John M. Robertson.

IRELAND,

AS A

KINGDOM AND A COLONY;

OR A

HISTORICAL, POLITICAL, AND MILITARY SKETCH

OF ITS STATE,

PREVIOUS TO, AND SINCE THE INVASION UNDER

HENRY THE SECOND.

BY

"BRIAN BOROHME THE YOUNGER."

"DIVIDE ET IMPERA."

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INTRODUCTION.

THE enlightened English, of every sect, acknowledge, that the Irish have always been an oppressed and injured people, they value their generous efforts in the great cause of civil and religious liberty, and they wish for the establishment of a lasting friendship between the two countries, whose energies and industry should always render them emulous of each other, but who have been made almost enemies by the detestable policy of interested and corrupt statesmen. Reason, which these statesmen despise, and history that teaches them a lesson they reject, in vain point out the necessity of a more liberal policy. It is only by looking back at the past we can hope to direct the future. It is only by the detail of events we can expect to disperse the clouds of prejudice that obscure the understanding. In drawing aside the dark veil that concealed the revolting and terrific picture of Ireland's misfortunes, the intention is not to irritate the Irish people, but to enlist in their cause the sympathies of the wise and the virtuous. If the author succeeds he will be amply rewarded by the approbation of his countrymen.

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IRELAND,

AS A KINGDOM AND A COLONY.

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Ireland at an early period.

THE IRISH PEOPLE, suffering for many ages under the oppression attendant on an armed occupation of their island, reviled and held up to surrounding nations as robbers and barbarians, reduced by their rulers to a degrading and humiliating state of inferiority in power and in commerce, reproached with the want of civilization, taunted with their state of dependence, naturally turn to, and find a melancholy consolation in, the ancient history of their country. They possess, it is true, no literary remains on which to found their claims to a remote antiquity;* but although the learned are divided in opinion respecting the aborigines of Ireland, they agree in the belief of the early civilization of her inhabitants—a passage in Diodorus Siculus would seem to confirm this opinion; and when tradition is divested of the fabulous and super-

* During the wars of extermination under Elizabeth and Cromwell, all records that could elucidate Irish history were eagerly sought after, and destroyed by the different commanders.

stitious mystery, in which it was the custom in the early ages to envelope it, and in that state transmitted to posterity, it leaves no doubt of the Irish being descended from a people possessing in an eminent degree those acquirements in the arts and sciences, the never-failing attendants on learning and civilization. The striking difference in personal appearance, of the descendents of the ancient Irish from that of the people of England—their irritable temperament and quick perception—the similarity that exists in the manners and customs of the inhabitants, with those along the eastern side of the Adriatic—give strong evidence in support of their claims to an Eastern origin; and when we consider that it is only by comparing and tracing these customs, that the antiquary is enabled to found a belief as to the chain that connects the two people, it must be admitted, in the absence of all written proof, that the connection is established. Amongst those customs, there is one that has hitherto escaped the observation of all who have endeavoured to solve the question—it is the ancient practice, called in Ireland "*keening*," of apostrophising the dead, which is also continued and preserved in the present time by the natives of Istrea.*

Their funeral rites.

As the strict observance of the funeral rites and ceremonies of all nations is held more sacred than any others, from a superstitious feeling that forbids, and causes them to dread as pregnant with evil to the survivors, any alteration or change, it is to be presumed the Irish have inherited this custom from those unsettled commercial adventurers, who first dared to pass the pillars of Hercules, and established a colony in their island. The passage alluded to in Diodorus Siculus is as follows:—"There is an island in the west that is beautiful, pleasant, and is dedicated to Apollo, which god, for the space of nineteen years,

* The author, when at Pola, in 1814, saw a wife kneeling by the side of the dead body of her husband, and placing her mouth to the ear of the deceased, ask questions in a loud a mournful tone of voice.

used to come to and converse with its priests; and which is more remarkable, the inhabitants could, as if they had the use of telescopes, show the moon very near them, and discover therein mountains, &c. They had a large grove and temple *of a round form*, to which the priests frequently went with their harps, to chaunt the praises of Apollo, their great deity. They had a language of their own; but some Greeks had been in the island, and presented valuable gifts to the temple, and one Abaris, who became afterwards a disciple of Pythagoris, went into Greece, and contracted an intimacy with the Delians." He also adds, that the island "was about the size of Sicily." That this can only apply to Ireland is very evident, as there is none other that answers the description. The ancient Irish also worshipped Apollo, which was the sun, and their harps were attuned to the praises of that deity. There is also a tradition of several Greeks having visited Ireland for instruction, who were educated at a seminary established by the priests at the ancient town of Lismore. At a later period, the learned and venerable Bede,* an authority that cannot be disputed, acknowledges that "many of the nations, of all ranks, in the time of Bishop Finican, leaving their own native country, retired to Ireland, that they might devote themselves in a more effectual manner either to the reading or studying divinity, or to a more strict and continent life. Those of a more active genius frequented the schools, receiving instruction with pleasure, and pursuing the knowledge of divinity, with unwearied diligence. All the Irish readily and cheerfully entertained them, maintaining them at free cost, procuring for them such books as were necessary to the prosecution of their studies, and defraying the expense of their education." The town of Lismore, in the county of Waterford, seems to have been considered the chief place of resort of the learned. Here Alfred is sup-

* Histor. Eccles. lib. iii. cap. xxvii.

posed to have derived much of the knowledge that has since immortalised his name. It is thus described by an old writer:—"Lismore is a famous and holy city, half of which is an asylum in which no woman does enter; but it is full of cells and holy monastries, and religious men in great numbers abide there, and thither holy men flock together from all parts of Ireland, and not only from Ireland, but also from Britain, being desirous of removing from them to Christ." Ryland states that "there were many (some say twenty) churches in Lismore." The traditions or legends of the Irish, mixed as they are with extravagant and fabulous, give an animated description of their ancestors, who are represented as a brave people, forced from home in search of a new settlement. That after many adventures, they landed in a rich and beautiful island, of which they took peaceable possession, divided the lands, elected chiefs, and devised means of improving their situation, by the cultivation of the soil, and encouraging the arts and sciences. Their descendents elected chiefs from families distinguished for the wisdom, courage, and bearing of their sons. In this selection no attention was paid, or any claim admitted on the plea of primogeniture; but invariably the choice fell on those who evinced steadiness of character, kindness of disposition, and unbending bravery.

Seat of learning during the dark ages.

That Ireland was considered the seat of learning, in what is called "the dark ages," when Europe was overrun by the northern barbarians, whose ferocious and ignorant persecution of the learned drove them from other parts of Europe, to seek an asylum where they might pursue their literary studies in safety, and without interruption, is a well established fact; and if tradition is admitted as an evidence, she can date her civilization and love of letters to a still more distant period.

Ancient weapons and gold ornaments.

The belief in these traditions is strongly established by the discovery in different parts of Ireland, of collars and armlets of pure gold, of the most chaste and beautiful work-

manship. To these may be added the brazen swords found in the morasses, which in shape and workmanship are exactly similar to those found at Cannæ, (now in the British Museum), and are said to have belonged to the Carthaginian troops, under Hannibal.* No similar weapons or ornaments have been found either in England or Scotland. The peculiar shape of several golden ornaments have embarrassed antiquarians to account for their use. If the cultivation of music and poetry is, as has been asserted, and believed to be the attendant upon a high state of civilization, the Irish may boldly demand a prominent place amongst the nations distinguished for learning and a knowledge of the fine arts. One of the most unscrupulous and audacious slanderers of the Irish, Giraldus Cambrensis, who came over with Henry the Second, whose veracity cannot be disputed when he speaks favourably of Ireland, says that in music the Irish far excelled all other nations;† and Spenser, whose good taste as a poet is undoubted, often alludes to the beauty and force of their poetical effusions. The soft and melancholy harmony that pervades their ancient music, could only be composed by a people of strong feeling and great refinement. The sonnets or ballads of the bards, composed by the Felch, or poets, a race held in high estimation, because of their acquirements, by the ancient Irish, are records of Irish history that are not to be despised in the absence of written proofs. These musical traditions recount wonderful things of one Hiarbnel Faidhe, *i. e.* the prophet and poet, who arrived with the Nemedian colony, in the year of the world 2029; and although this event is adorned with all the brilliancy of poetical fiction, we are not to reject it altogether as an invention of the bards, or as a proof of the non-existence of those adventurers; for although the excited imagination

Ancient Music and Poetry.

* De Lancy.

† "In musica solum instrumentis commendabile invenio gentis istius diligentiam in quibus præ omni nationæ quam vidim us incomparabiliter instructæ.—*Giral. Cambren.* c. 19, *Hist.*

often led them to pass, in their descriptions, the boundaries of probability, still when recounting historical events, their effusions are generally found to be based on truth, and should not therefore be thrown aside as the inventions of heated imaginations, but received as evidence of the state of the country at the period to which they allude. These poetical traditions record the arrival in Ireland, in the year of the world, 2934, of a Milesian colony, under the guidance of two chiefs, Amergin and Heneman, who are represented as men possessing many accomplishments in all branches of science; and O'Flaghterly states, that from the time of Amergin, the Milesian, to the reign of Concquorac Mac Nessin, (that is Connor the great son of Nessin), the King of Ulster, in the year of the world 3937, a period of one thousand years, the poets and bards were invested with the exclusive right of legislation, and pronounced their decrees in extemporaneous verse. The poetical judgments were called *judiciæ cælestia*, or heavenly decrees, on account of the people being taught to receive them as the sacred decision of Apollo, pronounced through their bards—for Apollo, or the sun, which they worshipped, was held by them to be the God of learning, but more particularly of music and poetry; a belief in perfect accordance with their love of those accomplishments. The Irish traditions say, that these Milesians derived their origin from a colony of Scythians, who were known in after times under the name of Phœnicians, settled in Egypt. That one of their chiefs married Scotia, the daughter of one of the kings of that country, who afterwards emigrated, and followed by many of his countrymen, settled in the western coast of Spain, from whence their descendents landed in Ireland. These traditions are firmly believed by the Irish, and as there is nothing extraordinary or improbable in the story of Ireland having been colonized by another nation, they serve to identify the Irish with the Spanish people. The Irish annals also recount, that the Spaniards were received by

Arrival of the Milesian colony.

the natives, who are described as a harmless and innocent race, and were soon induced to the domination of the strangers, but from whence they derived their origin is not mentioned. These traditions are handed down from the Spaniards, and as they could have no motive either to exaggerate or deceive, may be looked upon as conveying a true history of the aborigines of Ireland. There is an air of truth throughout the whole history of the arrival of the Spaniards, that commands attention; and the striking resemblance already mentioned between the two people—the dark hair and complexions, so different from the descendents of the fair haired foreigners of the north of Europe—are strong arguments in favour of their Spanish origin. The Scythians, or Phœnicians, for they were known by both names, were most undoubtedly the first people acquainted with the use of numbers and letters.

