

IRISH 1798 COLLECTION



A faint, light-colored watermark of a classical building with four columns and a triangular pediment is visible in the background.

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2017 with funding from
Boston Public Library

<https://archive.org/details/unitedirishment06madd>

THE
UNITED IRISHMEN
THEIR
LIVES AND TIMES



Thomas Addis Emmet

From an Oil Painting by Mrs. Elizabeth Emmet Leroy about 1816, under the Instruction of Robert Fulton. Now in the Possession of the Emmet Family

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

VINCENT FLEMING O'REILLY

NEW YORK

THE CATHOLIC PUBLICATION SOCIETY
OF AMERICA

56719⁶

THE SHAMROCK EDITION

This edition is strictly limited to one thousand numbered sets, and is sold by subscription only.

Number 313

Copyright, 1916, by
**THE CATHOLIC PUBLICATION SOCIETY
OF AMERICA**

CONTENTS

	PAGE
O! BREATHE NOT HIS NAME	ix
 THOMAS ADDIS EMMET	
CHAP. VI. CAPTIVITY IN FORT GEORGE	3
CHAP. VII. LETTERS TO AND FROM THOMAS ADDIS EMMET	33
CHAP. VIII. DEPARTURE FOR AMERICA	61
CHAP. IX. CAREER IN AMERICA	72
CHAP. X. LETTERS FROM AMERICA	86
CHAP. XI. CLOSE OF CAREER	89
CHAP. XII. FUNERAL HONOURS	121
 WILLIAM JAMES MACNEVEN	
CHAP. I. EARLY HISTORY	140
CHAP. II. O'CONNOR'S REMINISCENCES	165
CHAP. III. CAREER IN THE UNITED STATES	196
 ROBERT EMMET	
CHAP. I. EARLY CAREER	228
CHAP. II. TRIPS TO THE CONTINENT	268
CHAP. III. THE PEACE OF AMIENS	294

ILLUSTRATIONS

THOMAS ADDIS EMMET	<i>Frontispiece</i>
From an Oil Painting by Mrs. Elizabeth Emmet	
LeRoy.	
PAGE	
CAPTURE OF COLCLOUGH AND HARNEY	2
From a Drawing by George Cruikshank.	
MICHAEL DWYER	86
From an Original Drawing by George Petrie.	
WILLIAM JAMES MACNEVEN	140
After an Original Drawing by Herbert.	
FACSIMILE OF THE WARRANT	228
Issued to pay the reward offered for the arrest of	
Robert Emmet.	

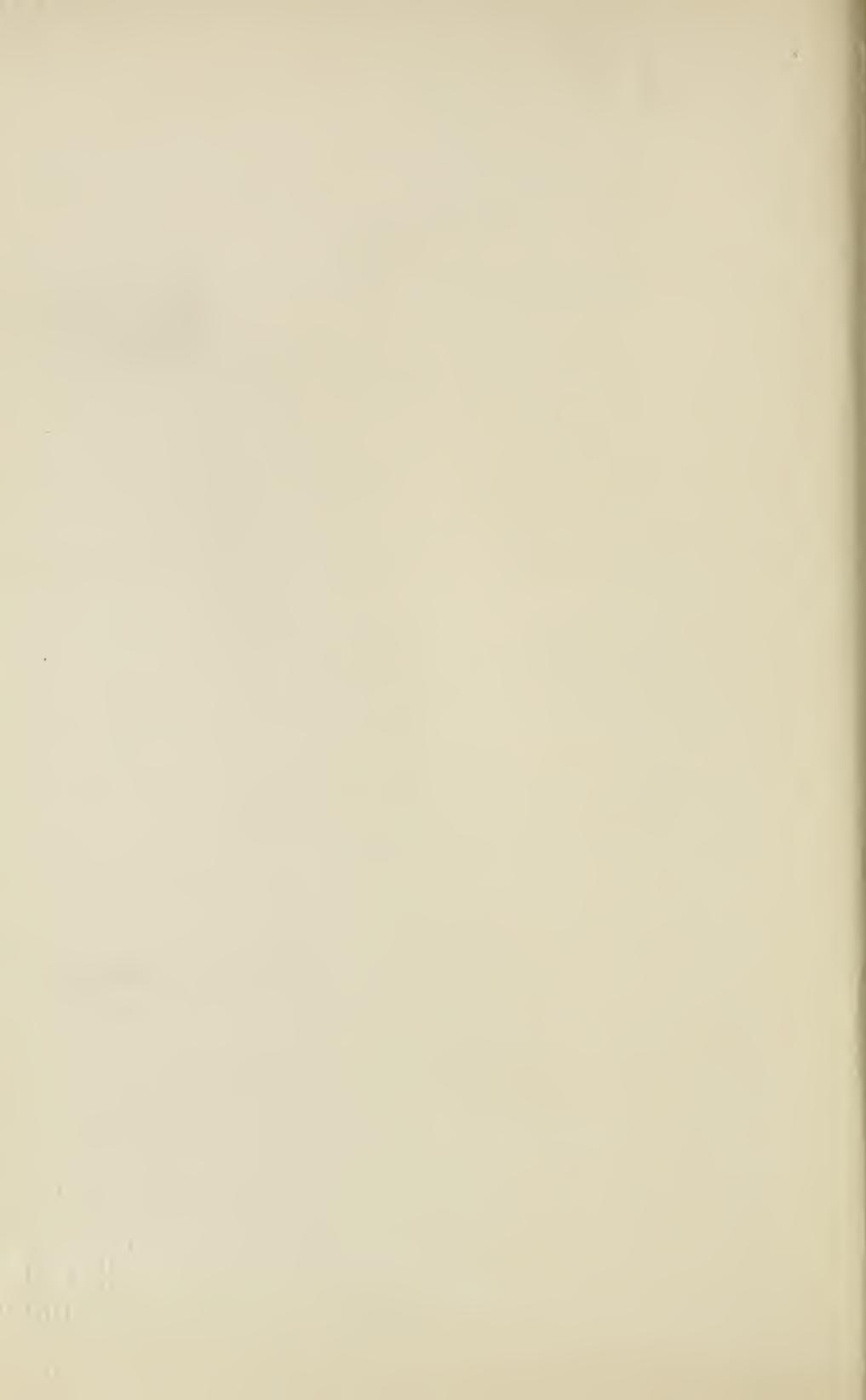
O! BREATHE NOT HIS NAME

THOMAS MOORE

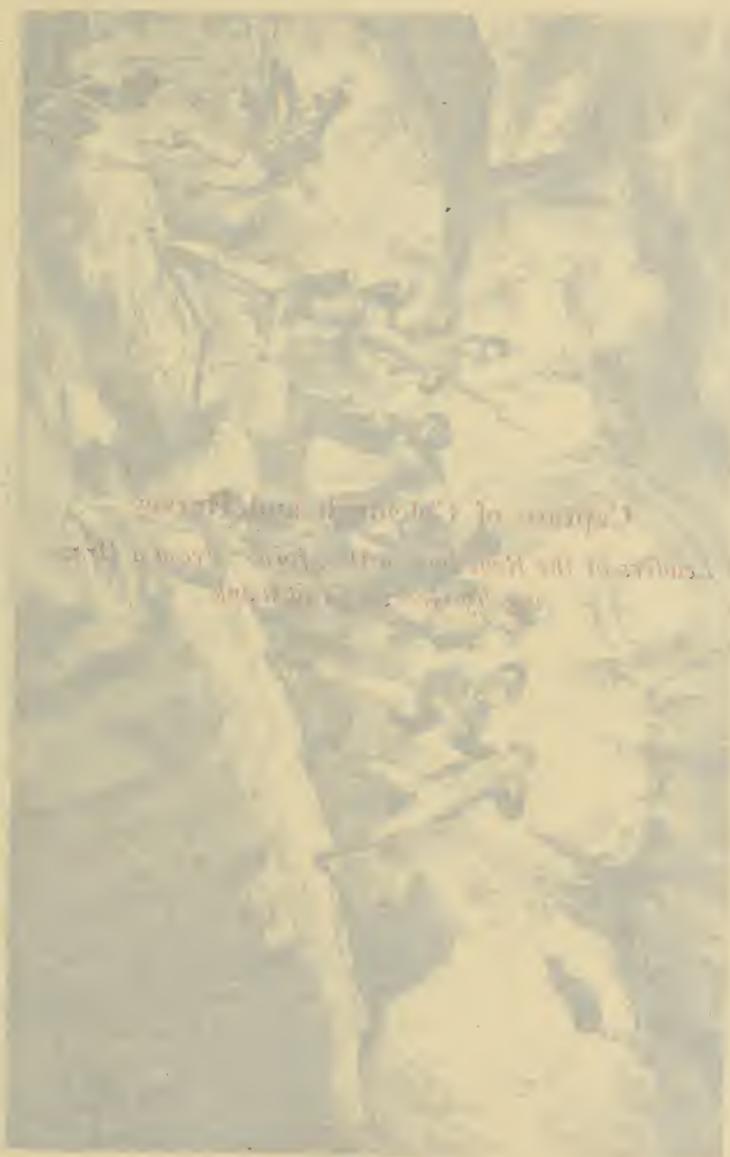
Thomas Moore was born in Dublin, 1779. He entered Trinity College, in 1794 and became one of Robert Emmet's closest friends. Through this friendship he very nearly became involved in the United Irish conspiracy. The following poem was inspired by Emmet's famous appeal, "Let No Man Write My Epitaph." Moore subsequently became "the poet of all circles and the idol of his own." He died in 1852.

Oh! breathe not his name, let it sleep in the shade,
Where cold and unhonour'd his relics are laid;
Sad, silent, and dark, be the tears that we shed,
As the night dew that falls on the grass o'er his head!

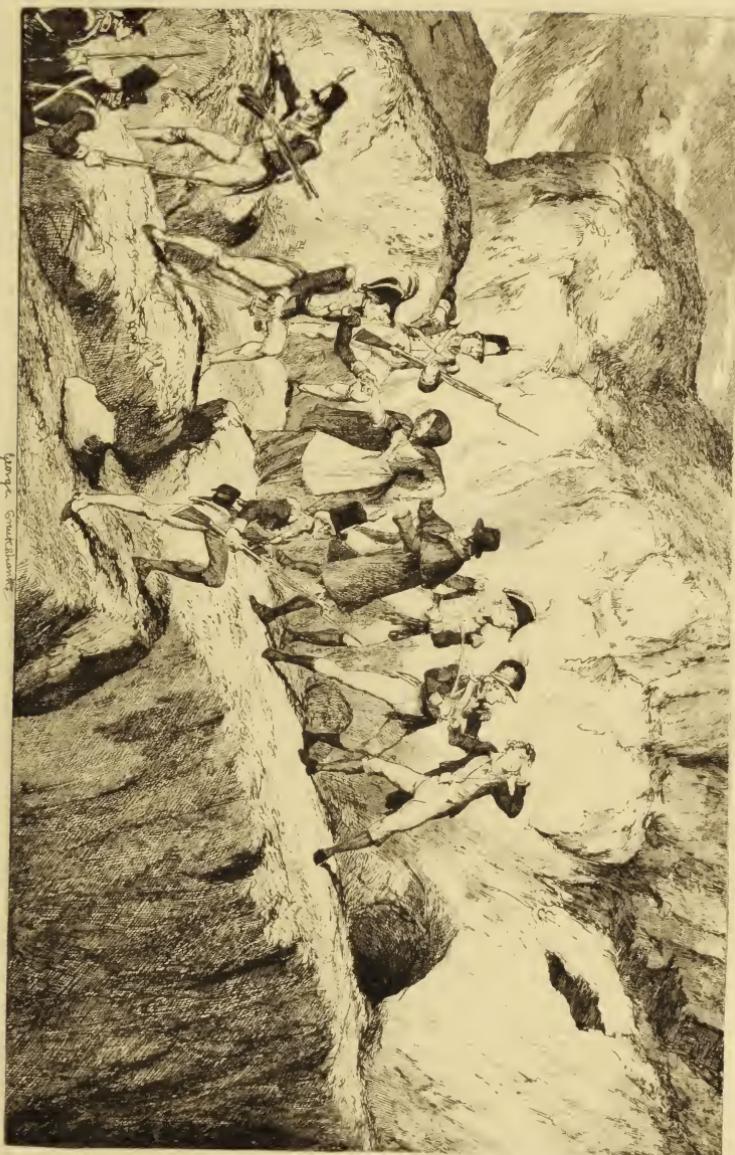
But the night dew that falls, though in silence it weeps
Shall brighten with verdure the grave where he sleeps,
And the tear that we shed, though in secret it rolls,
Shall long keep his memory green in our souls.



THE
UNITED IRISHMEN
THEIR
LIVES AND TIMES



Capture of Colclough and Harvey
*Leaders of the Rebellion in Wexford. From a Drawing
ing by George Cruikshank*



MEMOIR OF THOMAS ADDIS EMMET

CHAPTER VI

CAPTIVITY IN FORT GEORGE

ON the 18th of March, 1799, after a year's imprisonment, Emmet received notice to prepare for embarkation the following morning. The place of his destination was kept a profound secret; and this circumstance caused the most serious apprehensions to his relatives. His sister, at a late hour the same evening, on hearing of the order that had been given, proceeded immediately to the Castle, and demanded an interview with the viceroy, for the purpose of ascertaining the fate that was destined for her brother. She presented herself to the viceroy with the spirit that seemed to be the characteristic of her race. Lord Cornwallis was moved even to tears at the earnestness of her supplication, the anxiety exhibited in her looks, the strength of feeling, the energy of character displayed in the effort she had made. He treated her with kindness, and assured her that "no harm should occur to her brother"; that the apprehen-

sion of a meditated descent on Ireland had rendered it necessary to remove the state prisoners to a place of security—that place he was not then at liberty to name—but that the treatment of her brother and his companions should be all his friends or theirs could desire. Miss Emmet returned to her family, and the intelligence she brought, little as it was, relieved the minds of her parents of much of their alarm.

At daybreak the following morning, Thomas Addis Emmet bid a last farewell to his country. He never more set his foot upon its soil. The evening before his departure he was visited by his sister—he parted with her for the last time. Father, mother, sister, and brother, in the brief space of four or five years, were laid in the grave, within which period the last but one of the race of Emmet that was left in the land of his birth perished on the scaffold.

On the 9th of April, 1799, Emmet and his associates arrived at Fort George. In Neilson's correspondence this part of the history of their confinement is so fully detailed, that it is unnecessary to enter on it, except in reference to the subject of this memoir, and the conduct of the lieutenant-governor, especially in regard to Emmet and his wife. Lieutenant-Colonel Stuart, a brother of the Earl of Murray, descended from a royal race, then far advanced in years, filled

the office of lieutenant-governor of Fort George. His name and memory will always be remembered in Ireland with respect and honour, for his humane and generous conduct to her, Emmet, and his companions.

It seemed to be, from the beginning of their confinement at Fort George, the object of the Irish government, of which Lord Castlereagh was virtually the head, to render their situation as painful to them as possible, by the representations made of their conduct and designs to the English minister; while that of the Duke of Portland was to act towards the prisoners as little as possible in the spirit of those representations; and the study of the officer, in whose charge they were placed, to mitigate the rigour of every order he received in relation to them, so far as a due regard to duty allowed him to do. That officer told Emmet, at the commencement of their acquaintance, "he looked upon him and the other state prisoners as gentlemen, and as such he was disposed to treat them." He kept his word. During the first year of their confinement, several orders, very absurd, and, had they been acted on, of very unnecessary severity, had been wrung from the Duke of Portland by the malignity of the representations made by the Irish minister. The prisoners were forbidden the use of pen and ink, except "in the presence

of a keeper," for the purpose of writing to their friends on account "of the gross abuse of that privilege by the Dublin prisoners."¹ "The reason assigned for the last restriction (he says) makes it plain that the brain from which it originated was that of the Irish minister or of his clerk, and the source his heart; and that when he could not poison the air of Fort George by his deleterious breath, he embittered it by transfusing a portion of his gall through the secretarial pen of the Duke of Portland." Verbal communication was prohibited, except in presence of a sentinel; the time allowed for exercise was restricted to about an hour in the day for each individual; their allowance was reduced; and their correspondence with their friends encumbered with formalities which could serve no useful purpose. All these severities were gradually mitigated by the lieutenant-governor, and at length the restrictions existed only in name.

The "Aston Smith" transport, in which the Dublin state prisoners who had entered into a compact with the government had embarked, was sent to Belfast, to receive the northern state prisoners who were destined for Fort George.

On the 26th of March, 1799, she sailed for Greenock in a heavy gale of wind, which soon became a violent storm. The gale continued till

¹ Rev. Dr. Dixon's Narrative.

the 29th, and prevented the intended disembarkation at Greenock. The prisoners were landed at Gooroch on the 30th of March, where a Colonel Hay and three king's messengers from London were in waiting, to take charge of the prisoners, nineteen in number.

The following were their names:

THOMAS ADDIS EMMET,	THOMAS RUSSELL,
ARTHUR O'CONNOR,	ROBERT SIMMS,
ROGER O'CONNOR,	WILLIAM TENNENT,
WILLIAM JAMES	ROBERT HUNTER,
MACNEVEN,	
JOHN SWEETMAN,	HUGH WILSON,
MATTHEW DOWLING,	JOHN SWEENEY,
JOHN CHAMBERS,	JOSEPH CUTHBERT,
WILLIAM STEELE DIXON,	EDWARD HUDSON,
GEORGE CUMMING,	JOSEPH CORMICK.
SAMUEL NEILSON,	

The following garrison orders and correspondence with the lieutenant-governor will suffice to give a correct idea of the nature of the restraint which was imposed on them, and of the treatment they received at Fort George:

Fort George, 9th April, 1799.

GARRISON ORDERS.

Lieutenant-Governor Stuart desires that the troops and inhabitants of the garrison may attend to the following orders:

Government having thought proper to send to this Fort certain persons charged with the heinous crime of high treason, to be here kept in sure custody, it is the lieutenant-governor's orders that no communication whatever be held with the said prisoners, excepting by the persons appointed to keep them and attend them, or by any persons furnished with a written order for that purpose from the lieutenant-governor.

Any letters directed to them, or attempted to be sent from them, to be stopped, and immediately brought to the lieutenant-governor or officer commanding.

The sentinels on duty are to hold no conversation themselves, nor permit any other person (except as aforesaid) to hold any conversation or have any intercourse with them.

The lieutenant-governor has no doubt of the troops doing their duty correctly, and he cautions all other persons to attend strictly to those orders, as they shall answer it at their peril.

J. H. BAILLIE,
Major and Fort Major.

Fort George, 10th May, 1799.

The prisoners are to be locked up at all times, except when at meals or airing. They will be permitted to air as follows: at ten in the morning ten prisoners will go out in two divisions, as usual, and may remain till one o'clock, when the other ten may go out, and remain till four o'clock, after which the prisoners are not to be permitted to go out. This allows three hours for air and exercise to each man. They must mess in two divisions, as formerly directed; and it being impossible

to serve each prisoner in his own apartment, one choosing one thing and one another, they will please to agree among themselves whether they will have tea, or bread and cheese, &c.; and they will be permitted to assemble in two divisions, as at dinner, from seven to half-past eight, when they must retire to their apartments.

STUART, Lieutenant-Governor.

LETTER FROM THE SECRETARY OF THE DUKE
OF PORTLAND TO LIEUTENANT-
GOVERNOR STUART.

Whitehall, 31st October, 1799.

SIR—I am directed by the Duke of Portland to desire that you will acquaint the state prisoners under your care, that it will be proper for them to inform their correspondents in Ireland that all letters addressed to them should be sent open, under cover to the secretary for the civil department in Dublin, who will forward them to this office, from whence they will be sent to you to be returned to the prisoners. In the meantime, and until you shall receive such letters from the office, you will be pleased to transmit to his grace such letters as shall arrive at Fort George for the said prisoners, before they are given to them.

(Signed) J. KING.

LETTERS FROM LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR STUART
TO THE STATE PRISONERS.

Fort George, 5th November, 1799.

Lieutenant-Governor Stuart is somewhat at a loss to account for the cause of the enclosed order, as he is

positive no improper letters have been attempted to be sent to the state prisoners since in his custody. But that as little delay as possible may arise to their letters, the lieutenant-governor desires the gentlemen may write immediately to their correspondents in terms of secretary of state's order, and their letters will be forwarded to the office directly.

Fort George, 31st May, 1802.

GENTLEMEN—As it may be of consequence to your private concerns, I lose no time in informing you (although I cannot do so officially) that I have very good grounds for saying, that I believe a pardon is now making out by government, upon the condition specified in the Irish Act of Pardon and Banishment, and that as soon as it is completed a king's ship will be sent to some convenient port to conduct the gentlemen to Hamburg. Although I am not warranted to give this information officially, I am very certain of the fact, and the gentlemen will make what use they judge proper of the communication.

I am, gentlemen, your obedient servant,
STUART, Lt.-Gov.

To the State Prisoners at Fort George.

28th June, 1802.

Governor Stuart's compliments to Mr. Sweetman: he was gratified by the inspection of the enamelled painting, which is a most capital performance. Hans Holbein's engravings are a very great curiosity; many of the plates have great force of expression, and the

antiquity itself of the book (upwards of 255 years) renders it of much value. The lieutenant-governor is much obliged to Mr. Sweetman for the sentiments expressed in the conclusion of his letter, and he hopes the remembrance of his captivity will be soon blotted out by happier days.

John Sweetman, Esq.

LETTER OF MR. HUNTER TO LIEUT.-GOVERNOR
STUART.

Mr. R. Hunter feels extremely distressed that his having sent a letter by one of the attendants, on Tuesday last, directed to his wife in Belfast, should have been the cause of the poor man's confinement. Mr. H. assures Governor Stuart, though he acknowledges his irregularity, his motives for sending the letter in this manner were solely to avoid the delay attending the present circuitous mode, and as the letter was merely on domestic and private family concerns, without any allusion of a political or suspicious nature whatever, and as such he gave it to the poor man, Mr. H. trusts the lieut.-governor will be good enough to excuse the offence Campbell has been guilty of through his means—and to allow him to send to Belfast for the letter in question. He also assures the governor he never offered Campbell any bribe whatever.

(Signed) R. HUNTER.¹

¹ Among a few other political prisoners of less notoriety at Fort George was Robert Hunter, of Belfast. In November, 1801, he wrote to a Belfast magistrate named Skinner, informing him that on October 3 he had sent a letter to Lord Pelham, the Home Secretary, disclosing a plot of the principal prisoners, headed by Emmet and Neilson, for the dissemination of republican prin-

LIEUT.-GOVERNOR STUART'S ANSWER TO MR.
HUNTER'S LETTER.

SIR—I do not question the veracity of your statement with regard to the letter you allude to—that it was to your wife and entirely on domestic concerns; but it might have been to a very different person, and of a very different complexion, and the public would not be apt to judge the more favourably from the clandestine mode of your sending it away. Were I to act up to the rigour of my duty I would put it out of your power to make any such attempt in future—but I trust you will, for your own sake and that of your fellow-prisoners, be more prudent in time to come. With regard to Campbell, it is a duty I owe to the public as a military officer to make an example of a fellow, who has been not only guilty of the most flagrant disobedience of orders, but also of a breach of trust. On account of his age I shall pass from corporal punishment, but I will drum him out of the garrison to-morrow. I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

STUART, Lt.-Governor.

ciples in Scotland and especially for sapping the loyalty of the Scottish regiments of militia, in view of a French Invasion of Great Britain. Hunter asked Skinner to recommend him to the Home Secretary as a person likely to give trusty information. Skinner forwarded Hunter's letter to Pelham, with one from himself stating what he knew of the prisoner. "Viceroy's Post Bag," by Michael MacDonagh, p. 258. Hunter's letters to the Home Secretary were opened by the Governor of Fort George and their contents made known to the officers of the garrison, one of whose wives, an Irish patriot, Mrs. Cameron, revealed its contents to Mrs. Emmet, and in consequence the prisoners were able to protect their papers. Little further use was found by the Government for Hunter's information.

Mr. J. St. J. Mason, in his notes referring to his visit to Fort George, in 1800, says:

There were nineteen state prisoners at Fort George, of whom one only, Roger O'Connor, had the liberty of the garrison accompanied by a serjeant, and occasionally rode in a carriage to Inverness. J. S. M. frequently met him on the ramparts, so accompanied. The other state prisoners were in two divisions, nine in each, and severally each division walked daily for three hours, from ten to one and from one to four o'clock, on an enclosed bastion, level with the apartments which they occupied, on a second floor, from which there was an approach to the bastion by a gallery.

The Messrs. O'Connor were not in T. A. Emmet's division.

They all spoke highly of the conduct of the governor towards them, and J. S. M. has a letter in the handwriting of the governor concerning J. S. M.'s wish for an interview with T. A. E., which fully proves the kindness of disposition which the governor possessed.

They had an excellent table, and a pint of wine daily. The governor was, J. S. M. believes, allowed by government one pound a-day for each.

In 1800, John Patten, accompanied by Mrs. Emmet and her three boys—Robert, Thomas, and John—proceeded from Dublin to Fort George.

When T. A. Emmet embarked for America, in October, 1804, three of his children accompanied him.

14 UNITED IRISHMEN

His three other children, Margaret, Elizabeth, and Marianne, remained in Dublin with his parents till the month of March, 1805, when they left Ireland for New York.

MEMORANDUM FOUND AMONG DR. MACNEVEN'S PAPERS RESPECTING THE STATE PRIS- ONERS AT FORT GEORGE.

The several prisoners in Fort George had embraced some particular course of reading and study, to which they applied with far more assiduity than if they only read for amusement. Emmet applied himself chiefly to mathematics, or, more properly, to algebra, in which he made signal proficiency, and to which he was so devoted, that for whole months he employed the greater portion of his nights in the study of this science. He had little or no acquaintance with it when he arrived at Fort George, but it chanced Euler's Algebra came among the books we received there; this opened the subject to him, and he afterwards prosecuted it with the greatest assiduity, until the arrival of Mrs. Emmet and three of his children divided his attention. After this period Shakspeare was his favourite reading; he never touched a law book while at Fort George, and had made up his mind to purchase land and turn farmer in America. Having embraced this project, he never disturbed his mind with any other schemes, but waited tranquilly for his release, and the opportunity it would afford.—He was remarkable for great equanimity and good temper through the whole of his confinement; he was also exempt from any disease during that time; his stomach was never out of order, and his palate so un-

distinguishing, that, provided he got sufficient food, he was careless of the kind and almost of the quality; he was, however, moderate in the quantity, and very abstemious as to drink, so that repletion never injured his health or his faculties.

Mrs. Emmet, who was not permitted to accompany her husband to Fort George, had made repeated applications to Lord Castlereagh, from the time of the removal of Emmet, to be allowed to visit him. The answers returned to the poor lady were couched in terms of frigid courtesy, refusing her application. Mrs. Emmet informed her husband, in a letter which he received the 19th of November, 1800, that after making applications at the Castle during nine months, Lord Castlereagh at length had consented to her visiting her husband, but under conditions which amounted to a prohibition, and that she was then about to apply in person to the Duke of Portland.

The following is a copy of the Duke of Portland's order, in consequence of the application then made by her:

SIR—Mrs. Emmet, wife of Mr. Emmet, one of the prisoners at Fort George, has obtained my permission to see her husband; but, as she is suspected of having imbibed his principles, you will take particular care that she shall not be the means of communication between him and the disaffected in Ireland. She is only to see him in the presence of a proper person, and you

are to take such steps as that she may not carry any letters or papers in or out of the Fort.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

PORLAND.

The Hon. Lieutenant-Governor Stuart.

In the month of July following she proceeded to London, obtained a personal interview with the Duke of Portland, and the result of it was such as might be expected. Permission was granted to her not only to visit her husband, but to take her children and reside with him, and she attributed the indulgence, in a great measure, to the favourable representation of her husband's character and conduct which had been made by Lieutenant-Governor Stuart.

From the time of Mrs. Emmet's arrival at Fort George till the liberation of the prisoners, the conduct of the good old governor to Mrs. Emmet was more like that of a father than a guardian of a prison (for such the fortress under his command had been made). His kindness to her children was unceasing, and his respectful attention to her husband plainly showed in what light "the rebel leader" was regarded by him.

On one occasion a fire broke out at night in the fortress. The governor was called up, and on ascertaining that no danger was to be apprehended,

hended, he instantly ran to Emmet's apartment to remove his apprehension for himself and family; and the next day the following note was addressed to Emmet:

The lieutenant-governor's compliments to Mr. Emmet. He hopes Mrs. Emmet suffered no inconvenience from the alarm of fire which was given last night. As the idea of being locked in may occasion a disagreeable sensation to a lady's mind, in case of any sudden occurrence (though the lieutenant-governor flatters himself that none in future will arise), he will give directions that the passage door leading to Mr. Emmet's apartments shall not in future be locked, being convinced Mr. Emmet would make no improper use of all the doors being left open.

To Thomas Addis Emmet, Esq.

What a singular contrast between the conduct to Emmet of the Lieutenant-Governor of Fort George, grounded on the conviction that "Mr. Emmet would make no improper use of all the doors (of his prison) being left open," and that of Lord Castlereagh, based on the suspicion of his wife being so contaminated by his principles that the safety of the state required he should not be suffered to enjoy her society, except in the presence of a sentinel. So long as the conduct of the brave Scotch officer is remembered by Irishmen—ay, and by Englishmen—with honour, so long shall that of the unfeeling, cold-hearted political apostate—the minion of Mr.

Pitt, be remembered with loathing and contempt by right-thinking men of all parties.

In November, 1800, Emmet received a letter from his fellow-student, Home, the Lord Advocate of Scotland, informing him that "all his applications were fruitless and his expectations vain, notwithstanding his most earnest interference in his favour."

Mrs. Emmet, in the meantime, was permitted to make excursions in the neighbourhood when she thought proper; she was visited by some of the families residing in the vicinity of the Fort, and visited them in turn. The lieutenant-governor sent a message to her husband, informing the latter that he might accompany his wife whenever he thought proper to escort her. Emmet returned a written reply, expressing his gratitude for the governor's kindness on all occasions, but begging respectfully to decline the indulgence offered in the event of its coming from the British government; but if it came from the lieutenant-governor he would most willingly and thankfully accept his offer. Stuart wrote in reply that the offer had been his own spontaneous act, and as such it was accepted.

During Mrs. Emmet's residence at Fort George she was confined. The child was called Jane Erin Emmet.

After a confinement of three years in Fort George and of one year in the Dublin prisons, in

violation of a solemn engagement, the government determined on the liberation of the prisoners. But when the list of pardoned persons came to the lieutenant-governor from the Home Office, it was ascertained that Emmet's name was not among those of the prisoners whose liberation was specified. The lieutenant-governor sent for Emmet, and with visible emotion told him there was no order for his liberation or removal. The cause of the omission of his name, and of making him an exception to the lenity of government—as the liberation of the prisoners was then absurdly called—could not be imagined. The worthy old man, turning to him as he was about to leave the room, said: “Mr. Emmet, you shall go; I will take all hazards and all responsibility. You shall go to-morrow with the rest of the prisoners, and I will stand between you and the government.” The Emmets parted with the good old man, who had acted towards them with so much kindness, as an old friend. They embarked with the other state prisoners for Cuxhaven, on the 30th of June, 1802, and landed in Holland on the 4th of July.

Circumstances of a painful nature occurred during the detention of the state prisoners at Fort George, which, as long as silence could be maintained respecting their origin and results, it would have been improper to have broken. I allude to very serious differences that occurred

between Thomas Addis Emmet and Arthur O'Connor.

In an evil hour for O'Connor's reputation, since the publication of the first edition of this work in 1843, T. A. Emmet has been stigmatized, in a work of O'Connor's, as a coward and a man of bad faith.

To a proud, passionate, egotistical mind, contact with heroic virtue is an intolerable nuisance: "*Invidus invidia comburitur intus et extra.*"

Cowardice or faithlessness were the last defects that any prudent seeming friend or associate, who had become an enemy, would have thought of laying to the account of T. A. Emmet. Though he looked before and after every plan or project that was proposed to him, and differed with some of his associates, with respect to the resolution of hazarding a rising of the people without the aid they expected and had applied for; though he strenuously and conscientiously opposed (whether fortunately or otherwise for the interests of his cause is not now the question) the unassisted attempt being made—and eventually the difference of opinion led to entire estrangement between him and Arthur O'Connor, who had been a member of the directory at an earlier period, and one of its most energetic, able, and influential members—a braver or a better man than T. A. Emmet never lived. "No good can arise from entering into a detailed

account of this disagreement, but it may not be amiss to add that documents of Emmet's are in the possession of the author, which leave not the shadow of a doubt of the purity of Emmet's motives—of the uprightness of his conduct towards his cause and his companions, and, if the necessity should arise for their publication, the author undertakes they shall be forthcoming." The words in quotes were written years ago, and published in the second series of the first edition, vol. ii. p. 28, in 1843.

Unfortunately the necessity has arisen, and the conduct of the late General O'Connor has made it incumbent on me to publish those documents to which I have referred in the memoir of General O'Connor. These documents were placed in my hands by the son of John Sweetman, to whose care they were committed by Thomas Addis Emmet, when he was about to embark for America. And the condition was imposed on me, that in the event only of injustice being done to the memory of T. A. Emmet by General O'Connor, they should be published by me. I need only refer to the latest published work of General O'Connor, entitled "Monopoly, the Root of all Evil," published in 1848, to show that the necessity has arisen for the vindication of Emmet's memory from the foul slander of General O'Connor.

From the notes given to me by Mr. John St.

John Mason (a first-cousin of T. Addis Emmet) I extract the following important memorandum in the handwriting of Mr. Mason:

1800. John St. John Mason went from London to Fort George to see T. A. Emmet. He (J. St. John Mason), during his stay there, lodged at the canteen in that garrison. During ten days he corresponded with T. A. Emmet, through the Lieutenant-Governor Stuart, brother of Lord Moray. Has several letters in his possession in Dublin from T. A. Emmet. He was not permitted to hold personal interview with T. A. Emmet. He (J. St. John Mason), when leaving Fort George, requested T. A. Emmet to let him know if he could execute any commission in Ireland for any of the gentlemen at Fort George, and happened to name the Messrs. O'Connor, and he (J. St. John Mason) has a letter from T. A. Emmet in reply, to this effect —“That he had public and private, personal and political reasons for not having anything to do with, or to put himself in the way of owing any obligation to either of the Messrs. O'Connor.”

Robert Holmes, I am informed by J. St. John Mason, in 1800 drew up an admirable notice of the character of T. A. Emmet, which Mrs. Holmes (Emmet's sister) told Mason was equally honourable to the writer and the subject of that notice. There was one passage which Mason said was no less truthfully than forcibly expressed: “T. A. Emmet would not have committed a dishonourable act, though secure of everlasting concealment.”

Men of this stamp do not quarrel on slight grounds with their associates. One "whom nothing could move or cause to swerve from his integrity" could hardly be quarrelled with by a person of his own character.

A man in whom the elements were so kindly mixed, "that anger and animosity seemed foreign to his nature"—who is described by a kinsman as "at all times most careful not to utter a word that could hurt the feelings of any human being"—who had "nothing in his bearing approaching to arrogance or self-sufficiency"—it may be taken for granted was not slightly wronged, outraged, or provoked, when he wrote these words, that were not only to be read by the person to whom they were addressed, Mr. St. John Mason, but had to be submitted to the lieutenant-governor of the fort where he was a prisoner at the time he wrote them: "He had public and private, personal and political reasons for not having anything to do with, or to put himself in the way of any obligation to the Messrs. O'Connor."

The documents which follow will show that T. A. Emmet had a very serious quarrel with one of those gentlemen. But that quarrel was not the first or principal one between them. One of a private nature had taken place at Fort George, on which occasion the resentment of Emmet was excited to a pitch that Arthur O'Connor had

reason to think could not proceed much farther, with all due respect to the garrison orders and regulations of their place of confinement. That was the state of things when a new cause of quarrel gave rise to angry discussions, a demand for explanation, and ultimately became the subject of the communications which are embodied in these documents, and were left by Emmet in the hands of his friend Sweetman, when he was about to leave France for the United States. These documents are now published for the first time.

STATEMENT IN THE HANDWRITING OF MR.
JOHN PATTEN.¹

O'Connor stated that Emmet, from nearly the first of their acquaintance, acted towards him with the utmost duplicity; that he made a party against him in Kilmainham; and that he gave information of the letter which O'Connor was writing, through which means government became acquainted with the circumstance; that after O'Connor went to Newgate, Emmet endeavoured to make a party against him, and that O'Connor could at that time have proved Emmet's conduct to have been both base and treacherous—which several would have wished him to do, had not a dislike to blast the character of a person concerned in the

¹ The original of this paper is endorsed, "2nd September, 1800. Received this paper from T. A. Emmet to keep safe for him.—M. D." (Matthew Dowling). This document I showed Mr. Patten, the 3rd February, 1843. He says he thinks it is in his handwriting.—R. R. M.

union prevented O'Connor from so doing; that at a time when the people were ready to rise Emmet said it would be necessary to give information at the Castle to prevent it; that Emmet said to Roger O'Connor he wished for a revolution on his own account, and not on that of the people.

STATEMENT OF MATTHEW DOWLING.

On Sunday, the 4th July instant, some time previous to the "Ariadne" frigate having anchored near Cuxhaven, at the desire of Thomas Addis Emmet, I called Arthur O'Connor aside, and told him that my friend Emmet, expecting now immediately to be at liberty, had desired me to inform him that he (Emmet) intended to go direct to Hamburg, where he would remain for some time. After some conversation and my repeating the above intimation, Mr. O'Connor, in answer, requested I would let Mr. Emmet know, that he should take his own time and place for calling on Mr. Emmet for further explanation with respect to the relative situation they then stood in; which answer I immediately communicated to Mr. Emmet.

MATTHEW DOWLING.

Hamburg, Tuesday morning, 6th July, 1802.

A fair copy of this handed over to Tom Emmet, drawn, &c., signed by me, 6th July, 1802.—M. D.

STATEMENT OF JOHN CHAMBERS.

Hamburg, 8th July, 1802.

The fatigue and lassitude which follow sea-sickness prevented me, till this morning, from communicating to paper an affair in which I was an actor, and which,

concerning the characters of others, I am the more desirous of preserving a memorandum of.

On the 5th instant, whilst in the passage-boat, going up the Elbe from Cuxhaven, I took an opportunity of addressing Mr. Sweetman on the differences which unhappily subsisted, and had proceeded to great extremities, amongst several of our fellow-prisoners; and observing that our superior age, and other considerations attached to our characters—as well with our friends here as with those in Ireland—rendered us, perhaps, particularly qualified for setting about the desirable work of reconciliation. I therefore proposed to him to proceed immediately in the business. After some discussion on the difficulties which seemed to be opposed to our success, it was agreed that we should begin with an endeavour to settle a difference which had subsisted for near two years between Messrs. Emmet and O'Connor, and that if we were able to effect it, I suggested we might perhaps get the united efforts of these gentlemen in aid of our own, towards an amicable understanding amongst all the rest.

Mr. Sweetman and I then went into a very full, calm, and dispassionate consideration of what we conceived to be incumbent on these two gentlemen as a foundation of their reconciliation; when it was agreed that Mr. O'Connor should withdraw a challenge which he had sent to Mr. Emmet; that on his doing so, Mr. Emmet should declare he had never done, or intended to do him (Mr. O'Connor) any injury; and that then Mr. O'Connor should declare, that in the conversation he had with Mr. Patten he never intended to impeach his (Mr. Emmet's) moral or political character.

These terms I communicated to Mr. O'Connor, and

Mr. Sweetman did the like to Mr. Emmet; after which Mr. Sweetman and I had another interview, and imparted to each other the mutual disposition of the parties to conform to our suggestions; but Mr. Sweetman requested that, in order to prevent any misunderstanding, I should again see Mr. O'Connor, and repeat to him, for his concurrence, the terms which had been before agreed upon. I complied, and again mentioned them to Mr. O'Connor, who said he not only concurred in them, but that, sincerely desirous of fully composing the feelings of Mr. Emmet, he would not confine himself to the precise words which had been stipulated. I returned to Mr. Sweetman and mentioned this, and it was then determined that the parties should meet on the foredeck.

Mr. O'Connor addressed himself to Mr. Emmet, and having spoken of his never harbouring any rancour in his breast towards him, said that he withdrew his challenge. Mr. Emmet then said, "You are right in withdrawing your challenge. I never did you any injury; I never intended you any." Mr. O'Connor then expressed the purity of the motives that had led him to take that step, but Mr. Emmet said, he had come there for the purpose of giving Mr. O'Connor an opportunity to explain a business which took place between him and Mr. Patten, and to be satisfied about that business. Mr. Sweetman said that Mr. Chambers had assured him that Mr. O'Connor would do so. I observed that Mr. O'Connor had so promised. Mr. O'Connor then said, that in what he had spoken to Mr. Patten, nothing was more distant from his mind than to disparage him (Mr. Emmet) in the esteem of Mr. Patten. Mr. Emmet upon this said: "Mr. O'Connor, that is impossi-

ble; but I was led to expect you would express yourself satisfactorily on the subject of the conversation with Mr. Patten.” Mr. O’Connor then declared, that in anything which had fallen from him in the conversation alluded to, he never had the most distant intention to impeach his (Mr. Emmet’s) moral or political character, or to hurt his or Mr. Patten’s feelings; and that as to Mr. Hudson’s difference with Mr. Emmet, he disavowed any knowledge of it—some days had elapsed before he had even heard of it.

Mr. O’Connor and Mr. Emmet then shook hands. Mr. O’Connor then, addressing us generally, said he hoped that this would be followed by exertions to remove whatever remaining differences subsisted amongst us, that our enemies might not have the satisfaction to find that the first use we made of our liberty was to exercise acts of hostility against each other; to which I added a few words, signifying that I was led to originate the work of pacification between those gentlemen in the hope that I would have their added assistance to effect so desirable an end. Mr. Emmet said he must be excused from any interference of that kind, and would confine himself solely to what related to himself. I then said: “We will undertake it ourselves.”

Mr. Emmet in conclusion said: “Mr. O’Connor, I am happy that everything of a hostile nature has been done away between you and me; but I desire to be understood as not bound to any renewal of intimacy in consequence of what has taken place.”

We then bowed to each other and parted.

(Signed)

JOHN CHAMBERS.

Copied from original, 13th July, 1802, Hamburg.
—M. D.

STATEMENT OF JOHN SWEETMAN.

Passage Boat going up the Elbe, 5th July, 1802.

Mr. Chambers, having signified to me his earnest desire that some exertion should be made to effect a reconciliation between Mr. O'Connor and Mr. Emmet, proposed that I should lend my assistance in the affair. I replied that I could have no objection, except what arose from my inability, and the nature of the relation in which I stood with one of the parties, Mr. O'Connor, with whom, for a long time, I had ceased to have any intimacy or connection, save what might be termed a gentlemanly distance; that, however, knowing the just and honourable dispositions of my friend Mr. Emmet, I did not hesitate to say that if I was enabled to propose to him any measure which would be consistent with the principles of honour, and reconcilable to his feelings, it would insure to the attempt a favourable issue. Mr. Chambers and I then conversed upon the business at much length, during which I stated to him what I thought should be done, and which he observed on as he thought fit. Mr. Chambers had occasional interviews with Mr. O'Connor, and I withdrew to obtain Mr. Emmet's sentiments. At length Mr. Chambers authorised me to tell Mr. Emmet that Mr. O'Connor would withdraw the challenge he had sent to Mr. Emmet, and would declare that in the conversation with Mr. Patten he never intended to impeach Mr. Emmet's moral or political character, provided Mr. Emmet would declare that he never did O'Connor any injury, or intended any such. I answered on the part of my friend, Emmet, that he would freely make such a declaration, and that I was certain that an accommo-

dation on the terms stated would be satisfactory. Before, however, that I would communicate finally with my friend on the subject. I requested that Mr. Chambers would again repeat over the terms to Mr. O'Connor, in order to prevent even the shadow of mistake or misconception. Mr. Chambers was obliging enough to do so. He returned, told me he had complied with my request, repeated the terms to me again, and said that he would be on the foredeck with his friend, Mr. O'Connor. I therefore informed Mr. Emmet of what had been done, and delivered him the result of it—namely, that I was authorised by Mr. Chambers, on the part of Mr. O'Connor, to tell him that Mr. O'Connor would withdraw his challenge provided he (Mr. Emmet) would declare that he never did him (Mr. O'Connor) any injury, or intended any such, and that Mr. O'Connor would declare that in the conversation he had with Mr. Patten he never intended to impeach Mr. Emmet's moral or political character. Mr. Emmet and I then proceeded to the foredeck, where Mr. Chambers and Mr. O'Connor were. As soon as we came up, Mr. O'Connor addressed himself to Mr. Emmet, and having spoken of his never harbouring any rancour in his breast towards him, said that he withdrew his challenge. Mr. Emmet then said: "Mr. O'Connor, you are right in withdrawing your challenge; I never did you an injury; I never intended you any." Mr. O'Connor then entered into a discourse expressive of the purity of the motives that led him to take that step, but Mr. Emmet interposed, and said he had come there for the purpose of giving Mr. O'Connor an opportunity to explain a business which had taken place

between him and Mr. Patten, and to be satisfied about that business. I then said that Mr. Chambers had assured me that Mr. O'Connor would do so. Mr. Chambers replied, "I did." Mr. O'Connor then said, that in what he had spoken to Mr. Patten nothing was more distant from his mind than to disparage him (Mr. Emmet) in the esteem of Mr. Patten. Mr. Emmet again interposed and said: "Mr. O'Connor, that is impossible; but, Mr. O'Connor, I was led to expect you would explain yourself satisfactorily on the subject of the conversation with Mr. Patten." Mr. O'Connor then declared that in anything which had fallen from him in the conversation alluded to, he never had the most distant intention to impeach his (Mr. Emmet's) moral or political character. He also disavowed any intention to hurt his feelings or Mr. Patten's and that as to Mr. Hudson's difference with Mr. Emmet, he disavowed any knowledge of it; some days had elapsed, he said, before he had heard of it.

Mr. O'Connor and Mr. Emmet then shook hands. Mr. O'Connor, addressing us generally, said he hoped that this would be followed by exertions to remove whatever remaining differences subsisted amongst us, that our enemies might not have the satisfaction to find that the first use we made of our liberty, was to exercise acts of hostility against each other. Mr. Emmet said that he must be excused from any interference of that kind, and would confine himself solely to what related to himself. Mr. Chambers then said: "We will undertake it ourselves." Mr. Emmet then mentioned to Mr. O'Connor: "I am happy that everything of a hostile nature has been done away between you and me; but

I desire to be understood as not bound to any renewal of intimacy in consequence of what has taken place."

We then bowed to each other and parted.

(Signed)

JOHN SWEETMAN.

Copied from original at Hamburgh, 6th July, 1802,
by me.—M. D.

It is unnecessary for me to trouble the reader with many comments on the preceding statements. I will only observe that the several statements may be relied on as an exact account of the occurrences that came to the knowledge of the persons by whom they were made—men of high character, honour, and integrity; and that it is impossible to read those statements without feeling there is evidence in them of solid worth—of unwavering principles—of honour, truth, and sterling honesty—on the part of T. A. Emmet.¹

¹ "It is evident that Mr. Emmet had good reason to believe that Mr. Arthur O'Connor had 'made his peace' with the Government after his arrest, and that he was sent to Fort George to act as a 'spy,' and Dr. Macneven held the same opinion." The Emmet Family, by Thos. Addis Emmet, M.D., LL.D., N. Y., 1898. In this work will also be found a diary of Thos. Addis Emmet during his residence in Paris which contains an excellent account of Emmet's further experience with O'Connor as well as the treacherous conduct of Napoleon towards the Irish people.—Ed.

CHAPTER VII

LETTERS TO AND FROM THOMAS ADDIS EMMET

I HAVE already alluded to a letter of T. A. Emmet to his friend and fellow-student in Edinburgh, the Lord Advocate of Scotland, the subject of which is the breach of faith on the part of the government in respect to the state prisoners then confined in Fort George; and it is worthy of attention, inasmuch as that violation of faith furnished (in the opinion of the majority of those persons) a justification of the renewal of their efforts on their arrival in France, for the accomplishment of their original designs.

“The draft of the following letter,” says Mr. Robert Emmet, “written by T. A. Emmet, when at Fort George, was found among his papers. It was addressed to Lord Hope, then Lord Advocate of Scotland.”

Fort George, 14th December, 1801.

