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THE
UNITED IRISHMEN
THEIR
LIVES AND TIMES





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The Battle of Killala

From an Original Drawing by Seth B. Thompson

THE
UNITED IRISHMEN
THEIR LIVES AND TIMES

BY
RICHARD ROBERT MADDEN

M. D., F. R. C. S., M. R. I. A.

NEWLY EDITED
WITH NOTES, BIBLIOGRAPHY AND INDEX
BY
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THE SHAN VAN VOCHT

ANONYMOUS

One of the most popular of Irish street-ballads. It was written in 1796, when the French fleet arrived in Bantry Bay. The "Shan Van Vocht" means "The Poor Old Woman," a name for Ireland.

Oh! the French are on the sea,
Says the Shan Van Vocht;
The French are on the sea,
Says the Shan Van Vocht.
Oh! the French are in the Bay,
They'll be here without delay,
And the Orange will decay,
Says the Shan Van Vocht.

Oh! the French are in the Bay,
They'll be here by break of day,
And the Orange will decay,
Says the Shan Van Vocht.

And where will they have their camp?
Says the Shan Van Vocht.
Where will they have their camp?
Says the Shan Van Vocht.
On the Curragh of Kildare,
The boys they will be there,
With their pikes in good repair,
Says the Shan Van Vocht.

THE SHAN VAN VOCHT

To the Curragh of Kildare
The boys they will repair
And Lord Edward will be there
Says the Shan Van Vocht.

Then what will the yeomen do?
Says the Shan Van Vocht;

What will the yeomen do?
Says the Shan Van Vocht.

What should the yeomen do,
But throw off the red and blue,
And swear that they'll be true
To the Shan Van Vocht?

What should the yeomen do,
But throw off the red and blue,
And swear that they'll be true
To the Shan Van Vocht?

And what colour will they wear?
Says the Shan Van Vocht;

What colour will they wear?
Says the Shan Van Vocht.

What colour should be seen
Where our fathers' homes have been
But their own immortal Green?
Says the Shan Van Vocht?

What colour should be seen
Where our fathers' homes have been
But their own immortal Green?
Says the Shan Van Vocht

And will Ireland then be free?
Says the Shan Van Vocht;

THE SHAN VAN VOCHT

Will Ireland then be free?
Says the Shan Van Vocht.
Yes! Ireland shall be free,
From the centre to the sea;
Then hurrah for Liberty;
Says the Shan Van Vocht.

Yes! Ireland shall be free,
From the centre to the sea;
Then hurrah for Liberty;
Says the Shan Van Vocht.

THE
UNITED IRISHMEN
THEIR
LIVES AND TIMES

Richard Robert Madden

Author of The United Irishmen. After an Engraving by S. Allen, from a Painting by G. Mulvaney, now in the Possession of the Madden Family



THE UNITED IRISHMEN

CHAPTER VIII

AIM OF THE UNITED IRISHMEN.

THE political convulsions which agitated Europe at the close of the last and the commencement of the present century, have passed from the turmoil of cotemporary events, to take their place for ever in the sober records of history. The shadows, clouds, and darkness, which the heat of passions, the fury of parties, and the violence of selfish interest, threw around every event of that period, have been dissipated and dispelled since the passions have cooled, the parties disappeared, and the interests dwindled away, which was then predominant. England can do justice to the reformers of 1794; can bear to have their merits shown and their errors displayed. Scotland has already enrolled the names of Muir and Palmer in the list of those who have loved their country “not wisely, but too well.” It remained that the history of the United Irishmen should be written fearlessly and fairly; that the wrongs by which they were goaded to resistance, the nature of the political evils they desired to remove, the good

at which they aimed, and the errors into which they were betrayed, should be inquired into and set forth.

However party writers may labour to distort events, sooner or later facts will make themselves known, and show their strength in their original dimensions. It is well that men of the present generation should know how few are the years which suffice to wither away the veil which corruption and venality or treachery have drawn over their delinquencies; how soon the sons may be compelled to blush for their fathers' deeds, and destined to suffer for them. Faction is proverbially short-sighted; but in Ireland it seems to be stone-blind—neither enlightened by the past, nor speculating on the future.

To elucidate a period of Irish, or rather British history, which the most unscrupulous of all factions has made a favourite subject of its mendacious productions, has been the great object of the writer of these volumes. Setting out with a determination “to extenuate nought, and to set down nought in malice,” he has devoted time, labour, and expense, to the task of collecting documents, which, in the ordinary course of events, must soon have been lost irrevocably—documents from which any reasonable reader, unprejudiced by party, may be able to form a correct estimate of the motives and actions of men who have hitherto been praised and blamed

with very little reference to the real circumstances of their conduct or their principles.

The object of this work is not to revive the remembrance of past evils, with the view of promoting any party interest, but with the design of preventing the possibility of the recurrence of the crimes and sufferings of those bad times. The policy of former governmental *régime* in Ireland, which availed itself of the agency of an intolerant, sanguinary, insolent, selfish, truculent, and overbearing faction (far less fanatical than hypocritical), for the accomplishment of purposes of state, has ceased to exist; but the spirit of that faction has undergone no change, and with diminished power to indulge its savage instincts, the activity of its ancient enmities to the faith and civil rights of the great mass of the Irish people, is displayed ever and anon as prominently as ever in sordid efforts to make its influence seem formidable to government, and its services worthy of being bought or remunerated in any manner.

It is not unprofitable, even now, to reflect on the use which partisans of this ascendancy faction made of their power in those bad times, when every man who became obnoxious to their body, by taking a prominent part in any political proceedings opposed to their views and interests, was accounted disaffected to the state; and even when loyal men, indignant at the treatment they

received, were driven by unfounded accusations and dishonourable suspicions into criminal courses. It behoves the persons who take any leading part in liberal politics, to recur a little to past events, and to recall the first agitation of the question of reform in Ireland, and the subsequent fate of a great number of the men who were its early advocates.

In Ireland the ascendency party marked out its political opponents at that period, as covert traitors, who were to be legally removed at a convenient opportunity. It panted only for the exercise of "that vigour beyond the law," which was the privilege of its exclusive loyalty. Its victims were not the least influential, the least estimable, the most insignificant of the opposing party. The public service was made the pretext for the destruction of opponents, and with those pretexts they filled the prisons of the land.

Little do the people of England know of the class of persons who were driven into rebellion in 1798 in Ireland. They may probably have heard that a number of obscure, ill disposed, and reckless men had engaged in an unnatural and unprovoked insurrection, and were executed; that the leaders of it were poor, discontented, ill-disposed wretches, persons of no standing in society, Papists of ultramontane principles, under the guidance of priests goaded or seduced into sedition. If Englishmen read this work,

they will find that a great portion of the leaders of the United Irishmen were gentlemen by birth, education, and profession; many of them celebrated for their talents, respected for their private worth; several of them scholars who had distinguished themselves in the University of Dublin; the majority of them members of the Established Church; some of them Presbyterian ministers; few, if any, of them who did not exert more or less influence over their countrymen. While Scotland preserves the memory of those who fell in the Rebellion of 1745, while their lives and actions are recorded by loyal Scotchmen, and read by loyal Englishmen, there can be no reason why the reminiscences of the Irish Rebellion of 1798, and of those who unfortunately were engaged in it, should not be faithfully recorded, without prejudice to the loyalty of the writer or the reader of their history.

We have outlived the wrongs that made rebels of these men.

In our times their descendants are possessed of rights, for the enjoyment of which they have reason to be good and loyal subjects. It is now, not only their duty, but their interest to be so.

Their fathers lived at a period when the great body of the people laboured under grievous wrongs. They thought, perhaps erroneously, that “tyranny was not government, and that allegiance was due only to protection.”

There is a degree of oppression, which we are told by Divine authority, drives even “wise men mad.” Whether the wrongs of the Irish people, and their sufferings at the hands of the domineering faction in power in this country, under the Pale policy and under the penal code, amounted to that degree of exasperation, the reader must determine. Their leaders certainly acted on that belief, that their grievances had reached, and passed the limits of human patience.

One who has seen the miserable effects of political commotions and revolutions in other countries, is not likely to regard engagement in similar struggles as the result, at all times, of the exercise of the highest courage or the purest patriotism,—or to consider the advantages obtained by force or violence, on many occasions, worth the perils, terrors, and penalties of the strife.

In the times of the United Irishmen, that dependence on the power of public opinion for the redress of political grievances, which has now happily superseded the employment of physical force, was unknown, and every political measure of great magnitude was carried either by the menace of violence, or recourse to the demonstration of it.

No party seemed sensible of the awful responsibility of those who “let loose the dogs of war” on the country; and the leading men of the

Society of United Irishmen, who first had recourse to violent means for effecting their objects, were themselves less aggrieved by the unjust and partial laws they sought to overturn, than the great mass of the people, who were oppressed and borne down by them.

But where there is tyranny that “grinds the faces of the poor” and galls the hearts of the people, it is not the wise or the reflecting who are first driven to revolt, but the multitude, whose passions are exasperated, whose labour is robbed, or privileges invaded; who are goaded to madness by a bad government, and, in the first outbreak of their fury, whose vengeance bursts forth in the form of a wild justice, bootless of results, badly directed, indefinite in its objects, and, at the onset, striking at all around, like a drunken man in a quarrel, dealing blows, no matter how or where they fall.

At the commencement of such struggles, the first movers never act in the way which those who reflect on their movements might suppose best calculated to enable them to redress their wrongs. They proceed from one false step to another, till their cause is brought to the brink of ruin.

If that cause were just, it is at such a juncture that a wise man, who loved his country and compassionated the people, were he called upon to take a part in their struggle, would deem it his duty to put these questions to himself:—

1. Have the wrongs that are complained of, and the dangers which menace the community, reached that point, when to leave the people without guidance, is to leave them to destruction?
2. Are the people in rebellion, or about to engage in it, embarked in a good and righteous cause?
3. Are they likely to succeed?
4. Are they sure to be bettered by success?
5. Have they risen in defence, not only of civil rights and material interests, but of the highest interests of all, those of religion, outraged to the last degree of impiety or intolerance?
6. Have their discontents arisen from the temporary or the permanent pressure of physical sufferings?
7. Have they overrated the value of the rights or privileges they are seeking to obtain?
8. Have they been misled by ambitious and designing men, or been goaded into rebellion by tyrants for their own wicked ends?
9. Can their wrongs be redressed without resistance?
10. Who is to decide for the people when resistance is allowable or likely to be successful?
11. At what period of oppression does the law of nature justify resistance to the laws of man?
12. In the Divine law, what sanction is there

to be found for resistance to constituted authority?

These are questions it would behove a conscientious man to put to himself, and to have answered satisfactorily, before he stirred in the cause of a revolted people. These are questions that could not be seriously asked and truthfully replied to without leading to the conclusion that the results of revolutions have seldom realized the expectations that have been formed of benefits to be obtained by civil war, and without bringing the inquirer to Cicero's opinion on this subject, "*Iniquissimam pacem, justissimo bello antifero.*"

The grand question, in which all the preceding queries are involved, is one which, on political grounds alone, can never be argued with advantage to rulers or the ruled.

The "appeal to Heaven," as recourse to the sword has been impiously termed, has been too often made without a due consideration of the importance of the foregoing inquiries before those who decided on questions which thus involved the interests of an entire people adopted such an alternative. Sir James Macintosh has well observed:

Though the solution of this tremendous problem requires the calmest exercise of reason, the circumstances which bring it forward commonly call forth mightier

agents, which disturb and overpower the understanding.

In conjunctures so awful, when men feel more than they reason, their conduct is chiefly governed by the boldness or the weakness of their nature, by their love of liberty or their attachment to quiet, by their proneness or slowness to fellow-feeling with their countrymen.

In such a conflict there is little quiet left for moral deliberation. Yet, by the immutable principles of morality, and by them alone, must the historian try the conduct of all men, before he allows himself to consider all the circumstances of time, place, opinion, principle, example, temptation and obstacle, which, though they never authorize a removal of the everlasting landmarks of right and wrong, ought to be well weighed in allotting a due degree of commendation or censure to human actions.¹

It seems to be considered a sort of political *bienseance* to reprobate the act of referring to the history of the rebellion of 1798, as a renewal of painful recollections, which ought not to be recalled. The desire to bury in oblivion the wrongs of the injured, is one of those benevolent recommendations whose cheap charity is intended to cover a multitude of sins against humanity and justice. The recommendation, however, evinces a more tender regard for the char-

¹ "History of the Revolution of 1688."

acter of evil-doers, than any feeling of regret for the evils that have been inflicted or endured. So long as the persons who hold this language are not called upon to look upon the sufferings of a maltreated people, or that the outrages committed on the latter are not done at their own door, the danger of the repetition of such evils is of little moment, compared with the injury done by the publication of them to the character of an expiring faction whose interests they had formerly espoused, or compared with the expense of sensibility which a knowledge of those evils might occasion.

They have no objection to the history of the wrongs of the people of any other portion of the globe, but there is something sacred in atrocities perpetrated in Ireland. They are regarded by such persons with a feeling it is not easy to define, wherein pride and prejudice predominate, combined with a vague recollection of the oppressors having been originally of their own land and lineage, and with a disposition to recognize the justice of the old plea for plunder and oppression, namely, the barbarity of the spoiled and the enslaved.

It would seem as if such persons thought that the laws of God and man might be outraged with impunity, if a decent covering was only thrown over the naked enormities; and once they had been shrouded by those who had perpetrated

them, that it was an act of indecorum to lift the pall.

This feeling of reluctance to be incommoded by the disclosure of sufferings, which do not fall under personal or immediate observation, influences the conduct of a very large class of persons when they hear of the wrongs that have been inflicted on our people. They shrug their shoulders at the recital, and wonder why the Irish have not been at peace, have never ceased to make an outcry of their wrongs, and to wrangle among themselves!

The fact is, though Orangeism in England is not in repute, and its Irish orgies, like the Eleusinian mysteries, are a little too incomprehensible at times to be objects of unmixed admiration, there is no mistake, in respect to the repugnance that unfortunately is felt to any statement of the wrongs of the Irish people, which have existed. It is not because there is any peculiar affection for the Sirrs, the Sandys, the Swans, the Beresfords, the Castlereaghs, or Reynolds, but that a mortal prejudice has existed against the Irish people.

It requires in France all the genius of Mignet and Thiers to consecrate the doctrine of fatalism, as applied to the consideration of terrible events, and of atrocities on a grand scale, like those of the French Revolution. We have the doctrine in our own country; but we have only

the pitiful talents of a Musgrave, or persons of his school connected with the Orange press in England, to transform political atrocities into political beatitudes. With them the end always sanctifies the means: “*Ils ne vous disent pas—admirez Marat, mais admirer ses œuvres: le meurtrier n'est pas beau, c'est le meurtre qui est divin.*”¹

But some of them do contend that not only the murderous acts are useful, but the Marats of our country are men to be admired and rewarded as a matter of course. This goes far beyond the system of Thiers. “According to his doctrine,” says Chateaubriand, “it is necessary that the historian should recount the greatest atrocities without indignation, and speak of the highest virtues without love: that with a frozen glance he should regard society as submitted to certain irresistible laws, so that each event should take place as it must inevitably happen.”

Those, however, who think, with Chateaubriand, that an act of cruelty can never be useful, or one of injustice never necessary—who bear in mind that the remembrance of a single iniquitous condemnation, that of Socrates, “has traversed twenty centuries, to stigmatize his judges and executioners”—are not likely to adopt this system, or to deem it advisable, if practicable, for those who have to recount great

“*Etudes Historiques*,” par le Vicomte de Chateaubriand.

acts of barbarity, to divest themselves of all that is humane in their feelings, and retain only their powers of perception and examination, to find in every massacre, or extensive violation of justice, something that may turn to the account of our political opinions. Hardly any motive could induce a man, who was not an atheist or the hireling of a faction, to wade through the iniquities of 1798, and to give a faithful account of the events or the actors in the scenes of that dark period, except the hatred of oppression, injustice, and inhumanity.

That motive, I avow, induced me to take up this subject. The circumstances in which I have been placed, in connection with the efforts that have been made for the suppression of slavery and the slave trade, during many years past, were not calculated to make a man a bad hater of oppression in any country. The cruelties inflicted on the Indians of the new world were reprobated by mankind, their authors were stigmatized by our historians as men of barbarous and sanguinary disposition. The cruelties perpetrated on the people of Ireland in 1798 were chiefly the results of the iniquitous measures of which Lords Camden, Clare, and Castlereagh were the authors or advisers, and for the guilt of which these noble lords must ever be considered responsible, but not chiefly culpable. The great culprit was the British minister, William Pitt,

whose policy required such atrocities for its accomplishment. A licentious soldiery and an infuriated faction were let loose on the country. The free quarter system, and the general practice of scourging people, for the purpose of extorting confessions of criminality, were carried into effect with the full knowledge, the silent sanction, and virtual approval of those agents of his in the Irish government.

For their memories it might be wished that Ireland had no history, but for their country it is not to be desired that the story of her wrongs should be consigned to oblivion.

And I might ask how was that history to be told, and to leave the public conduct of the Clares, the Castlereaghs, and Cooks, uncensured?

Were the subordinate agents of the government,—the spies and the informers, the terrorists and the lictors of that day—the O'Briens, and the Reynolds, the Beresfords, and the Sirrs, Sandys, and Swans, the men who “measured their consequence by the coffins of their victims,” and estimated their services by the injuries they inflicted on the people,—were they alone, the official insects of the hour, to be preserved in the amber of the eloquent invective of a Curran or a Grattan, while the acts of their exalted employers and abettors were to be sponged out of our memories, and the tablet overwritten with

reminiscences of their rank, and the better qualities which in private life they might have exhibited?

In modern times the cruelties committed by slave dealers on the coast of Africa caused even the introduction into our official vocabulary of such epithets as "miscreants," "monsters," "enemies to the human race," etc., etc.; for with such epithets we find the parliamentary slave trade papers teem. The tortures, however, inflicted in Ireland on human beings who were more immediately entitled to British sympathy, because they were more within reach of its protection, in point of national consanguinity who were more of its own flesh, and in respect to religious relationship, bound to it in stricter bonds of Christian fellowship, deserved, in my humble opinion, to be placed in the same category of crimes as those in which are recorded the atrocities of the Spaniards and Portuguese, and to be ranked among the worst outrages on humanity that have ever been committed. We are fully as subject as the people of any other country on the face of the Earth to the fitful influence of that variable atmosphere of the feelings, which modifies our notions of the obligations of benevolence, and carries a spirit of conventional Christianity into our dealings with the wrongs and grievances which are brought before us, which at one period and for one class of sufferers en-

lives sensibility, and at another time and for another description of unfortunates stifles every emotion of compassion.

The nature of oppression is surely the same wherever it is practised, whether the violators of human rights be Spaniards, Portuguese, or members of any portion of the British Empire; whether they lived in a bygone age, or within our own remembrance; in whatever language their acts are execrated; whether their infamy is connected with the names of the *Conquistadores* of the new world, and the slave-dealing ravagers of a large portion of the old, or with those of the abettors of torture and cruelty in a country which was governed by British laws, or with the names of Lords Clare and Castlereagh in one of the darkest pages of the history of British rule in Ireland.

I am well aware that it would not only be conformable to Christian charity, but most highly conducive to human happiness, were we to bear in mind the infirmities of our nature in all our dealings with the faults, and even the crimes, of our fellow-men, and, to use the words of a very wise man (Sir James Stephen), if we were to consider that, "after all, the men we deprecate are our kinsmen," instead of crucifying their misdeeds, if we occupied our thoughts with thankful emotions that we had been placed in happier circumstances than those persons had

been surrounded by, and that we had not been subjected to the same temptations, by the possession of power, without limits to its exercise, and of interests that were incompatible with the natural rights or civil privileges of other men.

The only good that can arise from the history of such times as those of 1798, and from preserving the remembrance of the enormities committed in them, is the prevention of similar evils, by pointing out the inevitable result of them in the long run, the calamities which overtake the perpetrators of cruel and barbarous acts, the retributive justice, slow but sure, which, sooner or later, visits every signal violation of humanity with its proper punishment.

I have endeavoured to place the characters and the acts of the men who are the subjects of the various memoirs in these volumes in their true light before the public, most of whom, in their private characters, had been grievously traduced and vilified by the malignant press which is at the command of Orangeism in both countries, and, by a faithful exhibition of the crimes and calamities of civil war, to contribute (as far as it was in my power to effect this object) to prevent the entertainment of a thought, unaccompanied with horror, of a recurrence to the evils which it has been my painful task to record.

In the performance of this undertaking I

would beg leave to observe, if I have not brought abilities to the task worthy of its character, perhaps the humble merit may be accorded to my efforts of having devoted to this work a vast amount of labour in the collection of the materials and the verification of disputed facts. There is little danger, perhaps, of an exaggerated opinion being formed of the extent to which that labour has been carried. I commenced this work in 1836, with the determination of bringing the subjects of it fully before the people of England, to get a hearing from them for the history of the men engaged in the rebellion of 1798. That determination was based on the conviction that the people of England, in common fairness, were bound to hear what those men had to attempt to say in their own defence, or those most closely connected with them, who considered themselves charged with the protection of their memories; inasmuch as their character, conduct, and proceedings had heretofore only been made known to them by their mortal enemies.

In dealing with the authors of those many acts of injustice and inhumanity it has been necessary to refer to in this work, though I am fully aware of the error of considering the conduct of such individuals too much apart from the circumstances by which their passions were engaged, their proceedings entrained, and their interests

arrayed against the better feelings of their nature, there is another error which, in common with many writers on the subject of the rebellion of 1798, I am conscious of having been betrayed into, not less to be reproved, namely, that of devoting too much attention to the subordinate agents of the government, to the reprobation of the miscreants by whom the various tortures of scourging, picketing, pitch-capping, and half-hanging were inflicted, or the wretches of that train of stipendiary informers, best known by the appellation of "the battalion of testimony," drilled, dieted, and dressed up for production on the trials of persons charged with offences against the state, as reputable witnesses, by the Verres of his day, the redoubted Major Sirr, and his compeers.

Too much notice has been taken of the vices of those menials of the government of that day, for "servants must their masters' minds fulfil;" and a great deal too much impunity has been accorded to the crimes of the prime minister, who tolerated and countenanced, or left unpunished, their atrocious acts; for ministers must know it is their misfortune, as

"It is the curse of kings to be attended
By slaves that take their humour for a warrant
To break within the bloody house of life,
And, on the winking of authority,
To understand a law."

The conduct of the men whose lives and actions are the subject of this work, it would be absurd to consider apart from the nature of the government under which they lived. In forming any opinion of their conduct in relation to it, the grand question for consideration is, whether the system of corruption, rapacity, terror, and injustice under which Ireland was ruled at the period in question, deserved the name of government, or had totally departed from all those original principles and intentions on which it claimed to be founded, and with which it was presumed to be endowed for the public good.

The aim and end of the government of Ireland in 1798 was to perpetuate oppression, and break down the national spirit and national independence that menaced its existence; to make the people servile and powerless, and to keep them so, by fomenting religious dissensions; to promote the interests of a miserable minority, while affecting to ignore the sordid views that were covered, but not concealed, by the veil of a holy zeal for religious interests; to bestow all its honours, patronage, and protection on that small section of the community which my Lord Stanley, in one of his fitful moods, was pleased to call “the remnant of an expiring faction.” Against this government the Society of United Irishmen reared its head and raised its hand, and

failed in a daring struggle with its power. Whether it deserved success, or took the best means to insure it, are questions which the perusal of these volumes may enable the reader to determine.

The force of public opinion, constituted as it now is, exercises a mighty influence over oppression, by bringing it into perplexity, disrepute, and disability for evil, and serves as the palladium of downcast liberty, to enable it, when it has been beaten down for a time, to rise up under its shelter, to renew a bloodless fight with tyranny, and in every change of circumstances and of fortune, in the conflict with corruption, avarice, or despotism, still to enable it to linger on the field, and take advantage of the public enemy at every opening in its mail. There are times, however, when public opinion has no such power and no such field for its legitimate warfare—when it has no such weapons to oppose to tyranny, and the times of which this work treats were peculiarly of that description.

But even in the worst of times and in the most despotic countries, Providence seems to direct the career of a small mass of virtue and intelligence that tyranny cannot subdue, that mammon cannot corrupt, nor prevailing folly, ignorance, nor debasement discourage nor obstruct; that under good report and bad report pursues the eyen tenor of its way, and, unsuspected and

unnoticed, undermines the fastnesses of despotism, working onward like the worm in the book, that pierces every day page after page, till at length it makes its way through all its substance.

I have noticed, even in countries where despotism is supposed to be all-powerful, an undercurrent of political literature that flows smoothly and silently, and wends its way through the land without attracting much observation, till it becomes a broad stream at length, on which the bark of freedom and enlightenment is borne bravely onward.

And in the execution of this arduous undertaking, which, at times, I have felt as if it never would be accomplished, and at others, as if it had been better for me and mine that it had never been commenced, it only remains for me to express my gratitude to those persons by whom I have been assisted with information, and entrusted with valuable documents, and have thus been enabled to bring my work to a successful termination, and in an especial manner to persons diametrically opposed to me in religious as well as political opinions—to English people in particular, given to literature, or engaged in periodical publications.

I would also beg to acknowledge the obligations which I owe to a noble English lord, whose name, in early life, was connected with the names of the great and good men of a former

and more brilliant era in English parliamentary history, who were friends to Ireland and its people. To Lord Brougham I am indebted for an introduction to the first living French historian, wherein his lordship called on that distinguished person to facilitate, by every means in his power, the object I had in view—the elucidation of an important period of Irish history—by obtaining access for me to documents connected with it, that exist in certain public offices in Paris.

I make this acknowledgment with pleasure and with gratitude to his lordship. I put forward no pretensions to the merit of having done the full justice to my subject that it required. I am quite sensible how much the work falls short of its requirements; but I am conscious of having done more than has been hitherto effected towards collecting materials that will serve for a faithful history of a very memorable period in the annals of British imperial rule, and a record of some of the most remarkable men that Ireland ever produced. The result of those labours has been to bring together a mass of information, which, but for such efforts, must, to a great extent, have perished with individuals, who were actors in the struggle of 1798, over a great many of whom the grave has closed since my researches were commenced.

I will conclude this historical review with a brief repetition of my objects in writing this

work: To do justice to the dead, and a service to the living, by deterring rulers who would be tyrants from pursuing the policy of 1798, and men of extravagant or lightly-weighed opinions from ill-considered projects against oppression, whose driftless efforts against potent despotism never fail to give new strength to the latter; to exhibit the evils of bad government; the mischievous agency of spies, informers, stipendiary swearers, and fanatical adherents; the foul crime of exasperating popular feeling, or exaggerating the sense of public wrongs; to make the wickedness fully known of fomenting rebellion for state purposes and then, employing savage and inhuman means to defeat it; to convince the people, moreover, of the folly of entering into secret associations with the idea of keeping plans against oppression unknown through the instrumentality of oaths and tests; by showing the manifold dangers, in such times, to which integrity and innocence are exposed from temptations of all kinds to treachery; and, lastly, by directing attention to the great fact of modern times—the power of breaking down bad government when there is a stage for public opinion, a virtuous people, and earnest leaders, resolutely honest, by peaceful means, and by resistance of a passive kind to all the illegalities and acts of violence of any administration that departs from the purpose for which it was created—namely,

for the distribution of justice, equal and impartial, to all classes of the community.

One object more I have had in view—to expose and prevent a recurrence to a system or government carried on by means of dissensions, rancours, and divisions, industriously fomented, by religious animosities made subservient to a policy that might be supposed to prevail only in a heathen land. That policy I have endeavoured to expose the results of in these volumes. It prevailed for centuries before Tone was born, and was in being when this mournful epitome of Irish history was written:

“God made the land; and all His works are good;
Man made the laws; and all they breath’d was blood.
Unhallowed annals of six hundred years!
A code of blood, a history of tears.”

Henry Grattan

*The Chief Advocate of the Independence of the Irish
Parliament in 1782. After an Engraving by
James Ramsay from a Painting by
Charles Turner, now in the Na-
tional Gallery, Dublin*



CHAPTER IX

ORIGIN OF THE UNITED IRISHMEN

IT is not only epidemic diseases which, under peculiar circumstances, assume a contagious character, but epidemic influences of a moral nature, widely disseminated, which at certain periods acquire a particular degree of activity, when all opinions that are brought into contact with them become infected by the same virus, and the result is, a predominant impulse to think, act, and move in one common direction.

This is the *rationale*, in fact, of all great impulsive movements of a popular kind, when masses of people combine simultaneously and conspire in several places at the same time, for a special object, no matter how indefinite and impracticable it may be, or of what magnitude —for a religious crusade, an exodus, a revolt, or a reform.

The contagion of the American revolt was productive in Ireland of that sturdy spirit of nationality and love of independence which called into existence the Volunteer Association.

The contagion of the French Revolution of 1789 communicated those influences to Irish politics which eventuated in the formation of the Society of United Irishmen.

Early in the month of October, 1791, some of the Catholic leaders attempted to form a society "instituted for the purpose of promoting unanimity amongst Irishmen, and removing religious prejudices." This society was projected previously to the formation of the Society of United Irishmen. The attempt was not successful, but the idea was caught at, and embodied in the formation of a society in Belfast called the Society of United Irishmen. The declaration of the former society, though very remarkable and worthy of notice, is not alluded to by Tone.

The Society of the United Irishmen was formed in Belfast in the month of October, 1791, by Theobald Wolfe Tone, a young barrister of remarkable talent, then in his twenty-eighth year. A political club, composed of the liberal volunteers of that city, under the guidance of a secret committee, had been previously in existence, the leading members of which club were Neilson, Russell, Simms, Sinclair, M'Tier, M'Cabe, Diggles, Bryson, Jordan, etc. Tone, in his "Diary," says he went down to Belfast on the 11th of October, 1791, by invitation of the members of this club, and "on the 12th did business with the secret committee, who are not known or suspected of coöperating, but who, in fact, direct the movements in Belfast," He at once set about remodelling certain resolutions of this association. On the 18th of October, Tone

speaks of the first regular meeting of the United Irishmen which he attended in Belfast; twenty members present; the club consisting of thirty-six original members.

The declaration of the Society of United Irishmen, drawn up by Tone, and read at the first general meeting, the 18th of October, 1791, in Belfast, stated, "the great measure essential to the prosperity and freedom of Ireland was an equal representation of all the people of Ireland." The great evil was English influence.

We have no national government. We are ruled by Englishmen and the servants of Englishmen, whose object is the interest of another country, whose instrument is corruption, and whose strength is the weakness of Ireland: and these men have the whole of the power and patronage of the country as means to seduce and to subdue the honesty and the spirit of her representatives in the legislature, etc.

To effect their objects, the declaration states, "*The Society of United Irishmen has been formed.*" The following resolutions were proposed and carried:

1st. That the weight of English influence in the government of this country is so great as to require a cordial union among all the people of Ireland, to maintain that balance which is essential to the preservation of our liberties and the extension of our commerce.

2nd. That the sole constitutional mode by which this influence can be opposed is by a complete and radical reform of the representation of the people in parliament.

3rd. That no reform is just which does not include Irishmen of every religious persuasion.¹

In the month of November, 1791, Tone, having returned to Dublin, consulted with Napper Tandy about the formation of another society like that of Belfast, in Dublin; and, in a few weeks, the Society of United Irishmen was established in the capital.

The first chairman of the meetings in Dublin was the Hon. Simon Butler, and the first secretary, James Napper Tandy. It is worthy of attention that both Tone and Tandy at this period were republicans, and yet the society they founded was formed expressly to obtain a reform in Parliament and the abolition of the penal code. In fact, whatever their own views were with respect to republicanism or separation, the great body of the original members looked to the achievement of reform alone; and even Tone himself says: "At this time the establishment of a republic was not the immediate object of my speculations: my object was to secure the independence of my country under any form of government," etc. Tone states, "The

¹ *Vide*, "Life of T. W. Tone."

club was scarcely formed before I lost all pretensions to anything like influence in their measures." That he "sunk into obscurity in the club, which, however, I had the satisfaction to see daily increasing in numbers and importance."

The first meeting of the Dublin Society of United Irishmen took place at the Eagle Tavern, in Eustace Street, the 9th of November, 1791, the Hon. Simon Butler in the chair, James Napper Tandy secretary. The declaration and resolutions of the Belfast Society were adopted at that meeting.

CONSTITUTION OF THE SOCIETY OF UNITED IRISHMEN OF
THE CITY OF DUBLIN, AS FIRST AGREED UPON.

The society is constituted for the purpose of forwarding a brotherhood of affection, an identity of interests, a communion of rights, and an union of power, among Irishmen of all religious persuasions, and thereby obtaining an impartial and adequate representation of the nation in parliament.

The members of this society are either ordinary or honorary.

Such persons only are eligible as honorary members who have distinguished themselves by promoting the liberties of mankind, and are not inhabitants of Ireland.

Every candidate for admission into the society, whether as an ordinary or honorary member, shall be proposed by two ordinary members, who shall sign

a certificate of his being, from their knowledge of him, a fit person to be admitted, that he has seen the test, and is willing to take it. This certificate, delivered to the secretary, shall be read from the chair at the ensuing meeting of the society; and on the next subsequent night of meeting, the society shall proceed to the election. The names and additions of the candidate, with the names of those by whom he has been proposed, shall be inserted in the summons for the night of election. The election shall be conducted by ballot, and if one-fifth of the number of beans be black, the candidate stands rejected. The election, with respect to an ordinary member, shall be void if he does not attend within four meetings afterwards, unless he can plead some reasonable excuse for his absence.

Every person elected a member of the society, whether honorary or ordinary, shall, previous to his admission, take and subscribe the following test:—

“I, A. B., in the presence of God, do pledge myself to my country, that I will use all my abilities and influence in the attainment of an impartial and adequate representation of the Irish nation in parliament; and as a means of absolute and immediate necessity in the establishment of this chief good of Ireland, I will endeavour, as much as lies in my ability, to forward a brotherhood of affection, an identity of interests, a communion of rights, and an union of power, among Irishmen of all religious persuasions, without which every reform in parliament must be partial, not national, inadequate to the wants, delusive to the wishes, and insufficient for the freedom and happiness of this country.”

'A member of another Society of United Irishmen being introduced to the president by a member of this society, shall, upon producing a certificate, signed by the secretary, and sealed with the seal of the society to which he belongs, and taking the before-mentioned test, be thereupon admitted to attend the sittings of this society.

The officers of the society shall consist of a president, treasurer, and secretary, who shall be severally elected every three months, viz., on every first night of meeting in the months of November, February, May, and August; the election to be determined by each member present writing on a piece of paper the names of the object of his choice, and putting it into a box. The majority of votes shall decide. If the votes are equal the president shall have a casting voice. No person shall be capable of being re-elected to any office for the quarter next succeeding the determination of his office. In case of an occasional vacancy in any office by death, or otherwise, the society shall, on the next night of meeting, elect a person to the same for the remainder of the quarter.

The society shall meet on every second Friday night; oftener if necessary. The chair shall be taken at eight o'clock from the 29th of September to the 25th of March, and at nine o'clock, from the 25th of March to the 29th of September. Fifteen members shall form a quorum. No new business shall be introduced after ten o'clock.

Every respect and deference shall be paid to the president. His chair shall be raised three steps above the seats of the members; the treasurer and secretary

shall have seats under him, two steps above the seats of the members. On his rising from his chair and taking off his hat, there must be silence, and the members be seated. He shall be judge of order and propriety, be empowered to direct an apology, and to fine refractory members in any sum not above one crown. If the member refuse to pay the fine, or make the apology, he is thereupon expelled from the society.

There shall be a committee of constitution, of finance, of correspondence, and of accommodation. The committee of constitution shall consist of nine members; that of finance, of seven members; that of correspondence, of five members. Each committee shall, independent of occasional reports, make general reports on every quarterly meeting. The treasurer shall be under the direction of the committee of finance, and the secretary under the direction of the committee of correspondence. The election for committees shall be on every quarterly meeting, and decided by the majority of votes.

In order to defray the necessary expenses, and establish a fund for the use of the society, each ordinary member shall, on his election, pay to the treasurer, by those who proposed him, one guinea admission fee, and also one guinea annually, by half-yearly payments, on every first night of meeting in November and May; the first payment thereof to be on the first night of meeting in November, 1792. On every quarterly meeting following, the names of the defaulters, as they appear in the treasury-book, shall be read from the chair. If any member, after the second reading, neglect to pay his subscription, he shall be excluded the society,

unless he can show some reasonable excuse for his default.

The secretary shall be furnished with the following seal:—viz., a harp—at the top, “I am new strung;” at the bottom, “I will be heard;” and on the exergue, “Society of United Irishmen of Dublin.”

No motion for an alteration of, or addition to, the constitution shall be made but at the quarterly meetings, and notice of such motion shall be given fourteen days previous to those meetings. If upon such motion the society shall see ground for the proposed alteration or addition, the same shall be referred to the proper committee, with instructions to report on the next night of meeting their opinions thereon; and upon such report the question shall be decided by the society.

Theobald Wolfe Tone, the original and principal founder of the institution, in a letter addressed to one of his friends at Belfast, containing the resolutions and declarations written by him, upon which the institution was founded, observed:

The foregoing contains my true and sincere opinions of the state of this country, so far as in the present juncture it may be advisable to publish them. They certainly fall short of the truth, but truth itself must sometimes condescend to temporize. My unalterable opinion is, that the bane of Irish prosperity is in the influence of England; I believe that influence will ever be extended while the connection between the two countries continues; nevertheless, as I know that opinion is for the present too hardy, though a very little time

may establish it universally, I have not made it a part of the resolutions. I have only proposed to set up a reformed parliament as a barrier against that mischief which every honest man that will open his eyes must see in every instance overbears the interest of Ireland. I have not said one word that looks like a wish for separation, though I give it to you and your friends as my most decided opinion, that such an event would be a regeneration to this country.

I have, you will see, alluded to the resolutions of the Whig Club, and I have differed with them in degree only—that is, I think, and I am sure, they do not go far enough; they are not sincere friends to the popular cause; they dread the people as much as the Castle does. It may be objected that an implied difference in sentiment between them and the people will weaken both: I think otherwise. If they do not join you in supporting a reform in parliament, they do not deserve support themselves; apply the touchstone—if they stand the trial, well; if they fail, they are false and hollow, and the sooner they are detected the better; what signifies peddling with their superficial measures? They are good so far as they go, but for the people to spend their strength in pursuit of such, would be just as wise as for a man who has a mortification in his bowels to be very solicitous about a plaster for his fore finger. To be candid, I dare say that my Lord Charlemont, and I am pretty sure that Mr. Grattan, would hesitate very much at the resolutions which I send; but I only beg you will dismiss your respect for great names; read over the resolutions and what I have now said, and then determine impartially between us.