Irish alphabet.

The Irish alphabet contains but seventeen letters, and the ancient alphabet previous to the wars of the Greeks and Trojans only sixteen. This coincidence is of great consequence to all those who endeavour to prove the descent of the Irish from the Phœnicians; for from what other people could they have derived it? It could not be from the barbarians of the north of Europe; and it is improbable that it was their own invention, because they were not in that high state of civilization which inspires mankind with the love of research, and awakens his powers of invention. De Lancy says, "Those who refuse to "receive these as proofs of the identity of the ancient "Irish with the Phœnicians, ask why there are no remains "of temples and palaces similar to those of ancient Greece "and Rome to be found in Ireland? To this it may be "answered, that it is to be presumed, that the early "settlers were more employed in securing their conquest "and giving stability to their government, than in erecting "palaces. The palaces of Greece and of Rome were "erected by powerful emperors and conquerors from pride

" or religious enthusiasm, and the slaves brought from " countries they had subdued were employed in their con- " struction; but the Irish colonists were probably devoid " of those feelings, and their views being confined to com- " merce, they neither had the means nor inclination to adorn " their country with such magnificent but useless struc- " tures." It has been asserted by several authors, that the ancient Irish used wood only in the construction of their dwellings; that they were totally ignorant, and refused to make use of more solid materials, or receive instruction in the art of building with stone and lime. Hence it has been inferred, that the round towers were built by the Danes, but for what purpose is not stated. When, however, we consider that, with the exception of two in a district of Scotland, formerly occupied by the ancient Irish, neither in Denmark, nor in any other part of Europe are the slightest remains of similar edifices to be found, it is but fair to attribute their formation to a race whose history is unknown, and whose existence can only be traced through the wild legends and vague superstitions of their descendents. A late writer,* whose great talents, learning and indefatigable research were employed in endeavouring to elucidate the mystery that surrounds these towers says, that " Caucasus abounds with those columnar fanes; and on Terric Banks there is a beautiful and lofty one, as like as possible to some of ours." They are also met with in Hindostan; but the natives are equally ignorant of the use for which they were intended, or the hands by which they were erected as ourselves.† Mr. O'Brien traces their origin to the Budhists of Persia, and considers them as temples erected in honour of the sun and moon, and also of the god Priapus. The remarkable coincidence between a word in the Irish language and that of Bhudist, along with the shape of these towers strongly supports this opinion. Stones beautifully chiseled and ornamented, termed by the

Round towers.

* O'Brien's Round Towers. † Lord Valencia's Travels.

ignorant, crosses, are still standing in many places, and are, perhaps, of as great antiquity as the towers. The one at Kells is curiously wrought with serpents, dogs, and other animals, amongst which the fabulous centaur is conspicuous.

Geraldus Cambrensis speaks briefly of these towers; but does not attempt to explain by whom they were erected. He contents himself by describing them as "*Turres Ecclesiasticus*," or Church Towers fashioned after a singular manner. Another writer,* who seizes every occasion to destroy the belief of the antiquity of the Irish, says they were built by the Danes. But the word Ostmen or Eastmen, to whom Irish tradition attributes their erection, and which he states means the Danes, may be equally applied to any other nation East of Ireland. These towers, that defy all antiquarian research, are so strongly constructed, and the materials so artfully put together, that time, which destroys all human works, has as yet had little effect on them; and there is little doubt they are of an antiquity long previous to the introduction of Christianity. There are also many mines discovered in Ireland, that have been worked at a period antecedent to all that is known of the history of the island. One deserves particular notice from the geological proof of its great antiquity. It is a coal mine discovered in the county of Antrim, where, on being opened, excavations were found, containing ancient mining implements, which in themselves bore evidence of great antiquity. But what is of more importance in this respect, were the stalactical pillars of such a size and hardness, that centuries must have passed before they could have been formed.† It is a favourite question asked by those who endeavour to cast suspicion on ancient Irish history, Why, if Ireland was so early civilized, there is no mention of her by Greek writers? But this omission is easily accounted for, by the state of primitive society in which the inhabi-

Ancient Irish mines.

* Molyneux. † Hamilton's Antrim.

tants are reported to have lived, having scarcely any communication with the neighbouring island, or ancient Gaul, both of which were also but little noticed or known by the ancient Greeks or Romans. Their history at this period is one that creates much interest, as describing a people of primitive habits, preserving their institutions and ancient customs free from mixture with those of surrounding nations.

The Irish had no communication with other nations.

That they lived in this state of voluntary seclusion may be easily supposed, as we have an instance of the same description in a much more populous nation—the Chinese, of whom but little is known, and who have but little commerce with or knowledge of other countries. The foundation on which the Irish rest their claims to being descended from a civilised people, is their ancient poetry, their national music, their ancient implements of war, and their round towers. These remains give to the history of their island an impress of truth, that no reasoning of the incredulous can weaken, nor no sophistry can destroy. To these may be added the characters or letters cut on stone, called *ogham*, so often met with in Ireland, which are nearly the same as the sacred characters of the Egyptians to be seen at Persepolis.* Such are the powerful testimonies in favour of the traditionary history of the Irish nation.

Round towers.

Poetry and ogham characters.

In the fifth century, when England was overrun by the Anglo-Saxons, whose course was marked by rapine and the persecution of the learned, Ireland, from its proximity, was selected by men of talent and education as a sanctuary, where they founded seminaries for the instruction of youth; and while the rest of Europe was employed in the fruitless attempt to stem the dark torrent of ferocious ignorance that threatened destruction to their enlightened institutions,

Ireland the seat of learning in the dark ages.

* See Monsieur Gebelin's "Origine de l'ecriture," vol. ii. Also Monsieur Bailly—"les caractères Irlandois appelés *ogham* ne consistent que dans l'unité repetée cinq fois, et dont la valeur change, suivant la manière dont elle est relativement à une ligne fictive. Ils ont beaucoup de rapport avec ceux de Persepolis."—*Lettres d' Atlantide.*

when the northern savages, whose hordes succeeded each other like the waves of the ocean, one propelling and forcing on the other; she became the school of learning to all the countries of the west of Europe. Rome also lent her aid in peopling Ireland with learned men. Her sovereign pontiffs, fully aware that a servile submission to doctrines or laws, it mattered not how preposterous the one or coercive the other, was only to be expected from ignorance, discouraged literature, and prohibited all education in the countries that acknowledged their power; and they were further induced to prohibit all instruction, and to denounce all that taught, from a persuasion, that education had produced the numerous sectarians who began to renounce their allegiance to the court of Rome. At a later period, Ireland was divided into five provincial kingdoms—Munster, Leinster, Ulster, Connaught, and Meath, which were subdivided into smaller independent jurisdictions. Each of these petty kingdoms had its chieftain, and this distribution of power, was called the Pentarchy. These kingdoms or principalities, although independent of each other, acknowledged a lord paramount or supreme monarch, to whom they owed obedience. The sovereigns and princes were elected; and the manner of choosing their governors, called *tanistry*, explains the frequent revolutions that took place in the constitution and laws of Ireland. In ancient times, a king or chief was selected from amongst the people for their good qualities of courage and wisdom; but as these virtues might not descend to his heirs, those kings and chiefs were invested with the regal authority for life only, and were chosen by election. In other parts of Europe, attachment to the reigning sovereign and his family had converted this mode of conferring supreme authority into hereditary succession; but in Ireland it continued in full force for many ages. It deprived the supreme monarch of almost all power, and rendered his authority only nominal over the other districts. The same

The Pentarchy.

The royal authority not hereditary in Ireland.

system of election prevailed in the other four provinces, and from the sovereign to the meanest leader of a tribe, the possessor of political power was exalted to his situation by the voice of the people. The deplorable consequences to society from such a political arrangement, may be easily imagined. Each district was torn by dissensions; and the influence obtained by one family was the cause of frequent and bloody strife, continual intrigue, and hereditary hatred. The chiefs became independent of each other, affected the pomp of majesty, and considered themselves as powerful, and in no manner inferior to the other sovereigns of Europe. This remarkable method of government was productive of that weakness that ultimately rendered Ireland an easy prey to the invader. A spirit of contention and civil feud was thus introduced amongst the tribes. Each chieftain who considered himself aggrieved by the rejection of the favourite whom he patronised, declared war against his neighbour. Consequently no bond of political union existed, and the natives, accustomed to a slavish and blind obedience to the will of their respective rulers, willingly offered themselves as victims in endeavouring to avenge their quarrels or gratify their sanguinary ambition. The divided interests of the chiefs produced a corresponding want of union amongst the natives; and the hatred of one to the other was productive of the same feeling in their followers. The frequent and successful incursions of the Danes in the ninth century, their settlements on the coasts, and their taking almost unmolested possession of the principal sea ports and strong holds of the island, furnish a melancholy example of the weakness caused by the absence of a sense of common interest in the inhabitants, and of the misery arising out of the selfish quarrels of their leaders, The principle of hereditary sovereignty being unknown, or if known, not acknowledged in Ireland, many of their chiefs aware that their power and their influence did not descend to their families, indulged in every species of extortion, cruelty, and

Tyranny of the Irish chiefs.

tyranny. Instead of consulting the honour and happiness of the governed, they only thought of their own aggrandisement.