MY DEAR LORD—I am obliged again to trouble you, in consequence of Mrs. Emmet’s uneasiness, from a paragraph which she read in a public paper, reporting that we were to be sent to Botany Bay. If you have reason to believe that the report is without foundation, you will of course take no further notice of the

contents of this letter than what your kindness may lead you to do, by enabling me to set Mrs. Emmet's mind at ease. If you entertain a different opinion of that rumour, you will be so good as to read the following detail, and make such use of it as you may think called for by your sense of national honour and public faith. I will not add to these motives any claims of private friendship, but leave them entirely to your own feelings.

After the insurrection had lasted for some time in Ireland, a negotiation was set on foot, by some of the state prisoners, with the government, to stop the further effusion of blood on the scaffold and in the field. In the course of that business, a proposal was made by government, in a letter from Mr. Secretary Cooke to Mr. Dobbs (who was the organ between both parties) that the prisoners should consent to go to such country as should be pointed out to them. This with the other parts of the proposal was rejected by the prisoners, who, however, in the hope that matters might still be adjusted, appointed deputies to communicate directly with the government: of these I was one.

In our interview with Lord Castlereagh, the chancellor, and Mr. Cooke, we again objected to the proposal —because it gave us no negative upon the country to which we might be sent; and added that it might be construed as if government could send us to Botany Bay. At the mention of that place Lord Castlereagh expressed the utmost abhorrence of the idea; and assured us, that when government made the proposal, it had no worse place in contemplation than the United States of America. To remove, however, all such ap-

LETTERS OF T. A. EMMET 35

prehensions, it consented at once to give us the negative we required.

There was an expression used by Lord Clare, at that interview, which will never be effaced from my mind. When we were expressing some doubts about the entire execution of the agreement on the part of the government, as our part of it was to be first performed, his lordship said: "Gentlemen, it comes to this—a government that broke its faith with you could not stand, and ought not to be allowed to stand."

I have now stated facts on my own authority, which, however, I am not afraid of being contradicted in any quarter. What follows I can give you on the authority of an act of government. We entered into an agreement, of which I send you a copy, and in which the words relating to our exile are, "To emigrate to such country as shall be agreed on between them and government." This compact government fully authenticated by two acts. First—they sent Mr. Dobbs, accompanied by popular and influential United Irishmen, to whom they gave papers of protection, to the county of Wicklow, where the insurrection still continued, to make the insurgents acquainted with it, and to persuade them to come in under it. This gentleman and his companions accordingly repaired to the Marquis of Huntley's and General Moore's camp, from whence they went among the insurgents, and actually persuaded all but a few deserters, for whose security they would not pledge themselves, and a very few of their associates to submit. In the north, General Nugent, the commander of that district, published our agreement in a proclamation which he issued in August,

1798, and called upon all those who chose to take advantage of it to come in accordingly. As he published it nearly verbatim, with some of the names annexed—among which was mine—it has therefore become a document incontestibly authenticated by government. After these transactions an act of parliament indeed was passed, purporting to be persuant to our agreement, but of which I shall not permit myself to express to you what I think of its merits: suffice it to say, it was passed when we were all kept in close custody. As far as it goes beyond the agreement, it plainly contradicts the document which was transmitted by government to General Nugent, and authenticated by his proclamation. This is also farther to be said, that those who signed the agreement have almost all (myself and my fellow-prisoners excepted) been either allowed to remain at large in Ireland, or permitted to emigrate to Germany, Portugal, or America, according to their own choice.

This statement I hope you will not think too long; the inferences from it are obvious. I ask only for that for which I and my fellow-prisoners gave a very important consideration, and to which government stands pledged, if there be such a virtue as public faith.

I am convinced that neither Lord Pelham, nor any of the English administration, can be acquainted with the particulars I have detailed to you, if there be any intention of acting towards us, or any of us, in a manner different from what I require.

Believe me, &c.,

T. A. EMMET.

LETTERS OF T. A. EMMET 37

FROM T. A. EMMET TO DR. MACNEVEN.

Brussels, 8th November, 1802.

MY DEAR MACNEVEN—Under no circumstances must you infer from my want of punctuality a want of affection; and as on the last occasion, if you had done so, you would have been entirely mistaken, so you will be on any future one if you shall be tempted to draw that conclusion. The letter you wrote me from Munich to Amsterdam I never received; and what makes that the more extraordinary is, that I wrote long since to the director of the *poste restante* of that city, desiring all my letters to be forwarded here, and have actually received one from my sister that was lying there. Yours, however, is not the only one which I know to have miscarried; and at this very time I apprehend some such accident, as I have not heard from my family these six weeks.

What you mention of the manner in which the impartial on the Continent are disposed to view our conduct, gives me great pleasure. That they should approve of our designs is sufficient; and it is natural that they should disapprove of our connection with France. Perhaps, when our cause shall have ultimately succeeded, we and our friends may obtain their more unqualified applause. I feel equally anxious with you that a true account should circulate, where a perverted one had been able to make so little of an injurious impression; but I do not look upon the postponement to which we have submitted as in any respect an abandonment of our original intention in that respect; and although we may each of us engage in some other work with that view, I still think that the narrative should be published, and the enemy assaulted in as many ways

as possible. But in looking over my papers, in consequence of your letter, I was very much surprised to find that the narrative was not among them. The account which I drew up in Kilmainham was there, but the one which we agreed upon in Fort George was not. You certainly imagined I had it, when you gave me in Hamburgh a paragraph to be inserted in it; but as I am certain none of the papers I packed up on our departure from Fort George are missing, you must have the copy which did not go to Ireland; and I think I have a faint recollection of your getting it from me. My history has lately languished for want of materials; but if I get them in time I hope to publish the first part before I leave Europe. I should be very glad, like you, to make a little money by my pen, but I cannot say my expectations are very sanguine, because the book-sellers in England (where it would sell best) may be afraid of meddling with it on account of the pillory. However, money or not, I rejoice that you persevere in the intention of our being neighbours, provided we leave Europe, of which the present rumours lead me to doubt. The uncertainty of peace or war, and the state of my little family here, keep me in great indecision what steps to take; but if I had any steps to the first, I would endeavour to arrange the other accordingly. Your application to Talleyrand, and your endeavour to see Buonaparte (although things under other circumstances I should be much inclined to disapprove) may perhaps give us some insight; as, if they look to war they will scarcely treat us with neglect. It is now above a month since I have seen R., and if Lawless received a letter from him, containing many commissions, &c., he can give you many particulars of him you would

LETTERS OF T. A. EMMET 39

wish to know. From what he has told me, and what I have heard from other quarters, I believe that besides ignorance and passion in the management of our affairs, if there was not treachery, there was at least great duplicity and bad faith. Some of those whom I considered as my friends before my imprisonment have grievously disappointed me; and if I go to Paris, I shall not do it without violence to my feelings.

Mrs. Emmet, Robert, &c., desire their loves to you, as I do to Lawless and my other friends with you.

Ever most affectionately yours,

T. A. EMMET.

Direct to me, "Chez Lerme, Madame Tapissier, No. 995, Au petit Sablon." Beg of Lawless to send R.'s¹ things as soon as he can, as they are to be forwarded to him from this, with some books, &c., that are waiting for them.

AU CITOYEN MACNEVEN.

No. 298, *Demeurant dans la Rue de la Loi, vis-à-vis la porte de la Bibliotheque Nationale, à Paris.*

[No date.]

MY DEAR MACNEVEN—I had yesterday the very great pleasure of receiving a few lines from you on your arrival at Paris. You are right in suspecting that I was as punctual as my promise, but Mrs. Emmet's health and my own unsettled state must form my apology. I was really incapacitated from writing to any one, until all hopes of a letter reaching you at

¹ The person referred to was his brother Robert, who, a short time before, had proceeded to Ireland, by way of Holland and England.—R. R. M.

Prague were over, and after that I did not know your address. My excuse turning upon her health, you will naturally be anxious to know its present state. She is undoubtedly much better than she was, but still liable to be overset by anxiety and uneasiness of mind; and deriving so little pleasure from her residence on the continent of Europe, that she is lamenting every moment as lost that must elapse before her setting off for America: if it were possible she would gladly begin her voyage in midwinter. This in a good measure answers your questions about that country. My views are more fixed on it than they were, because experience shows me how disagreeably, and I may say degradingly, I should spend my time elsewhere; and I rejoice to think you entertain the same ideas, though I apprise you Lawless will endeavour to change their current. However, as your opinions of France and America appeared by your letter to be the same as when we conversed at Hamburgh, I was a good deal surprised to find you proposing to publish our narrative immediately and in the former place. Perhaps you may have heard something in Germany that has made you change your opinion, but at present mine continues unaltered. Our first intention was to publish it as soon as we got our liberty; but, when we saw the state of the press and the country at large, we both agreed to defer it till we got to America, and then assign our reasons for the delay. In the propriety of this resolution I was more convinced by conversing with Robert, who was decided that it would be as safe to publish it in London as in France, and quoted some expressions to me from high authority, respecting the willingness of government to deliver up the United Irishmen, tied neck

and heels, to England. How, then, should we stand if we published now, independent of any consideration of safety? Every one would naturally ask why we did not do it before, and could we point out any change that had made it safer or more advisable? It would look like a composition the effect of after-thought; but if we delay it till we go to a new and more congenial place, that makes a new era, and we can obviate any such questions. If it could be published now, it could as well have been done three months ago; and if it could not with propriety have been done then, no one will expect it from us till our change of situation shall have done away the objections.

I state this independent of any real consideration of safety—but have you ascertained how that fact stands? Have you got any assurance or even reason to hope for security or protection? There is not much time now to elapse, I hope, before I shall be making my preparations for America; and I take it for granted you will not be above six months in Europe, unless some change shall take place that would, in both cases, reverse all our calculations. Even supposing then that I preceded you and published before you came out, calculating for the time of a vessel's going and returning, you would be out of the power of your enemies before they could form a wish for your arrest; or if we gave it to the world on our quitting Europe, the same would follow, and you could take such measures as you thought fit for giving it circulation in Germany. These are the ideas which I have formed, and I thought they were yours till yesterday.

They have prevented me hitherto re-perusing the narrative, though I should wish to do that before it went

to press. As to the addresses of our friends, I suppose you know them all before this. Matthew Dowling was by the last accounts in Rotterdam. Sweetman is gone to Lyons or its neighbourhood. Russell will be able to give you more particular information as to their addresses, as well as Sweeney's and Wilson's. I was very near going to Paris, but have laid that idea aside for the present. Perhaps, as you are an unencumbered traveller, you may take it into your head some holiday season to take a place in the *diligence* for here and back again. I need not say how many would be happy to see you, nor how many things we could talk over in a short time. Mrs. Emmet and all the family desire their affectionate love to you—and believe me for ever

Most sincerely yours,

T. A. EMMET.

TO W. J. MACNEVEN, ESQ., M. D.

Brussels, 25th October, 1802.

I know nothing of either your papers or my own; though I wrote about them, and lately sent a message, they have never been mentioned to me. I presume, however, they will not be long delayed, and think it probable they may come to Antwerp.—Have you any news in Paris? We have here strong rumours of war again. If they should turn out to be well-founded, our views would be indeed changed. Have any of you in Paris heard anything of Dowdall lately, and is he still in Ireland?

To William J. Macneven, Esq., No. 298, Rue de la Loi, vis-à-vis la porte de la Bibliotheque Nationale à Paris.

LETTERS OF T. A. EMMET 43

LETTERS OF T. A. EMMET TO DR. W. J. MACNEVEN,
RESPECTING COMMUNICATIONS OF THE WRITER,
AND OF SOME OTHER LEADERS OF THE UNITED
IRISHMEN IN PARIS, WITH THE FRENCH GOV-
ERNMENT, IN 1802 AND 1803.¹

“In 1803, many of the United Irishmen,” says Mr. Robert Emmet, “who had gone to France formed themselves into an Irish battalion or legion, under the command of General Mac-Sheehy, and there is no doubt most of them would have returned to Ireland with an invading expedition, which they were led to believe was then actually fitting out at Brest and elsewhere. Under these circumstances, T. A. Emmet drew up and presented the memorial referred to on behalf of the United Irishmen. No copy of this memorial is to be found among Mr. Emmet’s papers, and the copy of the First Consul’s answer to the memorial now sent was taken from a letter of Mr. Emmet to Dr. Macneven, found among the papers of the latter.”

¹ In the autumn of 1803 Thomas Addis Emmet had an interview with the First Consul. On the 13th of November he addressed a memorial to him; and, on the 13th of December following, Buonaparte replied to that communication, declaring his intention to set on foot preparations for an expedition to secure the independence of Ireland.—R. R. M.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM T. A. EMMET, AT
PARIS, DIRECTED: "A MONSIEUR MACNEVEN, OF-
FICIER DU BATTALION IRLANDOIS A MORLAIX,"
AND DATED,

1st Pluviose, 1804, (21st Jan.)

MY DEAR MACNEVEN—I have received Gallagher's, Sweeney's, and your letters, all which I acknowledge with very sincere love to the respective parties. But the length and nature of this letter, with my having at this moment a great press of business, will, I hope, be a sufficient excuse for my not writing to them at present. As to the conjecture you make in your letter about the time before which matters will not be ready, I am clear you are well founded; though not, perhaps, for the reasons you have assigned, as I perceive your traveller did not give you an exact account of what was in Brest, and none at all of what was in the neighbouring ports; but your conclusion, nevertheless, is true. At the end of that time (if any faith can be placed in assurance) it is intended to attempt something. I am not seaman enough to calculate the chances of success; but this I know, that similar things were done in August; and further, none of us know what combinations of plans may be used to facilitate the measure, even in an unfavourable time. So much for that. Now for what will perhaps surprise and please you, as it has done me. I presented the memoir I was writing at your departure on the 13th Nivose; on the 27th, I received the annexed answer.

When Dalton delivered me this, he stated the readiness of the minister to confirm it by word of mouth

whenever I pleased. As the latter paragraph afforded ample room for reflection, and for consulting my friends, I would willingly have avoided the interview for some time, and professed myself perfectly satisfied as to the authenticity of the answer; but by his eagerness in pressing the matter, I quickly perceived that the minister's readiness to confirm was, in fact, a desire to see me on the subject. After I had read the answer through, Dalton subjoined: "I have to add that it is the First Consul's wish that you and Mr. O'Connor should be of that committee; and I have directions to present him a copy of this answer, leaving out the first sentence. When that committee is formed it will give the present government the means of communicating at once with all parties of United Irishmen, and give them the certainty that whatever may be offered in their behalf will not be contradictory and drawing in different directions."

He added a great deal more, &c. We took leave, he in a great hurry to procure me an interview with the minister, and I in none. One reason for this disposition, besides what I already stated, was, that I apprehended very strongly—as the American meditation is not yet ended—the proclamations of the committee might be an engine for terrifying England into terms; and I wished, and still wish, to waste time, until I have reason to hope that the best exertions of the committee may not be turned into a cause of mischief to our country. I therefore postponed, but was yesterday obliged to have the interview, of which I shall speak directly. You may be assured I lost no time in consulting Sweetman, M. D., and my other friends here, who all agreed

that as the Consul made a point of it, it could not be avoided; and they even saw considerable advantage from it, provided it acts with caution.

Before I saw the minister yesterday I had a long conversation with Dalton, the greatest part of which turned on the best mode of appointing the committee. The mode he contemplated, and with him the government, was, that O'C. and I should each name whom we thought fit; that government should add to us some person or persons if we should omit any it thought important. I said "If I were of the committee, I certainly should not object to any persons of whom I thought sufficiently well, and whose presence government thought of importance; but that for myself I wished to be sanctioned by the approbation of my countrymen; which could be easily had, as they are collected at Morlaix." Against this he remonstrated with a good deal of energy, and in truth it made the principal part of our conversation. I was free to make whatever proposal I pleased; but as a friend, and in confidence, he advised me against that. He added some observations, in no respect disreputable to our countrymen, but which I don't consider myself free to repeat; and said I at least had no occasion for any such scruples, as it was well known I had already the approbation of my countrymen for acting alone, and *a fortiori* for acting with others.

At length I saw the minister, who confirmed, in the fullest manner, Dalton's paper, and assured me it was what the Consul intended to abide by; and asked me if I had thought of the committee, and who would be the most proper members? On my part I expressed the utmost gratitude to the Consul for his assurances and

LETTERS OF T. A. EMMET 47

intentions. As to the committee, I said “there was one peculiarity in the situation of most of us which was probably unknown to the Consul, but which made the formation of that committee a matter of some difficulty —though our persons were free, the property of almost every man who might be thought eligible was in the power of the English government; and if they did anything that could be taken hold of, that property would certainly be confiscated. This was a great consideration for fathers of families; and although, under certain circumstances, when men had a full assurance that matters were come to a crisis, they might run risks, they could not feel warranted in doing so under uncertainties.” To this he answered, among other things, that we should not be required to run any risks we did not think fit.

“Form your committee, give government the body with which it wants to communicate, and manage your own affairs as you may think fit; publish your proclamations without any names, and if you think your countrymen will give sufficient credit to them, keep your names secret; but form the committee.”

A good deal more was said, that perhaps ought not to be repeated. Thus, however, matters stand. I will not throw any impediment in the way; but I do not intend to break my neck, in trying to bring about what I do not perfectly understand the drift of. I wish you were here, and I think it probable you may be called for; but you need not fear being left behind, as the commander-in-chief of the Irish will be here also. Sweeney was very right not to offer to go to Ireland on Augereau’s invitation. Let him consider if he should be asked whether he would go on any other condition

different from what he has already offered. As I know there is an anxiety of transmitting the substance of the Consul's answer to me, you will see how much discretion is necessary with respect to the foregoing parts of this letter.

You will, no doubt, be rejoiced to hear that the First Consul himself has taken the trouble of dictating the device for your colours. They are to be green in the centre; a tri-coloured circle, with R. I. The legend on the colours is to be, "L'independance de l'Irelande—Liberté de Conscience." You are also aware that your uniform is somewhat changed, on the demand of Mac-Sheehy; the amarinth is exploded, and yellow, the second national colour, substituted in its place.

COPY OF THE FIRST CONSUL'S ANSWER TO MY
MEMOIRE OF 13TH NIVOSE, DELIVERED TO ME
27TH NIVOSE (13TH DECEMBER, 1803.)¹

The First Consul has read with the greatest attention the *memoire* which has been addressed to him the 13th of December.

He desires that the United Irish should be convinced that it is his intention to secure the independence of Ireland, and to give protection, entire and efficacious, to all those of their body who will take part in the expedition, and enter the French service.

The French government cannot issue any proclamation before the Irish territory has been reached (by the expedition). But the general who will command

¹ The answer of the First Consul in the original French will be found in the memoir of Robert Emmet. Here a literal translation of that document has been given by me.—R. R. M.

LETTERS OF T. A. EMMET 49

the expedition will be furnished with sealed letters, wherein it shall be declared by the French Consul that he will not make peace with England without stipulating for the independence of Ireland; provided, however, that the (French) army shall be joined by a considerable body of the United Irish.

Ireland shall be treated in every respect as America has been in the late war.

Every person who shall embark with the French army destined for the expedition shall be commissioned as French; in case of being arrested and not being treated as a prisoner of war, reprisals will be made on English prisoners.

Each corps formed in the name of the United Irish will be considered as making part of the French army. Finally, if the expedition should not succeed, and that the Irish should be compelled to return to France, France will maintain a certain number of brigades, and will give pensions to all persons who shall have formed part of the government or of the authorities of the country.

The pensions will be assimilated to those which are accorded in France to those of a corresponding grade or post, not on active service.

The First Consul desires that a committee of United Irish should be formed. He sees no inconvenience in members of this committee issuing proclamations, and instructing their countrymen of the state of affairs.

These proclamations will be inserted in "The Argus" and the different journals of Europe, in order to enlighten the Irish people on the part they have to take, and on the hopes on which they have to rest. If the committee should desire to make a relation of the acts

of tyranny exercised in Ireland by the English government, it shall be inserted in "The Moniteur."¹

The expectations which the reply of the First Consul to the memoir of T. A. Emmet gave birth to, and the full conviction that was felt by many of the leaders of the United Irishmen at that period (December, 1803), that an invasion of Ireland was intended, led to the duty being delegated to Dr. Macneven of writing the proclamation that was to be issued in the event of that invasion taking place.

"The sincerity of the First Consul," observes

¹ In 1842 I had a copy of this important document in the handwriting of T. A. Emmet, which he had placed in the hands of his friend, John Sweetman, at the period of his departure for America, put at my disposal by the son of Sweetman. From this copy the reply of the First Consul to Mr. Emmet's memoir, which was printed in the memoir of T. A. Emmet, in the former edition, published in 1843, vol. ii. p. 123, was taken. In the fifth paragraph, however, on comparing it with the copy sent me with Mr. Emmet's papers, I find an omission of the following eight words, "*la represaille s'exercera sur les prisonniers Anglais*," as they exist in the copy of the document sent to me by Mr. Robert Emmet. I have further to observe that, in the copy given by T. A. Emmet to John Sweetman, at the end of the document the following note is appended. The preceding copy, as well as the succeeding note, is in the handwriting of T. A. Emmet:

"The foregoing is a correct copy of the First Consul's answer to my memoir; and in consequence of my quitting Europe for America, I leave this copy in the hands of John Sweetman.

(Signed) "THOMAS ADDIS EMMET

"Paris, 2nd September, 1804."

I have further to observe that in the document given by T. A. Emmet to Sweetman, after the words in the heading commencing "Copy of the First Consul's answer to my memoire of 13th Nivose," the following words occur: "Delivered to me by Mr. Dalton, 27th Nivose, same year."—R. R. M.

the son of T. A. Emmet, "as to this expedition seems not to have been doubted by Mr. Emmet until about the month of April following. What may have taken place I have no means of ascertaining, but from that period he seems to have given up all expectation of assistance."

Under date of 19th April, 1804, he writes as follows:

MY DEAR MACNEVEN—By yours of the 6th, as well as by one of Sweeney's which came to-day, I find that my postscript to Mrs. G.'s letter has led you all into a very great mistake. I certainly never said, nor did I mean to insinuate, that any offer had been made to me. I had reason to conclude from two different quarters that something was in contemplation, and therefore I wished to anticipate the necessity of deciding by asking your advice beforehand, but, so far from any offer, if I were to draw any conclusion from continued—I must say marked and obstinate silence—I should say none was ever intended.

You may remember I once mentioned that you would probably meet a general at Morlaix—why you did not will perhaps one day become in our own country matter of investigation—but the person to whom I alluded has since requested me to make some applications, which I have done, but without receiving an answer. I enclosed MacSheehy's memorial—on the subject of your being considered as French citizens—to the minister on Saturday last, with a very civil note, requesting an interview, in order to take his instructions; but no answer as yet.

Under all those circumstances, I am not so foolish as

to flatter myself with any very sanguine expectations. I adhere to my original plan of going to America, and do not think it probable that anything will occur to prevent me. Suppose however an offer should be made, I do not entirely agree with you. If I do not exceedingly alter my opinion, I will not accept either of the situations you have advised, and for reasons that, with your knowledge of my politics, you can be at no loss to guess. I am an Irishman, and, until necessity forces me to contract ties of allegiance elsewhere, I will hold no situation that is not Irish, or obviously directed to the emancipation of that country.

If I am to contract a new allegiance, and to undertake civil duties not connected with my native land, let not the latter part of my political life be at variance with its beginning. What then can I accept? Nothing but what is Irish in all its objects; and if nothing of that kind can be found or created, I am too old, too poor, and too heavily laden to await the issue of reiterated procrastinations. You will judge, then, what chance there is of my wintering in Europe.

Since I began this letter I have learned that the minister-at-war has set off for the camp at St. Omer, and will not, probably, be back for some time. As he did not answer my note that accompanied General MacSheehy's memorial, I presume I am to take no steps in that affair till his return, my instructions being that I should act under his directions.

Saturday, 12th May, 1804.

MY DEAR MACNEVEN—I yesterday received a letter from Sweeney, enclosing a half sheet from you. I mean to answer both, but I put off writing to Sweeney till I

can tell him all his commissions are executed. In the meantime your half sheet would afford matter for more than one very long letter, if I could unbosom myself, and express all I think and feel on certain subjects. As to your idea, that there is no fear but that Sweeney's and the other commissions of the same date will be confirmed, I hope you are right, and my hopes are stronger than when I wrote to him; but still I am very far from having no apprehensions.

The very day after I sent in my remonstrance against the famous paragraph in "The Argus," I received an invitation to dinner with Augereau for the next day but one or two. As it was still undecided whether I should have any further connection with government or not, I thought it right to accept the invitation, and went. It was a parade dinner—O'C., Truguet, Donzelot, &c. &c.—and I certainly experienced every attention and civility. In the course of the evening Donzelot, with whom I had before had some conversations on business, requested me to call on him again, before he left town, to continue the conversations. I told him of the remonstrance I had just given in, and of the intention it expressed of withdrawing from all connection with government if I were not satisfied on the subject, but assured him that if I were satisfied I would not fail to call, and give him every information in my power. I was never satisfied, and I never called. The same circumstances prevented me from consulting General Augereau, with whose reception of me I had every reason to be satisfied. Even the civilities necessary for keeping up a personal acquaintance might be considered as putting in for a confidence I affected to renounce, and as I knew that my personal acquaintance

was solicited on political grounds, I felt that the former was rendered unnecessary by my declining to act on the latter, if ever the opportunity occurred. I own I should not be sorry Augereau knew this, that he might not attribute to ill manners a conduct that proceeded from very different motives. Now, however, my determination not to interfere further in French and Irish politics combined, whatever explanations, offers, or assurances may be given, is stronger than ever, and grows on every day's reflection.

If you read attentively my last letter to Lawless you will divine all my reasons. I am afraid my interference, if it were to produce any effect, would be injurious to my country; I think it would be injurious to my fame; I am sure it would be repugnant to my conscience—but all this is talking to the air. No motives will be held out to me to stay, and I am much mistaken if peace will not be made without any attempt at invasion. Do you think the emperor will hazard his new title and popularity by an attempt with his fleet on one country, or his gun-boats on the other, which, if it failed, would be—either in a naval or military point of view—tremendous and irreparable, particularly as he has no opportunity of balancing the miscarriage by brilliant success in another quarter. I am determined, however, to give your proclamation as strict a scrutiny as if I thought it would be used.

But now that I am on the subject let me say a little more. I have not heard from the minister; but if I thought it would be useful to my countrymen, that should not delay me for an instant, and I would at once address the Consul. But what should I solicit? That

they might be made French citizens, and take oaths of allegiance to the government of this country?

Have you learned what will be the rights and duties of French citizens under the new constitution, or what declaration you will be called on to make? When you went down you intended to be Irishmen, and as such to fight under the French banners in your own country, and for its freedom. Have you all determined now to become subjects of the French empire, and to follow a military life? If you intend only to procure an exemption from the *droit d'aubaine*, I think you are right, and I have long meditated to try and procure it for my exiled countrymen; and if my connection with government had continued I should have sought for it long since, and independent of the procuration; but as to being a French citizen, I should neither wish myself to be one, nor to ask it for you and some other of my friends. I only need the procuration to prevent a bad use being made of your name, and to influence and to prevent your being committed in character, by an act not sufficiently well considered by those among you who intend leaving France in the event of peace.

If, however, you do on due reflection wish the claim to be pushed in its full extent; indeed, circumstanced as I am with government, and decided as to my own conduct, if you wish any steps at all to be taken, I shall cheerfully make over the procuration to any person of respectability that may be marked out to me; and on your desiring me I will write a suitable letter to MacSheehy. But let me call the serious attention of you and some other friends to what you are doing at the bottom of Brittany, and by no means *au fait*

56 UNITED IRISHMEN

of what is going on here in the capital. You are getting a band, and incurring a thousand expenses, very fit for military men by profession, or who count upon following it for a considerable time. Will you follow it in the event of a peace? Mark, I tell you there will be peace—and that soon—unless England be actuated by the most insolent and foolish madness. This I say, not from my own reasoning merely, but from facts that have been told me confidently and confidentially, even since I began to write this letter.

A change of ministry in England now appears certain, and this government is only waiting that change to make such proposals as no English ministers ought to reject. It will make commercial arrangements; but I mention this only to our particular friends. What then will become of your band, your regimentals, and your right of French citizenship, &c.? Adieu.

In the autumn of 1804, Mr. Emmet left Paris and went to Bourdeaux, for the purpose of embarking for America. The following are extracts from a letter written while at Bourdeaux to Dr. Macneven:

MY DEAREST MACNEVEN—I expect that you and my other friends at Lisneven will be extremely angry with me, for having left Paris without giving you previous information; but I did so expressly, and in order to prevent a struggle between your inclinations and your duty.

By yours and the others' letters, I perceived the intention of eluding military regulations, and going to meet me at Nantes, if I had gone there. As my des-

LETTERS OF T. A. EMMET 57

tination was changed for Bourdeaux I saw you could not attempt coming without the utmost danger; and I determined to set your minds at ease, as to any self-reproaches for not having done so, by making the matter impossible.

I wish most earnestly and anxiously to embrace you all again, but it must be on American ground; and if you wish to see me, come there.

I do not blame the resolution you have taken, of waiting a little longer for the victory you are promised; but I am much mistaken if you will not be disappointed.

I repeat it, do not let yourselves be blinded even by a temporary victory. Win it if you can; but come to America as soon as you can.

The reception I have met with has surprised and gratified me; for it is impossible to be more civilly or cordially received, even by those who do not pretend to think as I do on politics.

As to the time of my departure, it is not fixed, nor even the vessel, owing to the non-arrival of my baggage by the "Roulage;" but it will not be postponed beyond six days, nor perhaps beyond three.

American papers are not to be had; but I will take every precaution I can against the English—or, rather, that if they should think fit to seize me, they shall find nothing with me that could injure me.

I do not bid you adieu, because I wish to bind you by every obligation to see me again; but I pray, may heaven bless and prosper you.

Accept the sincere love of Mrs. Emmet, myself, and all the little ones, who, trust me, never will forget you.

Ever yours,

T. A. EMMET.

Thomas Addis Emmet embarked at Bourdeaux, the 4th of October, 1804, for America, accompanied by his wife and his three sons—his three daughters remaining in Ireland under the care of some members of his family.

So far, the correspondence of T. A. Emmet, inserted in this chapter, is that for which I am indebted to the sons of Mr. Emmet.

In the collection of original papers and correspondence of Major Sirr, which exist in Trinity College library, three letters of Thomas Addis Emmet, addressed during his imprisonment in Fort George to his sister and his niece, are to be found. They were discovered in that collection of “curiosities” of that eminent collector of private letters, of silver cups, of old pictures, and other “unconsidered trifles” of seditious or suspected people, by my friend Dr. Gray of “The Freeman’s Journal,” and to whom I am indebted for the following copies of them, which I have had subsequent opportunities of comparing with the originals.

What will the reader think of the mean, dastardly malignity displayed by this Dogberry of a town-major, in thus retaining the private letters of a respectable citizen, in the unhappy circumstances of T. A. Emmet, to his sister and another female member of his family, and thus depriving them of the only gratification they

could then have—that of hearing from a beloved relative?

The following letter from T. A. Emmet, at Brussels, to Archibald Hamilton Rowan, is taken from "Rowan's Memoirs" by Dr. Drummond.

8th July, 1802.

MY DEAR FRIEND—I received your kind letter yesterday, just as I was sitting down to dinner, which prevented my answering it directly. Since then I have shown it to Dowling, Chambers, and some others, with whom you were formerly connected in intimacy. They all desire me to assure you of their affection and esteem. We were in some measure apprised of your situation, and of the injury you might possibly sustain by holding intercourse with us; we therefore voluntarily deprived ourselves of the pleasure we should enjoy in your society, and declined calling on you directly on our arrival. For my part it would give me the utmost pain if your friendship towards me were to lead you into any embarrassment, or subject you to any misrepresentation on a point of such material importance to yourself and family. I am certain that if I really stood in need of any act of kindness from you it would be instantly done; but at present that is in no respect the case.

My health and spirits are extremely good; in consequence of relaxation from business, both are very much improved. As to my future destination you will, I dare say, condemn it, for I know your dislike to America. But with the views I take of Europe I have scarcely an alternative. I shall not go out big with ex-

pectation, and shall therefore perhaps escape disappointment; but America, with all its disadvantages, opens to me the fairest field of honourable employment. My stay here will probably be very short, as I only wish to let Mrs. Emmet recruit after a two years' imprisonment and a very fatiguing journey, and, if I can, to receive some letters. From hence I shall probably go into Holland, and perhaps, if I find it advisable, into France, to meet my three little boys, that are still in Ireland. This is in fact all I can say of my own intentions, which are far from settled.

Wishing you and yours every prosperity and happiness,

I remain, my dear friend, most sincerely yours,

T. A. EMMET.

To A. H. Rowan, Esq., Altona.

CHAPTER VIII

DEPARTURE FOR AMERICA

WHEN the liberated state prisoners were landed at Cuxhaven, the 4th of April, 1802, the circumstances of the majority were not only embarrassed but desperate. Their long imprisonment, and the exercise of the free quarters and coercion system of government in the reign of terror to which their homes and families and places of business had been subjected, had brought ruin on their affairs. Many of the persons thus circumstanced repaired to Paris, speculating on the speedy termination of the hollow truce then existing that was called a peace. Among those who were more happily situated with regard to means were T. A. Emmet, Macneven, Sweetman, Jackson, and the O'Connors.

T. A. Emmet seemed to be in no hurry to visit Paris and the great man whose prestige was then in the beginning of its glory. Emmet and his family proceeded to Hamburgh. They spent some time there, at Amsterdam and Rotterdam, and passed about three months in Brussels: there Emmet was visited by his brother Robert and re-

ceived the intelligence of his father's death. In the spring of 1803, he went to France, passed the winter of that year in Paris, and remained there several months after the recommencement of hostilities. On the 4th of October, 1804, he embarked at Bourdeaux for the United States.

In the interval between his arrival on the Continent and his departure from France, all those who were nearest and dearest to him in his native land—father, mother, brother, and sister—had been swept away. The husband of his sister had been cast into prison, and the brother of his wife had shared the same fate. It was impossible for any ruin to be more complete than that of the family of T. A. Emmet in Ireland, in the short period above referred to.

It would be well to bear in mind this fact, when an estimate is made of the views and motives of T. A. Emmet in entering into communication with the French government, in the month of November, 1803.

Of the circumstances which originally led to his connection with the Society of the United Irishmen an account has been already given, and an observation before made in reference to it may be repeated in this place. Considering the variety and extensive course of his studies; the prominent station he had occupied in several literary and scientific societies; the enlarged views he had acquired from the study of ancient and modern

history; the knowledge he had gained of the principles of two ennobling professions; the experience which travel brought with it; and the reflection for which the condition of the inhabitants of various countries afforded an ample field, we cannot be surprised that upon his return to his native land, her degraded and oppressed condition should have early claimed his attention.

In considering, moreover, the step taken by T. A. Emmet in November, 1803, we have to take into account the state of mind occasioned by the calamities of his family, and especially by that calamity which had fallen on his brother, but also the circumstances of the violation of the compact entered into between the state prisoners and the government, and the results of that violation of it on the part of the Irish administration.

It will be remembered that Mr. Rufus King, the minister of the United States at the court of St. James', had lent his influence to the policy of the English government at the time of the proposed liberation of the prisoners, and their removal to the United States, to postpone that arrangement, by furnishing an excuse for not carrying it into effect at that period. In the letter of Thomas Addis Emmet to Mr. King on that subject already cited, the following passages occur, which may be recalled with advantage:

Your interference was then, sir, made the pretext of detaining us for four years in custody, by which

very extensive and useful plans of settlement within these states were broken up. The misfortunes which you brought upon the objects of your persecution were incalculable. Almost all of us wasted four of the best years of our lives in prison. As to me, I should have brought along with me my father and his family, including a brother whose name perhaps you even will not read without emotions of sympathy and respect. Others nearly connected with me would have come partners in my emigration. But all of them have been torn from me. I have been prevented from saving a brother—from receiving the dying blessings of a father, mother, and sister, and from soothing their last agonies by my cares—and this, sir, by your unwarrantable and unfeeling interference.

The same knowledge of his country's history; of the miseries and oppression of its people; of the system of misrule which governed the nation for the interests of a faction, and delegated to that faction the functions of government, which originally led a humane, just, and generous-minded man, of "a bold, enterprising, active, and sanguine disposition," to connect himself with the Society of United Irishmen, left his views and principles unchanged at the period of his departure from Ireland—modified only by the prospect of success or failure for any future efforts for his country in acting on them.

The question whether T. A. Emmet was cognizant of his brother Robert's intentions to organize a conspiracy, when he proceeded to Ire-

land in October, 1802, is one on which many conflicting opinions have been expressed.

It has been stated to me by Dr. Macneven that when Robert left Paris, with the intention of proceeding to Ireland, it was for the purpose of arranging the affairs of his family (an arrangement rendered necessary by the failing health of his father); that no attempt at insurrection was then meditated by him, nor were any plans to effect one communicated by him to his brother; that it was after his arrival in Dublin he found a conspiracy had been already organized, and that those who were engaged counted on seventeen counties out of the thirty-two, which were expected to rise whenever things were ripe for the attempt. That part of the statement of Macneven, as to Robert Emmet not having originated the conspiracy, but, on the contrary, having found it in being when he arrived in Ireland, is confirmed by Robert Emmet's own declaration on his trial.

On the other hand, I have been informed by the late Lord Cloncurry that he met Robert Emmet on the Continent when he was about to embark for Ireland, in October, 1802, and Robert Emmet had informed him that an attempt was about to be made in Ireland, and was sanguine as to its success.

Lord Cloncurry, in his autobiography, refers to an interview with the two Emmets in Paris,

the day before Robert returned to Ireland, in the following terms:

When I left Ireland, in 1797, Robert Emmet was a mere boy, but full of talent, enthusiasm, and kind feeling. Both brothers dined with me in Paris the day before Robert returned to Ireland for the last time previous to his fatal outbreak; and although that catastrophe was not then thought of, I remember the most urgent entreaties being vainly used to dissuade him from a visit which all felt to be full of danger to him, and the sad consummation of which so fully justified those gloomy apprehensions.¹

Nobody who had the pleasure of knowing the late Lord Cloncurry could for a moment doubt the truthfulness of the man. He was singularly honest, true to his opinions, and steadfast in his principles. I doubt, however, the accuracy of his lordship's memory when, at the expiration of half a century, he recalled occurrences of which he had kept no written memorandum. The preceding passage—about the dinner with the Emmets in Paris, the day before Robert's departure for Ireland, previous to the fatal outbreak—I know not how to reconcile with a verbal account given to me by Lord Cloncurry, to which I have referred in the former edition of this work—of the series published in 1847—but without mentioning the name of my informant, the late Lord Cloncurry.

¹ "Personal Recollections of the Life and Times of Lord Cloncurry," 1st ed. 1850, p. 138.

Lord Cloncurry told me he had an interview with Robert Emmet on the Continent, when the latter was about to embark for England, in the autumn of 1802, on his return to Ireland. At that interview his lordship gave me to understand that they were alone; that Robert Emmet confided to him the object of his return to Ireland; that a plan had been formed for a renewed effort to free the country; and that his (Robert Emmet's) return was connected with that effort; and that he (Robert Emmet) spoke in the most sanguine terms of the probability of its success. And his lordship added, I very well remember, that while he (Robert Emmet) was speaking on this subject he became so excited that his features glowed with animation—and his lordship noticed drops of perspiration glistening on his forehead during the conversation. His lordship in vain attempted to dissuade him from that attempt. Could Lord Cloncurry have had two interviews with Robert Emmet immediately previous to his departure? Could the confidential friends of Robert Emmet have been in ignorance of his intentions at the time referred to? If they were ignorant of them, why did they manifest so great a desire to dissuade him from a visit which they felt full of danger?

It is certain that Russell and Dowdall were cognizant, at the period of Robert Emmet's departure from Paris, that an attempt was likely

to be made; and they were expected to take part in it. Arthur O'Connor informed me that he had been apprized by Buonaparte of an intention of Robert Emmet, and others with whom he was associated in Paris, to hazard another struggle, and that he (A. O'Connor) disapproved of it. The probability is, that communications had been made from Ireland that a conspiracy was on foot, and that representations of one in progress—whether unintentionally erroneous or exaggerated, or wilfully false—had been made to him; that his brother, T. A. Emmet, was cognizant that such representations had been made to his brother; and that the latter being about to visit Ireland for the arrangement of family affairs, he was to inquire into those representations, and ascertain the truth or falsehood of them. So that it might be truly said that Robert Emmet had not organized any plans of conspiracy in Paris or Brussels of which his brother was cognizant, and that to ascertain the actual nature and extent of the alleged existing conspiracy was all that was expected of him while in Ireland.

In the autumn of 1803, T. A. Emmet had an interview with the First Consul. On the 13th of November he addressed a memorial to him, and on the 13th of December following Buonaparte replied to this communication, declaring his intention to set on foot preparations for an expedition to secure the independence of Ireland.

Elsewhere will be found a copy of the answer of the First Consul to Emmet's memoir, and it must be borne in mind that the following passage, in that reply to that memoir, was as explicit as words could make it, as to the alleged intention of sending an expedition to Ireland, and forming an Irish legion to co-operate with it:

“Il desire que les Irlandais Unis soyent bien convaincus que son intention est d’assurer l’indépendance de l’Irlande, et de donner protection entière et efficace à tous ceux d’entre eux qui prendront part à l’expédition, ou qui se joindront aux armées Françaises.”

In the latter part of 1803, many of the United Irishmen who had gone to France formed themselves into an Irish battalion or legion, under the command of General MacSheehy, and there is no doubt most of them would have returned to Ireland with an invading expedition, which they were led to believe was then actually fitting out at Brest and elsewhere. Under these circumstances, T. A. Emmet drew up and presented the memorial referred to, on behalf of the United Irishmen.

Between December, 1803, and April, 1804, several of the leaders of the United Irishmen in Paris appear to have had sanguine expectations of the realization of Buonaparte's promises. By the month of April, however, in the latter year, it is quite evident that all expectations of it on the

part of Thomas Addis Emmet were at an end.

"The sincerity," says the son of T. A. Emmet, "of the First Consul, as to this expedition, seems not to have been doubted by Mr. Emmet until about the month of April following. What may have taken place I have no means of ascertaining, but from this period Mr. Emmet seems to have lost all hope of anything being done for Ireland."

The ratifications of the treaty of Amiens were exchanged the 27th of March, 1802. Whatever projects Buonaparte had previously formed, of invasion either of England or Ireland, were then necessarily suspended, but they were not long kept in abeyance.

The British ambassador quitted Paris the 13th of May, 1803. Buonaparte was nominated First Consul for life the 2nd of August, 1802, and proclaimed Emperor of France the 10th of May, 1804. In the interval between the two events, to consolidate his power appears to have been the chief aim of his policy. With regard to his professed intentions, whether he intended to act on them or not is a question on which there is much difference of opinion. In the memoir of Augereau, in the "Biographie des Contemporaines," it is stated that "after the rupture of the treaty of Amiens (May, 1803) Augereau was named to the command of an expedition projected against Portugal, which did not take ef-

fect." Portugal appears to have been the scapegoat of all the expeditions which were destined for other countries. Arthur O'Connor ought to have known something of the original destination of this expedition, inasmuch as he was appointed to accompany it, and it was on the occasion of that appointment he got the rank of general of division. In reference to this expedition, he states that "Buonaparte had a true intention to invade England, and had an army of 20,000 men in readiness for it, under the command of Augereau, when the intelligence of the new designs of Austria and Russia caused that intention to be given up." The declared intention may not have been less a ruse than the demonstration of the preparations for the invasion of England carried on at all the ports, from Calais to La Somme, at various intervals, from 1801 to 1805, the real object of which was to keep the military enthusiasm of France occupied with the grandeur of his conceptions, and the novelty of such projects as the accomplishment of his meditated invasion by a flotilla of boats, which was to supersede the necessity for a fleet like that which had been destroyed at Aboukir, and had not been yet replaced. That such was the opinion of Emmet, may be inferred from his departure for America on the 4th of October, 1804.

CHAPTER IX

CAREER OF T. A. EMMET IN AMERICA

EMMET'S career in America has been fortunately traced by one of his professional friends in that country, Charles Glidden Haines, a gentleman distinguished at the bar, and one of the counsellors of the Supreme Court in Washington. This gentleman's eminence in his profession, his talents, and his close intimacy with Emmet, rendered him fully competent to the task undertaken by him.

In 1812, while he and Mr. Emmet were attending the Supreme Court of the United States, they lived together in the same house, and Emmet was prevailed on by his friend to give him a sketch of his career, which was committed to writing by the latter. It remained with him during his life unpublished, but after his decease it was given to the public along with a biographical memoir of himself, in 1829.

That part of it which is most valuable, the account of Emmet's career at the bar in America, falling as it did under the observation of Mr. Haines, supplies the best, most ample, and authentic account of this portion of Emmet's his-

tory. The following extracts are taken verbatim from Mr. Haines's narrative:

When Mr. Emmet came to the United States, he was about forty years of age. His fortune had been broken, and he had a family to sustain and educate. For some time he doubted which profession he would pursue—that of medicine or the law. He was competent to undertake either. His friends advised him to go to the bar, and a great loss would have occurred to this country had he not done so. He then concluded to remove to the western country—to the state of Ohio. He had landed in New York, and had soon after made a visit to some parts of the southern country, and Walter Jones, a most eminent counsellor and advocate in the District of Columbia, had procured Mr. Emmet's admission to the bar in Alexandria. A slave population prevented his residence at the south. He had selected Ohio as a future residence for many reasons. Land was cheap and the country new; he had a rising and increasing family, which he wished to plant about him; the competition was not so closely waged at the bar as in some other places, and everything was young and new in polity and laws.

The venerable George Clinton was then governor of the state of New York, and the most popular and powerful man in the state. He was a plain, stern, ardent republican, and of Irish blood. He sent for Mr. Emmet, with whom he had little or no acquaintance, and told him to remain in the city of New York. He said that Mr. Emmet's great talents would command patronage. General Hamilton, one of the brightest ornaments of the age in which he lived, had fallen in

a private quarrel, and there was a great opening at the bar, which Mr. Emmet could occupy. As to the western country, Governor Clinton said it was a wilderness, and no place for a great lawyer. Mr. Emmet replied that he would gladly remain in New York, but he could not practice without a previous study of three years—or perhaps six—in order to become a counsellor and advocate; such were the rules of court adopted in New York, and while he was studying law his family would want bread. Governor Clinton told him in answer not to be discouraged; if the Supreme Court declined giving him a license, the legislature would give him one by an express statute. George Clinton no doubt could have effected this offer. He was the idol of the people, and the guardian spirit which presided over the republican party. De Witt Clinton was then mayor of the city of New York, an office at that time attended with an income of twenty thousand dollars a-year. He was then a great leader in the republican ranks, a statesman of uncommon promise, and had recently resigned his seat in the Senate of the United States. He also sent for Mr. Emmet, advised him to remain in New York, and tendered him his utmost services and influence. He thought with George Clinton, his uncle, as to the Supreme Court, and as to what could be done with the legislature. Under these auspices Mr. Emmet changed his plans of future life, and concluded to pursue fortune and fame in the city of New York. George and De Witt Clinton then made a formal application to the judges of the Supreme Court. Chief Justice Spencer was then on the bench as a *puisne* judge. Judge Thompson and Vice-president Tompkins were also there. Chancellor Kent was the chief-justice.

Spencer, Tompkins, Thompson were found friendly; Kent peculiarly hostile. Judge Spencer was strong and decided, and Mr. Emmet always mentions the kindness, the friendship, and the effective aid of Vice-president Tompkins with many expressions of gratitude. Within two years past he argued a most important cause for the vice-president without a fee or reward, and obtained a verdict of 130,000 dollars, it being a suit with the United States. He said he did it with great pleasure, in remembrance of former friendship. Chancellor Kent was a warm and, I may almost say, a violent federalist. He execrated all republican principles in Europe, and was the disciple of Edmund Burke as to the French revolution. He looked on Mr. Emmet with an unkind eye, and raised his voice against his appearing in the forums of our state. To the honour of the chancellor, however, let it now be said, that he has more than once expressed joy to Mr. Emmet that the other judges overruled his illiberal objections. Mr. Emmet was admitted to the bar of New York without a resort to the legislature. It was a violation of the rules of court that his great talents and his sufferings palliated and excused.