I have alluded to the Catholics, but so remotely as I hope not to alarm the most cautious Protestant; it is wicked nonsense to talk of a reform in Ireland in which they shall not have their due share.

I have, in the third resolution, conceded very far indeed to what I consider as vulgar and ignorant prejudices: look at France and America; the Pope burnt in effigy at Paris; the English Catholics seceding from his church. A thousand arguments crowd on me, but it is unnecessary here to dwell on them. I hope you will find this resolution sufficiently guarded and cool. I have been purposely vague and indefinite; and I must say, men who would seek a reform, and admit that indispensable step, have different notions both of expediency and justice from any that I can conceive.

I think the best opportunity for publishing them will be on the 14th of July; I learn there is to be a commemoration of the French Revolution, that morning star of liberty to Ireland. The Volunteers, if they approve of the plan, may then adopt it, and I have so worded it as to leave them an opportunity. I have left, as you see, a blank for the name, which, I am clearly of opinion, should be, "THE SOCIETY OF UNITED IRISHMEN."

Circular, dated Friday, December 30, 1791

SOCIETY OF UNITED IRISHMEN OF DUBLIN

The Honourable Simon Butler, *Chairman.*

Resolved unanimously, that the following circular letter, reported by our Committee of Correspondence, be adopted and printed:—

This letter is addressed to you from the Corresponding Committee of the Society of United Irishmen of Dublin.

We annex the declaration of political principles which we have subscribed, and the test which we have taken, as a social and sacred compact to bind us more closely together.

The object of this institution is to make an United Society of the Irish Nation; to make all Irishmen Citizens—all Citizens Irishmen; nothing appearing to us more natural at all times, and at this crisis of Europe more seasonable than that those who have common interests and common enemies, who suffer common wrongs, and lay claim to common rights, should know each other, and should act together. In our opinion, ignorance has been the demon of discord, which has so long deprived Irishmen, not only of the blessings of well-regulated government, but even the common benefits of civil society. Peace in this island has hitherto been a peace on the principles and with the consequences of civil war. For a century past, there has, indeed, been tranquillity, but to most of our dear countrymen it has been the tranquillity of a dungeon; and if the land has lately prospered, it has been owing to the goodness of Providence, and the strong effort of human nature, resisting and overcoming the malignant influence of a miserable administration.

To resist this influence, which rules by discord and embroils by system, it is vain to act as individuals or as parties; it becomes necessary, by an union of minds, and a knowledge of each other, to will and act as a nation. To know each other is to know ourselves—

the weakness of one, and the strength of many. Union, therefore, is power; it is wisdom; it must prove liberty.

Our design, therefore, in forming this society, is to give an example, which, when well followed, must collect the public will, and concentrate the public power, into one solid mass, the effect of which, once put in motion, must be rapid, momentous, and consequential.

In thus associating, we have thought little about our ancestors, much of our posterity. Are we for ever to walk like beasts of prey, over fields which these ancestors stained with blood? In looking back, we see nothing on the one part but savage force, succeeded by savage policy; on the other, an unfortunate nation, "scattered and peeled, meted out, and trodden down!" We see a mutual intolerance, and a common carnage of the first moral emotions of the heart which lead us to esteem and place confidence in our fellow-creatures. We see this, and are silent. But we gladly look forward to brighter prospects; to a people united in the fellowship of freedom; to a parliament the express image of the people; to a prosperity established on civil, political, and religious liberty; to a peace—not the gloomy and precarious stillness of men brooding over their wrongs, but that stable tranquillity which rests on the rights of human nature, and leans on the arms by which these rights are to be maintained.

Our principal rule of conduct has been to attend to those things in which we agree, to exclude from our thoughts those in which we differ. We agree in knowing what are our rights, and in daring to assert them. If the rights of men be duties to God, we are, in respect, of one religion. Our creed of civil faith is the same.

We agree in thinking that there is not an individual among our millions, whose happiness can be established on any foundation so rational and so solid, as on the happiness of the whole community. We agree, therefore, in the necessity of giving political value and station to the great majority of the people; and we think that whoever desires an amended constitution, without including the great body of the people, must on his own principles be convicted of political persecution and political monopoly. If the present electors be themselves a morbid part of our constitution, where are we to recur for redress but to the whole community? "A more unjust and absurd constitution cannot be devised, than that which condemns the natives of a country to perpetual servitude, under the arbitrary dominion of strangers and slaves."

We agree in thinking, that the first and most indispensable condition of the laws in a free state, is the assent of those whose obedience they require, and for whose benefit only they are designed. Without, therefore, an impartial and adequate representation of the community, we agree in declaring, we can have no constitution, no country, no Ireland. Without this, our late revolution we declare to be fallacious and ideal—a thing much talked of, but neither felt nor seen. The act of Irish sovereignty has been merely tossed out of the English Houses into the cabinet of the Minister; and nothing remains to the people, who of right are everything, but a servile majesty and a ragged independence.

We call most earnestly on every great and good man, who at the late era spoke or acted for his country, to

consider less of what was done, than of what there remains to do. We call upon their senatorial wisdom to consider the monstrous and immeasurable distance which separates, in this island, the ranks of social life, makes labour ineffectual, taxation unproductive, and divides the nation into petty despotism and public misery. We call upon their tutelar genius to remember, that government is instituted to remedy, not to render more grievous, the natural inequalities of mankind, and that, unless the rights of the whole community be asserted, anarchy (we cannot call it government) must continue to prevail, when the strong tyrannize, the rich oppress, and the mass are brayed as in a mortar. We call upon them, therefore, to build their arguments and their actions on the broad platform of general good.

Let not the rights of nature be enjoyed merely by connivance, and the rights of conscience merely by toleration. If you raise up a prone people, let it not be merely to their knees. Let the nation stand. Then will it cast away the bad habit of servitude, which has brought with it indolence, ignorance, and extinction of our faculties—an abandonment of our very nature. Then will every right obtained, every franchise exerted, prove a seed of sobriety, industry, and regard to character, and the manners of the people will be formed on the model of their free constitution.

This rapid exposition of our principles, our object, and our rule of conduct, must naturally suggest the wish of multiplying similar societies, and the propriety of addressing such a desire to you. Is it necessary for us to request that you will hold out your hand

and open your heart to your countryman, townsman, neighbour? Can you form a hope for political redemption, and by political penalties, or civil excommunications, withhold the rights of nature from your brother? We beseech you to rally all the friends of liberty within your circle round a society of this kind as a centre. Draw together your best and bravest thoughts, your best and bravest men. You will experience, as we have done, that these points of union will quickly attract numbers, while the assemblage of such societies, acting in concert, moving as one body, with one impulse and one direction, will, in no long time, become, not parts of the nation, but the nation itself, speaking with its voice, expressing its will, resistless in its power. We again entreat you to look around for men fit to form those stable supports on which Ireland may rest the lever of liberty. If there be but ten, take those ten. If there be but two, take those two, and trust with confidence to the sincerity of your intention, the justice of your cause, and the support of your country.

Two objects interest the nation: A plan of representation, and the means of accomplishing it. These societies will be a most powerful means. But a popular plan would itself be a means for its own accomplishment. We have, therefore, to request that you will favour us with your ideas respecting the plan which appears to you most eligible and practicable, on the present more enlarged and liberal principles which actuate the people; at the same time giving your sentiments upon our national coalition, on the means of promoting it, and on the political state and disposi-

tion of the country or town where you reside. We know what resistance will be made to your patriotic efforts by those who triumph in the disunion and degradation of their country. The greater the necessity for reform, the greater will be the resistance. We know that there is much spirit that requires being brought into mass, as well as much massy body that must be refined into spirit. We have many enemies, and no enemy is contemptible. We do not despise the enemies of the union, the liberty, and the peace, of Ireland, but we are not of a nature, nor have we encouraged the habit of fearing any man, or any body of men, in an honest and honourable cause. In great undertakings like the present, we declare that we have found it always more difficult to attempt than to accomplish. The people of Ireland must perform all that they wish, if they attempt all that they can.

Signed by order,

JAMES NAPPER TANDY, *Sec.*

At the different meetings of the society, in 1791 and 1792, the language used was uniformly bold, and violent, and imprudent. At the close of the latter year, at a meeting of which William Drennan was chairman, and Archibald Hamilton Rowan secretary, an address was submitted, in which a convention was proposed, and the object of the society was declared to be, "a national legislature, and its means an union of the people. The government is called on, if it has a sincere regard for the safety of the constitu-

tion, to coincide with the people in the speedy reform of its abuses, and not by an obstinate adherence to them, to drive the people into republicanism."

EXTRACT FROM AN ADDRESS FROM THE SOCIETY OF UNITED
IRISHMEN IN DUBLIN TO THE DELEGATES FOR PRO-
MOTING A REFORM IN SCOTLAND.¹

WILLIAM DRENNAN, Chairman.

ARCHIBALD HAMILTON ROWAN, Secretary.

November 23, 1792.

We take the liberty of addressing you in the spirit of civil union, in the fellowship of a just and common cause. We greatly rejoice that the spirit of freedom moves over Scotland; that the light seems to break from the chaos of her internal government; and that a country so respectable for her attainments in science, in arts, and in arms, for men of literary eminence, for the intelligence and morality of her people, now acts from a conviction of the union between virtue, letters, and liberty, and now rises to distinction, not by a calm, contented, secret wish for a reform in parliament, but by openly, actively, and urgently willing it, with the unity and energy of an embodied nation. We rejoice that you do not consider yourselves as merged and melted down into another country, but that in this great national question, you are still Scotland—the land where Buchanan wrote, and Fletcher spoke, and Wallace fought.

¹ Written by Dr. Drennan.

'Away from us and our children these puerile antipathies, so unworthy of the manhood of nations, which insulate individuals as well as countries, and drive the citizen back to the savage! We esteem and we respect you. We pay merited honour to a nation, in general well educated and well informed, because we know that the ignorance of the people is the cause and effect of all civil and religious despotism. We honour a nation regular in their lives, and strict in their manners, because we conceive private morality to be the only secure foundation of public policy. We honour a nation eminent for men of genius, and we trust that they will now exert themselves, not so much in perusing and penning the histories of other countries, as in making their own a subject for the historian. May we venture to observe to them, that mankind have been too retrospective, canonized antiquity, and undervalued themselves. Man has reposed on ruins, and rested his head on some fragments of the temple of liberty, or at most, amused himself in placing the measurement of the edifice, and nicely limiting its proportions, not reflecting that this temple is truly catholic, the ample Earth its area, and the arch of Heaven its dome.

We will lay open to you our own hearts. Our cause is your cause. If there is to be a struggle between us, let it be which nation shall be foremost in the race of mind; let this be the noble animosity kindled between us, who shall first attain that free constitution, from which both are equidistant—who shall first be the saviour of the empire.

In this society, and its affiliated societies, the Catholic and the Presbyterian are at this instant holding

out their hands and opening their hearts to each other; agreeing in principles, concurring in practice. We unite for immediate, ample, and substantial justice to the Catholics, and when that is attained, a combined exertion for reform in parliament is the condition of our compact and the seal of our communion.

Universal emancipation, with representative legislature, is the polar principle which guides our society, and shall guide it through all the tumult of factions and fluctuations of parties. It is not upon a coalition of opposition with ministry that we depend, but upon a coalition of Irishmen with Irishmen, and in that coalition alone, we find an object worthy of reform, and at the same time the strength and sinew both to attain and secure it. It is not upon external circumstances, upon the pledge of man or minister, we depend, but upon the internal energy of the Irish nation. We will not buy or borrow liberty from America or France, but manufacture it ourselves, and work it up with those materials which the hearts of Irishmen furnish them with at home. We do not worship the British, far less the Irish, constitution, as sent down from Heaven, but we consider it as human workmanship, which man has made and man can mend. An unalterable constitution, whatever be its nature, must be despotism. It is not the constitution but the people which ought to be inviolable, and it is time to recognize and renovate the rights of the English, the Scotch, and the Irish nations—rights which can neither be bought nor sold, granted by charter, or forestalled by monopoly, but which nature dictates as the birth-right of all, and which it is the business of a constitution to define,

to enforce, and to establish. If government has a sincere regard for the safety of the constitution, let them coincide with the people in the speedy reform of its abuses, and not by an obstinate adherence to them, drive that people into republicanism.

We have told you what our situation was, what it is, what it ought to be: our end, a national legislature; our means, an union of the whole people. Let this union extend throughout the empire; let all unite for all, or each man suffer for all. In each county let the people assemble, in peaceful and constitutional convention. . . .

THE SOCIETY OF UNITED IRISHMEN. AT DUBLIN, TO THE
VOLUNTEERS OF IRELAND.

WILLIAM DRENNAN, Chairman.

ARCHIBALD HAMILTON ROWAN, Secretary.

December 14, 1792.

CITIZEN SOLDIERS,

You first took up arms to protect your country from foreign enemies and from domestic disturbance. For the same purposes it now becomes necessary that you should resume them. A proclamation has been issued in England for embodying the militia; and a proclamation has been issued by the Lord Lieutenant and Council in Ireland, for repressing all seditious associations. In consequence of both these proclamations, it is reasonable to apprehend danger from abroad and danger at home. From whence but from apprehended danger are those menacing preparations for war drawn through the streets of this capital, or whence, if not

to create that internal commotion which was not found, to shake that credit which was not affected, to blast that Volunteer honour which was hitherto inviolate, are those terrible suggestions and rumours and whispers that meet us at every corner, and agitate, at least, our old men, our women, and children. Whatever be the motive, or from whatever quarter it arises, alarm has arisen, and you, VOLUNTEERS OF IRELAND, are thus summoned to arms at the instance of government, as well as by the responsibility attached to your character, and the permanent obligations of your institution. We will not at this day condescend to quote authorities for the right of having and of using arms, but we will cry aloud, even amidst the storm raised by the witchcraft of a proclamation, that to your formation was owing the peace and protection of this island; to your relaxation has been owing its relapse into impotence and insignificance; to your renovation must be owing its future freedom and its present tranquillity. You are therefore summoned to arms, in order to preserve your country in that guarded quiet which may secure it from external hostility and to maintain that internal regimen throughout the land, which, superseding a notorious police or a suspected militia, may preserve the blessings of peace by a vigilant preparation for war.

Citizen Soldiers, to arms! Take up the shield of freedom and the pledges of peace—peace, the motive and end of your virtuous institution. War, an occasional duty, ought never to be made an occupation. Every man should become a soldier in the defence of his rights; no man ought to continue a soldier for offending the

rights of others. The sacrifice of life in the service of our country is a duty much too honourable to be entrusted to mercenaries, and at this time, when your country has by public authority been declared in danger, we conjure you, by your interest, your duty, and your glory, to stand to your arms, and in spite of a fencible militia, in virtue of two proclamations, to maintain good order in your vicinage and tranquillity in Ireland. It is only by the military array of men in whom they confide, whom they have been accustomed to revere as the guardians of domestic peace, the protectors of their liberties and lives, that the present agitation of the people can be stilled, that tumult and licentiousness can be repressed, obedience secured to existing law, and a calm confidence diffused through the public mind in the speedy resurrection of a free constitution—of liberty and equality—words which we use for an opportunity of repelling calumny, and of saying that, by liberty we never understood unlimited freedom, nor by equality the levelling of property or the destruction of subordination. This is a calumny invented by that faction or that gang which misrepresents the King to the people, and the people to the King, traduces one-half of the nation to cajole the other, and by keeping up distrust and division, wishes to continue the proud arbitrators of the fortune and fate of Ireland. Liberty is the exercise of all our rights, natural and political, secured to us and our posterity by a real representation of the people; and equality is the extension of the constituent to the fullest dimensions of the constitution of the elective franchise to the whole body of the people, to the end that govern-

ment, which is collective power, may be guided by collective will, and that legislation may originate from public reason, keep pace with public improvement, and terminate in public happiness. If our constitution be imperfect, nothing but a reform in representation will rectify its abuses ; if it be perfect, nothing but the same reform will perpetuate its blessings.

We now address you as citizens, for to be citizens you became soldiers ; nor can we help wishing that all soldiers partaking the passions and interests of the people, would remember that they were once citizens, that seduction made them soldiers, “but nature made them men.” We address you without any authority save that of reason ; and if we obtain the coincidence of public opinion, it is neither by force nor stratagem, for we have no power to terrify, no artifice to cajole, no fund to seduce. Here we sit, without mace or beadle, neither a mystery, nor a craft, nor a corporation. In four words lies all our power—universal emancipation and representative legislature ; yet we are confident that on the pivot of this principle, a convention—still less, a society—less still, a single man, would be able, first to move and then to raise the world. We therefore wish for Catholic emancipation without any modification ; but still we consider this necessary enfranchisement as merely the portal to the temple of national freedom. Wide as this entrance is—wide enough to admit three millions—it is narrow when compared to the capacity and comprehension of our beloved principle, which takes in every individual of the Irish nation, casts an equal eye over the whole island, embraces all that think, and feels for all that suffer. The

Catholic cause is subordinate to our cause, and included in it; for as UNITED IRISHMEN we adhere to no sect but to society, to no creed but Christianity, to no party but the whole people. In the sincerity of our souls do we desire Catholic emancipation; but were it obtained to-morrow, to-morrow would we go on, as we do to-day, in the pursuit of that reform which would still be wanting to ratify their liberties as well as our own.

For both these purposes, it appears necessary that provincial conventions should assemble preparatory to the convention of the Protestant people. The delegates of the Catholic body are not justified in communicating with individuals, or even bodies of inferior authority, and therefore an assembly of a similar nature and organization is necessary to establish an intercourse of sentiment, an uniformity of conduct, an united cause, and an united nation. If the convention on the one part does not soon follow, and is not soon connected with that on the other, the common cause will split into the partial interest; the people will relax into inattention and inertness; the union of affection and exertion will dissolve, and too probably some local insurrection, instigated by the malignity of our common enemy, may commit the character, and risk the tranquillity of the island, which can be obviated only by the influence of an assembly arising from, assimilated with the people, and whose spirit may be as it were knit with the soul of the nation. Unless the sense of the Protestant people be on their part as fairly collected and as judiciously directed, unless individual exertion consolidates into collective strength, unless the

particles unite into mass, we may perhaps serve some person or some party for a little, but the public not at all. The nation is neither insolent nor rebellious nor seditious. While it knows its rights it is unwilling to manifest its powers. It would rather supplicate administration to anticipate revolution by a well-timed reform, and to save their country in mercy to themselves.

The 15th of February approaches, a day ever memorable in the annals of this country as the birth-day of New Ireland. Let parochial meetings be held as soon as possible. Let each parish return delegates. Let the sense of Ulster be again declared from Dungannon on a day auspicious to union, peace, and freedom, and the spirit of the north will again become the spirit of the nation. The civil assembly ought to claim the attendance of the military associations, and we have addressed you, citizen soldiers, on this subject, from the belief that your body, uniting conviction with zeal, and zeal with activity, may have much influence over our countrymen, your relations and friends. We offer only a general outline to the public, and meaning to address Ireland, we presume not at present to fill up the plan, or preoccupy the mode of its execution. We have thought it our duty to speak: answer us by actions; you have taken time for consideration. Fourteen long years have elapsed since the rise of your associations; and in 1782 did you imagine that in 1792 this nation would still remain unrepresented? How many nations in the interval have gotten the start of Ireland? How many of our countrymen have sank into the grave?

EXTRACTS FROM AN ADDRESS OF THE SOCIETY OF UNITED
IRISHMEN OF DUBLIN TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND,
PROPOUNDING A PLAN OF REFORM.

PEOPLE OF IRELAND,

We now submit to your consideration a plan for your equal representation in the House of Commons. In framing it, we have disregarded the many overcharged accusations, which we hear daily made by the prejudiced and the corrupt, against the people, their independence, integrity, and understanding. We are, ourselves, but a portion of the people; and that appellation, we feel, confers more real honour and importance than can, in these times, be derived from places, pensions, or titles. As little have we consulted the sentiments of administration or of opposition. We have attentively observed them both, and whatever we may hope of some members of the latter, we firmly believe that both those parties are equally averse from the measure of adequate reform. If we had no other reason for that opinion, the plan laid before parliament in the last session, under the auspices of opposition, might convince us of the melancholy truth. Thus circumstanced, then, distrusting all parties, we hold it the right and the duty of every man in the nation to examine, deliberate, and decide for himself on that important measure. As a portion of the people (for in no other capacity, we again repeat it, do we presume to address you) we suggest to you our ideas, by which we would provide to preserve the popular part of the legislature, uninfluenced by, and independent of, the other two parts, and to effectuate that essential prin-

ciple of justice and of our constitution, that every man has the right of voting, through the medium of his representative, for the law by which he is bound: that sacred principle, for which America fought, and by which Ireland was emancipated from British supremacy! If our ideas are right, which we feel an honest conviction they are, adopt them; if wrong, discussion will detect their errors, and we at least shall be always found ready to profit by, and conform ourselves to, the sentiments of the people.

Our present state of representation is charged with being unequal, unjust, and by no means calculated to express your deliberate will on any subject of general importance. We have endeavoured to point out the remedies of those evils, by a more equal distribution of political power and liberty, by doing justice, and by anxiously providing that your deliberate will shall be at all time accurately expressed in your own branch of the legislature. If these are not the principles of good government, we have yet to learn from the place-men and pensioners that flit about the Castle in what the science of politics can consist. But we know they are, and we are bold to say, that the more a government carries these principles into effect the nearer it approaches to perfection.

We believe it will be said that our plan, however just, is impracticable in the present state of this country. If any part of that impracticability should be supposed to result from the interested resistance of borough proprietors, although we never will consent to compromise the public right, yet we, for our parts, might not hesitate to purchase the public peace by an

adequate compensation. At all events it rests with you, countrymen, not with us, to remove the objection.

To you among our countrymen, for whose welfare we have peculiarly laboured from the first moment of our institution, and the contemplation of whose prosperity will more than compensate us for the sufferings we may have endured, for the calumnies with which we are aspersed, and for those which the publication of this unpalatable plan will call down upon us,—to you, the poorer classes of the community, we now address ourselves. We are told you are ignorant; we wish you to enjoy liberty, without which no people was ever enlightened. We are told you are uneducated and immoral; we wish you to be educated, and your morality improved, by the most rapid of all instructors—a good government. Do you find yourselves sunk in poverty and wretchedness? Are you overloaded with burdens you are little able to bear? Do you feel many grievances which it would be tedious, and might be unsafe, to mention? Believe us, they can all be redressed by such a reform as will give you your just proportion of influence in the legislature, and by such a measure only. To that, therefore, we wish to rivet all your attention.

A PLAN OF AN EQUAL REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE
OF IRELAND IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, PREPARED
FOR PUBLIC CONSIDERATION BY THE SOCIETY OF
UNITED IRISHMEN OF DUBLIN.

I. That the nation, for the purpose of representation solely, should be divided into three hundred elec-

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torates, formed by a combination of parishes, and as nearly as possible equal in point of population.

II. That each electorate should return one representative to parliament.

III. That each electorate should, for the convenience of carrying on the elections at the same time, be subdivided into a sufficient number of parts.

IV. That there should be a returning officer for each electorate, and a deputy returning officer for each subdivision, to be respectively elected.

V. That the electors of the electorate should vote, each in the subdivision in which he is registered, and has resided as hereinafter specified.

VI. That the returning officers of the subdivisions should severally return their respective polls to the returning officer of the electorate, who should tot up the whole, and return the person having a majority of votes, as the representative in parliament.

VII. That every man possessing the right of suffrage for a representative in parliament should exercise it in his own person only.

VIII. That no person should have a right to vote in more than one electorate at the same election.

IX. That every male of sound mind, who has attained the full age of twenty-one years, and actually dwelt, or maintained a family establishment, in any electorate for six months of the twelve immediately previous to the commencement of the election (provided his residence or maintaining a family establishment be duly registered), should be entitled to vote for the representative of the electorate.

X. That there should be a registering officer, and a

registry of residence in every subdivision of each electorate; and that in all questions concerning residence, the registry should be considered as conclusive evidence.

XI. That all elections in the nation should commence and close on the same day.

XII. That the votes of all electors should be given by voice and not by ballot.

XIII. That no oath of any kind should be taken by any elector.

XIV. That the full age of twenty-five years should be a necessary qualification to entitle any man to be a representative.

XV. That residence within the electorate should not, but that residence within the kingdom should, be a necessary qualification for a representative.

XVI. That no property qualification should be necessary to entitle any man to be a representative.

XVII. That any person having a pension, or holding a place in the executive or judicial departments, should be thereby disqualified from being a representative.

XVIII. That representatives should receive a reasonable stipend for their services.

XIX. That every representative should, on taking his seat, swear that neither he, nor any person to promote his interest, with his privity, gave or was to give any bribe for the suffrage of any voter.

XX. That any representative convicted by a jury of having acted contrary to the substance of the above oath, should be for ever disqualified from sitting or voting in parliament.

XXI. That parliament should be annual.

XXII. That a representative should be at liberty to resign his delegation upon giving sufficient notice to his constituents.

XXIII. That absence from duty for should vacate the seat of a representative.

How the reform efforts of the United Irishmen were viewed in Parliament, and by some remarkable members of it, we may learn from the following extracts from the published report of the debate on reform, February 10th, 1793.

One of the speakers, Sir Boyle Roche, it is not publicly known, was then ambitious of a peerage. From the original Precis Book of Lord Fitzwilliam, of the application of various persons for appointments, dignities, and preferments during his viceroyalty, I make the following extract:

12th January, 1795. Sir Boyle Roche wishes to be made a peer, and desires to know whether Lord W(esftmoreland) recommended him.

REFORM QUESTION—IRISH COMMONS, 10TH FEBRUARY,
1793.

Mr. Forbes moved, “that the returning officer, town clerk, or the person who is entrusted with the books, do return to this house a list of the names of the electors in each borough in this kingdom, and their

qualification to use the right of the elective franchise, and that they do attend this house this day fortnight, and give information touching the same."

Right Hon. Sir Hercules Langrishe—Mr. Speaker, when a few days ago a proposition similar to the present was offered to this house, I opposed it, as the information it would produce must be imperfect; as it might in its effects be injurious to the parties concerned; as it was utterly useless for the purposes it professed, and in its inference and operation could not but prove detrimental to the public. On the same grounds, sir, I shall oppose the present motion, as being liable to the same objections: that the information to be derived from it must be imperfect, no man can doubt, who considers that in many instances the corporation books do not contain a list of the respective voters; as, besides those entered in the books, several are entitled to freedom by birth, service, or marriage; several became electors by freehold, or residence, or dockets, as the case may be, which, as they are always variable, are not cognizable by the town clerk or other officer. Sir, laying before parliament the corporation books, or returns of the state of every borough in Ireland, must be extremely injurious; it will be a sort of parliament *quo warranto* against the boroughs; it will expose lapses and omissions, and produce pernicious litigation. The measure is utterly useless as to the purpose professed; for parliamentary reform is a measure not to be grounded on arithmetical calculation, but on general acknowledged principles; and everybody knows there are boroughs that contain few constituents; everybody knows that the people are not equally repre-

sented: they never were so, for if it were so, we should not have the blessings of the British constitution, but the scourge of a democracy.

Sir Boyle Roche—Sir, this is the critical period in which every loyal subject should declare his sentiments in the boldest and most public manner, and express his disapprobation of any measure that may be conceived to be an encouragement to the propagation of French principles; and as I consider a parliamentary reform that direct tendency, I openly enter my protest against it. I consider it as a masked battery, under the protection and covert of which the Dungannon reformers, the society called United Irishmen, the Defenders, and Break-of-Day Boys, are advancing to the foot of the glacis of the citadel of the constitution, there to make a lodgment, and the garrison is called upon to defend itself. I am very glad, however, that this subject has been opened in the committee, that the public may see the futility and wickedness of it. This is the third or fourth night we have sat upon it, and I ask whether the reformers have brought forth any plan that the greatest madman amongst us would agree to? La Fayette was a great reformer; he and his party (amongst whom were many of the principal nobility of France) began with the abusés of the monarchy. As they proceeded, the epidemic madness seized them, and they thought it necessary to sacrifice to public clamour their immunities, their honours, their seignories, which in fact to them were their boroughs, handed down to them by their ancestors. Whilst they were thus going on reforming themselves and the state, there was a bloody Jacobin party observing their motions, and took

the first opportunity of jumping on their necks, cutting their throats, and of burying them, the monarchy and monarch, in the same grave.

Mr. Barrington—Sir, having been personally called upon by an honourable member (Mr. Forbes) to give my reason why I conceived the present opposition were not popular, I feel it my duty not to decline the question. The honourable member has urged it, and he shall be indulged. The gentlemen who at this period very justly style themselves the opposition of Ireland, are becoming unpopular, because their principles are suspicious, their systems dangerous, and their conduct inconsistent; the eyes of Ireland are opening to them, penetration is alive, and the popular imposture can no longer sail under the false colours of public virtue. Their principle is obviously to supplant the government and not to serve the people; their contests are contests for favour and not struggles for liberty; their system is a system of imitation and not the course of wisdom. The house has sat little more than three weeks, and some gentlemen have affected to agitate the public mind, because within that short period a general revolution, in both church and state, has not been effected; a confusion of measures is necessary for their purpose; at the same period, things jumbled together in one unintelligible chaos, in the form of bills and motions—every species of innovation they can think of—external reform, internal reform, ecclesiastical rights, military arrangements, civil restriction, religious emancipation, prerogative, finance, legislation, and religion, all to be modified in one week; but, as Hudibras says—

“Some men carry things so even
’Tween this world, and Hell, and Heaven,
Without the least offence to either,
They freely jumble all together.”

Hon. Robert Stewart [the future Lord Castlereagh]—Sir, I certainly think the conduct of administration on this subject totally unintelligible. Their prevarication through the whole of the business is obvious, and they have been guilty of special pleading to every motion that has been proposed. Why did administration grant the committee, but to inquire?—and how can they inquire without the materials called for? I should advise them rather to oppose fairly and openly than in this insidious and cowardly manner. It certainly would be more candid and becoming in administration to stand forward and resist a reform. To establish a moderate and reformed system is the only way to secure strength to the throne, and this system cannot be established without changing the present one. Sir, if administration is sincere in redressing the grievances of the people, they may depend on receiving from me my warmest support. I am ready to vote any money from my constituents to support the established form of government, but I will vote none to support the abuses and vices of the constitution. To give government too much strength while they are determined to support those vices, would be to give men an instrument for their own destruction, and could tend only to establish a military government. Notwithstanding, sir, all that had been said of the difficulty of effecting a reform, I think a reasonable system, such as would gratify all

reasonable men, might very easily be devised, and this would render the government of this country extremely easy; for, in fact, the difficulties of administration hitherto have arisen rather from supporting the present ruinous system, than from any opposition that has been made to the necessary measures of government. It was the vices of this existing system that has driven the public mind into a state of agitation: if they were suffered to pore longer over those vices, it would be impossible, in times like these, to foresee what follies they might adopt. Being of this mind, I shall certainly vote for it.

From the early part of 1793, it is evident a revolution was looked to, for reform and Catholic emancipation, and that some of the principal leaders looked for something more than either.

At a meeting of the society in February, 1793, the Hon. Simon Butler in the chair, Oliver Bond secretary, a declaration was proposed and adopted by the meeting, pronouncing the proceedings of the Secret Committee of the House of Lords appointed to inquire into the recent disturbances, in compelling witnesses to answer interrogatories on oath, compromising themselves, and directed principally to the discovery of evidence in support of prosecutions already commenced, to be illegal. For this offence Messrs. Butler and Bond were subsequently brought to the bar of the House of Lords; and

on admitting the declaration to have been put from the chair and carried at the meeting in question, the judgment of the house was pronounced by the Lord Chancellor, each of the prisoners to be imprisoned for six months, and to pay a fine of £500 to the King.

The report of the proceedings is as follows:

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Friday, March 1, 1793.

The Honourable Simon Butler and Mr. Oliver Bond appeared at the bar in pursuance of their summonses.

Lord Mountjoy proposed that the following paper, which he had read on the night preceding, and which had the names of the persons at the bar prefixed to it, should be submitted to their inspection.

UNITED IRISHMEN OF DUBLIN.

HON. SIMON BUTLER, Chairman.

OLIVER BOND, Secretary.

February 24th, 1793.

When a committee of secrecy was first appointed by the House of Lords to inquire into the causes of the risings in certain counties of this kingdom, although this society well foresaw the danger of abuse to which such an institution was subject, yet it was restrained from expressing that opinion, by the utility of the professed object, and by the hope that the presence and advice of the two first judicial officers of this country would prevent that committee from doing

those illegal acts, which less informed men might in such a situation commit.

But since it has thought fit to change itself from a committee to inquire into the risings in certain counties of this kingdom, into an inquisition to scrutinize the private principles and secret thoughts of individuals; since it has not confined itself to simple inquiries and voluntary informations, but has assumed the right and exercised the power of compelling attendance and enforcing answers upon oath to personal interrogatories tending to criminate the party examined; since its researches are not confined to the professed purposes of its institution, but directed principally to the discovery of evidence in support of prosecutions hitherto commenced, and utterly unconnected with the cause of the tumults it was appointed to investigate; since in its proceedings it has violated well-ascertained principles of law, this society feels itself compelled to warn the public mind, and point the public attention to the following:—

That the House of Lords can act only in a legislative or judicial capacity.

That in its legislative capacity it has no authority to administer an oath.

That in its judicial capacity it has a right to administer an oath; but that capacity extends only to error and appeal, except in cases of impeachment and trial of a peer, in which alone the House of Lords exercises an original jurisdiction.

That the House of Lords, as a court, has no right to act by delegation.

That the committee of secrecy possesses no author-

ity but what it derives by delegation from the House of Lords.

That as the House of Lords does not possess any jurisdiction in the subject matter referred to the committee; and as, even if it did, it could not delegate the same, it necessarily follows that the committee has not judicial authority, and cannot administer an oath.

That even if the committee of secrecy acted as a court, its proceedings ought not to be secret.

That no court has a right to exhibit personal interrogatories upon oath, the answers to which may criminate the party examined, except at the desire of the party, and with a view to purge him from a contempt.

That it was the principal vice of the courts High of Commission and Star Chamber, to examine upon personal interrogatories, to convict the party examined; and that those courts were abolished because their proceedings were illegal, unconstitutional, and oppressive.

This paper was accordingly delivered into the hands of Mr. Butler, by the gentleman usher; after he had seen it he was asked by Lord Mountjoy if that paper, bearing his name, was printed by his directions or authority.

Mr. Butler said, that the paper contained a declaration of the Society of United Irishmen of the city of Dublin, and bore date the 24th of February, 1793; that he presided at the meeting; that as chairman, he put the question on the sev-

eral paragraphs, according as they were handed to him by the committee which had been appointed to prepare them; that he was then, and is still, satisfied that every paragraph of that declaration was agreeable to law and the principles of the constitution.

Lord Mountjoy said that Mr. Butler had not yet answered whether he authorized the publication.

Mr. Butler replied, that he meant to give the fullest information on the subject; he did authorize the publication, he authorized it in common with every individual of the society.

Mr. Bond was then interrogated. He was asked whether he had signed the paper: he replied that neither he nor Mr. Butler had signed the paper. The resolutions of the society are referred to the committee of correspondence for publication. The committee cause the names of the chairman and secretary to be prefixed to every publication. That as secretary he delivered this declaration to the committee of correspondence. And, on being asked by Lord Clonmel whether he delivered it to the committee for the purpose of publication, and whether he thereby authorized the publication, he replied in the affirmative.

The Lord Chancellor then asked Mr. Butler whether he had anything further to add. Mr. Butler said, that he attended to answer ques-

tions: that if his lordship had any questions to ask, he (Mr. Butler) was ready to answer.

Mr. Butler and Mr. Bond were ordered to withdraw, but not to leave the house.

They were shortly afterwards again ordered to the bar, and the following resolutions, agreed to by the House in their absence, having been read, viz.:—

That the said paper was a false, scandalous, and seditious libel; a high breach of the privileges of this House, tending to disturb the public peace, and questioning the authority of this High Court of Parliament.

That Simon Butler and Oliver Bond having confessed that they had authorized the same to be printed, should be taken into custody.

They were committed to the custody of the gentleman usher, and ordered to withdraw in such custody.

In some time afterwards they were brought to the bar in custody of the gentleman usher.

The Lord Chancellor, after reciting the foregoing resolutions, spoke to the following purport:

Simon Butler and Oliver Bond, you were called to the bar to answer for a libel on this High Court of Parliament; you have confessed that such libel, which, for its presumption, ignorance, and mischievous tend-

ency, is unprecedented, was printed by your authority. You, Simon Butler, cannot plead ignorance in extenuation; your noble birth, your education, the honourable profession to which you belong, his Majesty's gown, which you wear, and to which you now stand a disgrace, gave you the advantages of knowledge, and are strong circumstances of aggravation of your guilt. It remains for me to pronounce the judgment of the house, which is, that you Simon Butler and Oliver Bond, be imprisoned for six months in the gaol of Newgate; that each of you pay a fine to the king of £500; and that you are not to be discharged from your confinement till such fine be paid.

They were taken from the bar, and in a short time after conveyed in a coach to Newgate, under the escort of fifty or sixty soldiers, and directions of Alderman Warren.

EXTRACT FROM ADDRESS OF UNITED IRISHMEN TO THE
PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

BEAUCHAMP BAGENEL HARVEY, Chairman.

THOMAS RUSSELL, Secretary.

March 3, 1793.

We have often addressed you in your cause; suffer us for once to address you in our own. Two of the officers of our society have been thrown into a common prison for the discharge of their duty. A procedure so extraordinary demands that we should lay before you the whole of that conduct which has brought upon the society so strong an exertion of power.

The Society of United Irishmen was formed in No-

vember, 1791. Their principles, their motives, and their objects, were set forth in their Declaration and their Test. At that period the spirit of this nation was at the lowest ebb; the great religious sects were disunited; the Protestants were disheartened and sunk by the memorable defeat of their convention in 1783; the Catholics, without allies or supporters, accustomed to look to administration alone for relief, dared scarcely aspire to hope for the lowest degree of emancipation, and even that hope was repelled with contumely and disdain; administration was omnipotent, opposition was feeble, and the people were—nothing.

Such was the situation of Ireland, when in Belfast and in Dublin two societies were formed for the purpose of effectuating an union of the religious sects and a parliamentary reform. From the instant of their formation a new era commenced; the public has been roused from their stupor, the ancient energy of the land is again called forth, and the people seem determined, in the spirit of 1782, to demand and to obtain their long-lost rights.

