make a more general provision for the education of their children, not interfering with their religious tenets, but attending to their instruction, to making them useful to themselves and to the community, and to giving them the unequivocal advantage of religious and moral habits. These, my lords, I looked to as the objects of this petition. But what do I find in it? Nothing that is to promote the social and domestic habits of the labouring class, or to improve their resources. Nothing, my lords, that is to have a general operation in bettering the condition of our catholic fellow-subjects in Ireland, or that is calculated to do more than to give certain

privileges and influence to a very few opulent individuals among them. In short, my lords, this is not a petition for toleration, but a demand of power. It is a complaint, that the present system detaches from property its proportion of political weight and influence; and it asks of the legislature three things:—the right of sitting in parliament, of exercising corporate offices, and of being subjected to the burthen of acting as sheriffs of counties. The first comprising the functions of legislation, the second the privilege of corporate franchise, and the third the important delegation of his majesty's executive power in every county of Ireland. These, my lords, are powers of no inconsiderable magnitude. But before we grant them let us at least pause, until we have ascertained how far their effects may extend; and whether, after such a concession, we shall, or shall not, be able to obtain toleration for our protestant fellow-subjects in Ireland. Let us pause until we have well considered the guards which the English constitution has placed over our established church. And, while we sedulously grant every reasonable indulgence to the scruples of the conscientious, let us keep inviolate the barriers of our religious and political constitution, and preserve that entirety which can only be preserved by its entirety. In the consideration of this subject, it will be necessary to advert to the superior number of papists in Ireland; to the peculiar powers which their clergy exercise over the laity; to the general connexion of that clergy with a foreign power; and to the degraded and servile dependence of the head of their church upon a state extremely inimical to this country. We must also advert to the irritation of recent hostilities; and not merely to the probable consequences to the Irish protestants, but also the danger to the catholics themselves; and, I may add, to the indelicacy, not to use a harsher term, of placing increased power in their hands, circumstanced and connected as they at present are. It will also be important that your lordships should consider the consequences as to other sects. Whether you can refuse to any Irish protestant what you grant to every Irish catholic? And, again, on what ground you can give to the Irish catholics that which you withhold from the catholics in England; and where, and upon what principle the line is to be drawn? All this requires serious and mature deliberation. It must again and again

be considered, and every possible effect and consequence weighed with the nicest and most attentive accuracy, and with the most patient continuance of labour, before a change so fundamental and unprecedented be adopted. For, my lords, if the bulwarks of our established church are in part removed, how will the other separated and insulated parts be protected? If, while it is entire and connected, it is the object of attack; if we have even now to exert ourselves in its defence, and to rally round the citadel to avert the danger which threatens it, what hope will remain to preserve it in its broken and mutilated state? On these grounds, my lords, I conceive this petition to be inadmissible; and I feel myself compelled to reject it, from a sense of duty to the established church, which, in my conscience, I believe to be the best constituted church which the christian world ever saw; from a sense of duty to that civil form of government under which, I bless God, that I was born and live; and from a sense of duty to my country."

Lord Redesdale, whose speech attracted the more attention on account of his recent letters to lord Fingall, made an elaborate statement of the question in reply to lord Grenville. He endeavoured to show that to grant the objects of the petition, would be to destroy the fundamental principles of the constitution of the country, which rested entirely on the protestant ascendancy. He said, that to place the two religions in Ireland on a perfectly equal footing, would destroy all harmony between the two great divisions of the population of that country, and would probably lead to a sanguinary civil war; for the catholic clergy would never remain quiet until the protestants were expelled. "The Roman catholic clergy of Ireland, he viewed in a light very distinct from the laity. The latter he considered as individuals, dissenting in religious faith from the established church; and, except as connected with their clergy, merely as individuals so dissenting. But the clergy were a great and compact body, a species of corporation, with all the forms and gradations of a distinct and firm government; connected by no tie with the government of the country, and utterly incapable of being so connected; standing in open defiance of the law; exercising an authority which the law expressly forbade, and representing those whom the law had placed in possession of the powers, the

dignities, and the emoluments of the national church, as usurpers of those powers, those dignities, and those emoluments. Noble lords affected to doubt the fact: he would venture to reassert it, and to appeal to the most reverend prelate on the bench above him (the primate of Ireland,) to whom, amongst themselves, and frequently elsewhere, the Roman catholic clergy would give no other appellation than that of Dr. Stewart. They represented themselves as the only lawful successors of the ancient clergy of Ireland, and required their flocks to consider them as the lawful owners of the ecclesiastical revenues; teaching them, even in their catechisms, that by the commandments of God, the people were bound to pay their tithes to their lawful pastors, which pastors they represented themselves to be. Accordingly, their parochial clergy were formally instituted rectors or vicars of the several parishes, under the authority of their respective diocesans, according to the titles of rector or vicar, as they stood before the reformation. They had preserved the deans and chapters, and the dioceses and the provinces of the several bishops and archbishops, as they existed before that event, with the difference only of some unions since made by the authority of the pope. Every archbishop, and bishop, every inferior dignitary, and every parish priest of the established church, met therefore in his place a rival clergyman, ready and anxious to seize his benefice, his powers, his dignities, his revenues, whenever the opportunity should offer. The powers of the Roman catholic clergy over their flocks were fully equal to their pretensions; and they exercised those powers without the control of the law of the land, to which they were subject before the reformation. Their authority was enforced by the most dreadful of all means—by the power of excommunication—a power very different from that possessed by the established church. Their sentence of excommunication had all the consequences which made it most dreadful in the darkest ages. The wretched victim against whom it was denounced, might starve, if not relieved by the charity of protestants. No Roman catholic dared to have any communication with him. A recent instance had been stated to him, on authority which he could not doubt, in which the law of the land, and the character of the established church had been grossly insulted. Two Roman catholic couples had