Mr. Emmet now commenced that splendid career at the American bar that has not only elevated the character of the profession, but reflected back a lustre on his native land. The Irish bar have reason to be proud of the exile who has so essentially aided in giving immortality to Irish genius. Very soon after Mr. Emmet appeared at our bar, he was employed in a case peculiarly well calculated for the display of his extraordinary powers. Several slaves had escaped from a neighbouring state and found a refuge here. Their masters

seized them, and the rights of these masters became a matter of controversy. Mr. Emmet, I have been informed, was retained by the Society of Friends—the real, steady, ardent, and persevering friends of humanity and justice, and of course espoused the cause of the slaves. His effort is said to have been overwhelming. The novelty of his manner, the enthusiasm which he exhibited, his broad Irish accent, his pathos and violence of gesture, created a variety of sensations in the audience. His republican friends said that his fortune was made, and they were right.

Mr. Emmet's strong and decided attachment to democratic principles was known even before he reached the American shores. Coming to a country where he could breathe and speak freely, he did not find it necessary to repress those bold and ardent sentiments which had animated his bosom while toiling for the emancipation of Ireland. He mingled in the ranks of the republican party. Transatlantic politics, it is well known, had extended their agitations and influence to this country. The federal party hated France, hated Ireland in her revolutionary character, and hated Charles James Fox and his Whig party in England. The line drawn in this country is still visible. Mr. Emmet was viewed by the opponents of Mr. Jefferson's administration as a fugitive jacobin. Hence he was doomed to some little persecution even in this country. The great men of the New York bar were federalists. They therefore turned their faces against Mr. Emmet. They formed a combination, and agreed to decline all professional union and consultation with him. Mr. Emmet has told me the names of this shameful league, but as they are now his warmest friends and admirers,

and as I respect and esteem them, their names shall not go from me. One man's name, however, I shall mention; for, although a firm federalist, and an eminent man, he nobly denounced the combination and all its objects. I speak of Cadwallader D. Colden. He and Mrs. Colden, an amiable and excellent lady, have paid Mr. and Mrs. Emmet the highest marks of respect and civility ever since they became inhabitants of the United States. When Mr. Emmet ascertained the existence of the league he did not hesitate what to do. His native boldness and decision of character governed his conduct. He determined to carry the war into the enemy's country. He did not wait for an attack. He proved the assailant. Whenever he met any of the league at the bar he assumed the attitude of professional war, and he lost nothing by contact. If Mr. Emmet has any one extraordinary power, it is the ready talent of successful and over-awing reply. His spirit is always dauntless. Fear he never knew. Hence he generally came off victorious in the wars against the combination.

The league was soon dissolved. Business flowed in, and Mr. Emmet assumed a standing—and was able to maintain it—that put all opposition at defiance. It was not long after his arrival and settlement in New York that his profession produced him ten thousand dollars a year. During some years, within a more recent period, it has amounted to an annual income of fifteen thousand dollars.

In 1807, Mr. Emmet appeared before the American public in a controversy with Rufus King. Mr. King was the federal candidate for the governor of the state of New York. Mr. Emmet, on political and personal grounds, was opposed to his election. At a meeting of

the Hibernian Society he broke out in an eloquent appeal to his countrymen and brethren, and urged them to rally and embody against Mr. King. This aroused the temper of Mr. King's friends, and the federal papers, especially "The New York Evening Post," poured a torrent of invective on the head of Mr. Emmet. Severe epithets and hard names were applied to him. He had seen political war before, and was not to have his lips sealed at this time. He addressed two letters to Mr. King, and the last was long and severe. As this will probably reach posterity I will barely notice its tenor and allegations. Mr. Emmet always considered Mr. King as instrumental in preventing the emigration of the Irish patriots to the United States, previous to their imprisonment at Fort George.

I express no opinion as to the degree of reproach which should be attached to the character of Mr. King, but I will not omit what is very honourable to himself and to his sons. The former has more than once paid the highest compliment to Mr. Emmet's talents, and, in his late argument in the great steamboat cause, left the Senate for two days to witness and hear his stupendous efforts as an orator. Mr. King's sons have always paid the highest respect to Mr. Emmet, and wherever his family have appeared in private circles, been marked and particular in their civility. These are small things, but they indicate good feelings.

Mr. Emmet's course in 1807, and his ardour and firmness as a republican, identified him with the republican party. He never courted station or public trust —his theatre was the forum. In August, 1812, the Council of Appointment conferred upon him the office of Attorney-General of the State of New York. This

was a post of honour, but could not add to his professional fame or emolument. He held the office but for a short time, and has never since sought or received any public appointment.

I have now given a brief sketch of Mr. Emmet's life, or rather of its most leading incidents, so far as I have learned them from him and otherwise. I must now perform a more difficult task, and speak of him as one of the great pillars and ornaments of the American bar.

The mind of Thomas Addis Emmet is of the highest order. His penetration is deep, his views comprehensive, his distinctions remarkably nice. His powers of investigation are vigorous and irresistible. If there be anything in a subject he will go to the bottom. He probes boldly, reaches the lowest depths by his researches, analyzes everything, and embraces the whole ground. He may be said to have a mind well adapted to profound and powerful investigation. In the next place, he has great comprehension; he sees a subject in all its bearings and relations; he traces out all its various operations; he begins at the centre and diverges, until it becomes necessary again to return to the centre. As a reasoner—a bare, strict reasoner—Mr. Emmet would always be placed in an elevated rank. No matter how dry, how difficult, how repulsive the topic—no matter what may be its intricacies and perplexities, if any man can unfold and amplify it, he is equal to the task.

Mr. Emmet is a lawyer of great and faithful legal research. He has consulted books with as much fidelity and perseverance as any man at the American bar. Perhaps he has not done this with so much system as

appears in the study of many others; a constant pressure of business may have prevented study upon abstract principles, with bare views of gaining knowledge; but in his day he has spared nothing in the compass of his reading.

The subject of this memoir is not less distinguished for his knowledge of the theory of the law, than he is of the practice. As a special pleader he has great experience and precision; and whoever looks through the decisions of cases in the New York reports, and those argued in the Supreme Court at Washington where he has been concerned, will be convinced of the fact here asserted.

I have already spoken of Mr. Emmet's readiness at retort. Whoever rouses his energies by a rude assault, or a stroke of satire, is sure to hear of it again, and generally has good reason to regret the ill-timed provocation. In 1815, he made his first appearance at the Supreme Court of the United States in Washington. He and Mr. Pinckney were brought in contact. The latter closed the argument in a very important cause in which they were both engaged, and with his characteristic arrogance alluded to the fact of Mr. Emmet's migration to the United States. When he had concluded his argument, Mr. Emmet, being for the respondent in error, had no right to reply, but he nevertheless rose, and after correcting a trifling error in some of Mr. Pinckney's statements, he took up the mode and manner in which his opponent had treated him. He said he was Mr. Pinckney's equal in birth, in rank, in his connections, and he was not his enemy. It was true that he was an Irishman; it was true that in attempting to rescue an oppressed, brave, and generous-

hearted people, he had been driven from the forum in his own land; it was true that he had come to America for refuge, and sought protection beneath her constitution and her laws; and it was also true that his learned antagonist would never gather a fresh wreath of laurel, or add lustre to his well-earned fame, by alluding to these facts in a tone of malicious triumph. He knew not by what name arrogance and presumption might be called on this side of the ocean, but sure he was that Mr. Pinckney never acquired these manners in the polite circles of Europe, which he had long frequented as a public minister. Mr. Pinckney was not ready at retort, and he made no reply; but a few days afterwards it so happened that he and Mr. Emmet were again opposed to each other in a cause of magnitude, and it fell to Mr. Emmet's part to close the argument, who was determined that his antagonist should be put in mind of his former deportment and expressions. Mr. Pinckney was aware of the thunderbolt in store, and took the opportunity of paying to Mr. Emmet's genius, fame, and private worth, the highest tribute of respect. This respect was never afterwards violated. When Mr. Emmet rose out of his place as before stated, Chief Justice Marshall indicated great uneasiness, thinking that something unpleasant might be the result. Mr. Justice Livingston reached forward his head and remarked in a whisper, "Let him go on; I will answer that he says nothing rude or improper." With this, as well as with the result, the chief justice was satisfied.

Some years previous to this, Mr. Emmet repaired to the county of Chenango, to try an indictment for an attempt to procure the vote of a member of the legis-

lature by bribery and corruption. He was then Attorney-General, and the proceedings excited strong party feelings. Elisha Williams and Mr. Foot, formerly an eminent counsellor and advocate residing in Albany, were opposed to him. The latter had his task assigned him—he was to browbeat Mr. Emmet. In the discharge of this duty he stated, among other things, that Mr. Emmet's promotion to the office of Attorney-General was the reward of party efforts, and that in conducting this prosecution he was doing homage for that office. He gained nothing by his assaults. When Mr. Emmet came to this part of his speech he stated the accusation as it had been made by his opponent, and replied, "It is false, and he knew it. The office which I have the honour to hold is the reward of useful days and sleepless nights, devoted to the acquisition and exercise of my profession, and of a life of unspotted integrity—claims and qualifications which that gentleman can never put forth for any office, humble or exalted."

In 1822, Mr. Emmet was employed in a very interesting case in the Court of Errors in the State of New York. A man had died leaving a large estate, and a pretended wife claimed it by virtue of a nuncupative will. The estate was claimed by Irish heirs, and the legality of the will was disputed. Mr. Emmet appeared for the heirs, and it occurred that most or all of the witnesses who sustained the illegality of the instrument in question were Irishmen. Mr. Henry of Albany, an able and sagacious advocate, attempted to invalidate the testimony of these witnesses, and indulged many rude hits on account of their national character.

Mr. Henry being himself of Irish descent, and having made almost a direct attack on Mr. Emmet, roused all his fire. The arguments of the different counsel consumed several days, and when the great Irish orator drew to the close of his extraordinary efforts, which had consumed two entire days of the court, he broke forth into one of his master exertions. The nature of the testimony alluded to he had already examined. He now took up the reflection on Irish character. He carried the eye of the court over the land of his birth—the graves of her illustrious men—the monuments of her heroes, her orators, her statesmen, her poets, her philosophers. He then pictured her green fields, her beautiful shores, the genius of her people, the simplicity of her peasantry, and the dark and horrid gulf in which her liberties and her happiness were buried. He came down to himself—the scenes through which he had passed, and the honesty, the zeal, and the integrity which he had found among his countrymen; and lastly, he pointed to Mr. Henry. If he had a good drop of blood in his veins it was Irish blood. When he beheld the successful efforts in that forum on the part of his learned antagonist, he felt that he was an Irishman! The whole scene was one of the most interesting that I ever witnessed.

Mr. Emmet's deportment at the bar is mild, urbane, dignified, and conciliating. To the junior members of the profession, in particular, he is a model of obliging civility, always speaking favourably of their efforts and kindly of their exertions, however meagre and discouraging. To me he has given many sound lessons of advice. "Let me see you do that again," has been his

language of reprobation when condemning some particular habit or fault.

Mr. Emmet's appearance and manners are plain and simple in the extreme. His dress is wholly unstudied. Everything, however, shows the most perfect delicacy of feeling. Modest, unassuming, unobtrusive, and perfectly polite, he would alone attract the attention of a stranger by that amiable temper and obliging disposition that manifested themselves on all occasions. I do not consider him an eloquent or a powerful man in ordinary conversation. His remarks are generally appropriate, and well adapted to passing colloquial scenes. He speaks with sense and intelligence; but he discovers nothing of the man he is, unless called out by an occasion sufficient to awaken his mind and create excitement. In the circles of Washington—with Robert Goodloe Harper, John Randolph, William Wirt, and others of an equal rank in talent—I have heard him converse with uncommon interest on English history and the policy of European governments. I once heard him contrast and describe the characters of the most distinguished British statesman who had shared in the confidence of the government, from the days of Robert Walpole to those of Lord Castlereagh, a man whose heart he abhorred and detested. But how much more powerful and interesting would he have appeared on the same topics in the Senate!

In his private character, the object of this memoir is without a blemish. Generous, humane, obliging, and strictly honest; a heart open, frank, and ardent—upright in all his dealings—rigid and austere in his habits—temperate and rational in all his enjoyments—liberal

CAREER IN AMERICA 85

and free from prejudice upon every subject—kind and affectionate as a husband, a father, and a friend—anxious to do good and diminish evil—such a man is Mr. Emmet.¹

¹ Sketch of the career of T. A. Emmet at the American bar, by Charles Glidden Haines.

CHAPTER X

LETTERS FROM AMERICA

EMMET had little correspondence with his friends in Ireland from the time of his departure from Fort George. His communications were confined to three or four individuals, and had very little reference to political matters. It is only to be regretted that so few documents or papers of his own are in existence, or available for the purpose of drawing up a memoir of this kind. The late Mr. Sampson, from this circumstance, was deterred from undertaking the task which had been assigned to him by some of Emmet's associates, namely, of writing his life. Whether the author has done ill or well in not suffering such records of the career and character of Emmet, as were in existence when the task was undertaken by him, to perish, remains to be determined. One thing he is certain of—that those with whom he was in communication on this subject, of all men then living, were best qualified to speak of the early career of Emmet—of his conduct not only in private life, but in that body of which he was one of the executive leaders. One of the most dis-



tinguished of these persons, Dr. Macneven, has followed Emmet to the grave in America since the period of these communications with him; others elsewhere, with whom the author was acquainted, have dropped off, one by one, in quick succession during the last twenty-five years.¹

One of the latest letters, in all probability the last letter of T. A. Emmet received in Ireland, was addressed to his old friend and early political associate, Archibald Hamilton Rowan, in the early part of 1827, just ten months before his decease.

This letter is one of deep interest, remarkable for the simplicity of style and solidity of judgment of the writer, and in all respects worthy of him:

New York, 8th January, 1827.

MY DEAR OLD FRIEND—For, as I am feeling the advances of age, I presume you have not remained *in statu quo* for the last five-and-twenty years—I received your letter by Mr. Macready, and thank you for it. Many circumstances prevented my answering it until now, which it is impossible to detail on paper; but, be assured, no indifference or coldness of feeling towards you had any share in causing the delay. Mr. Macready is a gentleman whose talents and worth have gained him very high consideration here, and who has entirely justified the warm recommendations he was the bearer of from Europe.

I dare not write to you about Ireland, though

¹ Up to 1850.

probably if we were together we should talk of little else. I remember the day when I fancied letters might be intercepted. If such a thing could happen now, a letter from T. A. E. to A. H. R., filled with Irish politics, would be a *bonne bouche* for a secretary. America is not what you saw it, nor what even your sanguine mind could anticipate. It has shot up in strength and prosperity beyond the most visionary calculation. It has great destinies, and I have no doubt will ameliorate the condition of man throughout the world. When you were here party raged with a fiend-like violence, which may lead you to misjudge of what you may occasionally meet with in an American newspaper, should you ever look into one. Whether the demon be absolutely and for ever laid, I cannot undertake to say; but there is at present no more party controversy than ought to be expected, and perhaps ought to exist in so free a country; and sure I am it does not interfere with the general welfare and happiness; indeed I think it never can—their roots are struck so deep. Of myself and family I need only say we are all extremely well. I have succeeded better than I thought possible when I set foot on this shore. I still enjoy my health and faculties. The companion of my youth and of my sufferings does the same. We are surrounded by eight children and twelve grandchildren, with the prospect of steady and progressive increase in the American ratio. I pray God you have had your share in the happiness of this life.

Your sincere and affectionate friend,

THOMAS ADDIS EMMET.

To Archibald H. Rowan, Esq.

CHAPTER XI

CLOSE OF CAREER OF THOMAS ADDIS EMMET

THE task which Haines undertook in 1812, but did not live to complete, has been finished by another hand. Shortly after the death of Emmet, the following account of the close of his life was drawn up and published in the volume containing the account of the lives of Haines and Emmet. In this account we will find some details respecting Emmet's mode of life in his profession as well as in his private relations of much value.

Early in November, 1827, Emmet had been much engaged in the defence of Lieutenant Percival on a charge of extortion, and also in a cause of unusual importance, generally called the great Astor case, involving the right of Mr. Astor to lands in Putnam county, to the amount of perhaps eight hundred thousand dollars. In the former case he defended his client with all his accustomed vigour and ability, and the result was a verdict of acquittal. In the latter, on Monday, the 12th, he addressed the jury in a style of animated eloquence, of prompt and overwhelming retort, and of powerful argument, which was said by many of his audience to have even surpassed his earlier efforts. On Wednesday, the 14th, while attending the trial of another cause of importance (the case of the Sailors'

Snug Harbour) in which he was counsel, in the United States Circuit Court, he was seized with an apoplectic fit; and on being carried home he expired in the course of the following night, being in the 64th year of his age. He had made no exertion in particular that day, but had taken notes of the testimony through the morning; and on examination these notes were found to be a full and accurate transcript of what occurred up to the very moment when the pen fell from his hand on his being seized with the fit. The scene in the court-room was in the highest degree impressive. Every individual present—the court, the bar, the audience, all were absorbed in the most anxious interest for the fate of this eminent man. The court was instantly adjourned. When his death was known the expression of sorrow and respect was universal. His funeral was attended by the members of the bar, the students at law, and a crowd of other citizens; all desirous to pay their tribute of respect to the memory of the great deceased. A neat monument of white marble has since been placed in the wall of the apartment where Mr. Emmet was seized with the fatal illness. It is surmounted with his bust, and bears the following inscription:

THOMÆ . ADDIS . EMMET

VIRO

DOCTRINA . IURE . SCIENTIA . ELOQUENTIA

PRÆSTANTISSIMO

INTER . HÆC . SUBSELLIA . ET . OFICII . MUNERA

SUBITA . MORTE . CORREPTO

SOCII . FORENSES . POSUERANT.

Men of the stamp of T. A. Emmet—whose modesty in all their intercourse with their fellows in the ordinary affairs of life is a characteristic distinction of theirs, when occasions do come either of great wrong and grievous injury, or ill-requited services, or of contumely which patient merit has suffered at the hands of the unworthy—stand forth in conscious dignity, and assert the high prerogatives of their noble nature and exalted characters.

We find Emmet taking this course in his correspondence with Mr. Rufus King, a former American minister at the court of St. James's. The passage will not be forgotten in one of his memorable letters in 1807 to that man who had been “dressed in a little brief authority,” and had abused it, to the great hurt and misfortune of T. A. Emmet in the days of his adversity:

Circumstances which cannot be controlled have decided that my name must be embodied into history. From the manner in which even my political adversaries, and some of my cotemporary historians, unequivocally hostile to my principles, already speak of me, I have the consolation of reflecting, that when the falsehoods of the day are withered and rotten, I shall be respected and esteemed. You, sir, will probably be forgotten when I shall be remembered with honour; or if, peradventure, your name should descend to posterity, perhaps you will be known only as the recorded instrument of part of *my* persecutions, sufferings, and misfortunes.

memory of T. A. Emmet throughout the United States of America.

The last chapter of this memoir will afford ample confirmation of the truth of the above assertion.

Thus died, in a distant land, in honour and renown, on the 14th of November, 1827, the Irish exile, Thomas Addis Emmet, in the 64th year of his age.

The man who was deemed a traitor in his own land—who had been engaged in what was termed an unnatural rebellion, and is thought in England, even by men of great intellect, detestable treason; whom it was proposed in parliament to hand over with his associates to a drum-head courtmartial, and to hang or shoot in a summary manner, for the benefit of society and the sake of the British constitution in Ireland, as the institution of Orangeism was then interpreted—thus died in America, in such honour and renown as no language can exaggerate. It was not in one city or in one state, at his death, where expression was given to feelings of admiration for his great worth and virtues and noble intellectual gifts—of respect for the consistency of his patriotism and the solidity of his opinions on all public subjects—and of veneration for the memory of this great, good man—but throughout the whole Union these feelings prevailed; and this tribute

was unanimously accorded to the departed worth and excellence of Thomas Addis Emmet.

The monument erected to the memory of Emmet is worthy of it. It stands in front of Broadway, the great thoroughfare of the city, in the cemetery of St. Paul's church. It is a marble monolith, of thirty feet elevation. It is inscribed on three sides in three languages. The greater part of the English inscription was written by Mr. Verplanck, one of the New York representatives in the Congress of the United States. The Latin inscription was written by Judge Duer, an eminent barrister, whose works on jurisprudence are well known in this country. The inscription in the Irish language was written by the late Dr. England, R. C. Bishop of Charleston. The expense of this monument was partly defrayed by the contributions of his countrymen in the United States, and partly by the application of the funds in the hands of the treasurer of the American Catholic Association. When the Relief Bill of 1829 was carried, the receipt of money under the name of Catholic Rent was prohibited by that statute. The American society then thought the best application of the remaining funds, namely \$1,006 raised for Catholic purposes, would be to the erection of a monument to the memory of one of the early advocates of Catholic emancipation, who devoted his splendid talents to its cause, and sacrificed for

memory of T. A. Emmet throughout the United States of America.

The last chapter of this memoir will afford ample confirmation of the truth of the above assertion.

Thus died, in a distant land, in honour and renown, on the 14th of November, 1827, the Irish exile, Thomas Addis Emmet, in the 64th year of his age.

The man who was deemed a traitor in his own land—who had been engaged in what was termed an unnatural rebellion, and is thought in England, even by men of great intellect, detestable treason; whom it was proposed in parliament to hand over with his associates to a drum-head courtmartial, and to hang or shoot in a summary manner, for the benefit of society and the sake of the British constitution in Ireland, as the institution of Orangeism was then interpreted—thus died in America, in such honour and renown as no language can exaggerate. It was not in one city or in one state, at his death, where expression was given to feelings of admiration for his great worth and virtues and noble intellectual gifts—of respect for the consistency of his patriotism and the solidity of his opinions on all public subjects—and of veneration for the memory of this great, good man—but throughout the whole Union these feelings prevailed; and this tribute

was unanimously accorded to the departed worth and excellence of Thomas Addis Emmet.

The monument erected to the memory of Emmet is worthy of it. It stands in front of Broadway, the great thoroughfare of the city, in the cemetery of St. Paul's church. It is a marble monolith, of thirty feet elevation. It is inscribed on three sides in three languages. The greater part of the English inscription was written by Mr. Verplanck, one of the New York representatives in the Congress of the United States. The Latin inscription was written by Judge Duer, an eminent barrister, whose works on jurisprudence are well known in this country. The inscription in the Irish language was written by the late Dr. England, R. C. Bishop of Charleston. The expense of this monument was partly defrayed by the contributions of his countrymen in the United States, and partly by the application of the funds in the hands of the treasurer of the American Catholic Association. When the Relief Bill of 1829 was carried, the receipt of money under the name of Catholic Rent was prohibited by that statute. The American society then thought the best application of the remaining funds, namely \$1,006 raised for Catholic purposes, would be to the erection of a monument to the memory of one of the early advocates of Catholic emancipation, who devoted his splendid talents to its cause, and sacrificed for

its interests the brightest prospects. He did not live to see the promised land of toleration, but he did more, with the exception of Tone, than any of his cotemporaries towards the consummation so devoutly to be wished for.

That monument was never looked on by the author without feeling that its existence in America was a subject for meditation of strange and melancholy interest. And often as he gazed on that splendid sepulchre—which his countrymen in the new world had raised to the memory of “the banished rebel,” who had become in another land an honoured citizen, “whose private life was beautiful as his public course was brilliant”—he could not help asking, was justice never to be done in his own land to the memory of one who had been held up in his own country, by the unmitigated malignity of Orangeism, to obloquy and odium? To what generation yet to come were the memories of such men as Macneven, Sampson, and Neilson to be consigned? Did they, like the younger enthusiast in his cause, when the “lamp of life was nearly extinguished,” when the grave was opening to receive him and he was ready to sink into its bosom, bid no man dare to write their epitaphs, but left the charge to other men and to later times to do justice to their memories? When was that era to arrive? Where were the men to be looked for to inscribe their tombs? Was the marble to be

sought in the quarries of America that was to perpetuate their name, their devotion to their country, and their unhappy fate?

Was the writer of the biographies of those men to seek amongst strangers respect for the talents, or sympathy for the sufferings of his countrymen? Must he be reminded elsewhere that their enterprise was unsuccessful, and must therefore have failed from their faults or that it had originated in *their* crimes? If their impatience of their country's wrongs, their hatred of oppression was "too rash, too unadvised, too sudden," shall we be told that their patriotism was but the brilliant flash of a transitory passion—"too like the lightning that doth cease to be ere one can say it lightens?" Are the traits of heroism, or the traces of love of country displayed in their struggle so easily to be forgotten, that there is no fame for them with whom fortune was not? Is the need of generous sympathy so narrowly confined, that there is no pity for the faults which render the very intensity of the love of liberty and enthusiasm in its cause unpropitious to the fate of those who feel perhaps more than they reason at the onset of the struggle, and as they become deeper and deeper engaged in it overlook the difficulties by which it is beset, and overrate the strength and nature of their own resources? But is no patriot to be honoured but the successful rebel? Has liberty

no champions to proclaim but those who have escaped exile or the scaffold? Has Ireland no victims to lament, no lost defenders to bewail, but those whose bones are laid under the sands at Clontarf, or the green sod at Aughrim, or the Boyne? Has Ireland no devoted children to boast of among those who died in exile or who retrieved the errors of a lofty enthusiasm on the scaffold and poured out their young blood in defence of their opinion of her rights; no sons of whom the memory is dear except those who adopted other and happier modes of seeking the same objects which were sought, in vain, by their predecessors.

Ill-timed or otherwise, such were the reflections which the tomb of Thomas Addis Emmet often has called forth, and which merged for a time the recollection of his sufferings in those of the still “deeper calamities of his kindred”—though no remembrance of his brother’s noble qualities could supersede, for an instant, the conviction of the superior powers with which Thomas Addis Emmet was endowed.

Great as were the talents of the men who stood beside him in the early struggle for reform and rational liberty, the pre-eminence may be claimed for him; for, while the profoundness of his judgment and the justice of his views entitled him to the respect of his associates, his inflexible

integrity commanded the respect even of his enemies.

In what estimation he was held by his professional brethren in America, the brief memoir of Mr. Haines enables us to form an opinion. But all that Haines has said in some parts of his memoir, perhaps a little too diffusely, has been summed up in a masterly style by one less intimately acquainted with Emmet in private life, but one, it may be said without disparagement to Mr. Haines, better qualified than any one of his associates to pronounce an opinion on the character of his eloquence, his legal attainments, and general mental powers.

Judge Duer of New York (brother of the president of the college), one of the most distinguished lawyers of America, in speaking of Emmet, at the meeting called for the purpose of carrying measures into effect for the erection of a monument to his memory, observed:

It was his fortune to have known him from his first arrival in New York, and to hear him, he believed, in a majority of the important cases in which his talents were most successfully exerted. His opinion was unbiased; since, from peculiar causes, there were no relations between them beyond those of mere civility.

Thomas Addis Emmet in head and in heart, and in no vulgar sense of the term, was a great man; and as an orator, with the single exception of Burke, unsurpassed by any that his country has produced. Su-

erior in judgment, in taste, in the extent and variety of his learning, in persevering skill, in chastened fervour, in true pathos, the abilities of Emmet were never displayed on their proper theatre. His large and philosophic views of society, government, and law—his ample stores of knowledge—his unrivalled promptitude and invariable self-command—his elocution, flowing, copious, rapid, unlimited in the range, most fortunate in the choice of his language; his brilliant imagination and ardent feelings, when most excited disciplined to obey the suggestions of his reason; his power of sarcasm and irony, rarely exerted, but when put forth, resistless—and above all, that imperatorial tone of voice (if the phrase be allowed) which his superior genius enabled him, without affectation, to assume in a deliberative and popular assembly, would have combined to invest him with controlling sway.

One of the most attached, the most sincere, the most upright and intrepid of his associates, Dr. William James Macneven, has thus spoken of the character and career of T. A. Emmet:

The attributes of genius are not rare among the Irish and American countrymen of Emmet, and time is constantly developing the resources of mind. The labours of intellect press onward for distinction—while names of high endowments are forced back to make room for new reputations. They alone will be long remembered who have acted with an impulsive power on the destinies of their country and kind.

Among those who first taught how to overthrow the misrule of Ireland—who exposed its causes and prepared its cure—Emmet is distinguished. He had great

influence on the adoption of those measures which are still at issue between Ireland and her foes, and which—in part obtained, in part withheld—are determinative of her future happiness, as they shall finally fail or be signally successful. He espoused the unqualified emancipation of the Catholics when that measure had few supporters out of their own body. He brought to that cause virtue and talents; and he and a few more influential members of the Protestant Church redeemed the errors of their predecessors. It is due to their memory to record that their vigorous interference broke the religious bonds which the Protestants of a former period had bound. They were accessible among the first in Ireland to the liberality of their age. Emmet, with the aid of his standing at the bar and of his commanding eloquence—exerted upon every fitting occasion—strenuously advanced those principles and policy for which we now do honour to his name.

Two of the inscriptions on the tomb of Emmet are at greater length than it is customary to go to in epitaphs in this country. The reason for extending the details given in those inscriptions, is the circumstance of there being no published works of Emmet's, with the exception of the "Part of an Essay towards the History of Ireland," which appeared in Macneven's "Pieces of Irish History," in 1807, and consequently there being a greater necessity for preserving by other means the remembrance of his intellectual powers and public conduct. The following are copies of the several inscriptions in

English, Latin, and Irish—the compositions of three men highly distinguished in their several pursuits:

IN MEMORY OF
THOMAS ADDIS EMMET,

Who
Exemplified in his conduct,
And adorned by his
Integrity,
The policy and principles
Of the United Irishmen—
“To forward a brotherhood
Of affection,
A community of rights,
An identity of interests,
And a union of power
Among Irishmen
Of every religious persuasion,
As the only means of Ireland’s
Chief good,
An impartial and adequate
Representation
In an Irish Parliament.”
For this
(Mysterious fate of virtue!)
Exiled from his native land,
In America, the land of freedom,
He found a second country,
Which paid his love

By reverencing his genius.
Learned in our laws
And in the laws of Europe,
In the literature of our times
And in that of antiquity,
All knowledge
Seemed subject to his use.
An orator of the first order,
Clear, copious, fervid,
Alike powerful
To kindle the imagination,
Touch the affections,
And sway the reason and the will.
Simple in his tastes,
Unassuming in his manners,
Frank, generous, kind-hearted,
And honourable,
His private life was beautiful
As his public course was
Brilliant.

Anxious to perpetuate
The name and example of such a man,
Alike illustrious by his
Genius, his virtues, and his fate;
Consecrated to their affections
By his sacrifices, his perils,
And the deeper calamities
Of his kindred,
In a just and holy cause:

His sympathizing countrymen
Erected this monument and
Cenotaph.

Born at Cork, 24th April, 1764.
He died in this city,
14th November, 1827.¹

M. S.

THOMÆ ADDIS EMMET.

Qui
Ingenio illustri, studiis altioribus
Moribus integris,
Dignum

¹ EMMET'S MONUMENT.—At 12 o'clock, on Friday last, Dr. Macneven made a public report to a numerous assembly at the City Hall, in relation to the monument of the late Thomas Addis Emmet, now nearly completed, at the cemetery of St. Paul's church. After a statement of such particulars as were proper to be exhibited to the contributors towards the work, he embraced the occasion to give an outline of Mr. Emmet's character and genius, and a brief sketch of his life, as connected with the great cause of civil and religious freedom generally, and particularly with the history, principles, and objects of the Society of United Irishmen. The enterprise for which that society was organized, though unfortunate in its immediate results, and long stigmatized by the odious term of rebellion, must take its place in history, as it already has in the estimation of the world, as a struggle in one of the holiest causes that ever animated the heart of man. No one living could do greater justice to such a theme than the venerable author of this address, who was among their most distinguished leaders, and could say of their doings and sufferings, "*Quæ ipse miserrima vidi, et quorum pars magna fui.*" At the conclusion of Dr. Macneven's address the monument was uncovered by him.—"The New York Courier," 10th December, 1832.

Se præstabat laudibus illis,
 Illa reverentia, illo
 Amore

Quæ semper eum viventem
 Prosequebantur;
 Et subita illo erepto, morte,
 Universæ in luctum civitatis
 Se effuderunt.

Quum raro extitit vir
 Naturæve dotibus, doctrinæve subsidiis
 Omnibus illo instructior;

Tum eloquentia, altâ illâ et verâ
 Qualem olim mirabantur Roma
 Athenæque,

Præcipue alios anteibat:
 Gravis, varius, vehemens, fervidus
 Omnes animi motus sic regere novit.

Uti eos qui audirent, quo vellet
 Et invitatos impelleret.

Hiberniâ natus,
 Dilectam sibi patriam diu subjectam
 Alieno, servis tantum ferendo, jugo,
 Ad libertatem, ad sua jura vocare

Magno est ausus animo;
 At præclara et consilia et vota
 Fefellere fata.

Tum infelicis littora Iernæ
 Reliquit,
 Spe, non animo, dejectus
 Nobilis exsul:

Et hæc Americana libens Respublica
 Illum excepit, civemque, sibi
 Gratulans adscivit;
 Dein hæc civitas illi domus,
 Hæc patria fuit,
 Hæc gloriam illi auxit, hæc
 Spiritus ultimos
 Recepit.

Mærentium civium voluntas
 Hoc exegit monumentum.

Do miannis rē aivoimataf
 Cum tīp a ñjeit;
 Do tūs rē clū ař fuaip rē
 Mollaō a ttīp a ñdīf.

The monument is an obelisk of white marble, three feet six inches square at the base, and lessening gradually upwards to the height of thirty feet, where it is two feet two inches square. From thence it is drawn abruptly to a point, and forms a small pyramid for the top. It stands on a plinth of the same material, being also an entire block, seven feet square and eighteen inches thick. On the face of the obelisk fronting Broadway, near the top, is a medallion likeness of Emmet, in bas-relief, of colossal size; below which is the English inscription, written by the Hon. Gulian C. Verplanck. On the face fronting Fulton-street is the inscription in the Irish language, furnished by the Right Rev. Bishop England, of Charleston, South Carolina, the translation of which is as follows: "He contemplated invaluable benefits for the land of his birth; he gave eclat to the land of his death; and received, in return, her love and admiration."

The two surviving sons of T. A. Emmet, Robert¹ and Thomas, reside in New York. Both of these gentlemen were brought up to the profession of the law, and both have risen to considerable eminence in it. Robert, the eldest, filled the office of a judge of the Supreme Court for some time, and Thomas that of legal adviser to the corporation of New York, and that also of a master in chancery. Both brothers, however, I believe, are now unconnected with any judicial or other legal appointment, and in the

¹ Robert, the eldest son of Thomas Addis Emmet, was born in Ireland, September 8th, 1792. He studied in France and afterward at Columbia College, N. Y. City, where he graduated in 1810. He served as a captain in his father's regiment during the war of 1812 and in 1817 married Rosina Habbley. He served in the State Legislature, was Corporation Counsel in 1836 and Register of the Court of Chancery until the office was abolished in 1848. He was Judge of the Superior Court from 1852 to 1854. He always took an active part in Irish affairs in the city of New York. Mr. Emmet died at New Rochelle, N. Y., Feb. 15, 1873. He was the father of eight children.

Margaret, the eldest daughter of Thos. Addis Emmet, died in N. Y. in 1883.

Elizabeth married Wm. H. LeRoy and died Dec. 31, 1878.

John Patten Emmet, the third son of Thos. Addis Emmet, and father of Dr. Thos. Addis Emmet, author of the "History of the Emmet Family," from which these details are taken, and "Ireland under English Rule," died at Mount Vernon, Aug. 15, 1842.

Thos. Addis died Aug. 12, 1863.

Jane Erin died June 7, 1890.

Mary Anne died July, 1866.

Wm. Colrill died July 19, 1875.

Christopher Temple died before his father.

Full notices of the careers of all these children will be found in Dr. T. A. Emmet's History of the Emmet Family.

exercise of their profession have attained a very high position in New York.

Mr. Thomas Emmet, the second son of T. A. Emmet, is the happy father of a fine family of children, who look as if they were born in a free country; resides at Harlaem, about five miles from New York. His beautiful villa, its garden, its library, the bust of Dr. Emmet, its fellow of Thomas Addis, and an oil painting of the latter by his daughter, call back to the mind of the visitor the villa of his father at Rathfarnham, described by Tone, where William Tell's imaged exploits were then casting their shadow before the path of Thomas Addis Emmet.

Mr. Robert Emmet filled the office of president of the Repeal Association of New York in 1841. In that year a circumstance occurred which placed the surviving sons of Thomas Addis Emmet, the guardians of their illustrious father's memory, in the position of vindicators of his honour, against aspersions which they considered had been unjustly and ungenerously cast upon their father's character. In the former edition of this work I made no reference to this painful circumstance, having deliberated on the subject of the necessity or inutility of adverting to it. I felt then as I feel now, that such an attack as Mr. O'Connell made in 1841 on the exiled leaders of 1798, then living in America, ought not to have been made, and that every true friend

of Mr. O'Connell had reason to regret it for his sake. But I thought then as I think now, that a premeditated, unjust, and ungenerous act towards such men as Emmet, Macneven, and Sampson, had never been contemplated by Mr. O'Connell; and that the offensive and injurious language employed by him on that occasion afforded only one of the many instances of which the speeches of O'Connell remind us—illustrative of the fact, that popular orators who talk a great deal in public, and have no time or opportunity afforded them to prepare their speeches, or resolutions, or addresses, say and write a great deal they never intended to utter or express, and can neither justify to themselves or others. Every passing incident or casual allusion in a preceding discourse strikes out a spark of thought, and stirs up some incidental theme or topic for instantaneous comment, and the subject, whatever it may be, is referred to in the heat and hurry of oratorical excitement, and in the particular mood of mind that may be determined by the conduct of followers, or the behaviour of an audience, or some accidental scrap of information that may be false or exaggerated, which may have been communicated at the very moment of entering the meeting in which the champion of a cause has to figure, and to deliver himself on the spur of the occasion, and under all the disadvantages of such a situation.

It was in such circumstances as these that Mr. O'Connell expressed himself in the terms which follow, and which gave such umbrage to the sons of T. A. Emmet; and although I still think I exercised a sound discretion in not referring to the matter in the former edition of my work, as others more immediately interested in it in America than I am, think otherwise, it has become incumbent on me to relate what passed in Ireland and in America on this occasion.

At a meeting of the Repeal Association in Dublin, reported in "The Freeman's Journal" of May the 22nd, 1841, Mr. O'Connell is reported to have proposed an address from the association to the Earl of Charlemont, in the draft of which document, prepared by him, we find the following words:

As to 1798, we leave the weak and wicked men who considered force and sanguinary violence as part of their resources for ameliorating our institutions, and the equally wicked and villainously designing wretches who fomented the rebellion and made it explode, in order that in the defeat of the rebellious attempt they might be able to extinguish the liberties of Ireland. We leave both these classes of miscreants to the contempt and indignation of mankind; and we, equally with your lordship, detest and deprecate the crimes of both.

The intelligence of this unjustifiable proceeding was not long in finding its way to the United

States. We read in an American paper of 28th April, 1841:

A meeting of the New York Irish Repeal Association was held on Monday evening last, the 26th April, 1841, at Tammany Hall; Thomas O'Connor, Esq., in the chair.

A report of the executive committee, on the subject of Robert Emmet, Esq.'s., resignation as president of the association, was read by the secretary, John C. Devereux, Esq.

The executive committee, to whom was referred the consideration of that part of "The Reply of the National Repeal Association of Ireland" which relates to the Irish patriots of 1798, and to whom also was referred the letter of resignation addressed to the Repeal Association of the city of New York by their highly esteemed president and fellow-citizen Robert Emmet, Esq., submitted resolutions condemnatory of Mr. O'Connell's abuse of the leaders which it is unnecessary for me to introduce here. It is sufficient to observe that the above-mentioned proceedings were the cause of the retirement of Mr. Robert Emmet as president of the Repeal Association in New York.

Two of the sons of T. A. Emmet, who had grown up to manhood, died in the United States; Temple about 1822, who entered the American navy at an early period; and John in 1842, who had been brought up to the medical profession under the care of Dr. Macneven, and became professor of chemistry in the University of Vir-

ginia. This young man lived long enough to earn a reputation in science worthy of his name. He was a constant contributor to the American scientific journals.

Of the four surviving daughters of T. A. Emmet, Margaret, the eldest, never married. Elizabeth married Mr. Le Roy; Maryanne, Mr. Graves. Both of these gentlemen rank among the first merchants in New York. Jane Erin, the youngest, born at Fort George, married Mr. M'Iver. When Mrs. Emmet accompanied her husband to America, in September, 1804, two of the sons, John and Thomas, were left behind in the charge of relatives, and were sent out to America in the month of March, 1805.

MRS. JANE EMMET.

The widow of Thomas Addis Emmet, the sister of the venerable John Patten of Dublin, survived her beloved husband eighteen years. She had shared in his sorrows and his sufferings—had been his companion in imprisonment in Kilmainham gaol, and in captivity in Fort George—not for days, or weeks, or months, but for years. She had accompanied him in exile to the Continent and to the land of his adoption, and there she shared in his honours and the felicity of his latter years.

In 1820 she was the mother of ten living children. This excellent lady died in New York in the 72nd year of her age, at the house of her son—

in-law, Mr. Graves, on the 10th of November, 1846.¹

The woman who encountered so many privations and trials as she had done—who had been accustomed to all the enjoyments of a happy home, and

“Had slept with full content about *her* bed,
And never waked but to a joyful morning”—

when deprived of all ordinary comforts, of the commonest appliances of these to the humblest state of life, during the imprisonment of her husband in Dublin; and was subjected necessarily to many restraints during the dreary imprisonment at Fort George—seemed ever to those who were the companions of her husband’s captivity as “one who, in suffering all things, suffered nothing.”

She fulfilled with heroic fortitude the duties of a devoted wife towards her husband in all his trials in his own country; was the joy and comfort of his life in a foreign land, where the exiled patriot, honoured and revered, in course of time rose to the first distinction in his profession; she died far away from her native land—but her memory should not be forgotten in Ireland.

This excellent woman, full of years, rich in virtue, surrounded by affectionate children—prosperous, happily circumstanced, dutiful and

¹ Jane Patten, born the 16th August, 1771; married to T. A. Emmet the 2nd of January, 1791.

loving children to her, worthy of their inheritance of a great name, and of the honour that descended to them from the revered memory of her truly noble husband—thus terminated in a foreign land a long career, chequered by many trials, over which a virtuous woman's self-sacrificing devotion, the constancy and courage of a faithful wife, the force of a mother's love eventually prevailed. The portrait of this lady is in the possession of Mr. John Patten. The time may come when this intimation may be of some avail. Ireland has its Cornelias, its Portias—matrons worthy of association in our thoughts with Cato's daughter, the mother of the children who were the jewels of the heart—with the wife of Russell, of Lavlette—but Ireland has no national gallery for the pictures or busts of her illustrious children—no national literature for a record of the “noble deeds of women” of her own land.

The Irish exiles who established themselves in America kept up a kindly intercourse amongst themselves. Some of their children intermarried, and thus the remembrance of the old ties by which the fathers were bound together were kept up and sustained by new relations. In New York this pleasing result was especially worthy of observation. The Emmets, the Macnevens, the Sampsons, the Wilsons, the Chambers, the Traynors, formed a little Irish community; and by their private conduct, no less than by the consist-

ency of their public principles, upheld their character and that of their country. Emmet's second son married the stepdaughter of Macneven; Tone's only son married the daughter of Sampson; Chambers' daughter was married to Caldwell; Edward Hudson married the daughter of P. Byrne, the bookseller. Macneven, at the period of the author's first visit to New York, was residing in that city, a physician of high repute, the father of a family that he had reason to be proud of; and whether as a medical practitioner, an able and accomplished scholar, a man of philosophic mind, of the strictest morality, both as regarded his political principles and private conduct, no man stood higher in the estimation of his friends and of the community at large.

Sampson, at the time of Emmet's death, was broken down in health, in the last stage of dropsy; but still in the full possession of his faculties.

The widow of Sampson and her daughter, Mrs. Tone, women worthy in every respect of the names they bear, were in 1835, residing in New York. Traynor, the ship-builder, of Poolbeg-street, Dublin, whose extraordinary escape from the *prévôt* in the Castle, in 1798, excited so much wonder, was enjoying the fruits of an industrious career on the banks of the Hudson. John Chambers, the stationer, of Abbey-street, was residing in New York, holding some public appointment.

This venerable old man died about 1837. The son of Hugh Wilson (who died at Santa Cruz in 1829) associated in professional business with Mr. Thomas Emmet, commencing his career with the character for "honour and honesty" (not in Castlereagh's sense of these terms) which his upright father bequeathed to him. Nicholas Gray, the adjutant-general of B. B. Harvey, the commander-in-chief at the battle of New Ross, was no longer "trailing the puissant pike." When the author last heard of him, he was "driving the quill" (to use his own words) in a situation in Hudson, obtained for him by "the great and good Mr. Emmet," on whose bounty he acknowledged he and his family had subsisted on their first arrival in the country. The two Binns (though not Irishmen, may be mentioned as connected with the Society of United Irishmen); one, the secretary of the London Corresponding Society, who was tried at Maidstone in 1798, along with Arthur O'Connor, was then an alderman of the Philadelphia corporation; the other, an active United Irishman, well acquainted with the Wexford movement, converted into a tranquil citizen in easy circumstances, whose conduct exemplified the maxim, that "in peace nothing so becomes a man as modest stillness and humility." William Paulett Carey, whose paper was the organ of the Volunteers in 1782, and of the United Irishmen in 1794-5, the brother of the

author of the "Vindiciæ Hiberniæ," had been dead many years, but his sons were settled in Philadelphia, where for a long period they were the Longmans of America.

Henry Jackson, the iron-founder, settled in Pennsylvania, purchased some land there, but got tired of the country, and went to Baltimore, where he lived for some time with his daughter, Mrs. Bond, and died several years ago. Mr. Bond had two sons; one returned to England—the other remained in America, became a merchant in New York, but was not very successful. Mrs. Bond returned to England, accompanied by her father, in 1810, visited Ireland, and again returned to America. Henry Jackson died at New York the 4th of July, 1817, in his 65th year. He had resided in New York some years previous to his decease. To Mrs. Bond's credit be it told, during her short stay in Ireland, her duty to her husband's memory was not forgotten by her, and to it she erected a handsome monument in Church-street. She returned again to America, where she died some years since.

John Cormick went first to New York, had one daughter married to Mr. Barth. Egan, of Virginia, a member of Congress. Cormick, soon after his arrival in America, bought an estate and slaves in one of the southern states. (This was carrying out the principles of the United Irishmen with a vengeance!) His wife remained

in Ireland, and in 1806, by mutual consent, a formal separation took place. He married again; his second wife was a Frenchwoman, by whom he had one son, distinguished for his talents at the bar. Mrs. Cormick, at his death, married Mr. Roe of Dublin, a distiller, and died in Dublin.

The sons of Porter, the Presbyterian clergyman, the neighbour of Lord Londonderry, who was executed in front of his meeting-house, with the view of conciliating the congregation by whom he was beloved, occupied high stations in their adopted country. One, a member of the senate, a judge of the Supreme Court of Louisiana; the other, attorney-general of the same state. Dr. White, a member of the northern directory, resided in Baltimore, eminently successful in his profession. And lastly, the sons of Emmet, sustaining the character of their father's worth, pursued the legal profession, and followed the same honourable path of public and private virtue. The memory of their father is still living in the hearts of the people among whom his lot was cast. Fortunately for him and for his family, when the misgovernment of Ireland bereaved his country "of that integrity which should become it," in turning his face towards the transatlantic Antium, he could say, "There is a world elsewhere."

Of all his political associates, T. A. Emmet

seems to have entertained the warmest feelings of personal regard for Dr. W. J. Macneven. He invariably spoke in the strongest terms of esteem of that excellent man. Emmet could well appreciate his worth, integrity, and honour, and between them there existed a mutual confidence, an ardent and sincere attachment, uninterrupted from their first political connection to its close.

There were also many others of his associates for whom Mr. Emmet entertained the warmest friendship and esteem, and in whose truth, honour, and fidelity he placed the most unqualified reliance.

Among many of less note it may seem injustice to name but one, although none who may now be left of these gallant men will recall with any other feelings than those of pleasure and respect the name of their fellow-prisoner, Hugh Wilson. For him Mr. Emmet and his brother Robert always felt the sincerest friendship. He was not a chief or leader in the rebellion; but none were more devoted and true to their cause, and none were more endowed than he was with those qualities of the heart and sterling principles of justice and morality which mark, beyond a doubt, the man of true courage, fidelity, and honour, and which create at once a confiding, sincere, and enduring attachment. Hugh Wilson died in New York in July, 1829, leaving two sons—one

in the profession of the law in New York, the other a farmer in Pennsylvania.