The first measure of the United Irishmen was, a declaration in favour of the full and complete emancipation of the Catholics. What was the consequence? The moment that great and oppressed body saw itself supported by a single ally, they spurned the vile subjection in which they had been so long held, and with the heavy yoke of the penal laws yet hanging on their necks, they summoned their representatives from the four provinces of the kingdom, and with the determined voice of millions, they called upon their sovereign for a total abolition of that abominable and bloody code:

a code, the extent and severity of which was first made known by a report set forth by this society, and compiled by the knowledge and industry of that man who is now the victim of his disinterested patriotism, and who, in publishing to the world the abominations of intolerance, bigotry, and persecution, has committed a sin against corruption which can never be forgiven.

If the knowledge of that penal code has been useful—if the complete union of the religious sects has been beneficial—if the emancipation of Catholics be good for Ireland—then may this society claim some merit and some support from their countrymen.

In 1791 there was not a body of men in Ireland that ventured to speak, or scarce to think, of reform. The utmost length that patriots of that day went, was to attack a few of the outworks of corruption: the societies of United Irishmen stormed her in the citadel. They did not fritter down the public spirit, or distract the public attention by a variety of petty measures; they were not afraid to clip the wings of peculation too close, or to cut up the trade of parliament by the roots. They demanded a parliamentary reform, and what has been the consequence? The cry has been re-echoed from county to county, and from province to province, till every honest man in the nation has become ardent in the pursuit, and even the tardy and lingering justice of parliament has been forced into a recognition of the principle. If, then, reform be good for Ireland, this society, which first renewed the pursuit of that great object, may claim some merit and some support from their countrymen.

At the opening of this session every man thought

that the unanimous wish of the nation on the two great questions must be gratified—that the Catholics must be completely emancipated, and a radical reform in parliament effectuated: but this delusion was soon removed. It was suddenly discovered that it was necessary to have a strong government in Ireland; a war was declared against France, ruinous to the rising prosperity of this country; 20,000 regular troops, and 16,000 militia were voted, and the famous gunpowder bill passed, by the unanimous consent of all parties in parliament; the Society of United Irishmen, a vigilant sentinel for the public good, warned their countrymen of the danger impending over their liberty and their commerce. They knew in doing so they were exposing themselves to the fury of government; but they disregarded their own private safety when the good of their country was at stake. They could not hope to stop these measures, for they had no power; but what they could, they did; they lodged their solemn protest against them before the great tribunal of the nation.

In the progress of the present session, it was thought necessary by the House of Lords to establish a secret committee, to investigate the cause of the disturbances now existing in a few counties in this kingdom. The examination of several individuals having transpired, the Society of United Irishmen felt it their duty to step forward again, and to give such information to their countrymen as might be necessary for their guidance. They stated a few plain principles, which they did then and do now conceive to be sound constitutional law; but now the measure of their offences was

full, and the heavy hand of power, so long withheld, was to fall with treble weight upon their heads. Their chairman, the Hon. Simon Butler, and their secretary, Mr. Oliver Bond, were summoned before the House of Lords; they were called upon to avow or disavow the publication: they avowed it at once with the spirit and magnanimity of men who deserved to be free. For this, they have been sentenced, with a severity unexampled in the parliamentary annals of this country, to be imprisoned in Newgate for six months, and to pay a fine of £500 each, and to remain in prison until the said fines be paid. By this sentence, two gentlemen, one of noble birth, of great talents, and elevated situation in an honourable profession; the other a merchant of the fairest character, the highest respectability, and in great and extensive business, are torn away from their families and connexions, carried through the streets with a military guard, and plunged like felons into the common gaol, where they are in an instant confined among the vilest malefactors, the dross and scum of the Earth, and this sentence was pronounced by a body, who are at once judges and parties—who measure the offence, proportion the punishment, and from whose sentence there lies no appeal.

We do not mention here criminal prosecutions, instituted against several of our members in the courts of law, for publishing and distributing our address to the Volunteers of Ireland; respect for the existing laws of our country imposes upon us a silence which no provocation shall induce us to break; we know when juries intervene that justice will be done.

Such is the history of the society, and such are the

enormities which have drawn upon them the persecution under which they now labour. Their prime offence is their devoted attachment to reform; an attachment which, in the eyes of a bad administration, includes all political sin; their next offence is an ardent wish for a complete and total, not a partial and illusory, emancipation of the Catholics; their next offence is having published a strong censure of the impending ruinous war, on the militia and gunpowder acts; and, finally, the crowning offence, for which those officers now lie in gaol, by order of the House of Lords, is having instructed their countrymen in what they conceive to be the law of the land, for the guidance of those who might be summoned before the secret committee, etc.

UNITED IRISHMEN OF DUBLIN.

HENRY SHEARES, President.

EDWARD JOSEPH LEWINS, Secretary.

Address to their Catholic Countrymen.

June 7, 1793.

FELLOW-CITIZENS:

We hasten to recognize, under this new and endearing title, a people tried by experience and schooled by adversity; who have signalized their loyalty amidst all the rigours of the law; who have proved their fidelity to a constitution which, with respect to them, violated all its own principles; and who have set an example of patient perdurance in religious faith, while for a century they experienced a persecution equally abhorrent from every maxim of good government and

every principle of genuine Christianity. We congratulate our country on such a large addition to the public domain of mind, the cultivation and produce of which may in some degree compensate for past waste and negligence. We congratulate the empire that the loss of three millions across the Atlantic is supplied by the timely acquisition of the same number at home. We congratulate the constitution that new life is transfused into its veins at a period of decay and decrepitude; and we trust that the heroism which suffered with such constancy for the sake of religion, will now change into a heroism that shall act with equal steadiness and consistency for the freedom, the honour, and the independence of this country.

By the wise benevolence of the sovereign, by the enlightened spirit of the times—by the union of religious persuasions for the good of civil society—by the spirit, prudence, and consistency of the Catholic Committee, who, during their whole existence, were true to the trust reposed in them, and whose last breath sanctified the expediency and necessity of a parliamentary reform—by these causes, along with other fortunate coincidences, you have been admitted into the outer court of the constitution. Look around you—but without superstitious awe or idolatrous prostration, for the edifice you enter is not a temple, but a dwelling. Enter, therefore, with erect heads, and yet with grateful hearts; grateful to your king—grateful to your country; attached to the constitution by manly principle, not by childish prejudice; faithful to your friends through every change, either of their fortune or your own; and if not forgetful of the virulence of your

enemies, having always the magnanimity to pity and to despise them.

Loving the constitution rationally, not devoted merely to its infirmities—loving it too well to dote upon its abuses, you must shortly be sensible that, without reform, the balance of the elective franchise will be more off the centre than before, the inequality of popular representation more glaring and monstrous, the disproportion more enormous between the number of electors in thirty-two counties and that in the boroughs from which you are excluded. What was kept close and corrupt before will be close and corrupt still; common right will still be private property, and the constitution will be imprisoned under the lock and key of corporations. The era of your enfranchisement will therefore eventually work the weal or woe of Ireland. We do trust that you will not be incorporated merely with the body of the constitution without adding to its spirit. You are called into citizenship not to sanction abuse, but to discountenance it; not to accumulate corruption, but to meliorate manners and infuse into society purer practice, and sounder morality; always separating, in thought and action, misgovernment and maladministration from the good sense and right reason natural to and coeval with the constitution, and always remembering that nothing can be good for any part of the nation which has not for its object the interest of the whole.

Fellow-citizens!—We speak to you with much earnestness of affection, repeating, with sincerest pleasure, that tender and domestic appellation which binds us into one people. But what is it which has lately

made and must keep us one? Not the soil we inhabit, not the language we use, but our singleness of sentiment respecting one great political truth, our indivisible union on the main object of general interest—a parliamentary reform. This is the civic faith for which this society exists, and for which it suffers under a persecution that still, as of old, savage in its nature, though somewhat smoother in its form, wreaks its mighty vengeance on person and property, or exerts its puny malice to ruin us in the professions by which we live, merely for an undaunted adherence to a single good and glorious principle, which has always animated our publications and will always regulate our practice. We conjure you, in the most solemn manner, to remember, with the respect due to such authority, the last words, the political will and testament of a body of men who have deserved so well of their constituents and of their country. Never forget them—never forsake them! Let this principle of reform live in your practice, and give energy to the new character you are about to sustain, for the glory or the disgrace of Ireland, etc.

THE SOCIETY OF UNITED IRISHMEN, DUBLIN, TO THE
PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

HENRY SHEARES, President.

WILLIAM LEVINGSTON WEBB, Secretary.

June 21st, 1793.

When the present war first threatened this nation with the calamities under which it has since groaned, and by which it is at this moment almost overwhelmed,

we warned you of the approaching danger, and sought by a timely caution to avert the consequent ruin. We told you it was a measure fraught with destruction to your infant manufactures, to your growing commerce, and to your almost mature spirit. How far the prediction we then uttered has been justified by the event, let the surrounding miseries of this country determine: an expiring and nearly extinguished credit, the pride of commerce humbled and disgraced, the cries of famine reechoed through increasing thousands of your manufacturers, discarded from the exercise of their honest labour, driven into penury and inaction, and compelled to seek an uncertain subsistence from the humanity of their more affluent, though less industrious fellow-citizens. Such are the effects, and such were the predicted consequences, of a war commenced without provocation, and which, if suffered to continue a few months longer, must inevitably produce national shame, national bankruptcy, and national destruction.

We declared that the persecution of principles was the real object of the war, whatever pretexts may be laid out. Judge of this assertion also by the event. Behold the external invasion against liberty seconded by internal outrages on your most valued rights; behold your band of patriots, once embodied and exulting in the glorious cause of freedom—once the pride of Ireland, and the admiration of attentive Europe—your Volunteers, now insulted and disarmed; behold your loved, your revered, your idolized palladium, the trial by jury, profaned and violated—trampled in the dust by the unhallowed foot of undefined privilege; behold your faithful friends, for daring to step forward

in your defence, dragged to a loathsome prison, and loaded with every injury which falsehood and tyranny could suggest.

What has been the case? Although the war has yet existed but a few months, its dire effects have already pierced the very marrow of society. Those, indeed, who advised to plunge you into all its horrors have not suffered the slightest inconveniences: but is there an artificer of any description, a manufacturer of any denomination, a single Irishman who lives by his honest industry, who has not wholly or in part been deprived of his means of sustenance? All export is destroyed except the export of specie, wrung from the hard hand of labour to pamper the luxury of absentees. Every trade is suspended, except the trade of corruption, which flourishes by the impoverishment of this devoted soil.

Assemble in your parishes, in your towns, in your counties, and in your provinces; there speak forth your sentiments, and let your will be known. With the firm voice of injured millions require a peace; pursue the example of the Catholic Convention—unite order with spirit, tranquillity with action. Like them, carry your wishes to the throne itself, and fear not for their success; but like them, whilst you seek a remedy for your present sufferings, ever remember that a radical reform in the system of representation is the only means of avoiding a repetition of them. Call on your king to chain down the monster war, which has devoured your commerce, which gorges its hateful appetite by preying on the wretchedness of your manufacturers, and enslaving them for life, the instruments of tyranny

and slaughter; call on him to spurn from his councils those who shall assert that you are bound to rob and to be robbed, to murder and to be murdered, to inflict and to endure all the complicated miseries of war, because an unfeeling policy should dictate the horrid act; call on him to give you peace," etc.

ADDRESS OF THE SOCIETY OF UNITED IRISHMEN OF
DUBLIN.

JOHN SHEARES, Chairman.
W. B. WEBB, Secretary.

August 16th, 1793.

To the Hon. Simon Butler and Oliver Bond, Esq.

GENTLEMEN, our dear and respected friends!

On the first of March we saw you enter into prison, with an air and manner that testified not only a serene and settled conviction in the justice of your cause, but a cheerful confidence in your own fortitude to sustain all the consequences that an attachment to this cause might bring upon you: and we now see you, after an imprisonment of six months, come out with the same unbending spirit; in the same health of body; with the same alacrity of mind; both preserved sound and unaltered, probably from the same cause—that vital energy which a sense of unmerited suffering and the consciousness of doing our duty never fail to communicate. It is this conscious sense of unmerited injury that refreshes the soul amidst the closest confinement, blows up the spark of life, and invigorates both the

head and the heart; this, which made Mirabeau write for liberty in a dungeon, while his enemies conspired against it in the ante-chamber; this, which expanded the soul of Raleigh, gave it power to wander at large, and, in spite of bars, in defiance of gaolers, to leave the narrow cell where his body lay, and write for posterity, a history of the world.

Notwithstanding the irresistible argument of six months' imprisonment in a common gaol, we are still inclined to lament that the law and custom of parliament should ever have entered into a contest with the liberty of the press and the rights of the people, and that a discretionary power of punishment should so often supersede the ordinary course of criminal jurisdiction and the sacred trial by jury. We continue still inclined to believe that all undefined and irresponsible power, by whatever person or body assumed, is in its nature despotic, and that the vigilance of the people and the censorship of the press are the only means of guarding against its deadening influence, and preserving those barriers which the spirit of free government ought to place between the legislative, executive, and judiciary departments. We still think that particular and anxious care ought to be taken, never to mingle and confound the legislative and judicial powers, for the conjunction is politically incestuous, and the production is always a monster.

Gentlemen, your country is much your debtor. But we must suppose you by this time too well experienced in the mutability of public opinion, to expect that she will for the present acknowledge the debt, much less return the obligation; that she will either sympathize

with what you have suffered or partake in our heartfelt joy at your enlargement. Indeed, you will scarcely now know your country, in a few months so much altered. Indisposed to condole or to congratulate, desponding without reason, exhausted without effort, she sits on the ground in a fit of mental alienation, unconscious of her real malady, scared at every whisper; her thousand ears open for falsehoods from abroad, her thousand eyes shut against the truth at home; worked up by false suggestions and artful insinuations to such a madness of suspicion as makes her mistake her dearest friends for her deadliest foes, and revile the only society which ever pursued her welfare with spirit and perseverance, as attempting at her life with the torch of an incendiary and the dagger of an assassin.

From a public, thus inquisitive about the affairs of other people, thus incurious about its own, thus deluded—we were going to say, in language of high authority, thus besotted—we appeal for your fame, and our own justification, to the same public, in a more collected, a more sober, a more dignified moment; when the perishable politics of party in place and party out of place, shall have passed away like the almanack of the year; when the light shall break in on an under-working family compact, whose business it has been to conceal the real situation and sentiments of this country from the immediate councils of the sovereign; when a compromising, parleying, panic-struck opposition, negotiating without authority, surrendering without condition, shall repent of their pusillanimous credulity; and when the nation shall dare to acknowl-

edge as a truth, what in its conscience it feels as a fact, that those only are her friends who stand up while all are prostrate around them, and call aloud on ministry and on opposition for reform, radical, comprehensive, immediate; such as will nationalize liberty, and make this country cease to be what it has been well described, “a heavy-handed, unfeeling aristocracy over a people ferocious and rendered desperate by poverty and wretchedness.” But if such a time should not soon arrive—if this country should remain still abused and contended, there is a world elsewhere. Wherever freedom is, there is our country, and there ought to be our home. Let this government take care. Let them think of depopulation, and tremble. Who makes the rich?—the poor. What makes the shuttle fly, and the plough cleave the furrows?—the poor. Should the poor emigrate, what would become of you, proud, powerful, silly men! What would become of you if the ears of corn should wither on the stalk, and the labours of the loom should cease? Who would feed you then, if hungry, or clothe you when naked? Give the poor a country, or you will lose one yourselves. Mankind, like other commodities, will follow the demand, and, if depreciated here below all value, will fly to a better market.

Gentlemen, we again salute you with great respect and affection, as friends and brothers. We salute you, in the unity of an honest and an honourable cause. May you receive the reward of your sufferings, and triumph in the freedom of your country.

The Honourable Simon Butler and Oliver

Bond, Esq., returned an answer, from which the following extract is taken:—

We received the honour of your spirited and affectionate address with equal pride and gratitude. You have done justice to the feelings which have supported us under our imprisonment; and, if our situation required adventitious consolation, the patriotic attention of our numerous friends has most amply supplied it. Our sufferings have not warped our understandings; and we still think that we only discharge an indispensable duty while we treat all public topics with free discussion, preserving a due respect for the public peace and the laws of the land. We will only boast of our constitution when it knows no power which is not responsible. Prerogative, founded upon the salutary maxim that the king can do no wrong, held forth at all times some relief in the responsibility of the minister; but privilege, which arrogates to itself a like constitutional principle, precludes all resource whatsoever against its illegal or arbitrary exercise; acknowledging no control, no corrective, it regards not the forms of law; and while it remains undefined and irresponsible, there is no safety in the land. We have thought it our duty to seek redress, but we sought it in vain. We have not even received countenance in the quarter where the nation might have looked for support. We have not, however, submitted; we have suffered, etc.

For distributing the address of the United Irishmen to the Volunteers, A. H. Rowan, in

January, 1794, was prosecuted for a seditious libel, sentenced to two years' imprisonment, and a fine of £500.¹

It is to be noted that the seditious libel was uttered in the year 1792 and the prosecution did not take place till the year 1794. It was at this celebrated trial that Curran made a speech never to be forgotten in Ireland, and parts of which furnish specimens of oratory more widely diffused in England and America, and more frequently cited, than any passages in the appeals of orators dead or living. One passage in that speech is better remembered and more generally admired than any separate portion of an address ever delivered at the bar in either country—that wherein he refers to the words included in the libel, “Universal emancipation.”

I speak in the spirit of British law, which makes liberty commensurate with and inseparable from British soil; which proclaims even to the stranger and the sojourner, the moment he sets his foot upon British earth, that the ground on which he treads is holy, and consecrated by the genius of universal emancipation. No matter in what language his doom may have been pronounced; no matter what complexion incompatible with freedom an Indian or an African sun may have burnt upon him; no matter in what disastrous

¹ “Report of the Trial of Archibald Hamilton Rowan, on An Information, filed ex-officio, by the Attorney-General, for the Distribution of a Libel.” Dublin, 1794.

battle his liberty may have been cloven down; no matter with what solemnities he may have been devoted upon the altar of slavery; the first moment he touches the sacred soil of Britain, the altar and the god sink together in the dust, his soul walks abroad in her own majesty, his body swells beyond the measure of his chains that burst from around him, and he stands redeemed, regenerated, and disenthralled by the irresistible genius of universal emancipation.

The postponement of the trial was attributed, and not without justice by Mr. Rowan and his friends, to the arrangements required for the new plan that had been devised of securing a conviction, in cases similar to the present, through the medium of packed juries, by the intervention of hirelings of government placed in the office of sheriffs. This matter it was found impossible to accomplish before the early part of the year 1794, when one Jenkins, and that Cimmerian zealot, John Giffard, were thrust into the shrievalty. But this trial not only exhibited the adoption of the new jury-packing system—a darker feature was also presented, in the employment of wretches without character or credit to act as witnesses.

On Rowan's trial, a disreputable and a worthless man, of the name of Lyster, was the principal witness against the accused. His evidence of Rowan's having distributed the libellous paper

was false; it was declared to be so by Rowan himself at the trial; and the able and enlightened editor of his autobiography, the Rev. Dr. Drummond,¹ states that Rowan was not the man who distributed the libel on the occasion sworn to, but a person of the name of Willis, a skinner, formerly a member of the Volunteer Association.²

It would be now useless to refer to this fact, but that it shows the influence which the recourse to packed juries, and the employment of perjured witnesses, had on the minds of the people, and especially on the conduct of their leaders, at this period. So long as the fountains of justice were believed to be even moderately pure—so long as it was unknown that they were poisoned at the very source, there were some bounds to the popular discontent. The language of the liberals of that day might be bold, violent, and intemperate—not more so, nay, not so much so, as

¹ William Hamilton Drummond, D.D., M.R.I.A., author of "Ancient Irish Minstrelsy," "The Giants Causeway," and many other poetical works, was born at Larne, August, 1778; son of Surgeon Drummond of the Royal Navy; Minister of the Second Congregation, Belfast, 1800-1815; Minister of Strand Street, Dublin, 1815-1865; died October 16, 1865; buried Mount Jerome, Dublin.

² Hamilton Rowan, Dr. Drummond states, was mistaken by the informer Lyster for a man of the name of Willis, who had distributed the printed paper for which he (Rowan) was prosecuted. But Benjamin Binns, one well acquainted with the events of that period, informed me this statement was an error—that the paper in question was distributed by his brother, Alderman Binns, now of Philadelphia.—R. R. M.

the language used with impunity at political societies in the present day; but the people still had privileges and advantages to lose by sedition, and the most valuable of all was the trial by jury, which had now, in public opinion, ceased to be a safeguard or a security to the people.

The Society of United Irishmen, on the 7th of February, 1794, presented an address to Mr. Rowan, then undergoing the sentence of imprisonment in Newgate, in which, after expressing the obligations the country was under to him for his bold assertion of its rights, and its sympathy with his sufferings in its cause, the society observed:

Although corruption has been leagued with falsehood to misrepresent and vilify this society, we have reposed in honest confidence on the consoling reflection, that we should at all times find an impregnable barrier in “the trial by jury,” wherein character and intention should be regarded as unerring guides to justice. But while we have been earnestly endeavouring to establish the constitutional rights of our country, we suddenly find ourselves at a loss for this first and last stake of a free people; for the trial by jury loses its whole value when the sheriff or the panel is under the influence of interest, prejudice, or delusion, and that battery which liberty and wisdom united to construct for the security of the people, is turned against them. However, in defiance of that system of proscription, which is no longer confined to a partic-

ular persuasion, but which visits with vengeance every effort in the cause of freedom, we trust you are assured of our inflexible determination to pursue the great object of our association—an equal and impartial representation of the people in parliament—an object from which no chance or change, no slander, no persecution, no oppression, shall deter us.

In 1794 the violence of the language, and the publicity with which the daring proceedings of the United Irishmen were carried on, brought the vengeance of government on their society. On the 4th of May, their ordinary place of meeting, the Tailors' Hall, in Back Lane, was attacked by the police, their meeting dispersed, and their papers seized.¹ The leaders had been successively prosecuted and imprisoned; many of the timid and more prudent part of the members seceded from the society; the more determined

¹ The Tailors' Hall, in Back Lane, had become the arena of liberal and democratic politics, and also of the agitation of the Roman Catholic question, as the old Tholsel had previously been of national and corporate struggles. The Tholsel, a part of the facade of which now only remains, was erected in 1683; it derived its name from the toll-stall, where the impost on goods received into the city was taken. It was situated in Nicholas Street, near Christ Church. In 1703 the city of Dublin gave a grand entertainment in the Tholsel to the Duke and Duchess of Ormond, when the "corporations marched through the city to the banquet, with their several pageants." Here the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons transacted their business, and the merchants met on 'change in a spacious hall in the upper part of the building. In 1779, a meeting was held in the Tholsel, at which

and indignant, and especially the republican portion of the body, remained, and in 1795, gave a new character to the association, still called the "Society of United Irishmen." The original test of the society was changed into an oath of secrecy and fidelity; its original objects—reform and emancipation—were now merged in aims amounting to revolution and the establishment of a republican government. These designs, however, were not ostensibly set forth; for a great number of the members, and even of the leaders, were not prepared to travel beyond the Hounslow limit of reformation. The proceedings of the society ceased to be of a public nature; the wording of its declaration was so altered as to embrace the views both of reformers and republicans, and the original explanation of its grand aim and end—the equal representation of the people in Parliament—was now changed

resolutions were passed "against the use of English manufactures till the grievances were redressed." James Napper Tandy took the foremost part in the proceedings of this meeting.

The Tholsel, as the corporation waxed more loyal, ceased to be the Crown and Anchor of the popular party. The Tailors' Hall was the first public place of rendezvous of the Roman Catholic Committee, and it became the theatre of the earliest performances of the United Irishmen. From the meetings of both bodies it acquired the name of the Back Lane Parliament. James Napper Tandy, as "a patriot" and an alderman, figured for a time at both places; but when "the aldermen of Skinners' Alley" quarrelled with their democratic brother, the Back Lane Parliament became the sole arena of Tandy's ground and lofty "patriotic tumblings."—R. R. M.

into the phrase, “a full representation of all the people of Ireland;” thus adding the word “all,” and omitting the word “Parliament.”

The candidate for admission into the Society, after this time, was sworn either by individuals, or in the presence of several members, in a separate room from that in which the meeting was held. A paper, consisting of eight pages of printed matter, called the Constitution, was placed in his right hand, and the nature of it was explained to him: that part of it called the “Test” was read to him, and repeated by him. The oath was administered either on the Scriptures, or a prayer-book; and while it was administering to him, he held the Constitution, together with the book, on his right breast. The Constitution contained the Declaration, Resolutions, Rules, Test, Regulations for the various committees, and form of certificate of admission into the Society.

The mode of recognition was the following:—A member desiring to ascertain if a person was initiated, or to make himself known to another party, on meeting with a person not previously known as an United Irishman,—repeated the first letter of the word “United” in this manner “I know U;” the person accosted, if initiated, answered—“I know N;” and so on, each alternately repeating the remaining letters of the word. Where further proof of initiation was required, there was a form of examination of a series of questions, to which the following answers were required, and which was in common use among the lower orders.

Quest.—Are you straight?

Ans.—I am.

Quest.—How straight?

Ans.—As straight as a rush.

Quest.—Go on then?

Ans.—In truth, in trust, in unity, and liberty.

Quest.—What have you got in your hand?

Ans.—A green bough.

Quest.—Where did it first grow?

Ans.—In America.

Quest.—Where did it bud?

Ans.—In France.

Quest.—Where are you going to plant it?

Ans.—In the crown of Great Britain.

This form of examination was gone through by the wretches who slaughtered the prisoners on the Bridge of Wexford. Charles Jackson, in his account of these atrocious proceedings, of which he was an eye-witness, states, that the questions put to such of the prisoners as professed to be Roman Catholics, were as to the creed of the prisoners, the forms of prayer, and external signs of religion.

The practice of cutting the hair short on the back of the head, at the time of initiation, was one of those singular customs in use among the United Irishmen, which it is difficult to comprehend the reason for. It was calculated only to attract attention by its singularity, and to excite suspicion. It was considered, in the rebellion, one of the *prima facie* evidences of disaffection, and gained for the persons who wore their hair short the name of “Croppies;” it caused the

deaths of a great number of persons. It is singular, that the contrary practice of wearing the hair long, whether on the beard or head, at an earlier period, was likewise punished with the severest penalties; but this was done by legal authority. A statute was enacted in Ireland, at a parliament held at Trim, by John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord Lieutenant in the year 1447, 25 Henry VI. The law compelled the Irish to shave the upper lip, and to cut their hair short; so that the law made the people *Croppies* at one period, and the power that was above the law, at a later date, considered the practice of cropping as a proof of treasonable intentions.

The civil organization of the society was likewise modified; the arrangement was perfected of committees, called baronial, county, and provincial. The inferior societies originally were composed of thirty-six members: in the new organization each association was limited to twelve, including a secretary and treasurer. The secretaries of five of these societies formed a lower baronial committee, and had the immediate direction of the five societies from which they had been taken. From each lower baronial committee, one member was delegated to an upper baronial committee, which had the superintendence and direction of all the lower baronial ones in the several counties.

In each of the four provinces there was a subordinate directory, composed of two or three

members of the society delegated to a provincial committee, which had the general superintendence of the several committees of that province.

In the capital, the executive directory was composed of five persons, balloted for and elected by the provincial directories. The knowledge of the persons elected for the executive directory was confined to the secretaries of the provincial committees, and not reported to the electors; and the executive directory thus composed, exercised the supreme and uncontrolled command of the whole body of the union.

The orders of the executive were communicated to one member only of each provincial committee, and so on in succession to the secretary of each upper and lower baronial committee of the subordinate societies, by whom they eventually were given to the general body of the society. The plan was considered by the executive to be admirably calculated to baffle detection. The key-note of the new overture of their declaration and reorganization was evidently representation. The attraction of such an extensive mechanism of election and delegation, for a people who had been vainly struggling for the acquisition or extension of the elective franchise, no doubt was the great inducement with the directory for the adoption of this complicated and widely-extending system of organization.

The organization of the United Irish system,

after the change made in it from a civil to a military organization, and the progress of its plans at home and abroad, is accurately and compendiously set forth in the report from the Secret Committee of the House of Lords, dated 30th August, 1798, after the examination of Thomas Addis Emmet, Arthur O'Connor, Samuel Neilson, Oliver Bond, and John Hughes, and based chiefly on that examination. The following extracts are taken from that report:—

It appears to your committee that the organization, as it is called, by which the directory of the Irish union was enabled to levy a revolutionary army, was completed in the province of Ulster on the 10th of May, 1795; that the scheme of extending it to the other provinces was adopted at an early period by the Irish directory; but it does not appear that it made any considerable progress beyond the northern province before the autumn of 1796, when emissaries were sent into the province of Leinster to propagate the system. The inferior societies at their original institution consisted each of thirty-six members; they were, however, afterwards reduced to twelve; these twelve chose a secretary and a treasurer, and the secretaries of five of these societies formed what was called a lower baronial committee, which had the immediate direction and superintendence of the five societies who thus contributed to its institution. From each lower baronial committee thus constituted, one member was delegated to an upper baronial committee, which in like manner as-

and who made up the number of sixty privates; and that the delegate of ten lower baronials to the upper or district committee was commonly appointed colonel of a battalion, which was thus composed of six hundred men. That the colonels of battalions in each county sent in the names of three persons to the executive directory of the union, one of whom was appointed by them adjutant-general of the county, whose duty it was to receive and communicate military orders from the executive to the colonels of battalions, and in general to act as officers of the revolutionary staff. In addition to this establishment, it appears that a military committee was appointed (at a later period) by the executive directory to prepare a regular plan for assisting a French army, if any such should make a landing in this kingdom, by directing the national military force, as it was called, to coöperate with them, or to form a regular plan of insurrection, in case it should be ordered, without waiting for French assistance.¹

¹ Lords' Committee Secret Report, 1798.

The Marquis Cornwallis

*Lord Lieutenant of Ireland 1798 to 1801. From an
Engraving by T. Brooke, after a Painting
by Sir Thomas Lawrence*



CHAPTER X

NEW ORGANIZATION

THE new organization of the Society of United Irishmen was completed on the 10th of May, 1795; separation and a republican government became the fixed objects of its principal leaders, but not the avowed ones till a little later, when, at the conclusion of every meeting, the chairman was obliged to inform the members of each society, "they had undertaken no light matter," and he was directed to ask every delegate present what were his views and his understanding of those of his society, and each individual was expected to reply, "a republican government and a separation from England."

Early in 1794, however, the question had been mooted of soliciting the coöperation of France, and a person was appointed to go on that mission; but various circumstances conspired to prevent his departure, till the trial of Jackson, an emissary of the French government, brought to general notice the intentions of the French with respect to invasion,¹ and at this period Tone,

¹ "The Trial of the Rev. William Jackson at the Bar of the King's Bench in Ireland for High Treason." By William Sampson, Dublin, 1795

who was implicated more or less in Jackson's guilt, and permitted to go to America, was solicited by certain persons in Ireland to set forth to the French government, through its agents in America, on his arrival there, "the state of Ireland and its dispositions." These dispositions are to be gathered from a communication addressed to Tone in America, and published in the "Life of Tone," by his son, styled, "A Letter from one of the Chief Catholic Leaders in Dublin, September 3rd, 1795," wherein Tone is told "to remember and to execute his garden conversation." This letter was written by John Keogh.

Reference is made also in Tone's diary to a conversation which had taken place a day or two previously to his departure from Dublin, at Emmet's country residence at Rathfarnham. The persons present were Emmet, Tone, and Russell. Tone's account of this interview is told in simple and expressive language.

[A short time before my departure, my friend Russell being in town, he and I walked out together to see Emmet, who has a charming villa there. He showed us a little study, of an elliptical form, which he was building at the bottom of the lawn, and which he said he would consecrate to our meetings, if ever we lived to see our country emancipated.

I begged of him, if he intended Russell to be of the party, in addition to the books and maps it would

naturally contain, to fit up a small cellaret, capable of holding a few dozens of his best claret. He showed me that he had not omitted that circumstance, which he acknowledged to be essential, and we both rallied Russell with considerable success. As we walked together towards town, I opened my plan to them both. I told them I considered my compromise with government to extend no further than the banks of the Delaware, and the moment I landed I was to follow any plan that might suggest itself for the emancipation of my country. I then proceeded to tell them that my intention was, immediately on my arrival in Philadelphia, to wait on the French minister, to detail to him fully the situation of affairs in Ireland, and endeavour to obtain a recommendation to the French government, and having succeeded so far, to leave my family in America, set off immediately for Paris, and apply, in the name of my country, for the assistance of France to enable us to assert our independence. It is unnecessary, I believe, to say that this plan met with the warmest approbation and support, both from Russell and Emmet; we shook hands, and having repeated our confessions of unalterable regard and esteem for each other, we parted; and this was the last interview which I was so happy as to have with these two invaluable friends together. I remember it was in a little triangular field that this conversation took place, and Emmet remarked, that it was in one like it, in Switzerland, where William Tell and his associates planned the downfall of the tyranny of Austria.

Tone took his departure from Dublin on the

20th of May, 1795, and the conversation alluded to having taken place immediately after Jackson's trial at the latter end of April, this suggestion of the employment of force, with the concurrence of Emmet and Russell, must have been made in the month of May, 1795. O'Connor, on his examination before the secret committee in 1798, stated that the executive had sent to seek an alliance with France in May, 1796, which was formed in the August following—"the first entered into between the Irish Union and the French Government."¹

The opinion, however, of the necessity and advantage of independence and separation, had been declared so early as the year 1790, in a private letter addressed by Tone to his friend Russell, which subsequently fell into the hands of government. "In forming this theory (Tone says, in reference to his political sentiments in 1790), I was exceedingly assisted by an old friend of mine, Sir Laurence Parsons (the late Lord Rosse), and it was he who first turned my attention to this great question, but I very soon ran far ahead of my master. It is, in fact, to him I am indebted for the first comprehensive view of the actual situation of Ireland; what his conduct might be in a crisis I know not, but I

¹ "Memoir of the Examination of O'Connor, Emmet, and M'Neven," p. 48.

can answer for the truth and justice of his theory."

The congenial sentiments of Sir Laurence Parsons at this period with Mr. Tone's, on the subjects alluded to, are found expressed strongly enough in a poem on the state of Ireland, by Sir Laurence Parsons, the following lines of which may be taken as a sample of its political tendency:

What, though with haughty arrogance and pride
England shall o'er this long-duped country stride,
And lay on stripe and stripe, and shame on shame,
And brand to all eternity its name:

'Tis right well done. Bear all, and more, I say,
Nay, ten times more, and then for more still pray.
What state in something would not foremost be?
She strives for shame, thou for servility.

The other nations of the Earth, now fired
To noblest deeds, by noblest minds inspired,
High in the realms of glory write a name,
Wreath'd round with Liberty's immortal flame:
'Tis thine to creep a path obscure, unknown,
The palm of ev'ry meanness all thine own.

• • • • • (10)
Search your own breast: in abject letters there
Read why you still the tinsell'd slav'ry wear:
Though Britain, with a trembling hand, untied
The fetters fashion'd in her power and pride,
Still are you slaves in baser chains entwin'd,
For though your limbs are free, you're slaves in mind.

Tone unfortunately acted on his opinion, and was doomed to an ignominious death. Sir Laurence Parsons was fortunate enough to outlive his early principle, succeeded to a title, forgot the wrongs that had been the subject of his poetry, frequented the fashionable circles of London, and died a loyal subject—the whole amount of praise his lordship's public career had any claim to. The men who perished in these disastrous times on the scaffold, might have become as loyal subjects as Sir Laurence Parsons, if mercy had more influence in the councils of the rulers of the land in those days.

After the Indemnity and Insurrection Acts had been moved by the attorney-general, and the system of coercion and extermination in the north had received the sanction of those laws, an important meeting of the executive took place in May, 1796, and it was determined, as if for the first time, that no constitutional means of opposing oppression were available, and that assistance must be sought from a foreign power.