been married by the protestant clergyman of their parish, after the usual publication of banns, a duty which, by law, the clergyman was bound to perform. The Roman catholic parish priest thought fit to denounce these unfortunate people to his bishop, before whose vicar-general they were summoned to appear, to answer for their crime. The protestant clergyman, alarmed at this outrage, and consulting the peace of his parish, the danger of the individuals immediately concerned, and perhaps his own personal safety rather than his duty to the laws of his country, advised the parties to make every submission, and endeavour to prevent any further proceedings. They accordingly waited on the vicar-general, expressed their contrition for their offence, and their readiness to make any submission in their power. The vicar-general was inexorable, and the offenders were excommunicated for the crime imputed to them, of having being married according to the law of the land. The consequence of the sentence was, that all who should have any communication with these unfortunate victims of a power thus assumed in defiance of the law, were liable to the same censure; and the situations in which the men happened to be, making it difficult for their neighbours to avoid all intercourse with them, near two hundred men and women were summoned before the vicar-general, at the distance of twenty miles from their habitations, to answer for this offence. They appeared before him, and by their submission avoided the dreadful sentence of excommunication; but were condemned, as a penance, to a pilgrimage, proceeding from one holy well, or stone, to another, a circuit of thirty miles; and as so great an assemblage of people, passing in a body through the country, and performing ceremonies of devotion at the appointed places of their pilgrimage, must excite attention, they were ordered to declare to all who should meet them, that they were sentenced to this penance for having dared to hold communication with persons excommunicated for having been married by a protestant clergyman. The fear which such proceedings must inspire, and the impossibility of obtaining any redress, however oppressive and tyrannical those proceedings may be, was the true source of the extravagant power which their clergy maintained over the Roman catholics of Ireland; a power much greater than was

possessed by the clergy in any state in Europe, where the Roman catholic was the established religion of the country; a power restrained by no law, subject to no control, and utterly inconsistent with the peace, order, and good government of any country; a power which our ancestors, in times of the greatest bigotry, had dared to restrain by various legislative provisions, and history had applauded their spirit and firmness, and the enlightened minds which had directed their measures."

After dwelling at considerable length on the political principles and acts of the catholic clergy of Ireland, lord Redesdale proceeded to describe the condition of the protestant establishment in that country. "The state of the church in Ireland," he said, "was truly deplorable. There were about two thousand four hundred parishes, which had been thrown, by unions (many of them very improper, and some very recently made) into about one thousand one hundred benefices, some of which extended over vast tracts of country. Many of the parishes had no church; and this was the case of a parish in Dublin, said to contain twenty thousand inhabitants. Many of the benefices had no glebe, the ancient glebe having been confounded with, and lost in the lands of lay-proprietors, so that it had become impossible to recover it for the use of the incumbent. Many more of the benefices had no glebe-house, so that the clergyman had no means of residence within his parish, at least, without building a glebe-house; unfortunately too, benefices in this deplorable state had been deemed the most desirable—a parish without a glebe-house, without a church, and (an almost necessary consequence) without a protestant inhabitant. This called loudly for remedy, and there was ground to hope means might be found by degrees to provide the remedy. But above all, it was necessary to make it safe for a protestant to reside in every part of Ireland. There were many districts in which a protestant, unless a man of fortune, or under peculiar circumstances of protection, would not venture to fix his residence. In consequence, it had been observed, and particularly by a distinguished Roman catholic writer, that in many parts of Ireland, a protestant day-labourer was not to be found. There were handicraftsmen in towns, where they might be in some degree protected, and might protect each other; but in many parts of the country, not a

protestant of the lower order could be found. This principally arose from the influence of the Roman catholic clergy, and the hatred which they excited in the minds of their people against the protestants, as Englishmen and heretics, for both of which descriptions they used, in the Irish language, the same word. In consequence, a strong spirit of persecution prevailed; and, strange as it might seem to many of their lordships, he would venture to aver, that the protestant was, in truth, the persecuted religion in Ireland. And to such a degree was this intolerance carried, that, except in the north, few domestic servants of the protestant persuasion could be found. Even in protestant families, where there was a desire to have protestant servants, it had been found almost impossible to procure them, or to retain them if procured, unless all, or nearly all the servants of the family were protestants. Where the Roman catholic servants had once gained the superiority, or where the upper servants were of that religion, the protestants were soon compelled to quit their service, unless protected by extraordinary exertions of the family, or under some very peculiar circumstances. The poorer protestants had, therefore, great difficulties in putting out their children. As officially a trustee of several charities in Dublin, as well as from the information of others, he had means of knowing the truth of this assertion; and he would particularly state that the applications for the benefit of charities in Dublin, established for putting poor children apprentice, were astonishingly numerous; and the reason assigned by those who applied was, that they could not get employment for their children as domestic servants, or labourers, and were compelled to bring them up to handicraft trades. Viewing the state of Ireland as he did, he could not but repeat his conviction, that it was necessary, though the necessity was much to be deplored, to keep with anxious care the remaining restrictions on the Roman catholics of that country. In his opinion, not only the security of the church establishment, but the properties, and even the lives of the protestants, and the connexion of Ireland with Great Britain, depended on the preservation of those restrictions, until a great and important change should be made in the temper and conduct of the Roman catholics, and their priesthood should be put on a very different footing. To con-

ciliation he had ever been, and ever should be, a warm friend, but the terms of conciliation must be very different from those proposed by the petition. He could not be deluded by pretence of conciliation to increase the power and means of offence of that hierarchy, which tyrannised over those of their own persuasion, which set all law at defiance, and threatened at every moment the extirpation of the protestants in Ireland. The abolition of that hierarchy was, in his opinion, the first step to that conciliation, which he believed could alone produce peace to Ireland; and the Roman catholic laity, desiring a full participation of the benefits of the British laws and constitution, one of which, and not the least important, is freedom from ecclesiastical tyranny, must first throw off the yoke of their own priesthood; which, whilst it exists in all its force, renders the participation which they require dangerous to themselves, and utterly incompatible with the peace of the country, the safety of the protestants, and the connexion of Ireland with Great Britain."