Nearly all the leaders of the Society of United Irishmen who had settled in the United States have followed Emmet to the grave since the period of my first communications with them; others elsewhere, with whom the author was acquainted, and from whom he derived information which could not be supplied by any other persons, have dropped off one by one in quick succession during the last five-and-twenty years.¹

¹ Prior to 1850.

CHAPTER XII

FUNERAL HONOURS

“NEW YORK COURIER,” 15TH NOVEMBER, 1827.

WITH sentiments of deep and unfeigned regret we state that this venerable and distinguished citizen was seized with apoplexy yesterday, while engaged in his professional duties in the Circuit Court in the City Hall. Such was the sensation produced by this melancholy occurrence, that the court immediately adjourned. We cannot but fear that the voice which so often and so eloquently has pleaded the cause of the injured and oppressed—the mind that has rendered plain and clear the most intricate and abstruse questions of law—the heart that has beaten with a fervid pulse for the cause and principles of his adopted country, will be lost to us for ever. We were informed at his house as late as ten o’clock last evening that he was then alive, but no hope was entertained of his recovery.

“NEW YORK COURIER,” 16TH NOVEMBER, 1827.

THOMAS ADDIS EMMET.—Our fears of yesterday were too well founded—the great advocate and estimable man is no more. He has descended to the tomb in the fulness of years and the maturity of honours. The speaking eye is closed in darkness—the eloquent tongue is silent—and the generous heart is now but cold clay. To one whose life was marked by such beauty and

purity as his, death, even when he comes with such appalling suddenness, comes not on an unprepared subject. He had so lived that he feared not to die; and while we mourn the loss of so estimable a man, regret is chastened by the well-founded belief that he has passed from this to a better and happier state of being.

Few men of brilliant talents can pass through a conflicting professional life without exciting envy and enmity; fewer still, how pure soever in character, can escape the breath of suspicion and misrepresentation. In this the lamented Emmet was peculiarly fortunate; his enemies were few indeed, and envy, despairing of reaching the elevation on which he stood, looked elsewhere for an object. No whisper was ever heard against the purity of his character—

He kept
The whiteness of his soul unsullied—

and added to brilliancy of genius uprightness of purpose and generosity of heart.

Such was Thomas Addis Emmet, and as such we consign him to his honoured grave.

“COMMERCIAL ADVERTISER,” 15TH NOVEMBER,
1827.

DEATH OF MR. EMMET.—It is with feelings of the deepest regret that we record the death of Thomas Addis Emmet, Esq., who has so long stood in the front rank of eminent American jurists, and whose gigantic legal attainments and powerful eloquence have thrown such lustre over the bar of New York. There was something very solemn and deeply affecting in the suddenness and manner of his death. He may be said to have died on the field of his victories and well-earned re-

nown. He was closely confined in court during the trial of the Astor cause, in which, on Monday last, he summed up in behalf of the plaintiff in a masterly and elaborate address. The trial of the "Sailors' Snug Harbour" cases ensued, in which he was also engaged. We learn that for two nights he had scarcely taken any repose, and there is no doubt that such intense and unremitting mental occupation produced the shock which has terminated his valuable life. He was sitting in court yesterday, in the forenoon, in apparent health, and was conversing only a few moments before the event. He was observed to lean forward with his head resting on his hand, or on the table, and when spoken to was found to be entirely insensible. When this was ascertained the court immediately adjourned. Messengers were despatched for the members of his family and physicians, who speedily arrived. Bleeding was resorted to, but without producing any apparent effect. A litter was prepared for his removal, on which he was carried to his house in Hudson-square. The Court of Chancery, which was sitting at the same time, was also immediately adjourned. The melancholy event produced a profound and solemn sensation on the crowd who assembled round the court-room, in which his friends and the medical gentlemen called in were employing their ineffectual efforts on his behalf. We believe that Mr. Emmet remained in a state of insensibility from the moment of the attack until he expired last night at a few minutes after eleven.

There are few of our citizens who have not witnessed, at some time, the displays of argumentative and impassioned oratory which flowed from the lips of this great lawyer. His vigour seemed to remain unim-

paired to the last, and he has died in the fulness of his fame and at the height of his profession. We will not do injustice to his memory by a feeble attempt to characterise the style of his eloquence. This task will no doubt be performed by some of his able compeers, on whom it will regularly devolve.

On the opening of the court this morning, Mr. D. B. Ogden very feelingly announced the melancholy event, and the court immediately adjourned. The members of the bar who were present, including his honour the chancellor, were then called to order, and the venerable Judge Benson being present, was appointed chairman, and the chancellor, also present, was appointed secretary.

It was on motion resolved that a general meeting of the profession be held on Friday (to-morrow) morning at ten o'clock, in the Supreme Court room, for the purpose of testifying their respect for the memory of their eminent deceased brother.

“EVENING POST,” FRIDAY, 16TH NOVEMBER, 1827.

MEETING OF THE BAR.—Agreeably to previous notice a numerous meeting of the Members of the Bar was convened this morning, and on motion Judge Benson was chosen president, and the attorney-general secretary, and four resolutions were passed.

The substance of these resolutions was as follows.

1. That a marble monument be erected in honour of the deceased.
2. That a committee be appointed to select some suitable person to prepare a memoir of the deceased, and also to deliver an eulogium as an incentive to the junior members of the bar.

3. That the usual badge of mourning be worn for thirty days.

4. That a copy of these resolutions be presented to the afflicted family.

On motion of Mr. Hoffman the bar formed a procession and proceeded to the house of the deceased.

The following account of the funeral procession, and the previous proceedings of the Bar, Bench, Common Council, and College of Physicians, are taken from "The New York Commercial Advertiser" of 16th November, 1827.

The procession formed in the following order at the City Hall, and proceeded to the late dwelling of Mr. Emmet:

High Constable.

Governor and Chancellor.

Former Chancellor.

Present and former Judges of the Supreme Court.

Judges of the United States' Court.

First Judge of Common Pleas and former Recorders.

Present and former Attorney Generals.

Clerk of County and Clerk of Oyer and Terminer.

Clerks of U. S. Courts and U. S. Marshal.

Clerks of the Supreme Court, and Register in Chancery
and Surrogate.

District Attorney, and U. S. District Attorney.

Members of the Bar.

Students at Law.

Sheriff.

Mayor and Recorder.

Members of Common Council.

Members of Common Council Elect.

At a court of general sessions held at the City Hall of the city of New York, in and for the city and county of New York, on the 16th day of November, 1827:

Present—Richard Riker, Recorder; Jacob B. Taylor, Gideon Ostrander, and Campbell P. White, Esqrs., Aldermen.

Upon the opening of the court, the Recorder stated, that it had been announced to the presiding magistrates that THOMAS ADDIS EMMET expired on the evening of the 14th instant, and would be buried this day at twelve o'clock.

The following order was forthwith directed to be entered upon the minutes of the court:

That the Judges of this court now and here will attend the funeral of Thomas Addis Emmet, for the purpose of paying the last tribute of respect to one who, by uniting the greatest abilities with the most unsullied integrity, has for more than twenty years thrown a lustre upon the New York Bar. The Judges now present most deeply deplore his death, and will unite with their associate justices, and other public functionaries, and with their fellow-citizens, in testifying their regard for the deceased, their admiration of his talents, and their approbation of his virtues.

The learned Counsel whose death is thus lamented by the court has discharged, in their fullest extent, all the duties of public and of private life; and by his great attainments and excellent qualities has reflected equal honour upon the country of his birth and the country of his adoption.

At a special meeting of the Common Council on the 16th of November, 1827, the Recorder presented the

following preamble and resolutions, which were unanimously adopted:

When, in the course of Divine Providence, individuals who have been held in high and deserving esteem by their fellow-citizens are removed from this state of mortal existence, it is becoming and useful to testify by public expression a sense of that esteem. It is becoming as a reward to merit, it is useful as an incentive to a faithful discharge of duties.

The death of the deeply lamented Thomas Addis Emmet furnishes, in the opinion of this Board, such an occasion for the expression of public sentiment. He has long filled, in the eye of this community, a distinguished station. His talents have shed a lustre over our country—his virtues were a model for imitation, and endeared him wherever he was known.

This Common Council, sincerely sympathizing with his family and with the public at large, and as a tribute of respect to his memory,

Resolved, That this Board attend the funeral ceremonies of the late Thomas Addis Emmet, this day at twelve o'clock.

Resolved, That the members of this Board wear the usual badge of mourning for the space of thirty days.

J. MORTON, Clerk.

At a special meeting of the Board of Professors of the Medical Faculty of Geneva College, held at the College on Thursday evening, the 15th of November instant, Professor Francis having communicated the death of Thomas Addis Emmet, Counsellor of this Board, and formerly a member of the medical profession,

On motion—Resolved, That the professors of this college deeply sympathize with the family of Mr. Emmet on the loss they have sustained in the death of an inestimable husband and father; and that a copy of this resolution be transmitted to his bereaved relatives.

Resolved, That this Board will unite with the Bar and with the public in testifying their respect for the memory of the distinguished individual whose loss is so deeply and justly regretted.

Resolved, That the professors will suspend their respective lectures on the 16th inst., and will attend the obsequies of the illustrious deceased.

By order, DAVID HOSACK, M. D., Pres. of the Med.
Faculty.
VALENTINE MOTT, M. D., Dean.

ACCOUNT OF THE FUNERAL PROCESSION AND INTERMENT.

“THE MORNING COURIER,” 17TH NOVEMBER, 1827.

Between the hours of 11 and 12 o’clock, on the 16th instant, there was an immense crowd of people assembled in Hudson-square. The universal sensation of grief which the death of Mr. Emmet excited shows the high respect and veneration in which he was generally held.

At one o’clock the procession began to move.

[Then follow the names and titles of the several legal and public functionaries given in the preceding notice.]

The pall-bearers on this melancholy occasion were, His Excellency De Witt Clinton, Governor of the State of New York; the late Chancellor Kent and Chancellor Jones; Judges Betts and Thompson; Nathan Sandford

and Martin Van Buren, Esqrs., U. S. Senators; Messrs. W. J. Macneven, William Sampson, John Chambers, Robert Swanton, D. B. Ogden, C. D. Colden, J. O. Hoffman, and Samuel Boyd.

The procession advanced through Beech-street towards Broadway, where it was met by an immense assemblage of individuals anxious to perform the last honours to the eminent deceased. Every window and avenue was filled with spectators, and notwithstanding the coldness and disagreeableness of the day we believe there has been seldom witnessed in this city a more numerous or more respectable funeral.

About half-past one o'clock the procession arrived at Grace church. The funeral service was here read in a most impressive manner by the officiating clergyman. The melodious and solemn sound of the organ, the delightful and awe-inspiring music of "I heard a voice," &c., and the melancholy occasion of the assembly, evidently affected every person present.

Hence the procession moved to St. Mark's church graveyard, where the body of the much lamented Thomas Addis Emmet was interred.

"NEW YORK EVENING POST," 27TH NOVEMBER,
1827.

We learn that Governor Clinton has complied with the wishes of the committee of the bar, and accepted of their invitation to pronounce the eulogy on Mr. Emmet, in conformity to the resolution of the bar of this city, adopted on the 16th instant.

MONUMENT TO MR. EMMET.

At a meeting of citizens of Irish birth and parentage, convened by public advertisement, and held at Tam-

many Hall on the evening of the 21st instant, Dr. George Cuming being called to the chair, and Alderman Campbell P. White appointed secretary,

Dr. Macneven, evidently under the influence of strong feelings, addressed to the meeting the following observations:

“The melancholy occasion which calls us together will be our apology for giving vent to Irish feelings, and assembling in the character of Irishmen at present. We have lost a friend who by his virtues and his genius was an honour to our native country—a country ever dear to our affections, though of late so fallen as scarcely to live in the knowledge of the world, or to honour and reputation, but through its exiles. If it were for nothing else than the reverence we bear our native land we owe a debt of gratitude to the memory of Emmet, for the beneficial influence he has shed upon the Irish character in the United States.

“Twenty years ago, as several here may remember, strong prejudices against the emigrants from Ireland prevailed widely through this city, and even reached some of the best men in the community. But they were prejudices, and we had the consolation of seeing them gradually give way before the bright example of great personal worth, conciliating manners, and the honourable employment of the highest intellectual powers. One incident of those times is fit to be recalled, as it forcibly exhibits the propriety of conduct which won esteem, and the sense of justice which prompted the eloquent and beautiful effusion contained in *The American* of 15th November—a tribute to the memory of our departed friend alike distinguished by good feelings, good taste, and the greatest felicity of expressing

them. Deception will often come upon us from without, but the merit that redeems it is our own.

“Through all the city the public press took the same just and generous part; nor is this surprising, though it be praiseworthy. Men whose own vocation consists in the daily exercise of talents, frequently of a high order, could not but experience an instinctive sympathy and fellow feeling towards one whom talents so various and commanding had raised to undisputed eminence.

“For an honour never conferred here before on a private citizen, our municipal fathers, in their corporate capacity, attended the obsequies of Emmet.

“The Grand Assize of this metropolis of the Union, a body that has rarely convened since the revolution, being assembled to try the validity of Captain Randal’s munificent bequest, have it in contemplation to affix a tablet to our countryman’s fame on the wall of the court where he fell—heretofore the scene of his usefulness—henceforward of his renown. Nor is it irrelevant for me to remark, that his professional career at the New York bar began in prosecuting a suit against negro slavery, and that its last act was a defence of charity.

“The judges adjourned from the bench to attend him to his grave.

“The members of the bar among whom he spent his life, and who must be admitted to be the most discerning judges of his character, of his genius, and of the vastness of his acquirements—the most capable to appreciate his unwearied toil, his urbanity to his peers, his fidelity to his clients; the members of the bar resolved, with one accord, to perpetuate the benefit of

as we contemplate the strange and unaccountable Providence which has hurried him so suddenly away. Emmet passed from before our eyes like a bright vision—stood but now in the glorious panoply of talent and eloquence in the very hall of judgment, pursuing the noble career he had embraced with an ardour and devotion rarely witnessed at any time, but almost never at his period of life.

We heard his last effort, which, like the increasing splendour of the sun as it sinks to rest, seemed to grow yet more radiant with feeling and energy and all the attributes of genius, and in another moment, the heart that was ever filled with the noblest sentiments, and the colossal mind which could patiently examine the arcana of practice, unravel the knotted combinations of falsehood, or comprehend within its grasp the profoundest questions of government and politics, were palsied by the cold hand of relentless death! It is a consolation to those who loved him, that he died in the full possession of his unrivalled faculties, and rich in the affections of all those who ever approached him.

To this community, which he has so long served, his loss is a severe one; but to his brethren of the bar, perhaps his loss is irreparable. The amenity of his manners, the urbanity of his deportment, the excellency of his heart, and the kindness to the younger members of the profession, all rendered him a model for imitation, and are for ever engraven on the hearts of those with whom he was associated. Of that bar he might well be called the father, "*et decus et tutamen;*" perhaps we may say without offence to those who survive him, that whether we regard the virtues of the heart, the high sense of honour which characterize every action

of his life, or the displays of his forensic talent, he has not left his superior behind him.

He first distinguished himself here in defending some fugitive slaves, and astonished his audience by the ardour of this enthusiasm and the novel excellence of his manner. He held for a short time, in 1812 and '13, the office of attorney-general of this state, but soon resigned the appointment, and never after sought or occupied a public station.

Simple and unostentatious in private life, Mr. Emmet devoted his whole soul to his profession. Midnight orgies never followed the severe labours of the forum, and no client ever complained that the merits of his case had not been perceived and sustained. His knowledge was profound—his researches, to his last moment, unremitting. He possessed a mind of extraordinary comprehension, and the strongest and most exclusive powers of analysis; he enjoyed the secret of identifying himself with his case, and adding a sort of personal interest to his professional obligation. Endued with a brilliant imagination, fortified with accurate and discriminating views of English history, enriched with all the fruits of various knowledge, and blessed with a noble enthusiasm, he appeared at the bar the very model of a learned, accomplished, and eloquent man.

After his admission to the bar in this state, in which we understand the general rule of court was dispensed with, Mr. Emmet rapidly rose in the profession, and indeed almost immediately took that stand which his talents entitled him to occupy, and which he maintained while he lived. His first distinguished effort was in the defence of some fugitive slaves, in which his en-

so illustrious an example, especially for the sake of junior members, by the erection of a monument. This inspiring incentive is likely to be placed in the daily view of the profession, to rouse the latent energies of genius to noble emulation, to kindle the rivalship of eloquence, and proclaim the triumph of science and of labour.

“The Faculty of Physic of Geneva College wears mourning for an early member of the medical profession, and has appointed his distinguished cotemporary and friend at the University of Edinburgh, Dr. Mitchill, to pronounce his eulogium.

By strangers honoured, and by strangers mourned.

“After these kind-hearted, these generous proceedings of the Americans, what shall be the conduct of his fellow-citizens of Irish birth? They will indeed embalm the memory of Emmet in their hearts, but they will also leave behind them a less frail memorial of their esteem. They will erect an Irish monument to an Irish patriot, where, thank God! they have power to do it. And it shall revive, in associated remembrances, the names of many confederates of his sublimest purposes, who now sleep without their fame, whose epitaph is not yet written, but to whom this monument of a brother will be a cenotaph.”

Resolutions were then passed:

That a subscription be opened for erecting a monument to the late Thomas Addis Emmet, commemorative of his virtues and genius.

That in order to extend the right of joining in the subscription to the whole Irish population, no greater

sum than three dollars be received from any one person.

GEORGE CUMING, Chairman.

CAMPBELL P. WHITE, Secretary.

“THE NEW YORK ALBION,” 18TH NOVEMBER, 1827.

MR. EMMET.—The melancholy death of this excellent man and distinguished advocate has been announced to this community, and excited a sympathy as honourable to its possessors as it was justly merited by the eminent virtues of him whose sudden and appalling demise all hearts deplore.

When an individual in ordinary life, whatever may be the purity of his character and the general elevation of his views, is snatched away from us, the loss penetrates the hearts of friends, and perhaps destroys for ever all the blessed and soothing joys, all the affectionate endearments of the social circle in which he moved; but society feels not the event that has occurred, and the great machine rolls on with the regularity of undisturbed and noiseless progression. But when a man like Thomas Addis Emmet, whose name is engraven on the imperishable tablets of history—whose genius and whose eloquence have received the unbought tribute to both hemispheres—whose public and private course, whether as a patriot or a father, was a combination of unspotted honour, of the gentlest and kindest affections, and the warmest charity—the simple beauty of whose life was a commentary on what man may be in this transitory world—when such a man is struck down into the remorseless grave, the blood rushes back to the fountains of the heart, and we are lost in wonder

thusiastic manner and energetic eloquence commanded the admiration of all who heard him. On the death of Matthias B. Hildreth, Esq., the attorney-general of this state, Mr. Emmet was appointed his successor, on the 12th August, 1812. After holding this office a short period, less we believe than a year, he resigned it, and did not, during the residue of his life, seek or occupy any public station. From that period to the time of his death he was unremittingly engaged in laborious and important business. His industry was indefatigable; and while he always mastered the minutest details of every cause, his genius, with the mental resources of general knowledge on which he could always draw for illustration, irradiated even the most dull and uninviting topics. His name belongs to the history of his native country, and his memory will always be cherished in that which adopted him, and claims his legal career as a part of the inheritance of her national glory.

The old friend and fellow-student of T. A. Emmet at the University of Edinburgh—one of the most celebrated physicians of his time in the United States, Dr. Mitchill, thus speaks of his former acquaintance and associate:

Mr. Emmet arrived at New York in 1804, where I enjoyed the pleasure of taking my former fellow-student by the hand, and of welcoming him to the land of liberty. His political sufferings and professional fame had reached America long before his migration. He was received with great liberality by the gentlemen of the juridical profession. The prevailing opinion was, among the counsellors and judges, that his alienism was no objection to his admission to practice. He ac-

cordingly took the steps necessary to make his appearance in the courts of law and equity in the state. Having determined to consider this as the country of his future residence, he made early declaration of his intention to become a citizen, as soon as the terms prescribed by the statutes of naturalization would permit; and that he might lose no opportunity to bring himself reputably forward, he repaired to Washington city, to gain a registry in the Supreme Court of the United States, and pay his respects to the ruling powers. There I saw him busily engaged in the furtherance of his object. Whenever he showed himself he attracted sympathy and respect. New York was the place he chose for his dwelling. He seems to have studiously devoted himself to his new profession.

Amidst the almost numberless cases of litigation arising among a free people and under the government of laws, he soon found opportunities to come forward, and after a few displays of his powers before courts and juries, as well as witnesses and other auditors, he established the character of a zealous and eloquent advocate.

He had, as I before observed, been distinguished at Edinburgh for his speeches in the debating societies to which he belonged. Earnestness was a remarkable trait of his eloquence. He was intent upon the subject of his consideration. He knew how to be argumentative where the theme admitted or required it, and when he pleased he could indulge in declamation. His tone and accent were generally cogent and forcible, and bordered sometimes on the vehement. The motions and gestures which accompanied the utterance increased its potency and effect. His countenance had a corresponding ac-

tion, and mostly evinced the deep interest he took in the cause. There was a peculiarity in his utterance different from that of any other public speaker I ever heard. Even so long ago he appeared to have studied the subject of discussion more diligently than most of his contemporaries; consequently he could fortify it with the science of facts and observations, and embellish it with the literature derived from books and conversations. He could command ample stores of words and ideas, and bring them to bear on the question. All these qualities which distinguished his earlier exercises were increased and improved by study and time, and put in requisition for his duties at the bar. Their joint operation rendered him a valuable counsellor, who would not trifle with his client's business, nor permit it to suffer by indifference or neglect. He had a frankness and candour which rendered him very estimable in society. To the junior members of the profession he was remarkable for a polite and conciliatory course of conduct. He entered with so much fervency and talent into the work he undertook, that he, in due season, took his station among the most eminent of the profession. He was retained in many very important trials, both civil and criminal, and the reputation of a moral and honourable man secured to him the confidence and attachment of his employers.

In the year 1812 he was appointed attorney-general of the state; but in the conflict of party and the strife of opinion the circumstances were such that he did not hold it long.

It is remarkable that a man who spoke so much, and frequently so well, should have written and printed so little.

There are nevertheless several tracts, besides the medical essays before mentioned, which ought now to be noticed. He has left, for example, a composition which is entitled "Part of an Essay towards the History of Ireland." It was published in a collection made by his friend and fellow-sufferer, the learned and accomplished Dr. William James Macneven, and published at New York in 1807, under the title of "Pieces of Irish History," illustrative of the condition of the Catholics of Ireland, of the origin and progress of the political system of the United Irishmen, and of their transactions with the Anglo-Irish government. It commences with the corruption and venality of the parliament in 1788 and 1789, and terminates with the conviction and execution of Messrs. Weldon, Hart, Kennedy, and others, in 1795.¹

¹ "A Discourse on the Life and Character of T. A. Emmet," pronounced in the City Hall, New York, 1st March, 1828, by Samuel L. Mitchill, M.D. New York, 1828.

MEMOIR OF
WILLIAM JAMES MACNEVEN

CHAPTER I

EARLY HISTORY

WITH few exceptions, the materials collected for the memoirs of the leaders of the United Irishmen would in all probability have perished, had they not fallen into the hands of women, who clung to the memories of their departed friends with feelings of attachment commensurate with the calamities which had overtaken the objects of their affection or regard. It would seem that in man's adversity, when his fellow-men fall away from his sinking fortunes, or detach their thoughts from his maltreated memory, there is a steadfastness in the nature of woman's love, a fidelity in her friendship, which gives to the misfortunes of her kindred a new claim to her solicitude for everything that concerns their interests or their fame. In the present instance of that faithfulness of affection, the memory of William James Macneven is indebted to his



daughter for the ample justice that has been done to it.

The memoir which is now presented to the public was drawn up by Miss Macneven—not with a view to its appearance in this form, but in compliance with the wishes of the author to be furnished with such materials as might enable him to give an account of her father's life. That request was complied with; but the sketch however that was forwarded was so admirably drawn in style and feeling—so indicative of an understanding highly cultivated, of rectitude of mind and literary ability, that it appeared to him better calculated to give a just idea of her father's character than its details could be in any other form. In giving this narrative as it was presented to him, he would beg to make a few observations in reference to the use made of similar documents in the previous series of this work, as well as in the present one.

His great object has been to give information, the authenticity of which could not be called in question. With this view it was necessary, at no small expense of labour, to obtain from the surviving friends and relatives of the persons whose biography he had undertaken, all the information of a documentary kind that could be procured. Such information was sought in several quarters, and obtained in various forms. In matters which former contradictory accounts had left in doubt

or dispute, it seemed to be desirable—instead of entering into lengthened discussions, extracting passages from the several documents obtained in order to refute or corroborate particular passages in other works, and thereby to be exposed to the charge of garbling important documents—to give insertion to them in their original form, and without breaking up the matter, except where an obvious necessity existed for so doing. The consequence has been an apparent negligence in arrangement, which it would have been very easy to have avoided. But if there be any value in the information given in these documents, the advantage that might be found in carefully keeping one subject from trenching in the least degree on the limits of another, might be gained at the expense of that character for authenticity which these documents possess, and which constitute the chief, if not the sole value of the work. If the author exaggerate the importance of them, the failing is not uncommon to overrate the value of things which it has cost a great deal of trouble to acquire.

We now proceed with Miss Macneven's narrative:

During the long illness of my dear father I frequently conversed with him on the subject of his early life and family, and committed to writing a short sketch of what he related to me.

His ancestors were respectable country gentlemen,

residing on their own estate, which was transmitted in a direct line from father to son. They owned originally large possessions in the north of Ireland, but were robbed of them in the time of Cromwell, and with many of their countrymen were allotted land in the wilds of Connaught. This property remained in my father's family until his emigration to America, when it was sold. His father's elder brother, Willam O'Kelly Macneven, left Ireland early in life, and established himself as a physician in Germany by the advice of his maternal uncle, William O'Kelly, who held an honourable station at the court of Vienna.¹ Here he soon rose to eminence, and was appointed one of the physicians of the Empress Maria Theresa, with the title of Baron. He married a lady of rank and fortune, and settled

¹ The genealogy of the Macnevens is set forth by one of the most eminent of Irish antiquarians, Dr. O'Donovan, in the following note to a passage in "The Tribes of Hy-Mani:" "*Mac Cnaimhin*, now Anglicised MacNevin, and among the peasantry shortened to Neavin and Nevin. This family were originally settled at Crannog Meg Cnaimhin, now Crannagh-MacNevin, in the south-east extremity of the parish of Tynagh, barony of Leitrim, and county of Galway, and the name is still numerous in that and the adjoining barony of Loughrea. The first notice of this family to be found in Irish history occurs in the Annals of the Four Masters at the year 1159, where it is recorded that Athius, the son of Mac Cnaimhin (Mac Nevin), was slain at Ardee, in the now county of Louth, in a battle fought between Muirchertach Mac Loughlin, senior of the Northern Hy-Niall, the legitimate heir to the throne of Ireland, and Roderic O'Connor, King of Connaught. The head of the name in the reign of Queen Elizabeth was Hugh Mac Knavin: he was hanged on the 4th of June, 1602, as appears from an inquisition taken at Galway, on the 10th of October, 1605: 'Quod Hugo Mac Knavin, alias dictus Mac Kellie, intravit in actionem Rebellionis et captus et suspensus fuit, 4 Junii, 1602; et fuit seisisitus in Ballilie, Cranach Mac Knavin,' &c. In a grant to the Earl of Clanricarde, dated

permanently in Prague. His father, James Macneven, resided on the paternal property with an only sister, Mary Brennan, a widow lady, his younger brother Simon, and his four sons. It had been his misfortune to lose his wife a few years after his marriage. On his excellent sister devolved the charge of his children —a duty which she performed with a mother's care and tenderness. The name of his mother was Rosa Dolphin; she was of a good old Catholic family, and died when my father was but a few years of age.

My father, William James Macneven, was born at Ballynahowne, county of Galway, on the 21st of March, 1763. He was the eldest of four sons; of his brothers, the youngest, Hugh, was the only one who lived to reach manhood; the other two, Joseph and Antony, died in infancy. At the age of ten or twelve years, my father was sent for by his uncle, Baron Macneven, to receive his education in Germany, a custom very general in Catholic families, and rendered necessary at that time by the operation of the penal laws. Baron Macneven had also early become a widower, and his family consisted of himself, three daughters, and an only son. He lived in good style, occupying a handsome residence in Prague during the winter months, and passing his summers at an old castle on the river Sazva or Seva, about sixty miles distant from the city. This castle had in olden times belonged to the Knights Templars, and was one of their strongholds. It came into our uncle's

19th July, 1610, mention is made, among various other lands granted to him, of part of the lands of Cranach Mac Knavin, parcel of the estate of Hugh Mac Knavin, otherwise O'Kelly [an error for Mac Kelly], of Cranagh Mac Knavin, executed in rebellion."—R. R. M.

possession through his wife, who being an only child had inherited it from her father. In his uncle's family my father spent eight or ten years very happily and profitably. He received an excellent classical education in the college at Prague—subsequently he passed through the medical college there, and finished his professional studies at Vienna, where he graduated at the age of twenty, 1783. His uncle was a man of learning and science, and my father had the advantage of associating from childhood with the polished and learned men who formed this circle. The last years of my father's residence in Germany were rendered still pleasanter by the arrival of his brother Hugh, who was also sent for by their kind uncle, and enjoyed similar advantages with himself. When their studies were fully completed they returned to their native country, and my father commenced the practice of his profession in Dublin, about 1784. His family were of the Roman Catholic persuasion. His father was a man of the most amiable disposition and benevolent feelings, just and honourable in all his actions, warmly attached to his children and friends, and humane to his dependents. At this period he was leading a tranquil life in the midst of his friends and neighbours. His son Hugh and his brother Simon resided with him, and his sister Mary superintended his family. My father always spoke with warm affection and gratitude of this excellent woman. She was a pious member of the Roman Catholic Church, received in all simplicity and faith its doctrines, and taught them with fervour to her nephews. A few years since, a family relic was transmitted to my father from Ireland by some person into whose hands it had fallen after her death. It was a piece of the true cross en-

closed in a small silver case, which he well remembered seeing his aunt wear round her neck. It had been more than a hundred years in the family when my father was a child, having been brought from Rome to Ireland by a great uncle, who was an ecclesiastic. His aunt kept it reverently as a sacred and holy relic, and only opened it on solemn occasions. The last time my father saw it in his own country was on the occasion of his leaving home for Germany, when she opened and showed it to him to add to the strength of her parting benediction. Fifty years from that time it came into his possession in the way I have mentioned; and so strong was the force of the early associations connected with it upon my father, that as we passed it from one to the other, gazing on it merely as an object of curiosity, he expressed himself pained at seeing what had been held in such high veneration by his good aunt, and by himself in his childhood, handled thus irreverently.

My father was now established in the practice of his profession in Dublin. With youth, health, superior abilities, and education in his favour, and good family connections, he had a fair and prosperous career opened before him, and he was soon enabled by his practice to live genteelly and independently, and to keep with ease his station in society. Had Ireland been in a happier condition, or could selfish motives have deadened his love of his unfortunate country, I cannot doubt but that my father would have become greatly eminent in the paths of science and literature—but a more stormy career was before him.

The Catholic Committee, originally organized by Messrs. Wise, O'Connor, and Dr. Curry, still held their meetings in Dublin, and numbered among its members

almost all the influential Catholics, both of the nobles and commons. My father was a constant attendant at these meetings, and became greatly interested in their debates. At one of them a division arose between the members on the subject of a remonstrance to be offered to the government, which the merchants and citizens, who might be called the democratic party, opposed, as too submissive and slavish in its tone; and the other party, including mostly the men of rank and fortune, upheld as discreet and loyal.¹ My father addressed the meeting on this occasion, strongly opposing the aristocratic party, and the measure was carried against them.

¹ The meeting referred to took place in the latter part of December, 1791. The secession of Lord Kenmare's party, and the presentation of an address to Lord Westmoreland, couched in terms of hyperbolical attachment to the laws which ground the people to the dust, were the results of it. The penal laws had so far degraded the Catholic people that for nearly a quarter of a century, previous to 1791, they submitted to the leadership of men destitute of talents, courage, dignity, or spirit, such as Lords Kenmare and Trimbleston. The former was born for slavery. He had not the spirit either of the Gael or the Saxon in his composition. Nature intended him for a Cappadocian. He was not only enamoured of servitude, but he would have it believed that all his race were content to remain in bondage. Messrs. Wyse, Curry, and O'Connor neutralized, as far as they were able, the influence of those oligarchs. It was reserved for the United Irishmen to give power and popularity to the Catholic cause, which enabled such men as Keogh and Byrne to shake off the incubus of the Catholic aristocracy. The secession of Kenmare and "the Sixty-eight Addressers" from the Catholic committee took place when Tone's energies began to give an impulse to that body, when Keogh's abilities began to come in collision with the pretensions of Kenmare, and the language of the plain, truth-telling Macneven became offensive to the lord whose ideas of his own consequence and sagacity were diametrically opposed to those which were entertained by others of his worth or influence.—R. R. M.

The committee being thus divided, the loyal or aristocratic Catholics presented their address to the government, signed by only sixty-eight names, and an account was given in the public prints of the successful opposition it had met with. This difference of opinion in the committee, respecting the extent of their rights, caused much debate among the great body of the Catholics throughout the kingdom. The citizens of the town of Navan published an address to my father, warmly approving of the course he had taken; and in his answer to them he animadverted with some severity on the timid and temporizing policy of the opposition. This was the commencement of my father's public career. The following year, 1792, a general convention of the Catholics was called to ascertain definitively their true sentiments on this subject. Representatives were chosen from the different towns and cities, and my father was elected by the Catholics of Galway and those of Navan. Personal considerations induced him to accede to the call of Navan.¹ Dr. Sheridan, one of his most intimate friends, was residing there, and its citizens had previously distinguished him by their approbation. During the meetings of this convention my father made several able speeches, published in the newspapers of the day, and originated and effected the measure which obtained for the forty-shilling freeholders the privilege of elective franchise. I am uncertain at what period my father became acquainted with Lord Edward Fitzgerald and Arthur O'Connor; but they sought an interview with him, and at their first

¹ The author feels some pride in stating that his father was one of the delegates who sat in that convention for the town of Enniskillen.—R. R. M.

interview explained their designs, and requested his co-operation. He cordially entered into their views, and became a member of the secret Society of United Irishmen.¹ Mr. Emmet also joined the secret society about the same period, and my father then commenced the intimacy with that excellent man which death alone interrupted. My father now devoted all his energies to the accomplishment of the one great object of his most ardent wishes, the liberation of Ireland, and he became one of the prominent leaders of its cause. In the meantime, he continued the practice of his profession, and mingled in society as usual. He has often spoken of Mrs. Lefanu, the sister of the great Sheridan, as one of the loveliest and most accomplished women of the day. At her house he was on the intimate footing of a valued friend, and enjoyed exceedingly the re-union of the polished and the learned, who delighted to gather round her. Mrs. Moore and Colonel Moore were also my father's intimate friends. The Colonel commanded one of the six Catholic regiments raised by the British government at the suggestion of Lord Clare, partly to give employment to the officers of the French army, who had emigrated on account of the revolution in

¹ The oath was administered to him by the daughter of James Moore, of Thomas-street, the friend of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, a young lady then celebrated no less for her beauty than her devotion to the interests of the union. That lady, the late Mrs. Macready, informed the author that several of her sex, to her own knowledge, were sworn members of the society. The oath had been administered to her by John Cormick, of Thomas-street. There can be now no impropriety in stating, that the attachment which subsisted between Macneven and Miss Moore was not solely a political one, and that there was a very ardent desire on the part of the former to make the fair Roland of her day, an Irishwoman legally united to him.—R. R. M.

France, and perhaps also with a view to increase the patronage of the government. My father was a frequent guest at his house, where he constantly met General Lerrin and the Duke FitzJames, also in command of regiments; and through this acquaintance with them, he obtained for his brother Hugh the post of surgeon in the regiment under the command of the Duke FitzJames, which he held until his death, in 1797. I do not know that my uncle Hugh was ever an United Irishman; he was several years younger than my father, who was tenderly attached to him, and I think shrunk from involving him in the dangers he braved himself. My father often spoke of him with warm affection, and described him as a young man of most amiable character and superior talents. He was always delicate in health, and died of a rapid decline in the summer of 1797, while my father was absent on his mission in France. It is not necessary that I should recapitulate the public career of my father from this period, until his connection with his beloved and unfortunate country was dissolved by his imprisonment and exile. There are some incidents, however, in it which throw a good deal of light on his character.

When the emissary arrived in Dublin from Generals Hoche and Tone, with verbal instructions to Oliver Bond and M'Cormick, these gentlemen were much perplexed as to the propriety of receiving the communication, and called at my father's lodgings to advise with him on the subject. He asked if they were satisfied with the messenger's credentials. They replied that they could not doubt but that he had seen and spoken with Tone; still the communications to be received and made were of too grave a nature not to induce them to

hesitate in committing themselves. My father strongly urged the necessity of his reception, and volunteered to meet the agent himself. An appointment was made for meeting him that night with all possible secrecy and care. Accordingly, as had previously been agreed on, my father repaired to the Post Office, walking in front of it near the hour of eleven, and at the striking of the hour the agent emerged from under the shadow of the building and joined him. The appointed signals were given, and they walked away together. My father received from him the important intelligence he had to communicate, and gave in return all the requisite information. I think, if I remember rightly, that my father said he accompanied him to the quay, and saw him safely off before the hour of midnight. This gentleman was Colonel M'Sheehy, then aide-de-camp to General Tone, afterwards killed at the battle of Eylau.

I have often heard my father speak with great interest of the many evenings passed during this period at Lord Edward Fitzgerald's residence, near Dublin, in the society of that true nobleman and his accomplished wife and sister, I think the Lady Emily Fitzgerald. He particularly mentioned one evening, when they had obtained certain intelligence that assistance would arrive from France. Mr. Emmet and himself hastened immediately with the news to Lord Edward—I believe also that Arthur O'Connor was one of the party—and full of the most cheering hopes they conversed on the brightening prospects of their country, the two ladies entering with ardent enthusiasm into all their feelings, and sharing in their brilliant anticipations. Of my father's arrest on the 12th of March, 1798, his imprisonment in Kilmainham, and subsequent removal to Fort

George, it is unnecessary to give any further details.

His long imprisonment was rendered less irksome to him by the vigour and activity of his mind. Books were his greatest resource; it was his custom to commit to writing notes on the various works he read, and I have found among his manuscripts many such indicative of his studies at this period. Among other things he devoted much of his attention to the writings of Ossian, &c., many of which he translated from the original Gaelic, a language he was perfectly familiar with. He made notes also of conversations he held with the Scotch soldiers and attendants about the Fort, relative to the traditions of the origin of that ancient people, and confirmatory of the idea that Scotland was originally colonized by the Irish. I have found also among my father's papers, and in his handwriting, one or two commencements of an autobiography which we often entreated him to write, and I furnish you with copies of them, and with a copy of a paper, also in his handwriting, relating to Mr. Emmet. After the arrival of Mrs. Emmet and her children at Fort George, it became one of the recreations of the state prisoners to instruct the latter in the various branches of education; my father taught them French, and compiled for their use a French grammar—Mr. Hudson gave lessons in music—a third in dancing, and so on through the usual course of instruction. During the whole time of his confinement, I believe my father's health was good, and even robust. He has often spoken of one period when he bathed in the ocean almost every day in the year, even in the depth of winter.

After the liberation of the state prisoners from Fort George, my father passed the summer and autumn of

1802 in travelling through Switzerland on foot, and wrote an account of his journey, called "A Ramble through Switzerland." He also visited his relations in Germany in the course of that year, and he always maintained an affectionate correspondence with them.

In 1803 he went to Paris, and either in that year or the following entered the French army as a captain in the Irish brigade. From my recollection of my father's conversation on this subject, and from the tenor of his correspondence at this period, I have reason to think that he still contemplated an attack upon Ireland by the French, and in entering the service of France was only devoting himself, in another way, to that cause he had espoused elsewhere. Deceived and disappointed in these hopes, he at length resigned his commission, and in June, 1805, set sail from Bourdeaux for New York, where he arrived on the 4th of July.¹ My father has often described his mingled sensations on first landing in this, his adopted country. He landed on the Battery at the hour of three in the afternoon, and found himself in the midst of an immense assemblage of military

¹ One of the causes which induced Macneven to leave France was the concern he felt at the fatal issue of a duel, in which he acted as second. The principals were Mr. John Sweeney, a native of Cork, one of the Fort George prisoners, and Mr. Corbet, a brother of the late General Corbet, of the same city. A more desperate rencontre has seldom taken place. The statement of the particulars drawn up by one of the seconds, and signed by both, gives a frightful account of this affair. Macneven acted as second to Sweeney; Ware—now Colonel Ware—the second of Corbet. Either nine or ten shots were exchanged. Corbet, after he had been wounded, still persisted in keeping his ground, while Macneven in vain endeavoured repeatedly to put an end to the contest, which unfortunately terminated at length in the death of Corbet.—R. R. M.

and citizens, commemorating their independence and liberation from the very power that desolated his native land, and exiled himself and so many of his countrymen from their homes. His heart warmed to his new brethren; but he was yet unknown, and as he walked through the crowd up Broadway to the City hotel, he felt keenly that bitter sense of loneliness which none but the stranger in a strange land can realize. It was, I think, beautifully appropriate that one who had suffered so much in the cause of liberty should have reached the shores of America on the anniversary of her day of freedom; and, by an equally pleasing coincidence, Mr. Sampson landed on the 4th of July, the year following.

My father lost no time in presenting his letters, and declaring his intention of becoming a citizen. He fixed upon New York as his permanent residence, and immediately entered on the practice of his profession, in which he was so successful as speedily to assure himself an easy competence. He met with a kind welcome from his new associates, and very soon numbered among his friends all who were most eminent for talents or virtues. The society of Mr. Emmet and his family, and of Mr. Sampson, were among his greatest pleasures; the bond between them was of no ordinary friendship—it was more like the tender attachment of brothers, and they reposed in each other the most implicit confidence, which through the course of their long lives was not interrupted for a single day.

On the 15th of June, 1810, my father was married to Mrs. Jane Margaret Tom, widow of Mr. John Tom, merchant, of New York, and daughter of Mr. Samuel Riker of New Town, Long Island. From an early period of his arrival in this country, both he and Mr.

Sampson were intimately acquainted with Mr. Richard Riker, my mother's brother, an eminent lawyer, and for many years known favourably as district attorney and recorder of New York. This intimacy ripened into the truest friendship—so enduring, that it was the request of Mr. Sampson, before his death, that his remains should be interred in the family burying-ground of the Rikers, among the friends he most valued.

My grandfather, Mr. Riker, a descendant of the early Dutch settlers, resided on his farm, on the shore of a beautiful bay about eight miles from the city. He had served his country through her revolutionary struggle, and afterwards as a representative in Congress, and had a mind and heart to appreciate and understand men like my father and Mr. Sampson, whose society he greatly enjoyed. Mr. Sampson, to the great qualities of his mind added a refinement—I may say, a poetry of feeling, which enabled him keenly to relish the real beauties of nature, and to tinge even the common-place realities of life with a bright and pleasing colouring. He had always great delight in boating, and during his years of health and vigour was never without a boat, large enough to hold himself, his friends, and their families; and it was one of his greatest pleasures to collect them together, and make excursions up the river to visit the Rikers, his friends at Bowery Bay. The sail from New York up the East River is one of much variety and beauty, with just sufficient peril in passing through the narrow passage called Hell-gate, to give it a romantic interest; but Mr. Sampson was a master of boat-craft, and used safely to conduct his little vessel through all dangers, until it entered the smooth waters of the bay, when he would give notice of his approach

by playing an air on his flute, always his companion, and he was greeted by a hearty welcome before his boat could reach the shore. Sometimes the sound of his flute might be heard at the quiet farm-house, of a fine moonlight night, as late as eleven or twelve o'clock. The doors were immediately thrown open to receive the party, and after passing an hour or two in cheerful conversation, he and his friends would take the turn of the tide and sail gaily back to the city. I have often, in thinking of these scenes, contrasted the peaceful serenity and pure pleasures of the exiled lives of my father and his friends with the stormy and painful ordeal they had encountered in their native land. At the period of Mr. Emmet's death I was too young to have many personal recollections of him; but of Mr. Sampson I have the most vivid and affectionate remembrance. His family and ours have ever been united in the warmest friendship, and when I look back the pleasantest of our past recollections are connected with him. He possessed, more than any one I ever knew, the power of creating enjoyment; it was impossible that any company could be dull of which he was a part. His brilliant wit and pleasant fancy enlivened and adorned the conversation, whether grave or gay. I wish it was in my power to describe, as I remember it, the delightful social intercourse between our families. While speaking of those whose friendship my father most highly prized, I cannot omit naming the widow of Theobald Wolfe Tone, and his son, the late Captain Tone. They were amongst his dearest friends; and I feel it is the privilege of my birthright to know, and love, and reverence that noble woman.

In 1823 my sister was married to Thomas Addis

Emmet, the son of my father's dear friend, and they and their children have been among the chief sources of happiness to his declining years.

For the medical appointments conferred on my father I refer you to the biographical notice in "The New York Medical Gazette," of which I transmit a copy. In 1823 he was elected a member of the American Philosophical Society; he was also a member of the Literary and Philosophical Society of New York, and there are many now living who must remember with pleasure the meetings of that society at his house in Park-place. All those most eminent in science, arts and literature, with any distinguished strangers who might be visiting the city, were convened on these occasions and formed indeed a brilliant circle. My father took an active and prominent part in the politics of his adopted country, until within the few last years of his life, and always supported her laws and constitution with consistency and firmness. The importance attached to his opinion was evinced in 1834, on the occasion of a popular election. He differed from the party he had hitherto supported on a subject of great national interest, and his sentiments being publicly called for, he gave them in a letter to the querists with the independence and decision that formed such prominent traits in his character. His letter was immediately reprinted throughout the Union, and produced such an effect that a storm of party rage was raised against him, his opponents quite forgetting in their violence that they were denying him the simple right of holding and expressing his own opinion. My father bore all their attacks with dignity and equanimity—and some were hard to bear, for among lesser things

it was endeavoured to alienate from him the affections of his countrymen, by disseminating the basest falsehoods, such as not even party heat could justify; they of course fell harmless, for their mark was far above them. I enclose two papers of that period, one containing my father's letter, and the other a meeting of adopted citizens, in which is a letter of Mr. Sampson, descriptive of many points of my father's character. Towards his native land my father's devoted attachment remained ever the same; neither time nor distance, the cares of life nor the approach of death, could diminish or weaken it. He was ever active in her service, and seized every occasion which offered to promote the great object of her happiness. In proof of this are the many addresses from his pen, advocating with untiring patriotism her rights, and arousing in her cause the sympathies of his fellow-citizens. I may refer in particular to his address to the people of Ireland, published in February, 1825, which awakened considerable attention, both in this country and in his own. In August, 1828, my father, in connection with Mr. Thomas O'Connor, one of his oldest and most valued friends, Mr. Sampson, and many other patriotic gentlemen, formed an association called "The Friends of Ireland." The exciting cause of this association was the sympathy awakened in behalf of Harry Mills, the independent and honest forty-shilling freeholder. My father was elected president, and continued to preside at its meetings until May, 1829, when Catholic Emancipation was granted. During the period of the existence of this society a large amount of Catholic rent was transmitted to Ireland, and similar associations were

formed throughout the United States, and even in Mexico.

My father wrote an account of its proceedings, read before the Literary Association of the Friends of Ireland, published in "The New York Truth Teller" of July, 1830. He also took a warm interest in promoting, by every means, the welfare of emigrants to this country, and he was president of the Emigrant Society up to the period of his death.

In December, 1832, he met with a severe blow to his happiness in the death of his eldest son, James Joseph Macneven. My brother had finished his collegiate studies, and had commenced the study of the law, and his fine talents and amiable disposition had awakened bright hopes for the future. But a sudden and severe illness tore him from us at the early age of nineteen. It was a deep abiding sorrow to my father, and to the last of his life he could not name him without tears.