The report of the Lords' Committee of 1798 gives the following account of the negotiations with France:—

It appears to your committee that, early in the year 1796, a proposition was made from the executive directory of the French Republic, by Theobald Wolfe Tone, late a barrister of this country, who absconded

shortly after the conviction of a man of the name of Jackson, for treason, in the year 1794, to the executive directory of the Irish Union, that a French army should be sent to Ireland to assist the republicans of this country in subverting the monarchy and separating Ireland from the British Crown. Messrs. Arthur O'Connor, Thomas Addis Emmet, William M'Neven, and Oliver Bond, all of whom have been members of the Irish republican directory, have deposed that this was the first communication within their knowledge which took place between the Irish and French directories, and that the proposition originally moved from France. Your committee, however, are of opinion, that the communication thus made to the Irish directory through Mr. Tone, must have taken place in consequence of an application originating with some members of the Irish Union, inasmuch as it appears by the report of the secret committee of this house, made in the last session of parliament, that a messenger had been despatched by the Society of United Irishmen to the executive directory of the French Republic, upon a treasonable mission, between the month of June, 1795, and the month of January, 1796, at which time the messenger so sent had returned to Ireland; and your committee have strong reason to believe that Edward John Lewins, who now is, and has been for a considerable time, the accredited resident ambassador of the Irish rebellious union to the French Republic, was the person thus despatched in the summer of 1795. It appears to your committee that the proposition so made by the French directory, of assistance to the rebels of this kingdom, was taken into consideration by

the executive directory of the Irish Union immediately after it was communicated to them; that they did agree to accept the proffered assistance, and that their determination was made known to the directory of the French Republic by a special messenger; and your committee have strong reason to believe, that the invasion of this kingdom which was afterwards attempted, was fully arranged at an interview, which took place in Switzerland in the summer of 1796, near the French frontier, between Lord Edward Fitzgerald, the aforesaid Mr. Arthur O'Connor, and General Hoche. It appears that in the month of October or November, 1796, the hostile armament which soon after appeared in Bantry Bay, was announced to the Irish directory by a special messenger despatched from France, who was also instructed to inquire into the state of preparation in which this country stood; which armament was then stated to the Irish directory to consist of 15,000 troops, together with a considerable quantity of arms and ammunition intended for the use of the Irish republican union. In a few days after the departure of the messenger who had been thus sent to announce the speedy arrival of this armament on the coasts of this kingdom, it appears to your committee that a letter from France was received by the Irish directory, which was considered by them as authentic, stating that the projected descent was postponed for some months; and to this circumstance it has been fairly acknowledged to your committee, by one of the Irish directory, that this country was indebted for the good conduct of the people in the province of Munster when the enemy appeared in Bantry Bay. He has confessed that these

contradictory communications threw the Irish directory off their guard, in consequence of which they omitted to prepare the people for the reception of the enemy. He has confessed that the people were loyal because they were left to themselves. It appears to your committee that after the attempt to invade this kingdom in December, 1796, had failed, the Irish directory renewed their solicitations to France for assistance, and it was determined by them to establish a regular communication and correspondence with the Directory of France, by a resident accredited Irish minister at Paris. Accordingly it appears that, in April, 1797, Edward John Lewins, of this city, attorney-at-law, was despatched from hence, under the assumed name of Thompson, to act as the minister of the Irish republican directory at Paris. That he went by way of Hamburgh, where he obtained a letter of credence from the French minister to General Hoche, with whom he had a conference at Frankfort, from whence he proceeded to Paris, where he has continued to reside from that time, as the minister of the executive directory of the republic of Ireland. It appears that, in June, 1797, a second messenger, Dr. William James M'Neven, was despatched by the same directory to Paris, with more precise instructions than they were enabled to give to Lewins, and that M'Neven also took Hamburgh in his way, where, finding some difficulty in obtaining a passport from Rheynhart, the French minister, to enable him to go to Paris, he presented a memoir in writing to that minister, containing the substance of his instructions from his employers, to be transmitted to the directory of the French republic. M'Neven has stated

to your committee the principal points of this memoir, in which it was recommended particularly to the directory of the French Republic, on their next attack on this kingdom, rather to make a landing at Oyster-haven than at Bantry, as the reduction of the city of Cork would be thereby considerably facilitated; and he has stated that it also contained every species of information which occurred to the Irish directory as useful to the enemy in their projected invasion of this kingdom, the particulars of which your committee forbear further to detail, as they have annexed the said M'Neven's confession made to them by way of appendix to this report. It appears that the said M'Neven having obtained a passport from the French minister at Hamburgh, soon after the delivery of his memoir to him, proceeded directly to Paris, where he had several conferences with some of the ministers of the French Republic, in which he pressed strongly upon them the advantages of a second armament against this kingdom, in which an additional supply of arms was represented as necessary, from the seizure which had been made, by order of government, of arms which had been collected for rebellion in the northern province; and the expenses of this armament, as well as of that which had already failed, he undertook, for the Irish directory, should be defrayed on the establishment of a republic in Ireland; and in these conferences, it appears to your committee, that it was strongly impressed upon the French directory to make the separation of Ireland from the kingdom of Great Britain an indispensable condition of any treaty of peace which might be concluded in consequence of the negotiation which then

depended at Lisle. The better to impress his arguments, a second written memoir was presented by the said M'Neven, enforcing, as strongly as he could, everything which he had theretofore urged to encourage the invasion of this kingdom by a French force, and to induce the directory of the French Republic to continue the war with Great Britain until Ireland should be separated from the British crown; and it appears that M'Neven was further instructed to negotiate a loan of half a million in France or Spain for the Irish directory, on the security of the revolution which they meditated, but that in this object of his mission he failed altogether. It appears that immediately after the negotiation at Lisle was broken off, information of it was sent from France to the Irish directory, with assurances that the French government would never abandon the cause of the Irish Union, nor make peace with Great Britain, until the separation of Ireland from the British crown was effected, and with fresh assurances of a speedy invasion, which have frequently been renewed since that period. It appears that the said M'Neven returned to this kingdom in October, 1797, when he made his report to the Irish directory of the result of his mission, and that they might rely with confidence on the promised succours from France; and it has also appeared that, in July or August, 1797, the Irish directory received a despatch from their minister at Paris, announcing the Dutch armament in the Texel, intended against this kingdom, which was baffled and discomfited by the ever-memorable and persevering valour of the British fleet commanded by Lord Duncan. It appears that three several despatches

have been received by the Irish directory from their minister at Paris, since October, 1797; the two first contained a renewal generally of the former assurances of friendship and support given by the directory of the French Republic; the last announced that the projected invasion of Ireland would be made in the month of April, 1798. And it appears that a despatch for the directory of the French Republic, earnestly pressing for the promised succours, was made up by the Irish directory, late in December, 1797, or early in January, 1798, which one of them undertook to have conveyed to France, but that the attempt failed. It has been stated to your committee by one of the rebel directory of Ireland, who was privy to this act of treason, that the despatch was not to be sent through Great Britain, but he did not explain to your committee any reason on which this assertion was founded, nor any other route by which this messenger was to make his way to France.”¹

The account given of the negotiations in 1797, in the memoir of M’Neven, Emmet, and O’Connor, is to the following effect:—

In November, 1796, an agent, a native of France, from the French Republic, arrived in Ireland, and communicated to the directory the intention of the French government to send the assistance required, and a large quantity of arms and ammunition; and in the month of December following the attempt at invasion was made at Bantry Bay.

¹ Lord’s Secret Committee Report.

One of the principal causes of its signal mis-carriage was attributed by the directory of the United Irishmen to the circumstance of being left by the French government in total ignorance of the part of the coast where the descent was to be made. Arthur O'Connor, however, stated to me, in 1842, there were two persons then living who had a knowledge of the place where the disembarkation was originally intended to have been effected.

In March, 1797, another agent, Mr. Lewins, an attorney of Dublin, had been sent by the directory to France, to press on the government the fulfilment of its promise of another expedition, and to effect a loan of half a million. The difficulties, however, of the French government at this period stood in the way of the success of the application, and another agent, Dr. M'Neven, was despatched in the month of June, to impress on the French government the immediate necessity of granting the succour that had been applied for. Dr. M'Neven was unable to proceed beyond Hamburg, where he communicated—imprudently—in writing to the French minister the object of his mission. The force required was 10,000 men, at the most, and 5,000 at the least, and about 40,000 stand of arms. Dr. M'Neven, after some time, was allowed to proceed to Paris, and there renewed with the government the solicitations of the directory for immediate assistance. Dr. M'Neven returned to Ireland in October, 1797, when he reported to the directory the result of his mis-

sion—that they might rely with confidence on the promised succours from France. Lewins remained in Paris, the accredited agent of the directory. In July or August, 1797, the directory received a communication from him, announcing the Dutch armament in the Texel, intended for Ireland, being about to be despatched. That expedition, however, was totally discomfited by the British fleet under Lord Duncan. The last application for French succour was attempted to be made in January, 1798, but the attempt failed; and the last communication from Lewins to the directory, with the new promise of assistance, was in the latter part of 1797, stating that an invasion of Ireland would take place in the month of April, 1798.

The French expedition for the coast of Ireland in 1796, and the Dutch one, with a similar destination, in 1797, had a pacific influence on Mr. Pitt, which may fairly be inferred to have been the occasion of Lord Malmesbury's mission to Paris in 1796 and to Lisle in 1797. In the remarkable work, entitled "Diary and Correspondence of Lord Malmesbury," we have a very detailed account of both missions, but strange to say, not a syllable is to be found in his journals or letters either of the Brest expedition under Hoche, which was preparing for departure while his lordship was in Paris in close underhand communication with Talleyrand, except a memorandum, dated the 13th of November, in relation to the unimportant circumstance

of its being reported that eleven sail of the line were ready for sea, and from fifteen to twenty thousand men embarked, and that the expedition meditated an attempt on Ireland.

His lordship arrived early in October, 1796, in Paris, at the precise time Hoche was hurrying on his preparations at Brest. His instructions, he states, were to make earnest overtures to the French government to put an end to the war. The directory then consisted of Barras, Rewbell, La Reveillere Lepaux, Carnot, and Letourneur. Two of the directory are said to have been traitors to their country, and in treasonable communication then and previously with the English government.

The Brest expedition, consisting of seventeen sail of the line, thirteen frigates, and 15,000 men, sailed on the 17th December, and on the 19th Lord Malmesbury was ordered to quit Paris within twenty-four hours.

The dismissal of the negotiator, however, was too late to prevent the secret of Hoche's expedition being communicated to England, and effectual means taken to disconcert the plans of Hoche. But not one word on the subject do we find in the "Diary and Correspondence of Lord Malmesbury." A secret agent of the French government, named Moutrand,¹ was placed at this time about Lord Malmesbury, *pour lui tirer*

¹ Moutrand died in Paris in 1843.

les vers du nez, while his lordship had likewise his secret agents about the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, to ascertain the designs of the Irish ambassador, Theobald Wolfe Tone, and to prevent the latter from counteracting his efforts to negotiate a peace. Tone did effectually counteract his lordship's efforts, but the latter, in his turn, enabled his government to counteract the most formidable plans that were ever formed for the separation of Ireland from England.

This was one of the occasions "when in one line two crafts directly meet," and we eventually have "the engineer hoist with his own petard."

In June, 1797, Lord Malmesbury was again despatched by Mr. Pitt to Lisle, to treat for peace with the French government. The Dutch expedition intended for the invasion of Ireland was then preparing in the Scheldt, but not one syllable do we find about it in those journals and correspondence, which are crammed with such minute diplomatic details on almost every other subject of continental importance. The mutiny in the fleet at the Nore, then existing, is mentioned by his lordship on the eve of his setting out. The directory was then composed of Barthélemy, Barras, Carnot, Le Reveillere Lepaux, and Rewbell. In the month of July the Minister for Foreign Affairs was Talleyrand. Two of the directory are said by French historians to have been traitors to their country; and though

Malmesbury does not say so, it is confidently affirmed by well informed French people, that Carnot and Barthélemy were in the pay of England.

The French ministers sent by the directory to Lisle to treat with Lord Malmesbury, were Le Tourneur, Pleville le Pelley, and Marat; the latter had been officially employed in England, and was well acquainted with Mr. Pitt. Marat is plainly shown by Lord Malmesbury to have been the agent of some foreign power inimical to his country. He held constant clandestine communications with Lord Malmesbury through a British resident at Lisle, a Mr. Cunningham, and also a relative of Marat's, a Monsieur Pein. In the first interview between Pein and Mr. Wesley, one of the *attachés* of the British Minister, on the part of Lord Malmesbury, the former stated that "Maret is the intimate friend of Barthélemy through whose means he has been appointed one of the ministers to treat for peace with England, and therefore his sentiments can not be doubted, as it is well known Barthélemy is sincerely desirous for the restoration of peace. Mr. Pein added that Marat has his suspicions with respect to the intentions of the directory." In plain English, Marat and Barthélemy were traitors to their own government. It is a curious circumstance that upwards of two years before the publication of "Lord Malmes-

bury's Memoirs," from which this account is taken, I mentioned, on the authority of one of Tone's northern friends, Mr. Jordan, living in Liverpool in 1842, in the former edition of this work, that a nobleman, one of the Irish Privy Councillors, had confidentially stated, in 1797, that the English government was in possession of all the projects of the United Irishmen then carrying on in Holland through one of the French directory—Barthélémy.¹

Thiers says—“*Carnot et Barthelemy votaient pour, qu'on acceptat les conditions de l'Angleterre les trois autres directeurs soutenaient l'opinion contraire.*”

Talleyrand all this time, we find from Mr. Canning's communications to Lord Malmesbury and Mr. Ellis, was in secret correspondence with English agents. He alludes to Talleyrand's letters against his own government and colleagues, to Mr. Smith and states, that Barthélémy was at this period largely gambling in the English funds. In a letter of Talleyrand's, quoted by Canning, addressed to Robert Smith, Esq., dated 27th July, 1797, he says, respecting the negotiations at Lisle, and the warlike plans of Charles Delacroix—“My wish is good, but I have a

¹ The Rt. Hon. William Wickham's correspondence illustrative of his secret mission to Switzerland, when he debauched the French Minister, Barthélémy, with “saint-seducing gold” was published by Bentley in 1870.—(W. J. Fitzpatrick, “Secret Service under Pitt,” p. 44.)

great deal to do—must take patience—adieu.” We find no reference in Lord Malmesbury’s journals to the proposal of a bribe to one of the directory made to Charles Delacroix, in 1796, by his lordship, as we are informed by Thiers, in his “History of the Revolution.”

Lord Malmesbury, in his diary, August 19th, says, “Mr. Melville, of Boston, in America, makes the same offer as to Barras.” In a note referring to this sentence, it is said that “a person named Potter came to Lord M. at the beginning of the negotiation, stating that he was sent by Barras to say that if the government would pay that director £100,000, he would insure the peace. Lord M., believing the offer to be unauthorized by Barras, or only a trap laid for him by the directory, paid no attention to it.”

About the same time Lord Malmesbury received an anonymous letter from Paris, bearing very strong marks of Talleyrand’s composition, setting forth the exertions the writer was making to promote English views in the government.

Of Marat’s treason to his country no doubt is left. Even the private signals are detailed which were established between him and Lord Malmesbury, to be made at the conferences between the negotiators and his lordship, for the purpose of deceiving Marat’s colleagues, the other two French negotiators. “The sign agreed upon

was Marat's taking his handkerchief out of one pocket and returning it into the other."

In the various records of baseness which are to be found in the Harris Papers, there is one of an Abbé Dumontel, who wrote to Lord Malmesbury, stating that he was connected with the British Minister at Stuttgart, Mr. Drake, who was implicated in Pichegru's conspiracy against the French government, and was turned out of the country in consequence of the disclosure. Lord Malmesbury refused to see him, and it turned out that the Abbé was an agent of the government employed to entrap Lord Malmesbury. Another priest, a British subject, a Jesuit in the pay of the British government, communicated also with his lordship, but no particulars are given of the mission of this reverend gentleman. Early in September, 1797, two of the Directors implicated in Pichegru's conspiracy, Carnot and Barthélemy, were banished, and the fact of British diplomatic agents being engaged in that conspiracy, while another British diplomatist was negotiating a peace with the same government, which Marat's agents were conspiring to overthrow, caused the negotiations at Lisle to be broken off, and on the 18th of September, Lord Malmesbury set out for England. There is a complete silence in his journals respecting the expedition for Ireland then preparing in the Scheldt; but it cannot be doubted

that his lordship made good use of his time, and laid the train for that unaccountable catastrophe which put an end to that expedition. On the 9th of October, Admiral Winter, without rhyme or reason, in sight of a British fleet of superior force, put to sea, and on the 11th, after a hard-fought action with admiral Duncan, off Camperdown, the Dutch admiral, with almost all his fleet, was captured.

At the end of the negotiations in 1797, Lord Malmesbury writes to Mr. Pitt, that "the violent revolution which has taken place in Paris, has overset all our hopes, and defeated all our reasonings. I consider it as the most unlucky event that could have happened." The *naivete* of this language is very amusing. The violent revolution complained of was nothing more than the detection of a foul conspiracy planned in England, and assisted abroad by British official agents. The detection of the two traitors in the Directory, who were privy to it, which Lord Malmesbury so pathetically laments the consequences of, was occasioned by the discovery of the papers at Venice of the chief conspirator—*agent d'étrangeres*, in reference to which discovery Lord Malmesbury expresses his fears that "all Wickham's attempts to produce a counter-revolution would come out in the latter." He observes likewise, "Pichegru, who was chief of the royalist conspiracy, was to receive, as the

price of a restoration, the baton of a marshal, the governorship of Alsace, the chateau of Chambord, £40,000 in money, and £8,000 a year."

The course pursued by Mr. Pitt at this time was somewhat singular. He had a minister negotiating a peace at Lisle; he had another at Stuttgard conspiring to upset the government he was treating with; and a third agent elsewhere, the disclosure of whose attempts Lord Malmesbury seemed to apprehend as an affair that would be disgraceful to his government; and, strange to say, this very conspiracy, which Wickham and Drake were labouring to make successful, proved "the most unlucky event (to British interests) that could have happened."

The late Mr. Sheil, in 1826, in reference to the three expeditions undertaken in France, with a view to the invasion of this country, puts that subject, if not in a clearer light, in a more vivid manner, at least, before us, than has been done by any other writer. He said:

I hold a book in my hand which has recently arrived here from America, and in which there is a remarkable passage, illustrative of the necessity of opposition to secret societies, and to all ill-organized associations among the peasantry, of which spoliation is the object, and of which their own destruction must be the result. The book to which I refer, is the life of the unfor-

tunate and deluded Theobald Wolfe Tone. Of his character, upon this occasion it is not necessary to say anything, except that he was loved and prized by all who knew him. He was chivalrous, aspiring, and enthusiastic, and possessed not only of great talents, but, what is in politics of still more importance, of dauntless determination. In the diary which he kept in Paris, when engaged in a guilty enterprise for the invasion of Ireland, he states that the late General Clarke, who was afterwards Duke of Feltre, conceived that a system which, during the French revolution, was called *chouannerie*, and which corresponds with the Captain-Rockism of this country, would be of use in Ireland, and that, through its means, the government might be embarrassed, and the people might be prepared for a general junction with an invading force. Tone objected utterly to this proposition. He said, in the first place, that it would lead to unavailing atrocities, in the promotion of which no good man could assist; and that, in the second place, it would produce a barbarous and irregular warfare, which it would be extremely easy to suppress, and which would give the government the opportunity of passing coercive laws, of introducing a military police, and crushing the spirit of the people. That Wolfe Tone was right, events have fully proved. The supporters of ascendancy ought to look pale in turning over the memoirs of Tone. I would fain commend them to the nocturnal vigils of the cabinet; and if there be any man who, in reading what I say, shall be disposed to smile, I would bid him to recollect that a fleet, composed of seventeen sail of the line, with 15,000 Frenchmen on

board, an immense park of artillery, and 50,000 stand of arms, to support an insurgent population, ought to awaken reflections, of which scorn should not constitute a part. I allude to the expedition from Brest in the year 1796, which Tone projected, and which was commanded by Hoche. It is necessary to be in possession of the exact circumstances in which Tone was placed, in order to judge how much was accomplished by a single man in the midst of difficulties, which it is almost wonderful that he should have surmounted. In the year 1795, Tone retired to America with his wife (an incomparable woman) and two children. He had £800 in the world. At first he formed an intention of remaining in the United States; but Tone was one of those restless spirits who feel that they are born for great undertakings, if not for great achievements, and who, though they may not be able to wed themselves to Fortune, woo her at all hazards. He set sail for France with no more than one hundred guineas in his pocket. He arrived at Havre on the 1st of February, 1796, and proceeded at once to Paris. When he was placed in the midst of that city, and stood upon the Pont-Neuf, he looked upon the vast array of palaces turned into the domiciles of democracy; he saw the metropolis of France in all its vastness, and he felt what Seneca has so well expressed—*urbs magna, magna solitudo*; still, although without a friend or an acquaintance, poor, desolate as it were, and shipwrecked upon France, his great and vast design did not leave him. He was sufficiently daring to present himself to the minister of war, Charles Lecroix. What were his chief credentials? Two votes of thanks from the Catholic

Committee. He scarcely knew a word of the French language, yet he succeeded in communicating his views to Lecroix. The latter referred him to General Clarke, the son of an Irishman, and who had been in Ireland himself. It is not improper to observe in this place the extraordinary ignorance of General Clarke respecting his father's country. Clarke asked Tone two of the most extraordinary questions that ever were proposed: first, whether Lord Clare would join in an insurrection? and secondly, whether the Irish, who, he heard, were addicted to regal government, would be disposed to put the Duke of York on the throne? The French have become better acquainted with the state of Ireland, and therefore how much more imperatively necessary is it to conciliate the Irish people. It was with the utmost difficulty that Tone could break through the crust of prejudices with which Clarke's mind was covered. He took at last a wise determination, and went directly to Carnot, the president of the directory of France. Carnot was justly called the "Organizer of Victory," and he was induced to extend his genius for organization to Ireland. Theobald Wolfe Tone succeeded so far as to induce the French government to determine upon an invasion of this country. At first the project was lamely and imperfectly got up, but to prevail to any extent was to do much. It is really matter for surprise that such a man as Tone, without rank, fortune, or a single friend, could accomplish so much. Yet it remains to be seen that Tone did much more than has hitherto appeared. The French at first proposed to send only 2,000 men: Tone saw at once that such a measure would be utterly

absurd. By much ado, he persuaded them to increase the army to 8,000, with 50,000 stand of arms. At length Hoche, a general of great fame, was induced to put himself at the head of the expedition; and as he felt that great objects must be attained by great means, he required 15,000 men, an artillery force, a large supply of cannon, and arms for the insurgent population: such was the force that sailed from Brest. There were seventeen ships of the line in attendance upon the army. It was Wolfe Tone who accomplished all this; but that navigation, fortunately for Ireland, was not happy for Tone. A storm separated the fleet. The ships had to pass through a strait called the "Raz," which caused them to part. Hoche was driven back, with seven ships of the line; but ten sail of the line, with 6,000 troops and an abundance of arms, commanded by Grouchy, reached the Irish coast. Tone says that he was so near the land that he could have thrown a biscuit on shore; a landing might have been most easily effected. But the instruction of the directory were that they should proceed to Bantry Bay: there they did proceed, and for five days—mark it! five days—ten French sail of the line lay in one of our harbours, having a body of troops on board who, with the aid of the people (and they had muskets for them) might have marched to Dublin. It may be here remarked that Grouchy was the commander. Tone says, "All now rests upon Grouchy; I hope he may turn out well." Grouchy did not turn out well. Twice had this man the destinies of nations in his hands, and twice he abused his trust. The expedition failed. Pious men attributed the failure to Providence, and

navigators to the wind. I put this plain question: if steam vessels were then in use, would not the event have been different? I answer—had steam vessels been at that time in use, the expedition would not have failed; or, in other words, 15,000 Frenchmen would have landed, with arms sufficient for the array of an immense population. The failure of the enterprise did not break the spirit of Wolfe Tone. In the year 1797 another expedition was prepared in the Texel, which consisted of fifteen sail of the line, eleven frigates, and several sloops. There were 14,000 men on board. A second time the winds, “the only unsubsidized allies of England,” conspired in her favour: the foul weather prevented them from sailing. A third expedition was undertaken, and had it been executed with the sagacity with which it was planned, the result might have been different. But Humbert, who had no reputation as a general, and did not deserve any, precipitated events, and by his absurdity frustrated the whole project. Yet the 1200 men commanded by Humbert arrived at Castlebar, and struck terror through Ireland. Lord Cornwallis advanced with the whole British army to meet him. Tone fell into the hands of his enemies, and anticipated the executioner. Men risk their lives for a shilling a day—mount the breach for a commission—perish for a word; it is not to be wondered, then, that such a man as Tone should, for the accomplishment of such great ends as he proposed to himself, “have set his life upon a cast;” and as it is to be feared that, so long as human nature continues as it is, individuals will be always readily found with a passion for political adventure, and who will “stand the hazzard of the die,”

it would be wise on the part of the government to snatch the dice from the hands of such men, and, if I may so say, to leave them no table for their desperate game. I have not introduced the name of Wolfe Tone for the purpose of panegyric; nay, I will go further, and hope to content his old friend and companion, the present attorney-general, when I say that I regard his projects with strong and unaffected condemnation. In any convulsion which may take place in Ireland, it is likely that the individuals who are most active in Catholic affairs would be amongst the first victims. The humblest man amongst us is substantially interested in arresting those disasters, of which we have had already some sort of experience: he who lives on the ground-floor ought not to wish the roof to fall in. But, while my ardent wishes are offered up for the peace and tranquillity of my country, I own that my apprehensions are differently directed. If I refer to the past, it is because I consider it an image of the future. In incidents gone by, it is easy to discover the archetypes of events that may yet come. Let me, then, put this question—if a single man, without fame, rank, influence, or authority, unknown and unrecognized, was, by dint of his unaided talents and his spirit of enterprise, able, in the space of two years, to effect three expeditions against Ireland, what might not be dreaded in other circumstances? When Tone embarked in his enterprise, there were but three millions of Catholics—now there are at least six; secondly, the French are at present infinitely better acquainted with the state of Ireland; thirdly, the Irish clergy were, in 1796, opposed to the deists of the republic; Wolfe

Tone says they cannot "be relied on." Dr. Troy¹ was persuaded to fulminate anathemas against the United Irishmen, and fling the innocuous lightning of excommunication against the abettors of the French. Now, I hold excommunication to be of exceeding good and proper efficacy in all matters of private and personal immorality; but in politics, excommunication is of no avail.

Such are the dangers with which the empire was menaced by these expeditions. Who can reflect on the magnitude of such dangers, without wondering at the folly of governing a people for the benefit of a faction, whose ascendancy could not be maintained without involving the government which could tolerate its oppression, and affect to be imposed on by the vain assumption of its exclusive loyalty, in the hostility which its intolerance and arrogance called forth?

¹ Dr. J. T. Troy, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin.

CHAPTER XI

MILITARY ORGANIZATION

THE military organization was engrafted on the civil, and organized in Ulster about the latter end of 1796, and in Leinster at the beginning of 1797. On the 19th of February, 1798, the provincial committee of the latter passed a resolution, that they would not be diverted from their purpose by anything which could be done in parliament, and this resolution was communicated to the directory. By the new organization, the civil officers received military titles: the secretary of each society of twelve was called a petty officer, each delegate of five societies a captain, having sixty men under his command, and the delegate of ten lower baronial societies was usually the colonel: each battalion being composed of six hundred men. The colonels of each county sent in the names of three persons to the directory, one of whom was appointed by it adjutant-general of the county, who communicated directly with the executive. The total number of members of the union who had taken the test amounted to 500,000; the total number capable of bearing arms, and counted on by the directory as an available force, was from 280,000 to 300,000.

Colonel Hely Hutchinson

A Leader of the English Forces during the rebellion.
From an Engraving by James Watson, after
a Portrait by Sir Joshua Reynolds





A military committee was appointed by the Dublin executive in February, 1798; its duty was to prepare a plan of coöperation with the French when they should land, or of insurrection, in case they should be forced to it before the arrival of the French, which the directory was determined, if possible, to avoid. In the memoir delivered to the Irish government by Messrs. Emmet, O'Connor, and M'Neven, it is stated that none of them "were members of the united system until September or October of the year 1796." Emmet became a member of the directory in the month of January, 1787, and continued to act in it till the month of May; he was again appointed to it in the month of December, and continued to belong to it till the 12th of March, 1798, when the arrests took place. Dr. M'Neven became a member of the new organization in September or October, 1796; having previously been secretary to the executive directory, he became a member of it about November, 1797, and continued to be one until March, 1798. Arthur O'Connor became a United Irishman, and a member of the directory, in November, 1796, and continued to belong to it until January, 1798, when he left Ireland, and his place in the directory was then filled up. Oliver Bond became a member of the northern executive, and, in 1797, was elected a member of the directory-general, but declined to act officially, continuing, however, to be in its

confidence, and to be consulted with on all affairs of moment. Richard M'Cormick, a stuff manufacturer of Mark's Alley, formerly secretary of the Catholic Committee, was the other member of the directory, though not ostensibly or by specific appointment belonging to it. At one period Lord Cloncurry¹ was a member of the directory, but states that he took no active part in its proceedings.

Though a national committee was a part of the plan of the original organization, the election of national delegates did not take place till the beginning of December, 1797, and then only partially.

There was no detailed plan of organization formed by the Dublin directory previously to March, 1798. There was one drawn up in April or May, 1797, for the north, but the plan was given up, and the writing destroyed.

With respect to the entire force armed throughout the country, as estimated by Lord Edward Fitzgerald, when a rising was eventually determined on in the month of May, 1798, the particulars are specified in a document presented

¹ W. J. Fitzpatrick did not believe that Lord Cloncurry's memory was absolutely to be trusted. On page 38, "Secret Service Under Pitt," he says "if is an open secret that the book known as 'Lord Cloncurry's Personal Memoirs' was fully prepared for publication, and its style strengthened throughout, by a practised writer connected with the Tory Press of Dublin, and who believed that Cloncurry had been wrongly judged in 1798."

by Lord Edward to that man whose name and notoriety are never likely to be forgotten, in his own country at least—to Mr. Thomas Reynolds the informer. The document referred to is dated February 26th, 1798.

| | Armed men. | Finances in hand. |
|--------------------|------------|-------------------|
| Ulster | 110,990 | £436 2 4 |
| Munster | 100,634 | 147 17 2 |
| Kildare | 10,863 | 110 17 7 |
| Wicklow | 12,895 | 93 6 4 |
| Dublin. | 3,010 | 37 2 6 |
| Dublin City | 2,177 | 321 17 11 |
| Queen's County ... | 11,689 | 91 2 1 |
| King's County ... | 3,600 | 21 11 3 |
| Carlow | 9,414 | 49 2 10 |
| Kilkenny | 624 | 10 2 3 |
| Meath | 1,400 | 171 2 1 |
| <hr/> | | |
| Total | 279,896 | £1,490 4 4 |

By this document it would appear that the total number of armed men throughout the country was estimated by Lord Edward at 279,896.

But from another source, and one whose authenticity is unquestionable, the writer has reason to know that Lord Edward imagined that when once he had raised the standard of revolt, 100,000 effective men only might be immediately expected to rally round it.

Lord Edward's precise views on the subject of

the rising of the people, have never been given to the public; they are now laid before it, in the following memorandum of a conversation with one who possessed his entire confidence, who communicated with him on the subject of the contemplated rising immediately before its intended outbreak, and who fruitlessly endeavoured to dissuade him from it. On the accuracy of the information given respecting this matter, the most implicit confidence may be reposed. The person in question, W. M., met Lord E. Fitzgerald by appointment at the Shakespeare Gallery, Exchequer Street, about one month before the arrests in March, to confer with the delegates from the different counties respecting the projected rising. After Lord Edward had received the different reports of the number of men ready for the field in the different counties, he called on the gentleman above referred to for his opinion. Lord Edward said he deeply regretted his friend should have withdrawn himself so long from any active interference in the business of the Union, and that one in whose judgment he so much confided should stand aloof at such a moment: if he unfortunately persisted in so doing, the friends of the Union might be led to imagine he had deserted them in the hour of need; that he, Lord Fitzgerald, had determined on an immediate and general rising of the people, their impatience for which was no

longer to be restrained, nor, with advantage to the cause, to be resisted. He then appealed to the delegates for the truth of this assertion, and his opinion was confirmed by them. His friend, it is well to state, had withdrawn himself from the Union about the beginning of the year, when the system was changed from a civil to a military organization. He could only regard this change as one likely to direct the attention of their opponents to their proceedings. In fact, the people had not been sworn in exclusively at this time, except in the North, and no great danger was apprehended by the government from them. But when the system was changed, and secretaries, and chairmen, and delegates, were called captains, and colonels, and adjutant-generals, a military aspect was given to the business of the Union, the government became necessarily alarmed, and recourse was had to spies and informers. The danger of this course was obvious to W. M., and to all those who felt that any premature display of military preparation must prove fatal to their cause. In any similar combination, W. M., and T. A. Emmet thought the people should be left alone, and that the system only needed to be previously well organized among the leaders, and, in due time, the people would rise if they felt themselves oppressed. W. M. particularly deprecated the want of caution in the leaders, in confiding in strangers, and

speaking and writing rashly and intemperately on the subject of the Union. On the Sunday previous to the arrests, W. M. had declined an introduction to Reynolds, at Jackson's in Church Street, notwithstanding M'Cann's recommendation of him as "one of the best and honestest men in the Union." He had avoided Reynolds, because he did not like his character. He informed Lord Edward, though he had taken no part for some time in the affairs of the Union, he did not cease to give his opinion when consulted, and especially by Lord Edward, though he was well aware, when once his lordship had made up his mind on a point, he was little influenced by the counsel of any man. When Lord Edward had spoken of his deserting the cause, the latter felt hurt at his observation, and replied in strong terms that he had not deserted the cause of the people, nor betrayed their cause; but those people had done so, who had precipitated measures prematurely taken, which did not afford the least promise of success. "My lord," said he, "I am not a person to desert a cause in which I have embarked. I knew the dangers of it when I joined it: were those dangers only for myself, or the friends about me, I am not the man to be deterred by the consideration of what may happen to myself or them—we might fall, but the cause might not fail; and, so long as the country was served, it would matter little; but when I

know the step that you are taking will involve that cause in the greatest difficulties, my fears are great—I tremble for the result. My lord, all the services that you or your noble house have ever rendered to the country, or ever can render to it, will never make amends to the people for the misery and wretchedness the failure of your present plans will cause them.” “I tell you,” replied Lord Edward impetuously, “the chances of success are greatly in favour of our attempt: examine these papers—here are returns which show that one hundred thousand armed men may be counted on to take the field.” “My lord,” replied Mr. M., “it is one thing to have a hundred thousand men on paper, and another in the field. A hundred thousand men on paper will not furnish fifty thousand in array. I, for one, am enrolled amongst the number; but I candidly tell you, you will not find me in your ranks. You know for what objects we joined this union, and what means we reckoned on for carrying them into effect. Fifteen thousand Frenchmen were considered essential to our undertaking. If they were so at that time, still more so are they now, when our warlike aspect has caused the government to pour troops into the country.” “What!” said Lord Edward, “would you attempt nothing without these fifteen thousand men—would you not be satisfied with ten thousand?” “I would, my lord,” replied his friend,

"if the aid of the fifteen could not be procured."

"But," continued Lord Edward, "if even the ten could not be got, what would you do then?"

"I would then accept of five, my lord," was the reply.

"But," said Lord Edward, fixing his eyes with great earnestness on him, "we cannot get five thousand, and with respect to the larger force we originally wished for, had we succeeded with so large a body of French troops we might have found it difficult enough to get rid of our allies." To this it was replied, "My lord, if we found it possible to get rid of our enemies, ten times as numerous as our allies, we could have little difficulty in getting rid of the latter when necessity required it."

"But, I tell you we cannot," said Lord Edward, "get even the five thousand you speak of, and when you know that we cannot, will you desert our cause?" The eyes of the delegates were turned on the person thus addressed. He felt that Lord Edward had put the matter in such a light before those present, that he would have been branded as a traitor if he abandoned the cause while there was a ray of hope for its success.

"My lord," said he, "if five thousand men could not be obtained I would seek the assistance of a sufficient number of French officers to head

our people, and with three hundred of these, perhaps we might be justified in making an effort for independence, but not without them. What military men have we of our own to lead our unfortunate people into action against a disciplined army?"

Lord Edward ridiculed the idea of there being anything like discipline at that time in the English army. "Besides, the numbers," he said, "of the United Irishmen would more than counter-balance any superiority in the discipline of their enemies."

"My lord," said his friend, "we must not be deceived; they are disciplined, and our people are not: if the latter are repulsed and broken, who is to reform their lines? Once thrown into disorder, the greater their numbers the greater will be the havoc made amongst them."

Lord Edward said, without risking a general engagement, he would be able to get possession of Dublin.

"Suppose you did, my lord," was the reply, "the possession of the capital would not insure success; and even when you had taken the city, if the citizens asked to see the army of their brave deliverers, which might be encamped in the Phoenix Park, the citizens would naturally expect to see some military evolutions performed, some sort of military array, exhibited on such an occasion. Who would there be, my lord, to

put the people through these evolutions? What officers have you to teach them one military manœuvre; and if they were suddenly attacked by an army in the rear, what leader accustomed to the field have you to bring them with any advantage to the attack? You, my lord, are the only military man amongst us, but you cannot be everywhere you are required; and the misfortune is, you delegate your authority to those whom you think are like yourself: but they are not like you: we have no such persons amongst us."

The delegates here assented to the justice of these remarks, declaring that the proposal for the aid of the French officers was a reasonable one, and they were proceeding to remonstrate, when Lord Edward impatiently reminded them that they had no assistance to expect from France, and that, consequently, the determination had been come to to prepare the country for an immediate rising.

Lord Edward and his friend, nevertheless, parted with the same feelings of cordiality and confidence in each other that had always subsisted between them.

That remarkable person, one of the profoundest thinkers of his time, who knew the young lord better than any of his associates, the late W. M., says: "Lord Edward was the noblest-minded of human beings. He had no deceit, no selfish-

ness, no meanness, no duplicity in his nature; he was all frankness, openness, and generosity; but he was not the man to conduct a revolution to a successful issue. That man was Thomas Addis Emmet." Perhaps if he had said the men to effect that object were Arthur O'Connor and Thomas Addis Emmet, provided they could have acted through such a struggle, and to its end, in concert and with singleness of purpose, his opinion might be better founded.

For nearly four years the leaders of the United Irishmen went on conspiring, secretly, as they thought, directing all their machinery to bear on one point, organization. This mania for organizing seems to have taken possession of the minds of the leaders, of all intellectual grades, with few exceptions. This organization was a work of supererogation; there was no need of it; it was very essential and useful to the spies and informers, the agents of the system of terror; the scourgers and the hangmen got many a good stroke of work by it. This system of organizing was not calculated to escape notice or to baffle detection. It tended directly to excite suspicion; and while its machinery of passwords and secret signs induced a false security and confidence in ability to keep treasonable plans concealed, it ultimately and almost invariably led to discovery. There was too much military theorizing in this organizing system,

and political economy mingled with bluster and braggadocio; and there was too little knowledge of the country, and of human nature, and of common sense, in the means taken of giving a military character all at once to a people unhabituated to arms, but always ready to handle any weapon in their way in a cause which they had at heart. There was too much marching and countermarching to and fro, from baronial to baronial —too much marshalling of men on paper, vapouring in newspapers, barking where the parties could not bite, to lead to any other result than that of nurturing agents for the destruction of confiding parties in the bosom of their societies. Even the man of most mind in that conspiracy, Thomas Addis Emmet, was lamentably mistaken in his view of the matchless fidelity of the members of the Union. One man of infamous celebrity, at a later date, in the Society of United Irishmen, of most importance as an informer, was only then suspected by Emmet; but in the lapse of years the facts which have transpired in relation to the question of the continuance or discontinuance of pensions, and the nature of the services for which they had been granted, have brought the names of individuals connected with the society, whose fidelity to it was considered by its leaders as beyond all suspicion, into juxtaposition with those of Messrs. Reynolds and Armstrong; and in this catalogue of treachery,

the names of persons are to be found who were at the same time the prominent partizans—nay, the professional advocates—of the party committed in this unfortunate struggle, and the secret agents and paid servants of the government, employed as spies on their own accomplices and companions. The treason of these men to their comrades, no doubt, was serviceable to government—nay more, beneficial to the country itself; but the traitors were despicable, even then, in the sight of their employers, and cannot be otherwise now in the eyes of their successors. Every important proceeding of the United Irishmen was known to government. Lord Clare acknowledged, in a debate in the English House of Lords, in 1801, that “the United Irishmen who negotiated with the Irish government in 1798, had disclosed nothing which the king’s ministers were not acquainted with before.” Then why did they suffer the conspiracy to go on? To promote rebellion, for the purpose of breaking down the strength of the country, in order to effect the unpopular measure of the Union. Carnot, the director, in August, 1797, told Dr. M’Neven, that the policy of Mr. Pitt was known to the Directory; “that a union was Mr. Pitt’s object in his vexatious treatment of Ireland.”¹

In Emmet’s examination before the secret

¹ “Memoir of the Examination of the State Prisoners,” etc.

committee of the House of Lords, he was asked by Lord Clare: “Did you not think the government very foolish to let you proceed so long as you did?” To which Emmet replied: “No, my lord; whatever I imputed to government, I did not accuse them of folly; I knew we were very attentively watched.”