The earl of Limerick also opposed the motion with warmth. He argued, that to concede the petition of the catholics was a dangerous experiment, and doubly perilous at that particular time. He believed that it would agitate, rather than tranquilize the country. "But, says the noble lord (Grenville), grant the prayer of this petition, and you will at once do away all pretext for disturbance, and you will at once become an united and a happy people. I have the misfortune again to differ from the noble lord. I do solemnly declare, that I do not think that by granting the prayer of this petition, to its fullest extent, you will advance one single step towards the tranquillization of Ireland. His lordship will not, I am sure, contend that it is necessary to bribe the catholic noblemen and gentlemen into loyalty; and, as to the common people, I am persuaded it would not gain over a single peasant now tainted with disloyalty, and ready at a moment to join a French invader. No, my lords; seats in parliament, and admission to the highest offices in the state, form no part of the wishes of the Irish peasantry. Were you to talk to them on the subject, they would not understand you. If you wish to conciliate those now inclined to join the French, I will tell you what you must do; you are the best judges whether you are willing to pay so high a price for their allegiance.

Are you ready to sacrifice the national church, by giving up the means by which it is subsisted? Are you ready to sink your revenue, by giving up all taxes upon spirituous liquors? And, last of all, are you ready to sacrifice the whole protestant and respectable catholic property of the country by the abolition of rents, and the perpetual grant of their farms to the present occupants? Such are the terms, I know, have been lately offered to the Irish peasantry by French emissaries, and if you mean to bid against them with any chance of success, you must not be outdone in the magnificence of your offers. But the noble baron says, refuse the request of the petitioners, and you give a handle to the disaffected to work on the passions of the multitude. I agree with the noble baron, it will do so; and this, my lords, is the great objection to the stirring the present subject. If granted, it will not obtain your object, namely, the tranquillity of Ireland; if refused, it may, and probably will, do much mischief. The bringing forward the petition can do no good—it may do much harm. What is the reason of bringing forward the petition at this moment? Why did not the noble lord bring it forward in 1801? I give him credit for not doing so; the country was in danger; it was no time to agitate a question that might create divisions and animosities. Why, if essential to the well-being of the state, was it not brought forward during the interval of peace? Will it be answered, that the public opinion was then against it? Has that opinion since changed? I firmly believe it still remains unaltered. The noble lord says the rebellion of 1798 was not a catholic rebellion, and therefore no impediment to the concession demanded. I have not heard any one state that rebellion to have been a catholic rebellion. Many of its leaders were protestants, or professed to be so. The present general of division in the service of his imperial and royal majesty the emperor of France and king of Italy, was ordained a deacon of the established church of Ireland by the father of the individual who has now the honour to address you. Others, like Emmett, were professed protestants, but were real disciples of the modern French school, both in religion and in politics. I had the honour to be one of the secret committee of the house of lords of Ireland before which those gentlemen made their confessions of treason. When asked, whether the establishment of the

catholic religion was one of their principal objects, they smiled, and said that such an idea never once entered into their heads; that they certainly made use of the pretext of the catholic religion, and of fanatical priests, as the best firebrands to throw among the people to rouse them to rebellion; that their objects were the establishment of a republic independent of Great Britain, and connected with, but not dependent upon France. A great proportion of the people in three of the provinces being catholics, of course the rebel ranks were filled with men of that persuasion. The noble lord is wrong in stating, that where the rebel armies were strongest, it was in counties altogether catholic. The county of Wexford possessed great numbers of protestants, yet it was there the greatest enormities were committed; it was there I witnessed catholic priests bearing in their hands the sacred banner of the cross, the emblem of the mildest of religions—it was there I saw them lead the infuriated rabble to pillage, to destruction of property, and to the murder of the aged, the infirm, women, children; in short, what was most distinguished, what was lowest in the community."

The debate was adjourned from the 10th to the 13th of May, on which latter night it was reopened by the earl of Suffolk, who earnestly pleaded for full indulgence to the Irish catholics. Lord Carleton replied to him, and attacked the political principles of the catholics, who, he said, only sought to obtain power, which power would be used to raise popery on the ruins of the established church. In support of this opinion, he entered into a long historical review. Lord Hutchinson defended the catholic clergy, and supported the motion. The earls of Ormond and Albemarle supported the motion, while it was opposed by lord Boringdon, because it was ill-timed, and by the archbishop of Canterbury, because it was dangerous, and therefore inexpedient. The earl of Westmoreland opposed it, on the plea that it was necessary to make a stand against the catholics, who, he said, only made out grievances, because they thought there was an inclination to yield to them, and who had never taken any indulgence but as a signal to agitate and demand something more. "May it be asked," he said "what has been the effect of the concessions of 1793? The catholics were relieved from every law affecting the mass of the people. The profession of the law was opened, the