My father was first attacked with severe illness in the month of March, 1838, previously to which he had enjoyed almost uninterrupted health. For some days he was dangerously ill, but the attack at length terminated in a severe fit of the gout. His health was so much impaired by this illness as to render the practice of his profession both irksome and injurious to him, and he determined on retiring to the country. Accordingly, in April, 1839, he broke up his establishment in Broadway, and removed with his family to the residence of his son-in-law, Thomas Addis Emmet, about four miles from the city.

In the preceding February he had again experienced the bitterest sorrow in the death of a beloved daughter,

and retirement was congenial to his feelings.¹ In the spring of 1840 he was appointed resident physician, an office which he resigned a few weeks previous to his death.

From the period of my father's first illness, in 1838, he was subject to frequent severe and painful attacks, which he bore with the patience of a Christian and the fortitude of a philosopher. In the treasures of his own mind he found a great resource. Books were to him never-failing friends, and the wide range of his reading comprehended the greatest variety. While in the bustle and business of his profession he was unable to give any great portion of his time to general literature; but after his retirement, he read everything. He enjoyed, with a wonderful youthfulness of feeling and fancy, the writings of Sir Walter Scott and Miss Edgeworth; he read Sparks' *Life of Washington*, voluminous as it is, with great interest—the writings of Jefferson, various works on geology, and all the scientific and literary reviews of the day. The study of theology engaged much of his attention, and he compared the tenets of the different sects more with a view to find points of resemblance than to discover dissimilar opinions. With all this he continued to take a deep interest in the affairs of his beloved country, and read with avidity all that related to her destinies. On the 25th of November, 1840, as my father was returning from the city, a heavy loaded waggon came in contact with his gig; he was thrown from it, and received a

¹ This young lady was seen by the author a very few months before her death, apparently in the bloom of health, and certainly in the possession of beauty and accomplishments of no ordinary kind.—R. R. M.

severe wound in his leg, which, together with the shock of the fall, occasioned him a long and painful illness: from this he partially recovered, but was again taken very ill, and was never afterwards able to leave his room. Throughout his illness, he was remarkable for the serenity and cheerfulness of his temper. The vigour of his mind and the warm affection of his heart seemed to triumph over his bodily sufferings, and enabled him to receive pleasure from many sources. The society of his family and a few intimate friends was his greatest happiness, and his enjoyment of reading continued almost to the last. He was never deceived with respect to the event of his illness, but conversed often on the subject with perfect calmness, and even cheerfulness. In the month of June his strength failed so rapidly that we were obliged to give up the hopes we had clung to—that he might yet be spared to us; and on the 12th of July, 1841, my dear father breathed his last.

He was throughout his life a consistent and enlightened Roman Catholic, and his examination of other creeds tended only to confirm him in that persuasion. Twice during the winter of 1841 he received the communion from his friend, the Very Rev. John Power; and on the morning of his death the last rites of his Church were administered to him by the Right Rev. Bishop Hughes.

I am unable to portray to you, as they are written on our hearts, the great and admirable qualities possessed by my beloved father. His public career is before you; but I fear you can form but an imperfect idea, from this feeble sketch, of his private worth. As a husband and father he was most affectionate, and

tender and indulgent to the greatest degree. He was a firm and faithful friend, and always willing to aid the unfortunate to the utmost of his power. I cannot forbear mentioning the generosity of his nature, which made him ever ready to acknowledge the talents of others and to rejoice in their success. His patriotism was pure and unselfish, and I well remember that on one occasion, when O'Connell's popularity here met with some abatement—*when his obnoxious address reached us, in which he denounced the men of '98 as miscreants*¹—my father was the only one of our circle who seemed unmoved. He smiled at the warmth of our expressions, and continued to watch with the greatest interest the movements of O'Connell in furtherance of the good of Ireland. The man was nothing to him; the end proposed was what my father had at heart, and he always awarded to Mr. O'Connell the meed of praise he merited.

My father, besides being a good classical scholar, was a proficient in several modern languages. He spoke German and French with the same facility as English, and was well versed in the literature of those countries. He was also a good Italian scholar. He understood Irish, his native tongue, perfectly well, and conversed in it fluently. I have heard him say it was the first he ever spoke.

On a careful examination of his manuscripts, I find they principally consist of notes and memorandums

¹ In this place the passage printed in Italics was omitted by me in the first edition of this work, which I considered as not essential to the main object of the memoir, and was rather severe, as I thought, on the lapses of the tongue of a great man who talked a great deal in public unpremeditatedly, and therefore very often at random, and injuriously of persons not in actual contact with him.—R. R. M.

connected with the history of Ireland, a work on which subject, at one period, he contemplated writing. Some are in his own handwriting; others seem materials transmitted from other sources. His writings were chiefly on medical, scientific, or political subjects, and were generally in the form of lectures, addresses, and essays. His laborious profession, the duties of the professorships he held at different times, and the constant necessity of devoting himself to the daily business of life, left him little time to bestow on literary labour. Of his political writings, a pamphlet, called "An Argument for Independence in Opposition to a Union," is well deserving of attention. His early speeches are given in the accounts of the meetings of the Catholic delegates, held in Dublin in December, 1792, and at various other meetings of that body from that period till 1794. His principal publications are the "Ramble through Switzerland," published in Dublin in 1803; "Pieces of Irish History"; an edition of "Brande's Chemistry," and an "Exposition of the Atomic Theory." My father had also made military matters a subject of thought and study, and I have on my desk a pamphlet by him on "The Nature and Functions of an Army Staff," printed in New York in 1812.

The burial-ground of the Riker family is on the shore of Bowery Bay, Long Island, within a short distance of the old family mansion; and there the mortal remains of my dear father rest, beside his children; and near to it a plain monument of white marble marks the grave of his friend, Mr. Sampson. This monument was raised to his memory by the wife and daughters of Mr. Sampson; and we contemplate erecting a similar one to my father. There are but three of my father's

children surviving: my two brothers—the eldest now practising medicine in New York—and myself. My sister, Mrs. Emmet, is my mother's daughter by her former marriage. My father was never rich; but he has left us an honourable competence, and a dowry, far beyond the greatest wealth, in his name and character.

JANE MARYANNE MACNEVEN.

CHAPTER II

O'CONNOR'S REMINISCENCES

THE preceding narrative of Miss Macneven has rendered it unnecessary to enter into any other details, with the exception of those connected with the political movements in which Macneven was engaged.

Thomas O'Connor (one of the descendants of Denis O'Connor of Ballenagare), at a public meeting in 1837, in New York, gave the following account of Macneven's early services in the Catholic cause. Many passages cannot fail to make a profound impression on the mind of every English reader:¹

The British government, when it acquired an equivocal ascendancy in Ireland, should have tried to secure it by an incorporation of the Irish with the British people; an evil genius stood in the way, and under its councils it was resolved to enslave the Irish. The great instrument employed to effect this purpose was the penal code against the Catholics, who constituted the mass of the inhabitants.

The system of terror which grew out of the enactment of the penal code was sufficient to daunt the heart.

¹ In "The New York Times" this statement, made by O'Connor, of Macnever's services in the Catholic cause, is said to have been drawn up by Counsellor Sampson.

There are, fortunately, in all countries, some master-spirits—persons who belong not to the common class of men, and who seem destined for great purposes. Ireland was not destitute of some such. In the year 1760, three Irishmen, bold as they were patriotic, associated themselves into a Catholic committee. Its object was to obtain the repeal or modification of the penal statutes. This committee formed a nucleus, about which was gradually collected the best spirits in the land. Under various changes or modifications of constitution or name, it continues to the present time. The National Association, now in Ireland, is but one of its legitimate descendants. May I be permitted to add, that an ancestor of mine, Charles O'Connor, was one: the other two were Dr. Currie, the historian, and Thomas Wise, the forefather of the present highly gifted member for Waterford.

Dr. Macneven, scarcely yet qualified by his years to assume the *toga virilis*, entered the committee as the representative of the town of Navan. He found extreme caution paralyzing many, and in some shape all of them, with the exception of John Keogh of Mount Jerome, in the county of Dublin. Mr. Keogh found himself no longer alone. On the arrival about this time in Ireland of a new viceroy, Lord Kenmare, a Catholic nobleman, backed by the Catholic aristocracy, prepared an address, which he sent to the committee for their sanction. In the absence of Mr. Keogh, Dr. Macneven opposed the cringing sycophancy of the address in a speech in which patriotism and eloquence were happily blended, characterizing it as unworthy of their honour and a departure from the general interests of the Catholics. The required sanction was withheld;

the address, however, was subsequently presented at the Castle, signed by sixty-eight names—all that could be obtained. Dr. Macneven, on this occasion, received the thanks of his constituents of Navan. In this reply, he took occasion to develop the state of the Catholics, their growing spirit and increasing knowledge, and concluded by more than a hint to the sixty-eight addressers, to be careful how they further tampered with the wishes and interests of the people. The proceedings, with the names of the sixty-eight, were published, and served as the basis of the argument successfully used by Mr. Archibald Hamilton Rowan, a Protestant gentleman and patriot, when he proceeded to Ulster to disabuse the Protestants in that province in regard to their erroneous impression of the character of the Catholic clergy and gentry. This promoted that Christian union of Catholic and Protestant, afterwards known by the name of "United Irishmen."

The authority of the Catholic committee to speak the sense of the Catholic body having been frequently questioned, the committee issued a proclamation calling a convention of the Catholics of the kingdom. It was signed by their chairman, Mr. Edward Byrne, a wealthy and respectable merchant of the city of Dublin. Accordingly a convention, consisting of representatives from all the counties, cities, and principal towns of the kingdom, convened in Dublin in 1792, in the same room in Back-lane in which the parliament of King James sat at the time of the revolution. Dr. Macneven was returned from three different places—a proof of his popularity: he selected to take his seat, as formerly, for Navan.

In this Catholic parliament, as it was often not inaptly called, Dr. Macneven sided with or rather led those who sought the invaluable right of the elective franchise; but an unhappy over-caution ruled the majority: the petition to the king, although it passed through the hands of Mr. Keogh, sought but a qualified franchise, confining it to the freeholders of the yearly estate of twenty pounds. The doctor took an active part in the long discussion of the question—he was in favour of a more extensive franchise; in his zealous advocacy a spark from his lip fell on the latent democratic spirit of the members, and lit it into life. Availing himself of an excitement of his own creation, he moved an amendment to the effect that the Catholics should demand the elective franchise to the full extent it was exercised by Protestants. It was a crisis in the affairs of the Catholics; the motion happily prevailed, and the petition thus amended was presented to the king. It was not a time to tamper with the people—the petition was graciously received.

On the opening of the next succeeding session of parliament, the subject was favourably introduced in the royal speech. In that session, a bill passed in conformity with the petition. To this act of Dr. Macneven, Ireland was indebted for the creation of that most courageous and patriotic class of citizens, the forty-shilling freeholders. The first great turnout of the forty-shilling freeholders resulted in the election of Daniel O'Connell for the county of Clare, and the consequent emancipation of the Catholics.

Dr. Macneven continued to take a distinguished part in whatever was connected with the Catholic question, until after the recall of Lord Fitzwilliam from the

viceroyalty of Ireland; when the hope of emancipation became so doubtful, or was placed at such a distance, that the doctor quitted the narrow sphere of his operation, and was thenceforward an United Irishman and advocate, not of partial, but of general emancipation. The doctor was soon advanced to the chief executive office as one of the five directors. The post of danger was often assigned to him, and always promptly accepted. He repaired to Paris as the accredited agent of Ireland, and was in constant communication with Theobald Wolfe Tone, then in Holland. To seek arms, ammunition, and allies, was their object; in this they partially succeeded. The doctor was at Paris while the English and French commissioners were at Lisle, negotiating a peace. It was all-important to Ireland to delay or prevent it. He and Tone, in perfect concert of views and exertions, strove to produce a rupture of the negotiation; or, if this could not be effected, to place on the protocol a demand for the internal independence of the Irish parliament, including the religious freedom of the Catholics. Such acts of protection in favour of oppressed nations, from sympathising and powerful friends, are not uncommon in the history of diplomacy. The last of the kind is the stipulation in the treaty of Vienna, in behalf of the nationality of Poland.

It is well known that the English plenipotentiaries returned home, *re infecta*, without making peace, and that an invasion of Ireland was attempted the next winter.

It failed, and unfortunately Mr. Tone lost his life in consequence of his capture on board one of the ships of the expedition. Dr. Macneven returned to

Ireland and was imprisoned for several years, and finally was exiled.¹

The 11th of September, 1792, the corporation of Dublin passed a series of resolutions, unanimously declaratory of their grand principle—"Protestant ascendancy"—and their determination to support it with their lives and fortunes. Having set forth the Roman Catholics to be in possession of

"The most perfect toleration of their religion,

"The fullest security of their property,

"The most complete personal liberty,"

It was resolved, "That we consider the Protestant ascendancy to consist in

"A Protestant King of Ireland,

"A Protestant parliament,

"Protestant electors and government,

"The benches of justice,

"The army and the revenue,

"Through all their branches and details Protestant,

"And this system supported by a connection with

"The Protestant realm of Britain."²

A Catholic convention, the first ever called, responded to the sentiments put forth by the Dublin corporation. At a meeting of the delegates, on the 3rd of December, 1792, Dr. Macneven,

¹ O'Connor's "Reminiscences of Macneven."

² Address of the Corporation of Dublin, 11th September, 1792.

in a speech occupying nine pages of very closely printed matter, replete with powerful argument, in plain, energetic language, asserted the rights of his Catholic countrymen to the enjoyment of every privilege which the constitution accorded to their Protestant fellow-subjects, and made the unfortunate declaration of "their honours" of the corporation the subject of an attack, which inflicted on Protestant ascendancy a greater blow and a heavier discouragement than it had ever before sustained.

He investigated its origin, its design, and its results. "It was this ascendancy," he said, "that in the reigns of Elizabeth and James, like a ferocious tiger, devastated the land of our fathers, and after establishing its den on a depopulated waste, surrounded it in a succeeding age with the horrors of mental darkness; it was this ascendancy that, breaking through the sympathies of nature and the obligations of eternal justice, established the slow tortures, the recreant prohibitions, the unnatural, unmanly enormities of the penal code. It was this ascendancy that annihilated the flourishing manufacture of woollens, that abandoned Irish shipping, shocked Irish commerce, and despoiled the nation of independence, as it now deprived the Catholic of franchise. It was that same spirit of rapacity and division which prowled for addresses, and instigated grand juries.

"Its opposition to justice had at length taught

the people their resources; it stimulated virtue, awakened pride, and armed every passion of the heart in defence of the best interests of the country. They must now come forward manfully with the long list of their grievances in one hand, the charter of liberty in the other, and arraign at the bar of national justice this monster which strides over a prostrate land and taunts the people from every ministerial print and grand jury with the clanking of their chains."

Macneven ended his address by moving a slight amendment in the prayer of the petition for "a participation in the elective franchise"; he proposed that the word "equal" be inserted before that of "participation."

On the following day, the 4th of December, he addressed the delegates in a speech no less powerful than the former, in support of "a demand for total emancipation, as the most honourable, the most consistent, and the wisest measure for them to adopt; one that could not be withheld by the power in the country, and would not be opposed by the power out of it."

The Protestant ascendancy men and Lord Kenmare found a troublesome opponent in Macneven. The claim to "equal participation in the elective franchise" must have astonished the weak nerves of the one, as much as the demand for total emancipation did the other.

Macneven sailed from Yarmouth for Holland

on the 7th of July, 1797, on his mission from the directory of the United Irishmen. At p. 55 of the "Pieces of Irish History," he gives the following account of the knowledge of the British government of the communications which had been carried on with France: "Their knowledge of the negotiations of the United Irishmen with foreign states was equally notorious, and at this time one of the deputies had personal evidence of its extent and accuracy. That knowledge was obtained for some person in the pay of England, and in the confidence of France."¹

The arrests of the members of the provincial

¹ "Mr. Reinhardt, the resident minister of the French republic at Hamburgh, when applied to by Dr. Macneven for a passport to proceed to Paris, insisted on his orders not to deliver any without the permission of his government first obtained for every individual case. Though much pressed, he was inflexible; but always offered to transmit a memoir which should detail the object of the mission. This was at last prepared, in despair of proceeding, and as Reinhardt knew the English language, and must at any rate translate the memoir into cipher, it was deemed unnecessary to compose it in French. Two days after it was delivered, Mr. Reinhardt's scruples vanished, and he granted the passport. Macneven afterwards saw the deciphered copy of this paper, in French, in Talleyrand's office, where it was kept under the particular key of the chief secretary. The original, in English, was withdrawn from Reinhardt, and never afterwards entrusted by Macneven into any hands but those of a friend upon whom suspicion could not attach; and independent of the security offered by his character, there is this strong circumstance, that the copy of the memoir which Dr. Macneven saw in the hands of Lord Clare was from the French and not the English."

This note, for reasons which it is unnecessary to state here, is commended to the particular attention of Lord Brougham.—R.R.M.

committee, and of the members of the directory, on the 12th of March, 1798, have been elsewhere described. The particulars, however, of the arrest of Macneven have been recently placed in my hands, drawn up for me by an eye-witness of that occurrence, Mr. William Lenehan:

When a young lad, serving my time to Mr. Stubbs, an eminent clothier on Innis'-quay, in the year '98, Dr. Macneven lodged in our house. He was deeply implicated in the business of the rebellion, as was likewise my master, and the house was consequently one of the resorts of all the active spirits of the day, and amongst the rest of the infamous Thomas Reynolds.

On the day in question, about 11 o'clock in the forenoon, Reynolds walked into the shop, and my master happening to be behind the counter, Reynolds sat himself on it, and commenced talking to him.

After a little time, an unusual bustle being apparent on the opposite side of the quay, Stubbs looked out of the window, and saw the king's troops surrounding the house of Oliver Bond. (The deputies of the different bodies of the United men who met that day at Bond's, and who were to have decided on the breaking out of the rebellion, were being arrested.) Stubbs immediately took the alarm, and sent me up to Dr. Macneven to say that Mr. Bond's house was surrounded by troops. When I noticed the room, the doctor was standing with his back to the fire and his hat on (I believe he was about going over to Bond's), and Lord Edward Fitzgerald was sitting on a sofa near him. I immediately mentioned my errand. One long and earnest look passed between the two conspirators, and

the doctor turned to me and said, "Very well, boy—that will do." I of course retired.

In about half an hour after this we heard the drums of the Castle guard beating as they passed on to the relief (Reynolds still sitting on the counter), when from their ranks a body of soldiers crossed over Church-street bridge, and advanced towards our house.

Stubbs again became alarmed, and desired me to say to Dr. Macneven that "all was not right; that troops were coming towards the house, and that he had better keep out of the way for a little."

I had only passed the cross-door of the shop when the word "Halt" was given; then "Left face;" and the house was almost instantaneously surrounded. Sentinels were placed at every door, two of the soldiers were on the garden wall, and wherever there was a chance for escaping, a soldier occupied or watched that place.

I had hurried up on the first alarm, and was telling the doctor what was now but too evident—that the house was surrounded, and that the king's troops were coming up stairs. "Let them come, boy," was all the reply he made, when a king's messenger, accompanied by a captain in the Fermanagh militia and a sergeant of the same corps, entered the apartment.

Dr. Macneven was still standing with his back to the fireplace, and Lord Edward was reclining on the sofa, as I already mentioned. "Dr. Macneven?" said the messenger in a tone of inquiry. "That's my name," said the doctor, advancing. "You are my prisoner," said the messenger; "and I will be obliged by your surrendering all your private papers into my hands." The doctor immediately gave him his keys,

and told him that the room they were in and the next one were the only ones he occupied in the house, and that he could search them.

The messenger and the sergeant then left the room; the captain remained with the prisoner; and in a short time the two former returned, bringing with them the doctor's private desk and some papers. A carriage having been sent for in the meantime, the messenger requested the doctor to descend with him to the street. Macneven prepared to do so, as did also Lord Edward; when the militia captain, turning to the messenger, said, "This is Lord Edward Fitzgerald; had we not better take him with us." "No, sir—certainly not," said the messenger. "My instructions are explicit, and I will not go beyond them."

The entire party then descended the stairs, and Lord Edward walked through the shop with the doctor to the carriage; when passing Reynolds, both looked at him, and he was evidently disconcerted by Macneven's fixed regard. Arrived at the carriage, Macneven entered, accompanied by the captain and messenger. Lord Edward shook him cordially by the hand, and left. The carriage then drove off, and I never saw Dr. Macneven again.

An hour had not elapsed from the time of the arrest till the messenger and party again returned in great haste, and inquired for "the gentleman who was with Dr. Macneven." I told them Lord Edward had left the house with themselves, and had not since returned. The messenger retired; and that very evening there was a proclamation out, offering a reward of £1,000 for the apprehension of his lordship.

On the 12th of March, 1798, after the arrests in

Dublin, Mr. Cooke told Dr. Macneven that government was in possession of a copy of the memoir given by him to the French minister, and he removed, in this instance, all suspicion of his own veracity, by detailing a great part of its contents. The day following Dr. Macneven was again questioned by the Anglo-Irish privy council concerning the same paper. Of this discovery he found means to inform several of his friends; and at the period of the negotiation he had the satisfaction of knowing that one of those persons was actually in France, and had, in all probability, already communicated the intelligence to the directory.

The examinations of Dr. Macneven before the secret committees of the House of Lords and House of Commons, the 7th and 8th of August, 1798, having been garbled like those of Emmet and O'Connor, he published, conjointly with them in the memoir already cited, an authentic account of his examinations, and the following is a copy of them:

THE EXAMINATION OF WILLIAM JAMES MAC-
NEVEN, BEFORE THE SECRET COMMITTEE OF
THE HOUSE OF LORDS, 7TH AUGUST, 1798.

I took the following minute of my examinations before the secret committee of the Lords and Commons; being then convinced that they would not publish the entire of my answers, and that I should possibly find it necessary, in vindication of truth, to publish them myself. The garbled, disingenuous report of these committees has appeared, and I had then an oppor-

tunity of complaining to the lord chancellor of the unfairness with which my examinations are set forth in the appendix to it. He did not deny the fact, but declared very roundly I must not expect they would publish more of them than would answer their purpose. This, to be sure, was candid, and I will not conceal one of the very few merits I can allow his lordship.

The lord chancellor had before him extracts from the memoir which we sent to Lord Castlereagh, on the 4th of August, in fulfilment of our agreement with government. They related to the facts detailed in our paper concerning the history and progress of the union, detached from an account of the motives and abuses which were stated by us to have given rise to the resolutions we adopted. The examination was altogether conducted in a manner to obtain for such parts of the memoir a certain authenticity for publication, without publishing the memoir itself. He went into a minute examination of the civil and military organization, and the various communications with France. When he came to that part which mentions another memoir given to the French minister at Hamburgh, he turned to an extract of a copy of it, which he had before him on some subsequent occasion. He said that no copy of the entire was ever sent from England; and in this I can readily believe him. He asked how that memoir happened to be given to the French minister. I answered that the Irish agent applied to the French minister for a passport to go into France, which the minister made some difficulty in granting, but called for a memoir, and offered to transmit it to his government. The memoir was ac-

cordingly written, and soon after the person got a passport. This tedious examination took up several hours.

Lord Chancellor.—Pray, Dr. Macneven, what number of troops did the Irish directory require from the French government for the invasion of Ireland?

Macneven.—The *minimum* force was 5,000 men; the *maximum*, 10,000. With that number, and a large quantity of arms and ammunition, we knew that an Irish army could be formed and disciplined. This, aided by the universal wish of the people to shake off the yoke, we had no doubt would succeed; and we were always solicitous that no foreign force should be able to dictate in our country. Liberty and national independence being our object, we never meant to engage in a struggle for a change of masters.

Lord Chancellor.—Was not your object a separation from England?

Macneven.—It certainly became our object when we were convinced that liberty was not otherwise attainable. Our reasons for this determination are given in the memoir; it is a measure we were forced into, inasmuch as I am now, and always have been of opinion, that if we were an independent republic, and Britain ceased to be formidable to us, our interest would require an intimate connection with her.

Lord Chancellor.—Such as subsists between England and America?

Macneven.—Something like it, my lord.

Archbishop of Cashel.—In plain English, that Ireland should stand on her own bottom, and trade with every other country just according as she found it would be her interest?

Macneven.—Precisely, my lord. I have not, I own,

any idea of sacrificing the interests of Ireland to those of any other country; nor why we should not in that, as in every other respect, be as free as the English themselves.

Archbishop of Cashel.—Ireland could not support herself alone.

Macneven.—In my opinion she could; and, if once her own mistress, would be invincible against England and France together; but this, my lord, is a combination never to be expected. If necessary I could bring as many proofs in support of this opinion as a thing admits of which may be only supported or opposed by probabilities.

Lord Kilwarden.—Had the north any intention of rising in rebellion in the summer of 1797?

Macneven.—It had an intention of rising in arms after General Lake's proclamation.

Lord Kilwarden.—What prevented it?

Macneven.—The people of the north were made acquainted with assurances received about this time from France, that the expected succours would be shortly sent to us; and it was represented to them that we would be giving the English a great advantage by beginning before they arrived. For this, as well as other reasons, I was always averse to our beginning by ourselves.

Lord Kilwarden.—Then if you thought you would have succeeded you would have begun?

Macneven.—Most probably we should; at the same time I am bound to declare that it was our wish to act with French aid, because that would tend to make the revolution less bloody, by determining many to join in it early, who, while the balance of success was

doubtful, would either retain an injurious neutrality, or even perhaps oppose it.

Lord Kilwarden.—The union held out to the poor an assurance that their condition would be ameliorated; how was this to be accomplished?

Macneven.—In the first place, by an abolition of tithes; and in the next, by establishing such an order of things as would give more free scope to their industry, and secure to them a better recompense for it.

Archbishop of Cashel.—You know very well if tithes were abolished the landlords would raise the rents, and the tenants would not be benefited.

Macneven.—I know, my lord, that during the period of the lease, at least, there would be no such rise, but that now, year after year, there is not a single improvement made by the tenant without the parson's getting a proportion of the profits; it is a tax which increases in proportion with the tenant's industry, and encroaches on his capital in order to form an income for a man to whom he is not indebted for any service; and in general there is the loss of the full tenth between the incumbent and his proctor.

Archbishop of Cashel.—Can you account for the massacres committed upon the Protestants and Papists in the county of Wexford?

Macneven.—My lord, I am far from being the apologist of massacres, however provoked; but if I am rightly informed as to the conduct of the magistrates of that county, the massacres you allude to were acts of retaliation upon enemies much more than fanaticism; moreover, my lord, it has been the misfortune of this country scarcely ever to have known the English natives or settlers otherwise than enemies, and in his

language the Irish peasant has but one name for Protestant and Englishman, and confounds them; he calls both by the name of *Sasanagh*; his conversation, therefore, is *less against a religionist* than against a *foe*; his prejudice is the effect of the ignorance he is kept in, and the treatment he receives. How can we be surprised at it when so much pains are taken to brutalize him?

Lord Chancellor.—I agree with Dr. Macneven; the Irish peasant considers the two words as synonymous; he calls Protestant and Englishman, indifferently, *Sasanagh*.

Lord Kilwarden.—I suppose the religious establishment would be abolished with the tithes?

Macneven.—I suppose it would.

Lord Kilwarden.—Would you not set up another?

Macneven.—No, indeed.

Lord Kilwarden.—Not the Roman Catholic?

Macneven.—I would no more consent to that than I would to the establishment of *Mahometanism*.

Lord Kilwarden.—What would you do, then?

Macneven.—That which they do in America; let each man profess the religion of his conscience, and pay his own pastor.

Lord Chancellor.—Do you think the mass of the people in the provinces of Leinster, Munster, and Connaught care the value of this pen, or the drop of ink it contains, for Parliamentary Reform or Catholic Emancipation?

Macneven.—I am sure they do not, if by the mass of the people your lordship means the common, illiterate people; they do not understand it. What they very well understand is, that it would be a very great ad-

vantage to them to be relieved from the payment of tithes, and not to be fleeced by their landlords; but there is not a man who can read a newspaper who has not considered the question of reform, and was not once at least attached to that measure; the people of the least education understand it; and why the common people, whose opinion on every other occasion is so little valued, should be made the criterion of public opinion, I do not know.

Lord Chancellor.—I dare say they all understand it better than I do.

Macneven.—As to Catholic Emancipation, the importance of that question has passed away long since. It really is not worth a moment's thought at the present period.

Lord Dillon.—Has the union extended much into Connaught?

Macneven.—It has, very considerably.

Lord Dillon.—I did not think so. What is the extent of the organization?

Macneven.—Less, perhaps, than in other places; it got later into Connaught, but very great numbers have taken the test. From the misery of the poor people, and the oppressiveness of landlords in many parts of that province, we have no doubt but if the French ever land in force there they will be joined by thousands—probably by the whole of its population.

Archbishop of Cashel.—If the French had made peace at Lisle, as you say they were willing to do, they would have left you in the lurch; and may they not do so again?

Macneven.—The French government declared that it would not deceive the Irish, and that it must make

peace if England offered such terms as France had a right to expect; but that if the insincerity of the cabinet of St. James's should frustrate the negotiation, the Irish should never be abandoned; and I now consider the directory as bound by every tie of honour never to make peace until we are an independent nation.

Archbishop of Cashel.—What security have you that the French would not keep this country as a conquest?

Macneven.—Their interest and our power. If they attempted any such thing they must know that England would not fail to take advantage of it; that she would then begin to get a sense of justice towards Ireland, and make us any offer short of separation, as she did America, when by a like assistance America was enabled to shake off her yoke. Moreover, it is not possible for the French to send any force into this country which would not be at the mercy of its inhabitants; but the example which was held out to them, and to which they promised to conform, was that of Rochambeau in America.

A Member of the Committee.—To what number do you think the United Irishmen amounted all over the kingdom?

Macneven.—Those who have 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 liberties of Ireland when they get a fair opportunity.

Lord Chancellor.—We shall not trouble you with any more questions.

SECRET COMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,
8TH AUGUST, 1798.

Lord Castlereagh.—Dr. Macneven, the Lords have sent us the minutes of your examination before them, and we only wish to trouble you with some questions relative to the interior state of the country.

Speaker.—Pray, sir, what do you think occasioned the insurrection?

Macneven.—The insurrection was occasioned by the house-burnings, the whipping to extort confessions, the torture of various kinds, the free quarters, and the murders committed upon the people by the magistrates and the army.

Speaker.—This only took place since the insurrection?

Macneven.—It is more than twelve months (looking at Mr. Corry) since these horrors were perpetrated by the Ancient Britons about Newry; and long before the insurrection they were quite common through the counties of Kildare and Carlow, and began to be practised with very great activity in the counties of Wicklow and Wexford.

Corry and Latouche.—Yes, a few houses were burned.

Macneven.—Gentlemen, there were a great deal more than a few houses burned.

Speaker.—Would not the organization have gone on, and the union become stronger, but that the insurrection was brought forward too soon?

Macneven.—The organization would have proceeded, and the union have acquired that strength which arises from order. Organization would at the same time have given a control over the people, capable of restraining

their excesses ; and you see scarcely any have been committed in those counties where it was well established.

Lord Castlereagh.—You acknowledge the union would have become stronger but for the means taken to make it explode?

Macneven.—It would every day have become more perfect ; but I do not see anything in what has happened to deter the people from persevering in the union and its objects—on the contrary, if I am rightly informed, the trial of force must tend to give the people confidence in their own power ; as I understand it is now admitted that if the insurrection was general and well conducted it would have been successful.

Sir J. Parnell.—Do you know the population of Wexford county?

Macneven.—Not exactly ; but people agree that if the insurrection of a few counties in Leinster, unskillfully as it was directed, was so near overthrowing the government, a general rising would have freed Ireland.

Lord Castlereagh.—Were not the different measures of the government which are complained of, subsequent to various proceedings of the United Irishmen ?

Macneven.—Prior, my lord, to most of them. If your lordship desires it I will prove by comparison of dates that government throughout has been the aggressor. [His lordship was not curious.]

Speaker (looking at the minutes from the Lords).—You say that you wished to keep back the insurrection ; how do you reconcile that with the general plan of arming ?

Macneven.—From the time we had given up Reform as hopeless, and determined to receive the French, we adopted a military organization, and prepared to be

in a condition to co-operate with them; but it was always our wish to wait, if possible, for their arrival. We wished to see liberty established in our country with the least possible expense of private happiness, and in such a way that no honest man of either party should have cause to regret it. We had before our eyes the revolution of 1688, in which a popular general, with only a small army, gave the friends of liberty an opportunity of declaring themselves. Accordingly, upon that celebrated occasion, the junction of the people of England with King William was so extensive, that war and its concomitant evils were entirely precluded. I know the case would be the same here if there was a French landing.

Mr. Alexander.—Although talents and education are to be found in the union, yet there is no comparison, in point of property, between those who invited the French and those who brought in King William.

Macneven.—Pardon me, sir, I know very many who possess probably much larger properties than did Lord Danby, who signed the invitation to the Prince of Orange, or than did Lord Somers, who was the great champion of the Revolution. The property in the union is immense; but persons in a situation to be more easily watched were not required to render themselves particularly conspicuous.

Speaker.—But in case of a revolution, would not many persons be banished or destroyed, and their property forfeited; for instance, the gentleman here?

Macneven.—We never had a doubt but in such an event many of those who profess to be the warmest friends of the British connection would very quickly join us; and the readiness with which we have seen them

support different other administrations, led us to suppose they might possibly do us the **HONOUR** of supporting our own. I am confident, sir, that in case of revolution the United Irishmen would behave better to their enemies than their enemies do to them.

Speaker.—Was not the *Olive Branch*, and the arms she had on board, destined for this country?

Macneven.—I never heard they were. Arms have been frequently offered, but we always refused to accept them without troops; for we knew that insurrection would be the immediate consequence of a landing of arms, and we constantly declared to the French government that we never meant to make our country a La Vendee, or the seat of Chouan.

Speaker.—Do you think Catholic Emancipation or Parliamentary Reform are objects of any importance with the common people?

Macneven.—Catholic Emancipation, as it is called, the people do not care about; I am sure they ought not now. They know, I believe, very generally, that it would be attended with no other effect than to admit into the House of Peers a few individuals who profess the Catholic religion, and enable some others to speculate on seats in the House of Commons. No man is so ignorant as to think this would be a national benefit. When Lord Fitzwilliam was here I considered the measure a good one, as it would have removed the pretexts of those feuds and animosities which have desolated Ireland for two centuries, and have been lately so unhappily exacerbated; but now that those evils have occurred, which the stay of that nobleman would have prevented, they are not little measures which can remedy the grievances of this country.

[*Speaker* (looking over at somebody).—See that.]

Speaker.—But are you not satisfied that Reform would go as little way to content the people as Catholic Emancipation?

Macneven.—Sir, I can best answer that question by declaring what the sentiments of the United Irishmen were at different periods. When Mr. Ponsonby brought in his first Bill of Reform, I remember having conversed with some of the most confidential men in the north on that subject, and they declared to me they would think the country happy, and likely to think itself so, by getting that bill. When he brought in his last bill, I am sure the country at large would have been satisfied with the same.

Lord Castlereagh.—They would have been satisfied to effect a revolution through a reform.

Macneven.—If a change of system be one way or other inevitable, of which I have no doubt, and which you yourselves cannot but think highly probable, who can be so much interested in its occurring peaceably as you are? In any tranquil change you will retain your properties, and the immense influence which attaches to property. In such a situation you would necessarily have a considerable share in the management of affairs; and I cannot conceive how a revolution effected in such a manner would much confound the order of society, or give any considerable shock to private happiness.

Speaker.—Don't you think the people would be dissatisfied with any reformed parliament which would not abolish the Church Establishment and tithes?

Macneven.—I have no idea of a reformed parliament that would not act according to the interest and known

wishes of the people. I am clear that tithes ought to be suppressed, and have no doubt the Church Establishment would follow.

A Member.—Would you not set up another?

Macneven.—Most certainly not; I consider all church establishments as injurious to liberty and religion.

Mr. J. C. Beresford.—Will you tell me what you understand by a free House of Commons?

Macneven.—One which should be annually and freely returned by the people, and in which their interests, for the most part, should direct their decisions.

Mr. J. C. Beresford.—What do you think of pot-wallop ing boroughs? they afford a specimen of universal suffrage.

Macneven.—I know some adversaries of reform who have less reason to be displeased with them than I have; but they are a proof how useless would be any partial reform, and that a thing may be noxious in a detached state, which would form a valuable part of a good system.

A Member.—It seems we are reduced to the unfortunate situation of not being able to content the people without a reform which would overthrow the Church Establishment, and break the connection with England.

Macneven.—If you be in that situation, give me leave to tell you it was brought on by the perseverance with which every species of reform has always been refused, and the contumely manifested towards those who petitioned for it. Discussion was provoked by this treatment, and resentment excited; the consequences of which are now that the people would probably exercise to its full extent whatever privilege they acquired, though, if timely granted, they would stop far short

of the length to which it might be carried; this is the nature of man. But, sir, I see no necessary connection between the fall of the Establishment and a separation from England.

Speaker.—Sure, if the head of the Church was removed, the connection would be broken.

Macneven.—It might be preserved through the king, if the Irish thought proper to retain it. As the parliament now exists, with two-thirds of it (if I may be allowed to speak frankly) the property of individuals in the pay of the British cabinet, the connection is indeed injurious to Ireland, and it is rendered so by the parliament; but if we had a free parliament, there might be a federal connection advantageous to both countries.

Sir J. Parnell.—Under that federal connection Ireland would not go to war when England pleased.

Macneven.—I hope not. Were the connection of this nature, it would probably have preserved England from the present war, and rendered her the same kind of service which might be expected from a free House of Commons, if she had one.

A Member.—What has hitherto prevented the French from invading this country?

Macneven.—Nothing, I am sure, but inability; this, however, will not always last; and I have not the least doubt but when it passes off they will invade it, unless by a change of system you content the nation, and arm it against them; it will then defend itself, as it did before by its volunteers.

Speaker.—What system?

Macneven.—A system of coercion, and a system of injustice, to be replaced by a system of freedom.

Sir J. Parnel.—Would you not be disposed, as well as other gentlemen who may have influence with the people, to exert it, in order to induce them to give up their arms, without the intervention of force?

Macneven.—I cannot answer that question, unless I am told what equivalent is meant to be given them for such a surrender.

Sir J. Parnel.—Pardon.

Macneven.—They never considered it a crime to have arms, nor do I; on the contrary, they have been taught and know it is a right of theirs to possess them. If any attempt is made to take from them their arms, they will mistrust the motives, and think, not without reason, that it is intended by such conduct to leave them naked, at the mercy of their enemies.

Sir J. Parnel.—Pikes are horrible weapons, and I don't know but a law might be passed against them.

Macneven.—I am sure I have seen as strange laws passed without any difficulty; but one might equally as well be made against muskets and bayonets.

Sir J. Parnel.—But pikes are not in the contemplation of the law which gives the subject the right of possessing arms.

Macneven.—I believe, Sir John, the law which declares that right to belong to every freeman was partly obtained by the pike.

Speaker.—It was Magna Charta.

Lord Castlereagh.—What is likely to be the effect of the insurrection that has been just put down?

Macneven.—It will teach the people that caution which some of their friends less successfully endeavoured to inculcate; and I am afraid it will make them retaliate

with a dreadful revenge the cruelties they suffered, whenever they have an opportunity.

Lord Castlereagh.—Will they, do you think, rise again?

Macneven.—Not, I believe, till the French come; but then, most assuredly, whenever they can join them.

Speaker.—Will the people consider themselves bound hereafter by the oaths of the union?

Macneven.—I suppose they will.

Speaker.—Would you?

Macneven.—I, who am going to become an emigrant from my country, am dispensed from answering that question; yet I acknowledge, were I to stay I would think myself bound by them; nor can I discover anything in what has passed to make it less my duty.

Speaker.—Ay, you consider a republican government more economical?

Macneven.—Corruption is not necessary to it.

Speaker.—How did you mean to pay the loan from Spain—I suppose from our forfeited estates?

Macneven.—Rather, sir, from your places and pensions. If I only take the pension list at £100,000 (it has been considerably higher, and I believe it is so still), that alone would be sufficient to pay four times the interest of the half-million we meant to borrow. I need not tell you that money can be got when the interest can be regularly paid. We conceive also there are several places with large salaries, for which the present possessors do no other service than giving votes in parliament; another considerable fund would, we imagine, be found by giving these sums a different application.

Speaker.—Do you remember Mr. Grattan's motion about tithes? Was not that a short cut towards putting down the Established Church?

Macneven.—If the stability of the Established Church depends on the payment of tithes, the Church stands on a weaker foundation than in civility I would have said of it; but sure I am, sir, that if tithes had been commuted according to Mr. Grattan's plan, a very powerful engine would have been taken out of our hands.

A Member.—Is not the union much indebted to the Roman Catholic clergy?

Macneven.—The principle of burying all religious differences in oblivion was warmly embraced by the Catholic clergy; some of them became more active members of the union, and I make no doubt but they are in general well affected to the liberties of their country.

Speaker.—Have not the priests a great influence over the people?

Macneven.—When they espouse the interests of the people they are readily obeyed by them, from the reliance that is placed on their better sense and education. When they oppose these interests they are certainly found to have neither authority nor influence. Of this I can give you two important examples. At the time the Catholic committee was opposed by the *sixty-eight*, together with Lord Kenmare and his *marksmen*, a priest between Kilbeggan and Moate, who endeavoured to seduce his flock to support the slavish principles of that party, was well nigh *hanged* by his own parishioners for what they deemed treachery to their interests. The other, a priest in the north, who thought fit to

preach against the union; the flock immediately left the chapel, and sent him word they would for that Sunday go to the meeting-house, and that if he did not desist from such politics in future they would come near him no more. Of such a nature, gentlemen, is the influence of the Catholic clergy.

Speaker.—Are the bishops much looked up to?

Macneven.—They are not, as far as I can learn, so well beloved, or so much confided in by the people as the inferior clergy.

Speaker.—Can you assign any reason for that?

Macneven.—I am inclined to believe it is because they are seen so much about the Castle, and because some acts coming from that body have manifested an over-extraordinary compliance for the supposed wishes of government.

Speaker.—Did you see Dr. Hussey's letter—what do you think of that?

Macneven.—I have seen it, and disapprove of it. As one name and paper is mentioned, I cannot help saying that I have seen another letter with the name of Dr. Moylan, which contained a remarkable falsehood in favour of administration; but as this was only a pious fraud perhaps, I could never hear that they complained of it.

Lord Castlereagh.—We will detain you no longer.

WILLIAM JAMES MACNEVEN.

CHAPTER III

CAREER IN THE UNITED STATES

FROM the period of Macneven's examination to that of his arrival in America, there are no matters of importance which have not been given in the preceding narrative. The following documents will serve to throw some additional light on the brief notice of his career in the United States:

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER OF MR. THOMAS O'CONNOR OF NEW YORK, IN REFERENCE TO THE ABOVE-MENTIONED SUBJECT.

New York, 26th September, 1842.

Although the history of my friend Macneven's career in America has no direct connection with his earlier life in Europe, or his connection with the endeavours to establish freedom in his native land, yet it serves to show how consistently he pursued and studied the interests of his country here. In the year 1816, a free office was opened in Nassau-street (I believe the first of the kind established in the United States), for the purpose of procuring employment for Irish emigrants, who were then arriving here in great numbers. It was attended with considerable success. Besides employment obtained in the city and neighbourhood of New York, a vast number of them were directed to places

in the interior where employment had been previously engaged for them. It was about this time a meeting was held in this city, at which all the distinguished Irishmen attended, the object of which was the settlement of Irish agriculturists on American lands, where, as owners of the soil, they would be respectable and independent. Dr. Macneven was either the chairman, or an active and influential member of the meeting. As a result of that meeting an application was made to the Congress of the United States for a portion of the public lands on terms accommodating to the Irish, and not injurious to the interest of the government. The petition for this purpose was favourably viewed by a large number of the members of the House of Representatives, but the question went against the Irish by a small majority—I think twelve.

About the year 1827 he established a free office in Mott-street, with an object similar to that of the one in Nassau-street, and with somewhat similar success. He relied on the corporation of the city for some support, to be derived from the money levied on emigrants on their arrival there. This application met no favour from the corporation.

He was likewise the originator, I believe, of an establishment, or free registry office, for the benefit of servants; the office continues open in Broadway, near Canal-street. Several years ago he wrote and published for the direction of emigrants, in pamphlet form, "Directions or advice to Irishmen arriving in America." To it was attached directions for naturalization, by the late Thomas Addis Emmet. He was a member of nearly every society formed in this city, having for its object the honour or the interest of his countrymen. One

only he eschewed, because he considered it not sufficiently *national* in its views. In the years 1828-9 he was appointed president of the society, "The Friends of Ireland," in New York, which contributed not a little to the means which insured the success of the emancipation of the Irish Catholics. He was the first to move and to promote the erection of a splendid monument to the memory of the late Thomas Addis Emmet.

Dr. Macneven was as warm an advocate of the Repeal of the Legislative Union between England and Ireland, as he had heretofore been a never-pausing advocate of the independence of his native land.

THOMAS O'CONNOR.

In the spring of 1834 Macneven passed through one of those ordeals which men who take a part in public affairs in America have not unfrequently to go through. Jackson's removal of the deposits from the United States Bank had been publicly spoken of by Macneven as "unwise and unstatesmanlike." Up to that period he had been a strenuous supporter of Jackson. A furious clamour was raised against him; he was accused of inconsistency, and, like every other person then opposed to the removal of the deposits, he was charged with being bribed by the bank to support its interests. The Jacksonite press, and even the Irish press of America, assailed him in the fiercest manner, and the usual consequence of a warfare of this kind followed. Macneven was denounced, mobbed, and, in all probability, would have been maltreated had he

fallen into the hands of the enraged multitude; his house was besieged, some persons forced their way into it, terrified his family, and, having done so, returned to their homes, and after a little time to their senses. No small number of the lower orders of his own countrymen joined in this outrage, on a man whose life had been devoted for twenty-nine years in that city to their interests.

On this trying occasion, when popular injustice and ingratitude might have been expected to have irritated and disgusted him, he gave expression to no complaint, manifested no annoyance, nor would suffer others to speak harshly of the treatment he had met with. "He said his poor countrymen had been deceived—they would soon find out their error, and make amends for their folly." In his communications to the press on this subject, he maintained the same tone of moderation; in the calm and philosophic spirit which was peculiar to his character, he pursued the even tenor of his way, and in a little time the usual mutability of public opinion was exhibited, and he found himself, as he expected, reinstated in his old position in public favour.

"The New York Enquirer" of March, 1834, enters largely into Dr. Macneven's opinions on the question of the removal of the deposits from the United States Bank, by the president, General Jackson.

The most striking feature in Macneven's char-

acter was an imperturbable coolness and self-possession, combined with the most remarkable simplicity of mind and singleness of purpose; he was totally devoid of fear in the maintenance of his principles, and of every species of affectation in the exhibition of a very high degree of moral courage, and a chivalrous sense of duty to the interests of humanity and justice. These qualities were strikingly exhibited by him in 1834, in the controversy in which he engaged, and the conflict with the opinions of the great majority of his countrymen in the United States which ensued.

There was a sort of stoic attachment in the fidelity of Macneven to his principles; but his politics were those of a philosopher, his patriotism was the widely extended benevolence of a Catholic philanthropy. He talked of his devotion to his cause in language the least impassioned—of the enemies of his country in moderate and charitable terms; if a single virtue belonged to one of them, he presented it prominently before his hearers: it was a pleasure for him to descant upon some acts of Clare's, which he believed were evidences of a nature originally generous. It was impossible to be in his society, and still less so on terms of intimacy with him, without observing the consistency of his opinions, and the rectitude of mind displayed in the expression of them. The same principles he set out in life

with advocating, he upheld in his old age, without change or modification; but his mind was open to every improvement that was suggested in the mode of carrying them into effect. His principles were inflexible, and yet he was free from obstinacy and arrogance in the assertion of them; and as to jealousy of his associates, or envy of the prominence of their station, or the pre-eminence that might be claimed for their opinions or their acts, it was not in Macneven's nature to feel anything of the sort. I speak of the man from my own intimate knowledge of his worth and virtues.

There was nothing brilliant in his talents, or showy in his conversation; his abilities, however, as a public speaker were considerable, and one or two extracts from his early speeches in "The Back-lane Parliament," as it was called, will give some idea of the plain sound sense, and strong conviction of the truth and justice of his cause, which distinguished the speeches of Macneven.