But Emmet did not know that, however cautious they had been, the most secret proceedings of the directors had been disclosed to government, even prior to the application to France for assistance; and the knowledge of their negotiation with foreign states, we are told by M’Neven, was in the full possession of government, and that “knowledge was obtained by some person in the pay of England and the confidence of France.”

The memoir which the Irish directory had addressed to the French government, demanding military assistance, in 1797, with which Dr. M’Neven was charged, the same gentleman was astonished to find an authentic copy of, in the hands of Mr. Cooke, the Irish secretary in 1798.

The betrayers of their society were not the poor or inferior members of it; some of them were high in the confidence of the directory; others not sworn in, but trusted with its concerns, learned in the law, social in their habits, liberal in their politics, prodigal in their expenses, needy

in their circumstances, and therefore covetous of money; loose in their public and private principles, therefore open to temptation.

The want of good faith, however, was not alone on the side of the disaffected; in the closets of the most influential friends and agents of government, there existed channels of communication with the leaders of the United Irishmen, by means of which the most important measures of the administration were made known to the directory, and to others in the confidence of its members, which frequently baffled the designs of government, and disconcerted the plans of the law officers of the Crown, in the course of the proceedings instituted against the members of this society.

Arthur O'Connor, on his examination before the secret committee of the House of Lords, stated that "minute information of every act of the Irish government was obtained by the executive directory."

A person in the employment of government, necessarily entrusted with all important matters, was habitually visited by two members of the society, and when measures of moment to it were under consideration, the knowledge of them was obtained from this source.

On one occasion, when this official was waited on by these members of the society (persons of unquestionable veracity, from one of whom, Mr.

W. M——, T have this statement), they were warned to be silent on certain subjects, that a dangerous man was in the adjoining room, and that person was Mr. Walter Cox. With which party he was then most heartily disposed to play fast and loose, it would be difficult to say, but Cox, at that period, was the editor of an infamous journal called "The Union Star," which advocated the assassination of the persons supposed to be obnoxious to the United Irishmen; and that journal, which professed to be established for the especial advocacy of their cause, had been repeatedly repudiated by the society, and its principles denounced in "The Press," the organ of the United Irishmen: yet Cox never ceased to possess the confidence of Arthur O'Connor and many others of the leaders.

The fact seems to have escaped the notice both of the government and of the United Irishmen, that, on whatever side there is a deviation from humane, moderate, and justifiable proceedings, there is no confidence to be reposed in the fidelity of the agency employed in promoting violent or unlawful measures. The administration of that day had not the slightest suspicion that many of the most important measures which it meditated, and some of its most secret designs, were known to the directory of the United Irishmen; but that such was the fact there is unquestionable evidence—the evidence of members of that di-

rectory—of two of them especially, on whose veracity even Lord Clare had a perfect reliance.

There were channels of communication, the existence of which would now hardly be believed, between the agents of government and the emissaries of the United Irishmen. On Dr. M'Neven's authority I am enabled to state, that amongst those who were privately known to be favourable to their views, was a member of the privy council and a general officer then serving in the army. The time has not yet come when more may be said on the subject; the general statement of the fact, however, ought to be made; and the lesson may be useful, whether it works upon the fears of tyranny or treason.

In the course of the inquiries connected with this work, it has come to the author's knowledge that the expenses of the defence of the United Irishmen have been borne by officers of distinction at that period. In one case, I was informed by Bernard Duggan, a person deeply implicated in the rebellion, some of whose exploits are mentioned in Sir Richard Musgrave's history, that his life would have been forfeited, had it not been for the ample and timely pecuniary assistance sent him by an officer serving in that part of the country where he was then imprisoned, to whom he was utterly unknown. That assistance, which enabled him to procure legal assistance on his trial, was sent to him by a Colonel Lumm.

While Lord Edward Fitzgerald was concealed in the house of Murphy, we are informed by Mr. Moore, that he was in the habit of "receiving the visits of two or three persons, among whom were, if he was rightly informed, Major Plunkett and another military gentleman of the rank of colonel, named Lumm."¹

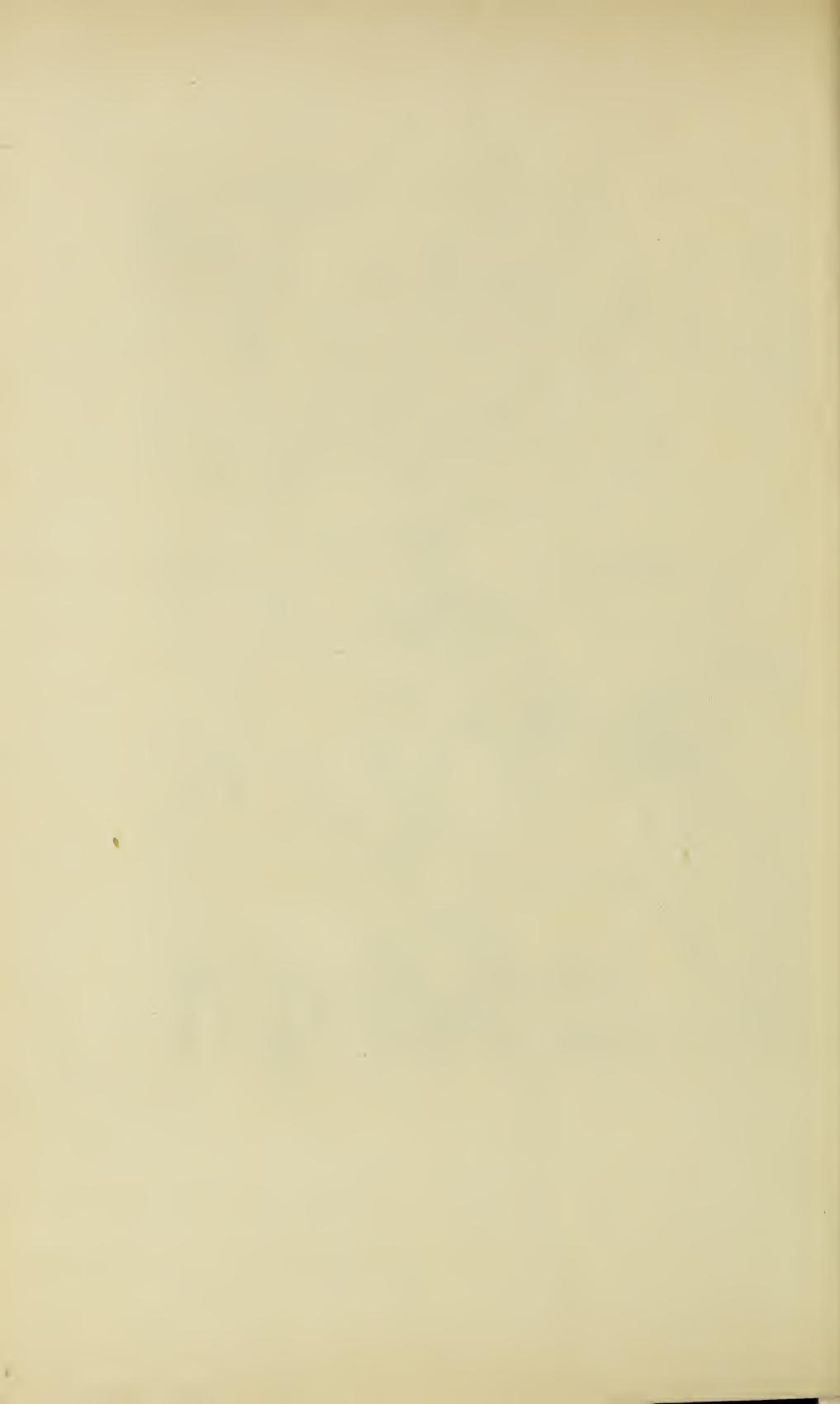
Teeling, in his "Personal Narrative of the Irish Rebellion," speaking of the persons who, in the relative situations in which they stood with the government, must have made great sacrifices and incurred considerable risk in communicating with the leaders of the United Irishmen, says, "I was one evening in conversation with Lord Edward, when Colonel L—— entered his apartment, accompanied by two gentlemen with whose persons I was unacquainted, but who, I have reason to believe, were members of the Irish legislature. The colonel, after embracing Lord Edward with the warmest affection, laid on his table a large canvas purse filled with gold, and smiling at his lordship, while he tapped him on the shoulder, 'There,' said he; 'there, my lord, is provision for ——.' A few hours more would have placed Lord Edward at the head of the troops of Kildare." In the month of May, 1798, Colonel Lumm was arrested in England, and brought to Dublin in custody of a king's messenger.

¹ "Lord E. Fitzgerald's Life and Death," by Moore.

Torture of the Irish Peasantry

*The Torture Inflicted on the Irish by the Yeomanry
to Elicit Information. From an Original Draw-
ing by Michael O'Flaherty in the Posse-
sion of Mr. Stephen J. Richardson.*





CHAPTER XII

USE OF TORTURE

OF all the barbarities that disgraced this calamitous conflict, whether on the part of ultra-loyalists, a licentious soldiery, or of infuriated rebels, the recurrence to the use of torture for the purpose of inspiring terror, of detecting crime, or of revenging wrongs, was the most atrocious. If this inhuman custom, now, happily, universally execrated and exploded in all civilized countries, had been only partially practised, and not systematically pursued; if the scene of its infliction had been in distant districts, in wild and lawless places, beyond the reach of the civil and judicial powers, and not in the immediate vicinity of the seat of government itself; if the actors were persons of no distinction, of no rank in society, instead of functionaries exercising authority—whose proceedings, though denied, were never repudiated by it—the proceedings might be considered as the excesses which are usually the unfortunate concomitants of civil warfare. It would now be, not only a painful task, but a culpable act, to rake up the recollection of such enormities, if the denunciation of them were not calculated to prevent the possibility of their repetition.

The extraordinary fact that the employment of torture in the suppression of the Irish Rebellion in 1798 called forth no general expression of public indignation in England, can only be accounted for by the political circumstances of the time, which made it necessary to keep the people of that country in ignorance of the means which had been adopted to effect a measure which they were taught to consider so advantageous to their interests as the Union.

To ignorance alone of the use of torture in 1798 can be attributed the impunity—so far as the silence on this subject, of public opinion in England may be so considered—with which these horrid outrages against humanity have been perpetrated in Ireland.

These cruelties, indeed, were practised on people in rebellion—not unfrequently on persons only suspected of so being—or whose creed was regarded in too many cases as *prima facie* evidence of disaffection; but the use of torture was abhorrent to the spirit of the laws under which they lived; and even if the enormity of the crime with which they were charged gave a colourable pretext for the employment of rigorous means and summary modes of execution, in cases where capital punishments were thought to be required, cruelty in the infliction of them cannot be defended, and should not escape the reprobation of all Christian men.

The fact of the employment of torture, as an ordinary mode of proceeding in the examination of suspected rebels in 1798, has never been denied, except by Lord Castlereagh in a qualified form. It has been openly avowed and defended by members of the Irish government, by the perpetrators of it, and by their advocates in parliament. In the debate in the English House of Commons, in March, 1801, on the Irish Martial Law Bill, in reply to an observation with respect to the use of torture, made by Mr. Taylor, Lord Castlereagh had certainly the boldness to affirm, that "torture never was inflicted in Ireland, with the knowledge, authority, or approbation of government." Mr. John Claudius Beresford, who was the most competent of all men to speak on that subject, observed, that "it was unmanly to deny torture, as it was notoriously practised;" and in a subsequent debate in the House of Lords, on another occasion, in the imperial parliament, Lord Clare avowed the practice, and defended it on the grounds of its necessity. But the intemperate zeal of Sir Richard Musgrave, the unscrupulous advocate of Lord Castlereagh's policy (for it was chiefly during his connection with government that these tortures were inflicted), carried him to the extent of not only attributing the suppression of the rebellion to the use of torture, but even of defending it on the authority of no less a person than the hu-

mane and enlightened Marquis of Beccaria, whose words in reference to punishments, he cites in defence of this practice, and, true to his ruling passion, perverts the meaning of his authority to suit his purpose. The following are the words he quotes: "Among a people hardly yet emerged from barbarity, punishments should be more severe, as strong impressions are required." Little did the benevolent Beccaria imagine that a line of his admirable book should ever be cited by such a man as Musgrave in support of his sanguinary sentiments!

It did not suit the purpose of this writer to cite Beccaria's express condemnation of the use of torture, as an absurd as well as a barbarous mode of eliciting truth or of detecting crime. "To discover the truth," says Beccaria, "by this method, is a problem which may be better solved by a mathematician than by a judge; and it may be thus stated: The force of the muscles and the sensibility of the nerves of an innocent person being given, it is required to find the degree of pain necessary to make him confess himself guilty of a crime."

But Beccaria's condemnation of torture was not wanted in these countries, to prohibit its infliction, in any circumstances and under any form. Blackstone might have informed Lord Clare, when he acknowledged its employment, or Musgrave, when he defended its infliction,

that “the trial by rack is utterly unknown to the law of England:” or these men might have learned from another legal authority, Lord Ellenborough, in the debate of 1801, on the Irish Martial Law Bill, “that it cannot but be known to every one, that neither martial law, nor any other law, human or divine, can justify or authorize its infliction.”

The reasoning of Sir Richard Musgrave on the advantages of torture and the beneficial effects of its infliction, will appear to the people of England more indicative of the wisdom of our ancestors in the eleventh or twelfth century, than of the humanization of their posterity in the eighteenth or nineteenth age. In a chapter of his “History of the Rebellion,” entitled “Observations on Whipping and Free Quarters,” we find the following statement: “To disarm the disaffected was impossible, because their arms were concealed; and to discover all the traitors was equally so, because they were bound by oaths of secrecy, and the strongest sanction of their religion, not to impeach their fellow-traitors.

“But suppose the fullest information could be obtained of the guilt of every individual, it would have been impracticable to arrest and commit the multitude. Some men of discernment and fortitude perceived that some new expedient must be adopted to prevent the subver-

sion of government and the destruction of society, and whipping was resorted to." The men of "discernment and fortitude" included Sir Richard Musgrave himself, Mr. John Claudius Beresford, Sir John Judkin Fitzgerald, the High Sheriff of Tipperary, Hunter Gowan, Hawtrey White, Archibald Jacob Hamilton, and James Boyd, magistrates of the county Wexford, Lord Kingston, Messrs. Hopenstal, Love, and Sandys, several military gentlemen, and a host of subordinate functionaries, many of whom were liberally rewarded, pensioned, and promoted, for the very services which Lord Castlereagh denied all knowledge of in the British House of Commons.

The sentiments of Sir Richard Musgrave are, unfortunately, still those of a great portion of his party in Ireland, with whom the doctrine, *salus factionis suprema lex*, prevails over every other obligation.

"That man," says Musgrave, "who would balance between the slight infractions of the constitution in inflicting a few stripes on the body of a perjured traitor,¹ and the loss of many lives and much property, must renounce all pretensions to wisdom and patriotism.

¹ During the period of the Whiteboy outrages, when Sir Richard Musgrave was high sheriff of the county Waterford, finding some difficulty in procuring an executioner to inflict the punishment of whipping on a Whiteboy, he performed the office himself, and with all the zeal of an amateur.

“As to the violation of the forms of the law by this practice, it should be recollected that the law of nature, which suggested the necessity of it, supersedes all positive institutions, as it is imprinted on the heart of man for the preservation of his creatures—as it speaks strongly and instinctively, and as its end will be baffled by the slowness of deliberation.”¹

At Castle Otway, in the county of Tipperary, the champion of torture instances the necessity and efficacy of this measure: “Cook Otway, Esq.,” says Sir Richard, “a gentleman noted for his loyalty, was the most active person in the county of Tipperary, next to Colonel Fitzgerald, in putting down rebellion, for which he was afterwards persecuted. He raised a yeomanry corps, but was afterwards obliged to disband the Popish members, as they had taken the United Irishmen’s oath. The preservation of the metropolis from carnage, plunder, and conflagration, must in a great measure be imputed to it, as traitors, on being whipped, revealed the most important secrets, and confessed where great quantities of arms were concealed.” What other evidence can be required to prove the general practice of torture at this period, and the extent of the evil which imposed the embarrassing necessity on Lord Castlereagh of making a solemn denial of all knowledge of its existence?

¹ Sir Richard Musgrave’s “History and Appendix.”

The fact of its existence, indeed, could not be denied, for his own colleagues admitted it. The existence of it, then, even without his knowledge, left the character of the government open to the charge of extraordinary remissness, for it certainly was the duty of the leading member of that government to have made himself acquainted with the measures which were taken for the suppression of that rebellion, and it was his duty to have protected the people against the violation of the laws on the part of the subordinate agents of government. The rebellion did not break out till May, 1798, and, to use the memorable words of Lord Castlereagh, even then “measures were taken by government to cause its premature explosion:” words which include the craft, cruelty, and cold-blooded, deliberate wickedness of the politics of a Machiavelli, the principles of a Thug, and the perverted tastes and feelings of a eunuch, in the exercise of power and authority, displayed in acts of sly malignity, and stealthy, vindictive turpitude, perpetrated on pretence of serving purposes of state.

So early as 1797, Grattan described such acts as having been practised by Lord Camden’s government in Ireland:

“The Convention Bill, the Gunpowder Bill, the Indemnity Bill, the Second Indemnity Bill, the Insurrection Bill, the suspension of the

habeas corpus, General Lake's proclamation by order of government, the approbation afforded to that proclamation, the subsequent proclamation of government, more military and decisive; the order to the military to act without waiting for the civil power; the imprisonment of the middle orders without law; the detaining them in prison without bringing them to trial; the transporting them without law; burning their houses; burning their villages; murdering them; crimes, many of which are public, and many committed which are concealed by the suppression of a free press by military force; the preventing the legal meetings of counties to petition his majesty, by orders acknowledged to be given to the military to disperse them, subverting the subjects' right to petition; and finally, the introduction of practices not only unknown to law, but unknown to civilized and Christian countries. Such has been the working of the borough system; nor could such measures have taken place but for that system.”¹ The perfect despotism that then existed in Ireland, Grattan said had produced universal disgust, discontent, and indignation. A member of the government had threatened the opposition for denouncing that system of coercion. He said: “In former times half a million has been expended to break down an opposition: half a million more might have been expended

¹ Grattan's “Address to His Fellow-Citizens,” 1797.

in breaking down another." The Parliament was to be corrupted, the people to be coerced. The governmental agent of coercion was sent forth to put down discontent. "He destroyed liberty; he consumed the press; he burned houses—and he failed. Recall your murderer, we said, and in his place despatch our messenger—try conciliation. You have declared you wish the people should rebel; to which we answer, God forbid! Rather let them weary the royal ear with petitions, and let the dove be again sent to the king; it may bring back the olive; and as to you, thou mad minister! who pour in regiment after regiment to dragoon the Irish, because you have forfeited their affections, we beseech, we supplicate, we admonish, reconcile the people. Combat revolution by reform: let blood be your last experiment."

A few brief extracts from Lord Moira's speech in the English House of Lords, on the 22d of November, 1797, will corroborate the preceding statements. His lordship, on that occasion, brought the subject of the torture, then in full practice in Ireland, before the notice of their lordships. He said: "When I troubled your lordships with my observations upon the state of Ireland, last year, I spoke upon documents certain and incontrovertible; I address you this day, my lords, upon documents equally sure and staple. Before God and my country, I speak

of what I have seen myself. But in what I shall think it necessary to say upon this subject, I feel that I must take grounds of a restrictive nature. . . . What I have to speak of are not solitary and insulated measures, nor partial abuses, but what is adopted as the system of government; I do not talk of a casual system, but of one deliberately determined upon and regularly persevered in.

“ When we hear of a military government, we must expect excesses which are not all, I acknowledge, attributable to government, but these I lay out of my consideration: I will speak only of the excesses that belong to and proceed from the system pursued by the administration of Ireland. . . . My lords, I have seen in Ireland the most absurd, as well as the most disgusting tyranny that any nation ever groaned under. I have been myself a witness of it in many instances; I have seen it practised and unchecked; and the effects that have resulted from it have been such as I have stated to your lordships. I have said, that if such ‘tyranny be persevered in, the consequence must inevitably be the deepest and most universal discontent, and even hatred, to the English name. I have seen in that country a marked distinction made between the English and Irish. I have seen troops that have been sent full of this prejudice —that every inhabitant in that kingdom is a

rebel to the British government. I have seen the most wanton insults practised upon men of all ranks and conditions. I have seen the most grievous oppressions exercised, in consequence of a presumption that the person who was the unfortunate object of such oppression, was in hostility to the government; and yet that has been done in a part of the country as quiet and as free from disturbance as the city of London. Who states these things, my lords, should, I know, be prepared with proofs. I am prepared with them. Many circumstances I know of my own knowledge, others I have received from such channels as will not permit me to hesitate one moment in giving credit to them."

The government at this period, it is needless to say, issued no proclamations, and published no precise instructions to their functionaries to inflict these tortures. It would not have done at the close of the eighteenth century to have addressed Lord Camden in the barbarous terms addressed, in the sixteenth, to the Deputy Carew. Queen Elizabeth, in 1598, in her instructions to Carew, the Deputy of Munster, on his going over to carry "her gracious pleasure" into effect, authorizes him and her officers, "to put suspected Irish to the rack, and to torture them when they should find it convenient."¹ The *laissez faire* mode of accomplishing the same ob-

¹ "Pacata Hibernia."

ject answered every purpose at a smaller expense of official character. Outrages on a larger scale than any I have referred to were practised in Ireland in 1798, by its armed Orange bands, with entire impunity.

The sufferings of the Irish people were brought before the English House of Lords on Wednesday, June 27, 1798. The Earl of Bessborough moved the following address, which was seconded by the Earl of Suffolk:

That an humble address be presented to the King, to state to his Majesty the advice and request of this house, that he would be graciously pleased to take into his royal consideration the calamitous state of his kingdom of Ireland, and that, when, under the blessings of divine Providence, the rebellion now existing in that kingdom shall have been suppressed, such a spirit of conciliation may be adopted as may tend most effectually and most speedily to restore to that afflicted country the blessings of peace and good government; and also to implore his Majesty, in the administration of affairs of Ireland, to employ such persons as may possess the confidence of the people, and insure to them the permanence of a just and lenient system of government.

It was supported by the Duke of Bedford, Lord Holland, etc., and opposed by Lord Auckland, Lord Grenville, the Bishop of Rochester, etc.

The House then divided: for the address, contents 18; non-contents, 34: majority 16, independent of proxies.

The Duke of Bedford then moved the following resolution:

Resolved, That this house, understanding it to be a matter of public notoriety that the system of coercion has been enforced in Ireland with a rigour shocking to humanity, and particularly, that scourges and other tortures have been employed for the purpose of extorting confessions, a practice justly held in abhorrence in every part of the (civilized) world; and that houses and buildings have been set fire to—a mode of punishment that can tend only to the most pernicious consequences, and that seldom or ever falls on the guilty, but, on the contrary, on the landlord, the wife and children of the criminals, who, however iniquitous the husband or father, ought always to be spared and protected, is of opinion that an immediate stop should be put to practices so disgraceful to the British name; and that our best hopes of restoring permanent tranquillity to Ireland must arise from a change of system as far as depends on the executive government, together with a removal from their stations of those persons by whose advice those atrocities have been perpetrated, and with regard to whom the afflicted people of Ireland can feel no sentiments but those of resentment and horror.

On a division, it was negatived: contents, 17; non-contents, 44; majority, 27.

The late Lord Holland, in his "Memoirs of the Whig Party," edited by his son, thus speaks of the reign of terror of Irish Orangeism, and "the clemency" of Lord Camden's rule in Ireland:

The premature and ill-concerted insurrections which followed in the Catholic districts, were quelled, rather in consequence of want of concert and skill in the insurgents, than of any good conduct or discipline of the king's troops, whom Sir Ralph Abercrombie described very honestly, as formidable to no one but their friends. That experienced and upright commander had been removed from his command, even after those just and spirited general orders, in which the remarkable judgment just quoted was conveyed. His recall was hailed as a triumph by the Orange faction, and they contrived, about the same time, to get rid of Mr. Secretary Pelham, who, though somewhat time-serving, was a good-natured and a prudent man. Indeed, surrounded as they were with burning cottages, tortured backs, and frequent executions, they were yet full of their sneers at what they whimsically termed "the clemency" of the government, and the weak character of their Viceroy, Lord Camden. . . . The fact is incontrovertible, that the people of Ireland were driven to resistance, which, possibly, they meditated before, by the free quarters and expenses of the soldiery, which were such as are not permitted in civilized warfare, even in an enemy's country. Trials, if they must so be called, were carried on without number under martial law. It often happened that three officers

composed the court, and that of the three, two were under age, and the third an officer of the yeomanry or militia, who had sworn, in his Orange lodge, eternal hatred to the people over whom he was thus constituted a judge. Floggings, picketings, death, were the usual sentences, and these were sometimes commuted into banishment, serving in the fleet, or transference to a foreign service. Many were sold at so much per head to the Prussians. Other more legal, but not more horrible, outrages were daily committed by the different corps under the command of government. Even in the streets of Dublin a man was shot and robbed of £30, on the loose recollection of a soldier's having seen him in the battle of Kilcalley, and no proceedings was instituted to ascertain the murder or prosecute the murderer. Lord Wycombe, who was in Dublin, and who was himself shot at by a sentinel between Black Rock and that city, wrote to me many details of similar outrages, which he had ascertained to be true. Dr. Dickson (Lord Bishop of Down) assured me that he had seen families returning peaceably from mass, assailed, without provocation, by drunken troops and yeomanry, and the wives and daughters exposed to every species of indignity, brutality, and outrage, from which neither his remonstrances, nor those of other Protestant gentlemen, could rescue them. The subsequent Indemnity Acts deprived of redress the victims of this wide-spread cruelty.

So much for "Lord Holland's glance at the Reign of Terror in Ireland."

On the trial of Mr. Finnerty, in 1810, for a

libel on Lord Castlereagh, that gentleman submitted a number of affidavits to the court in proof of the ordinary and systematic employment of torture during the period that Lord Castlereagh filled the office of chief secretary in Ireland. In the address of Mr. Finnerty, in his defence on that occasion, in reference to an observation of Lord Holt—"that a man's omission of his duty should be taken as a presumption of his guilt," he said:

If it be pretended that Lord Castlereagh did not order torture, that pretence will not avail when you recollect the affidavits that I have read—when you see that such cruelty has been committed in the Royal Exchange, which immediately adjoins the Castle, and from which the cries of the sufferers might have been heard in Lord Castlereagh's office, where his personal interposition, where the mere expression of his will, might have prevented the continuance of the torture.

Doubts have been sometimes expressed here as to the actual infliction of torture in Ireland; indeed I understand that many persons of high rank in this country have been persuaded to doubt on the subject; and I am not surprised at it, for I have myself heard Lord Castlereagh in this country publicly declare that it was not practised with the knowledge, approbation, or authority of government. The government, indeed, not to know of it!—that government which had such a system of espionage established in the country as threw that of Fouché into the

shade, which enabled them to ascertain what was passing in every hamlet and village in the land—to be ignorant of what was notoriously taking place in the most public parts of Dublin, under the direction of the immediate agents and confidential friends of the government, in the immediate vicinity of the Castle, in such a situation that the screams of the sufferers might have been audible in the very offices where the ministers of government met to perform their functions. The pretence of ignorance, therefore on the part of government, of such notorious transactions, is quite preposterous.

But it is not on the authority of persons who might be supposed to be inimical to the administration of that period, that the charge rests, of connivance at the use of torture and at the preferment of its perpetrators to places of honour and emolument.

No specific orders, undoubtedly, emanated from the government to Mr. Beresford to convert the Riding School into a scourging-hall—to Mr. Hegenstal to make a walking gallows of his person—to Mr. Love for the half hanging of suspected rebels at Kilkea Castle—to Mr. Hunter Gowan for burning down the cabins of the Croppies—to the high sheriff of Tipperary, for the laceration of the peasant's back, of which Sir John Moore was an eye-witness—to Captain Swaine for the picketings at Prosperous, or Sir Richard Musgrave, to write a treatise in defence

of torture; and to all the other gentlemen of “discernment and fortitude” to adopt “the new expedient” for the discovery of crime.

The admitted policy of Lord Castlereagh was to accelerate the explosion of the insurrection in order to confound the plans of its leaders. For this purpose it was necessary to drive the people mad with terror; and the subordinate agents of this policy were allowed to take their own ways of accomplishing the minister’s designs.

Those gentlemen were therefore honoured with the confidence of government, and rewarded with its gifts. J. C. Beresford was considered entitled to both; Fitzgerald was created a baronet in 1801; A. H. Gowan was placed on the pension list; Sir Richard Musgrave obtained the office of Receiver of the Customs, with a salary of £1,200 a year, to mark the sense entertained of his humanity; and the subordinate officers who most notoriously evinced the exuberance of their zeal in the discovery of disaffection, who punished the disaffected with a “vigour beyond the law,” were promoted in their several departments. With the exception of Sir Richard Musgrave, there is hardly an instance of a cotemporary writer on the subject of the rebellion, who has not ascribed to the administration of that time, a knowledge of the enormities that were committed on the Irish people. Sir Jonah Barrington, whose political tendencies were certainly not on

the side of the insurgents, states, in his “Memoirs of the Irish Union,” that “Mr. Pitt counted on the expertness of the Irish government to effect a premature explosion. Free quarters were now ordered on the Irish population.” He adds in a note: “This measure was resorted to, with all its attendant horrors, throughout some of the best parts of Ireland, previous to the insurrection.

“Slow tortures were inflicted, under the pretence of extorting confession; the people were driven to madness. General Abercrombie, who succeeded as commander-in-chief, was not permitted to abate these enormities, and therefore resigned with disgust. Ireland was reduced to a state of anarchy, and exposed to crime and cruelties to which no nation had ever been subject. The people could no longer bear their miseries. Mr. Pitt’s object was now effected. These sanguinary proceedings will, in the opinion of posterity, be placed to the account of those who might have prevented them.”

On the same subject, the Rev. James Gordon, rector of Killegny, in the diocese of Ferns, a gentleman, to use his own words, “wholly British by descent,” and “his natural bias on the side of Protestantism and loyalty,”² states that “great numbers of houses were burned, with their furniture, where concealed arms were found.”

² “Gordon’s ‘History of the Rebellion of 1798.’”

or meetings of the United Irishmen had been held, or whose occupants had been guilty of the fabrication of pikes, or of other practices for the promotion of the conspiracy. Many of the common people, and some even in circumstances superior to that class, particularly in the city of Dublin, were scourged, some picketed, or otherwise put to pain, to force a confession of concealed arms or plots.

“To authorize the burning of houses and furniture, the wisdom of administration may have seen as good reason as for other acts of severity, though to me and many others that reason is not clear.”

John Claudius Beresford, the sanguinary terrorist of 1797 and 1798, was born in 1766. He was the third son of the Right Hon. John Beresford, and grandson of the first Earl of Tyrone. He represented the city of Dublin in the Irish Parliament. He was the commandant of the merchant’s corps of yeomanry; and the scourge and the pitch-cap, in his hands, did much to make his memory very dear to the Orangemen of Ireland. He had gone through many vicissitudes in his long career; he had been a banker and a bankrupt, a terrorist in 1798, a flaming anti-Union patriot in 1800, secretary of the grand lodge of Orangemen, and for a lengthened period agent to the Hon. the Irish Society over their estates in Derry.

In 1806, he was elected for the county of Waterford, and again at the general election in the same year, and also in 1807. He served the office of lord mayor for the city of Dublin with great hospitality and very singular popularity. On one occasion, the populace of the Liberty made beasts of burden of themselves, yoked themselves to his carriage, and drew him through the streets in triumph.

In his latter days, it is said, he was charitable, tolerant, and, it is to be hoped, repentant of his grievous crimes against humanity in his early days. He married, in 1795, a Scotch lady of the name of Menzes, and spent his latter days in the vicinity of Coleraine.

In 1813, John Claudius Beresford, the quondam terrorist, highly influential member of parliament, head of a great faction and family of factious men, jobbers, and “undertakers,” master of the Riding School in Marlborough Street, and of a bank in Beresford Place, was a bankrupt in fame, fortune, and physical power, a miserable wreck of humanity, a wretched spectacle of a broken man, grim and ghastly to behold—emaciated, gaunt, and feeble; shabby in his attire; a solitary man, stalking through the streets of his native city, like one of those uncomfortable shades of whom we read, on the shores of Leuce—a poor, unhappy ghost, restless and forlorn.

John C. Beresford died in Newtownlimavady, on the 2nd or 3rd of July, 1846, and was interred in the family vault, at a little church about seven miles from Dungiven, on the Derry line of road.

For illustrations of some of the preceding statements, let us glance our eyes over the following notices of passing occurrences in the daily prints during the reign of terror.

THE PRESS, January 20, 1798.

In addition to the catalogue of tortures and massacres committed on the men of Ireland by a set of wretches styling themselves friends to the constitution, the following fact, which happened in Carnew, a small town in an unproclaimed barony in the county of Wicklow, may be depended on as strictly true.

About a fortnight ago, a person of the name of Patrick Doyle, charged with speaking some improper words when in a state of intoxication, was taken prisoner by some soldiers, and confined in the barrack of Carnew. Shortly after his being taken into custody, a Mr. B—— and a Mr. M'C—— came into the barrack-yard, and wanted Doyle to confess his guilt, and to give information against persons disaffected to government. Doyle declared his innocence in the most positive manner, and absolutely denied having any knowledge of disaffected persons. His answers not pleasing these gentlemen, they determined to torture him into others more agreeable, and for this purpose

they had him suspended by a penny cord; the unfortunate man was in that situation for some time, but at length the cord broke, and he came to the ground. His sanguinary executioners, not satisfied with the tortures they had already inflicted on him, got another cord, and hung him up a second time, Mr. B—— at the same time declaring that if that cord were not strong enough to do the business, he would provide a shilling rope; however, he was saved the trouble and expense, for when the second cord broke the unfortunate victim fell to the ground apparently lifeless, with his tongue forced to great length withoutside his mouth, and whilst he lay in that situation, the son of Mr. B—— (a son worthy of such a father) repeatedly kicked him and otherwise abused him. By the humane exertions of some women the tongue of the unhappy man was got into its place, and he was restored to life; but it had been better for him to have died under the hands of his butchers, for he is ever since deprived of his reason.

THE PRESS, January 11, 1798.

'A lieutenant, well known by the name of the Walking Gallows, at the head of a party of the regiment, marched to a place called Gardenstown in your county; they went to the house of an old man (named Carroll) of seventy years and upwards, and asked for arms, and having promised protection and indemnity, the old man delivered up to this monster three guns, which he no sooner received, than he with his own hands shot the old man through the heart, and then had his sons (two young men) butchered, burned and destroyed their

house, corn, hay, and, in short, every property they possessed. The wife and child of one of the sons were enclosed in the house when set fire to, and would have been burned had not one of the soldiers begged their lives from the officer, but on the condition that if the bitch (using his own words) made the least noise, they should share the same fate as the rest of the family. This bloody transaction happened about two o'clock on Monday morning, the 19th of June last. He then pressed a car, on which the three dead bodies were thrown, and from thence went to a village called Moyvore, took into custody three men, named Henry Smith, John Smith, and Michael Murray, under pretence of their being United Irishmen, and having tied them to the car on which the mangled bodies of the Carrolls were placed, they were marched about three miles, *possing* in the blood of their murdered neighbours, and at three o'clock on the same day were shot on their fair green of Ballymore; and so universal was the panic, that a man could not be procured to inter the six dead bodies: the sad office was obliged to be done by women. The lieutenant, on the morning of this deliberate and sanguinary murder, invited several gentlemen to stay and see what he called partridge shooting. It may not be improper to remark, that Lord Oxmantown remonstrated with the officers on the monstrous cruelty of putting these men to death, who might, if tried by the laws of their country, appear innocent. He begged and intreated to have them sent to jail, and prosecuted according to law (if any proof could be brought against them), but his humane efforts proved fruitless; the men were murdered!

Amongst the admissions of the witnesses of those times, of the means they took to extort confessions of guilt, there is one of the same lieutenant (Hepenstal of the Wicklow Militia), which is distinguished for the coolness of its effrontery, and the atrociousness of the crimes openly acknowledged. Hepenstal was a native of the county Wicklow, had been educated at the school of a pious Catholic priest in Clarendon Street, Dublin, of the name of Gallagher, his mother being of the Catholic religion; a sister of his was married to the notorious Dr. Duigenan. He was brought up to the business of an apothecary, but, in 1795, renounced the pestle for the sword—and halter. Being a man of Herculean stature, he made a gallows of his person, and literally hung numbers of persons over his shoulder.

At the trial of Hyland, in September, 1797, at the Athy assizes, under the Whiteboy Act, Hepenstal, being examined touching the mode of procuring evidence from the witness against the prisoner, said on examination, “he had used some threats, and pricked him with a bayonet;” and when cross-examined by Mr. M’Nally, said, “this prisoner had also been pricked with a bayonet, to induce him to confess; a rope had been put about his neck, which was thrown over his (Hepenstal’s) shoulder; he then pulled the rope and drew the prisoner up, and he was hung in this way for a short time, but continued sulky,

and confessed nothing." Whereupon Mr. M'Nally said, "Then you acted the executioner, and played the part of a gallows?" "Yes, please your honour," was the reply of Lieutenant Hopenstal.

The Solicitor-General, Mr. Toler, who tried the case, in his charge to the jury, regretted the treatment of the prisoner; "but it was an error such as a young and gallant officer might fall into, warmed by resentment." Sir Jonah Barrington was one of the counsel for the Crown. The prisoner was found guilty.

The memory of this infamous man has received its deserts at the hands of a clerical gentleman of the name of Barrett, in the form of an epitaph:—

Here lie the bones of Hopenstal,
Judge, jury, gallows, rope, and all.

Hopenstal died about 1813; his remains were interred in the burying-ground of St. Andrews church, Dublin.

DUBLIN EVENING POST, 7th February, 1798.

A few days ago a party of dragoons entered the house of a poor cottager in one of those parts which have been declared out of the peace. After shooting the poor old woman to whom it belonged, with more than savage barbarity, the officer commanding vio-

lated the person of her daughter. He was taken into custody by a guard of the regiment to which he belonged (9th Dragoons), who showed as much indignation at the unnatural and unmanly crime with which he stands charged, as any private citizen could do, and with an alacrity that does honour to this old and respectable regiment lodged him in the jail of Carlow. He bore until this time a good character in his regiment, and has a brother a lieutenant in Lord Drog-heda's Light Horse.