magistracy, right of voting, freedom of corporation, trades, etc. What happened immediately? universal insurrection, devastation, and cruelty. May I venture to ask, then, if it is probable that those who returned treason for kindness, and murder for favour, upon points that directly affected them, are likely to become mild and grateful subjects for favours that affect them only distantly and collaterally? Upon this point of the argument I beg to be distinctly understood. I do not bring this argument against the measure; if it is right with a view to the catholics of Ireland, let it be done; if it is right with a view to the catholics of England, if it is right upon general policy, let it be done; but let no man's mind be influenced in deciding upon this question by the opinion, that concessions of this nature are likely to tranquillize Ireland. We are told that it arises out of the union. How? Was it promised? Certainly not. Did the catholics carry the union? Certainly not. Was the question tried at the union? Why, it was previously rejected by both parliaments before the union, and at the time of the union itself it was a strange sort of expectation, that what both parliaments rejected before and at the union, should be done as soon as they were united. But is it not well known that the measure could not have been carried if this proposition had been clogged to it? Is it not well known that the most zealous friends of that measure would have opposed the union if this had made a part, considering it as leading to the separation of the countries? 'But it will please the people of Ireland.' Are you to learn that there are two descriptions of persons in that kingdom? Will it please the protestants of Ireland, those who carried that great measure, those who preserved that country to this? It seems as if noble lords had forgotten such people existed. I have not heard mention of them from any one of them. A people by whose loyalty and courage, in a situation unparalleled, that kingdom was secured; whose conduct was never equalled by any description of men in any country. Why, then, what must be done? I say, 'Let the union alone;' let that great measure alone; let it work, as it has begun, the settlement of that country; and let not the operations of that great measure be impeded by bringing the catholics forward at an unfit season, to be made the tool and sport of British factions."

The bishop of St. Asaph also spoke against the motion; he entered into a long historical review, and argued that too much indulgence had only had the effect of making the catholics of Ireland bad subjects. Lord Ellenborough likewise spoke in opposition to the catholic claims. They were supported by the earls of Moira and Darnley. The latter spoke of the capricious treatment which the catholics of Ireland had experienced; sometimes encouraged by small concessions, or taunted with evasive promises; at others persecuted and oppressed. The concessions made during the present reign had been calculated to raise their expectations, till they were suddenly treated with harshness; and then, to induce them to support the measure of the union, they were encouraged to expect better treatment from the imperial parliament than from that of Ireland. "Was it to be expected that, under such circumstances, the catholic body should rest contented, or that they should not be tempted to expect that what remained would also be conceded, or, indeed, could not be refused by the Irish parliament? This was another argument for the union; for it was truly stated, that whenever the two legislatures were united, the catholic claims might be discussed with every possible advantage; and that they might be safely trusted to the temper and moderation of the imperial legislature. The catholics certainly might reasonably entertain the best hopes that they would be granted; for they must have felt, that the united parliament would be without those prejudices, and that intolerant spirit which they had fatally experienced in the protestants of Ireland. I wish not to dwell upon the unhappy rebellion of 1798, which has been more than once adverted to in the course of this debate, except to give my most decided opinion, that it ought not to be deemed a catholic rebellion: most of the leaders happened to be protestants; it originated in the jacobin principles of the united Irishmen, to whom religion was a very subordinate, if any consideration; and although it is true that a majority of those concerned in these sanguinary scenes were catholics, and though the greatest atrocities were undoubtedly perpetrated by some catholic priests, it would be extraordinary if both these circumstances had not taken place in the country where four-fifths of the inhabitants are catholics, and where there was also necessarily a large number of

ignorant and bigoted priests. That there were equal faults on the other side, I am persuaded. That the zeal of the Irish protestants has been productive of consequences as fatal, I cannot doubt; but on this subject I forbear to dwell, because I know it would sound harsh to some of my hearers, to whose loyalty and merits I am ready to do ample justice. My lords, it has been said that the catholic body in general is not interested in this question, which only regards a few of the higher ranks; but I can never agree, that the whole body is not degraded and insulted by this mark which is set upon them, in excluding any of its members from the chance of ever being highly useful to their country. 'But,' say their opposers, 'we have given everything else; we never will concede to them power. They have all the civil advantages under the state; but they shall not become the state itself.' Now let us consider to what extent this power would go, supposing it granted to catholics disposed to abuse it? The few seats they could obtain in this house, could never be considered of consequence. Indeed, exclusive of the five or six English peers, who would afterwards have an irresistible claim, as it regarded Ireland only, not one single member, according to the present mode of election, could be admitted, unless nominated by the minister. The argument with respect to the other house deserves more consideration. That some catholic members would be elected is unquestionable. But I am inclined to think the number would be very small indeed. Some noble lords, who have spoken, have maintained the extravagant supposition of the whole number of one hundred being catholics. Others have maintained, with some degree of plausibility, that in those counties where the majority of the freeholders were catholics, the members would of necessity be so likewise, grounding the supposition on the assertion, that they would all be rather guided by their priests than their landlords. I profess myself of a contrary opinion, even if you suppose that after these concessions, the old invidious distinctions of civil and religious animosity combined will necessarily be kept up. Much will depend on the manner in which the boon is granted. That it will, that it must be granted, sooner or later, I am prepared to maintain; for although I am not sanguine enough to expect a majority in favour of this motion, I

never can doubt that what I consider the course of justice, of sound policy,—what I will even call the cause of the protestant establishment, must and will finally prevail. Remove with a liberal hand, and with an enlarged system of policy, all civil disabilities on account of religion, and I am persuaded, that in a very few years, all sects of christians will become equally good subjects, and it will never enter into any man's head to inquire, whether a candidate for parliament, or for office, is of the established religion or not? But we must not confine our views to the simple adoption of the measures prayed for in the petition before the house, indispensably necessary as I may think them for the welfare of the British empire in general, and of Ireland in particular. The abolition of the catholic hierarchy in Ireland has been called for, as necessary to the tranquillity of that country; but as I totally differ from the noble and learned lord, that instead of abolishing it, I would render it the means of reconciling to the state and to the constitution the great mass of the catholic population. I see no reason why the bishops should not be placed under the protection of government, and why they should not be both nominated by the king, and paid by the public: by such means, and not by the absurd proposition of converting the Irish catholics to the established religion, by translating the bible into Irish, may we hope to see them good and loyal subjects, especially if the whole system of policy by which that unhappy country has been governed, should be reversed; and that, instead of keeping the people in ignorance and barbarism, a liberal and well-digested system of instruction should be adopted, and encouragement afforded to habits of industry, and respect for the laws."