For many years after the Norman conquest, the English were engaged in wars with France in endeavouring to assert their sovereignty, in right of their ancestors, over the territories they possessed in that country, which right was denied and obstinately disputed by the French. England weakened by a long continuance of hostilities, and separated from Wales, was not in a state to interfere with other nations; but after it was united under the Norman princes, she became a powerful and dangerous neighbour to any nation against which that power might be directed. The dissensions amongst the Irish at this period afforded an opportunity to their neighbours for indulging in that thirst for insular conquest and colonization which in all ages has formed the distinguishing feature in the English character.

Having endeavoured to establish the claim of the Irish to being considered as a nation of very great antiquity, and having explained the cause of her political weakness, we now come to that period of her history when the English, under Strongbow, first invaded Ireland, and we find it followed by one continued scene of misery, usurpation, cruelty, treachery, and oppression.

History recounts many instances of national weakness when invaders have succeeded in seizing on the territory of others, and of retaining it either by treachery or force of arms. Thus Greece fell an easy prey, and submitted all at once to the Macedonians. The northern barbarians overrun and dismembered, in a very short period, the Roman empire. Spain was conquered by the Saracens; and in our own time, we have seen her king become a vassal to Napoleon. Thus, many circumstances may tend to the occupation of a country by foreigners, who do not possess either the virtues or bravery of its inhabitants. With

respect to the Irish, their simplicity rendered them unsuspicious. Holding very little intercourse with other nations, they had no wrongs to avenge—no interests to forward. Having no ambassadors at foreign courts, they were ignorant of the mystery and intrigue of diplomacy. Treaties and negotiations that are employed to secure the independence of states, were to them unknown. They lived therefore in a fatal ignorance of the preparations of the English to invade their country and subdue its inhabitants.

The Irish ignorant of diplomacy.

If reliance is to be placed on Irish annalists, the assistance given by some Irish princes to his enemies first suggested to the mind of Henry the Second the necessity of conciliating the Irish chiefs, or of rendering them tributary by either a military display of his strength, or by cajoling them into an acknowledgment of his supremacy; and as princes are not long in discovering some cause, either real or imaginary, to justify their interference, or palliate their aggressions, one soon presented itself, and was seized on by Henry as a pretext for the invasion of their country.

Mac Murrough, king of Leinster, applies for aid to Henry II.

The profligate and infamous Dermod Mac Murrough, king of Leinster, was expelled from his kingdom in consequence, according to Giraldus Cambrensis, of an affair of gallantry in having carried off the wife of O'Rourke, king of Brefny, which drew upon him the resentment of that prince. O'Rourke, supported by Roderick O'Connor, the acknowledged head of the chiefs, or nominal monarch of Ireland, forced Dermod to fly from the country and seek refuge in England. Other historians, with a greater appearance of truth, attribute his expulsion to the very great cruelty and oppression exercised by this unprincipled and execrable prince. It is probable, however, that this glaring act of open abduction was the principal and immediate cause of the revolt of his subjects; as the Irish people have always viewed with the greatest horror, and visited with severe punishment, any attempt to destroy female virtue or conjugal happiness. The miscreant monarch, driven from

his country, sought an asylum in England, and lost no time in claiming the aid of Henry in furtherance of the plans for the resumption of his authority, of which he had been deprived by the united voice of an indignant people. The flatterers of Henry exerted themselves in prevailing on the king to grant the desired assistance, by urging on him, that Edgar, the Saxon, had sent troops into Ireland, and made acquisitions of territory which Henry ought not to hesitate in reclaiming; that English children had formerly been sold in the market at Bristol as slaves to those barbarians; all of which, they averred, were good and substantial grounds for the invasion and subjugation of Ireland. Henry hesitated to act according to the wishes of his courtiers. He either affected a reluctance to attack an unoffending people, or really felt, that these were not sufficient reasons to warrant an invasion of their territory. Both nations had been guilty of trafficking in slaves. The Saxons had freely offered their children to the Irish, who purchased them for a mere trifle. The latter, however, were only guilty of selling their prisoners taken in their inroads in the reign of William the Norman.* Dermod, on his arrival, was received by the English with hospitality, to whom he represented himself as an injured prince, driven from his country by conspirators, carefully concealing his cruel, sordid, and infamous conduct. He was welcomed and entertained by the English clergy; and learning that Henry was in France, he proceeded to that country. On his introduction, he humbled himself, and did homage to the English monarch, and gave a touching narrative of the persecutions he had endured; spoke in strong terms of the malice of his countrymen, of their depravity, their savage disposition, and barbarous customs; and finally implored, in the most abject manner, the assistance of the English arms in establishing him in his principality; offering, in the

English children sold as slaves.

Mac Murrough does homage to Henry.

* William of Malmesbury.

event of success, to acknowledge Henry as king, and to become his vassal.* At any other time Henry would have instantly afforded the desired assistance, as he had long secretly entertained the idea of an attempt on Ireland; but as the war in France required all his resources and all his attention, his means to equip an army adequate to insure conquest were too limited. But the sagacity of Henry foresaw the great advantages to be derived from this application, and he deceived Dermod with promises of support, granting him letters patent, authorising his subjects to enter into the service of the expatriated prince on such terms as might be agreed on. Mac Murrough returned to England elated with his reception, and full of the hope of regaining his lost power. He first repaired to Wales, where he was received as an unfortunate prince, the victim of the hatred of an ungrateful people; and was treated with marked kindness, particularly by the clergy, who lent him their powerful influence in recruiting and embodying an army.

Mac Murrough endeavours to recruit an army for the invasion of Ireland.

Mac Murrough, under the authority of his letters patent, made flattering promises to all who would join his standard; notwithstanding which, few offered to accompany him. Whether this unwillingness arose from a suspicion that he had misrepresented the cause of his expulsion from Ireland, or a doubt of the fulfilment of his engagements, is not known; but his preparations were not supported with the warmth that from his reception he expected.

Strongbow Earl of Pembroke.

Becoming disheartened, he had nearly abandoned all hopes of his restoration, when he bethought him of soliciting the council and aid of Richard, Earl of Chepstow and Pembroke. This nobleman, who had already acquired a name as a brave and skilful warrior, was beloved by his dependents; but his embarrassed circumstances separated him from the court, and his pride made him reserved to his vassals and haughty to his equals. Although prepared by

* Giraldus Cambrensis.

poverty to accept of any proposal that might offer an honourable hope of retrieving the fortunes of his house, he at first received the advances of Mac Murrough with a coldness amounting to contempt. He suspected the truth of his statement, and doubted the propriety of sending an army, although sanctioned by royal authority, into a foreign country, in support of a prince whom he knew, and whom he despised. Dermod aware that the assistance of Strongbow was the only hope that remained, renewed his supplications, and demeaned himself so far as to go on his knees before him, and even offered the young nobleman his daughter in marriage with, on his death, his kingdom as a dowry, although sensible that by the laws of his country he could not bequeath his authority. These promises were well calculated to overcome the scruples and excite the ambition of one situated as Richard. Accordingly his pride yielded more to his necessities than to the solicitations of Mac Murrough, and he covenanted and agreed for the stipulated reward to give the assistance demanded, and promised to assemble a force with which he would accompany Dermod to Ireland the following spring.

Strongbow consents to aid Mac Murrough.

On its being made public that Strongbow had consented to put himself at the head of the expedition, the Welsh, who had heretofore looked with an eye of suspicion on Mac Murrough, and doubted his success, now crowded to his standard. Amongst others, two Welsh pauper chiefs, Fitzgerald and Fitzstephens, consented to take part in the expedition.

The rumour of the formation of an army for the invasion of Ireland rapidly spread throughout the north of Europe; and adventurers of all nations, hastened to enroll themselves as soldiers. Britons, Saxons, Normans, Gascons, and Flemish, officered by younger sons, swelled the ranks, all eager to establish themselves by the sword, and to peril their lives to obtain an existence,—a host of indigent and hungry adventurers, whom the rich lands of fertile Ireland soon transformed into powerful and wealthy noblemen.

Such is the description given of them by Nubrigensis.* The same authority thus describes their great leader, Strongbow :—" The count, who had dissipated his patrimony, and to whom nothing remained but his title of nobility, became in a short time powerful and illustrious by the riches he amassed in Ireland and England."† The conduct of the invaders and of those who afterwards followed them, fully bore out the character thus given; for their progress was marked by plunder of the goods and confiscation of the lands of the natives, which were portioned out according to the will of the different commanders. Thus, under various pretexts, the possessions of the ancient families of Ireland were taken from them, and transferred to the soldiers of Strongbow.

Mac Murrough succeeds in inducing the Welsh to assist him.

Mac Murrough having so far succeeded in inducing the Welsh leaders to espouse his interests, appeared impatient to depart; and in order to impress his new allies with a belief in his popularity with his former subjects, he affected to have received a pressing invitation to return, and accordingly embarked without them. On landing in Ireland, he assumed a disguise which enabled him to avoid detection; and arriving at the town of Ferns, he there met with some adherents, and found concealment in a monastery which he himself had endowed.

Mac Murrough returns to Ireland.