IRISH MAGAZINE, December, 1811.

There lived in the year 1798, at Upper Newcastle, county of Wicklow, an aged man of the name Richard Neill, a poor farmer. This man's son, Michael, had rendered himself particularly obnoxious to the Orangemen of the neighbourhood, by the contempt he uniformly treated them with. He was handsome and athletic, and frequently would exhibit his strength and uncommon activity, chastising the cowards, whenever he detected them in any act of outrage or riot. This raised an implacable hostility in the minds of those fellows against young Neill, which the suspension of the laws, and a license to military outrages, in the years 1797 and 1798, gave them every authority to gratify. As every assassin who had a military uniform, felt himself authorized to shoot and murder every other person he met (see "Wooloughan's Trial"), the enemies of Neill did not omit to use this plenitude of power in its fullest extent, and among other game wrote down young Neill in their book of proscriptions.

They had a considerable accession of strength in the Ancient Britons, who also entered into all the spirit of plunder and murder then in such leading estimation.

A party of those huntsmen, formed of the Newtown Mount Kennedy Cavalry and Ancient Britons, surrounded Neill's house in the middle of the night, and after breaking the doors and windows, they entered the house, denouncing destruction to the wretched inmates. During the struggle to get admittance, young Neill contrived to secrete himself, but was soon called out from his hiding-place by the impulse of filial piety, as the murderers were beginning to torture his father, then more than seventy years of age, to make him discover to them the retreat of the son. The groans of the father were so loud and affecting, that the generous son could not longer think of saving himself, and his parent suffering under the most acute torments. He burst in among the armed banditti, and was immediately seized and handcuffed. Then binding his hands to the saddle of one of the horses, the party mounted and galloped away to Newtown Mount Kennedy, dragging the unfortunate Neill with the rapid horses a journey of two miles. Then they arrived, and were joined by their companions in blood, huzzaing and blaspheming in the most frantic manner. Maimed and mangled as he was, they flung him on the floor of the guard-house, where he fell, without uttering one complaint. He raised himself on his knees, and in silent prayer addressed his God. When the wretches discovered him in this attitude, they called the unfortunate youth every opprobrious name—Papist, rebel, etc. They then proceeded to goad him with the points of their swords,

and in a few minutes the guard-house was filled with Ancient Britons, who joined in the amusement. Rendered desperate, and entertaining no idea of mercy from his torturers, he flung himself among them, and succeeded several times in knocking down such of them as he could close with, as he had nothing but his hands to use. At length, and after much difficulty, they succeeded in knocking him down, when one fellow stood on his neck, while another amused his comrades by repeatedly driving his spurs into poor Neill's face. Though nearly blinded, and wounded in every part of the body, his strength remaining not much diminished, he took up a fourteen-pound weight that lay where he fell, jumped on his feet, wound it by the ring round his head, and with the other hand held one of the Ancient Britons, until he laid him dead with the iron weight, and then, using all his remaining strength, he flung it from him among the crowd. Disarmed and nearly exhausted, a fellow of the name of James Williams ran him through the body with a bayonet; he fell, and they bound his hands, put a rope on his neck, dragged him to the next gallows, where they finished his life and sufferings, and exposed his naked body for several days after.

In speaking of the tortures inflicted on the gentry, the Rev. Mr. Gordon, a Protestant clergyman, says:

Mr. Thomas J. Fitzgerald seized in Clonmel a gentleman of the name of Wright against whom no grounds of suspicion could be conjectured by his neigh-

bours, caused five hundred lashes to be inflicted on him in the severest manner, and confined him several days without permitting his wounds to be dressed, so that his recovery from such a state of laceration could hardly have been expected. In a trial at law, after the rebellion, on an action of damages brought by Wright against this magistrate, the innocence of the plaintiff appeared so manifest, even at a time when prejudice ran amazingly high against persons accused of disloyalty, that the defendant was sentenced to pay £500 to his prosecutor. Many other actions on similar grounds would have been commenced, if the parliament had not put a stop to such proceedings by an act of indemnity for all errors committed by magistrates from supposed zeal for the public service. A letter, written in the French language, found in the pocket of Wright, was hastily considered as a proof of guilt, though the letter was of a perfectly innocent nature.

We must have recourse to the reports of Irish parliamentary proceedings for further insight into the exploits of Mr. T. J. Fitzgerald, the history of whose life and loyalty is written in legible characters on the backs of great numbers of his countrymen.

At the assizes in Clonmel, March 14, 1799, the trial took place of an action brought by Mr. Bernard Wright, a teacher of the French language, against Thomas Judkin Fitzgerald, Esq., late sheriff of the county of Tipperary. The damages were laid at £1,000, The trial took place before Lord Yelverton

and Judge Chamberlain. The first witness examined, William Nicholson, Esq., deposed, that he knew both plaintiff and defendant; plaintiff, on hearing the high sheriff had expressed an intention of arresting him (Wright), immediately went to surrender himself to a magistrate. The magistrate not being at home, witness accompanied plaintiff to the high sheriff. Witness told the latter Wright had come to surrender himself; on which the high sheriff said to Wright: "Fall on your knees, and receive your sentence, for you are a rebel, and you have been a principal in the rebellion: you have to receive five hundred lashes, and then to be shot." Whereon Wright prayed for time, hoped he would get a trial, and if he was not found innocent, he would submit to any punishment. Defendant answered: "What! speak after sentence has been passed!"

The Hon. Mr. Yelverton, in the House of Commons, in his statement of these proceedings, said, the words used by Fitzgerald were: "What! you Carmelite rascal! do you dare to speak after sentence?" and then struck him, and sent him off to prison; and next day the unhappy man was dragged to a ladder, in Clonmel Street, to undergo his sentence.

The witness, Nicholson, swore that he endeavoured in vain to persuade the high sheriff to have the plaintiff tried, and to convince him of Wright's innocence, "whom he had known from his childhood, and had always known to be a loyal man."

Solomon Watson, a Quaker, affirmed, that on the

29th of May, 1798, the high sheriff told witness he was going to whip a set of rebels. "Saw Wright brought to the ladder under a guard; had his hands to his face, seemed to be praying; saw him on his knees at the ladder. Defendant, the high sheriff, pulled off Wright's hat, stamped on it, dragged him by the hair, struck him with his sword, and kicked him; blood flowed; and then dragged him to the ladder; selected some strong men, and cried, "Tie up citizen Wright! tie up citizen Wright!"

Witness further deposed, that Wright begged to have a clergyman, but his request was refused; then the flogging began. "Defendant ordered first fifty lashes. He pulled a paper, written in French, out of his pocket, gave it to Major Riall as furnishing his reasons for flogging Wright. Major Riall read the paper, and returned it. Defendant then ordered fifty lashes more, after which he asked how many lashes Wright had received; being answered one hundred, he said: 'Cut the waistband of the rascal's breeches, and give him fifty there.' The lashes were inflicted severely; defendant then asked for a rope; was angry there was no rope; desired a rope to be got ready, while he went to the general for an order to hang him. Defendant went down the street towards the general's lodgings. Wright was left tied up during this time, from a quarter to half an hour. Could not say during this time whether the crowd had loosed the cords; if not, he remained tied while defendant was absent. When defendant returned, he ordered Wright back to gaol, saying he would flog him again the next day; saw Wright sent back to gaol under a guard."

Major Riall being examined, deposed, that he did not arrive at the place of carrying the flogging into effect before Wright had received fifty lashes. The high sheriff produced two papers, one of which being in French, he (the high sheriff) did not understand, but gave it to him to read, as containing matter that furnished ground for the flogging. Witness read the paper, and returned it, saying it was in no wise treasonable; that it was from a French gentleman, the Baron de Clues, making an excuse for not keeping an appointment, being obliged to wait on Sir Laurence Parsons (subsequently Lord Rosse). Wright, however, was flogged after witness had explained the nature of the letter to the high sheriff. Witness then went away. Next day accompanied the high sheriff to see Wright in the gaol. Saw him kneeling on his bed, while they were speaking to him, being unable to lie down with soreness. Witness further deposed, that he knew of three innocent persons being flogged, whom he believed to be innocent, of whom Wright was one.

(Solomon Watson had previously deposed, in his evidence, to his knowledge of the defendant having flogged some labourers on account of the kind of waistcoats they wore. He had known defendant knock down an old man in the street for not taking off to his hat to him, and he saw a lad of sixteen years of age leap into the river to escape a repetition of a flogging from him.)

The high sheriff, "in an animated speech," which took nearly two hours to deliver, defended the practice

of flogging generally, as a means of obtaining discoveries of treasonable secrets; that he had flogged a man named Nipper, alias Dwyer, who confessed that Wright was a secretary of the United Irishmen, "and this information he could not get before the flogging." He insisted on the utility of his efforts to obtain confessions from suspected traitors: when every other means of discovering the truth failed, "he had a right even to cut off their heads."

This mode of arriving at truth, rather disturbed the gravity of the court.

The Rev. T. Prior, fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, being produced to prove the moral and loyal character of plaintiff, deposed that "he had known Bernard Wright from his earliest youth, and that he had always conducted himself as an orderly, loyal, and moral man."

Judge Chamberlain, in charging the jury, said the jury were not to imagine the legislature, by enabling magistrates to justify their acts under the Indemnity Bill, had released them from the feelings of humanity, and the obligations of justice in the exercise of power, even in putting down rebellion.

The jury retired, and found a verdict for the plaintiff, for five hundred pounds, and six pence costs.

On the 6th of April, 1799, T. Judkin Fitzgerald petitioned the House of Commons, "praying to be indemnified for certain acts done by him in the suppression of the late rebellion." The acts specified were the infliction of corporal punishment, of whipping, on many persons of whose guilt he had secret information, but no public evidence. Petitioner said, not being able to disclose the information on which he acted, "the learned

judges who had presided at a late trial (*Wright v. Fitzgerald*), were of opinion, in point of law, that unless petitioner produced information on oath of the ground on which he acted, that his case could not fall within the provisions of the Indemnity Act passed last session."

Mr. Secretary Cooke bore testimony to "the national services performed by the petitioner."

A Bill of Indemnity was passed in the Irish parliament, in accordance with the prayer of the petitioner, and immediately after an application was made on the part of Mr. Fitzgerald, in the Court of Exchequer, to set aside the verdict obtained against him by Mr. Wright, which application was dismissed with full cost.¹

In the parliamentary proceedings, "on the petition of T. J. Fitzgerald, Esq., praying for indemnity for certain acts done by him in the suppression of rebellion," April 6th, 1799, Lord Matthew supported the petition, and bore testimony to the conduct of Mr. Fitzgerald: "he was an extremely active, spirited, and meritorious magistrate."

The Hon. Mr. Yelverton opposed the petition, on the ground of "there not being found a scintilla of suspicion against the plaintiff, Wright, to justify the unparallel cruelties exercised on him."

Mr. Yelverton, in stating the facts of the case,

¹ Report of the trial *Wright v. Fitzgerald*.

read the letter in the French language, which had been shown to Major Riall by the all-mighty sheriff of Tipperary, as a justification of the scourging of a respectable gentleman, a peaceable man, of literary habits, and pursuits, who was designated a scoundrel, whom the sheriff would be justified in flogging to death, and which letter Mr. Yelverton said, had been translated in these words to Mr. Fitzgerald by Major Riall, on the spot, at the place of execution, in one of the intervals of the flogging:—

SIR,—I am extremely sorry I cannot wait on you at the hour appointed, being unavoidably obliged to attend Sir Laurence Parsons.

Yours,

BARON CLUES.

To B. Wright, Esq.

The Hon. Mr. Yelverton proceeded to state, that “ notwithstanding this translation, which Major Riall read to Mr. Fitzgerald, he ordered fifty lashes more to be inflicted, and with such peculiar severity, that, horrid to relate, the intestines of the bleeding man could be perceived convulsed through his wounds! Mr. Fitzgerald finding he could not continue the action of his cat-o'-nine-tails on that part where he was cutting his way into his body, ordered the waistband of his breeches to be cut open, and had fifty more lashes inflicted there. He then left the man

bleeding and suspended, while he went to the barracks to demand a file of men to come and shoot him; but being refused by the general, he ordered him back to prison, where he was confined in a small dark room, with no other furniture than a wretched pallet of straw, without covering, and here he remained six or seven days without any medical assistance."

"Gracious God!" said Mr. Yelverton, "will any man say that such conduct is to be sanctioned and indemnified by this house? I would be one of the last men to refuse every reasonable indemnity to loyal magistrates, for acts done in the performance of their duty for the suppression of rebellion, but I will never vote for protection and indemnity to a bloody tyrant, whose conduct, though it may have produced good in some instances, has been productive of infinitely more mischief: and on these grounds I will give this petition every resistance in my power."

Mr. John Claudius Beresford defended the conduct of the high sheriff.

The Hon. F. Hely Hutchinson opposed the indemnity. He deprecated the conduct of Fitzgerald in the case of Wright. He was himself present when similar acts were committed by Mr. Fitzgerald, whose zeal had led him to deeds of horror. In the town of Clogheen there was a man of some property and good character, who kept an inn; and this man was brought out of his

house by Mr. Fitzgerald, tied up to a ladder, and whipped. When he had received some lashes, Mr. Fitzgerald asked him, "Who swore you?" The man answered he never was sworn. After a few more stripes the question was repeated, and received with a similar answer. The remedy was resumed for the supposed obstinacy, with this additional suggestion: "*If you do not confess, I'll cut you to death.*" The man, unable to bear the torture any longer, then did name a person who he said had sworn him; but the moment he was cut down, he said to Lord Cahir, "The man never swore me, but *he* (Fitzgerald) said he would cut me to death if I did not accuse somebody, and to save my life I told the lie."¹

The Attorney-General defended the petitioner and advocated the proposed indemnity bill. It passed the house by a large majority. Mr. Fitzgerald, emboldened by his success, then applied to the Court of Exchequer to set aside the verdict obtained against him by Wright, but his application was dismissed with full costs.

Mr. Cooke, too, it will be borne in mind, bore testimony "to the national services of the petitioner."²

¹ "Report of Proceedings in the House of Commons on Petition of T. J. Fitzgerald," p. 38.

² Mr. Edward Cooke arrived in Dublin the 24th March, 1784, having been appointed under-secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, Mr. Orde being then chief secretary (see "Cary's Volunteer Journal," 25th March, 1784).

The government of that day, or rather Lords Camden, Castlereagh, and Clare, were represented on that honourable occasion by Mr. Secretary Cooke in the House of Commons; they defended, through him, the terrible atrocities of Mr. T. J. Fitzgerald,³ and by so doing, they accepted all the responsibility of his acts, and so doing, most heavily they charged their souls with the guilt of sanguinary crimes of astounding atrocity.

In reference to the barbarities committed on the bodies of executed rebels, the Rev. Mr. Gordon says:

Many instances might be given of men, who, at the hazard of their own lives, concealed and maintained loyalists until the storm passed away. On the other hand, many might be given of cruelties committed by persons not natives of Ireland. I shall mention only one act, not of what I shall call cruelty, since no pain was inflicted, but ferocity, not calculated to soften the rancour of the insurgents. Some soldiers of the Ancient British regiment cut open the dead body of Father Michael Murphy, after the battle of Arklow, took out his heart, roasted his body and oiled their boots with the grease which dripped from it.

Mr. Edward Hay, in his history of the insurrection of the county of Wexford, states:—

³ Thomas Judkin Fitzgerald, of Lisheen, in the county of Tipperary, received the honour of knighthood for his services in 1798. He died in Cork in October, 1810.

In Enniscorthy, Ross, and Gorey, several persons were not only put to the torture in the usual manner, but a great number of houses were burnt, and measures of the strongest coercion were practised, although the people continued to flock to the different magistrates for protection. Mr. Perry, of Inch, a Protestant gentleman, was seized on and brought a prisoner to Gorey, guarded by the North Cork militia, one of whom (the noted sergeant, nicknamed “Tom the Devil”) gave him woful experience of his ingenuity and adroitness at devising torment. As a specimen of his *savoir faire*, he cut off the hair of his head very closely, put the sign of the cross from the front to the back, and transversely from ear to ear closer still; and probably, a pitched cap not being in readiness, gunpowder was mixed through the hair, which was then set on fire, and the shocking process repeated, until every atom of hair that remained could be easily pulled out by the roots; and still a burning candle was continually applied until the entire was completely singed away, and the head left totally and miserably blistered.¹

It is said that the North Cork regiment were the inventors—they certainly were the introducers—of pitch-cap torture into the county of Wexford. Any person having his hair cut short, and therefore called a *croppy* (by which the soldiery designated an United Irishman), on being pointed out by some loyal neighbour, was immediately seized and brought into a guard-house, where caps, either of coarse linen or strong brown paper, besmeared inside with pitch, were always kept ready for service. The unfortunate victim had

¹ Hay's “Insurrection of the County of Wexford.”

one of these, well heated, compressed on his head, and when judged of a proper coolness, so that it could not be easily pulled off, the sufferer was turned out, amidst the horrid acclamations of the merciless torturers.

Mr. Hunter Gowan had, for many years, distinguished himself by his activity in apprehending robbers, for which he was rewarded by a pension of £100 per annum; and it is much to be wished that every one who has obtained a pension, had as well deserved it. Now exalted to the rank of magistrate, and promoted to be a captain of a corps of yeomen, he was zealous in exertions to inspire the people about Gorey with dutiful submission to the magistracy and a respectful awe of the yeomanry. On a public day in the week preceding the insurrection, the town of Gorey beheld the triumphal entry of Mr. Gowan at the head of his corps, with his sword drawn, and a human finger stuck upon the point of it.

With this trophy he marched into the town, parading up and down the streets several times, so that there was not a person in Gorey who did not witness this exhibition, while, in the mean time, the triumphant corps displayed all the devices of Orangemen. After the labour and fatigue of the day, Mr. Gowan and his men retired to a public-house to refresh themselves, and like true blades of game, their punch was stirred about with the finger that had graced their ovation, in imitation of keen fox-hunters, who whisk a bowl of punch with the brush of a fox before their boozing commences. This captain and magistrate afterwards went to the house of Mr. Jones, where his daughters were, and,

while taking a snack that was set before him, he bragged of having blooded his corps that day, and that they were as staunch bloodhounds as any in the world. The daughters begged of their father to show them the croppy finger, which he deliberately took from his pocket and handed to them. Misses dandled it about with senseless exultation, at which a young lady present hid her face with her hands, to avoid the horrid sight. Mr. Gowan, perceiving this, took the finger from his daughter, and archly dropped into the disgusted lady's bosom. She instantly fainted, and thus the scene ended! Mr. Gowan constantly boasted of this and similar heroic actions, which he repeated in the presence of Brigade Major Fitzgerald, on whom he waited officially; but so far from meeting with his wonted applause, the major obliged him instantly to leave the company.

Enniscorthy and its neighbourhood were similarly protected by the activity of Archibald Hamilton Jacob, aided by the yeomen cavalry, thoroughly equipped for this kind of service. They scoured the country, having in their train a regular executioner, completely appointed with his implements—a hanging-rope and cat-o'-nine-tails. Many detections and consequent prosecutions of United Irishmen soon followed. A law had been recently enacted, that magistrates, upon their own authority, could sentence to transportation persons accused and convicted before them. Great numbers were accordingly taken up, prosecuted, and condemned. Some, however, appealed to an adjournment of a quarter-sessions, held in Wexford on the 23rd of May, in the county court-house, at which three-and-

twenty magistrates, from different parts of the county, attended.

In the course of the trials on these appeals, in the public court-house of Wexford, Mr. Archibald Hamilton Jacob appeared as evidence against the prisoners, and publicly avowed the happy discoveries he had made in consequence of inflicting the torture. Many instances of whipping and strangulation he particularly detailed, with a degree of self-approbation and complacency that clearly demonstrated how highly he was pleased to rate the merit of his own great and loyal services.

On the 21st of June, the town of Enniscorthy having been retaken by the king's troops, the house in which the sick and wounded of the rebel party were placed, was set on fire, and about thirty of the unfortunate inmates perished. The Hessian troops distinguished themselves particularly on this occasion. The Rev. James Gordon, a Protestant clergyman, in speaking of this atrocious proceeding, says he was "informed by a surgeon that the burning was accidental; the bed-clothes being set on fire by the wadding of the soldiers' guns, who were shooting the patients in their beds.

The son of the late Mr. Thomas Reynolds, in his recent unsuccessful and ill-judged effort to vindicate the memory of his father, in recounting the various atrocities committed by the rebels, is compelled to acknowledge that their barbarities were equalled, and sometimes provoked, by the massacres of their opponents.

At the same time numerous acts of equal atrocity, and still less justifiable, were, during the same period, and for some time previous to the breaking out of the rebellion, committed by the opposite party. I say, still less justifiable, because they were urged and frequently countenanced by the actual presence of persons of distinction, who indulged their brutality under the assumed mask of loyalty. Such was the murder of Mr. Johnstone, of Narraghmore, as I have already related; the burning of the rebel hospital in Enniscorthy, with all the rebel sick and wounded it contained, to the number of above thirty persons (Cloney states the number put to death on the occasion was seventy-six); the massacre of above fifty unresisting individuals, by a party of the military, under the command of Lieutenant Gordon, of the yeomanry cavalry, which provoked the massacre of Bloody Friday; the slaughter of upwards of two hundred men, after they had surrendered on terms of capitulation to General Dundas, on the Curragh of Kildare; the numerous murders committed in cold blood, in retaliation for those committed by the outlaws under Holt and Hacket; the flogging of suspected persons, and throwing salt into their wounds, to extort confession, and other acts of a similar nature.¹

Mr. Gordon says:

The Hessians exceeded the other troops in the business of depredation, and many loyalists who escaped

¹ "Life of Thomas Reynolds," by his son.

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 as 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 buttermilk, would any of these Highlanders accept without the payment of at least the full value.

Here are the items in the two accounts of savagery, namely, of the Wexford rebels on one side, and of the armed Orangemen and terrorists in authority on the other, and the balance of blood-guiltiness and barbarity struck by Thomas Cloney, an eye-witness of many of the occurrences he relates, but no participator in their barbarities.

The executions that followed courts-martial, be it observed, are not taken into account by Cloney, though many of them, assuredly, had

all the leading characteristics of cold-blooded murders; and amongst the latter, not a few out of the sixty-six executions related by Musgrave, "from the retaking of the town of Wexford, June 21, 1798, to December, 1800."¹

Cloney states:

I have now to direct the reader's attention to a comparative statement of the outrages respectively perpetrated by the magistrates, military, yeomanry, and insurgents, in the county of Wexford, in the year 1798. Nothing, certainly, can be more remote from my intention than to exhibit this melancholy list for the purpose of reviving almost defunct prejudices. I think I shall obtain credit with my countrymen for the declaration I now make, a declaration founded upon long and intimate knowledge of Protestant worth, that a more honourable race of men never existed than the good Protestants of the county of Wexford.

It cannot, therefore, be supposed that I mean to charge one outrage committed in the county of Wexford against Protestants, as such. The perpetrators were certainly encouraged and hallooed on by men of rank and persons in official station, who called themselves Protestants, but men whom I call practical infidels. Their wretched dupes were motley aggregates of yeomen and military, composed indiscriminately of Protestants, Catholics, and Dissenters. These numerical statements which are subjoined, have been, in some instances, taken from the books of Gordon, Hay, and Alexander; but those accounts which are marked "pri-

¹ Musgrave's "Appendix."

vate memoranda," were obtained from the traditional details of the surviving children and relations of those who had been murdered:—

Statement of outrages perpetrated by the magistracy, yeomanry, and king's troops, in the county Wexford, in the year 1798.

| | |
|---|----|
| Page 64. Driscol, a hermit, from Camolin Wood, flogged and half-hanged three times by Tottenham's Ross Yeomen—Alexander. | 1 |
| Page 65. Fitzpatrick, a country schoolmaster, flogged by same—ditto. | 1 |
| Denis M'Donnell, dropped dead in a grove near Mr. Gordon's house, with fear of being flogged—Gordon. | 1 |
| Doctor Healy, a most respectable and inoffensive gentleman and physician, flogged almost to death by the Ross Yeomen—Hay | 1 |
| Flogged by a corps of Yeomen, under the superintendence of a magistrate, in the neighbourhood of Enniscorthy, it appeared on the trials of appeals at Wexford, under the Insurrection Act, on the 23rd May, 1798—Private memoranda. | 17 |
| Page 70. Flogged to death by Hunter Gowan's Yeomen, a peasant, whose finger was brought into Gorey by Gowan on the point of his sword—Hay. | 1 |
| Page 76. Burned from its roots, by Tom the Devil, of the South Cork Militia, the | |

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| hair of Mr. Perry's head, who was afterwards hanged—Hay. - - - - | 1 |
| Flogged and pitch-capped in the town of Carnew, before the insurrection—Private memoranda. - - - - | 14 |
| Page 78. Flogged almost to death by a corps of Yeomen, commanded by a magistrate, at Ballaghkeene, on the 24th of May, 1798—Hay. - - - - | 2 |
| Page 79. Hanged in the town of Enniscorthy, by the Yeomen, previous to the insurrection, without trial— - - - | 2 |
| Shot by the Wexford Yeomen Cavalry, in cold blood, the day they arrested John Colclough—Hay. - - - - | 6 |
| Shot at Dunlaven, by the yeomanry, without a trial—Hay. - - - - | 34 |
| Page 76. Shot, on the 25th of May, 1798, in the ball-alley, at Carnew, without any form of trial—Hay. - - - | 28 |
| Page 135. Shot by Hawtry White's Yeomen, on the 27th May, between Oulart and Gorey, men and boys—Hay. - | 28 |
| Page 135. Shot, in Gorey, by the Tinnehely and Wingfield Yeomanry, and without trial, eleven farmers, who had been taken out of their beds within a mile and a-half of the town—Hay. - - | 11 |
| Page 150. Shot, by the military, at New Ross, General Harvey's Aide-de-Camp, Mr. Matt. Furlong—Private memoranda. | 1 |
| Hanged in Enniscorthy, a drummer of the | |

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| North Cork Militia, for refusing to beat his drum to the tune of the "Boyne Water"—Hay. - - - - | 1 |
| Page 153. Burned by the military, at New Ross, wounded men who had taken refuge there during the battle—Hay. - | 78 |
| Page 158. Shot by the Yeomen of Gorey, in his own garden, Mr. Kenny, of Ballycanew—Hay. - - - - | 1 |
| Shot by Ogle's Blues, at Mayglass, in running away from Wexford—Hay. - | 2 |
| Shot by the military and yeomen at same place, seven men and four women—Hay. | 11 |
| Page 105. Shot near Scarawalsh, an idiot nephew to the parish priest—Hay. - | 1 |
| Shot by the Newtownbarry Yeomen, in that town, after the retreat from Vinegar Hill, and left in the streets to be torn by pigs —Hay. - - - - | 9 |
| Violated and murdered, near Ballaghkeene, by the Homperg Dragoons, after the retreat from Vinegar Hill, seven young women—Private memoranda. - - | 7 |
| Bayoneted in Enniscorthy, after the defeat at Vinegar Hill, by the military, twelve men and three women—Private memoranda. - - - - | 15 |
| Murdered in the neighbourhood of Limerick Hill, by the army encamped there— Private memoranda - - - - | 13 |
| Burned in the insurgent hospital at Enniscorthy, by the military and yeomen, | |

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| after the defeat at Vinegar Hill—Private memoranda. - - - - - | 76 |
| Shot by the yeomen infantry and cavalry, in cold blood, in the retreat from Kilthomas Hill—Private memoranda. - | 42 |
| Murdered on the road between Vinegar Hill and Gorey, after the defeat of the insurgents, by the yeomanry, sixteen men, nine women, six children—Private memoranda. - - - - - | 31 |
| Murdered in the hospital of Wexford, by the yeomen and military, after General Lake entered the town, sick and wounded —Private memoranda. - - - - - | 57 |
| Shot by the yeomanry in the village of Aughrim, nine men and three women— Private memoranda. - - - - - | 12 |
| Shot at Moneymore, at Mr. Cloney's house, a very old sportsman, who came from the county Carlow to inquire for the author, called Shawn Rooe, <i>alias</i> John Doyle—Private memoranda. - - - - - | 1 |
| Shot at same place, an aged and most innocent and inoffensive man with a large family, Richard Mullett, and while struggling for death, a pike thrust through his nose into his head, by which he died in the most excruciating torture—Private memoranda. - - - - - | 1 |
| Shot by the King's County Militia and some yeomanry, near Carrigrew, disarmed insurgents—Private memoranda. | 28 |

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| Shot by the military, near Killoughrim Woods, industrious, inoffensive farmers, entirely unconnected with the persons concealed in those woods—Private memoranda. | 38 |
| Murdered by the supplementary yeomen, <i>alias</i> the black mob, between Gorey and Arklow, seventeen men and five women— | |
| Private memoranda. | 22 |
| Men, women, and children, | 595 |
| Murdered at Kilcomney, by Sir C. Asgill's troops, at least - | 140 |
| | 735 |

The foregoing are the numbers only of those victims of military outrage, in cold blood, of which a very imperfect account has been kept by some of the surviving relatives of the sufferers; but if I were to set down the whole number of those who are reported to have innocently fallen by the muskets and bayonets of a cruel and licentious military and yeomanry, it would more than double the amount of what I have stated. The burning of New Ross suburbs, with its inhabitants enclosed in their cottages, although mentioned by Mr. Hay, I do not calculate. I now present the reader with a detail of all the outrages perpetrated by the insurgents in cold blood, which I could collect. No doubt, individuals may have unfortunately fallen in some quarters, an account of which I have not been able to discover. I certainly should not conceal or suppress such an account on one side no more than

I would on the other. It should never be forgotten how much the people were wronged by Sir Richard Musgrave; he returned the names of many individuals murdered in cold blood during the insurrection, who lived for many years after, nay, some of whom are, I believe, living to this day. And he unblushingly returned a great number killed in battle as having been murdered in cold blood.

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|--|---|---|---|---|----|----|
| Murdered by the insurgents in Wexford, immediately after their entry, Mr. John | | | | | | |
| Boyd—Hay. - - - - | | | | | | T |
| Mr. Turner—ditto. - - - - | | | | | | 1 |
| Two Murphys, Catholics—ditto | - | - | - | - | | 2 |
| George Sparrow—ditto. - - - - | | | | | | 1 |
| Ensign Harman, on returning from General Moore—ditto. - - - - | | | | | | 1 |
| On the bridge of Wexford, 20th June— ditto. - - - - | | | | | 36 | |
| In the parish of Davidstown, during the in- surrection—Private memoranda. - | | | | | | 5 |
| Of the Wexford Militia, on the ridge of mountains near Castlecomer—Private memoranda. - - - - | | | | | | 7 |
| On Vinegar Hill—Hay. - - - - | | | | | 84 | |
| In Enniscorthy, on the day of the first battle, when the insurgents discovered the drummer hanging in the Rev. Mr. Handcock's lodgings—Hay. - - | | | | | | 14 |
| Shot by the insurgents, near Carnew, a black trumpeter, belonging to the An- cient Britons—Hay. - - - - | | | | | 1 | |

Mr. Hay states that there were but eighty persons suffered death at Scullabogue. Sir R. Musgrave mentions, if my memory does not err, 184. I have reason to say, that between those that were shot, and those burned in the barn, the number was about 100, of whom it is said eight were Catholics.

100

253¹

Mr. Charles H. Teeling, in his "History of the Rebellion," speaks in similar terms to those of Cloney of the tortures and free quarters of 1798. This gentleman was arrested in 1796 on a charge of treason, by Lord Castlereagh; but whoever was acquainted with him, friend or foe to his political sentiments, knew him to be an honest man, and incapable of misrepresenting facts, the knowledge of which few men had fuller opportunities of obtaining.

In speaking of his arrest, he says:

I was the first victim to the political apostacy of Lord Castlereagh. On the 16th of September, 1796, while yet in my eighteenth year, I was arrested by him on a charge of high treason. The manner of my arrest was as novel as mysterious, and the hand which executed it the last from which I could have suspected an act of unkindness. Lord Castlereagh was the per-

Cloney's "Personal Narrative."

sonal friend of my father, who admired him as the earliest advocate of civil and religious liberty.

In the year, 1790, the representation of Down was contested, and the independence of that great and populous county threatened, through the powerful influence of the Downshire family, and a combination of local interests hostile to the rights of the people. Lord Castlereagh, then the Honourable Robert Stewart, was selected by his countrymen for his talents and his patriotism, and after the most obstinate contest ever witnessed in Ireland he was triumphantly returned to parliament, not only by the suffrages, but by the pecuniary assistance, of the friends of civil and religious liberty.

The penal laws at this time operated against my father's personal exercise of the elective franchise, but neither his fortune nor his best personal exertions were unemployed in the service of his friend.

After describing his having passed the evening preceding his arrest at a party in the neighbourhood, he says:

Accompanying my father, the following morning, on a short excursion on horseback, we were met by Lord Castlereagh, who accosted us with his usual courtesy and politeness. We had proceeded up the streets together, when, having reached the house of his noble relative, the Marquis of Headford, we were about to take leave of his lordship; 'I regret,' said he, addressing my father, 'that your son cannot accompany you,' conducting me, at the same time,

through the outer gate, which, to my inexpressible astonishment, was instantly closed; and I found myself surrounded by a military guard.

My father entered, and with a firm and determined composure inquired the cause of the arrest. ‘High treason!’ replied his lordship. Our interview was short: my father was not permitted to remain. My horse was led home by a faithful domestic; but to that home I never returned.

The young man was sent to Dublin, committed to Newgate and kept in confinement there till the latter part of 1797, when, broken down in health, he was indebted to the humanity of Mr. Secretary Cooke for his release, on condition of surrendering himself, if called on by the government; but he was left unmolested. His father’s house, in the meantime, had been assailed by the military and his entire establishment, in the course of a few hours, had been left a desolate ruin.

With regard to the cruelties practised on the people, Teeling observes:

It was notorious that in the districts where the (United) system had made the least progress, the greatest acts of outrage were perpetrated under the sanction of the government; and in those quarters where the inhabitants were remarkable for a peaceful demeanour, moral disposition, and obedience to the laws, every principle of justice and humanity was violated. Wexford, which was the scene of the greatest

military atrocity, and, consequently, the noblest and most effectual in resistance, was, at this period, less identified with the organized system than any county in Ireland. Of this fact government was perfectly aware; and it was only when the outraged feelings of human nature were no longer able to bear the torture of the scourge, the blaze of incendiaryism, and the base violation of female virtue, that Wexford rose as one man.

From the humble cot to the stately mansion, no property, no person, was secure.

After detailing the various atrocities committed in the way of flogging, half-hanging, the pitch-cap practice, etc., he adds:

The torture practised in those days of Ireland's misery, has not been equalled in the annals of the most barbarous nation, and the world has been astonished at the close of the eighteenth century, with acts, which the eye views with horror and the heart sickens to record, not only on the most trivial, but most groundless occasions: it was inflicted without mercy, on every age and on every condition. In the centre of the city of Dublin, the heart-rending exhibition was presented of a human being rushing from the infernal depot of torture and death, his person besmeared with a burning preparation of turpentine and pitch, plunging, in his distraction, into the Liffey, and terminating at once his sufferings and his life.

A melancholy transaction occurred in the town of Drogheda.—The unhappy victim was a young man

of delicate frame; he had been sentenced to five hundred lashes, and received a portion with firmness, but dreading lest bodily suffering might subdue the fortitude of his mind, he requested that the remainder of his punishment should be suspended and his information taken. Being liberated from the triangles, he directed his executioners to a certain garden, where he informed them arms were concealed. In their absence, he deliberately cut his throat. They were not discovered, for no arms were there.

About the same period, and in the same populous town, the unfortunate Bergan was tortured to death. He was an honest, upright citizen, and a man of unimpeachable moral character. He was seized on by those vampires, and in the most public street stripped of his clothes, placed in a horizontal position on a cart, and torn with the cat-o'-nine-tails, long after the vital spark was extinct. The alleged pretence for the perpetration of this horrid outrage, was that a small gold ring had been discovered on his finger bearing a national device—the shamrock of his unfortunate country.

A Dublin newspaper a few years ago commented on the use of torture in Ireland in 1797 and 1798, and compared the brutality of it with the barbarity of similar practices on the continent, then strongly reprobated in England. The Irish reign of terror, and Major Sirr and his compeers, found a zealous advocate in a correspondent of a London newspaper. The writer says:—

The allusion made to Major Sirr is as untrue as the malignancy towards England is shameful.

I happened to know Major Sirr at the period alluded to. I was quartered in Dublin with my regiment before and when the rebellion of 1798 broke out, and remained in that garrison some time after the 23rd of May. I also happened to be attached to the picket guard that Major Sirr directed to meet him at Murphy's, the feather merchant, in Thomas Street, on the evening (I think) of the 6th of June, 1798, when and where Lord Edward Fitzgerald was taken. In consequence of this transaction I became more intimate with Major Sirr, and in justice to his memory I think it my duty to state, that if he had ever been guilty of the base and unmanly conduct of flogging the wives and sisters of rebels, I must have heard or known of it. I am sure he never did; and, what is more, although I served through the entire rebellion in the counties south of Dublin, and witnessed a good deal of what was going on at that eventful and unfortunate period, yet I never saw nor even heard of any cruelty or dishonour practised by any person connected with the army towards any females.

The writer might, with more prudence than he has displayed, have limited his defence of the reign of terror to the exculpation of one of the principal actors in it from the charge of torturing rebels or suspected persons with his own hands. Sirr's advocate, however, says he had great experience of the affairs of 1798, and "he never heard of any cruelty or dishonour

practised by any person connected with the army towards any females." As it is possible this marvellously strange assertion may be credited in England, the following accounts of Irish torturings in our reign of terror are given to the public. And it may be observed, if the writer above referred to had said he had never heard an instance of any insult or dishonour on the part of the rebels to women who had fallen into their hands, he could not be contradicted.

In one point I think we must allow some praise to the rebels. Amid all their atrocities, the chastity of the fair sex was respected. I have not been able to ascertain one instance to the contrary in the county of Wexford, though many beautiful young women were absolutely in their power.¹

The instances, I am sorry to say, of dishonour and insult to women of the people by the Orange military rabble, are by no means few. I will refer to one or two cases noticed in the public prints:

DUBLIN EVENING Post, March 3, 1798.