The debate in the house of lords was concluded on the second night, but they did not come to a division until six o'clock in the morning, and lord Grenville's motion was then rejected by a majority of more than three to one.

In the house of commons, the motion for considering the petition of the catholics was brought forward, on the 13th of May, by Fox, who spoke strongly of the injustice of depriving of their political privileges nearly one-fourth of his majesty's subjects. "If I had not heard, he said, "that different opinions were entertained with respect to the policy and expediency of granting the

prayer of this petition, I should hardly think it would be a question, whether a portion of his majesty's subjects, so considerable as nearly one-fourth, should be on a footing with the remainder, or should have the enjoyment of equal laws, privileges, or advantages, and the full participation and benefit of the constitution and government of the country? Against the principle so generally stated, cause may be shown, suppositions may be urged, and facts may be referred to, with a view to show that this as well as any other general principle, may be liable to error. I will not detain the house long upon this point, but it is necessary I should call its attention to a topic which may be considered more an object of theory than anything else. I shall trouble the house but shortly, and only explain my opinion, that whatever difference is purely theoretical, the question, in point of practical application, is precisely the same. What some call rights, and what others call indulgences, are precisely and exactly the same. The differences are rather differences between words than things. There are two modes of considering this question. First, as it affects the rights of the crown. That which was most in fashion at different periods of the last century, was the latter mode of viewing it. For my own part, I do consider the rights of the people governed to be the prominent rights. I consider that those who compose the society of a state have a complete and unquestionable right to equality of law; but I do at the same time admit, that this principle is not to be taken generally. I admit the force of the other general maxim, that *salus populi suprema est lex*, and ought, with propriety, to be considered as an exception. Not only very able men, but men of practical knowledge, have in their closets considered it in that light. A most respectable modern writer of our own country, now living (Dr. Paley), has stated that the general right of government is, to do whatever may be necessary for the advantage of the people. But he, and every man of sense, will tell you, that although this is undoubtedly the general right, yet whenever it is exercised by restrictions with regard to one class of the people, such exercise becomes an abuse, or, in other words, the people have a right not to be restricted in anything that is not adverse to the safety of the country. The people have a right to be exempted, generally, from unequal restrictions; but when

the safety of the country demands it, and history shows us that such instances are numerous, they are exceptions to the rule, and have always been so considered. For the way in which different persons consider this subject, a difference of opinion has been produced, but the conclusion is the same. Some say they would give the catholics what they require, as a matter of favour, and a matter of policy, but not as a matter of right. Now, I say, I would give it to them as a matter of right; but we, however, shall not differ, if the practical consequence of our reasoning come to the same thing. I would give it as a right, because it is the general right of the people, and because there is no exception which ought to operate against the catholics of Ireland. Though government has a right to impose restrictions, yet, if there be no necessity for them, then comes the right of the people to enjoy the benefit of every law, provided such enjoyment is not mischievous in its consequences to the country. It was therefore, sir, I wished to say these few words, because it is so important a part of the subject, and one which, from the nature of it, cannot be a question to-day, but may recur and become a question for future consideration. I should wish that all should understand each other, and particularly that it should not be supposed there is any essential difference, when, in fact, it is a difference of words rather than of principles. Whatever differences exist with respect to the two theories, it is evident they lead to the same practical consequences. To apply this to the Roman catholics of Ireland, I do not lay down a principle too large, when I state that it is the general right of the catholics, as well as of the protestants, to be on equal footing, to have equal laws, privileges, and immunities, in all cases where they are not prejudicial to the welfare of the state. The only differences that could arise would be with regard to the degree in which they should enjoy those rights. Cases might be put, where persons might say nothing could justify a departure from the rule of right but expediency. Some might say, political advantages connected with external relations would justify it; others would require such a degree of expediency as would amount to a necessity. They would require that not only the greatness of the country, but the security of the country, be concerned. I flatter myself, we shall not go on such near shades. The Roman

catholics of Ireland have undoubtedly a right to equal laws, but the government has thought fit to curtail that right, and to put them on a footing disadvantageous to them. To enter into the question, whether the laws for restraining the catholics were originally politic, or, rather, whether they were just; that is to say, whether the policy which dictated them was of such a nature as to render that just which was not within the general rule of justice, would be a discussion exceedingly unnecessary at this moment. At the same time, it will be necessary to attend to the particular period of history in which these restrictions were principally imposed. I think I need not state what will be the argument in reply. No man's mind, I hope, is so framed as to imagine that the restrictions can be justified on account of the length of time they have been allowed to continue. Such an opinion would be a solecism in political reasoning; it would do away with the original principle on which such laws were founded, to contend, that though many might be unnecessary at the time they were adopted, yet that, by a long lapse of time, they have acquired a prescriptive right. If prescriptive law is made on account of peculiar circumstances of a political nature, the moment those circumstances cease, the restrictions cease to the public, and consequently cease to be just. I cannot conceive how any man can be justified in supposing that, where the circumstances on which a law is founded have ceased, the justice of continuing that law can be a matter for fair reasoning. It may so happen, though I think it has not so happened in this case, but it has nearly happened, that the fact of long restriction may make it difficult afterwards to restore the objects of them to that situation in which they would have been if the restrictions had never been imposed."