But when the vices of those, whose profligacy in the gratification of their passions had made treason to their principles the means of replenishing their resources, were the subject of his remarks, it would be difficult to convey an idea of the solemn earnestness of his language, and of the vigour and expressive energy of the terms in which he described and reprobated the acts of such men as Reynolds. It was only on some such

occasion that one could discover in the placid benignity of the old man's countenance, the tranquillity of its expression, the gentleness and suavity of his manner, the mildness of his tone of voice, traces of that energy of character which he displayed on many occasions, which called for extraordinary intrepidity, presence of mind, quickness of observation, and promptness in taking advantage of the knowledge thus obtained.

The stuff that was requisite for a man in the occupation of a post beset with dangers, or a martyr to a cause which needed the demonstration of an attachment to it superior to the fear of death, was that which entered into the composition of Macneven. If the interests of that cause called for any extraordinary effort, though its issue were to prove fatal to him, Macneven would have walked to the scaffold with the same air and aspect of composure with which he would have gone to his bed.

When I visited him for the last time in 1839, and saw with deep concern the change which had taken place in his appearance, being then evidently broken down in health, and fast approaching the termination of his career, I made a memorandum of the subjects of conversation on which he expressed any opinion respecting the events or men of '98, or communicated any interesting information.

In speaking of Reynolds, Dr. Macneven said:

That villain did all he could to get evidence from me to convict me, but I distrusted him, knowing him to be given to falsehood and inclined to gluttony. I never knew one who was a sensualist who was good for anything in public business. I knew the mother of this man Reynolds well—she was a Geraldine—a shrewd, intelligent old lady. I was her physician, attended her in her last illness, and believed she did not die a natural death.

Immediately before the arrests at Bond's, Reynolds was desirous to entrap me into an admission of a guilty knowledge of the designs of the United Irishmen. Reynolds came to my place of abode two or three days before the arrest in March, and asked for me. He came several times in the course of one day and also of the next. I at first shunned him, but finally determined to see him, and endeavour to find out if my suspicions were well founded. When he called at my lodgings on Ormond-quay, Reynolds told me he had called to know where the provincial committee was next to meet, and the object of it. I had folded up a blank sheet of paper as a letter directed to Reynolds, and taking it up off the mantel-piece I said to Reynolds, "Here is all the information I can give you on the subject;" fixing my eyes steadily at his face, "but," said I, "as we have met there is no occasion for the letter," and I threw the seeming letter into the fire. Such disappointment I never saw represented on the stage by an actor as was depicted in the physiognomy of Reynolds. Here the written testimony, as he thought, that would have hanged his victim, he was on the point of getting hold of, and in a moment it was in the flames; and still greater disappointment was exhibited when I said, "How do you suppose, sir, that I should know any-

thing of the matter?" Reynolds went away, his purpose was defeated, and he felt that he was suspected.

The policy of government was to make us exaggerate our sentiments—to inebriate our opinions, in order to drive us to desperate courses, and then take advantage of our folly. There was one infamous paper, "The Union Star," which was made to advocate assassination, and to express sentiments hateful to the United Irishmen. These efforts were denounced by "The Press," but "The Press" was prosecuted, and "The Union Star" allowed to escape unpunished. The editor was a bad man.

A certain lord said, just previous to the breaking out of the rebellion: "The country must be made sick of republicanism; they (the people) must be maddened with liberty principles before they have had enough of anarchy, and are forced to come back to us for good government."

Lord Clare was a sort of an Irishman in feeling—with all his vices, he was not of the same class as Lord Castlereagh—his blood was warm, and he was susceptible of generous emotions.

Sir L. Parsons (the late Lord Ross) was the most staunch democrat, as I thought, of all the men of that party—his change of politics surprised me amazingly.

Grattan would not have been so much thought of, if it had not been for Clare's hostility to him. They hated one another—Grattan checked Clare's vices; Clare stimulated Grattan's patriotism.

There were a great many persons of high rank, and even some holding official situations, who were in the confidence of the United Irishmen, watching the turn that things would take, and ready to shape their course

accordingly. A general officer in the British service was in the interest of the United Irishmen; a privy counsellor was likewise friendly to their society, and frequently serviceable to it.

Neither Grattan nor Curran were United Irishmen; with the former they entered very little into communication—it was known, in the event of success, Grattan would have accepted an important appointment in the new government; but Curran was continually consulted by them, knew everything that was going on, and his whole heart was in the cause—but he was never committed to it by attending any meeting or taking any oath. The officer, Captain Nugent, who arrested me at my lodgings on Ormond Quay, passed Lord Edward on the stairs, and allowed him to leave the house, not knowing who he was. I was taken to the Castle and brought before Lords Clare and Castlereagh; they put several questions to me; I declined to answer any; I said I had nothing to answer.

Secretary Marsden visited the prisoners at Kilmainham, spoke kindly to them, told them that Rufus King objected to their going to America—they must think of some other country; they said their principles were those of America; he replied, “Perhaps they imagine they have too many republicans there already.”

George Nugent Reynolds was a man of extraordinary wit and humour; he wrote his beautiful songs *currente calamo*. The best of them or of any in our language was his “Green were the fields where my forefathers dwelt, oh.” He died at an inn in England on his way to Stowe, to visit the Duke of Buckingham.

Neilson’s boy and Emmet’s were educated by the prisoners at Fort George—each of them instructing

the boys in some particular branch of education. Neilson's son was a remarkably fine boy.

The Sheares took no ostensible part in the business in Dublin, until after the arrests at Bond's; there was a gap then, and they filled it up. They knew Lord Edward, but I was not intimately acquainted with them.

John was rather a free-thinker in religious matters—expressed himself too openly—he was wrong in so doing, even though he might have given no preference to any particular form of religion, or made no profession of conformity to any; he considered it a proof of bad sense and bad feeling to make any parade of opinions on such subjects opposed to those generally entertained.

Lord Edward Fitzgerald had a great deal more of mind than is generally imagined by those who are supposed to be conversant with the history of those times. He had no pretensions—no purpose but to serve Ireland; and to promote her interests he would have served in the ranks as a common soldier.

Anthony M'Cann, "the Exile of Erin," exiled previous to 1798, was a handsome man with a dejected cast of countenance—he lived at Altona. His first acquaintance with the lady he married was somewhat singular. From some unknown benefactress, when his circumstances were embarrassed, immediately after his exile, he received a new year's gift of a considerable sum of money. The following year the same act of beneficence was repeated. He then discovered the person, who proved to be a rich widow lady; and in a short time "the Exile of Erin" was no longer an unhappy man. I heard from him about two years ago.

T. A. Emmet was simple in his tastes and manners, went little into society, loved his family, read much; his

first speech at the bar in the United States was in the defence of a slave; his last effort in a court of law was in behalf of a charitable institution. This was as it should be with his career.

Emmet always spoke of his brother Temple as one of the first men of his age. The attorneys of Dublin told him (Macneven) that Thomas Addis Emmet had few if any superiors at the bar. One of the best pictures of Emmet was painted by Benjamin West, and is now in possession of the Fulton family.

My views for Ireland are now limited to a domestic legislature for the business of the country, not extending to foreign policy, continuing to be a part of the English monarchy, subject to the King of England; no Church Establishment; no tithes. All schemes for the advantage of Ireland, short of this, are futile.

To a question put to me by the daughter of Macneven—"Whether it was likely the government would let her father go back to Ireland, and afford him the gratification of feeling it was in his power to return to his country, though he might never avail himself of the permission?"—Macneven did not give me time to answer; he said, "It is too late to think of that; my lot is cast here, and I have few, if any, relations in Ireland now living. The few who are living are in the county Donegal."

The last time Dr. Macneven ever addressed a public meeting was at a dinner on the festival of St. Patrick, 1837, at which he presided, in New York. The following extracts are copied from

the report of that address, published in "The Green Banner:"

It is a consolation to us to know that Ireland has to aid her in this inveterate conflict, many eminent sons of exalted genius and burning patriotism, to all of whom we owe the expression of our admiration and gratitude; but we will begin with him, the Hercules of her host—the slayer of the monster, religious persecution—whose long and invaluable services place him first in the remembrance of his countrymen—The Liberator. The toast is naturally answered by the heartfelt cheer of every true Irishman. Nor this alone. The illustrious subject of your homage merits the admiration of mankind, for his ability and success in establishing religious freedom in his country without the contamination of crime or bloodshed; as he is now prosecuting her liberation from civil bondage without violence or war. The course of Mr. O'Connell forms in some sort a new era, well worth the consideration of whoever would win liberty and preserve order in other places subjected, like Ireland, to foreign and domestic servitude. He is now engaged in a great experiment, which the philosopher is looking to with hope, and the oligarch with dismay—an experiment on the reforming power of reason, the cogency of argument, the pressure of public opinion, and the novel efficiency of sullen but resolute inaction that, without abandoning its purpose, waits for its opportunity. With the unwearied application of his powerful talents he rouses his countrymen to an indignant sense of their degrading condition, while in the same breath he engages their intelligence in the schooling of universal discussion. His constitutional

agitation is a moral lever that has its fulcrum in the hearts and arms of millions of a valiant people, whose universal mind he has disciplined to co-operation and method.

While reviewing the operation and effects of Mr. O'Connell's system of agitation—for it is now a system, and may be denominated the Irish process of reform—we are struck with the frequent and sometimes simultaneous assemblages of large masses of the people; congregating in regular bodies, with the power and advantages of organization: taught to collect, obey, and act by superior orders. These are things that exhibit to us a great and satisfactory gain in public liberty and personal safety, such as might happen in New York, where a citizen is free to do anything and everything that does not infringe the law. But Irishmen had not this privilege in the calamitous days of the Convention and Gunpowder Bills, when the sanguinary daring of a Clare, a Foster, and a Castlereagh, stifled all remonstrance at the outset, sent the Riot Act and the soldiery to the public meeting, and trampled the press under the mercenary's heel. At that time the moral power was not suffered to act, to discuss, to agitate. It could not then regenerate Dublin, any more than it can now regenerate Vienna, Berlin, or St. Petersburgh. It is doubtless the best agent of reformation, provided there exist enough freedom of speech and action to give scope to its efficacy. In this lies the great difference between Ireland now and in 1798. There remained then but one mode of redress. It was that embraced by America under circumstances similar but not equal. There is now another way, directly contrary, but in altered circumstances far better. Who would now in this country,

under any excitement of the tariff controversy, seize by force of arms a ship in Boston harbour and throw her cargo overboard, when a town meeting and a memorial to Congress would effect all that was proper or needful? No doubt Adams, and Washington, and Jefferson, were guilty of high treason when they embraced the only alternative left; yet these noble patriots, all determined as they were, need not, in our days and altered circumstances, burn a priming to bring about the happiest revolution that was ever achieved. We must all prefer, to the most successful use of physical violence, the moral, peaceful revolution which Mr. O'Connell is now effecting by the masterly employment of the powers acquired to his country since 1798. But his machinery of honest, staid agitation no man could work at that time. His present organization of agitation was then impossible. Perhaps it is not in accordance with facts to ascribe to any leader of United Irishmen the committal of the country in 1798. The beginning of hostilities may come from either party; and to those who are versed in modern Irish history it is not unknown that the English government, through its Irish agents, intended, fomented, enacted the insurrection of 1798, in like manner as it had stirred up war in other times for ulterior purposes. Had the torture then widely inflicted—the pitch cap ignited on the peasant's head—the brand blazing in his thatch—been again encouraged by the government, even the controlling, constitutional eloquence of the Liberator himself might fail to restrain the outbursting of manhood. We have seen the case occur, when the government was the instigator to insurrection, and then the cruel and unrelenting avenger. Surely here is sufficient to justify revolution

in its rise, and, thank heaven! not always without cause to bless it in its issue. We live in the midst of a specimen of what revolution has done to raise obscure provinces into the most prosperous empire on the face of earth. But whether to bear the ills we have, or to encounter others, does not admit of a general solution. Each case must be judged by the circumstances of the time and the chances of success. Those circumstances at the period of 1798, were the war then raging between England and France, against whose Jacobin excesses she raised all Europe in arms; while her own acts in Ireland, religious and civil, were equal to whatever she stigmatized as heinous in her rival—to whom, in fact, she reproached no crime that could not be retorted from her own practice.

FRAGMENT OF A NARRATIVE RESPECTING HIS FAMILY, COMMENCED BY DR. W. J. MACNEVEN.

New York, 23rd August, 1837.

To gratify my wife and children, and at their earnest desire, I have undertaken to compose some notes on myself and family. In younger days I had dreams of celebrity, which could be gained, I thought, by giving a proper view of the heart-stirring subjects with which I was conversant; but more important cares have absorbed my prime, and a family memoir is all that remains for the completion of my declining years. However imperfect, it will be valued by my relations, and even fame, were it attained, is less precious than their love.

New York, Thursday, 12th March, 1840.

Began these memoranda. I was born, I believe, in 1763, on the 21st of March. My family possessed in

fee-simple a small landed estate in the county of Galway, about a mile south from Aughrim and Kilcommodan Hill. An eventful battle was fought there on the 12th July, 1691, between the forces of King James II. and King William, and my early intimacy with every inch of the field gave my thoughts ever after an invariable direction to the unfortunate relations of Ireland with England. My mother was the daughter of a gentleman in the neighbourhood of the name of Dolphin, and my kindred of that side continued to hold a respectable standing in the country. Until about the age of ten I passed through the nearest schools. Ballinasloe and Archreagh had each a good English and Latin teacher, and I acquired under them a moderate knowledge of the rudiments of English and Latin grammar. Though fonder of play than of my book, yet I never lost sight of the head of the class, and often arrived at that gratifying distinction.

My paternal uncle, Baron Macneven, was at this time living at Prague; he was chief physician to the Empress-queen Maria Theresa, and president of the Faculty of Medicine in the university of that city. He was also a man of good fortune, of eminent talents and learning, and persons of the best society took pleasure in frequenting his house. He sent for me to become an inmate in his family, and receive the advantages of an extensive and excellent education. A favourable opportunity presented itself, in the return of an officer in the Austrian service, who was going back, after a visit to his relatives in the county of Meath. In passing along Rogerson's-quay early in the morning, on our way to the Holyhead packet, I saw two fine-looking men brought from a back yard under a guard of sol-

diers, and handcuffed before my face; I learned they were American prisoners, and heard them say to the soldiery—though their own lot was a hard one, they would be happy to meet the enemy another time on Bunker's Hill. This incident awoke my attention to the events of the American war, and made me a willing reader of the English papers in my uncle's circle, when they brought us the glories of Washington and the defeats of the British army.

My father was descended from one of that national party that stood out for Ireland in the war of Cromwell, and who were ultimately driven by the conqueror into the wilds behind the Shannon, not knowing where else to banish them. There my family lived, like others of the old race, in obscurity and independence—true to their religion—full of love of Irish nationality, traditional pride, and aversion to England.

The following portion of a letter was found unfinished among his papers after his death:

FROM DR. MACNEVEN TO R. R. MADDEN.

DEAR SIR—I am long indebted to you for an acknowledgment and return of letters, and hope you will never have such cause of apology for similar omissions as but too painfully exculpate me. The inability caused by long and severe sickness was the first, though not the worst of those impediments. The illness and death of a beloved daughter, which happened in that interval, leave a wound that cannot be healed or forgotten. But to hear from you was still a gratification. I was disappointed at not obtaining any circumstantial or satisfactory information from your friend, Sir Edward Baker, respecting Lord Edward's family. He told me

he was born and brought up in England, and knew little of the Irish history of his family. But I am glad to see that you are employing yourself upon Irish history, and I trust that you will cause it to be better known. Mr. Warden acquaints me from Paris that a General O'Neil in that city is preparing a work on Ireland, and desirous of receiving materials from this country. Yet there are so few here who take an interest in the subject, and all are so intent upon their own affairs, that very little can be obtained. I have learned that Arthur O'Connor likewise is preparing for the press a work of a similar nature. I am now retired to the country, where I purpose to pass the remainder of my days. I am pretty old, and with this my domestic loss age leaves me no taste for a more public life. I am not rich, but have a comfortable independence for self and family, and in this country it is enough.

The preceding letter was written a short time before his death. That event took place at the house of his son-in-law, Mr. Thomas Emmet, at Harlaem, in the 78th year of his age. The following account of the funeral arrangement and interment of his remains is taken from "The New York Freeman's Journal" of 17th July, 1841:

On Wednesday morning, notwithstanding the inclemency of the weather—the rain pouring in torrents—one of the largest funeral processions that has ever been witnessed in this city moved from Mr. Emmet's house to St. Patrick's cathedral, where it arrived a few minutes after 12 o'clock. The scene in the cathedral was truly solemn and affecting. The pulpit was shrouded

in black, and on the altar were laid all the habiliments of mourning customary on such occasions. The coffin was laid on a bier in the central aisle in front of the altar, and covered with a funeral pall of fine black cloth reaching to the floor, and with a deep white edging; and on it were laid a number of burning lights in silver candlesticks. The Right Rev. Bishop Hughes officiated in pontificals, such as are worn in the solemn services for the dead—black vestments, with a white cope and a mitre of the same colour, entirely plain and devoid of ornament. All was peculiarly impressive. The swelling tones of the organ, and the chaunting by the choir of the mournful requiem for the departed soul—the prayers of the bishop, and the holy incense arising in clouds from the burning censors held by the acolytes around the “narrow tenement” in which were laid the sole earthly remains of one so great and good—all conspired to fill the hearts and souls of those present with the most saddening emotions. We could not forbear at the time recalling to mind, and contrasting with the scene before us, that most eventful period in the life of him who now lay silent in death—when he and the Fitzgeralds, and Emmets, and Tones, and Sampsons, and hundreds and thousands besides of noble hearts, rose up to avenge their country’s wrongs—to save her—to redeem her from the misery of the insulted, down-trodden captive, which she had so long and so bitterly endured. But beset with foes, and spies, and traitors, their cause was lost. And where, we inwardly inquired, was all that gallant band? An Emmet on the scaffold; Fitzgerald, the lion-hearted, set upon after the manner of assassins, and borne down beneath the weapons of a hired soldiery; death in its most terrible forms

—chains, and the dungeon, and exile. Such was the fate of those who loved their altars and the homes of their fathers. The time and the circumstances around us were indeed well calculated to call up sorrowful memories.

It was consoling, however, amid all the grief which it occasioned, to see this time-honoured patriot go down to his rest so tranquilly, and so surrounded with all that could give peace to the departing spirit. Friends without number—love and respect on every side—all the aids of religion in the hour of extremity, and his obsequies honoured by the offices of a holy bishop of that faith for which he had in his lifetime suffered and so zealously contended.

After the funeral service in the cathedral, the procession in carriages moved to the East River at the foot of Grand-street, from which place the body was accompanied by the relatives and pall-bearers to the family burying-ground at Newtown, in Long Island.

The medical career of Dr. Macneven is recorded in “The New York Medical Gazette” of 11th August, 1841:

Dr. Macneven was sent to Germany for his education at an early age, and continued there for ten years, taking his degree of doctor of physic at Vienna, in 1784. He returned that year to Dublin, and entered upon the practice of his profession in Dublin. He landed in New York, 4th July, 1805. He immediately entered on the practice of his profession, and in 1808 was appointed professor of midwifery in the College of Physicians and Surgeons. In 1811, he exchanged his chair for that of chemistry. In 1812, he was ap-

pointed resident physician by Governor Clinton. In 1816, *materia medica* was added to chemistry, and he gave instruction on both branches till 1820, when they were again separated.

In 1826, he resigned his professorship in the College of Physicians, and united with Drs. Hosack, Francis, Mott, and Godman, in the Duane-street School. Here the chair of *materia medica* was again assigned him. This school was discontinued in 1830, and at that point Dr. Macneven closed his career as a teacher. In 1832, during the cholera, he was chosen one of the medical council, to whom was assigned the supervision of the hospitals and other establishments for the sick. In 1840, he was again appointed resident physician, an office which he resigned a few weeks before his death. He published, in 1820, an exposition of the atomic theory, which attracted favourable notice both at home and abroad, and about the same time an edition of Brande's Chemistry, which is extensively used as a text-book. As a lecturer he was simple, clear, and animated—as a practitioner, judicious and efficient—as a man, amiable, honest, and kind-hearted—as a patriot, ardent, active, bold, disinterested. With him the love of country was a passion as well as a principle; and when that country shall cease to cherish his memory she will be utterly unworthy of him.

NOTICES OF DR. W. J. MACNEVEN'S DEATH, AND OF HIS CAREER, IN THE AMERICAN PAPERS.

(“New York Freeman’s Journal,” 17th July, 1841.)

DEATH OF DR. WILLIAM JAMES MACNEVEN.—It is our mournful duty, this week, to announce the death of one of the best and purest of Ireland’s patriots—one

of the last surviving relics of that sacred band who, in the disastrous days of '98, struck boldly—though alas! unsuccessfully—for Ireland's freedom, and whose memory is now, and will for ever remain, warmly and affectionately enshrined in the hearts of Irishmen.

WILLIAM JAMES MACNEVEN is no more! A great and a good man is gone from amongst us; one around whose declining path of life there shone a glory reflected from years long past—all the proud though sad memories of his country's last great struggle to assume her rightful place as an independent nation; one who was so identified with that period of intense but melancholy interest in Ireland's history, that with his name or his presence there always came the thought of freedom and independence—of the high and daring aspirations of the patriot, and the fearful calamities and dark treachery in which all were lost and extinguished—of bright hopes, almost bursting into glorious reality, for a nation's rescue from bonds and slavery, but all swept cruelly away in the sudden tempest and overwhelming power of the oppressor's wrath. These were some of the heart-stirring thoughts which were ever associated with the name and presence of Macneven, and the recollection of which crowds upon the soul so sadly, now that his mortal life—faithfully devoted as it had been to his country, and to the cause of justice and humanity everywhere—is closed for ever. And these thoughts will not be allowed to slumber now in the breasts of the FRIENDS OF IRELAND. One so venerated and beloved—an honoured and noble relic of that time which showed that if Irishmen were enslaved they at least did not wear their bonds tamely and submissively: one thus endeared—the personifica-

tion of so much of the glory of his country—will not, we feel assured, be suffered to pass away without some marked and permanent evidence being given, that the Irishmen of New York are true to the generous character of their country: that freedom is a name dear to them, and that the love of the land of their fathers remains unabated in their bosoms: that patriotism is with them a substantial and a household virtue, and that he in whose whole life it was exemplified will not be suffered to go down to the grave unforgotten and undistinguished. And who could claim the possession of that virtue in a more remarkable degree than he whose sun has now set amid so many blessings on his memory? To use the words addressed to us, since the melancholy event, by a venerable friend, an extract of whose speech at a public dinner forms a portion of this article:

“The natural life and the patriotism of William James Macneven would seem to be of the same duration. No man who knew him can say when he was not a patriot. Patriotism must have embraced him in his cradle. Contrary to the lesson which selfishness would dictate, he returned to his country from the Continent, where he had been sent for his education, and where honours and fortune awaited him. He loved that country too well to desert it in the day of its distress, and in all its throes and struggles for the recovery of lost freedom he took an active part; and, driven into exile, he continued in America to labour for the good of his countrymen in Ireland, and for the benefit of such of them as emigrated to this country. He was, in the year 1828-9, president of the Friends of Ireland in the United States; and was at

the time of his death, president of the Irish Emigrant Association in this city. But the heart that was warm, and was nobly so, is now cold and lifeless; the hand once employed in drafting a constitution for independent Ireland is now rigid in death; the tongue once eloquent is speechless; the eye fitted alike for the camp and the cabinet is dim and sightless; the man who would have made Ireland what Washington made America has not lived to witness even freedom's shadow —the Repeal of the Union.”

Dr. Macneven was in the 79th year of his age when called, as we believe and trust, to receive the reward of a life well spent. His health had been very feeble for many months past, owing principally to an injury received by a fall from his gig. Notwithstanding all the kind assiduities of affectionate friends and the best medical aid from his attending physician, Dr. William Power, his strength of late failed rapidly, and on the 12th inst., at one o'clock in the afternoon, he expired, at the house of his son-in-law, Thomas Emmet, Esq.

.

At the dinner (previously noticed) given in 1837, in New York, in honour of the patron saint of Ireland, the services of Dr. Macneven to the Catholic cause were set forth by an Irishman of an historic name and lineage, a man of great worth and talents, a Mr. Thomas O'Connor, a member of the American bar.

The report of the proceedings of that festive meeting, given in “The Green Banner,” was re-published in July, 1841, prefaced by the following observations of a New York journal:

Dr. Macneven presided at the dinner referred to. The health of O'Connell was one of the standard toasts, and Dr. Macneven spoke to it with his usual force and eloquence. It was, we believe, the last time he ever addressed a public meeting. We give the following passages, which glow with patriotism and admiration for the unrivalled chief who has so successfully aroused and led on Ireland in her moral contest with English despotism, and at the same time vindicate the character and means employed by the heroes of '98. These latter, it will be remembered, O'Connell recently denounced; and although he has retracted since then, at a public meeting in London, much of what he uttered against them, still we put it to his own heart whether justice, and honour, and patriotism do not require a fuller exculpation from the charge which he preferred, than any which he has yet given, and whether there is not truth in every word of the annexed passage.

Mr. O'Connor, the vice-president of the meeting on the occasion referred to, said:

Dr. Macneven is among the oldest of my living personal acquaintances—he was one of the earliest; fifty years have rolled away since we first met. As far back as my earliest knowledge of the doctor he was a patriot. . . . Endowed with talents of a high order, God and nature bestowed on him a heart and spirit which, for good or evil, must have drawn him into active notoriety, whether as the asserter of his country's rights or the opposer of his country's liberties. He acted on his own judgment, and was by choice a patriot. Dr. Macneven was the uncompromising advocate of the independence of his country, at a period when no man of

sense or honour would have taken up patriotism as a mere trade, when its immediate aspect presented but danger of the most appalling kind, and when, in its remote prospect, it promised but that happiness in the enjoyment of which the earliest labourer in the field has the least chance to participate.

To the preceding statement of Mr. O'Connor's views of the character of Dr. Macneven the author of this work has little to add. An intimate acquaintance with him enables the author not only to pronounce a very confident opinion of its accuracy, but to express his conviction that it falls short of conveying an adequate idea of Dr. Macneven's singleness of purpose, simplicity of character, stern integrity of principle, philosophical calmness and composure of mind, arising from controlled passions, moderated desires, and well regulated conduct adapted to all circumstances and vicissitudes of fortune.

These are not the qualities with which Shakespeare would have invested the character of a man "fit for treasons, stratagems, and broils." William James Macneven and Thomas Addis Emmet were assuredly not the persons whom a statesman (deserving of that title) could proscribe as rebels, without feeling there must be "something rotten in the state," and vicious in the extreme in the government of which he was a minister, when sober-minded men of such exalted worth and virtue as they were could be induced

to commit themselves and their country to a desperate struggle with their rulers. The preceding memoirs are especial illustrations of the truth of this opinion.

This work is, in fact, the embodiment of an idea that the Machiavelian doctrine, *Divide et impera*, and the policy of ruling a country through a faction, against the great body of a people, and for the interests solely of a section of them, if long continued, must terminate either in debasement, stifled hatred and servitude, or in rebellion. In the latter event the chances of success will be rarely found in a ratio with the wrongs an insurgent people have risen to redress, and a bad government will be rendered worse by an abortive insurrection, the failure of which will have only tended to consolidate the power of misrule. Eventually the bad government will become either incurably depraved, or the force of circumstances or an instinct of self-preservation will turn it from the evil of its ways, and suggest the adoption of wiser, more moderate, and more wholesome counsels; but its new action on them will be impeded and thwarted by the remnants of old oppressions and the resentment connected with them for lost privileges—for the withdrawal of state support from the ascendancy of a faction, and discredited pretensions to loyalty of an exclusive character—and embarrassed by the conflict of new opinions and recently recovered

rights, with those damaged interests of an effete monopoly not yet reconciled to the humiliation of enfeebled insolence and restrained rapacity.

A government that has been uniformly just, *ab initio*, faithful to its trust, or that, from abandonment of its duties, has reverted to the first principles and intentions of all state authority deserving of that name, will endeavour by all legitimate means to render the people contented, and will leave no part of the community just cause of complaint. Equal laws, and an impartial administration of them, must insure that reverence for authority without which there is no real safety for state or people. If a well-ruled people unfortunately allowed themselves to be led by turbulent and disaffected persons into violent and illegal courses, the obvious duty of a good government would be, to adopt the promptest measures for the prevention of the designs of those disaffected persons, the most effective means to nip conspiracy in its bud, to hinder its growth, and render an outbreak of rebellion if possible impracticable. If all such efforts unfortunately failed, it then would be the duty of a good government to suppress rebellion by all the means at its disposal that were lawful, and in accordance with the principles of Christianity, which are recognised as the foundation of all authority in a Christian state. The policy of the bad government of those times which this work

treats of was, to exasperate popular discontent, to cause men who were known to be disaffected to a faction whose power was predominant in the state to exaggerate the sense of their wrongs, to mesh them in a system of espionage, to speculate on the result of insurrection, to foment it, and promote its premature explosion, in order that when the deluded people went to war with them, they might with advantage go to law with the exasperated people, and administer it at the point of the sword, when the result could not be doubtful. In putting down the rebellion of 1798, which was prematurely exploded, savage and inhuman means of repression were had recourse to, and all laws human and divine were outraged. Is it good for the interests of humanity, of religion, of good government, that the history of that rebellion should be ignored or falsified? The writer of this work believes that it is not, and therefore he submits it to the cool judgment of sober-minded men of all creeds and classes in these kingdoms, confidently expecting that his motives and his labours will be duly and fairly appreciated.

The history of the rebellion of 1798 affords small encouragement for resistance even to the worst of governments. Abundant evidence is there for leaders in popular movements of enormous difficulties to confront, of vile intrigues and jealousies to contend with, of exaggerated expec-

tations of sympathy, assistance, resources, and support. Ample proof will be furnished in those lessons of history of the utter worthlessness of oaths and tests for the object they are intended to effect, the final certainty of deceived hopes—of treachery, stealthily treading in the footsteps of conspiracy, dogging its confederates from place to place—of grounds for suspecting the fidelity of associates, but no means of detecting and defeating perfidy—of falling into errors that may be fatal, and having no opportunity afforded of retrieving them. The teachings of that history would make their way to the consciences of men who loved their country, and yet were driven into rebellion by intolerable injustice. They would point out the disastrous effects of abortive insurrections to the honour and the interests of the land that gave them birth—disastrous effects which may surpass all other calamities in lasting mischief, save those of a famine or a pestilence. The calamity I refer to is the contempt brought on the country it was intended to revolutionize, by abortive insurrection; contempt for the country and the people that have met with defeat, and must endure subjection, felt not only by the government that has triumphed over them, but felt by foreign nations, which may have sympathized with the past wrongs and sufferings of that people that has been subdued. There would be found ample evidence of the evil of giving in-

creased power to a bad government over a country that has been not only beaten down, but scourged without mercy, and brought into contempt. Ten, twenty—nay, even fifty years of that kind of peace that supervenes on a crushed rebellion—on the exhaustion of a nation's energies—on the disgrace and dishonour of defeat—on the insolent contempt that is felt for any assumption of power to resist oppression—may be enjoyed by the oppressor and endured by the oppressed. And that reflection is not rendered less poignant by the consideration that the prolongation of that injustice might not have been possible had no abortive insurrection taken place.

MEMOIR OF ROBERT EMMET

CHAPTER I

EARLY CAREER

THREE have been among the United Irishmen persons of greater intellectual powers than Robert Emmet—better qualified, certainly, to carry into successful execution very great designs—and Theobald Wolfe Tone pre-eminently was one of these—but none of them so extensively, so permanently engaged the sympathies of the people for their sufferings or their fate, as the young man, who perished in the last struggle for their cause. This peculiar interest in his memory is attributable, in some degree, to the well-known episode in his career, strange and mournful as some fiction of romance, that is connected with the name of Sarah Curran, and the story of the broken heart; but mainly to his singleness of purpose, his simplicity of character, his noble talents, his generous nature, his purity of mind, the prestige of his name, and, above all, that ardent patriotism that was the ruling passion of his life, and the ani-

Dublin Castle 14th November 1803

Gentlemen.

His Excellency The Lord Lieutenant
desires that out of the Money found to you for payment
of Rewards for discovering and apprehending Persons
charged with being guilty of High Treason and treasonable
Practices, you will pay the following Sums

To Major Sir Three Hundred Pounds
for apprehending Robert Emmet who has been convicted of
High Treason, and to Mr William Taylor Three Hundred
Pounds to reimburse a like sum advanced by him on the
same account

To Henry Blake by for the Persons who
apprehended Digby Stafford and the two Parsons, who
are charged with High Treason Three Hundred Pounds.

I am
Gentlemen
Your most obedient
humble Servt

Alexander

T H Addis Emmet
Clerk of the Treasury
Clerk of the Treasury
Clerk of the Treasury

Fac-simile of the Warrant Issued to Pay the Reward Offered for the
Arrest of Robert Emmet.

The warrant is signed by Alexander Marsden, Under-Secretary in the
Civil Department of the Chief Secretary's Office. Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet,
upon obtaining possession of this paper, suspected that the William Taylor
mentioned therein was the informer on Robert Emmet, but upon investigation he
found that Taylor was a clerk in the Government service, whose special busi-
ness it was to disburse Secret Service moneys.

mating principle of his conduct in the dock, in the dungeon, on the scaffold—conduct never to be forgotten by those who witnessed it—a subject of mournful interest, and admiration, too, for all who read of it.

It was surely no ordinary conduct, on the threshold of the grave, which extorted eulogy from the lord lieutenant of Ireland, and an admission such as we find in a despatch to his government, in reference to the state trials of 1803, namely, that “Emmet seemed to have been animated by a sentiment of magnanimity, with which (whatever his crimes may have been) he certainly conducted himself on that solemn occasion.”

There was so much in the generous, kindly, noble nature of Robert Emmet that was to be loved; in his talents to be admired; in the simplicity, truthfulness, honesty of purpose, and purity of intention to respect; that his character can afford to dispense with all exaggeration and prepossession, in our estimate of him, and bear to have his defects freely canvassed by those who are competent to take them into consideration.

A great deal that is prejudicial to the memory of Robert Emmet has been spoken of him, and thought of him—not in malice, but in ignorance of the affairs of 1803, and his connection with them.

In Ireland, constituted as intellectual society

is, and connected as its tastes and tone of thought are with England's imperialism in political literature, and imperiousness of opinion in all matters relating to Irish interests, it can hardly be wondered at, that the memory of Robert Emmet should be regarded as it is by the higher classes—with a kind of contemptuous pity—and spoken of slightingly, almost invariably. In a letter which was addressed to me very recently by one of England's most illustrious men—illustrious, I mean, for powers of intellect of the highest order—one certainly deserving of being considered foremost, if not first, in the rank of men entitled to be called master spirits of the age—I was struck with surprise, I confess (bearing in mind by whom I was addressed), to find that injurious and erroneous opinion of Robert Emmet's intellectual character and of the motives by which he was actuated, expressed in terms which could not be stronger than they were. A single passage from the communication I refer to may be cited, and found sufficient to show how much remains to be known in England, by the best informed Englishmen in general, on subjects relating to Ireland, and in regard to persons connected with its history. "I fear the vanity of a young man, with no principle, was his (Robert Emmet's) ruling motive in the murderous affair of 1803. I have a much better opinion of his brother." If vanity were indeed the ruling mo-

tive of the conduct of Robert Emmet in 1803, want of principle must, necessarily, be implied and associated with the termination of an insurrection in “a murderous affair.” But the supposition of vanity being the ruling motive of Robert Emmet, in his engagement in that conspiracy, is wholly founded on the idea, that the originator, the *primum mobile*, the contriver and concocter of that conspiracy, and the only person of rank and station cognizant of it, and a party to its objects, councils and designs, was Robert Emmet.

Let us bear in mind the words which Robert Emmet addressed to Lord Norbury on his trial, and give them all the weight which is legitimately due to them:

“I have been charged with that importance in the efforts to emancipate my country, as to be considered the key-stone of the combination of Irishmen, or, as it has been expressed, ‘the life and blood of this conspiracy.’ You do me honour overmuch; you have given to the subaltern all the credit of the superior. There are men concerned in this conspiracy, who are not only superior to me, but even to your own conceptions of yourself, my lord—men before the splendour of whose genius and virtues I should bow with respectful deference,” &c.

There is no doubt that the conspiracy of 1803 originated, not with Robert Emmet, but with

parties in Ireland who contrived to keep their real objects undiscovered and their names, too, unrevealed—who managed to have projects of renewed rebellion taken up by leaders of 1798 who had escaped expatriation—men not of the highest order, intellectually or morally—who, having remained in Ireland, found means to enter into communication with some of the principal leaders then in France, and through them with the First Consul and his ministers. We have sufficient documentary evidence in this volume, that encouragement was given in France to their applications for aid and co-operation, in the event of war breaking out between France and England.

I find such eminent men as T. A. Emmet, General Lawless, Colonel Allen, General Corbet, Colonel Byrne, not only cognizant of the projects and communication I refer to in the latter part of 1802, but in favour of them. As much may be said of many eminent individuals in those countries, to the list of whom the English peerage even has contributed a nobleman of great wealth and influence, the military profession an officer of high rank and character, and the church, too, more than one divine.

Were men of their stamp likely to countenance the projects of a vain young man devoid of principle?

Vanity, in the ordinary acceptation of the word, denotes an exaggerated opinion of one's

own importance, powers, and capabilities, and a morbid ambition for notoriety and distinction that actuates the conduct, and influences the motives of a man who has false conceptions, not only of things that are internal, but of objects that are external, and makes himself ridiculous or contemptible by the extent of the absurdity of his inordinate self-love, or criminal, when that passion so predominates as to endanger society, by any reckless presumption in its efforts, to obtain a position that is false for its fictitious merits.

When a man employs means that are inadequate for the attainment of a special object he has in view, they are ineffectual, but their fruitlessness does not necessarily imply vanity. The character and quality of the object determines chiefly the nature of the efforts for its attainment. If the object be bad, nothing can be good in the efforts for it. If the object be good, the character of the means for its accomplishment will be determined by their success; but it ought to be determined by the consideration of the reasonableness of the expectation of success, and the legitimacy of the means employed for its attainment. Johnson says: "It is laudable to attempt great things, even when the achievement of them is beyond the strength that undertakes them." But I know well, in attempted revolutions, when great failures involve great sufferings, and the

good that is looked for, to the grandest efforts is problematical and precarious, the issue doubtful, and the danger certain—not to one man or a hundred, but to an entire community—tremendous responsibilities are incurred by those who hazard efforts of a revolutionary character.

The question in England in relation to revolts is, not the right of resistance to bad government, but the result of the struggle against it. Whenever that struggle is successful, it is argued the cause of the revolted deserves to be successful; when it fails, the doctrine is preached of the vanity and folly of all resistance to constituted authority.

Nothing is easier than to discredit efforts of any kind that have failed; and no means of hurting them are more likely to suggest themselves to people who are proud of their own prosperity and independence, than to accuse the unsuccessful of being vain, light-minded, and unprincipled.

Perhaps with the exception of Thomas Addis Emmet, there was not an individual connected with the Society of United Irishmen less justly chargeable with vanity than Robert Emmet. The companions of his youth, the friends most intimately acquainted with him, and who had cognizance of all his acts and thoughts throughout his whole career—in private life, in college, in all his relations with the leaders of the United Irish-

men, whether at Fort George, on the continent, or those embarked with him in his last unfortunate and ill-advised enterprise—are of one opinion as to the utter absence of selfishness, self-seeking, conceit, or anything bordering on vanity, in his character. He was an enthusiast, indeed; but his enthusiasm was that of a young man of an ardent temperament, of genius, of a generous nature, of strong convictions, and of heroic aspirations. To him nothing was wanting, but the experience and wisdom which time and reflection bring with them, knowledge of men and the world, and the influence on that kind of knowledge of religious feelings early planted in the mind, for the establishment of the principles and matured intellect of a finished man. Had Providence been pleased to have assigned such advantages to the career of Robert Emmet—which terminated as it did, on the scaffold, at the age of five-and-twenty—we might have had in him a man perhaps superior, at least in no respect inferior, in talent and in worth to any of those famous lords and prelates who figured in the revolution of 1688. Fortunately for their fame, they were successful rebels. If any of them, however, had been vain men, actuated by small, ambitious motives, sought their own personal interests or selfish advantages in the work of overturning the constitution of the realm, dethroning their sovereign, and reforming the state alto-

gether, no doubt my Lord Macaulay would have eulogised them all the same, in eloquent language. But they succeeded, and their success was sufficient for their vindication in the glowing pages of his gorgeous history.

Before the last catastrophe and the worst calamity of all had fallen on the family of Dr. Emmet, in the latter part of the year 1802, the poor old man—the father of Temple Emmet, who had been prematurely taken away from him; of Thomas Addis Emmet, who was in banishment; of Robert Emmet, who was then proscribed, suspected, lost to his home, and driven into desperate courses—indeed might have said, like Burke: “I am alone, and have none to meet my enemies in the gate. The storm has gone over me, and I am like one of these old oaks which the late hurricane has scattered about me. I am stripped of all my honours. I am torn up by the roots, and am prostrate on the earth. And prostrate there I most unfeignedly recognise the divine justice, and in some degree submit to it.”¹

But all these observations would be a mere mass of vain and futile words, if the main question that concerns the memory of Robert Emmet was blinked, or dealt with disingenuously: were the circumstances of the country, in 1803, the evils endured by the people, the means that were available for an effort to redress them, of such a

¹ Burke's Letter to a Noble Lord, 1796.

nature as would justify a man of moral principles, of sober mind, of a sound judgment, in concocting a conspiracy like that of 1803, and committing the country to its perils?

When the details of the history of this insurrection have been laid before the reader, this question only can be fairly dealt with and determined; and at the conclusion of this memoir, so I trust it will be found to have been treated.

Is the writer of these pages qualified to be the biographer of Robert Emmet? It would be a miserable affectation of humility to pretend that I felt myself incompetent for the task I have undertaken. If I set forth such a pretence, my undertaking would contradict me. My chief hope for its success however is, that it may be judged not by the amount of literary ability, but of labour and research that I have brought to the performance. Its principal value consists in the documentary information which will be found in it. The authenticity of that information I have had occasion to speak of in the preceding memoir.

The documents, which I have received from the sons of T. A. Emmet, will be found the most valuable of any of the materials of these volumes. I have alluded elsewhere to the communication which accompanied them: the possession of documents of such importance, and the permission of the nearest living relative of Robert Emmet to

make use of them, in the furtherance of this portion of my work, afford me advantages and a sanction which, I presume, are sufficient to justify an undertaking which I feel to be of great responsibility.

Robert Emmet, the youngest son of Dr. Robert Emmet, was born in Dublin, in the year 1778.¹ He was sent, at an early age, to Oswald's school, in Dopping's-court, off Golden-lane, near Bride-street; a rather celebrated school, at that day, for mathematics. Subsequently, he was placed at the well-known school of Samuel White, of Grafton-street, and was afterwards under the care of the Rev. Mr. Lewis, of Camden-street. He entered Trinity College the 7th of October, 1793, at the age of fifteen years, according to the entry in the college book of admission. His tutor was the Rev. Mr. Graves; his college course, like that of his brothers, was brilliant. He obtained several prizes, and went through his studies with great eclat. He showed in early life great aptitude for the exact sciences, and his predilection for mathematics and chemistry continued during his life.

Robert Emmet, in early life, studied chemistry, and manifested a great taste for that

¹ In 1771, Dr. Emmet commenced practice in Molesworth-street, Dublin. In 1779, he removed to Stephen's-Green. R.R.M. (D. A. Quaid has proved conclusively that Robert Emmet was born in Stephen's-Green, his father, Dr. Robert Emmet having moved there prior to 1778.—Ed.)

science. He was in the habit of making chemical experiments in his father's house, on a large scale; and, during a sojourn of several weeks of Mr. John Patten, the brother-in-law of T. A. Emmet, Robert used to be assisted on many occasions in his experiments by Mr. Patten. On one occasion, however, he nearly became a victim to his ardour in his favourite pursuit. After Mr. Patten had retired to rest, one night, Robert Emmet had applied himself to the solution of a very difficult problem in Friend's Algebra. A habit which he never relinquished, when deeply engaged in thought, that of biting his nails, was the cause of an accident which proved nearly fatal to him on the occasion in question. He was seized with most violent inward pains; these pains were the effects of poison. He had been manipulating corrosive sublimate, and had unconsciously, on putting his fingers to his mouth, taken internally some portion of the poison.—Though fully aware of the cause of his sufferings, and of the danger he was in, he abstained from disturbing his father, but proceeded to his library, and took down a volume of an Encyclopædia, which was in the room. Having referred to the article "poisons," he found that chalk was recommended as a prophylactic in cases of poisoning from corrosive sublimate. He then called to mind that Mr. Patten had been using chalk with a turning lathe in the coach-house; he went

out, broke open the coach-house door, and succeeded in finding the chalk, which he made use of, and then set to work again at the puzzling question which had before baffled his endeavours to solve. In the morning, when he presented himself at the breakfast table, his countenance, to use the language of my informant (who was present), "looked as small and as yellow as an orange." He acknowledged to this gentleman that he had suffered all night excruciating tortures, and yet he employed his mind in the solution of that question, which the author of the work acknowledged was one of extraordinary difficulty, and he succeeded in his efforts.

Robert Emmet's connection with the Historical and Debating Societies of Trinity College is well known. I have conversed with many persons who had heard him speak in those societies, some of them of very decided Tory politics, and I never heard but one opinion expressed, of the transcendent oratorical powers he displayed there.

The Rev. Dr. Macartney, Vicar of Antrim, informed me that he had known Robert Emmet; he was present, in the early part of 1798, at a debate of the Historical Society, got up expressly for the *début* of Robert Emmet. The question was—"Is a complete freedom of discussion essential to the well-being of a good and virtuous government?" By the rules of the Society, Dr.

Macartney states, all allusion to modern politics was forbidden. Robert Emmet, in this his maiden speech, adroitly kept within the terms of the rule; he showed the necessity and advantage of this liberty of discussion to all communities; and the encouragement it deserved from a good government. He then proceeded to pourtray the evil effects of the despotism and tyranny of the governments of antiquity, and most eloquently depicted those of the governments of Greece and Rome. He was replied to by the present Judge Lefroy, and his argument was rebutted at considerable length. Robert Emmet delivered a speech in reply, evidently unpremeditated, and showed extraordinary ability in his answer to the objections started by his opponent. He said, in conclusion, "If a government were vicious enough to put down the freedom of discussion, it would be the duty of the people to deliberate on the errors of their rulers, to consider well the wrongs they inflicted, and what the right course would be for their subjects to take, and having done so, it then would be their duty to draw practical conclusions."

The substance of the passage referred to by Dr. Macartney, he said, was conveyed in the above words, but to attempt to give an idea of the eloquence or animation of the speaker was impossible.

Mr. Moore, in his "Life and Death of Lord

Edward Fitzgerald," speaks of his young friend and fellow-student, in the following terms:

Were I to number, indeed, the men among all I have ever known, who appeared to me to combine in the greatest degree pure moral worth with intellectual power, I should, among the highest of the few, place Robert Emmet. Wholly free from the follies and frailties of youth—though how capable he was of the most devoted passion events afterwards proved—the pursuit of science, in which he eminently distinguished himself, seemed at this time the only object that at all divided his thoughts with that enthusiasm for Irish freedom which, in him, was an hereditary as well as national feeling—himself being the second martyr his father had given to the cause. Simple in all his habits, and with a repose of look and manner indicating but little movement within, it was only when the spring was touched that set his feelings, and through them his intellect in motion, that he at all rose above the level of ordinary men. On no occasion was this more particularly striking than in those displays of oratory with which, both in the Debating and Historical Society, he so often enchain'd the attention and sympathy of his young audience. No two individuals, indeed, could be much more unlike to each other than was the same youth to himself, before rising to speak and after; the brow that had appeared inanimate, and almost drooping, at once elevating itself to all the consciousness of power, and the whole countenance and figure of the speaker assuming a change as of one suddenly inspired. Of his oratory, it must be recollected, I speak from youthful impressions; but I have heard

little, since, that appeared to me of a loftier or, what is a far more rare quality in Irish eloquence, purer character; and the effects it produced, as well from its own exciting power as from the susceptibility with which his audience caught up every allusion to passing events, was such as to attract at last the serious attention of the fellows; and, by their desire, one of the scholars, a man of advanced standing and reputation for oratory, came to attend our debates, expressly for the purpose of answering Emmet, and endeavouring to neutralize the impressions of his fervid eloquence. Such in heart and mind was another of those devoted men who, with gifts that would have made the ornaments and supports of a well regulated community, were driven to live the lives of conspirators, and die the death of traitors, by a system of government which it would be difficult even to think of with patience, did we not gather a hope from the present aspect of the whole civilized world, that such a system of bigotry and misrule can never exist again.