Notice of his arrival was dispatched to all who had remained faithful to his cause; and acting under the advice of the priesthood, to whom he boasted of the warm and friendly reception he had experienced from Henry, and of the complete equipment of the expected army under the Welsh nobles, he determined to assemble his forces, and

* Misso festinanter in Angliam filio accersivit viros militares, et juventutem strenuam spe lucri profusioris illectam accitis ex Anglia viris inopiâ laborantibus, et lucri cupidis.—*Nubr. de Reb. Angl. lib.* 2, *cap.* 26.

† Idem comes qui paulo antè exinanito prodigè patrimonio, fere nihil aluid quam nudam nobilitatem habuerat Hybernicus Anglicisque opibus inclitus, in multa felicitate agebat.—*Nubrigensis, ibid.*

declare himself, without waiting for the arrival of Strongbow. This bold step conveyed a confidence of success, and the number of Welsh invaders being greatly exaggerated, many, who would otherwise have opposed his attempt, became, through fear, his staunch supporters. Dreading, however, that some unforeseen circumstance might retard or totally prevent the embarkation of the Welsh, and foreseeing, that without them, certain destruction awaited himself and followers, he secretly dispatched a confidential messenger to hasten their departure, with directions to stimulate the Welsh leaders to further exertions, by renewed promises of grants of land, and splendid rewards to the adventurers that composed their army. These promises, so well suited to gratify the plundering propensities of the indigent mountaineers, soon completed the ranks of the invading army. Many leading men offered themselves as partisans; not, as may be easily imagined, from an attachment to Mac Murrough, but from a wish, like their commander, Strongbow, to improve their desperate fortunes by an onslaught on the persons, and plunder of the property of the unfortunate natives. During the absence of his messenger, Dermod marched with his small army and took possession of a part of his former kingdom, called Hikensallagh, and even risked a skirmish with some troops O'Rourke had sent against him, in which, his soldiers conducted themselves well, and remained masters of the ground.

Sensible, however, of his unpopularity, and certain, if unsupported by the foreigner, of ultimate discomfiture, this unprincipled and cunning chief, feeling the necessity of gaining time, offered to enter into a treaty, by which he would bind himself to renounce all claim to the sovereignty of Leinster, humbly requesting as a favour, that he might be permitted to establish himself as chief of a very small portion of the province, and as a vassal to Roderick O'Connor; offering at the same time, hostages for the fulfilment

of any agreement he might enter into, and moreover, expressing great anxiety that all disputes and ancient feuds should be buried in oblivion. In full confidence in his sincerity, and trusting to his promises, Roderic accepted of his submission. But the treacherous character of Mac Murrough was soon made manifest. The arrival of Strongbow and his motley mercenaries, so long and so anxiously expected, was the signal for this perfidious prince to renounce his allegiance to Roderic, and to recommence hostilities against his government.

CHAPTER II.

Arrival of the invaders—They establish themselves on the coast—Pope grants a Bull to Henry—Death of Mac Murrough—Want of union amongst the Irish—Henry lands in Ireland—Enters into a compact with the Irish chiefs—Conquest of Ireland refuted.

Arrival of the invaders, Anno 1170.

THE advanced guard of the invading army, commanded by Robert Fitzstephens, consisting only of thirty knights, sixty men in armour, and three hundred archers, soldiers who had proved their prowess in battle, landed in a small creek near Wexford. The arrival of this force, though trifling, created a movement and general armament amongst the Irish. These preparations for resistance alarmed the Welsh; and previous to advancing into the interior, they sent to Mac Murrough to ask his counsel and demand his assistance. The landing of Fitzstephens roused the almost extinguished hopes of Dermod; and those followers who, despairing of success, had deserted their leader, now hastened to rejoin his army, and enabled him to detach five hundred men to reinforce Fitzstephens. Mac Murrough soon after joined with the main body, and having again renewed his promises in the event of victory, he proceeded to take possession, and garrison the sea ports of the southern part of Ireland. Mac Murrough was invested with the nominal command of the troops, and their acts of hostility against the Irish received his sanction and were exercised in his name. He had his own troops, and only a handful of auxiliaries. It was he who recompensed the officers and soldiers, and to his treachery alone is to be attributed the overthrow of the neighbouring princes, formerly his friends.

The principal strongholds on the coast having been sur-

prised and occupied, the main body of the foreigners, under Strongbow, experienced no opposition to their landing, which soon after took place; and assuming the chief command, but still affecting to be commanded by the Irish prince, this adventurer commenced a vigorous campaign against the Irish.

Want of discipline amongst Irish.

Unaccustomed as the native Irish were to meet disciplined troops in the field, and unsupported by the other princes, whose territories were distant from the scene of action, they, notwithstanding, displayed great courage in their resistance to the invaders. A proficiency in the art of war often decides the fate of battles, and renders the number and bravery of an army of little avail. At the battle of Hastings the use of arrows gave the invading Normans a great superiority over the English. The same weapon mainly assisted in the advantages obtained by Strongbow over the Irish. The use of armour, although known to them, appears to have been neglected. Armed, some with stones, and others with Danish battle-axes and two short lances for close encounters, they were not on equal terms with the soldiers they had to combat. Ignorant of fortifications and sieges, accustomed to open warfare and deadly personal rencontres, they, when defeated, retired to their forests and morasses, abandoning the strong positions with which nature had surrounded them, and which in later days are known, if defended, to be impregnable. But the steady discipline of well-trained soldiers, and the superiority of their arms, could not fail in defeating the Irish, who rushed to the combat in irregular masses, and when repulsed, had no rallying point where they might re-assemble.

The English establish themselves on the Irish coast.

The English and Welsh adventurers, after several sanguinary encounters with the natives, established themselves on the coast; and having repulsed all attempts to drive them from the island, formed the project of extending their power and confirming their authority. In proportion as they advanced into the interior, they selected the strongest

positions, which they fortified; thus securing a retreat when forced to retire before the Irish. Superstition lent its aid to the invaders; as a great proportion of the Irish looked on the coming of the stranger as a punishment from heaven for their sins in having purchased the children of the English for slaves,* whom the latter were so unnatural as to sell.

Henry receives permission from the Pope to invade Ireland.

The success of these marauders it would appear encouraged Henry in the hope of obtaining a permanent footing in Ireland, and the acknowledgment of his supremacy by the chiefs. Jealous of the success of Strongbow, and fearing that he and his troops might join Mac Murrough, and declare themselves independent, he hastened to interfere, and availing himself of the religious superstition of the age, he applied for, and obtained a bull from Pope Adrian, authorizing him to invade Ireland, and reduce its inhabitants to obedience to his government. Armed with this religious license to lay waste and despoil—the shield of religion being thrown over every act of enormity he might think proper to commit—he instantly made preparations to follow up the advantages gained by the army of Strongbow. The publication of the bull granted by the Pope, made a great impression on the minds of the Irish, who, accustomed to a blind obedience to every mandate from Rome, refused on several occasions to fight the English, and even surrendered their arms at the orders of Cardinal Vivian, the Pope's legate, who forbade them, under pain of excommunication, to use them against the English!† In the midst of these events, death defeated the ambitious projects of Dermod, who died of a most disgusting disease, the *morbus pedicularis*. His death, however, did not retard the ope-

Death of Mac Murrough, an. 1171.

* Giraldus Cambrensis. Hib. expugnat, lib. I. cap. xvii.

† Nam Legationis munus ad Hibernos antistis suscepit uti provincialis pronsus a bello discedere cogeret et omnes à fidelium sodalatio excluderent, qui manum contra Regem facerènt, quam Legationem castè intergreque confecit.—*Stainhurst de reb. in Hib. gest lib.*

rations of the invaders, who advanced into the interior, and reduced many petty chiefs to obedience. Henry, affecting great anger against Strongbow and his soldiers, for having presumed to extend their views further than was authorised by the letters patent, granted by him to Mac Murrough, which restricted his efforts to the re-establishment of that prince in his kingdom of Leinster, promptly issued his mandate, prohibiting the adventurers and their leaders from proceeding any further in their conquests, and enforced his orders, by making it death and confiscation of lands, to all who should disobey. The result of the expedition had fully demonstrated to Henry the possibility, from the disunion that existed among the Irish, of bringing them under his dominion; and as his relations with France afforded him leisure to arrange and mature his plans, he now only awaited the adherence of Strongbow, and the other commanders, to put them into execution. Mac Murrough had betrayed his country to the foreigner. The princes of Munster had sacrificed to their private interests those of the nation. The inhabitants of Ulster, considering themselves not concerned in the quarrel, from being so far removed from the scene of action, contented themselves with guarding their own frontier, and in the indulgence of a fatal belief in their security. The intestine quarrels of their chiefs respecting supremacy, and their hatred of each other, also pervaded their subjects. The great machine of government lost its equilibrium, and was finally dashed to pieces, by the rude shocks of faction. The supreme authority, the only safeguard of a country when invaded, was nominal, and therefore obedience to its ordinances was not to be expected. The supreme monarch of Ireland, deprived of all succour from the princes, who were occupied in either defending their own territory, or negociating terms with the enemy, was not in a state to make any serious resistance against an army already in possession of a great part of the island. The fame of Henry's achieve-

Quarrels and want of union amongst the Irish.

ments in France, and his great preparations to subjugate Ireland, preceded his arrival, and had forewarned the Irish to prepare for resistance, or to consult their private interests by a prompt submission of their chiefs. Divided as those interests were, it cannot be supposed that any friendly understanding for the general defence of the country could have been proposed, and it does not appear that any consultations were held, or any means taken to impede the operations of the British monarch. The Papal bull that conferred the right on Henry the Second to invade and plunder the inhabitants of Ireland, is couched in the usual language of the court of Rome, when it granted leave to prosecute a war for the conquest of a country or the appropriation of a newly discovered region. It is a document that in some measure seems to account for the ready submission of the southern chiefs to his authority, and a record of blind obedience to the orders of the Catholic Church, and of the bigoted reverence shewn to its head. The superstition and gross ignorance of those days permitted the parcelling out of whole kingdoms by an individual, who impiously styled himself God's vicegerent upon earth; and the issuing of what is termed a Bull, was considered sufficient to warrant the possessor in seizing and appropriating to his use not only lands and whole districts, but empowered him also to declare war, and if necessary, to exterminate as unbelievers all who presumed to dispute his wishes, or resist his authority. The following is the Bull that furnished Henry with a religious pretext for the invasion of Ireland:—

Papal Bull given to Henry.