After a long review of the history of the acts depriving the Roman catholics of political privileges, and of their condition and behaviour during the different reigns since they were first imposed, Fox went on to consider the arguments of those who opposed concession, and especially those founded on the supposed danger of considering the question in the then state of their political relations with the continent. "It is said," he continued, "Bonaparte has obtained an influence over the pope; the pope governs the Irish priests, and thus Bonaparte will be able to attach to him the

catholics of Ireland. Without canvassing the question of the inclination of the pope to serve the views of Bonaparte, I shall admit that the French government will willingly employ his influence so far as they can obtain it. That the great enemy of this country would be very willing to make use of such an engine to serve his purposes in Ireland I have no doubt. But how will he use his influence? If you will repeal these laws, you will have nothing to fear from that quarter; but if, on the contrary, you persevere in your restrictions, the way in which the influence so much dreaded may be exercised can only be this. The Irish catholics will be told, 'an equal participation of rights was held out to you; but, instead of granting your just claims, instead of affording you the relief and protection you were promised, you are still stigmatised as outcasts. You have, therefore, now only to look to a catholic emperor for assistance, and through him you may expect the emancipation which has been denied you.' This is the language which may be used, if you are determined to persist in your present system; but, in the other alternative, what influence can the pope have? Suppose he were to direct the priests to take care that none but Roman catholic members were chosen for Ireland; and suppose this influence were so far to succeed as to bring a considerable proportion of Roman catholics into this house among the representatives from Ireland, is it likely that Bonaparte would find many friends among these Roman catholic members? If there were eighty members Roman catholics, it would be an extravagant supposition indeed, to say that even three of them would be so dead to all sense of honour and duty, so blind to the interests and happiness of their country, as to become the instruments of Bonaparte. Of the influence to be used in this way by the pope, surely no reasonable person can entertain any serious apprehension. Is it possible to look forward to any future circumstances under which that influence can become dangerous? Great men, it is said, have long views; but some views are so long, that my sight, I must confess, cannot reach them. It has been said of our system of government, *esto perpetua*; but I should desire no better security for the power and the constitution of this country lasting for ever, than that they should continue until either a pope or a Bonaparte could obtain a majority in this house."

Fox pointed out the apparent incongruity of declaring that the crime of the catholics was their political principles, and yet striking only at their religion, and he drew a comparison between their position and that of the dissenters. "But," he added, "the people of that part of Ireland, who are well known not to be much attached to the established church, considered the catholics to be like themselves, persecuted. The year 1798 opened new views, and to the union which was then formed between the protestants and the catholics, ought the activity of the latter in the rebellion to be in some degree ascribed. There is also another little circumstance which ought not to be passed over, when it is attempted to be argued that nothing intervened between the concessions in the year 1793 and the rebellion. Did nothing happen during lord Fitzwilliam's administration? Did that noble lord not conceive that he was acting the best for the peace of Ireland, by holding out to the catholics the hope of what they called their emancipation? Doubts have been entertained whether he was authorized by government to encourage such hopes: but that has nothing to do with the present question; that the expectation did exist, is a fact of the greatest importance. When that noble lord was recalled, when a motion was made on the subject in parliament, and negatived, the Roman catholics saw with grief, the cup they had looked at with so much eagerness, suddenly dashed from their lips, at the moment they at last expected to enjoy it. Would not any man say, that if he were a catholic, this would have been to him a great cause of despondency? The history of the country showed the melancholy consequences of that disappointment, for it was not until after the recall of lord Fitzwilliam, that a connexion began to be formed between Ireland and France; and there is every appearance that the disappointment then experienced by the Roman catholics, drove some of them into this connexion. We have been told, that it appears from certain inquiries made by the Irish parliament, that catholic emancipation and reform were not considered by the people in some parts of Ireland as of more value than a bit of paper or a drop of ink. I believe this may be the fact; but was it not also stated by the same persons, that, had these measures been granted, they were aware that they must have given up all hope of doing what they call good, but

which we call mischief? All those who wished to revolutionize Ireland were greatly alarmed during lord Fitzwilliam's administration, and were perfectly convinced, that, if the measures he proposed were carried, their intentions would be completely defeated. I have been told, that at the time of the union, no distinct promise of redress was made to the Roman catholics, and I believe it. No minister could promise that which depended upon the determination of parliament. The right honourable gentleman opposite to me could have done nothing more than promise to recommend their claims: but did not the catholics believe that through the measure of the union, they would obtain complete redress? Did they not rely on the promised support of the right honourable gentleman? It was on that ground they gave all their weight to the proposition of the union; and I know some who have felt less kindness to the catholics on that account. The persuasion was certainly general, that the catholic claims would be fully granted after the union; and a learned gentleman (Dr. Duigenan,) now hostile to these claims, appears to have promoted this persuasion. In a letter written by that learned gentleman to an honourable friend of mine, whom I am happy to see a member of this house (Mr. Grattan,) there is a paragraph to this purport: 'if we were one people with the British nation, the preponderance of the protestant interest in the whole state would be so great, that it would not be any longer necessary to curb the Roman catholics by any restraints whatever.' Now, when the Roman catholics found the opinion stated by the learned gentleman, who has been through the whole course of his life against granting them redress, must they not have expected that the passing of the union was to be the signal for the redress of their grievances?"