Again, Moore in his Memoirs refers to Robert Emmet, in the account of his early friends and associates in Trinity College:

The political ferment that was abroad through Ireland soon found its way within the walls of our university; and a youth, destined to act a melancholy but for ever memorable part in the troubled scenes that were fast approaching, had now begun to attract, in no ordinary degree, the attention both of his fellow-students and the college authorities in general. This youth was Robert Emmet, whose brilliant success in his college studies, and more particularly in the scien-

tific portion of them, had crowned his career, as far as he had gone, with all the honours of the course, while his powers of oratory displayed at a debating society of which, about this time (1796-7), I became a member, were beginning to excite universal attention, as well from the eloquence as the political boldness of his displays. He was, I rather think by two classes my senior, though it might have been only by one. But there was, at all events, such an interval between our standings as, at that time of life, makes a material difference; and when I became a member of the debating society I found him in full fame, not only for his scientific attainments, but also for the blamelessness of his life, and the grave suavity of his manners.

Besides this minor society, there was also another in college for the higher classes of students, called the Historical Society, established on the ruins of one bearing the same name, which had some years before been (on account of its politics, I believe) put down by the fellows, but continued in defiance of them to hold its sittings outside the walls.

Of the political tone of our small debating society, which was held at the rooms of different resident members, some notion may be formed from the nature of the questions proposed for discussion, one of which was, I recollect, "Whether an aristocracy or democracy was most favourable to the advancement of science and literature?" while another, still more critically bearing upon the awful position of parties at this crisis, was thus significantly put: "Whether a soldier was bound on all occasions to obey the orders of his commanding officer?" On the former of these questions, the power

of Emmet's eloquence was wonderful, and I feel, at this moment, as if his language was still sounding in my ears. The prohibition against touching upon modern politics, which it was found afterwards necessary to enforce, had not yet been introduced; and Emmet, who took, of course, ardently the side of democracy in the debate, after a brief review of the great republics of antiquity, showing how much they had all done for the advancement of literature and the arts, hastened, lastly, to the grand and perilous example of the young republic of France, and referring to the story of Cæsar carrying with him across the river only his sword and his Commentaries, he said: "Thus France at this time swims through a sea of blood; but while in one hand she wields the sword against her aggressors, with the other she upholds the interests of literature, uncontaminated by the bloody tide through which she struggles." On the other question, as to the obligation of a soldier to obey, on all occasions, the orders of his commanding officer, Emmet, after refuting this notion as degrading to human nature, imagined the case of a soldier who, having thus blindly fought in the ranks of the oppressor, had fallen in the combat; and then most powerfully described him as rushing, after death, into the presence of his Creator, and exclaiming, in an agony of remorse, whilst he holds forth his sword reeking still with the blood of the oppressed and innocent, "O God! I know not why I have done this."

In another of his speeches I remember his saying: "When a people, advancing rapidly in civilization and the knowledge of their rights look back, after a long lapse of time, and perceive how far their government

has lagged behind them, what then, I ask, is to be done by them in such a case? What, but pull the government up to the people."

Moore speaks of another of his college friends, implicated in the charges of sedition which led to the expulsion of nineteen students of Trinity College, namely, Edward Hudson:

His character gave every promise of a bright, if not splendid career; but, under the ban of a collegiate sentence which incapacitated him from all the learned professions, he was driven to a line of employment the least congenial to his tastes, where, through the remainder of a short, amiable life, his fine talents lay useless; while a third, young Emmet but escaped, with the same branding sentence to be reserved for that most sad but memorable doom to which despair, as well of himself as of his country, at last drove him.¹

¹ "When, in consequence of the compact entered into between government and the chief leaders of the conspiracy, the State Prisoners, before proceeding into exile, were allowed to see their friends, I paid a visit to this gentleman, in the jail of Kilmainham, where he had then lain immured for four or five months, hearing of friend after friend being led out to death, and expecting every week his own turn to come. As painting was one of his tastes, I found that, to amuse his solitude, he had made a large drawing with charcoal on the wall of his prison, representing that fancied origin of the Irish Harp which, some years after, I adopted as the subject of one of the Melodies:

" 'Twas a syren of old,' &c.

"As, in England, by a natural and, at one time no very calumnious mistake, the term 'rebel,' is looked upon as synonymous with 'Catholic,' it may be as well to mention that these three young men were (like most of the leading persons of the conspiracy) Protestants."—*Pref. Moore's Poems.*

Robert Emmet, in the spring of 1798, was about twenty years of age; his brother, in the month of March of that year, had been arrested; many of his fellow-students were members of the Society of United Irishmen; and several of his brother's most intimate friends and associates were then his companions in misfortune. Whether Robert was a sworn member of the Society I have not been able to ascertain, but that he had adopted its principles early in that year, and had been freely communicated with on subjects connected with its affairs, by persons implicated in the latter, there is no doubt.

In the month of April, 1798, the lord chancellor's visitation at the college, which terminated in the expulsion of several students charged with treasonable practices in the college, took place.

When several of the students had been called before the chancellor, and examined upon oath, Robert Emmet, on being summoned, wrote a letter to the members of the Board of Fellows, denouncing the act of demanding, on oath, information from the students tending to inculpate their fellow-students, and requiring of them to disclose the names of such of their associates as were members of the Society of United Irishmen; and desiring to have his name taken off the books of college. Before the letter was forwarded to the Board, he showed it to his father, and it met with his father's entire approbation.

This circumstance has not been referred to in any account that has been given of the transaction; it is now stated on the authority of Mr. Patten, the most intimate of all the friends of Robert Emmet. The name of Robert Emmet, however, without any reference to this proceeding, appeared, I believe, in the list of expelled students.

Previously to "the visitation," in April, 1798, there had been a court of inquiry, composed of the senior fellows of the university, into the conduct of some of the students, charged with being United Irishmen, in November, 1797, which ended in the expulsion of two students, Messrs. Ardagh and Power. Moore has confounded the dates of the two investigations. Immediately after the expulsion, several affairs of honour arose out of the proceedings of the first investigation, in November, 1797. A duel was fought between Mr. Ardagh and Mr. A. C. Macartney, subsequently Rector of Antrim (a gentleman whom I had the honour of knowing), a son of the Rev. George Macartney, of Antrim, of some celebrity in connection with the case of William Orr. Mr. Ardagh charged Mr. Macartney with being one of the informers against him in the late proceedings which terminated in his expulsion. The parties exchanged shots without effect. In the account of this duel in "The Press," it is stated that Mr. Macartney admitted to Mr. Ar-

dagh's friend that he had given the information in question.

In "The Press" of March the 3rd, 1798, Mr. Nicholas Purcell O'Gorman, late Assistant Barrister of the county Kilkenny, published a long statement of a demand he had made on Mr. Macartney, for an explanation of certain expressions he had used in college, wherein he stated that he (Mr. N. P. O'Gorman) was the informer against Messrs. Ardagh and Power; in answer to which demand Mr. Macartney gave a written denial of "ever having stated that Mr. Purcell O'Gorman had given information to the Board of Senior Fellows, concerning United Irishmen." The document above referred to, signed A. C. Macartney, is dated December 4th, 1797. There are expressions used in O'Gorman's letter tantamount to a proclamation of his connection with the Society of United Irishmen. This letter was written nine days before the arrests at Bond's. The terms of it are rather more than sufficiently heroic. He was a fervent lover, no doubt, of "the union" of that period, of Irishmen of all religious denominations. But "methinks the gentleman doth protest too much."

Of the subsequent career of young Ardagh I have not been able to obtain any information. Of that of David Power, the little that is known serves only to show that it was "*une carrière manquée.*" From the time of his expulsion he was

marked on the black sheep list of the police authorities of Cork and Dublin. In 1798, he was arrested in Cork, thrown into prison, threatened, tampered with, promised enlargement on conditions, and even induced to appear in the witness-box, on the trial of a fellow-citizen of his, on a charge of treason. But this unfortunate young gentleman, when he found himself called on in court to give the evidence required of him, refused point blank to do so, and the result was imprisonment for two years. On his liberation, he went to England, became connected with the press, and married there, as I infer from the following record of a marriage in the "Gentleman's Magazine" for 1803: "David Power, Esq., of Cork, to Miss Sophia Chandler, of Mortimer-street, at St. Mary's-le-grand (London), the 8th of March, 1803." A little later than the date of the above notice we find him in Dublin, describing himself as an officer holding a commission in the Duke of Rutland's Fencibles; and we find also that incredulous mortal, Major Sirr, keeping a sharp look-out after the *soi disant* fencible.

In the Sirr papers, in Trinity College, Dublin, there is a memorandum written in 1803, after Emmet's insurrection, in the handwriting of Major Sirr, concerning David Power, who was expelled from the university on a charge of seditious practices in the latter part of 1797:

David Power, who was in the rebellion of 1798, and was expelled college, turned approver, and was to have been examined at Cork on Conway's trial, and was on the table before Judge Day, but did not prosecute, and was imprisoned for two years, is just arrived in Dublin, and is at the Mail Coach Hotel, Dawson-street; says he is a Captain in the Duke of Rutland's regiment, now on the coast of Devon; is now in business with Tim. O'Brien, in Great Ship-street, and is going to Tipperary or Cork.

The college "visitation" of April, 1798, which involved Robert Emmet in all the fatal consequences of the expulsion of nineteen of his fellow-collegians—which brought ruin on his prospects—disqualified him for the learned profession, and, by disappointing his hopes of attaining eminence or distinction in any profession worthy of his talents or his ambition, may be reasonably considered as having had a mighty influence on his subsequent political opinions, and his engagement in that conspiracy which terminated so fatally for him.

It is a very singular circumstance that the two published communications of the students of Trinity College, which appeared in newspapers of the day, and were the immediate cause of that visitation, were the compositions of two college lads who escaped expulsion, and remained undiscovered as the authors of those compositions. One of them, in after life, became the friend and favourite companion of the most eminent political

men of all parties of his time, had a pension from the state, and died with the renown of being the first lyrical poet of the age—Thomas Moore. The other young revolutionist, with the pen, became a barrister of Conservative opinions, a writer of some eminence in Tory periodicals, and of a very popular detached production entitled “Ireland Sixty Years Ago,” wherein the leading men of 1798, and most of the expelled students above referred to, and their revolutionary principles, were reprobated and denounced in very unmeasured terms of reprehension. That gentleman was the late Counsellor Walsh. Moore’s first prose political essay made its first appearance in “The Press” newspaper, No. 10, 19th October, 1797. It occupies three quarters of a column, and is entitled—“Extract from a Poem in imitation of Ossian.” The writer was then eighteen years of age. No indication of Moore’s future powers of mind is to be found in this piece. The style is bombastic—the attempted imitation of Macpherson’s Ossian is wretched. The only thing noticeable in the composition is a strong national feeling, and this prevails in it from beginning to end.

The second prose essay of Thomas Moore appeared in the 29th number of “The Press,” for the 2nd December, 1797.

An account of the visitation, which commenced in Trinity College on the 19th of April, far more

accurate and reliable than Moore's, was written by Counsellor Walsh, and published in his "Sketches of Ireland Sixty Years Ago." The following passages are taken from that account:

On the day of the visitation we all assembled in the hall. Lord Clare, as vice-chancellor of the university, sat as the acting visitor, with Dr. Duigenan as his assessor, on an elevated platform at the upper end of the dining-hall. Then followed in order the provost, senior and junior fellows, and scholars, as members of the corporation; then the graduate and undergraduate students; and, lastly, the inferior officers and porters of the college. The great door was closed with a portentous sound, and shut in many an anxious heart. I felt mine, however, quite free from care or apprehension.

Those who have seen Lord Clare in his visitorial capacity never will forget him—the hatchet sharpness of his countenance—the oblique glance of his eye, which seemed to read what was passing in the mind of him to whom it was directed. Silence was commanded, and the multitude was still. The vice-chancellor then said:

"The prevalent reports respecting the state of the university, had induced the visitors to inquire whether the disaffection imputed to the college was founded in reality, or was a mere rumour or surmise. Appointed to the high office of superintending the conduct and promoting the welfare of that college, he should neglect an important duty, if he were to suffer it to continue stained with the infamous imputation of disaffection and rebellion, if unfounded, or permit any guilty member thereof to poison and destroy the prospects of

the uninfected. His duty, therefore, to what he considered the happiness of the students, without referring to the more general consequences to society, from the lettered portion of the rising generation cherishing and acting on those devastating principles which had destroyed the peace, and almost annihilated the morals of Europe, indispensably required of him to investigate and suppress any serious disorders. He found great probability had been given to the reports in circulation by a rebellious publication, purporting to be the resolutions of the independent scholars and students of the university, and it behoved all who heard him to acquit themselves of any concern therein. Such members as acted with want of candour, and refused to exonerate themselves from the treasonable charge made against the university, and which the abominable paper he held in his hand so much warranted, he was determined to remove, and adopt the necessary measures to prevent them from contaminating the youth of the several colleges in England and Scotland, by representing to the governors of them their dangerous principles, and so excluding them from admission. In one of those secret societies, the formation of which he knew of in college, a system of assassination¹ had

¹ "The charge of advocating assassination, as a means of effecting political objects, was disowned by some leaders of the United Irishmen, and has been repeatedly denied by the modern advocates and memoir-writers of that body. Some have even gone so far as to assert, that the infamous 'Union Star,' which assumed to be a United Irish organ, and openly advocated assassination, and pointed out by name the proper victims to be sacrificed, was a paid government publication! But it unhappily admits of no doubt that, whatever may have been the sentiments of a few of the leaders, political assassinations were looked upon as justifiable and proper by the mass of the Union.

been recommended, and a proposal made to collect arms. The first proposal was considered, but adjourned to the next meeting, when it was negative by a small majority. The second was carried and acted on. He concluded by a declaration of his intention to punish with severity the encouragers and abettors of sedition and treason, and more especially the miscreant authors of that wicked paper, whom he was determined to detect and punish. It had not only been thrown into every letter-box in college, but audaciously flung at his own head, in his house, by way of menace and defiance."

He read the "infamous" paper, and, to my utter horror and dismay, it proved to be my own "RESOLUTIONS!" . . . It is impossible to describe my feelings of astonishment at my own indiscretion, or my apprehension of the consequences. I had no more notion that the resolutions we had framed would ever

'The Press' was, on all hands, admitted to be the favourite and accredited organ of the party and its leaders; and an article appeared in it, on 2nd December, 1797, written apparently on the expulsion of Power and Ardagh, and which is curious in connection with the above charge of Lord Clare. It is signed 'A Sophister.' Among others, it contains the following appropriate and classical incentive—"You, my fellow-students, have explored the page of history, where the insect courtier is forgotten, the despot is blasted in infamy, and the *glorious tyrannicide is immortalized*. Ireland is singular in suffering and in *cowardice*. *She could crush her tormentors*, and yet they embowel her."—*Sixty Years Ago*.

Moore's Memoirs were not published when the author of "Sixty Years Ago" singled out the letter signed "Sophister," "To the students of Trinity College," printed in "The Press" newspaper of the 2nd of December, 1798, as an evidence of assassination being advocated in the organs of the United Irishmen. That letter was written by Thomas Moore, and is acknowledged by him in his Memoirs, vol. i., p. 57.—R. R. M.

see the light, than that the constitutions we had drawn up would be adopted by the provisional government. I saw myself at once entangled in an awful responsibility, which might compromise my life, and I had not even the support of enthusiasm or participation in what some might think a noble cause.

The roll was now called of all the names on the college books, beginning with the provost. Several excuses were offered for absence, some few of which were admitted, but in almost every case personal attendance was insisted on. Among the absent was Robert Emmet, for whom his tutor pleaded hard, but without effect. He was set down as contumacious.

When the examination of individuals commenced, each person, when called on, was first sworn to discover all matters as to which he should be questioned. The provost was the first examined. Among other questions, he was asked if the copy of that paper which had been "hurled at" the chancellor had been sent to him. He replied that it had, and by the same conveyance—the penny post. He was also interrogated with respect to the proceedings of the board in the expulsion of Power and Ardagh, and the number and description of the votes given on the occasion.

The examination then proceeded through the senior fellows, till it came down to Dr. Browne. He was, as I have mentioned, a member of the board, and represented the college in parliament. His politics were in the extreme of liberality, and therefore he was an object of peculiar suspicion. He was questioned touching his vote at the board in the case of Ardagh and Power. He acknowledged he opposed their expulsion, and voted for rustication during a year, and

stated that there were two other members of the board who voted with him. He admitted that he had gone from the board into the college court, and there declared the vote he had given, and said he did so because he thought it was right. The vice-chancellor declared that the conduct of Dr. Browne was highly reprehensible; that it promoted a spirit of insubordination among the students, by exciting discontent against the proceedings of the board, which it was his duty to recommend as just and proper; and that if the board had thought fit to expel him for such conduct, he would have confirmed the expulsion. Dr. Browne was also asked if he was the author of that paper, and when he denied it in the most earnest manner, he was asked did he know any person who was its author, or had any connection with it. He, of course, declared he did not.

Dr. Whitley Stokes, then a junior fellow, was next called on. The vice-chancellor, eyeing him with a stern countenance, and with the confidence of a person who was sure of his man, asked him, in an emphatic manner, if he knew of United Irish societies existing in college. Stokes answered decidedly "No." The vice-chancellor looked much amazed by the unexpected repulse, and a slight murmur of surprise ran through the hall. The paper was held out to Stokes, and, in a similar manner, he was asked if he knew anything of the authorship of it; and, in a similar tone, to the surprise of all (except myself), he denied all knowledge of it or its authors. The exceeding candour of Stokes, and his known love of truth, induced all to believe that he would at once declare whatever he knew, when asked, and many thought that he knew much. He was then asked if he knew anything of secret or

illegal societies in college. He answered promptly, and without hesitation, that he did. He was then called on to explain and declare what they were.

“The only societies of that description which I am aware of,” said he, “are Orange societies, and I know some members of them.”

If the chancellor had been struck a violent blow, he could not have shown more surprise and indignation. He actually started on his seat at the audacious sincerity of this simple-minded man, and another murmur ran through the hall.

A long examination ensued, during which Dr. Stokes answered the questions put to him in a quiet and dignified manner, and with perfect candour and simplicity. He admitted that he had been a member of the Society of United Irishmen before the year 1792, when their views were confined to legitimate objects; but stated that he was wholly unconnected with them ever since that time. He admitted that he had since that time subscribed money to their funds, but added that it was merely to supply the necessities of individuals, Butler and Bond, who were in prison. He had, he said, received some account of serious injuries inflicted on a village by the soldiery, which he communicated to Mr. Sampson, a United Irishman, as materials for Lord Moira’s information, on his motion in the House of Lords, but had previously made a communication to his excellency the lord lieutenant. He admitted he had visited a man who was a treasonable character, but he did so as a professional duty, as the man was very poor and sick; and he had always brought with him a third person, to be present, lest there should be any misrepresentation of his motives. He added that,

when the French invaded this country and their fleets were lying off the shore, he went among the Roman Catholics of the city of Dublin, exciting them to take up arms against the common enemy:

“This, my lord,” said Stokes, in an emphatic manner, “was not the conduct of a disaffected man, nor of one entertaining those principles with which this examination appears to try to connect me.”

A Mr. Kerns, a pupil of Dr. Stokes, stood forward and earnestly defended his tutor. He said that temptations had been held out to him to join treasonable societies, and had so far succeeded as to induce him to withdraw his name from the college corps; but, in consequence of the advice and earnest persuasion of Dr. Stokes, he had withdrawn himself from the society of the disaffected, and replaced his name in his company; and that he was not the only person so advised by Dr. Stokes, but that, to his knowledge, several others had been equally influenced in the same way by his persuasion.

Dr. Graves, with similar earnestness and zeal, bore testimony to Stokes’s character. He said that atheism and republicanism were uniformly connected at that time, but that he had the strongest proof, from his writings, that Dr. Stokes was tainted with neither the one nor the other. When Paine’s “Age of Reason” first appeared, the earliest and best answer to it was from the pen of Dr. Stokes. His work was dedicated to the students of Trinity College, and was published without any view to pecuniary profit by Dr. Stokes, who gratuitously made earnest and indefatigable exertions to disseminate it among the junior members of the university.

Many others tendered their testimony in favour of a man so much loved and respected, and the vice-chancellor said he was happy to find so many respectable and disinterested witnesses standing forward in Dr. Stokes's favour, and that he was now convinced he was a well-meaning man, but had been led into great indiscretions.

The examination proceeded among the scholars and students. The most lengthy was the examination of a man named Robinson. When pressed with questions, he admitted that he had lent his rooms on a particular day, but was not aware of the purpose for which they were borrowed. He, however, at last confessed that he was aware that the meeting to be held there was of a disaffected nature.

A growing disposition was soon manifested to decline taking the oath of discovery, in the unqualified form in which it had been at first administered. Of those called on, some declared they were ready to swear as to themselves, and purge their character by an oath from any charge or suspicion of disaffection, but would not swear to inform against or implicate others by answering all questions put to them. Others declined being sworn, because, as they said, it would be an example subversive of the best acknowledged principles of the English law and of justice, to swear to tell what might criminate themselves. The first day closed with about fifty recusants, who declined to take the oath, and were marked for expulsion as contumacious. On the second day of the visitation, the chancellor found it necessary to modify the examination in such a way, as to give the recusants an opportunity of redeeming their contumacy. He indicated what would

be the awful state of the university, if so large a proportion of its members should appear to be implicated in the conspiracy; and he explained that the visitation was a domestic court, in which the students formed members of a family, and that the authority exercised was merely parental; that the same oath was administered to all—to the provost himself and to the youngest student—and was always accompanied by an injunction not to criminate themselves. The chancellor also intimated, that if any persons would come forward and confess their own errors, without reference to others, and promise to separate themselves altogether from their imprudent and dangerous connections, the past should be forgiven and forgotten.

Among those who at first refused to take the oath was Thomas Moore. He was then an undergraduate in college, and already distinguished by the early and juvenile indications of his poetic talents. The scene was amusing. The book was presented to him. He shook his head and declined to take it. It was thrust into his right hand. He hastily withdrew the hand, as if he was afraid of its being infected by the touch, and placed it out of the way behind his back. It was then presented to his left hand, which he also withdrew, and held behind his back with his right. Still the persevering book was thrust upon him, and still he refused, bowing and retreating, with his hands behind him, till he was stopped by the wall. He afterwards, however, took the oath, as modified by the explanation, acquitted himself of all knowledge of treasonable practices or societies in college, and was dismissed without further question.

Influenced by the visitor's explanation, many who had

been contumacious came forward and confessed their errors. In a few instances the names of the persons implicated were insisted on, but for the most part, the information was given in such a general way as would assist in suppressing the evil of disaffection, without compromising individuals. It appeared that there were four committees of United Irishmen in college, the secretaries to which were said to be Robert Emmet, M'Laughlin, Flynn, and Corbett, junior.

In the course of the second day, Dr. Browne made an earnest and deprecating appeal to the visitors, in explanation of his conduct, declaring that their condemnation of it would embitter his future life. The vice-chancellor expressed himself satisfied that, had Dr. Browne known the entire extent of the revolutionary practices to which some members of the college had proceeded, he would have taken every means for their suppression, and not have proclaimed his vote and dissent from the salutary measures of the board; and that his doing so arose from his total ignorance of the dangerous situation of the university. Browne expressed strongly his contrition for his conduct, and with a servility little according with the independent spirit he was supposed to possess, humbled himself before the vice-chancellor, declaring his deep sorrow for having incurred the censure of visitors.

At the conclusion of the visitation, the chancellor adverted to the case of Dr. Stokes. He declared himself gratified to find that the rumour of an eminent member of the university having been connected with a treasonable association, was entirely refuted; but, nevertheless, as he had been drawn into a communication with persons who were inimically disposed to the

government of the country, he thought it his duty to prevent him from becoming a governing member of the university for the space of three years, which would be the period until the next visitation. During this suspension, it would be seen whether that gentleman had wholly withdrawn himself from the dangerous and improper connections in which he had been indiscreetly entangled. He expressed his concern at the duty imposed on him of using severity against the few who had acted with determined obstinacy, or were committed by acts of sedition and treason. He then presented nineteen names of persons, for whose offences he recommended expulsion.

Lord Clare's direction was immediately acted upon, and the sentence of expulsion was pronounced and executed by the board.

Among the disorders which the political excitement had caused was one serious evil—a propensity to dueling. One of the young men previously expelled—Ardagh—supposing that a man named M'Cartney had given secret information to the board against him, immediately branded him as an informer, and sent him a hostile message. They met, and exchanged four shots, but parted without reconciliation or concession on either side.¹

The visitation, which had lasted three days, at length concluded, and the visitors retired amid the plaudits and acclamations of the assembled students.

The impression left on the minds of the auditory by

¹ The real informer, whose secret revelations led to the ruin of many of his fellow-students, the author of "Ireland Sixty Years Ago" states he had reason to believe was a Mr. E.—, who subsequently became a soldier.

the conduct of Dr. Browne and Dr. Stokes was very different indeed. They saw the latter standing like Teneriffe or Atlas, unmoved by the assault made upon him; the former bending and yielding with a weak subserviency, ill according with the independent spirit he was before supposed to possess. . . . In the conduct of the visitation, Lord Clare's demeanour was characterized by his usual arrogance. When a student hesitated to answer or be sworn, he frequently asked him "if he were a fool or a madman?" and if, in his examination, he indulged in the expression of any democratic or popular sentiment, the vice-chancellor's observation was, "The young gentleman seems to have his reason affected." With all this, he evinced more kindness of heart than his assessor, Dr. Duigenan, and always leaned to the side of mercy, when the latter urged greater severity.

In moving the address to the lord lieutenant, on the 23rd April, in the House of Lords, Lord Glendore took occasion to express his regret at the state of the university. Lord Clare, in reply to this observation, expressed his satisfaction, with much warmth, at the result of the visitation, in proving that so few in the college were really infected with revolutionary principles, and passed a high eulogium on the general loyalty of the body.

Mr. Walsh states, like all other persons who have written of this visitation, that Robert Emmet was expelled on that occasion: "Among the expelled the most remarkable was Robert Emmet." The fact is, however, that Robert Emmet anticipated the decision of the vice-chancellor,

and withdrew from the university, after having addressed a communication to the board, assigning his reasons for withdrawing.

Reference is made by Moore to the publication in "The Press" newspaper—the organ of the Leinster United Irishmen—of a letter "To the Students of the University," written by him, in very inflammatory terms, under the signature of "Sophister."¹

A few days after [the publication of this letter], in the course of one of those strolls into the country which Emmet and I used often to take together, our conversation turned upon this letter, and I gave him to understand it was mine; when with that almost feminine gentleness of manner which he possessed, and which is so often found in such determined spirits, he owned to me that on reading the letter, though pleased with its contents, he could not help regretting that the public attention had been thus drawn to the politics of the university, as it might have the effect of awakening the vigilance of the college authorities, and frustrate the progress of the good work (as we both considered it) which was going on there so quietly. Even then, boyish as my own mind was, I could not help being struck with the manliness of the view which I saw he took of what men ought to do in such times and circumstances, namely, not to *talk* or *write* about their intentions, but to *act*. He had never before, I think, in conversation with me, alluded to the existence of the United Irish societies in college, nor did he now, or at

¹ Moore's Memoirs, vol. i, p. 57.

any subsequent time, make any proposition to me to join in them, a forbearance which I attribute a good deal to his knowledge of the watchful anxiety about me which prevailed at home, and his foreseeing the difficulty I should experience—from being, as the phrase is, constantly “tied to my mother’s apron-strings”—in attending the meetings of the society without being discovered.

He was altogether a noble fellow, and as full of imagination and tenderness of heart as of manly daring. He used frequently to sit by me at the piano-forte, while I played over the airs from Bunting’s Irish collection; and I remember one day when we were thus employed, his starting up, as if from a reverie, while I was playing the spirited air, “Let Erin remember the Day,” and exclaiming passionately, “Oh that I were at the head of twenty thousand men marching to that air.”

Charles Phillips was not personally acquainted with Robert Emmet, but with those who were his most intimate friends and early associates he was well acquainted, and the result of all his inquiries respecting this remarkable young man is conveyed in a few striking words:

He was but just twenty-three, had graduated in Trinity College, and was gifted with abilities and virtues which rendered him an object of universal esteem and admiration. Every one loved—every one respected him; his fate made an impression on the university which has not yet been obliterated. His mind was naturally melancholy and romantic—he had fed it from the pure fountain of classic literature, and might be

said to have lived not so much in the scene around him as in the society of the illustrious and sainted dead. The poets of antiquity were his companions, its patriots his models, and its republics his admiration. He had but just entered upon the world, full of the ardour which such studies might be supposed to have excited, and unhappily at a period in the history of his country when such noble feelings were not only detrimental but dangerous. It is but an ungenerous loyalty which would not weep over the extinction of such a spirit. The irritation of the Union had but just subsided. The debates upon that occasion he had drank in with devotion, and doctrines were then promulgated by some of the ephemeral patriots of the day, well calculated to inflame minds less ardent than Robert Emmet's. Let it not be forgotten by those who affect to despise his memory, that men matured by experience, deeply read in the laws of their country, and venerated as the highpriests of the constitution, had but two years before, vehemently, eloquently, and earnestly, in the very temple itself, proclaimed resistance to be a duty.¹

¹ C. Phillips' "Recollections of Curran," &c., Ed. 1818, p. 241.

CHAPTER II

TRIPS TO THE CONTINENT

W^HATEVER was the nature of the plans into which some of the imprisoned leaders entered, who were confined in Newgate and Kilmainham, when the faith of government was broken with them, Robert Emmet certainly was cognizant of them, and had been employed as a messenger and confidential agent on some occasions, when the affairs in hand were deemed of great importance. I have been informed that he visited his brother at Fort George, in 1800. On the occasion of this visit there were serious differences among the state prisoners, especially between Arthur O'Connor and Thomas Addis Emmet. There were two parties in Fort George, and the divisions were, if not caused, certainly kept up by secret communications to the government of everything that went on in the prison, that must have been made by some one of their own body. It was not known, however, that the traitor to his fellow-prisoners was a northern gentleman, of great fame for his blustering patriotism in the North in 1797 and early part of 1798, Mr.

Samuel Turner of Newry. During the whole period of his imprisonment at Fort George, Mr. Samuel Turner corresponded with Mr. Pitt, and it will be seen by the memoirs and correspondence of Lord Castlereagh, that after his liberation in 1802 Mr. Samuel Turner, while playing in Holland the part of an exile of Erin desperately faithful to his country, performed in secret the duties of a spy of the British government on the United Irishmen who sojourned in Hamburg, or passed through that place. It will be seen also by the "Memoirs of Lord Cornwallis," vol. iii., p. 319, that Mr. Turner had a pension of £300 a-year for his secret services. Perhaps the old policy of dividing and governing was carried into effect at Fort George, and the principal leaders of the imprisoned members of the Society of United Irishmen were "ministered to by good espials," and the services of Samuel Turner were brought into requisition there, to set Emmet and O'Connor by the ears. About the same time as the visit of Robert to his brother, Mr. Patten received a letter from T. A. Emmet desiring him to bring a certain case of duelling pistols with him to Fort George when he was coming there; and accordingly the pistols were brought by Mr. Patten. But happily the necessity for their use was obviated by the previous successful efforts of Robert Emmet to allay the angry feelings that were then subsisting between

the parties above referred to. Robert Emmet had a singular talent for composing differences, and making people who spoke harshly and thought unkindly of one another, acquainted with each other's good qualities, and thereby causing them to come to terms of accommodation.

Soon after the visit of Robert Emmet to his brother at Fort George, it is stated that he set out for the continent. It is by no means probable that amusement was the main object of his visit; whatever the nature of it was he remained many months on the continent, made a tour in Switzerland, Holland, and several parts of France, and, subsequently, I have been informed, visited Cadiz, in company with Mr. John, subsequently Colonel, Allen, under the name of Captain Browne, who had been tried at Maidstone along with Arthur O'Connor and Coigly, and acquitted, and with Dowdall, one of the liberated state prisoners who had refused to sign the compact with government, and was not precluded, like the other, from returning to Great Britain or his own country.

Robert Emmet passed several months of the years 1800 and 1801 on the continent and Peninsula, the greater part of that time on the tour in which he visited the South of France, Switzerland, and some parts of Spain. On his return from this tour, he visited Amsterdam and Brussels, where his brother, T. A. Emmet, had been

sojourning since his liberation from Fort George, and banishment, in June, 1802.

I have already alluded to a letter of T. A. Emmet to his friend and fellow-student in Edinburgh, the lord advocate of Scotland, the subject of which is the breach of faith on the part of the government, in respect to the state prisoners then confined in Fort George; and it is worthy of attention, inasmuch as that violation of faith furnished (in the opinion of the majority of those persons) a justification of the renewal of their efforts, on their arrival in France, for the accomplishment of their designs.

The detention of the state prisoners continued several months later than the date of this preceding communication; altogether it was prolonged upwards of three years beyond the period they had had reason to expect they would be allowed to leave the country. When they were liberated, they carried away with them a strong sense of injustice having been done them, and feelings of resentment for what they considered a breach of faith on the part of the government.

In a letter of T. A. Emmet to Dr. Macneven, dated "Brussels, 8th November, 1802," we find the following passage:

The uncertainty of peace or war, and the state of my little family here, keep me in great indecision what steps to take; but if I had to take any steps with regard to the first, I would endeavour to arrange the

other accordingly. Your application to Talleyrand, and your endeavour to see Buonaparte (although things under other circumstances I should be much inclined to disapprove), may perhaps give us some insight; as, if they look to war, they will scarcely treat us with neglect. It is now above a month since I have seen R., and if Lawless received a letter from him, containing many commissions, &c., he can give you many particulars of him you would wish to know. From what he has told me, and what I have heard from other quarters, I believe that, besides ignorance and passion in the management of our affairs, if there was not treachery, there was at least great duplicity and bad faith. Some of those whom I considered as my friends before my imprisonment have grievously disappointed me; and if I go to Paris, I shall not do it without violence to my feelings. . . .

(Signed) T. A. EMMET.

. . . Beg of Lawless to send R.'s¹ things as soon as he can, as they are to be forwarded to him from this, with some books, &c., that are waiting for him.

In a letter to Dr. Macneven, dated 25th October, 1802, T. A. writes: "Have you any news in Paris? we have strange rumours of war again. If they should turn out to be well founded our views would be indeed changed. Have any of you in Paris heard anything of Dowdall lately, and is he still in Ireland?"

The letters of T. A. Emmet, at this period,

¹ The person referred to was his brother Robert, who, a short time before, had proceeded to Ireland, by way of Holland and England.—R. R. M.

establish the fact that, in the autumn and winter of 1802, the leading United Irishmen then on the Continent, in the event of a rupture between France and England, were bent on renewing their efforts, and that they looked upon the struggle in Ireland as suspended, but not relinquished. This fact is sufficiently explanatory of the nature of Robert Emmet's mission. The following dates of the movements of his brother and himself will tend to show the connection referred to.

Thomas Addis Emmet passed the winter of 1802 at Brussels. He was visited at Amsterdam by his brother Robert, accompanied by Hugh Wilson, about the month of August, the same year, a little later and for the last time at Brussels, and did not go to Paris until the spring of 1803. A part of the autumn of 1802 was passed in Paris by Robert Emmet; and there is evidence, in letters of his brother, that his proceedings there and his intentions were known to the latter. In the month of November, 1802, when Robert was in Ireland, his brother directed Robert's books and some part of his baggage, which had been left by him, in charge of Lawless, at Paris, to be sent to Brussels, from which place they were to be forwarded to him. One of those books is now in my possession, for which I am indebted to Mr. Patten, the friend of his in Dublin, to whom I have already referred, and to

whom I feel under many obligations for valuable information on the subject of this volume. The title of the work is "Extracts from Colonel Templehoff's History of the Seven Years' War;" his remarks on General Lloyd; on the subsistence of armies; and also a "Treatise on Winter Posts, by the Hon. Colonel Lindsay, in two vols. London, 1793." The second volume is the one in my possession.

The margin, throughout a large portion of this volume, is filled with pencil notes, in the handwriting of Robert Emmet, which one might suppose written by a person whose most intense application had been given to the subject of the work, and whose closest attention had been bestowed on every line.

The attorney-general, on Robert Emmet's trial, made mention of a volume of a work on military tactics that had been found in the Depot, in Thomas-street. That volume was probably the first of Colonel Templehoff's work, the second of which is in my possession.

Dr. Macneven arrived in Paris, from his tour in Germany and Switzerland, in October, 1802. In the latter part of that month we find, by Emmet's letter, he had been in communication with Talleyrand, and had sought an interview with Buonaparte. Thus, while France was at peace with England, Talleyrand was in communication with the enemies of the latter. Of

the object of that communication there can be no doubt, and it is no less evident that a rupture with England was then in contemplation. Under such circumstances, Emmet was "much inclined to disapprove of the communication." His own views, however, in the event of war, are plainly shown in the passage in his letter of the 8th November, 1802, referring to certain rumours being of a nature that might decide his movements. In his former letter of the 25th of October, he speaks of "making his preparations for America, and his expectation of being joined there by Macneven, unless some change shall take place that would, in both cases, reverse all their calculations." In that letter, alluding to their intention of quitting France, he apprises Macneven "that Lawless will endeavour to change their current." It is then evident that Lawless was likewise one of the leaders whose views were directed to a renewal of their efforts; and it is needless to say, that unless they had well-grounded expectations of a rupture between France and England, they could have no co-operation on the part of the former.

There is an inquiry at the conclusion of T. A. Emmet's letter to Macneven, of the 25th of October, which, I believe, has a reference to the movements of a very important actor in the affairs of 1803—"Have any of you in Paris heard anything of Dowdall lately, and is he still in

Ireland?" Dowdall was connected with Colonel Despard's conspiracy, and had been sent to Ireland, in the capacity of his agent, to ascertain the feelings of the people, and the state of things in Dublin, with a view to the extension of his plans there. Dowdall, while in Dublin, acted with extreme imprudence. In a mixed company, at table, he spoke undisguisedly of Despard's plans. One of the persons present was known to be a retainer in some subordinate capacity of government, and by that person the government, it was said, was informed of Despard's and Dowdall's movements; but they were already in possession of them through another channel. The day after Dowdall had thus spoken, James Hope, having been informed of what had passed, called on Dowdall, and warned him of the danger he stood in from his extreme imprudence. Despard was written to anonymously, informing him of the conduct of his agent.

In the course of two or three weeks the news of Despard's arrest reached Dublin, when Dowdall fled, and was next heard of in France.

The well-known English resident in Paris, Mr. Lewis Goldsmith, the father-in-law of Lord Lyndhurst, was then editor of the "Argus," an anti-English paper, published in Paris (an organ of the French government in 1802, set up immediately before the arrival of Lord Whitworth

in Paris). This versatile gentleman had previously written a Jacobin book, abusing kings and aristocrats, called "The Crimes of Cabinets"; and when Talleyrand had him dismissed from the office of editor of the Buonapartist paper, he returned, after a couple of years of further residence in France (the object of which is not very clearly set forth in his work), to his own country, where he published, in 1810, another work, called "The Secret History of the Cabinet of Buonaparte," abusing his former idol, and, in an especial manner, his old patron Talleyrand, and revealing many of the secrets of the prison-house of Buonaparte's press, and of the *canaille* connected with it and Fouché's department, of whom Mr. Goldsmith's account is curious, as that of a competent witness, having an intimate acquaintance with his subject.

Mr. Lewis Goldsmith, at page 270 of his work, in the correspondence between the two governments, says: "It appears that France proposed to the ministers of England, that if they would send Georges, and the other French emigrants who are enemies to France, out of this country, the French would offer a reciprocity!!! Now, what does the reciprocity mean but to deliver up all the United Irishmen, in the same manner that they had done with the Italians." The fact stated by Mr. Goldsmith is perfectly true—

Robert Emmet's information to his brother on this subject was not erroneous. In justice to him, it should not be forgotten.

Mr. Goldsmith states, that numerous spies and agents of Buonaparte were sent over to England, but that "the mission of Colonel Beauvoisin was the most important of all. He was sent over to engage persons to assassinate his majesty, and to organize a plan for the destruction of our naval arsenals at Portsmouth and Plymouth. He was also sent to 'surveiller' the Count d'Artois, who then resided at Edinburgh. That Colonel Beauvoisin had frequent conferences with Despard, *I am convinced—he told it to Talleyrand* in my presence; and that Despard was urged to commit the crime of regicide, by Buonaparte, in times of profound peace, will never be doubted, after some facts which I can communicate on that subject. About three months before Despard was apprehended, I was sitting in a coffee-room with two English gentlemen, one of whom is now in London (a Mr. J. F——t),¹ who was ready to confirm this statement. The other is still in France, and therefore I cannot refer to him. A Frenchman came up and told me, in the presence of those two gentlemen, that the French government had laid a plan to have the King of England assassinated, and that he was to be shot in the park. When this

¹ Probably Mr. John Frost.

man quitted us I observed that it would be proper to inform the British minister in Paris of what we had heard; one of the gentlemen said he would communicate it to Mr. Fox, or to some of his friends, who were then in Paris, and with whom he was intimate. I do not know that he did make such communication, but, if he did, I am certain that it was disregarded; as those gentlemen, from the magnanimity of their own nature, could not suppose that a man placed in the high situation of Napoleon Buonaparte could instigate or promote assassination."

It appeared by the evidence of the crown witnesses that Colonel Despard and thirty other persons were arrested, on a charge of high treason, at a public house in Lambeth, the 15th of November, 1802. By some of the witnesses, it appeared that government was cognizant of the treasonable proceedings of Despard and his associates six months previously to their arrest; that spies were set on them, and suggested acts in some cases to them which were adopted; that they had printed papers to the following effect:

Constitution, the independence of Great Britain and Ireland; an equalization of civil, political, and religious rights; an ample provision for the families of the heroes who shall fall in the contest; a liberal reward for distinguished merit. These are the objects for which we contend. We swear to be united in the awful presence of God.

The form of the oath:—

I, A. B., do voluntarily declare, that I will endeavour, to the utmost of my power, to obtain the objects of this Union; namely, to recover those rights I have lost, which the Supreme Being, in his infinite bounty, has given to all men: that neither hopes, fears, rewards, nor punishment, shall ever induce me to give any information, directly nor indirectly, concerning the business, or of any member of this or any similar society; so help me God.

One of the crown witnesses, Thomas Windsor, deposed:

He was a private in the Guards, in March, 1802. John Francis, one of the prisoners, showed him some printed papers, which he afterwards showed to Mr. Bonus, an army agent, and officer in the Transport Office. He left one of the papers with him. He told Mr. Bonus the object of those concerned with him was to overturn the government, to get arms, and unite in different companies. Shortly after he attended a meeting at Giles's, where he was sworn by Francis. After this he attended several meetings of from sixteen to twenty-five persons, Irishmen of the lowest class. A Mr. M'Namara took a leading part at those meetings. Their object was to overturn the government, and destroy the royal family.

The society was divided into several divisions. Each company consisted of ten, and was headed by a captain. The oldest captain took the command of five companies, and was then called colonel.

Mr. Serjeant Best and Mr. Gurney addressed the jury on the part of the prisoner. No evidence was brought forward to contradict the crown witnesses; but to the character of the prisoner, Lord Nelson, Sir Alured Clerk, George Long, Esq., and Sir Evan Nepeau appeared, and each of them gave the highest character it was possible for men to give, relative to the conduct, courage, and military talents of the prisoner, at the period of the acquaintance of each with Colonel Despard in foreign countries.

The Chief Justice charged the jury. His lordship observed, that it was admitted that a traitorous conspiracy did exist; but it was denied that it was the prisoner's. The principal evidence was that of accomplices who had become approvers. It was for the jury to consider its value, and the corroboration of it by other witnesses.

The jury withdrew for about half an hour, and on their return the foreman pronounced the prisoner "Guilty," adding, "but we most earnestly recommend the prisoner to mercy, on account of his former good character, and the services he has rendered his country." Colonel Despard heard the fatal verdict pronounced with the utmost composure and firmness.

On the 9th of February, twelve of the persons arrested on the 16th November, 1802, were tried,

and nine of them were found guilty, and sentenced to death. When Colonel Despard was asked if he had anything to say why sentence of death should not be passed upon him, he said:

My lord, I have only to say, that after the charge was brought against me, of which I have not the most distant idea, and since my committal, I have had no time to consult my solicitor on the means of refuting that charge, or of destroying the credit of the witnesses produced. I have, therefore, nothing to say now, but what I said when first brought to the bar—that I am not guilty.

Macnamara said:

I am now under sentence of death, and will shortly be under another judgment; and may God never receive my soul, if ever I spoke to Windsor till I came to this place.

The warrant for the execution of Colonel Despard and six of his associates reached the governor of the new prison in the Borough on the 19th of February. Colonel Despard received the dreadful intelligence with his wonted firmness. He had entertained some expectation of mercy, and manifested a momentary disappointment. He said the time was short.

Mrs. Despard had been constantly with her husband from the time of his conviction. She remained with him the whole of Saturday night. All the prisoners attended chapel on Sunday,

with the exception of Colonel Despard and Macnamara; the latter had the assistance of a Roman Catholic clergyman. At four o'clock on Sunday evening, Mrs. Despard, accompanied by another lady, a relative to the latter, had a parting interview with her husband. After Mrs. Despard had parted with her husband he continued to walk up and down his cell till evening. He slept for a short time, and on awaking, spoke as if addressing one of the officers of the prison, who was placed in his cell, in these words, "They shall receive no information from me. No! not for all the gifts and gold in the possession of the crown." These expressions were supposed to have reference to some proposal that might have been recently made to him. The following morning, at eight o'clock, the prisoners were brought from their cells, and one after the other drawn in a hurdle across the court-yard of the prison. They were then conducted to the scaffold, which had been constructed so as to admit of having the seven prisoners placed in a line, and executed at the same moment. A few minutes before the execution took place, Colonel Despard came forward in front of the scaffold, and addressed the multitude assembled in these words:

Fellow-citizens, I came here, as you see, after having served my country—faithfully, honourably, and usefully served it—for thirty years and upwards, to suffer death upon a scaffold for a crime of which I protest I

am not guilty. I solemnly declare, that I am no more guilty of it than any of you who may be now hearing me. But though his Majesty's ministers know, as well as I do, that I am not guilty, yet they avail themselves of a legal pretext to destroy a man, because he has been a friend to truth, to liberty, and to justice—(there was loud cheering from the populace)—because he had been a friend to the poor and the oppressed. But, citizens, I hope and trust, notwithstanding my fate, and the fate of those who no doubt will soon follow me, that the principles of freedom, of humanity, and of justice, will finally triumph over falsehood, tyranny, and delusion, and every principle hostile to the interests of the human race. And now, having said this, I have little more to add (he paused a moment)—I have little more to add, except to wish you health, happiness, and freedom, which I have endeavoured, as far as was in my power, to procure for you and mankind in general.

When the other prisoners were brought from their cells, they conducted themselves with propriety, and displayed the utmost composure. Five of them confessed they had done wrong, but not to the extent charged against them in the evidence. A fifth, Graham, said he was innocent of the crimes he was charged with, but had attended a meeting to which he had been brought by the approver Emblyn. The witness Windsor was made acquainted with the object of the treasonable society in March, 1802. He communicated his knowledge of them to a government officer belonging to the Transport Office, Mr.

Bonus, and was instructed, as Cockayne had been in the case of Jackson, "to put himself forward" and watch the meetings. He did so, and introduced, by his own admission, a great number of unfortunate men into the society, who in all probability, but for his solicitation, would never have joined it or any other seditious association. The society was then, with the full knowledge of Mr. Bonus, the agent of transports—and it may, in justice to that gentleman, be inferred of government itself—suffered to exist, to ramify, to increase in numbers, from the month of March, 1802, till the 15th of November the same year, namely, for a term of eight months!

Every man who was inveigled into the plans of that treasonable society, during the period above referred to, was sacrificed to a policy that no language of reprobation can sufficiently stigmatise.