Whereas William Vennell, lieutenant in his Majesty's 89th regiment of foot, and Thady Lawler, lieutenant in the Clare light company, attached to the said regiment, stand charged on oath with having forcibly and violently committed a rape on Catherine Finn, a pris-

¹ "History of the Irish Rebellion," by Rev. James Gordon.

oner in charge of the guard whereof the said Lawler was officer;

We, the undersigned officers of the 89th regiment, at head quarters, desirous of testifying to the country our abhorrence and detestation of such inhuman and infamous conduct, and being determined, as far as lies in our power, to bring the said William Bennell to justice, do hereby offer a reward of one hundred guineas to any person who will apprehend and lodge him in any of his majesty's gaols within the space of six months from the date hereof, which reward will be paid on application to the commanding officer of said regiment.

Said William Vennell is about twenty years of age, about five feet six inches high, round face, ruddy complexion, fair hair, and rather inn-kneed.

WILLIAM STEWART, Lieut.-Col.

The reader is referred to Lord Holland's account of the statement made to him by Dr. Dickson, Lord Bishop of Down, who assured his lordship, "that he had seen families returning peaceably from Mass assailed, without provocation, by drunken troops and yeomanry, and the wives and daughters exposed to every species of indignity, brutality, and outrage, from which neither his remonstrances, nor those of other Protestant gentlemen, could rescue them." But the friend of Major Sirr, and the enlightener of the British public on the subject of the rebellion of 1798, "never saw nor even heard of any cruelty or dishonour practised by

any person connected with the army towards females!!!”

The reader is referred to Cloney’s statement of the outrages committed on the people in the county Wexford in 1798, by the military and magisterial terrorists; and there he will find an account of seven young women violated and murdered, near Ballaghkeene, by the Homperg Dragoons, after the retreat from Vinegar Hill; and on the same awful record, accounts of four women being shot on one occasion (after the flight of the rebels from Wexford), of three women being bayoneted in Enniscorthy after the defeat at Vinegar Hill, of nine women and six children being slain by the yeomanry between Vinegar Hill and Gorey, on the high road, of three women being shot by the yeomanry in the village of Aughrim, and of four women being murdered by the “supplementary yeomen” between Gorey and Arklow.

The torture of women, by pricking their arms and shoulders with bayonets, to extort information relative to fugitives of their families, masters, and neighbours suspected of treasonable practises, though not pursued systematically, or with the cognizance and sanction of the higher power, most unquestionably occurred at the hands of that yeomanry rabble, who were formidable, in Lord Cornwallis’s opinion, to all except the enemy, in the presence, too, of those demons,

yclept captains and majors, some of whom figured in those times on the bench, scoured rural districts, and swaggered in the streets as gentlemen of unequivocal loyalty and undoubted authority, albeit in their character, position, principles, and conduct in private life, exceedingly questionable and equivocal.

The tortures inflicted on Anne Devlin, the servant of Robert Emmet, I have given an account of in the memoir of the latter. She was half hanged from the back-band of a car, the shafts being elevated for the purpose of making a temporary gallows—a common contrivance of the terrorists of those times. The account of her sufferings I had from her own lips, on the spot where these atrocities were perpetrated. When she was taken down, her shoulders and the upper parts of her arms were pricked with bayonets, the cicatrized marks of which I have seen and felt.

In 1798, a man (if indeed the person referred to deserved that name), a colonel of a militia regiment, was governor of New Geneva barracks, which, during the rebellion, had been converted into a monster prison, where hundreds of persons suspected of treason, or of a creed or political opinions to justify the appearance of suspicion, were cast into jail without the intervention of judge or jury. New Geneva served as a depot for the victims of Protestant ascendancy selected

for transportation to the salt mines of the King of Prussia.

The atrocious cruelties inflicted on the state prisoners confined in this stronghold are hardly credible. A great number of the prisoners in this place were of respectable Roman Catholic families. The privations and persecutions they were subjected to were intolerable and rigorous beyond anything known of the prisoners elsewhere. The female relatives of the prisoners who visited the latter, were subjected to insults and indignities, which were not unfrequently witnessed by the commandant.

Mrs. O'Neill came to the prison called New Geneva in 1798, from the county Antrim (a distance of nearly one hundred and fifty miles), to take leave of her son, a young man, who was in that place of confinement under sentence of transportation, and, like many others of his associates, was destined to pass the remainder of his days in the salt mines of the King of Prussia. Mrs. O'Neill could only get access to her son by bribing some of the officials of the prison dépôt. The act of bribery was discovered after the interview had been gained with the son, who was a person of superior manners and education, and had been intended for the priesthood. The painful nature of this meeting so affected the poor mother that her cries of anguish and sorrow were heard by every one in the prison. She was sep-

arated violently from her son, and carried before the colonel who commanded the garrison of New Geneva, to account for the crime of gaining access to her son without the sanction of the former. The unfortunate mother was delivered up to the tender mercies of the soldiers, taken to the courtyard of the fortress, and tossed in a blanket for several minutes. After this barbarous outrage she was stripped almost naked by the military ruffians of the garrison, and thus divested of apparel, the body of this respectable woman was subjected to every insult and annoyance that could be devised: the shouts of the savages in military costume who assisted in this brutal pastime of female blanketing were heard by the people with dismay and horror. The pastime ceased; the maltreated woman was released from their hands, a few rags were thrown to her, she crawled to a neighbouring cabin, and there it is stated she died of the tortures she underwent at the hands of the military terrorists of New Geneva.

Those who desire more minute particulars of this case may refer to Cox's "Hibernian Magazine" for January, 1815.

The whipping of an aged woman in Kildare, is related by Cox in "The Irish Magazine" for October, 1813.

It is in vain, utterly futile and fruitless, to deny the constant use of torture in 1797 and 1798, in

the Riding House, Marlborough Street, under the direction of John Claudius Beresford, and in the Prevot Prison in the Royal Barracks, then governed by Major Sandys, brother-in-law of Mr. Secretary Cooke (Lord Castlereagh's chief official in the secretary's office); occasionally, too, in the Royal Exchange, and in the small vacant space adjoining the entrance to the Upper Castle Yard, immediately behind the offices of Lord Castlereagh, and having on the opposite side the back part of the Exchange, where, under the very windows of Lord Castlereagh's office, the triangles were set up for fastening the wretches to, who were flogged, tortured even to death.

There two remarkable executions took place. A young Dominican clergyman named Bush, and a Quaker named Shaw were scourged, by the command and under the eyes of Lord Kingsborough, and with such severity that the latter is said to have died from the effects of his punishment. A young man, wholly innocent of treasonable designs, of the name of Purcell, educated for the Church (the son of an industrious mechanic, a master-nailor of Stoneybatter), whom I afterwards knew long and intimately in the ministry, a most worthy and holy man, a Roman Catholic priest, for many years a curate of Bridge Street Chapel, and but recently deceased, was scourged in the Prevot, in the Royal

Barracks, along with his father, by the command of Major Sandys, being tied by the wrists, and fastened to the same iron hook in the prison wall, stripped to the waist, and flogged alternately by a negro executioner, and at every blow the major calling on the son to inform against the father; and when no effect was produced on the poor youth, terrifying the father with diabolical threats, to make him hang his own son. When the monster Sandys—the brother-in-law of Cooke, Lord Castlereagh's secretary—put an end to the long-protracted torture, the two Purcells, father and son, alike exhausted, were dragged to their cells in a state, apparently, of men more dead than living.

The case of one of the tortured priests in 1798, will serve for an illustration of the savage proceedings adopted against several of his order at that time. We are indebted to the stupid bigotry of Lord Chancellor Redesdale, as it was displayed in a trashy, insolent letter addressed to Lord Fingall, September 6, 1803, for the authentic statement of this most striking case of horrible cruelty and injustice. Lord Redesdale said, in his polemical epistle:

I am assured from very high and respectable authority, that, at least in one district, the priests who were instrumental in saving the lives of the loyalists in the late rebellion, are universally discountenanced by their

superiors; and that a priest proved to have been guilty of sanctioning murders in 1798, transported to Botany Bay, and since pardoned by the mercy of government, has been brought back in triumph by the same superiors, to what, in defiance of the law, he calls his parish, and there placed as a martyr, in a manner the most insulting to the feelings of the Protestants, to the justice of the country, and to that government to whose lenity he owes his redemption from the punishment due to his crimes.

Lord Fingall felt that it was incumbent on him to inquire into the case of this sanguinary priest, who had been transported and pardoned, and whose return to his own parish had been so insulting to the feelings of the Protestants. Lord Fingall found the sanguinary priest was a virtuous ecclesiastic, of unblemished life and manners, innocent of all political crime, who had been barbarously persecuted, most inhumanly tortured, unjustly condemned to transportation; and on the representations of his bishop, the loyal prelate, Dr. Coppinger, had been restored to his liberty and his country. Lord Fingall published an account, drawn up by this clergyman, of his sufferings, entitled, "The Humble Remonstrance of the Rev. Peter O'Neil, Roman Catholic Parish Priest of Ballymacoda, county of Cork," from which the following passages are extracted:

Under a full conviction that an appeal to the God of Truth in support of known falsehood, would be nothing less than a call upon Him to expunge my name for ever from the book of life, to withhold from me all participation in the merits of my Redeemer, to doom, of its own nature, my soul to never-ending misery, I now most solemnly swear, in the presence of the mighty God, upon His holy Gospel, first, that I was never an United Irishman; that I never took that oath; that I never encouraged, advised, or permitted others to take it; but, on the contrary, that I dissuaded others from taking it, some of whom have had the generosity to make affidavit of my exertions in this behalf; and there are those who have candidly added, that they would have taken it, had I not prevented them. . . .

I shall now proceed to the particulars of my case:—Immediately upon my arrest, I was brought into Youghal, where, without any previous trial, I was confined in a loathsome receptacle of the barrack, called the black hole, rendered still more offensive by the stench of the common necessary adjoining it. In that dungeon I remained from Friday until Monday, when I was conducted to the Ball Alley to receive my punishment. No trial had yet intervened, nor ever after. I was stripped and tied up, six soldiers stood forth for this operation; some of them right-handed, some of them left-handed, two at a time (as I judge from the quickness of the lashes), and relieved at intervals, until I had received two hundred and seventy-five lashes, and so deeply inflicted, that my back and the points of my shoulders were quite bared of the flesh. At that moment, a letter was handed to the officer presiding, writ-

ten, I understand, in my favour by the late Hon. Capt. O'Brien, of Rostellan. It happily interrupted my punishment; but I had not hitherto shaken the triangle, a display of feeling which it seems was eagerly expected from me. To accelerate that spectacle, a wire cat was introduced, armed with scraps of tin or lead (I judge from the effect and description given me). Whatever were its appendages, I cannot easily forget the power of it. In defiance of shame, my waistband was cut for the finishing strokes of this lacerating instrument. The very first lash, as it renewed all my pangs, and shot convulsive agony through my entire frame, made me shake the triangle indeed. A second infliction of it penetrated my loins, and tore them excruciatingly; the third maintained the tremulous exhibition long enough—the spectators were satisfied.

But the satisfaction was of short duration. The following day, the unfortunate lacerated priest was threatened with a repetition of the torture of the preceding day, if he did not give under his hand an admission of guilt. Terror-stricken, after various protestations of innocence, he at length consented, to satisfy the honourable gentlemen by whom he was menaced. So, in the terrible perplexity of mortal fear and frightful suffering, he wrote to his brother, for the gentlemen, some lines to the effect that he deserved his sufferings. The moment the terrorists left their victim, the tortured priest wrote two letters, solemnly proclaiming his innocence, and declaring the circum-

stances under which he had written to his brother as he had done.

The atrocities that were committed in Antrim, after the defeat of the rebels, were of the usual character of the yeomanry outrages. The following account of the melancholy fate of Mr. Quin, of Antrim, and his daughter, was given to me by a gentleman of that town, of high character, one who had a personal knowledge of the circumstance, and in some of the matters connected with it a closer acquaintance than was consistent at that period with the security of life itself:—

Mr. Quin lived in Antrim, near the head of the street that leads to Belfast. After the rebels had fled, some cannon were placed by the military in a position to play upon the houses. A shot struck the house next to Quin's, when he and his daughter, a lovely girl of sixteen, fled through the garden towards Belmont, and had proceeded but a short distance, when they were shot down by the yeomen or militia, who had orders to shoot every person in coloured clothes. They were buried where they fell, and it was said that the beautiful long hair of the girl was partly above the ground waving in the wind for many days. This was the fact, and I recollect it excited more sympathy among the poor people than many horrid barbarities of the time; she was a sweet lively girl, much beloved. Their relative, the present Mr. Quin, lived in a distant town. As soon as he dare venture to the spot, he had his

father and sister decently interred in the neighbouring burying ground.

A Presbyterian clergyman of respectability in Belfast addressed to me the following communication in Feb., 1844:—

Permit me to correct an inaccuracy in your relation of the tragical fate of Mr. and Miss Quin, who were killed at the battle of Antrim. I am sorry to say there was a third victim, the brother of the young lady. All perished under the same volley, and were buried where they fell. The bodies were not removed. A considerable time elapsed before any friends dare visit the place; and when the two remaining brothers did so, they judged it better not to disturb the remains. They, however, enclosed the spot, and planted a few willows round the grave.

This account I received from Mr. Arthur Quin, the only remaining member of the family, who is a member of my congregation.—Respectfully yours, J. P.

There were many such murders as those of the Quins during the twenty-four or forty-eight hours after the engagement at Antrim. One of the military atrocities, the most cruel and unprovoked (says my informant of Antrim), was that of James M'Adam and the two Mr. Johnstons. These men had been appointed by the authorities in Ballymena, to convey and see deposited at the military camp beside Shane's Castle, several

cartloads of arms which the people had delivered up after the skirmish in that town. They had deposited these arms at the camp, and had passed through Antrim on their way to relatives who resided a mile or two from Antrim. On passing the avenue of Merckamore Abbey, the residence of Mr. Allison, which was then in the act of being burned and destroyed by a party of the 22nd light dragoons, from Antrim—(these lawless and unrestrained troops had, no doubt, revelled in Mr. Allison's cellar)—our unfortunate friends in riding past, happened to attract notice, when they were shot down, and their bodies thrown into the road ditch. Their horses were sold by auction in Antrim by the military. Some humane persons had the bodies buried the next day in the graveyard hard by.

James M'Adam was a millwright and builder, who had erected most of the bleach-mills for many miles round that center of the linen manufacture; of course he was generally known, and from everything I could learn afterwards (I was then very young) he was much esteemed by all classes; by the linen merchants and bleachers as clever and conscientious in his profession, and by others as a sincere friend and good neighbour. Mr. John Johnson was a respectable cattle dealer, and Mr. Andrew Johnson was in the linen business; none of these men were engaged in the insurrection.

In gratitude to the memory of the late venerable rector of Antrim, Mr. Macartney, and as a tribute to his humanity and goodness, I must relate the following anecdote:—

The son of Mr. M'Adam was then a little boy of fourteen, and had gone to business with two persons who were both involved, and had made themselves obnoxious to Mr. Macartney. The one was in prison, the other had been wounded and fled, their house was wrecked, and the goods all destroyed. M'Adam's boy was a wanderer in the streets several days after the fight. He went up to Mr. Macartney in the street, and asked him to give him a pass to go home; he (Mr. Macartney) said something that frightened him, but the next moment asked him his name, and the name of his father and mother, and where they were from; he said he knew who they were, and spoke rather angrily, but he immediately turned to the boy, took him by the hand, got him a red ribbon to put into his hat, and went with him along the road that leads by the steeple to Ballymena, and enabled the poor lad to reach his home in safety.

The fate of William Neilson, the son of a poor widow, who was put to death after the battle of Antrim, was not less shocking to humanity than that of the daughter of the unfortunate Quin. The particulars of this case were communicated to Miss M'Cracken by the mother and sister of

young Neilson, and by Miss M'Cracken to the author.

There was a poor widow of the name of Neilson, living in the village of Ballycarry, near Carrickfergus, who had four sons and two daughters; her second son, Samuel, had been taken prisoner on account of firearms having been found in the house, but was liberated on the 2nd of June, on giving bail. On the memorable 7th of June, the people assembled for the purpose of going to Antrim. In the same neighbourhood there happened that day to be a man from Carrickfergus, of the name of Cuthbert, a pensioner, who was in the house of one M'Ternan. It was considered advisable not to let him return to Carrickfergus. William Neilson, a lad of fifteen years, being young and enthusiastic in the cause in which his elder brothers were engaged, offered to be one of a party to go to M'Ternan's house, to make a prisoner of Cuthbert, and take him with them to Donegore Hill, the place where the people assembled previously to their marching on Antrim. William, after all was over, returned to his mother's house, no fear being entertained by his friends for him on account of his extreme youth. He was taken and tried by court martial, and sent back to prison. The boy seemed to be quite unconscious of his intended fate. When his friends visited him, they found him amusing himself with his brothers.

At midnight an order came for his removal. He was torn from the arms of his eldest brother, John, who was confined in the same cell, and hurried to the new jail, where his second brother Sam was confined.

He was offered his pardon, on condition of giving information against the leaders at Antrim. He rejected the proposal; strenuous efforts were made to induce him to alter his determination, but they had no effect upon him. He requested that his own minister should be brought to him, the Rev. Mr. Bankhead. This request was granted, and he spent the remainder of the night with that gentleman. In the morning he begged he might be allowed to see his brother Sam; that wish was also complied with. The brother expected he would share the same fate; the fear of it, however, did not prevent his encouraging William to persist in his determination. The boy was then brought to his native village, Ballycarry, and within a mile of the town he was met by his distracted mother, who was then on her way to visit her imprisoned family. She made her way through the soldiery, who endeavoured to keep her back, but the poor boy caught her hand, exclaiming, "Oh! my mother!" when he was dragged from her. She then threw herself in the midst of the cavalry, at the feet of Richard Kerr, Esq., her landlord, requesting to be allowed to speak one word to her poor child; he ordered her to "get out of his way, or he would be obliged to ride over her." Her son was brought to her door to be executed; but he requested he might not die there. He was then taken to the end of the village. His presence of mind never forsook him. He made a last effort in behalf of his brothers, begging that his death might expiate their offences, and that his body might be given to his mother, which last request was granted. His body was brought to his mother's, and strict orders given that no persons should attend at

his wake. That night some cavalry surrounded the house and forbid any strangers to attend the funeral. The next morning being the Sabbath, he was followed to the place of interment by his almost distracted mother, his little brother, and two younger sisters, all who were not in confinement. His brother John was never brought to trial, but had to sign a paper consenting to his banishment for seven years, his second brother Samuel for life. William's death took place the latter end of June, 1798. His brothers sailed from Belfast in May, 1799. They were taken by the French, and the passengers being in general exiles, were treated with kindness. The vessel was retaken by the English, and sent to the West Indies. Samuel died on the voyage: John contrived to make his escape, and got to America. Their mother had been a schoolmistress, and had managed to get John bound to the first architect in Belfast, Mr. Hunter. He left a wife and child. He followed with success the business of a builder in America, and was employed by some of the first people there. While engaged in building for President Madison, he attracted the notice of Mrs. Madison; and that lady, moved by the sad story of his brother's fate, showed, by many acts of kindness, the interest she took in his welfare. He died in America, 1827.

The first part of this account was given me by his sister; but I remember his mother telling me that when William was told at the place of execution to cover his face, as was usual on such occasions, he refused, saying, "he had done nothing to be ashamed of." His mother represented him as a very handsome boy, fair and blooming, with light hair, and with his open shirt

neck, looking even younger than he was. Mr. Kerr offered his mother ten guineas to give up her house, which she indignantly refused. She was at the time extremely poor, and obliged to seek assistance from others. Some time afterwards she left the place and went to live in Island Magee, as everything surrounding her in the place of her bereavement daily reminded her of the loss of her poor boy.

Mr. William Freckleton, of Belfast, informs me of an occurrence, on the authority of a brave officer in the king's service—Lieutenant Lind, now residing in Cookstown.¹

The occurrence related by this brave officer took place at Lisburn in 1798. It is stamped on his memory in characters which time has not effaced in the slightest degree: it was the first occasion of seeing blood shed by soldiers, and on this occasion it was not in war. Lieutenant Lind observed a party of dragoons escorting a prisoner into town. The prisoner was a remarkably fine, manly-looking man, in the uniform of an officer. As the party and their prisoner were proceeding along, a yeoman rushed forward in the midst of the dragoons, and stabbed the pris-

¹ Lieutenant Lind commenced his military career at the battle of Ballinahinch, and terminated it with glory at Waterloo, having fought in every pitched battle throughout the Peninsular war, and in the last at Waterloo, while leading on a company of the 71st regiment, received a grape-shot wound in the upper part of the chest, which he marvelously survived, though reported in the returns of the casualties of the day as mortally wounded.

oner through the back with a bayonet. Lind saw the blood gush forth, and the stabbed man drop down dead. The murderer escaped, but not with the connivance of the dragoons: they exhibited the utmost horror and indignation. Probably they had not been long on service in Ireland, and were unaccustomed to those little escapades of Orange yeomanry loyalty.

Letter of the Rev. P. Dunne, P. P. of Naas, to the Most Rev. Dr. Troy.

MY LORD,—I have remarked in the account which Sir Richard Musgrave has given in his book on the late rebellion, that he has in the article regarding Naas made very great misstatements. I recollect he says that a Captain Davis was wounded, etc. Not one word regarding that fact is true. There was no Captain Davis in the garrison at the time. A Captain Davis came in a short time after, who is yet alive. All the officers in the garrison of Naas know this to be the case. Sir Richard Musgrave also states that there were five hundred rebels killed in the attack on Naas. The officers then serving in the army can give testimony, as they were eye-witnesses, that more than nine or ten rebels did not fall in that attack; but in the course of three or four hours after it, fifty-seven of the number, crowded together in the street, were killed, many of them coming out of their doors when their huts were set on fire, and others taken out of their houses, or from their gardens, and brought to the ship, as the expression was, and were hanged in the street. I

knew two men, one named Cardiff, the other Costello, son and son-in-law of Mr. William Costello, who lived near Craddockstown, on the Baltimore road, who were called out of their field when at work, by a horseman, who, getting ill on the road, was not able to go forward with his party to Baltimore: they, relying on their innocence, and thinking they were only going to jail, walked on quietly with the single dragoon and were hanged. The same day, a young man named Walsh was brought into Naas, who was said by a female to be the person who shot Captain Swaine in the action of Prosperous. It is well known at present he was not within sixteen miles of Prosperous at the time of the action there; he, however, was taken without any form of trial to the ship, and there hanged, dragged naked through the street to the lower end of the town, and there set fire to, and when left half burned, his body opened, his heart taken out and placed on the top of a house, where it remained until taken down by the military, who marched into the town about nine weeks after. When the body was almost consumed, a large piece of it was brought into the next house, where Mrs. Nowlan, who owned it, was obliged to give a knife, fork, and plate, and an old woman named Daniel was obliged to bring salt; these two women heard them say that Paddy ate sweet, and confirmed it with a damn their eyes. These two women are still living and worthy of credit, being deemed honest and respectable in their line and situation of life. Another fact misstated, or rather falsely asserted, in the book alluded to above: Sir R. Musgrave says there was a man named Cullen, who was charged with firing three shots at a yeoman,

and that a person named Kennedy, who was to prosecute, said Cullen was seen speaking to a priest by Mr. Kemmis, the Crown-Solicitor, through the bars of the gaol, and, in consequence of this conversation, said Kennedy denied what he before had said regarding Cullen. Perhaps a more hardy falsehood than this could not be advanced. Mr. Kennedy, whose character entitles him to credit, will, I dare say, if asked, declare that not one word, so far as regards him (Kennedy) or the priest, is true; neither is it possible it could be true, as no man of the name of Kennedy was in the gaol to prosecute Cullen. The only prosecutor was Sergeant James Tallant, who said that Cullen charged and fired three shots at him, but when asked by counsel why he did not fire at Cullen whilst he was charging and firing three shots at him, the prosecutor answered that Cullen was in a sand-pit. But the court, not satisfied with this answer, further asked the prosecutor, did not the same view which enabled him to see Cullen charge and discharge several shots, allow him also an opportunity to fire at least one shot at Cullen? Cullen partly owes his life to the unsatisfactory manner in which the prosecutor answered this. When it could not be proved that Cullen was a yeoman, it excited additional zeal in his counsel to petition the court to save a point of law; and the court humanely thought proper to extend the royal clemency. The matter was laid before the twelve judges. Cullen was brought forward at the following assizes, and acquitted.

Mr. Kemmis, the crown solicitor; Cullen's advocates, Counsellors C. Ball and Espinasse; Baron Smith, the judge before whom Cullen was tried; the grand and

petty juries of the successive assizes of Naas and Athy, bore testimony that thus Cullen's life was saved, and not by the pretended solicitation or interference of a priest.

I have the honour to be, etc. etc.,

(signed) P. DUNNE, P. P.¹

Most Rev. Dr. Troy.

Letter from T. Fitzgerald, Esq., Geraldine, Co. Kildare, to James Bernard Clinch, Esq.,

Geraldine, Dec. 20, 1802.

DEAR SIR,—Absence from home prevented my answering your letter prior to this period, as I would feel particular satisfaction in having it in my power to communicate to you any satisfactory communication.

When I was examined before the council in June, 1798, Arthur Wolfe, then Attorney-General, now Lord Kilwarden, interrogated me, if I had not among my papers the Orangeman's oath? I replied, that I had an oath, which was enclosed under cover to me by post, entitled the Orangeman's oath; and the words were written upon the cover,—“Rely upon it, Sir, the Orange system is rapidly increasing about the town of Athy.” The Attorney-General then asked, “Mr. Fitzgerald, do you conceive it possible that any gentleman, or any person of principle or education, could take such an oath?” I answered, “I believe it to be the Armagh oath. The oath I do not recollect, nor did I, at the time, understand it; it spoke of rivers of blood,

¹ Copied, for R. R. M., by Mr. Peter Clinch, from a document in the handwriting of Dr. Troy, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, April 7, 1836.

of wading through the Red Sea, and a brotherhood, etc." Many frivolous, absurd, and contradictory questions were put to me, particularly by the late unprincipled Lord Clare, to which I was an entire stranger. Lord Camden and the majority of the council were polite and attentive.

After my examination closed, I prayed leave to observe to his Excellency, and the noblemen and gentlemen present, that there was one circumstance which appeared unfavourable to me. An awful silence followed; when I observed, "That noble lord (pointing to Lord Clare) thought proper to supersede me as a magistrate of my county; upon which occasion I did myself the honour of addressing your Excellency (Lord Camden), requesting an investigation of my conduct. Your Excellency did politely acknowledge the receipt of my letter, referring me to the Lord Chancellor, to whose department the transaction belonged. I then addressed the Lord Chancellor, who did not think proper to condescend to answer my letter. I now call upon his lordship to state any solitary instance wherein I either neglected my duty or overacted." After waiting a few moments in vain for a reply, I observed, that it appeared to his lordship to reconcile to his honour and justice leaving an unfavourable impression of me, than I could reconcile the propriety of such conduct to my mind. His lordship was so irritated, that he rose from the table, and walked in an agitated manner about the room. During the remainder of his life he was a most inveterate enemy of mine. Lord Camden appeared highly gratified at my observing upon his lordship.

Upon the 28th of April, 1798, my house, offices, and grounds, which are very considerable, were taken possession of by 120 cavalry and infantry, and twelve officers, who possessed themselves of all kinds of property within and without, and what they could not consume sent to Athy barracks. They continued in possession about thirty days, until the press of the times obliged them to change their position. Upon the approach of the military, my wife and family, of course, were obliged to fly my habitation, without the shortest previous intimation, and I was sent, under a military escort, to Dublin, where, after an arrest of ninety-one days, I was liberated, without the slightest specific charge of any kind. At the time of my arrest, I commanded as respectable a corps of cavalry as any in the kingdom, containing fifty-six in number, and not the slightest impropriety was ever attached to any of its members. From the time the military possessed themselves of my residence, the most iniquitous enormities were everywhere practised upon the people of the country; their houses plundered, their stock of all kinds seized, driven to the barracks, and sold by auction; their persons arrested, and sentenced to be flogged, at the arbitrary will of the most despicable wretches of the community. A man of the name of Thomas James Rawson, of the lowest order, the offal of a dunghill, had every person tortured and stripped, as his cannibal will directed. He would seat himself in a chair in the centre of a ring formed around the triangles, the miserable victims kneeling under the triangle until they would be spotted over with the blood of the others. People of the name of Cronin were thus

treated. He made the father kneel under the son while flogging, the son under the father, until they were mutually covered with the blood of each other; this without any specific crime, only what was termed "speculation," to make them "whistle." They gave an innocent man five hundred lashes (as they were afterwards obliged to acknowledge). The man considering himself dying, requested a priest. They dressed a soldier in black clothes, and sent him to the unfortunate man as a clergyman, who, however, detected the imposture.

With much esteem, your most faithful,

T. FITZGERALD.

To James Bernard Clinch, Esq.

The savagery of the Carlow slaughter and conflagrations, chiefly by the yeomanry, after the defeat and flight or concealment of the rebels, during a period of eight or ten days, in the month of May, 1798, is certainly not exceeded by any atrocity of Haynau in Hungary. In cold blood, between 400 and 500 defenceless people were put to death in this sole massacre of the Irish reign of terror. There are men still living who remembered its horror.

In this Carlow exhibition of Lord Camden's notion of "vigorous measures," the bodies of men coolly murdered were flung into the flames of the burning houses of suspected or obnoxious parties.

A terrible barbarity that was practised in Wicklow and Wexford on some occasions, was

also resorted to in Carlow on four occasions, of flogging prisoners first, and hanging them immediately they were taken down, from the backbands of cars or from triangles. A child under twelve or thirteen years of age was threatened with the punishment of half-hanging, in order to extort information to implicate suspected parties. The terrified child was actually suspended from the backband of a car, when a captain of the Carlow militia had the child taken down. What would the brewers and draymen of Austria have to say to these Haynaus of Orangeism let loose on the Irish people, if peradventure these yeomanry heroes and shoneen justices visited the Barclay and Perkins premises of Vienna?

What would Christendom say, if they beheld an exhibition that was made in the public streets of Carlow, of a representation of the Redeemer of mankind borne on the point of a bayonet? And yet this spectacle was seen approvingly by men exercising power and authority in a Christian land. In the midst of the Carlow massacre, “an Orange trumpeter was seen parading with a wooden crucifix stuck on his bayonet, crying: ‘Behold the wooden Jesus.’”—“Cox,” February, 1817.

Every massacre of the people in 1798 was hailed as a great victory, and received with exultation. The slaughter of the unresisting capitulated people at the Gibbet Rath of Kildare,

was regarded as a vigorous measure which the emergencies of the time required. The rebels, according to Sir R. Musgrave, amounted to about 3000 in number; they had entered into terms with General Dundas, and were assembled at a place that had been a Danish fort, called the Gibbet Rath. Having offered terms of submission to General Dundas on the 26th of May, that General despatched General Welford to receive their arms and grant them protections. Before the arrival of the latter, however, on the 3rd of June, the multitude of unresisting people were suddenly attacked by Sir James Duff, who, having galloped into the plain disposed his army in order of battle, and with the assistance of Lord Roden's Fencible Cavalry, fell upon the astonished multitude, as Sir Richard Musgrave states, "pell mell." Three hundred and fifty men under terms of capitulation, admitted into the king's peace and promised his protection, were mowed down in cold blood, at a place known to every peasant in Kildare as "the Place of Slaughter," as well remembered as Mullaghmast itself, the Gibbet Rath of the Curragh of Kildare.

The massacre took place on the 3rd of June; the terms of surrender were made by one Perkins, a rebel leader, on the part of the insurgents, and General Dundas on the part of the government, and with its express sanction and permission for them, on delivering up their arms, to return to

their homes. Their leader and his brother were to be likewise pardoned and set at liberty.

It was when the people were assembled at the appointed place, to comply with these conditions, that Sir James Duff, at the head of 600 men, then on his march from Limerick, proceeded to the place to procure the surrendered weapons. One of the insurgents, before giving up his musket, discharged it in the air, barrel upwards; this simple act was immediately construed into a hostile proceeding, and the troops fell on the astounded multitude, and the latter fled with the utmost precipitation, and were pursued and slaughtered without mercy by a party of Fencible Cavalry, called “Lord Jocelyn’s Fox-hunters.”¹ According to the Rev. James Gordon, upwards of 200 fell on this occasion; Sir R. Musgrave states 350.

No part of the infamy of this proceeding attaches to General Dundas. The massacre took place without his knowledge or his sanction. His conduct throughout the rebellion was that of a humane and a brave man.

The scene of the massacre of the peasantry on the hill of Kilcomney, in the county of Carlow, is one that reeks with reminiscences of the bloody deeds of that “beau sabreur” of 1798, Sir Charles Asgill.

The Wexford insurgents were encountered by

¹ Gordon’s “Rebellion.”

Sir Charles at Gore's Bridge; they fled at his approach, and as they fled, they were still pursued and slaughtered. All this is fair, no doubt, in war—in Ireland.

The massacre at Kilcomney, by the yeomanry and militia force under the command of Sir Charles Asgill, Cloney states, amounted to 140 individuals. The slaughter took place on the 26th of June.¹

The band of rebels, who, in their flight from Scollagh Gap, in their attempt to get back to Wexford, had directed their march through Kilcomney, were attacked by the army under Sir Charles Asgill; they fled, and were pursued upwards of six miles, having lost, according to Gordon, two or three hundred.

It was after the disappearance of the rebels that the unfortunate and peaceful people of Kilcomney were slaughtered in their homes. Asgill's exploits on this occasion are given by one of the rebels, who had the good fortune to escape the sabres of his band—by Thomas Cloney.

“The defenceless inhabitants of an unoffending and most peaceable district—men, women, and children—were butchered this day (he says), and neither age, sex, nor infirmity could obtain exemption from the common fate; they were all slaughtered without mercy.” He gives the names of a vast number of the victims, whose

¹ Cloney's “Rebellion.”

only crime was that a band of rebels, when pursued, had fled through their district. A hundred and forty, he states, were slaughtered in this way, and, amongst the sufferers, he speaks of a man of the name of Patrick Fitzpatrick. When his cabin was entered by the marauders, his poor wife, with an infant in her arms, ran to her husband's side, and, while endeavouring to protect him, a volley was poured into them, and they fell dead at the same moment. The cabin was then set fire to as a matter of course over the heads of the children of this unfortunate couple —six in number; and five of them, “poor innocent creatures,” ran into a neighbour's house who had escaped the massacre, one of them crying out, “My daddy is killed—my mammy is killed—and the pigs are drinking their blood.” The infant that was left in the dead mother's arms, Cloney states, a few years ago was still living, and was called Terence Fitzpatrick. A poor woman of the name of Kealy, an aunt of theirs, took the children home, and when her scanty means were exhausted for their support, she became a beggar to get them bread: the neighbours helped her—they gave her assistance, and God, in His mercy to her, enabled her to bring them up. There may be no space in the records of the noble deeds of woman for the goodness of this poor creature; but her conduct will not be forgotten, at all events, on that day when virtue

is destined to receive its own exceeding great reward—the ample recompense of all its sufferings and sacrifices here below, and where the man of blood will find no act of indemnity available for his sanguinary and inhuman deeds.

The massacre of the unhappy prisoners at Carnew, convicted of no crime—imprisoned on mere suspicion—taken out of the jail on the 25th of May, and deliberately shot in the Ball Alley by the yeomen and a party of the Antrim militia, in the presence of their officers,¹ is an incident that probably never reached the ears of the people of England. Had it taken place in India or Australia, the perpetrators of it would have been denounced and reprobated; but the victims of this atrocity were Irish, and, at that unhappy period, there was no people in the world whose sufferings and oppression were held entitled to so little Christian sympathy.

A striking instance of the kind of encouragement given to the loyalty of the Catholic members of the yeomanry corps at this period, is recorded by Sir Richard Musgrave. On the 3d of May, Captain Ryves, who commanded the yeomanry at Dunlavin, the rebels having made their appearance in his neighbourhood:—

The captain marched out of the town with a party of yeomanry cavalry, to encounter the rebels, but they

¹ Hay's "Insurrection of the County of Wexford."

were so numerous and desperate that he was obliged to return, after some of his men had been marked. The officers, having conferred for some time, were of opinion that some of the yeomen, who had been disarmed, and were at that time in prison for being notorious traitors, should be shot. Nineteen, therefore, of the Saunders Grove corps, and nine of the Narramore, were immediately led out, and suffered death. It may be said, in excuse for this act of severe and summary justice, that they would have joined the numerous bodies of rebels who were moving round, and at that period threatened the town.²

Thus the suspected yeomen were deliberately taken out of prison, and put to death—"pour encourager les autres."

The Roman Catholic gentlemen who had the presumption to join the yeomanry corps were, in numerous instances, treated as rebels in disguise, and, on some occasions, were even driven into rebellion. In fact, no means were left untried to prevent those of this persuasion from manifesting their zeal in the king's service, and to bring them under the suspicion of countenancing those of their communion who were disaffected.

Throughout the country, the total loss on both sides, in this rebellion, is estimated by Plowden, Moore, Curran, and Barrington at about 70,000; 20,000 on the side of government, and 50,000 on

² Musgrave's "History of the Rebellion."

that of the insurgents. It is generally admitted by all, but more especially by the Rev. Mr. Gordon, that very many more were put to death in cold blood, than perished in the field of battle. The number of deaths arising from torture or massacre, where no resistance was offered, during the year 1798, forms the far greater portion of the total number slain in this contest. The words of Mr. Gordon are: "I have reason to think, more men than fell in battle were slain in cold blood. No quarter was given to persons taken prisoners as rebels, with or without arms."

In detailing these enormities, it would be to make one's self the accomplice of ferocity, to attribute all the barbarity of these disastrous times to one party only, and to shut one's eyes against the inhuman acts of its opponents. It is in vain to refer to the barbarities of the Orange-men, to the previous scourgings, the house-burnings, and the various military excesses, for an apology, or even a palliation, of the wicked deeds done at Scullabogue, on the Bridge of Wexford, and at Vinegar Hill. There may be some allowance made for the frenzy which has driven men to the resistance of tyrannical authority; but there can be none for the dastardly revenge of armed men over their defenceless enemies.

I have not gone through the revolting process of inquiring into these loathsome details without

feelings of repugnance, not unfrequently almost insurmountable: but it is not my purpose to take away one iota from the infamy which belongs to the excesses of the insurgents. My object is to put it out of the power of either party ever to recur to the practice of such enormities; to show the members of a partisan administration (if ever there should, unfortunately for Ireland, be one in power there like that of 1798), that a cruel and remorseless policy, whatever efforts may be made to conceal its wickedness, sooner or later will be brought to light, and its authors reprobated by all good men. It matters not under what garb of loyalty they may permit the agents of its policy to lay the mischief which it provoked or aggravated to the charge of a people infuriated by them: in tolerating, countenancing, or recompensing the excesses of their subordinate agents, they become responsible for them.