Fox then, in the concluding part of a very long and eloquent speech, examined all the arguments previously brought forward by the opponents of catholic emancipation. The motion was resisted by Dr. Duigenan, the bitter opponent of the Irish catholics, whose speech, from its length and character, might rather be called a treatise on the subject, and was characterised by the usual strong prejudice for which he was remarkable. Grattan, who had now been elected into the imperial parliament, spoke next, and replied to Duigenan with somewhat of the eloquence which he had so often displayed in

the Irish legislature. He represented that the question would finally resolve itself into emancipation or extermination. "The partial adoption of the catholics," he said, "has failed, the eradication of the catholics cannot be attempted, the absolute incorporation remains alone; there is no other. Or did you think it necessary to unite with the Irish parliament, and do hesitate to identify with the people? See whether you can conduct your empire on any other principle. The better to illustrate this, and in order to ascertain the principles of your empire, survey its comprehension, computing your West Indian and your eastern dominions. England has now, with all deference to her moderation, a very great proportion of the globe. On what principle will she govern that proportion?—on the principles on which Providence governs that and the remainder? When you make your dominions commensurate with a great portion of her works, you should make your laws analogous to her dispensations. As there is no such thing as exclusive Providence, so neither, considering the extent of your empire, should there be such a thing as an exclusive empire, but such an one as accommodates to peculiar habits, religious prejudices, prepossessions, etc. You do not, in your dispatches to your generals, send the thirty-nine articles; you know the bigot and conqueror are incompatible. Louis XIV. found it so. You know that no nation has long indulged in the exercise of the two qualities—bigotry to proscribe at home, ambition to disturb abroad. Such was your opinion when you established popery in Canada. I do not speak of Corsica. Such was your opinion when you recruited for the foot in Ireland. It was in the war this practice began. Then you found that the principle of exclusive empire would not answer, and that her test was not who should say her prayers, but who should fight her battles. On the same principle the Irish militia, which must be in a great proportion catholic, stands; and on the same principle the Irish yeomanry, who must be in considerable proportion catholic, stands; and on the same principle you have recruited for the navy in Ireland, and have committed your sea thunder to catholic hands. Suppose in Egypt the general had ordered the catholics to go out of the ranks; or if, in one of your sea-fights, the admiral had ordered all the catholics on shore, what had been the consequence? It is an argument

against the proscriptive system, that if adopted practically in navy or army, the navy and army and empire would evaporate. And shall we now proclaim these men, or hold such language as the honourable member? language which if he held on the day of battle, he must be shot; language for which, if a catholic, he must be shot; language for which, if a catholic, he must be hanged; such as you despised in the case of Corsica and of Canada, in the choice of your allies, in the recruiting your army and your navy, whenever your convenience, whenever your ambition, whenever your interest required it. Or let us turn from the magnitude of its danger, and you will observe that, whereas Europe was heretofore divided into many small nations of various religions, making part of their civil policy, and with alliances influenced in some degree and directed by those religious distinctions, where civil and religious freedom were supposed to be drawn up on one side, and on the other popery and arbitrary power; so now the globe has been divided anew. England and France, you have taken a first situation among mankind; you are, of course, excluded from a second; Austria may have a second situation, Prussia may have a second, but England seems to have linked her being to her glory, and when she ceases to be of the first, she is nothing. According to this supposition—and it is a supposition which I do not frame, but find in the country—the day may not be very remote when you will have to fight for being, and for what you value more than being, the ancient renown of your island. You have said it yourselves, and you have added, that Ireland is your vulnerable part. Why vulnerable? Vulnerable because you have misgoverned her. It may then happen that on Irish ground, and by an Irish hand, the destinies of this ancient monarchy, called Great Britain, may be decided. Accordingly you have voted your army, but you have forgot to vote your people; you must vote their passions likewise. Their horrors at the French proceedings will do much, but it is miserable to rely on the crimes of your enemies always—on your own wisdom never. Besides, those horrors did not prevent Prussia from leaving your alliance, nor Austria from making war. Loyalty will do much, but you require more. Patience under taxes, such as are increased far beyond what we have been accustomed to, from one million and a-half to eight million pounds. Nor patience only.

but ardour; the strong qualities, not such as the scolding dialect of certain gentlemen would excite—the fire, a spirit that in the case of an invasion will not sit as a spy on the doubt of the day and calculate, but, though the first battle should be unsuccessful, would come out with a desperate fidelity, and embody with the destinies of England. It is a wretched thing to ask, how would they act in such a case? What! after a connexion of six hundred years, to thank your admiral for your safety, or the wind, or anything but your own wisdom! and, therefore, the question is not whether the catholics shall get so many seats, but whether you shall get so many millions; in such a case, you hire all the people. What is it that constitutes the strength and health of England but this sort of vitality, that her privileges, like her money, circulate everywhere, and centre nowhere? This it was which equality would have given, but did not give France; this it was which the plain sense of your ancestors, without equality, did give the English; a something which limited her kings drove her enemies, and made a handful of men fill the world with their name.—Will you, in your union with Ireland, withhold the regimen which has made her feeble? You will further recollect, that you have united her to your patrimony, and hitherto you have given her taxes and additional debt; I believe it is twenty-six million pounds. The other part of your patrimony, I should be glad to see that. Talk plainly and honestly to the Irish—'tis true your taxes are increased, and your debts multiplied, but here are our privileges; great burthens and great privileges: this is the patrimony of England, and with this does she assess, recruit, inspire, consolidate. But the protestant ascendancy, it is said, alone can keep the country, namely, the gentry, clergy, and nobility, against the French, and without the people. It may be so. But in 1641, above ten thousand troops were sent from England to assist that party; in 1789, twenty-three regiments were raised in England to assist them; in 1798, the English militia were sent over to assist them. What can be done by spirit, will be done by them; but would the city of London, on such assurance, risk a guinea? The parliament of Ireland did risk everything, and are now nothing; and in their extinction left this instruction, not to their posterity, for they have none, but to you, who came in the place of their