There is no question, however, but that the objects of the society were treasonable, and that the overthrow of the government was contemplated; but so far from Despard having inveigled the persons who had been arrested with him into that society of which they were members, he was entrapped himself into its affairs by others for the especial purpose of prosecution. That society, and its different ramifications, was composed of soldiers, dismissed seamen, and working men. This association was subordinate

to a secret society, composed of men of a very different class, which had been in being since the year 1795, and was called "The Secret Committee of England." It was composed of delegates from England, Ireland, and Scotland, who formed an executive directory. Despard was probably either a member of that society, or in connection with it without being formally a member. One of its members was Benjamin Pemberton Binns, brother of John Binns, of the Corresponding Society.

It was from this society the Rev. James Coigley had carried communications of political importance, in 1796, to the French government. It was of this society that an agent, B. P. Binns, had distributed a number of addresses among the United Irishmen, in 1797, which are spoken of in the evidence of John Hughes. There were persons said to be members of that society, of respectability, and subsequently of high standing in society, and of influence in reform politics. It had an executive committee—the members of which were unknown, except to three or four of the other members—like that of the United Irishmen; but more fortunate than the latter, its members, though suspected, never were discovered, or denounced on such evidence as could lead to their conviction. It has been denied by some of the state prisoners, that there was any correspondence or connection between the London Correspond-

ing Society, or any other similar association in England, and the Society of United Irishmen in Ireland. So far as regards the Corresponding Society such may be the fact, but with respect to the Secret Committee of England, though there might be no official communication between its executive and that of the United Irish one, there most assuredly was a great deal of communication between leading men of both societies, and much of it was carried on through the agency of Benjamin Pemberton Binns and the Rev. James Coigley.

With respect to Mr. Goldsmith's statement, of Despard being employed by Buonaparte to assassinate the king, it is not entitled to the slightest credit. Mr. Goldsmith's favourite and profitable pursuit for a great many years had been gathering stories of assassination, of treason, and of sedition, undertaken by the orders of Buonaparte, and promoted in foreign countries by his directions.

On the 21st of December, 1798, on the second reading of the bill for the cessation of the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, Mr. Courtney read a letter from Mrs. Despard, illustrative of the practical working of the late measure:

Some mention having been made in newspaper reports of the House of Commons, relative to the treatment of Colonel Despard in the new prison, I think it

necessary to state, that he was confined near seven months in a dark cell, not seven feet square, without fire, or candle, chair, table, knife, fork, a glazed window, or even a book. I made several applications in person to Mr. Wickham, and by letter to the Duke of Portland, all to no purpose. The 20th of last month, he was removed into a room with fire, but not until his feet were ulcerated by the frost. For the truth of this statement I appeal to the Hon. Mr. Lawless, and John Beever, Esq., who visited him in prison, and at whose intercession he was removed. The jailer will bear witness that he never made any complaint of his treatment, however severe it was. This statement of facts is without the knowledge of the colonel, who has served his majesty thirty years, and all his family are now in the army.

(Signed)

CATHERINE DESPARD.

Berkley-square.

Despard was known to government as a man of Horne Tooke's politics, and therefore was in bad odour with it. Such was his position when the charge was made against the English government, by the First Consul, of harbouring, pensioning, and thus countenancing in England, the notorious assassin Georges and his compaers. Intelligence was received from France, not officially, however, that French agents had been sent over to England to instigate the malcontented to assassinate the king. Despard was likewise known to have been recently in France, and therefore was suspected of communicating

with its government. On his return to England, he was set by the police—dogged by spies—his friends were interrogated—his letters were examined and detained. This was ever an infallible receipt for making traitors. When Tiberius expressed some distrust of a spirited officer, in a letter to the latter, that officer, Gettulus, let him plainly see how his suspicions might be realized, when he wrote to Tiberius, "that so long as he remained unsuspected, his loyalty would continue uncontaminated." Despard was at length inveigled into assemblies where it was possible to establish charges against him which could not otherwise be sustained; and in this way a man exceedingly obnoxious to the government, and probably dangerous to it, was removed, by means that were foul, under legal forms.

Arthur O'Connor states, that Despard's attempt was wholly foreign to the affairs in Ireland. Until it can be shown that the objects of the Secret Committee of England, composed of delegates from England, Ireland, and Scotland, were wholly foreign to the affairs of Ireland, I, for one, cannot be persuaded but that Colonel Despard's supposed connection with the secret society in England was well known to the leaders of the United Irishmen, and that a popular movement in England was expected, and looked for with anxiety by them, as affording employ-

ment for the troops in England, which would leave a better prospect for their efforts in Ireland.

In carrying into effect the sentence of Colonel Despard, that part of a barbarous remnant of the savagery of the ages of darkness, which passed for a salutary severity essential to the ends of justice, was dispensed with.

The following extract of the warrant for execution is worthy of attention:

And whereas we have thought fit to remit part of the sentence of the prisoners, viz., taking out the bowels before their faces, and dividing the bodies of Edward Marcus Despard, &c., &c., severally into four parts: our will *and pleasure* is, that execution be done upon the said E. M. Despard, &c., &c., by their being drawn and hanged, and having their heads severed from their bodies, according to the said sentence *only*, at the usual place of execution, on Monday next, the 21st of February; and for so doing this shall be your warrant. Given at our court, at St. James's, &c., &c., by his majesty's command.

(Signed)

PELHAM.

The following particulars of the early history and military career of Colonel Despard are taken from a "Memoir of the late Colonel Edward Marcus Despard, by James Bannantine, his secretary when superintendent of his majesty's affairs at Honduras." Published in "Walker's Hibernian Magazine," March, 1803, p. 129:

He was born in 1750 or 1751, and descended from a very ancient and respectable family in the Queen's county, in Ireland. He is the youngest of six brothers, all of whom, except the eldest, have served either in the army or navy. In 1766, he entered the army as an ensign in the 50th regiment. In the same regiment, he served as a lieutenant; and in the 79th, he served successively as lieutenant, quarter-master, and captain. From his superior officers he received many marks of approbation, particularly from General Calcraft, of the 50th, General Meadows, and the Duke of Northumberland. He has been for the last twenty years detached from any particular corps, and intrusted with important offices. In 1799 he was appointed chief engineer to the St. Juan expedition, and conducted himself so as to obtain distinguished attention and praise from Captain Polson, who commanded on that occasion. He also received the thanks of the council and assembly of the island of Jamaica, for the construction of public works there; and was, in consequence of these services, appointed by the governor of Jamaica to be commander-in-chief of the island of Rattan and its dependencies, and of the troops there, and to rank a lieutenant-colonel and field engineer, and commanded as such on the Spanish main, in Rattan, and on the Musquito Shore, and the Bay of Honduras.

After this, at Cape Gracias de Dios, he put himself at the head of the inhabitants, who voluntarily solicited him to take the command, and re-took from the Spaniards Black-river, the principal settlement of the coasts. For this service he received the thanks of the governor, council, and assembly of Jamaica, and of the king him-

self. In 1783, he was promoted to the rank of colonel; in 1784, he was appointed first commissioner for settling and receiving the territory ceded to Britain, by the sixth article of the definitive treaty of peace with Spain, in 1783. He, as a colonel, so well discharged his duty, that he was appointed superintendent of his majesty's affairs on the coast of Honduras, which office he held much to the advantage of the crown of England, for he obtained from that of Spain some very important privileges. The clashing interests, however, of the inhabitants of this coast produced much discontent, and the colonel was, by a party of them, accused of various misdemeanours to his majesty's ministers. He now came home, and demanded that his conduct should be investigated; but was, after two years' constant attendance on all the departments of government, at last told by ministers that there was no charge against him worthy of investigation; that his majesty had thought proper to abolish the office of superintendent at Honduras, otherwise he should have been reinstated in it; assured that his services should not be forgotten, but in due time meet their reward.

It appears, however, that no further notice was ever taken of his past honourable and praiseworthy conduct, which, no doubt, highly irritated the colonel's susceptible and feeling mind; and it is highly probable that the designing and disaffected had taken advantage of his state of mind to detach him from loyalty, and engage his superior understanding and abilities in that mistaken cause for which his life has now paid the forfeit.

Soon after the commencement of the French revolution, Colonel Despard was committed to prison, without any cause being assigned; but was liberated after

some weeks' confinement. On the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act he was again confined for a considerable time—still without any visible cause—but was at length set at liberty on his own recognizance. From this time he continued at large till the 16th of November last, when he was again taken into custody at the Oakley Arms, Lambeth, with about thirty other persons. In consequence of the last apprehension, the colonel, and twelve of his associates, were brought to trial, ten of whom were found guilty of high treason.

Colonel Despard was in his 53rd year when he was executed.

CHAPTER III

THE PEACE OF AMIENS

THE treaty of peace between Great Britain, on the one hand, and France, Spain, and Holland, on the other, was signed at Amiens, the 27th of March, 1802. It was very evident, from the beginning of the negotiation for peace that there was no confidence on the part of either government in the sincerity of the intention of the other to maintain it.

The ministry in England was pressed—by public opinion, and its expression in parliament—to affect to make overtures for peace, and eventually peace itself. Buonaparte was consolidating his plans for his own aggrandisement, and required a breathing time to combine and to accomplish them. The destruction of the French fleet, moreover, had rendered it necessary to make the requisite preparations to provide and to equip another. This required time; and none was certainly lost by Buonaparte—for, from the beginning of the peace, naval preparations of considerable magnitude were actively going on at Brest and other ports.

Similar naval preparations and military move-

ments were on foot in England in the winter of 1802. In the spring of 1803, volunteering in England and the raising of yeomanry corps in Ireland, were matters of public notoriety. In "The London Chronicle" of 12th March, 1803, we find the following announcement: "Mr. J. C. Beresford, M.P. for Dublin, set off on Tuesday for Ireland. His sudden return is attributed to business of a public nature." That business was officially glanced at in a circular of the Irish secretary a few days later.

On the 26th of March, Mr. E. B. Littlehales, in pursuance to directions from the Lord Lieutenant, addressed a circular to the commanding officers of the respective corps of yeomanry, stating that in the present posture of affairs it was particularly desirable the yeomanry of Ireland should be prepared for any emergency.

Several of the corps of yeomanry, at that time, were already embodied.

M. Otto, the French minister at the court of London, in a note to Lord Hawkesbury, dated 17th August, 1802, states that he had received especial orders to solicit, that the most effectual measures should be taken in England—

1st.—That a stop should be put to obnoxious, seditious, and unbecoming publications.

2nd.—That certain French emigrants should be sent out of the island of Guernsey.

3rd.—That certain bishops, emigrants in England, should be sent away.

4th.—That Georges and his adherents should be transported to Canada.

5th.—That the Bourbon princes should be recommended to repair to Warsaw.

6th.—That French emigrants, wearing orders of the ancient regime, should be required to quit the British territory.

Whatever may be the protection which British laws afford to native writers, and to other subjects of his majesty, the French government knows that foreigners here do not enjoy the same protection, and the law, known by the title of the Alien Act, gives the ministry of his Britannic majesty an authority which it has often exercised against those whose residence was prejudicial to the interests of Great Britain. The first clause of the act states expressly that any order in council which requires a foreigner to quit the kingdom shall be executed under pain of transportation. There exists, therefore, in the ministry a legal and sufficient power to restrain foreigners, without having recourse to the courts of law, and the French government, which offers on this point a perfect reciprocity, thinks it gives a new proof of its pacific intentions by demanding that those persons may be sent away whose machinations uniformly tend to sow discord between the people.¹

The perfect reciprocity there is no mistaking. The United Irishmen in Paris stood in the same obnoxious relation to British interests which the

¹ "London Chronicle," 19th—21st May, 1803, p. 483.

émigrés in London did to those of France, or rather of its ruler. How it was possible for the leaders of the United Irishmen, after the publication of the paper from which the preceding document is taken, to place any trust in Buonaparte's faith or friendly feelings to their cause, is indeed surprising.

Robert Emmet, of all those leaders who were then sojourning in France, appears to have been the one who most distrusted Buonaparte's intentions in regard to Ireland. It is evident that his distrust was founded on information that was authentic, and that his opinion of Buonaparte was not a mistaken one. Lord Hawkesbury's reply to the demand of the French government, dated 28th August, 1802, was a dignified refusal to transport, turn out of the kingdom, or recommend to leave it, any persons who did not infringe the laws. The intention of the Alien Act, he said, was to empower the government to remove foreigners suspected of being dangerous to it. But if any substantial proof was given of foreigners in England, distributing proclamations in France, or enticing the people to resist its government, his majesty would take all the measures in his power to cause such persons to leave the country. With respect to interference with the press, "I am sure," said Lord Hawkesbury, "you must be aware that his majesty cannot, and never will, in

consequence of any representation, or any menace from a foreign power, make any concession which can be, in the smallest degree, dangerous to the liberty of the press, as secured by the constitution of this country. This liberty is justly dear to every British subject. The constitution admits of no previous restraints upon publications of any description." No allusion whatever was made to the obliging offer of the perfect reciprocity. Altogether, the correspondence was advantageous (on the face of the published documents) to the character of the British minister, and damaging to that of the First Consul. But there is no doubt that Georges and his associates were suffered, unmolested, to pursue their machinations in Great Britain, and were supported and countenanced by influential people in England connected with the emigrants—that the pretence was futile that there was no power under the Alien Act to prevent assassins from plotting against the life of the ruler of a foreign country at peace with Great Britain—and that the professions of anxiety for the maintenance of constitutional privileges, and of feelings of veneration for the liberty of the press, were not in accordance with the practical exercise of power at that period in the British dominions.

It cannot fail to strike any reader of the official papers presented to parliament, connected with

the mission of Lord Whitworth, that the great cause of Buonaparte's irritation, greater even than the retention of Malta, was the abuse lavished on him in the English newspapers, and by several of the leading members of parliament. The British government, in affecting to remedy the grievance complained of, took the course of all others the most displeasing to Buonaparte, and most calculated to bring him into disfavour with the liberals and radicals of England, namely, the prosecution of one of those editors, Peltier, which afforded an opportunity to Sir James Mackintosh, for raking the character and career of Buonaparte, fore and aft; thus accomplishing the purpose of the government, while apparently bent on protecting the reputation of their new ally.

Was it by mere accident that this trial came on the same day that Colonel Despard was executed? The "Moniteur," in commenting on the views of Peltier's conviction, expressed the greatest indignation at the duplicity of the British minister, in taking a course so much opposed to the wishes of the French government, instead of that course which had been demanded by their ambassador.

Buonaparte, in a conference with Lord Whitworth, communicated to the British government, 21st February, 1803, reiterated his complaints against the British government in reference to

the retention of Malta, in direct violation of the terms of the treaty. He said, "Of the two, he would rather see us (the English) in possession of the Faubourg St. Antoine than of Malta."

. . . He complained of the protection given in England to the assassin Georges, handsomely pensioned, and of his plans being permitted to be carried into effect in France, and of two of his fellow-agents being sent into France by the *émigrés* to assassinate him (Buonaparte) and being then in custody. The two men he referred to were subsequently tried, and convicted of the crime they were charged with on their own confessions.

In Lord Whitworth's communication (dated 21st February, 1803) to Lord Hawkesbury, an account is given of an interview with Buonaparte, when the latter, in reference to the proofs he had given of a desire to maintain peace, said he wished to know what he had to gain by going to war with England. A descent was the only means of offence he had, and if determined to attempt one, it must be by putting himself at the head of an expedition. But how could it be supposed that, after having gained the height on which he stood, he would risk his life and reputation in such a hazardous attempt, unless forced to it by necessity, when the chances were, that he and the greatest part of the expedition would go to the bottom of the sea. He talked much on

THE PEACE OF AMIENS 301

the subject, but never affected to diminish the danger. He acknowledged there were a hundred chances to one against him; but still he was determined to attempt it, if war should be the consequence of the present discussion; and, such was the disposition of the troops, that army after army would be found for the enterprise. He concluded by stating, that France, with an army of 480,000 men, to be immediately completed, was ready for the most desperate enterprise; that England, with her fleet, was mistress of the seas, which he did not think he should be able to equal in ten years. Two such countries, by a proper understanding, might govern the world, but by their strifes might overturn it.

In the report on the situation of the French Republic, bearing the signature of the First Consul, presented to the legislative body by a decree of the government, of the 21st February, 1803, the following passages occur:

The British forces are still in Alexandria and Malta. The government had a fair right of complaint, but it has received intelligence that the vessels that are to convey them to Europe are already in the Mediterranean. . . .

But in England two parties maintain a contest for power; one of those parties has concluded peace and appears desirous of maintaining it. The other has taken an oath of eternal hatred of France. . . . While this contest of parties continues, measures of precaution are what the government are called upon to

adopt. Five hundred thousand men ought to be, and shall be ready to undertake its defence and avenge its injuries. Strange necessity which miserable passions impose on two nations, whom interest and inclination mutually prompt to the cultivation of peace. Whatever success intrigues may experience in London, no other people will be involved in new combinations. The government says, with conscious pride, that England alone cannot maintain a struggle against France.

Mr. Pitt, at this time out of office, was said, in the public prints, to be "in so precarious a state of health, as not to admit of his undergoing the fatigue of a regular parliamentary attendance."

His organs, however, were not idle; the papers which heretofore advocated his opinions, were busily employed in reviling the First Consul and deprecating peace with him. At the very period that Mr. Pitt's health was stated, in "The London Chronicle," in February and March, 1803, to be in so precarious a state, he was more deeply engaged in public business, I was informed by his niece, Lady Hester Stanhope, who then acted as his private secretary, than he had been at any period while he was in the ministry. It is impossible to read the debates in parliament of this period, and not to believe that the prime minister, Adington, was more desirous of maintaining peace with France than the party that had hitherto clamoured against the war. Some of the great Whigs of that day, Lord Moira and Mr. Sheridan in particular, seemed wholly bent on

driving the ministry to hostile measures against France, after having for years made war on the Tory ministry for its belligerent policy. There never was greater inconsistency exhibited by public men than was at this period displayed by Lord Moira and Mr. Sheridan. The whole of their patriotism, at this time, was devoted to efforts to influence the passions of the people of England against France, and to supply means for paying the debts and providing for the debaucheries of the Prince Regent. Mr. Fox, Mr. Grey, and Mr. Whitbread, however, were no parties to the war-whoop of Lord Moira and Mr. Sheridan.

On the 9th of March, 1803, a message from the king was delivered to the parliament, wherein his majesty "thinks it necessary to acquaint the House of Commons that, as very considerable military preparations were carrying on in the ports of France and Holland, he had judged it expedient to adopt additional measures of precaution for the security of his dominions."

Lord Whitworth, in March, by the instructions of his government, demanded an explanation of the motives and objects of the warlike preparations in the French ports, and the reply (not official) of M. Talleyrand was said to have been short and not satisfactory: "It was the will of the First Consul." Buonaparte, on the other hand, on the 11th of March, at a levée at the

Tuilleries, attended by the different ambassadors and a great number of distinguished persons, on entering the grand saloon seemed violently agitated, and appeared to be conversing with his attendants, or rather thinking aloud, for the following words, pronounced in a very audible voice, were heard by all the persons in the audience chamber: "Vengeance will fall on that power which will be the cause of the war." He approached the British ambassador, Lord Whitworth, and said: "You know, my lord, that a terrible storm has arisen between England and France." Lord Whitworth said it was to be hoped that this storm would be dissipated without any serious consequences. Buonaparte replied: "It will be dissipated when England shall have evacuated Malta; if not, the cloud would burst and the bolt must fall. The King of England had promised by treaty to evacuate that place—and who was to violate the faith of treaties?"¹

The manifesto of the French republic at the appearance of hostilities, bearing the signature of the minister of foreign affairs, M. Talleyrand, was issued on the 15th of May. In this document it is stated, that the British minister, on the 7th of April, manifested an intention to violate the treaty, and to refuse to evacuate Malta. Two new *projects* of convention had

¹ Woodfall's "London Chronicle," p. 478, 17th-18th May, 1803.

been offered—one that Malta should continue under the sovereignty of England, and that England would consent to recognise everything that had taken place in Europe since the treaty of Amiens. To which projects M. Talleyrand replied, that no change had taken place in Europe since the treaty was made, except the organization of the German empire, in which the King of England had concurred, as Elector of Hanover, by his vote—a necessary consequence of the treaty of Luneville, which existed long before the treaty of Amiens; that the events in Piedmont, Etruria, and the Italian and Ligurian republics, had their date previous to the treaty of Amiens; that with respect to the Batavian republic, it had been recognized by the King of England; and that, by treaty between that republic and France, the last division of the French troops would evacuate Holland on the complete execution of the treaty of Amiens. With respect to Malta, the independence of the order of its knights and of the island was provided for by an especial article of the treaty of Amiens. The independence of the island had been guaranteed by the Emperor of Germany; the independence of the knights had been guaranteed by the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia, in consequence of the conjoint solicitation of England and France. When Lord Whitworth demanded his passports, Buonaparte, apparently

still anxious for peace, consented that new arrangements should be entered into respecting Malta, in concurrence with Austria and Russia.—Lord Whitworth suspended his departure, and referred the proposal to his government. On the 11th of May, Lord Whitworth returned the answer of his government, stating that Russia had refused the request made to her on that subject. Talleyrand affirms there was not time for the application to have been made to Russia and replied to. A courier, however, had arrived at Paris from Russia, with despatches from the Emperor, manifesting the greatest concern at the intelligence of the intention of England to retain possession of Malta, renewing the assurances of his guarantee, and announcing his compliance with the request of the First Consul, to become the mediator between the two powers, with their consent. This communication was made known to Lord Whitworth on the 12th of May. On the same day, his lordship informed M. Talleyrand that he had orders to depart in thirty-six hours after the delivery of his last note. The manifesto terminates with a repetition of the proposition to place Malta in the hands of one of the three guaranteeing powers; and for all other objects foreign to the treaty of Amiens, renews its declaration to open a negotiation with respect to them.

On the 15th of May, 1803, his Britannic maj-

esty sent a message to parliament, announcing the recall of the British ambassador from Paris, and the departure of the French ambassador from London. The declaration of hostilities with France was published in "The Gazette" of 18th May, 1803.

Mr. Pitt made his appearance in the House of Commons on the 23rd of May, when an amendment of Mr. Grey's, in the address to his majesty, pledging the house to support his majesty in the prosecution of the war, came to be discussed in that house. During the continuation of peace Mr. Pitt was ill. His indisposition suffered him only to indulge in rural and military recreations—in learning the musket and broad-sword exercise, by way of bracing his nerves—and seeing his regiment of volunteers put through their facings, with the view of enlivening the dulness of his retirement. But like the worthy cardinal who had waxed sickly and infirm before a Pope's election, Mr. Pitt, who, before the question came to be discussed of peace or war, was a political invalid, unable to attend to his parliamentary duties, and so broken down with the labours of his past career as to excite general fears for his safety, became suddenly strong and hale. The night of the debate of the 23rd of May, Mr. Pitt was found in his place in parliament, and it is hardly necessary to add, that his "voice was still for war." Perhaps

greater vigour of mind or body was never exhibited by him than on that occasion. The ex-minister was himself again—war was about to be let loose on the world, and all the principles of evil seemed concentrated in the unholy exultation with which the prospect of war was hailed on that occasion. In the heat of his passion he reviled Buonaparte in the most vehement terms of invective; he spoke of the First Consul as “a sea of liquid fire, which destroyed everything which was unfortunate enough to come in contact with it.” It then only remained for honorable members to express a hope that “the only man in the empire qualified to conduct the war to a successful issue” should be recalled to the councils of his sovereign.

The result of these negotiations was war—a new devastation of the fairest portion of Europe for the space of eleven years—a further carnage of some millions of the human race—an increased burthen of public debt, to the extent of some hundreds of millions of pounds sterling in Great Britain.¹ And what permanent advantages have accrued to England from these eleven years of war?

Divesting these negotiations of all their concomitant feints and fencings, wiles and am-

¹ The National Debt in 1803 was £601,411,080 sterling. In 1814, at the end of the war, it was £943,195,951, having been increased by these eleven years of war upwards of £341,000,000. —Colquhoun’s *Wealth and Resources of the British Empire*.

bushes, mysticisms of meaning, and hiding of purposes—these skilful skirmishes, criminations and recriminations, avowals of fair intentions, and imputations of bad faith, we come to the bare bone of contention—an island in the Mediterranean, which belonged to neither of the parties in dispute.

France wanted a navy, which it would require ten years to equip. England wanted Malta and the Cape of Good Hope, which she was then in a condition to retain, but was not in so good a condition to maintain when the treaty of Amiens was entered into. Buonaparte was well aware of these facts, and his political morality did not stand in the way of his state interests. He regarded the treaty of Amiens as a truce, believing it was so regarded by his new ally, yet willing to maintain it as long as possible, for the sake of its bearings on his interests—not on account of its obligations on his honour—and desirous, whenever it was broken, that the ostensible cause of the rupture should be a violation of an important article of that treaty on the part of England.

The consideration of this matter is not foreign to the subject of the unfortunate enterprise of Robert Emmet. Its origin and failure were unquestionably connected with the expected result of those negotiations, and the preparations for that result, which had been already begun in the

northern seaports of France when he set out on his fatal mission. Previous to his departure he had an interview with Buonaparte; the nature of it was such as to leave no doubt on his mind that peace was destined to be of short continuance, that hostilities would commence before the month of August, 1803, and that the invasion of England would take place in the course of that month.

He told one of his most intimate friends in Ireland, a gentleman whose veracity can be relied on implicitly—Mr. Patten—that his interview with Buonaparte had left an unfavourable impression on his mind of the character of the First Consul; that he had been referred by Buonaparte to Talleyrand, and had several interviews with the latter, of whose intentions towards Ireland he thought not more favourably than of those of his master, and of whose knowledge of the state of things there he could say but little to its advantage. He thought, however, that Talleyrand rather desired the establishment of an independent republic in Ireland, and that Buonaparte did not. The only object of the latter, he believed, was to aggrandize France, and to damage England, and so far as that object went, to wish well to any effort in Ireland that might be ancillary to his purpose. He thought, however, that Buonaparte, seeing that war was inevitable, was sincere in the purpose he expressed

of making a descent on England the earliest possible moment after war had been declared; and that event, he was led to believe, was likely to take place before many months should have elapsed.

England and France, from the middle of March, 1803, were busily engaged in preparations for war. It was not, however, till the middle of May, that acts of hostility were committed on the merchant vessels of both countries on the coasts of France and England. An order of council, dated the 16th of May, 1803 (the morning of the French ambassador's departure from London), appeared in "The London Gazette," directing reprisals against French ships and merchandize, and also an embargo on all vessels of the French and Batavian republics. On the 18th, the king issued a declaration of war against France. A number of intercepted English letters found on board the East Indiaman, "Admiral Aplin," captured by the French, and published in the "Moniteur" by the government, afford abundant proof of the panic which prevailed in England, and of the expectation of invasion that was general at that period. Very serious apprehensions were expressed in these letters of the results of an invasion in Ireland. It was stated, in a letter of Lord Charles Bentinck to his brother, Lord William Bentinck, Governor of Madras: "If Ireland be not attended to, it

will be lost; these rascals" (an endearing, familiar, gentleman-like way of calling the people of Ireland) "are as ripe as ever for rebellion."

In an extract of a letter to General Clinton, of the 2nd of June, we find the following passage: "I have learned from them (Irish people in England) with regret, that the lower classes of men in Ireland were more disaffected than ever, even more than during the last rebellion, and that if the French could escape from our fleet, and land their troops in the north of Ireland, they would be received with satisfaction, and joined by a great number."

In a letter of Lord Grenville to the Marquis of Wellesley, dated the 12th of July, 1803, we find the following passage: "I am not certain whether the event of the war, which our wise ministers have at last declared, may not have induced them to beg you to continue your stay in India some time longer. I hope nothing, however, will prevent me from having the pleasure of seeing you next year, supposing at that period that you have still a country to revisit."¹

Letter from Mr. Finers to General Lake, July 14th: "The invasion, which has been so long the favourite project of the First Consul, will certainly take place."

Letter from one of the directors of the East

¹ Intercepted letters found in the captured ship "Aplin," published in the "Moniteur," p. 13. Pam. Dub. 1804.

India Company, Thomas Faulder, to Mr. J. Ferguson Smith, Calcutta, 3rd August: "I have heard from the first authority, that if the French can land in Ireland with some troops, they will be immediately joined by 100,000 Irish."

The reader is requested to observe, that the date of Lord Grenville's letter was July 12th, the letter to General Clinton is dated the 2nd of June, the letter to General Lake is dated the 14th of July. In the first, the apprehension of invasion, and the doubt of his friend having a country to revisit the next year, is obvious enough. In the letter to General Clinton, the spirit of disaffection, and certainty of the troops joining the invaders, is plainly stated. In the letter to General Lake the favourite project of the First Consul, it is said, will certainly take place. Now, all these letters were previous to the attempt of Robert Emmet, which was made on the 23rd of July.

These letters were evidently written by persons connected with government, or with persons holding high situations under the government, and we see that they entertained the opinion which has been hitherto set down as a chimerical one—that on which Robert Emmet acted—namely, that there would be an invasion of some part of Great Britain or Ireland, and that the people in Ireland would take advantage of the opportunity.

Arthur O'Connor, in speaking of some of the United Irish leaders who were in Paris in 1802-3, says: "These were persons who were opposed to him (O'Connor), who had communications with France, and this party was re-organised at Paris in 1803. Their plans were connected with Robert Emmet's plot, but were not communicated to him—they were divulged to him by the French government. The person in this party in Paris who had most influence was Russel. Buonaparte, in conversing with General O'Connor, expressed himself unfavourably of the attempt, and of those engaged in it." The United Irishmen, it must be added, who had been in communication with him, expressed themselves no less unfavourably of him.

COPY OF A MEMORANDUM RESPECTING ROBERT
EMMET, FOUND AMONG MACNEVEN'S PAPERS.

In 1802, when T. A. Emmet arrived in Brussels, from Hamburgh, his brother Robert came to meet him from Paris, and stayed there until towards November, when he returned to his family in Ireland. At the time he was in Brussels, he (Robert) had no knowledge of any design being then entertained in Ireland to make another attempt to throw off the British yoke; but communications were soon made to him when in Dublin, supported by returns and details, which gave him assurance that the population of seventeen counties would be brought to act, if only one successful effort were made in the metropolis, and to secure this, select

bodies of men were to arrive unknown in the city, from different quarters. It was hard to reject the proposition of taking part in the enterprise, and difficult to attain any other knowledge of the reality of the means than what was furnished by the persons who projected, proposed, and were to be performers in the proposed undertaking. There is no doubt but a great part of the country would have risen, and was prepared to do so, if Dublin had been carried, and in that event the war would have been general in less than a week.

Robert Emmet's design was, then, based on the expectation of a speedy rupture of the amicable relations between Great Britain and France, on the knowledge of extensive naval preparations in the northern seaports of France, and the impression left on his mind, by his interview with Buonaparte, and his frequent communications with Talleyrand, that those preparations were for an invasion of England, which was likely to be attempted in August, 1803; on the knowledge, communicated to him by Dowdall, of a movement being determined on by the Secret Society of England, with which Colonel Despard was connected; on the assurance of support and pecuniary assistance from very influential persons in Ireland; and, lastly, on the concurrence of several of the Irish leaders in Paris.

The late Lord Cloncurry informed me that he dined in company with Robert Emmet and Surgeon Lawless, the day before the departure of

the former for Ireland. "Emmet spoke of his plans with extreme enthusiasm; his features glowed with excitement, the perspiration burst through the pores, and ran down his forehead." Lawless was thoroughly acquainted with his intentions, and thought favourably of them; but Lord Cloncurry considered the plans impracticable, and was opposed to them. Dr. Macneven, Hugh Wilson, Russell, Byrne, William and Thomas Corbett, Hamilton, and Sweeney, were intimate and confidential friends of Robert Emmet, as well as of his brother—several of them, there is positive proof, concurred in the attempt.¹ All of them, it may be supposed, were cognizant of it. All their surviving friends are agreed on one point, that the project did not originate with Robert Emmet. He set out for Ireland, in the beginning of October, 1802, and arrived in Dublin in the course of the same month. His brother, Thomas Addis, was then in Brussels. One of his letters is dated from that city, in November of that year. In the spring of 1803,

¹ Among the latter may be particularly mentioned Colonel Michael Byrne, a native of Wicklow, who fled from Ireland in 1798, and entered the French service. He was residing in Paris the latter part of 1802, when Robert Emmet proceeded on his fatal expedition to Ireland. Byrne possessed the entire confidence of Robert Emmet, was cognizant of all his plans, and participated in them. He entered the French service as sub-lieutenant in the Irish legion, and rose to the rank of *chef de bataillon*. He retired from the service several years ago. He is a Chevalier of the Legion of Honour, and Knight of St. Louis.

he was in Paris with his family, and, when hostilities had broken out in the month of May, was in communication with Talleyrand, and soon after with Buonaparte.

In the autumn of 1803, T. A. Emmet had an interview with the First Consul. On the 13th of November, he addressed a memorial to him; and on the 13th of December following, Buonaparte replied to this communication, declaring his intention to set on foot preparations for an expedition to secure the independence of Ireland.

In 1803, many of the United Irishmen who had gone to France formed themselves into an Irish battalion, or legion, under the command of General M'Sheehy, and there is no doubt most of them would have returned to Ireland with an invading expedition, which they were led to believe was then actually fitting out at Brest and elsewhere. Under these circumstances T. A. Emmet drew up and presented the memorial referred to, on behalf of the United Irishmen. No copy of this memorial is to be found among Mr. Emmet's papers, but a copy of the First Consul's answer to the memorial (sent with Mr. Emmet's letters to the author) was found among Dr. Macneven's papers.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM T. A. EMMET AT PARIS,
DIRECTED—"A MONSIEUR MACNEVEN, OFFICIER
DU BATTALION IRLANDOIS A MORLAISE," AND
DATED,

1st Pluviose, 1804 (21st Jan.)

MY DEAR MACNEVEN—I have received Gallagher's, Sweeney's, and your letters, all which I acknowledge with very sincere love to the respective parties. But the length and nature of this letter, with my having at this moment a great press of business, will, I hope, be a sufficient excuse for my not writing to them at present. As to the conjecture you make in your letter, about the time before which matters will not be ready, I am clear you are well founded, though not perhaps for the reasons you have assigned, as I perceive your traveller did not give you an *exact* account of what was in Brest, and none at all of what was in the neighbouring ports; but your conclusion nevertheless is true. At the end of that time (if any faith can be placed in assurance) it is intended to attempt something. I am not seaman enough to calculate the chances of success, but this I know—that similar things were done in August; and further, none of us know what combinations of plans may be used to facilitate the measure, even in an unfavourable time. So much for that. Now for what will perhaps surprise and please you, as it has done me. I presented the memoir I was writing at your departure on the 13th *Nivoze*; on the 27th I received the annexed answer.

When Dalton delivered me this, he stated the readiness of the minister to confirm it by word of mouth whenever I pleased. As the latter paragraph afforded

ample room for reflection, and for consulting my friends, I would willingly have avoided the interview for some time, and professed myself perfectly satisfied as to the authenticity of the answer; but, by his eagerness in pressing the matter, I quickly perceived that the minister's "readiness to confirm" was, in fact, a *desire* to see me on the subject. After I had read the answer through, Dalton subjoined: "I have to add, that it is the First Consul's wish that you and Mr. O'Connor should be of that committee, and I have directions to present him a copy of this answer, leaving out the first sentence. When that committee is formed, it will give the present government the means of communicating at once with all parties of United Irishmen, and give them the certainty that whatever may be offered in their behalf will not be contradictory, and drawing in different directions."

He added a great deal more, &c. We took leave—he in a great hurry to procure me an interview with the minister, and I in none. One reason for this disposition besides what I already stated was, that I apprehended very strongly, as the American mediation is not yet ended, the proclamations of the committee might be an engine for terrifying England into terms; and I wished, and still wish, to waste time, until I have reason to hope that the best exertions of the committee may not be turned into a cause of mischief to our country. I therefore postponed, but was yesterday obliged to have the interview, of which I shall speak directly. You may be assured I lost no time in consulting Sweetman, M'D., and my other friends here, who all agreed that as the Consul made a point of it it could not be

avoided and they even saw considerable advantage from it provided it acts with caution.

Before I saw the minister yesterday I had a long conversation with Dalton, the greatest part of which turned on the best mode of appointing the committee. The mode he contemplated, and with him the government, was, that O'C. and I should each name whom we thought fit; that government should add to us some person or persons if we should omit any it thought important. I said, if I were of the committee I certainly should not object to any persons of whom I thought sufficiently well, and whose presence government thought of importance, but that for myself I wished to be sanctioned by the approbation of my countrymen, which could be easily had, as they are collected at Morlaix. Against this he remonstrated with a good deal of energy, and in truth it made the principal part of our conversation. I was free to make whatever proposal I pleased, but as a friend and in confidence he advised me against that. He added some observations in no respect disreputable to our countrymen, but which I don't consider myself free to repeat, and said, I at least had no occasion for any such scruples, as it was well known I had already the approbation of my countrymen for acting alone, and *a fortiori* for acting with others.

At length I saw the minister, who confirmed, in the fullest manner, Dalton's paper, and assured me it was what the Consul intended to abide by, and asked me if I had thought of the committee and who would be the most proper members. On my part, I expressed the utmost gratitude to the Consul for his assurances and intentions. As to the committee, I said there was one peculiarity in the situation of most of us, which was

probably unknown to the Consul, but which made the formation of that committee a matter of some difficulty: though our persons were free, the property of almost every man who might be thought eligible was in the power of the English government, and if they did anything that could be taken hold of, that property would certainly be confiscated. This was a great consideration for fathers of families; and although, under certain circumstances, when men had a full assurance that matters were come to a crisis, they might run risks, they could not feel warranted in doing so under uncertainties. To this he answered, among other things, that we should not be required to run any risks we did not think fit.

“Form your committee; give government the body with which it wants to communicate, and manage your own affairs as you may think fit; publish your proclamations without any names, and if you think your countrymen will give sufficient credit to them, keep your names secret but from the committee.”

A good deal more was said, that, perhaps, ought not to be repeated. Thus, however, matters stand. I will not throw any impediment in the way, but I do not intend to break my neck in trying to bring about what I do not perfectly understand the drift of. I wish you were here, and I think it probable you may be called for; but you need not fear being left behind, as the commander-in-chief of the Irish will be here also. Sweeney was very right not to offer to go to Ireland on Augereau’s invitation. Let him consider if he should be asked whether he would go on any other condition different from what he has already offered. As I know there is an anxiety of transmitting the substance

of the Consul's answer to me, you will see how much discretion is necessary with respect to the foregoing parts of this letter.

You will, no doubt, be rejoiced to hear that the First Consul himself has taken the trouble of dictating the device for your colours. They are to be green in the centre—a tri-coloured circle, with R. I. The legend on the colours is to be, "*L'indépendance de l'Irlande—Liberté de Conscience.*" You are also aware that your uniform is somewhat changed, on the demand of Mac-Sheehy; the amarinth is exploded, and yellow, the second national colour, substituted in its place.

COPY OF THE FIRST CONSUL'S ANSWER TO MY
MEMOIRE OF 13TH NIVOSE, DELIVERED TO ME
27TH NIVOSE:

Le Premier Consul a lu avec la plus grande attention, la memoire qui lui a été adressé par M. Emmet le 13 Nivose.

Il desire que les Irlandais Unis soient bien convaincus que son intention est d'assurer l'indépendance de l'Irlande, et de donner protection entière et efficace à tous ceux d'entre eux, qui prendront part à l'expédition, ou qui se joindront aux armées Françaises.

Le Gouvernement Français ne peut faire aucune proclamation avant d'avoir touché le territoire Irlandais. Mais le général qui commandera l'expédition sera muni de lettres scellées, par lesquelles la Premier Consul déclarera qu'il ne fera point le paix avec l'Angleterre, sans stipuler pour l'indépendance de l'Irlande, dans le cas, cependant, où l'armée aurait été jointe par un corps considérable d'Irlandais Unis.

L'Irlande sera en tout traitée, comme l'a été l'Amérique, dans la guerre passée.

Tout individu qui s'embarquera avec l'armée Française destinée pour l'expedition, sera commissioné comme Français s'il était arrêté, et qu'il ne fut pas traité comme prisonnier de guerre la represaille s'exercera sur les prisonniers Anglais.

Tout corps formé au nom des Irlandais Unis sera considéré comme faisant parti de l'armée Française. Enfin, si l'expedition ne réussissait pas et que les Irlandais fussent obligés de revenir en France, la France entretiendra un certain nombre de brigades Irlandaises, et fera des pensions, à tout individu qui aurait fait partie du gouvernement ou des autorités du pays.

Les pensions pourraient être assimilées à celles qui sont accordées en France aux titulaires de grade ou d'emplois correspondant, qui ne sont pas en activité.

Le Premier Consul desire qu'il se forme un comité d'Irlandais Unis. Il ne voit pas d'inconvenant, à ce que les membres de ce comité fassent des proclamations, et instruissoient leurs compatriotes de l'état de choses.

Ces proclamations seront inserés dans "L'Argus" et dans les differens journaux de l'Europe, à fin d'éclairer les Irlandais, sur la parti qu'ils ont à suivre, et sur les esperances qu'ils doivent concevoir. Si la comité veut faire un relation des actes de tyrannie exercées contre l'Irlande par la Gouvernement Anglais, on l'inserera dans "Le Moniteur."

The sincerity of the First Consul, as to this expedition, seems not to have been doubted by Mr. Emmet until about the month of April fol-

lowing. What may have taken place to have changed his sentiments I have no means of ascertaining, but from that period he seems to have given up all expectation of assistance from France.

Under date of 19th April, 1804, he writes as follows:

MY DEAR MACNEVEN—By yours of the 6th, as well as by one of Sweeney's which came to-day, I find that my postscript to Mrs. G.'s letter has led you all into a very great mistake. I certainly never said, nor did I mean to insinuate, that any offer had been made to me. I had reason to conclude from two different quarters that something was in contemplation, and therefore I wished to anticipate the necessity of deciding by asking your advice beforehand; but so far from any offer—if I were to draw any conclusion from continued, I must say marked and obstinate silence, I should say none was ever intended.

You may remember I once mentioned that you would probably meet a general at Morlaix—why you did not, will perhaps, one day, become in our own country a matter of investigation—but the person to whom I alluded has since requested me to make some applications, which I have done, but without receiving an answer. I enclosed MacSheehy's memorial, on the subject of your being considered as French citizens, to the minister on Saturday last, with a very civil note requesting an interview, in order to take his instructions, but no answer as yet.

Under all those circumstances, I am not so foolish as to flatter myself with any very sanguine expecta-

tions. I adhere to my original plan of going to America, and do not think it probable that anything will occur to prevent me. Suppose, however, an offer should be made, I do not entirely agree with you. If I do not exceedingly alter my opinion, I will not accept either of the situations you have advised, and for reasons that, with your knowledge of my politics, you can be at no loss to guess. I am an Irishman, and, until necessity forces me to contract ties of allegiance elsewhere, I will hold no situation that is not Irish, or obviously directed to the emancipation of that country.

If I am to contract a new allegiance, and to undertake civil duties not connected with my native land, let not the latter part of my political life be at variance with its beginning. What, then, can I accept? Nothing but what is Irish in all its objects, and, if nothing of that kind can be found or created, I am too old, too poor, and too heavily laden, to await the issue of reiterated procrastinations. You will judge, then, what chance there is of my wintering in Europe.

Since I began this letter, I have learned that the minister at war has set off for the camp at St. Omer, and will not probably be back for some time. As he did not answer my note that accompanied General MacShehy's memorial, I presume I am to take no steps in that affair till his return, my instructions being that I should act under his directions.

Saturday, 12th May, 1804.

MY DEAR MACNEVEN—I yesterday received a letter from Sweeney, enclosing a half-sheet from you: I mean to answer both, but I put off writing to Sweeney till I can tell him all his commissions are executed. In

the meantime, your half-sheet would afford matter for more than one very long letter, if I could unbosom myself, and express all I think and feel on certain subjects. As to your idea, that there is no fear but that Sweeney's and the other commissions of the same date will be confirmed, I hope you are right, and my hopes are stronger than when I wrote to him, but still I am very far from having no apprehensions.

The very day after I sent in my remonstrance against the famous paragraph in "The Argus," I received an invitation to dinner with Augereau for the next day but one or two. As it was still undecided whether I should have any further connection with government or not, I thought it right to accept the invitation, and went. It was a parade dinner, O'C., Truguet, Donzelot, &c. &c., and I certainly experienced every attention and civility. In the course of the evening, Donzelot, with whom I had before had some conversations on business, requested me to call on him again before he left town, to continue the conversations. I told him of the remonstrance I had just given in, and of the intention it expressed of withdrawing from all connection with government if I were not satisfied on the subject, but assured him that if I were satisfied I would not fail to call and give him every information in my power. I was never satisfied, and I never called. The same circumstance prevented me from consulting General Augereau, with whose reception of me I had every reason to be satisfied. Even the civilities necessary for keeping up a personal acquaintance might be considered as putting in for a confidence I affected to renounce, and as I knew that my personal acquaintance was solicited on political grounds, I felt that the former

was rendered unnecessary, by my declining to act on the latter if ever the opportunity occurred. I own I should not be sorry Augereau knew this, that he might not attribute to ill manners a conduct that proceeded from very different motives. Now, however, my determination not to interfere further in French and Irish politics combined, whatever explanations, offers, or assurances may be given, is stronger than ever, and grows on every day's reflection.

If you read attentively my last letter to Lawless, you will divine all my reasons. I am afraid my interference, if it were to produce any effect, would be injurious to my country; I think it would be injurious to my fame; I am sure it would be repugnant to my conscience; but all this is talking to the air. No motives will be held out to me to stay, and I am much mistaken if peace will not be made without any attempt at invasion. Do you think the emperor will hazard his new title and popularity by an attempt with his fleet on one country or his gun-boats on the other, which if it failed would be, either in a naval or a military point of view, tremendous and irreparable; particularly as he has no opportunity of balancing the miscarriage by brilliant success in another quarter. I am determined, however, to give your proclamation as strict a scrutiny as if I thought it would be used.

But now that I am on the subject, let me say a little more. I have not heard from the minister; but if I thought it would be useful to my countrymen, that should not delay me for an instant, and I would at once address the Consul. But what should I solicit? That they might be made French citizens, and take oaths of allegiance to the government of this country?

Have you learned what will be the rights and duties of French citizens under this new constitution? or what declaration you will be called on to make? When you went down, you intended to be Irishmen, and, as such, to fight under the French banners in your own country and for its freedom. Have you all determined now to become subjects of the French empire, and to follow a military life? If you only intend to procure an exemption from the *droit d'aubaine*, I think you are right, and I have long meditated to try and procure it for my exiled countrymen; and if my connection with government had continued, I should have sought for it long since, and independent of the procuration; but, as to being a French citizen, I should neither wish myself to be one, nor to ask it for you and some other of my friends. I only need the procuration, to prevent a bad use being made of your name, and to influence and to prevent your being committed in character, by an act not sufficiently well considered by those among you who intend leaving France in the event of peace.

If however you do, on due reflection, wish the claim to be pushed in its full extent, indeed, circumstanced as I am with government, and decided as to my own conduct, if you wish any steps at all to be taken, I shall cheerfully make over the procuration to any person of respectability that may be marked out to me, and on your desiring me I will write a suitable letter to MacSheehy. But let me call the serious attention of you and some other friends to what you are doing in the bottom of Brittany, and by no means *au fait* of what is going on here in the capital. You are getting a band, and incurring a thousand expenses, very fit for military men by profession, or who count upon follow-

ing it for a considerable time. Will you follow it in the event of a peace? Mark, I tell you, there will be peace, and that soon, unless England be actuated by the most insolent and foolish madness. This I say, not from my own reasoning merely, but from facts that have been told me confidently and confidentially, even since I began to write this letter.

A change of ministry in England now appears certain; and this government is only waiting that change, to make such proposals as no English ministers ought to reject. It will make commercial arrangements—but I mention this only to our particular friends. What, then, will become of your band, your regiments, and your rights of French citizenship, &c.?—Adieu.

If men like Thomas Addis Emmet and Dr. Macneven were for a short time imposed upon by the duplicity and artifice of the First Consul, it is no wonder if many of their associates were likewise deluded by them. But the most extraordinary circumstance connected with this subject is, that the youngest of them all was the person the most doubtful among them of the sincerity of Buonaparte's professions, and of his fair intentions towards Ireland.

Thomas A. Emmet embarked at Bourdeaux for America, the 27th of September, 1804.