"Adrian, Bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his dearest Son in Christ, the illustrious King of England, greeting. Full, laudably, and profitably hath your munificence conceived the design of propagating your glorious renown on earth, and completing your reward of eternal happiness in heaven, while as a Catholic Prince, you are intent on enlarging the borders of the Church, teaching the

truth of the Christian faith to the ignorant and rude, exterminating the roots of vice from the field of the Lord; and for the more convenient execution of this purpose, requiring the counsel and favour of the apostolic see, in which the maturer your deliberation, and the greater the discretion of your procedure, by so much the happier we trust will be your progress, with the assistance of the Lord, as all things are used to come to a prosperous end and issue, which take their beginning from the ardour of faith and the love of religion. There is indeed no doubt but that Ireland, and all the Islands on which Christ the sun of righteousness hath shone, and which have received the doctrines of the Christian faith, do belong to the jurisdiction of St. Peter, and of the holy Roman Church, as your Excellency also doth acknowledge, and therefore we are the more solicitous to propagate the righteous plantation of faith on this land, and the branch respectable to God, as we have the secret conviction of conscience that this is more especially our bounden duty. You therefore, most dear son in Christ, have signified to us your desire to enter into the island of Ireland, in order to reduce the people to obedience unto laws, and to extirpate the plants of vice, and that you are willing to pay from each house a yearly pension of one penny to St. Peter, and that you will preserve the rights of the churches of this land whole and inviolate. We therefore, with the grace and acceptance suited to your pious and laudable design, and favourably assenting to your petition, do hold it good and acceptable, that, for extending the borders of the church, restraining the progress of vice, for the correction of manners, the planting of virtue, and the increase of religion, you enter into this island and execute therein whatever shall pertain to the honour of God, and welfare of the land, and that the people of this land receive you honourably, and reverence you as their Lord; the rights of their church still remaining sacred and inviolate, and saving to St. Peter

the annual pension of one penny from each house. If then, you be resolved to carry the design you have conceived into effectual execution, study to form this nation to virtuous manners, and labour by yourself and others, whom you shall judge meet for this work in faith, word, and life, that the church may be there adorned, that the religion of the Christian faith may be planted and grow up, and that all things pertaining to the honour of God, and the salvation of souls be so ordered, that you may be entitled to the fulness of eternal reward from God, and obtain a glorious renown on earth, through all ages."

This document is remarkable, as it proves there existed in those days, a laudable anxiety, on the part of the head of the church, to increase its revenues by means of the sword. The money it authorised Henry to levy from the people was called, and is still known by the name of "Peter's Pence." The letters patent, as given by Giraldus Cambrensis,* clearly demonstrates that Henry the Second, at the time they were granted, never thought of establishing his authority as King of Ireland; as these letters only granted permission to certain of his subjects to assist Mac Murrough, leaving it to them to negociate with that prince for a recompense for their services. That no such intention existed, or was anticipated by Mac Murrough, or the adventurers he employed, is further corroborated by the agreement already mentioned with Strongbow. The success of the expedition having roused Henry's ambition, and excited his cupidity, he for the first time conceived the idea of annexing Ireland to his dominions, and applied and received permission from Rome to "enter into the island of Ireland," and to reduce to obedience a people who owed him no allegiance, and who repudiated his authority. Henry, having received from Strongbow as-

* Hib. expugnant, page 760. Edit. Frankl. 1603.—Angl. norm. Camden.

surances of his loyalty,* and also an offer of the sovereignty of all the towns and strong places he had taken, embarked with his army† from the Port of Milford, and landed in the beginning of the month of October, one thousand one hundred and seventy-two. His arrival, and the publication of the Papal Bull for taking possession of the country, was quickly followed by negociations with the chiefs, in the immediate neighbourhood of the English army, who consulted their safety and interests, by making terms with the invaders. Roderick O'Connor, the nominal monarch of Ireland, refused to debase himself by acknowledging a foreigner as his superior; and, supported in his determination by the courageous and powerful princes of Ulster, at length aroused to a sense of danger, who retired in their principalities, surrounded by a people by whom they were beloved, firmly resolved to resist the domination of Henry; and it was not until the year 1175, that Roderick O'Connor, after many bloody and obstinate encounters, was convinced of the necessity of entering into negociations with the enemy, to put an end to the miseries that afflicted his country, and to secure his own province from the horrors of a protracted warfare. Disdaining, however, to treat with the English commander, Roderick decided on sending a deputation to the British monarch himself. The deputies chosen were the Archbishop of Tuam, the Abbot of St. Brandon, and one Master Lawrence. They were courteously received, and entered into a compact, by which

Henry lands in Ireland.

Enters into a compact with the Irish chiefs.

* The following is the letter written by Strongbow to the King, to avert the ruin with which he was threatened:—

"MOST PUISSANT PRINCE, AND MY DREAD SOVEREIGN,

"I came into the land with your Majesty's leave and favour, (as far as I remember), to aid your servant, Mac Murrough. What I won was with the sword; what was given me, I give you.

"I am yours, life and living."

† The number of soldiers is not recorded, and authors differ about the number of ships; some affirm the latter amounted to 440.—*Littleton, vol.* iii. *page* 79.

Roderick was bound to acknowledge Henry as Lord Paramount of Ireland, on which condition he was in full sovereignty to enjoy the peaceable possession of the kingdom of Connaught, and moreover to pay a tribute of every tenth hide, and to do homage to King Henry. Thus the sovereignty of Roderick was acknowledged and confirmed.

An explanation of the conduct of the Irish chiefs, in entering into a compact with Henry, at a moment when they were still able to meet his troops in the field, is easily found in the reverence for the Bull issued by Pope Adrian.

Previous to returning to England, Henry directed a parliament to assemble at Lismore, where laws similar to those of England were passed, as we are assured by Matthew Prior; and those laws were afterwards confirmed by King John, his son, and in 1227, by Henry the Third; but as those laws were only applicable to the part of the country occupied by his countrymen, and were not received or acknowledged by the chiefs or people without the pale, which composed two-thirds of the island, the term conquest cannot be used as descriptive of the submission of the Irish. For we find that at this period those very princes were recognised as kings by Henry himself, and their authority over their subjects remained undisputed; they appointed their magistrates and officers of justice; they pardoned or punished criminals; they levied war—a proceeding diligently encouraged by the English—on their neighbouring chiefs, whenever they thought their interests were compromised; and concluded a peace also at their pleasure. This state of affairs continued during the reign of Henry's successors, down to that of Elizabeth; and although some of the Irish chiefs had made themselves tributary to the English King, they were not, and did not consider themselves as his subjects or dependants. They enjoyed all the immunities and privileges of royalty; and in paying the stipulated tribute money, they were absolved from all other duty.

The conquest of Ireland refuted.

The English had the inclination, but as yet did not possess the power of levying imposts on the people. Therefore the pretended conquest consisted only in the voluntary acknowledgment of Henry as Lord Paramount, by a few chiefs in the immediate neighbourhood of the sea ports, where he had established himself, whose example, for the reasons already mentioned was followed by Roderick O'Connor, the nominal King of the whole Island.

CHAPTER III.

Fealty of the chiefs to Henry—Meaning of the word conquest—Charter granted by Henry the Third—Resistance of the Irish hierarchy—Ireland in a military view impregnable—Henry the Second violates the compact—Penal statutes—Henry reinforces his army—Poyning's law.

By this treaty or compact, both the English and Irish kings were denominated and considered as powerful monarchs: from whence we must infer, that the doubtful allegiance of the Irish princes and people was eagerly accepted by Henry; as it gave a pretence for assuming the title, not of king, but of lord of Ireland, with a view to ulterior attempts against their independence. All Ireland was included in this treaty. In return, nothing was exacted from the different chiefs, but homage and a trifling tribute. It was stipulated that they were to retain their own laws and customs, and the command over their vassals and dependents. Many royal writs are preserved, in which the chiefs are dignified and described by the title of kings. After the ratification of this compact with the Irish, Henry, in obedience to the Papal bull, convened a meeting of the clergy at Cashel. This reverend body loaded the king with the most fulsome flattery, calling him their saviour and deliverer.

Having consolidated his power, he prepared to return to England. But previous to his departure, he assembled the Irish princes who had acknowledged his supremacy, at Lismore, to whom he administered an oath, by which they bound themselves, as well as those over whom they were placed, to accept of, and be governed by similar laws to those of England.* This was the first infraction of the

* Rex Hemicus, antequam ex Hibernia rediret apud Lismore concelium congregavit ubi leges Anglicæ sunt, ab omnibus garanter receptæ.—*Mathieu Prior, ad ann.* 1172.

compact, which was soon followed by others of much greater moment. At this meeting Henry agreed that Ireland should be considered and treated as a separate and distinct kingdom, with the power of holding parliaments for the framing of laws for its government: and further, he caused to be submitted to them, for their acceptance, a *modus tenendi* parliament, thus worded:—"Henricus Rex Anglicæ conquestor et Dominis Hibernicæ et millet hanc formam archipiscopis, episcopis, abatibus, majoribus propositis, ministris, et omnibus fidelibus suis tenæ Hibernicæ tenendi parliamentum procedere debet quadraginta dies," &c. &c.