posterity, not to depend on a sect of religion, nor trust the final issue of your fortunes to anything less than the whole of your people. The parliament of Ireland—of that assembly I have a parental recollection. I sat by her cradle; I followed her hearse. In fourteen years she acquired for Ireland what you did not acquire for England in a century—freedom of trade, independency of legislature, independency of the judges, restoration of the final judiciary, repeal of a perpetual mutiny bill, habeas corpus act, nullum tempus act. A great work! you will exceed it, and I shall rejoice. I call my countrymen to witness if, in that business, I compromised the claims of my country, or temporised with the power of England. But there was one thing which baffled the effort of the patriot, and defeated the wisdom of the senate; it was the folly of the theologian. When the parliament of Ireland rejected the catholic petition, and assented to the calumnies then uttered against the catholic body, on that day she voted the union. If you should adopt a similar conduct, on that day you will vote the separation. Many good and pious reasons you may give; many good and pious reasons she gave; and she lies there with her many good and pious reasons. That the parliament of Ireland should have entertained prejudices I am not astonished; but that you, that you who have as individuals, and as conquerors, visited a great part of the globe, and have seen men in all their modifications, and Providence in all her ways—that you, now at this time of the day, should throw up dykes against the pope, and barriers against the catholic, instead of uniting with that catholic to throw up barriers against the French—this surprises me; and in addition to this, that you should have set up the pope in Italy to tremble at him in Ireland, and further, that you should have professed to have placed yourself at the head of a christian, not a protestant league, to defend the civil and religious liberty of Europe, and should deprive of their civil liberty one-fifth of yourselves, on account of their religion—this surprises me; and also that you should prefer to buy allies by subsidies, rather than fellow-subjects by privileges; and that you should now stand, drawn out as it were in battalion, sixteen million against thirty-six million, and should at the same time paralyze a fifth of your own numbers, by excluding them from some

of the principal benefits of your constitution, at the very time you say all your numbers are inadequate, unless inspired by those very privileges. As I recommended to you to give the privileges, so I should recommend the catholics to wait cheerfully and dutifully. The temper with which they bear the privation of power and privilege is evidence of their qualification. They will recollect the strength of their case, which sets them above impatience; they will recollect the growth of their case from the time it was first agitated to the present moment, and in that growth perceive the perishable nature of the objection, and the immortal quality of the principle they contend for. They will further recollect what they have gotten already—rights of religion, rights of property, and, above all, the elective franchise, which is in itself the seminal principle of everything else. With a vessel so laden they will be too wise to leave the harbour, and trust the fallacy of any wind. Nothing can prevent the ultimate success of the catholics but intemperance; for this they will be too wise. The charges uttered against them they will answer by their allegiance. So should I speak to the catholics. To the protestants I would say—You have gotten the land and the powers of the country, and it now remains to make those acquisitions eternal. Do not you see, that your children must stand in the front of the battle, with uncertainty and treachery in the rear of it. If then, by ten or twelve seats in parliament, given to catholics, you could prevent such a day, would not the compromise be everything? What is your wretched monopoly, the shadow of your present, the memory of your past power, compared to the safety of your families, the security of your estates, and the solid peace and repose of your island? Besides, you have an account to settle with the empire. Might not the empire accost you thus?—‘For one hundred years you have been in possession of the country, and very loyally have you taken to yourselves the power and profit thereof. I am now to receive at your hands the fruits of all this, and the unanimous support of the people. Where is it, now, when I am beset with enemies, and in my day of trial?’ Let the protestant ascendancy answer that question, for I cannot. Above twenty millions have been wasted on your shocking contest, and a great proportion of troops of the line locked up in your island, that you may enjoy the

ascendancy of the country, and the empire not receive the strength of it. Such a system cannot last; your destinies must be changed and exalted. The catholic no longer your inferior, nor you inferior to every one, save only the catholic, both must be free, and both must fight the enemy, and not one another. Thus the sects of religion renouncing, the one all foreign connexion, and the other all domestic proscription, shall form a strong empire, a phalanx in the west, to check, perhaps ultimately to confound the ambition of the enemy.”

The debate in the commons was adjourned from the 13th to the 14th of May. The most remarkable speech on the second night of the debate, on account of the person from whom it came, was that of Pitt, who, after expressing his satisfaction at the good temper which had characterized the discussion, proceeded to say,—“Happy, sir, am I also, that the manner in which the subject has been introduced has relieved me from the necessity of entering at large into those general principles and grounds which, when the question was discussed before, I felt myself compelled to do. I observe with pleasure, that the application made by the petitioners, has not been advanced as a claim of right, but of expediency. I observe also, with equal pleasure, that the honourable gentleman has argued it upon that ground; not that I mean to infer that the honourable gentleman has abandoned the opinion he held upon that subject; but that in the application of the principles which have governed his conduct, he has thought proper to discuss the question on the ground of expediency. That is the ground upon which I feel the measure ought alone to be discussed; for I cannot allow, that at any time, under any circumstances, or under any possible situation of affairs, it ought to be discussed, or entertained as a claim or question of right. I, sir, have never been one of those who have ever held that the term emancipation is, in the smallest degree, applicable to the repeal of the few remaining penal statutes to which the catholics are still liable. But, possibly, in my view of the grounds of expediency, I may think it to be much more contradistinguished from the question of right than the honourable gentleman does. He seems to consider that there is only a shade of difference between the expediency and the right: whereas, my view of the difference is broad, evident, and fundamental. I con-

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