Of the atrocious massacre committed by the rebels on their prisoners on the 5th of June, Sir Richard Musgrave states that "184 Protestants were burned in the barn of Scullabogue," and that "37 were shot in front of it." In all, by his statement, 225; of which number, he subsequently states, "a few Romanists were put to death in the barn."

"The barn was thirty-four feet long, and fifteen feet wide, and the walls were but twelve

feet high." The number described by Musgrave, in a space like this, must have perished by suffocation. Government accounts give the same number as Sir Richard Musgrave.

Cloney states that the total number massacred in this murderous business was about one hundred, of which number sixteen were Catholics.

Mr. Hay, on the authority of the most respectable persons in the neighbourhood in which the nefarious transaction took place, estimates the number at eighty. The murders committed by the rebels on the bridge of Wexford, on the 20th of June, Sir Richard Musgrave estimates at ninety-seven, after five hours' unceasing slaughter; Hay and others, at thirty-six.

The massacre by the rebels at Vinegar Hill, Sir Richard Musgrave states, "he was assured exceeded five hundred;" Gordon says, "the number was little short of four hundred;" and Hay, "eighty-four."

These are the three signal massacres in which the rebels manifested their barbarity. An atrocity on a smaller scale than the preceding ones was committed by them at Enniscorthy, when, according to Hay, they put fourteen unfortunate persons to death in cold blood. The total number thus slain in all these massacres, Cloney estimates at two hundred and fifty-seven, and the veracious Sir Richard Musgrave, at more than treble that amount.

Independently of the above-mentioned massacres on the part of the rabble of the insurgents, there were many instances of murders of individuals, accompanied by acts of abominable cruelty, and in some cases, but very few indeed, where circumstances showed religious animosity to have been the motive for the murders. The name of Orangeism had been made so detestable to the people, by the outrages committed on them by the members of that institution wherever it gained a footing, that their fury in some cases was directed against Protestants and Catholics indiscriminately, who were not known to be favourable to their views. The fate of the sixteen victims of their own creed, supposed to have leanings to Orangeism, at Scullabogue, was a proof of this feeling; and throughout the rebellion there was an abundant evidence of their frenzy being more the impulse of a wild resentment against Orangeism, than any spirit of hostility to the sovereign or the state.

Roman Catholic Chapels Destroyed by Unknown Persons During and Since the Late Rebellion.

In the Archdiocese of Dublin.

County of Wicklow:—

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|------------|---|---|---|----------|------|
| Roundwood | . | . | . | June 26, | 1798 |
| Annamoe | . | . | . | June 28, | 1798 |
| Kilpatrick | . | . | . | Oct. 11, | 1798 |

| | | | | | |
|--------------|---|---|---|------------|------|
| Ballinvolagh | . | . | . | Oct. 11, | 1798 |
| Castletown | . | . | . | Nov. . . . | 1798 |
| Ashford | . | . | . | Jan. 25, | 1799 |
| Boomaley | . | . | . | Jan. 25, | 1799 |
| Johnstown | . | . | . | April 20, | 1799 |
| Castledermot | . | . | . | March 20, | 1799 |

The windows of Wicklow chapel broken, and part of the new chapel at Newbridge destroyed by fire, in January and May, 1799.

In the Diocese of Ferns.

County of Wexford:—

| | | | | |
|---------------------|---|--------------|-----------|------|
| Boolavogue | . | (Whitsunday) | May 27, | 1798 |
| Maglass | . | . | May 30, | 1798 |
| Ramsgrange | . | . | June 19, | 1798 |
| Ballymurrin, slated | . | . | June 22, | 1798 |
| Drumgold | . | . | June 21, | 1798 |
| Gorey | . | . | Aug. 4, | 1798 |
| Annacorra | . | . | Sept. 2, | 1798 |
| Crane | . | . | Sept. 17, | 1798 |
| Rock | . | . | Oct. 12, | 1798 |
| Ballyduff | . | . | Oct. 19, | 1798 |
| River Chapel | . | . | Oct. 19, | 1798 |
| Monaseed | . | . | Oct. 25, | 1798 |
| Clogue | . | . | Oct. 26, | 1798 |
| Killevery | . | . | Nov. 11, | 1798 |
| Ferns | . | . | Nov. 18, | 1798 |
| Oulart | . | . | Nov. 28, | 1798 |
| Ballygarret | . | . | Jan. 15, | 1799 |
| Ballinamona | . | . | Jan. 18, | 1799 |
| Askamore | . | . | Feb. 24, | 1799 |

| | | | | |
|-------------------|---|---|---|----------------|
| Murntown | . | . | . | April 24, 1799 |
| Monomolin, slated | . | . | . | May 3, 1799 |
| Kilrush | . | . | . | May 15, 1799 |

In the Diocese of Kildare and Leighlin.

| | | | | |
|----------------------------|---|---|-------|----------|
| County Kildare:—Kildare | . | . | June | 8, 1798 |
| Queen's County:—Stradbally | . | . | June | 24, 1798 |
| County Carlow:—Clonmore | . | . | March | 6, 1799 |
| Kilquiggan | . | . | March | 24, 1799 |

N. B.—The altars and windows of some other chapels, in different places, were broken or injured.

The Chapel of Dunboyne, in the diocese and County Meath, destroyed in May or June, 1798.

Total number of Chapels destroyed (in six counties).

| | | | | |
|----------------|---|---|---|----|
| County Wexford | . | . | . | 22 |
| County Wicklow | . | . | . | 9 |
| County Kildare | . | . | . | 2 |
| County Carlow | . | . | . | 1 |
| Queen's County | . | . | . | 1 |
| County Meath | . | . | . | 1 |
| | | | | — |
| Total number | . | . | . | 36 |

This paper has been carefully copied from the original manuscript, in the handwriting of the late M. R. Dr. Troy, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin.

The total number of chapels damaged or de-

stroyed between 1798 and 1800, throughout the country, is estimated by others at sixty-nine.

Poor Dr. Troy was greatly mistaken in the low estimate he formed of the zeal of armed Orangeism for the good of religion in the county Wexford.

“A list of the Roman Catholic Chapels burned in the county of Wexford, by the military and yeomanry, in 1798, 1799, 1800, and 1801.” From “Personal Narrative of Transactions in the County of Wexford,” by Thomas Cloney, page 221.

| | | | | |
|----------------------------------|-----|-----|-----|---|
| Boolavogue, 27th May, 1798, | . | . | . | 1 |
| Maylass, | . | . | . | 1 |
| Ramsgrange, | . | . | . | 1 |
| Drumgoold, 21st ditto | . | . | . | 1 |
| Ballymurrin, ditto, | . | . | . | 1 |
| Gorey, 24th August, | . | . | . | 1 |
| Anacurragh, 2nd September, | . | . | . | 1 |
| Crane, 17th ditto, | . | . | . | 1 |
| Rock, 12th October, | . | . | . | 1 |
| Ballyduff, 19th ditto, | . | . | . | 1 |
| River Chapel, ditto, | . | . | . | 1 |
| Monaseed, 25th ditto, | . | . | . | 1 |
| Clologue, 26th ditto | . | . | . | 1 |
| Killeveny, 11th November, | . | . | . | 1 |
| Ferns, 18th ditto, | . | . | . | 1 |
| Oular, 28th ditto, | . | . | . | 1 |
| Castletown, ditto, | . | . | . | 1 |
| Ballygarret, 15th January, 1799, | . | . | . | 1 |
| Ballinamona, 18th ditto, | {o} | {o} | {o} | 1 |

| | | | | |
|-------------------------------------|---|---|---|---|
| Askamore, 24th February, | . | . | . | 1 |
| Murrintown, 24th April, | . | . | . | 1 |
| Monamolin, 3rd May, | . | . | . | 1 |
| Kilrush, 15th ditto, | . | . | . | 1 |
| Marshalstown, 9th June, | . | . | . | 1 |
| Monfin, 10th ditto, | . | . | . | 1 |
| Crossabeg, 24th ditto, | . | . | . | 1 |
| Kilenurin, 29th June, | . | . | . | 1 |
| Monagier, 1st July, | . | . | . | 1 |
| Kiltayley, 10th October, | . | . | . | 1 |
| Glanbryan, 13th March, 1800, | . | . | . | 1 |
| Kaim, ditto, | . | . | . | 1 |
| Ballymakesy, | . | . | . | 1 |
| Courtnacuddy, 12th August, 1801, | . | . | . | 1 |
| Davidstown, set fire to, but saved, | | | | |

Burned, thirty-three Roman Catholic Chapels 33
 One Protestant church (Old Ross) burned in
 consequence of the murder of an unarmed
 and inoffensive Catholic by the Ross Yeo-
 men.

Who can read the preceding statements without perceiving that many analogies are discoverable in the doings and dispositions, though not in the destinies, of the terrorists of France and Ireland?

Fouquiere-Tinville, Henriot, Marat, Robespierre, and Danton, with all their *sang froid* in the midst of human sufferings, stern, hard-hearted, unfeeling, and unscrupulous men, were

of a class that had its representatives similarly constituted in our own reign of terror of 1797 and 1798 in Ireland. We had our Castlereaghs, Carhamptons, and Clares, and they might have disputed the preëminence in guilt with many of the state criminals of France of 1792 and 1793. We had, moreover, our truculent, sanguinary Tolers to pit against the Fouquiere-Tinville, our Judkin Fitzgeralds against the Marats, our Claudius Beresfords against the Henriots; and we had the armed Orangeism of Ireland let loose upon the people; and its ferocious spirit was quite as murderous as that of any faction of fierce and ruthless Jacobins, at the beck of Robespierre or Danton.

The power and position of the terrorists of France differed from that of their fellows in Ireland. The former were either head men in the state or the partizans of some faction for the time being in possession of the government. They generally aimed at the destruction of persons of the same rank as their own, or superior to it, in other factions. They had no innate hatred against the people of their country, no detestation of their creed, no abhorrence of their race. In all these respects they differed from the Irish terrorists. Both, however, were sanguinary, savage, and unrelenting in their several spheres of action and within the operation of it. The peasantry of Ireland, however, in the pro-

portion which they bore to that of France, suffered in all probability more in the years 1797 and 1798, than the latter did at the hands of their tyrants in 1792 and 1793.

The freedom from all religious and moral restraint in the conduct of the terrorists of those times was not less manifest in Ireland than in France. I have inquired a great deal, and examined with much care the evidence I collected with respect to the atrocities committed on the people of both countries in those times of terror, and I have come to the conclusion that there was more protection in France to be expected for the great mass of the people from the government of the revolution than was afforded to them in those bad times in Ireland by the administrators of the English government. The British constitution had been made a sophism in Ireland, even while a sort of parliamentary obligation and state necessity existed there for keeping up a show of justice, a semblance of a recognition of Christianity, in governmental forms, an affectation of anxiety for the law's supremacy.

Terrible sufferings were endured by the Irish people in 1797 and 1798. But the government of Ireland of that time, and the British minister, William Pitt, who guided its course, were deaf as adders to all complaints of these sufferings.

We need not expend all our denunciations on the crimes and the state criminals of the Convention or Directory of France. We may, indeed, reserve a large share of well-merited opprobrium for that prime minister of England, and the agents of his government in Ireland, who delivered the people of that country into the hands of the armed Orangemen, consigned them to their tender mercies, suffered them to be harassed by the free quarter system, and connived at their being tortured, and indemnified their oppressors for hunting them down, for scourging or picketing them, and casting them into prison on small pretexts or slight suspicions.

The man in Ireland of our terrorists who, perhaps, resembled Robespierre most in cool, phlegmatic insensibility, and calm, unruffled, imper-turbable indifference for the effusion of blood in the accomplishment of his political ends, was Lord Castlereagh; I mean, when such ends involved sanguinary acts that were not to be done under his eye, nor to be performed by his own hand, for Castlereagh could not bear the sight of blood, or the spectacle of a tortured man, or an execution.

The secret of Robespierre's early rise and seizure of power, was a vigilant observance of the actors of his time, and of the aspirants to political notoriety, which made him familiar with the

peculiarities, the passions, the opinions, and the weaknesses of the public men of his time. Such was the secret, too, of the rise of Robert Stewart, the volunteer, the delegate of the Convention of Dungannon, the pledged reformer, the member of parliament, the corrupter and buyer-up of its members; the man who dallied with sedition, and vaunted of having caused rebellion to explode prematurely, who sought in that rebellion the accomplishment of a political object, and achieved it for his master at the expense, be it remembered, of more blood than ever Robespierre caused to be shed—of 70,000 human beings.¹

Robert Stewart, the Robespierre of Ireland, the Castlereagh of Camden's reign of terror, the cold-blooded, cruel, crafty politician, who could smile while his councils were deluging his country with blood, he, like Robespierre, cared not how much carnage he committed in the prosecution of his objects. But Robespierre died on the scaffold; Castlereagh did not. The former has left a memory that smells of hot blood. The latter was not a better man, yet, in a country in which he died a minister of state, he has left a name that is read on a tomb in Westminster Abbey. When he died, the papers of all kinds of politics, save one that was edited and written

¹ 20,000 of the king's troops and 50,000 of the people perished in this rebellion.

by a coarse, blunt, vigorous-minded man of the name of Cobbett, eulogized his virtues.¹

Danton—the able, bold, remorseless Danton—had his peer amongst our men in power in 1797 and 1798. Lord Clare, in his remarkable perversion of great mental powers; in audacious insolence and assumption; in disregard for principle; in fitful, inconstant, ill-considered manifestations of good and evil qualities, applied with the same energy to good or evil purposes, was the Danton of our reign of terror. Clare, like Danton, was always in contradiction with himself. John Fitzgibbon, Earl of Clare, the Lord High Chancellor of Ireland, was of a character very similar to that of Danton's. He was

¹ When the Marquis of Londonderry died, the morning papers gave a false account of the mode and manner of his death. Cobbett, who resided near Footscray, was enabled to publish the true account, which he did in his "Register," and also in very large letters on a placard, which was placed outside his shop door in Fleet Street. It began thus: "People of England, rejoice! Castlereagh is dead!" Then followed some words respecting his self-inflicted death, of a very savage character. The author saw this placard, and was present at his lordship's funeral. When the remains were taken from the hearse, at the entrance to Westminster Abbey, the Duke of Wellington, two princes of the blood, and some of the ministers of state, formed on either side, and took hold of the pall, and at that moment, when all was silent and solemn, a shout of a vast multitude of people congregated about the porch, and partly clustered about its columns, simultaneously arose, and at the sound of that cheer, Wellington, and the royal and noble dukes, and other exalted persons who stood beside the coffin, seemed shocked and horror-struck. All was silent again; there was no disorder; the Duke of Wellington stepped forward, and looked sternly at the people

bold enough, and reckless enough of all laws, divine and human, to have engaged in any undertaking. His actions and principles were so constantly at variance, that he might be said to have had a controversy with himself every hour in the day, and for every side of a question or a cause. One day for the altar, and another for the scaffold; now for his country, and a little later for his enemies; again, for ambition, and then for pelf. He counselled the shedding of blood, without stint or scruple, in 1797 and 1798; but occasionally he did generous and humane

around him. The bearers of the coffin began to move, and the Duke had to fall back into his place at the right side of it. That instant, a second shout, similar to the former, as sudden, loud, and simultaneous, was given: again the Duke stepped forward, and gave some directions to those around him. The cortege moved on. When the body passed the porch, and was borne into the abbey, a third and a last cheer was given, and a more vociferous one than either of the former shouts, and this one was accompanied by a general waving of hats on the part of this great multitude, many of them well-dressed people. That all this proceeding was preconcerted and executed by persons who were under some kind of direction, I have little doubt. I was very near to the Duke of Wellington and I observed him closely. It would not express my idea of the effect which the scene had on him, to say that he was horrorstruck. He was astonished, rather, that a prime minister, a great Tory chief, who possessed his confidence, and with whom he had been so closely allied in polities, and of late especially in those of the holy alliance, could be so unpopular, or that any number of Englishmen should dare, in public to manifest their feelings of hostility to his policy, by thus publicly insulting his remains. My impression is that this occurrence made a deep and lasting impression on Wellington, one which shook his 'faith in the permanence of the good old regime of Toryism. R. R. M.

acts, when his personal resentments were not concerned; but when they were, he was implacable and fiendish in his vindictiveness, as in the case of the Sheares.

Of all the French terrorists, Fouquier-Tinville is probably the man whose memory is held in the greatest abhorrence and disgust by his countrymen. This execrable man was represented in Ireland, in its bad times, by an unprincipled legal functionary, an obdurate, unjust, and unmerciful judge—the iniquitous Toler, better known to the world as Lord Norbury.

Toler possessed all Tinville's inhumanity of disposition. He manifested the same unfeeling, savage nature in the midst of the most afflicting circumstances; the same vulgar levity in the discharge of his official duties; the same thorough contempt for justice; and was singularly scandalous and open in the manifestation of contempt for all appearance of judicial decorum or common decency in the exercise of his functions.

On the trial of John Magee for libel, in 1813, O'Connell, in his memorable speech on that occasion, thus alludes to Toler, when employed on special commissions in the early part of his career: "Why, in one circuit during the administration of the cold-hearted and cruel Camden, there were one hundred individuals tried before one judge: of these, ninety-eight were capitally convicted, and ninety-seven hanged! One 'es-

caped, but he was a soldier, who murdered a peasant—a thing of a trivial nature. Ninety-seven victims in one circuit!”¹

The career of Toler, like that of Fouquier-Tinville, was one long course of judicial bloodshed, so that it might probably be said of him, as well as of Fouquier-Tinville, he killed more in his judicial capacity than any single man ever slew with his own hand by the sword. At length this murderous officer of justice was brought before his own tribunal. But Tinville was tried for his multitudinous murders, and condemned the 6th of May, 1795. He was charged—how different was this with the painted sepulchres of justice in other countries!—he was charged with destroying great multitudes of people under pretence of conspiracies and seditions,—with causing between sixty and eighty individuals to be tried, on one occasion, in four hours,—with clearing prisons by cartloads of prisoners, without trial, or even depositions against them.

The evidence against him disclosed acts of wickedness in the way of perverting justice to the wills and whims of the ruling powers, making a mockery, a delusion, and a snare of the form of a trial, packing and intimidating juries, cramming together people *en masse* in one great mesh of imputed crime, and bringing to trial on the same indictment persons often who had no

¹ “Memoir and Speeches of D. O’Connell, Esq.”

previous communication or connection, and finally glutting the scaffold and the gibbet with daily victims—acts of wickedness that never had a parallel except in Ireland.

It was proved that in the course of the proceedings on the trials, he was in the habit of stopping the defence with such words as these: “I think, citizens, that you are fully convinced of the guilt of the accused.” And the jurymen then used generally to declare, “Our consciences are satisfied.” And the melodrama of justice commonly terminated with a sentence of death delivered *en gros*, and a carting of the victims of the unjust judge to the place of execution. It was proved that he had procured the conviction and the execution of forty-two persons on one occasion; and when some doubt had been expressed to him of the policy of putting so many people to death in one day, and the possibility of the people murmuring at it, this true Toler of the French tribunal of justice, this energetic and facetious judge, said, “Never mind: justice must take its course.”

On the 18th of April, 1795, justice did take its course in his case: this iniquitous judicial functionary was guillotined. Toler, the ribald judge, stained with blood shed judicially, and obdurately wicked to the end of his infamous career, died a lord, in his bed.

Henriot, the lictor of Robespierre, began life as an attorney's clerk, then became a trader, a speculator in politics, in patriotism, a brawler in patriotic assemblies, a commander of the National Guard of Paris, and eventually, a terrorist and a man of blood. He was at once the servile sycophant of Robespierre, his bully, and his parasite. It seemed to him to be an honourable employment and a pastime to shed blood in his official capacity. He died, too, on the scaffold, the 28th of July, 1794. He was represented in Ireland by John Claudius Beresford. But our Henriot lived unmolested, and died in some repute in his locality; and those who are acquainted with his career, and are placed in different circumstances to those in which he figured in early life, have abundant reason to thank Heaven their lot was cast in happier times, and at their outset into active life that the same evil influences were not in operation, which his passions, his prejudices, political opinions, and the infirmities of his mind were exposed to. John Claudius Beresford, when he waxed old, lived on decent terms with Roman Catholics, nay, even went out of his way to promote the interests of some men who had suffered much in purse and person in 1798. In private life he bore a good character. Perhaps the inclination to commit sanguinary and inhuman acts had died away.

with the bad circumstances of public affairs around him. Perhaps, like other passions, that of cruelty, in the course of time, had worn itself out, and in the spent volcano of terrorism, in latter years, there might be scarcely a spark to be found in his bosom. At all events, the times had passed away for torturing his fellow-men; the taws had to be laid aside; the dominion of brutal passions, freed from all restraint, was at an end. John Claudius Beresford, deprived of power, ceased to be a monster. We are therefore called upon by the advocates of his politics to refuse credence to what history tells us of his enormities when he had the power to commit them.

Ali Pacha, of Yanina, was as mild a man as ever cut a throat, and of a loving nature in his family. Claudius, in his retirement from public life, was the same in his: the Riding-School atrocities, picketings, and the pitch-capping were never recurred to by him, even in conversation.

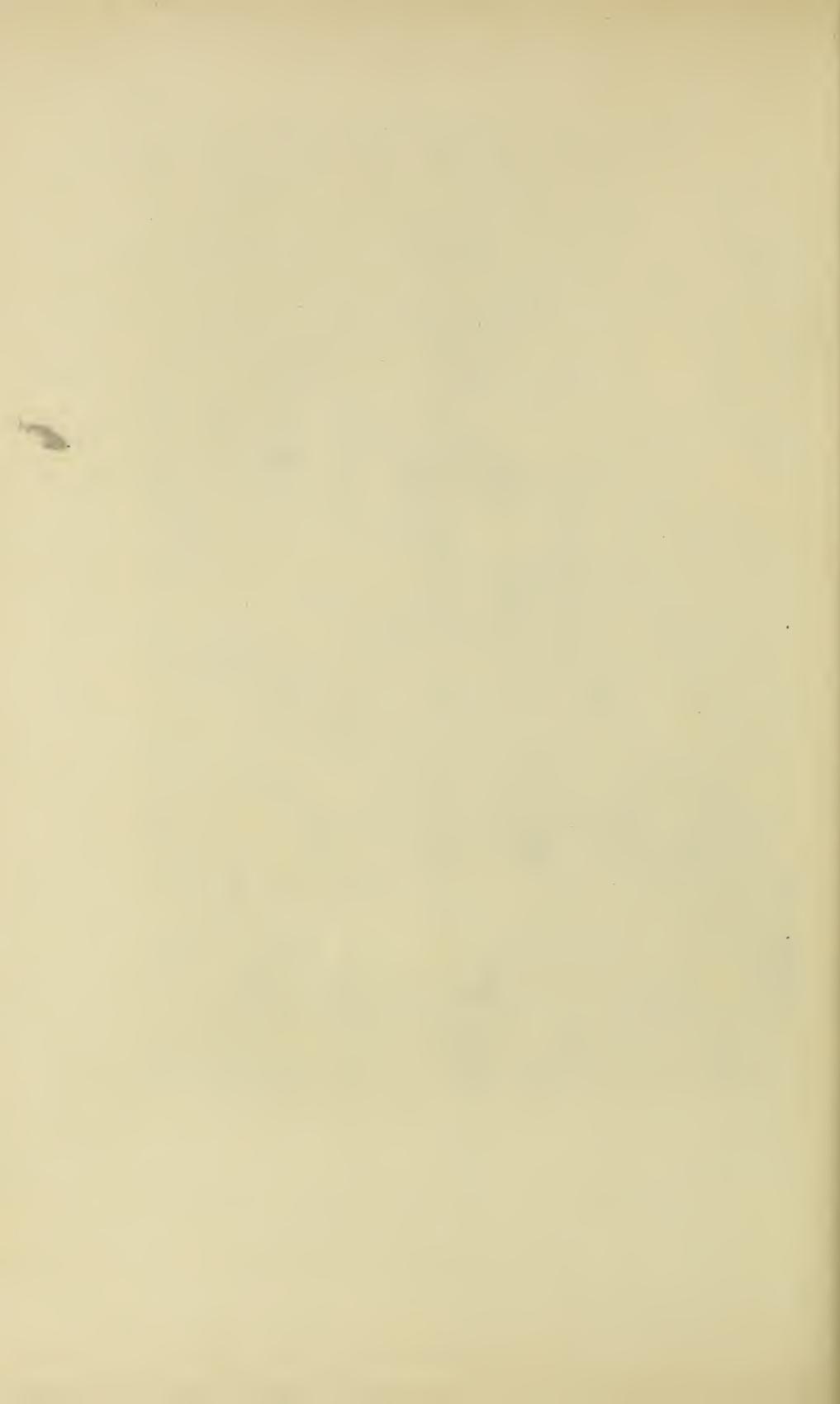
Dionysius the tyrant, we are told, when he had shed blood enough to make the streets of Syracuse slippery with gore, fled from the vengeance of his people, and passed for an amiable schoolmaster in Corinth. Dionysius the tyrant could enjoy the sight of executions of men and women, and take an interest in the prolongation of their agonies, but the cries of children undergoing

correction distressed him. And Sylla, too, after he had butchered some sixty thousand of his countrymen, was found to be a good neighbour, very quiet and inoffensive in his retirement. He could not have been more so than our Claudius in his private life in his latter days.

The French Fleet at Bantry Bay

From a Painting in the National Gallery, Dublin





CHAPTER XIII

END OF THE REBELLION

THE arrest of the Sheares, on the 23d of May, 1798, was the death-blow to the Society of United Irishmen. From the date of its origin, October, 1791, having existed seven years, whether viewed in its results, the character of its members, or the nature of its proceedings, it may certainly be regarded as a confederacy which no political or revolutionary society that has gone before it has surpassed in importance, boldness of design, and devotion to its principles, however mistaken those belonging to it may have been.

It is unnecessary to refer more at large “to the well-timed measures pursued” to cause the insurrection to explode; the partial outbreak that ensued, deprived of its leaders, baffled in its original designs, was sufficiently formidable to require a military force exceeding 137,000 men, comprising regulars, militia, yeomanry, and volunteering supernumeraries, and the employment of six general officers, to suppress it. The yeomanry force alone, according to the report of the Commons’ Secret Committee of 1798, “exceeded 50,000, and might have been increased to a much greater extent.”

The total number of the rebels who had risen in the county of Wexford, Sir Jonah Barrington estimates at 35,000.

Wexford is only one of thirty-two counties, by no means the most populous, and far from the most extensive. Had the rising been general, the northern counties might have furnished as many, the southern counties more, and the midland less than Wexford; a rough, but, no doubt, an uncertain, average may be drawn from these data, as to what the possible or probable amount of insurgents might have been throughout the entire kingdom, if the struggle had been protracted. Enough, at least, will be ascertained to prove that the rebellion never should have been permitted to arrive at that dangerous maturity. It is equally clear, that had the rebels possessed arms, officers, and discipline, their numbers would soon have rendered them masters of the kingdom, in which there exists not one fortress capable of resisting a twenty-four hours' investment.¹

With respect to the actual force of the United Irishmen, we find according to the evidence given by Arthur O'Connor before the Secret Committee in 1797, 150,000 men were sworn and enrolled in the province of Ulster alone. When Dr M'Neven was asked by a member of the Secret Committee of 1798, to what number he thought the United Irishmen amounted all over the kingdom, he replied: "Those who have

¹ Barrington's "Memoirs of the Irish Union."

taken the test, do not, I am convinced, fall short of 500,000, without reckoning women and old men. The number regularly organized is not less than 300,000; and I have no doubt all these will be ready to fight for the liberty of Ireland, when they get a fair opportunity.”¹

The suppression of this rebellion, and the accomplishment of the Union, which was carried into effect by its instrumentality, entailed on Great Britain an enormous expenditure.

The amount of the claims of the suffering loyalists for their losses sustained in 1798, laid before the commissioners, by Sir Richard Musgrave’s statement, was £823,517 sterling; but in 1799, the sum total, according to Gordon, amounted to £1,023,000, of which more than half, or £515,000, was claimed by the county of Wexford;² “but who,” says Mr. Gordon, “will pretend to compute the damages of the crop-pies, whose houses were burned, or effects pil-laged or destroyed, and who, barred from com-pensation, sent no estimate to the commissioners? Perhaps, if the whole amount of the detriment sustained by this unfortunate island, in conse-

¹ “Memoir of Examinations,” etc., by Messrs. Emmet, O’Connor, and M’Neven.

² Gordon’s “History of the Rebellion.” By later writers however, than Gordon, we learn that the “suffering loyalists,” for several years after the rebellion, instead of dying off, as they might naturally be expected to do, went on, year after year, adding to their numbers, until the jobbers of Protestant ascendancy netted eventually £1,500,000.

quence of the united conspiracy, were conjectured at £2,000,000, a sum of such magnitude might not exceed, or even equal, the reality."

The purchase of the Irish Parliament for the accomplishment of the Union, rendered it necessary for Lord Castlereagh to introduce a bill into the House of Commons in the beginning of December, 1800, for the purpose of "compensating the proprietors of boroughs." The ugly word for which "compensation" stands, suggests itself at once to every mind; the fact of £1,500,000 having been spent in buying up the Irish Parliament, in some ten or twelve years hence will appear, not only a sufficient proof of its venality, but of the impolicy as well as wickedness and profligacy of Pitt and Castlereagh.

It is impossible to estimate the loss occasioned in this rebellion, by the destruction of property consequent on the government privilege of free quarters enormities, the pillage of houses, the burning of the cabins of the peasantry, the spoiling of towns and villages—outrages and injuries of various kinds which were held entitled to no compensation, and whose perpetrators were indemnified for their atrocities by a special act of Parliament. If Mr. Gordon, however, imagined that £2,000,000 would cover the total amount of the value of property destroyed in this rebellion throughout the island, he was exceedingly mistaken. Surely the injuries inflicted on the prop-

erty of loyalists bore no proportion to those which the insurgents and the Roman Catholic people generally, who were considered out of the king's peace, suffered at their hands, and at those of an army exceeding, at one time, 137,000 men turned loose upon them. And yet, the admitted claims of the "suffering loyalists" eventually amounted to £1,500,000. The number of Roman Catholic places of worship destroyed during the rebellion, or immediately subsequent to it, may afford some criterion by which we can judge of the number and extent of other outrages on property belonging to persons of that communion. In six counties alone, by the statement of the Roman Catholic archbishop of Dublin of that period, a copy of which I was fortunate enough to procure from the original document, the number of Roman Catholic places of worship utterly destroyed or partly demolished during 1798-9, amounted to thirty-six; and from another document, printed some years ago in America, giving a list of the chapels destroyed or greatly damaged in other parts of the country, the total number will be found to amount to no less than sixty-nine.

If the *razées* of Sir Charles Asgill in the counties of Carlow and Kilkenny, the proceedings of Sir T. Judkin Fitzgerald in the county Tipperary, of Messrs. Hawtrey White, Hunter Gowan, and Archibald Hamilton Jacob, in the

county Wexford, had been traced in 1797 and 1798, and the smouldering ashes of the houses and haggards of the suspected gentry, the smoking ruins of the cabins of the peasantry, the demolished doors and windows and trampled crucifixes of the people's chapels, the exploits of "Burn-chapel Whaley," the brother-in-law of the Lord Chancellor of Ireland, the humbler cabin victories of the Rochfords, Blayneys, Kerrs, Montgomerys, Furlongs, etc., had been made use of, in this track of true inquiry, it might have furnished records to enable us to form some idea of the value of property of the suffering people, for the loss of which they were not indemnified.

As to the expenses the government had to encounter and defray, on account of this rebellion and its consequences, the following calculation may give some approximate idea of the amount:

| | |
|---|-------------|
| From 1797 to 1802, the cost of the large military force that was kept up in Ireland, estimated at £4,000,000 per annum, | £16,000,000 |
| Purchase of the Irish Parliament, | 1,500,000 |
| Payment of claims of suffering loyalists, | 1,500,000 |
| Secret service money, from 1797 to 1804 (from official reports), | 53,547 |
| Secret service money previous to 21st Au- | |

| | |
|--|-------------|
| gust, 1797, date of first entry in preceding account—say from date of Jackson's mission in 1794, estimated at, | 20,000 |
| Probable amount of pensions paid for services in suppression of the rebellion and promotion of the Union, to the present time, | 1,200,000 |
| Increased expense of legal proceedings and judicial tribunals, | 500,000 |
| Additional expenditure in public offices consequent on increased duties in 1798, and alterations in establishments attendant on the Union, the removal of parliamentary archives, and compensation of offices, servants, etc., | 800,000 |
| | £21,573,547 |

I am aware that the amount has been estimated at £30,000,000 by some writers, and at nearly double that amount by others. "In three counties," it has been said, "its suppression cost £52,000,000; what would it have been, if it had extended to the other twenty-nine counties?"

I have set down the items which, I believe, constituted the bulk of the expenditure for the excitement, premature explosion, and suppres-

sion of the rebellion, for the corruption, purchase, and abolition of the Irish Parliament, and permanent provision for the agents of Government in these transactions; and that amount, though it falls short of all the calculations I have seen on the subject, I have given as the nearest approximation to the actual expenditure which my own inquiries have led to.

The reduction of Ireland by King William cost England, according to Story, £9,956,613; being the “total expense of English regular forces in Ireland in 1689, 1690, 1691.” According to Mr. O’Callaghan, a very able and accurate historical writer, the author of “The Green Book,” the total expense, inclusive of the cost of the militia and yeomanry force, was about £11,000,000. In the three campaigns, the expenditure is estimated by Story, in 1689, for 25,000 men; in 1690, for 41,000; and in 1691, for about 37,000.

The population of Ireland, at the Revolution, did not exceed 1,500,000. The Catholic portion of it was about 1,000,000; and as the rebellion was a “Popish” one, the subjection of that portion of the million capable of bearing arms, cost William three campaigns, and England between ten and eleven millions of money. These wars of William cost Ireland, in the course of three campaigns, the lives of 100,000 of her people,

and left 300,000 “ruined and undone.” These latter incidents in the history of William’s wars in Ireland are slight events, perhaps, in comparison with their successful issue; but the ten millions of pounds sterling are mighty matters of consideration for English chancellors of the exchequer. It may not appear very surprising that the people of Ireland should connect the glorious name and immortal memory of “the great and good King William” with certain historical data, rather painful to recur to, than otherwise; and that his triumphs cannot be recalled at the orgies of Orangeism without suggesting, in the minds of one party, ideas fraught with mournful reminiscences of defeat and carnage, and exhibiting most ungenerous feelings on the part of their opponents, in the celebration of the blood-stained successes of a civil war, in those calamities of a most savage strife in the worst of evil times, no Christian people should exult.

The population of Ireland in 1798 exceeded four millions. In forty-five years the population had more than doubled. On the authority of Emmet, O’Connor, and M’Neven, the number of United Irishmen enrolled amounted to 500,000; the number they counted on as an effective force was 300,000. At the close of 1798 the military force in Ireland, including the

troops of the line, militia, and yeomanry, amounted to 137,590.¹

The loss on the part of the king's troops, regulars, militia, and yeomanry, in this rebellion of 1798, is estimated by Plowden, Barrington, Curran, and Moore, at 20,000; and the loss on the side of the people, at 50,000. Total loss, 70,000.

In the preceding pages, the cost of fomenting and suppressing this rebellion (confined to three counties), and thereby of effecting the measure of the Union, was shown, at the very lowest estimate, to have amounted to nearly twenty-two millions, or more than six times the amount

¹ The military force in Ireland immediately after the rebellion, in 1799:—

From Parliamentary Returns.

| | |
|---------------------------|---------|
| The Regulars | 32,281 |
| The Militia | 26,634 |
| The Yeomanry | 51,274 |
| The English Militia | 24,201 |
| Artillery | 1,500 |
| Commissariat | 1,700 |
| | — |
| | 137,590 |

These figures are taken from a report of the parliamentary proceedings of the 18th of February, 1799. They are introduced in a speech of Lord Castlereagh, prefacing a motion on military estimates. He did not think that one man could be then spared of the 137,590, though the rebellion was completely over, and though he had to deal with a population only one-half of the present. We have not at hand the means of ascertaining the force of 1800, but there is ground for concluding that it was over that of 1799, though the time of the rebellion was still farther off by a year.

which was expended in the suppression of the last Canadian rebellion, which, on the authority of Sir Robert Peel, cost three millions and a half.¹ To go to war with Ireland, and accomplish the object of that war, cost Great Britain upwards of twenty-two millions, and both countries a loss of 70,000 lives.

The preceding details were intended to give some insight into the origin, progress, and "premature explosion" of the conspiracy of 1798.

A full and faithful history of the rebellion yet remains to be written. The object of this work is to place before the public the scattered memorials of it, collected from those who were actors in that struggle. The reminiscences of those persons, it seemed to me, were likely to perish with them, had no effort been made in their latter years to preserve them. Most of these persons were far advanced in years when I commenced my labours in 1836; some, indeed, were on the verge of the grave, and during the past twenty-one years (the period of collecting and publish-

¹ "Debate on the Canadian Corn Importation Question," May 23, 1848:—Sir Robert Peel said: "They found that a rebellion had recently existed in the colony; that the cost of suppressing that rebellion had been, by direct votes of that house, little short of two millions of money; that when they came to add the additional cost of maintaining the army in the colony, and of transporting forces thither, the total expense was in reality little less than £3,500,000; there was a force in Canada of no less than twenty-two battalions of British infantry."

ing these materials), the greater number of them have died. It certainly would be impossible, at this date, with any probability of success, to set about commencing the same task, to which I have devoted so much labour in many lands, and, I may add, so much money in the accomplishment of it. The men of 1798 who have enabled me to execute this undertaking have passed away, with very few exceptions.

To enter into any detailed account of the conflicts in this rebellion, the military operations, or results of the successive engagements, from the 20th of May, 1798, when “the rising” of the peasantry commenced in the counties of Kildare and Wicklow, to the 8th of September, when the French, under Humbert, surrendered at Ballinamuck—would be foreign to my purpose. The task which I have undertaken to accomplish, is to illustrate the events of a very stirring epoch of Irish history, by biographical notices of many eminent men who were prominent actors in it.

The persons who are the subjects of the memoirs contained in the succeeding volumes, are those whose histories are most intimately connected with events or proceedings, to which I have directed attention in “THE LIVES AND TIMES OF THE UNITED IRISHMEN.”

This portion of my subject cannot be more aptly concluded than in the words of a man who, about a century ago, manifested extraordinary

power in his political writings, and enthusiasm in his zeal and attachment to the liberties of his country: "There never was a rebellion or insurrection in Ireland that was not apparently the effect of an unjust, tyrannical administration."¹

¹ "The History of the Rise, Progress, and Suppression of several late Insurrections." London, 1760.