The English, according to Cambrensis, who wrote in the twelfth century his *Hibernicæ Expugnata*, considered the conquest to have consisted in the acquisition made by Henry of a part of the island. But to ascertain what really are the circumstances that warrant the application of the word conquest, it is essential to inquire into the nature, character, and effect of a conquest, the actual position of the invaders, their power to obtain possession by force of arms, and the claims that position gives them to assume the name of conquerors. By the word conquest we understand the acquirement of a state or realm by arms, with opposition by the inhabitants. Without that opposition there can be no conquest. A conquest, to be considered as such, implies a war which terminates in the total defeat of the forces of the inhabitants, and the armed occupation of the country by the invaders. But the conquerors, after submission of the vanquished, have no right to appropriate to their use the property and lands of the people who have submitted.

A right exists, as established by the laws of war, to levy a general tax or forced contribution to defray the expenses of the war, but does not extend to the confiscation of landed property.

The word *conquestus* also means the peaceable acquisition of a territory; and can only, with respect to

Ireland, be received in this sense; as at the time of the voluntary submission, on the faith of a solemn compact, the Irish might, if united, have successfully resisted the establishment of the English power in their island. In the submission of the chiefs to Henry, they considered that themselves and their subjects would be protected from the violence and licentiousness of his followers; and the king was liberal in his promises to that effect. But the contract was soon violated, and they were expected to remain quiet spectators of the gross injustice that parcelled out their property to the English and Welsh soldiery.

The submission of the Irish chiefs was a voluntary act that conferred on Henry the title of souzeraine or lord paramount over the chiefs and minor monarchs of Ireland; but did not invest him with any power as king of Ireland. Their fealty to him as souzeraine was similar to that of the Dukes of Burgundy, Agintaire and Navarre to the French monarchy; and like them they considered themselves independent princes, who were not bound to obedience, but at liberty to declare war even against the sovereign whenever their interests or wrongs prompted them to commence hostilities. The infamous infraction of the treaty, or compact, and the withdrawal of the promised protection, fully explains the frequent risings of the people against the English. Deprived of their lands, which were bestowed on the foreigners, who had no title but that of force and the sword, they considered themselves on their side exonerated from all engagements, and therefore made frequent incursions on the lands of which they had been deprived, carrying off whatever they could find. Thus all Ireland, out of the pale or the territory occupied by, and garrisoned with, the English troops, had to be subsequently subdued by their successors. The English thus attacked, treated the Irish as rebels and robbers, because the latter imagined they had a right to try and recover their property of which they had been so unceremoniously deprived!

Fealty of the chiefs to Henry.

In the war of extermination which followed, the invaders of the soil found it convenient to include in the list of the disaffected, the inhabitants of those provinces in which they had not as yet obtained a footing. These they denominated savages, or "mere Irish," because they resolutely refused to submit to their rule, but bravely defended their frontier, and remained faithful to their native princes.

Meaning of the word conquest.

The effect of a conquest is to change the manners, the language, and the laws of the people conquered. "A conquest is not complete," says an able writer,* "until the inhabitants are reduced to the condition of subjects, which means those who are governed according to the laws of the prince who succeeds in establishing amongst them, magistrates, charged with the execution of those laws."

As two-thirds of the island was under the government of the native chiefs, neither Henry, nor those who succeeded him, down to James the First, could claim any prerogatives as conquerors of Ireland. The chiefs exercised full sovereignty over their subjects, without any change in their laws, customs, or forms of government, and were only weak, because they wanted a supreme chief, possessing influence to unite them, and who might direct their whole strength against their invaders.

At the instance of William, Earl Marshall, a charter, nearly similar to that of England, was subsequently granted by Henry the Third to the Irish people; and the following translation of an edict issued by king Edward, directing the Protestant hierarchy, established in Ireland, to elect certain members of their body for the purpose of conferring with the English government on the best means of levying money in Ireland to enable it to carry on the war with the "Irish enemy," is taken from a curious Record in *The Calendar of Ancient Characters*—

* Sir John Davis.

"Edward, by the grace of God, king of England and "France, and lord of Ireland, to the venerable Father in "Christ, M. by the same Archbishop of Armagh, greet- "ing. When otherwise we charged our faithful and "beloved nuncio, by us transmitted to the land of Ireland, "that he, in a certain parliament assembled in the land "aforesaid, under the pretext of our transmitted letters, "to our faithful and beloved William de Wynford, gover- "nor and keeper of the said land, among other things "exhibited a certain indenture made and contained between "us and our said nuncio, to the prelates, nobles, and com- "mons of the aforesaid land, at the same parliament assem- "bled, shewing the excessive and intolerable expense of our "wars, heretofore in the land aforesaid, for the salvation and "defence of the same, and which, on account of the great- "est effusion of the expenses of our wars elsewhere, we "are no longer able to sustain; that the prelates, nobles, "commons, and each of them, as far as in their power, "grant a reasonable part of the expenses for the sustena- "tion of our said war, and for the salvation of the aforesaid "land; and if the said prelates, nobles, and commons should "refuse to take on themselves any reasonable part of the "expense for the sustenance of the war there and salvation "of the aforesaid land; then our said nuncio on our part "shall inform them, that every bishop shall have sufficient "power for himself and the clergy of his diocese, by letters "of procuration from the bishop and clergy themselves, to "transmit two ecclesiastical persons to us and council in "England, to treat, consult, and determine with us, as well "for the aid and government of the said land, as the suste- "nation of our war there.

"And the commons of every county of the aforesaid land "shall have sufficient power of themselves, as the nobles of "said county, to send two lay persons for the same pur- "pose; and the citizens and burgesses of every city and

" borough, two citizens and two burgesses, &c. And al-
" though our said nuncio premised all and singular these
" things to our prelates, nobles, and commons in our parlia-
" ment at Kilkenny, in the eighth of St. Michael next past,
" summoned and held for the premised causes. Neverthe-
" less they excused themselves through insufficiency, and at
" present to support any part of the costs and the expenses
" of our said war, to be maintained in the said land there,
" on account of which, and for the causes aforesaid, we will
" that such persons aforesaid, in the form aforesaid, be trans-
" mitted to us into England. And we command you, that you
" convocate yourselves before the clergy of your diocese,
" choosing for yourselves and your clergy two ecclesiastical
" persons, to be elected by the assent of the same clergy, and
" before us, and our said council of England, at your costs, to
" appear, and your said clergy, within the fifth of the puri-
" fication of the Blessed Virgin next coming, wheresoever
" we shall then be in England, to treat, consult, and agree,
" as is above said, that ye cause to be transmitted for us to
" our Chancellor of Ireland, the names of the aforesaid two
" persons by you thus chosen, within the feast of the Holy
" Virgin St. Katherine, whensoever it shall then be, certi-
" fied under your seal, under the penalty of one hundred
" pounds from you and your said clergy, to be levied for
" our use, on every such omission, &c.

" Witness, William de Wyndesore, at Kilkenny, the
" twenty-fifth day of October, in the year of our reign of
" England, forty-nine; but in our reign of France, thirty-
" six."

The answer to this summons is recorded in Rawlinson's Manuscript, denies that the clergy of the county of Dublin are bound to obey it, and distinctly declares, that " according to the rights, privileges, liberties, laws, and customs of the land of Ireland, enjoyed from the time of the conquest of said land, they are not bound to send any persons from

the land of Ireland to the parliament or council of our lord the king in England, to treat, consult, or agree with our lord the king in England, as the writ requires. Notwithstanding, on account of their reverence, and the necessity and present distress of the said land, they have elected representatives to repair to the king, and to treat and consult with him and his council, reserving to themselves the power of yielding or agreeing to any subsidies;" at the same time protesting "that their present compliance is not hereafter to be taken in prejudice to the rights, privileges, laws, and customs, which the Lords and Commons, from the time of the conquest of the land of Ireland, have enjoyed, in consideration of the various burdens which the said Lords and Commons have borne, and still do bear, and which for the future they cannot support."—*Nisi Dominus Rex manum suam melius apponere voluerit.*

Resistance of the Irish hierarchy.

From this document it appears the English, from the first moment of their partial occupation of the sea-ports of Ireland, arrogated to themselves the right of legislating, and imposing taxes, not only on the English settlers, but on the Irish themselves, which right was always disputed, and continued to be successfully resisted by both, claiming exemption under the compact solemnly entered into and ratified by Henry the second. For many years after the invasion of Henry, the history of Ireland furnishes a melancholy picture of occasional revolts, followed by persecutions, military violence, murders, and the confiscation to the English crown of the property of the natives. Laws were framed, alike degrading to those whom they oppressed, as disgraceful to those by whom they were made. A war of extermination was commenced, in violation of the compact entered into with the native kings, and carried on against those who still clung to the independence of their country, and who obstinately refused to bend their necks to the yoke of their self-styled conquerors. Passionately attached to the soil, inheriting a rooted dislike to the do-

mination of the stranger, bound by the strongest tie of the human heart, that of affection to their chiefs, the resistance of the Irish was only equalled by the perseverance of their invaders; and in proportion as the population was thinned, the survivors evinced a more decided and deadly hatred to their enemies. In order to shew the difficulties the English had to contend with, in their attempts to subdue the population of Ireland, it is necessary to submit a short sketch of the natural defences and resources of the island, which, even since the introduction of fire-arms, might set at nought the power of the invader.

Ireland in a military view impregnable.

Ireland, considered in a military point of view, is naturally an impregnable fortress, and with a population unanimous in purpose, and determined on defence, might bid defiance to all attempts at subjugation. The chain of mountains that pass through Ireland—her extensive bogs or morasses, at all times difficult of access—a great part of the land intersected by rivers and lakes—all form, if defended, an impassible barrier; whilst the cultivated plains, minutely divided into small tracts of arable or pasture lands, whose boundaries are formed by high mounds of earth and stones, called ditches, surmounted with a *cheveux de frise* of thorns, with, on each side, deep trenches, almost always filled with water—these would afford ample shelter from the assailant, and facilitate the means of attack. All these portions or partitions of land, impervious to cavalry, and, in the present day, to artillery, would also, if defended, prove destructive to regular infantry. Cavalry, from these causes, has been always considered and proved to be a useless army in Ireland. The military capabilities of the south are much of the same description as those of the north of the island. The same divisions into small farms cover the face of the country and present similar obstacles to the operations of an invading army. Looking further west, the experienced tactician will easily observe other, and perhaps much greater difficulties to overcome, previous to the

total conquest and military occupation of the country. The mountains of the county of Leitrim, in which the river Shannon takes its rise, like those of the Basque Provinces in Spain, could not be entered by an army, without either total destruction, or immense loss; whilst the land to the west of the river is for a great many miles covered with fragments of rocks, with intermediate spaces producing pasturage, and affording sustenance to innumerable flocks of sheep. The irregularity of the ground is admirably calculated for that desultory warfare that so often proves destructive to disciplined troops, and so often baffles the efforts of the most experienced generals and bravest soldiers. Supposing the population in arms, it would be impossible for regular troops to act, either in line or column, in such a country; and as already observed, here, as in all other parts of Ireland, cavalry would be totally useless. Another means of defence which this country presents, and of which the natives availed themselves in their struggles against the English, is the facility afforded by the innumerable small rivers, of inundating the vallies, and thus stopping the march of an enemy. One of the Lord Deputies in writing to his government says in his report, "an army is no where arrested with so many rivers and impassable morasses as here." Since the occupation of the island by the English, the government have caused roads to be made that pass through the most difficult defiles and mountain gorges; but the face of the country remains unchanged, and those roads are only so many causeways, commanded by high mountains, or skirted by deep morasses, from which it would be impossible to diverge, and which might easily be broken up and rendered useless for the march of troops, or the transportation of munitions of war. It is therefore evident that in Ireland, irregular troops, or guerillas, such as were the natives at the arrival of Strongbow, that move with greater celerity than those that are encumbered with a material, must have had great advan-

tages over their opponents, for notwithstanding that gunpowder was not used in the system of making war, still those impediments, defended by men of determined courage, whose only weapons were stones, which they threw with great dexterity, and lances and Danish battle-axes, were found insurmountable, and the native Irish had little to dread from the imposing masses of soldiers, although better armed and disciplined than themselves, and were under no apprehension of the consequences of deployment from moveable columns, or from charges of cavalry. It is not, therefore, a matter of surprise, that the Irish, deficient in military knowledge, but fully aware of the protection given them by the hand of providence in the natural defences of their country, should have continued to resist all attempts to bring on decisive actions—safe in their fastnesses, they only issued forth to obtain provisions, or for the gratification of an implacable revenge; and in despite of the courage, discipline, and superior skill of the English commanders, they successfully resisted all efforts that were made to reduce them to obedience. Such were the difficulties opposed to the English in their military expeditions against the Irish; and that the natural defences of the country here described have not been impaired, notwithstanding the means taken to destroy them, is proved by the fact of the celebrated rebel chief, Holt, after the rebellion of 1798, when hunted by the elite of the British army, and proscribed by government, having taken refuge in the mountains of Wicklow, where this brave and skilful leader, from his knowledge of the passes and strongholds of those mountains, with a handful of devoted followers, bid defiance for several years to the disciplined bravery of English troops, and finally negociated with government for a pardon for himself and followers! Possessing for years only the ground occupied by their armies, those armies harrassed and hated by the natives, the English finding the impossibility of subduing them by force, had recourse to a system of deception, dig-

nified in more modern times with the name of diplomacy, which ultimately enabled them to render tributary the Irish chieftains. The ambitious were gratified by promises that were never fulfilled—causes of quarrel were introduced—suspicions created—and discord and treachery accomplished that, which the arms of England had failed in achieving. She obtained a conquest it is true; but one that shed no lustre on her arms—one gained by cunning, not by the sword—a conquest of more notoriety than glory. She triumphed; but it was the disgraceful triumph of treachery over a courageous and intelligent, but a too confiding people.

The voluntary submission of the Irish princes was denominated a conquest, and eagerly hailed by the English as an event that secured to them the power of governing a country, which from its great natural resources, its position so favourable to commerce, its daring and active population, might, under a well-organised government, have rendered it a dangerous rival. The term conquest was, therefore, in later times purposely applied and made use of as a pretext for plunder and an apology for persecution. A government was imposed, whose sole object was to crush native industry and discourage native enterprise.

Henry violates the compact.

Henry, it appears, having thus obtained a firm footing in Ireland, was not inclined to acknowledge the force of the compact, but disposed of the southern provinces to his followers without deigning to consult the opinion of the Irish princes. They, however, showed no inclination to quietly submit to this wholesale robbery, by yielding up their territories to those new appointed lords of the soil; but boldly remonstrated against the charters of donation, and insisted (as they had not forfeited by rebellion) on retaining their possessions. An appeal to the sword followed; but both parties, not feeling themselves strong enough to establish their respective claims, a treaty was entered into, by which, the charter of donations was annulled. Dating

from that period Ireland was considered and treated in every respect as an English plantation. Her population branded with the name of barbarians; the confiscated property of the native princes, who were purposely coerced into revolt, either conferred on court favourites, or sold to English companies. To be Irish was to be disqualified, even up to a very recent period, for holding any public situation; and we find in the year 1676, Primate Boulter writes thus to the English government in almost all his letters—"I have got a place vacant—send me an Englishman to fill it."

Penal Statutes.

Catholics were excluded from the enjoyment of corporate honours. Penal statutes were enacted which bore heavily on them. An Irish Catholic was declared to be an uncivilised idolater and barbarian, whom it was a virtuous and patriotic act to vilify and to persecute. Their religion was proscribed, and the exercise of its rites severely punished. A premium of the entire property of the family was offered to any of its members who would become Protestant and betray the others. In 1692 an act was passed, which punished with forfeiture of goods and lands for life, all parents who sent their children to be educated in any Popish seminary on the continent, or who transmitted money for the education of such children. It prohibited all Catholic teachers from opening schools, on pain of a fine of twenty pounds, and imprisonment for three months. Another, entitled "an act for the security of government," disarmed all Catholics, and forbade all makers of arms under severe penalties, from taking Catholic apprentices. Their priests outlawed—their temples desecrated, or totally destroyed—the acquirement of property above a small specified amount interdicted—they were expected to quietly submit to cruelty, insolence, and oppression. Even at so recent a period as the year 1792, any person suspected of being a Roman Catholic who presented himself to vote at an election, had to swear as follows—"I am not a Papist, nor married to a Papist; nor do I educate or suffer to be

educated any of my children under the age of fourteen in the Popish religion." Thus hunted down and persecuted in the name of the Lord; cut off from the enjoyment of domestic peace; vilified and oppressed; the bravest of Ireland's sons were forced to seek in other countries the protection refused to them at home. The history of these countries affords ample testimony of their military talents, their courage, their perseverance, and their virtues.

During the reign of Henry the Seventh, the fidelity of the inhabitants of Ireland to the British crown was considered very doubtful and their acknowledgment of British sovereignty only nominal. Sir Richard Edgecomb was therefore sent over with directions to endeavour to secure the loyalty of the people. His government was undisturbed for some time, as the Irish chiefs were occupied in deciding their own provincial quarrels, instead of, by a general union of interests, forming a barrier against aggression and spoliation. An able historian* records no fewer than sixty independent chiefs who governed as many districts of different dimensions, as well as many English chiefs who had settled in the provinces, assumed the manners and customs of the Irish, and declared themselves independent of, and absolved from all allegiance to England.

The state of England did not permit Henry to detach a force sufficient to establish his authority, and to attack and put down the native chiefs. He perceived, however, unless something was done, that the Irish might throw off their allegiance, and the island once more become a distinct country. He, therefore, sent over a reinforcement of one thousand men, and selected Sir Edward Poyning to accompany them, as a person well qualified to enact and enforce coercive laws, and exact obedience either by persuasion or the sword. Two great points were to be secured—the future dependence of the native Irish, as well as those of

Henry reinforces his army.

* Leland.

English descent, and to destroy the power of their leaders. In pursuance of his orders he convened a parliament at Dublin, composed of men not over scrupulous, from being, either themselves or relations, dependent on the English government, in passing whatever bills might be submitted to them. One statute, however, which has gained an infamous notoriety, and has branded all others enacted at that time with the name of him who framed it, is remarkable, inasmuch as it furnishes evidence of the spirit of hostility and watchful jealousy which at that remote period prevailed against any legislative measure tending to confer benefit on Ireland, by the encouragement of her commerce, the protection of her manufactures, or in any way promoting the comfort and happiness of the inhabitants. This law, known as "Poyning's law," prohibited the Irish members of parliament from introducing into either lords or commons any bill or bills, unless accompanied with the approbation of the lord lieutenant in council, to whom it was directed it should be previously submitted for consideration, and who were instructed, previous to giving their sanction to the measure, to transmit it to England for the approbation of the cabinet. By this arbitrary statute, the English cabinet was invested with full powers to alter or totally reject it. If it received the approbation of the government, it was returned with an insolent intimation, that the English ministers, after mature deliberation, had no objection to it passing into a law, at the same time, however, positively forbidding any alteration of the returned bill by the Irish parliament; and it not unfrequently occurred, that laws which would have conferred lasting benefit on the country, were so changed, as to retain but little of their original meaning, or so remodelled as to neutralize their effects.

Poyning's Law.

The passing of this law, so subversive of even the semblance of the right of legislation, can only be regarded as an act of legal suicide on the part of the Irish parliament, and has furnished an infamous and corrupt precedent in

our own time, for conveying to the English cabinet the legislative authority with which it was invested by the people of Ireland. The enactment of these statutes was one of the most unconstitutional and powerful efforts to extend and confirm the power of the crown, that the history of any country can supply. The Irish parliament that confirmed them, lost sight of their legislative independence, and in their disgraceful intrigues and recriminations of party against party, the interests of the country were totally forgotten. Every oppression was tolerated and encouraged, and the gratification of private resentment and public ambition was alone consulted. The despotism exercised by the superior classes over the inferior, prepared the way for the quiet acquiescence in those laws which were introduced under the specious pretext of affording protection against the violence and extortion of the nobles.

Immediately on the passing of Poyning's law, the proceedings in parliament were regulated by it, and continued until the act of union rendered it a dead letter. This law enabled the English cabinet to throw every impediment in the way of Irish industry and enterprise. Her industry discouraged—her people oppressed and despised—her commerce offered up as a sacrifice on the shrine of British prejudice and British monopoly—famine and disease stalked through the land—a land blessed with a fertile soil, and a brave and laborious population.

This oppression and injustice only assisted in confirming the prejudices, and adding to the hatred of the Irish people against England. The swords of both nations were only half sheathed, and were frequently drawn to avenge the wrongs of one, or to extend the possessions of the other. The employment of force, and the treacherous introduction of dissension, enabled the English to defeat the Irish in their insurrections; and every fresh outbreak gave a pretext to invaders to coerce and to destroy. The continuation of hostilities with France, and the civil commotions in Eng-

land, from the time of Henry the Second to the reign of Elizabeth, prevented the English monarchs from prosecuting the war against those Irish chiefs who still preserved their independence. Henry the Third and Edward the Second by the war with the Barons; Edward the Third and Henry the Fifth by hostilities with France; Richard the Second, Henry the Sixth, and Edward the Sixth, by the civil wars which weakened their power and desolated the country. The same reasons—a war with France during the reign of Henry the Eighth, operated against any expedition of moment against Ireland; and it was reserved for Elizabeth to carry fire and sword amongst the unoffending inhabitants.

CHAPTER IV.

Accession of Elizabeth—Issues a proclamation against the Catholics—Embarrassment of Elizabeth—She arrests the Irish prelates—Hostilities against the English by O'Neil—Charter of O'Neil, king of Ulster—The Queen's letter—Proclamation forbidding the Irish to serve their chiefs—O'Neil's answer to the commissioners—O'Neil treacherously murdered—Penal statutes—They excommunicate Elizabeth—Lord Mountjoy appointed Lord Deputy—War of extermination—Queen's instructions—Mountjoy's report to Elizabeth—Murder of an Irishman not capital—Irish prisoners tortured in the tower.

Soon after the accession of Queen Elizabeth, an act of parliament for the introduction of the Reformed Religion was passed. The lord lieutenant issued a proclamation, abolishing the celebration of mass, and by which, the authority of the Pope was declared null and void. It directed that all ecclesiastics who attempted to sustain the power or authority of any foreign potentate, should suffer one year's imprisonment for the first offence and confiscation of property; for the second, the punishment of *præmunire;* and for the third, the pains and penalties of high treason.* It appears, according to the historians of that time, that these decrees were opposed by the Irish parliament, since the lord deputy was obliged to dissolve it in the month of February, and to cross over to England to consult her majesty on the position of affairs, leaving Williams as his representative. If Elizabeth did not immediately adopt the measures of cruelty and bloodshed that afterwards rendered her reign notorious, her forbearance did not proceed from any humane feeling towards the Irish, but was assumed because of the critical situation in which she found herself placed, which alarmed her for her own safety, and that of her kingdom, and it

Queen Elizabeth issues a proclamation against the Catholics.

* Statutes of Ireland. Eliz. 1621, cap. 1, page 259.

required all her caution and characteristic duplicity to extricate herself from it. The act passed by her father, Henry the Eighth, declaring both his daughters illegitimate, had been abrogated in favour of Mary, upon the death of her brother Edward, but still remained in force against Elizabeth. The English parliament, it is true, chose her as Queen; but the Irish refused to prefer her to the legitimate heir—Mary of Scotland. In consequence, she appointed to the government of that country her half brother, Sir John Perrot, with orders to hold no more parliaments, but to levy taxes at his pleasure. On which, the lords of the Pale sent to him by the Viscount Baltinglass, (who had been ordered to pay into the treasury thirty-six pounds), and the Barons Howth, Delvin, and Trimelstown, their protest, praying that a parliament might be assembled as usual, to lay on the necessary taxes: for which those noblemen were committed to the Tower of Dublin, and three lawyers, whom they dispatched to lay their complaints before Elizabeth, were in their turn sent prisoners "for their presumption," as she termed it, to the Tower of London.

The refusal of the Irish to acknowledge her authority, hurt her pride, and deeply wounded her vanity, and was neither forgiven or forgotten. It roused all the tiger passions she inherited from her father, and the concentrated bitterness of "the Hag Queen," of loose morals, was soon directed against devoted Ireland. This Princess was surrounded by many and powerful enemies. Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots, had pretensions to the English throne; Henry the Second of France, was secretly engaged in an intrigue against her; the Emperor and King of Spain had joined the confederation; and the Irish were anxiously awaiting for foreign assistance, to throw off their allegiance to her government. The penetration of Elizabeth pointed out the danger of her position: she foresaw the coming tempest that threatened destruction, and prepared to meet it with resolution. It was necessary to

Embarrassment of Elizabeth's government.

temporise, she therefore concealed her intentions, but inwardly decided on carrying into execution, at a more favourable opportunity, the coercive measures against the Irish and their priests. Time proved her prudence in thus determining. The continental confederation of princes was broken up, by the death of the King of France, and the revolt of the Low Countries against Spain. The wished for moment had now arrived to wreak her vengeance with impunity on the Irish people.

Delivered from all apprehension of foreign invasion, she commenced a long and cruel war against the Irish; and notwithstanding the efforts of the natives, assisted by some feeble succours from Spain, she succeeded in forcing them to acknowledge her authority. One of her first acts was to order Sussex, who had returned to his government, to assemble the clergy, and endeavour, by promises and threats, to induce them to adopt the Protestant faith. Their refusal, which had been anticipated, was the signal for hostilities, and the pretext for persecution; many of the principal prelates were arrested and thrown into prison, some were banished, and others voluntarily expatriated themselves to avoid a similar fate. These severe measures alarmed the Irish Catholics, who, seeing no security for their persons, their property, or their religion, and ignorant of the English policy to force them to resistance, took up arms in defence of their rights, and assembled in great numbers under Shane O'Neil, the most celebrated, brave, and powerful chieftain of their country. In this they considered themselves justified, as they only acknowledged through form the English government, who sought to coerce them into a belief of the Protestant religion, instead of endeavouring to convince them of what they called their errors, by reasoning against their superstitions, and gaining their affections by mild and gentle treatment. O'Neil marched against the English, defeated them in several rencounters, and retired outside the pale, with the intention of recom-

She arrests the Irish Prelates.

Hostilities against the English, by O'Neil.

mencing the attack the following spring. During the winter the English were not idle. Sussex occupied himself in making great preparations to meet the Irish chiefs; but the reinforcements sent not being what he thought sufficient to act on the offensive, he went to England to solicit succour, and to receive further instructions for his government. On his return, accompanied by a strong reinforcement, he left Dublin, and proceeded in search of O'Neil, whom he found posted in a strong position, on which he despaired of making an impression. He had recourse to negociation, and O'Neil, finding himself surrounded by a superior force, and dreading famine, was forced to capitulate, and proceeded in December to the English court, where he made his submission to Elizabeth. Returned to Ireland, this prince, aware that little reliance was to be placed in the treaties or promises of the English, when their interests were in question, continued his military preparation to repel any attack that might be made on the province of Ulster. These preparations for defence were described by his enemies as a general armament of the province, to carry war amongst the English settlers within the Pale; and the Lord Lieutenant assembled a strong force, with which he marched once more into his territory. Sussex, after laying waste the country, and failing to produce a general engagement, returned to Dublin, laden with booty.

Character of O'Neil, king of Ulster.

The Earl of Kildare, a near relative of O'Neil, used his influence with both parties, and O'Neil again was allowed to govern in peace. A strict watch, however, was kept by the English commander over the movements of so dangerous a neighbour, who was as much dreaded for his power and influence, as he was respected for his bravery and sagacity. This prince was engaged in a war against some chiefs of the Hebrides, and was suspected of increasing his army for the double purpose of attacking them, and of surprising the English forces.

The Lord Lieutenant represented to the Queen the danger to which her army was exposed. That princess answered as follows:—"With respect to your suspicions of Shane O'Neil, do not let that frighten you. Tell my troops to have courage; that his revolt may turn to their advantage; because he has lands that may be given to those that gain them." Her majesty, it appears, had as little hesitation in delivering over, by anticipation, the lands of others, as she had of humanity in thus holding out a premium for the destruction of her fellow creatures.

The queen's letter.

In the mean time, O'Neil continued to levy troops, with the avowed purpose of guarding his frontier against the invasion of the Scotch. The English government, viewing with alarm all hostile preparations amongst the natives, issued a proclamation, declaring, that every person who enrolled himself under the banners of any native chief, should be considered and treated as a traitor. This proclamation, which deprived the Irish princes of the power that had hitherto been recognised by Elizabeth, had the intended effect. O'Neil, only consulting his desire for vengeance, and hurried forward by his detestation of the English, suddenly entered Armagh at the head of his army; burnt the cathedral to avenge himself on Loftus the archbishop, who had written against him to the Lord Lieutenant; and marching to Dundalk, beseiged that town; which, however, was speedily relieved by troops sent from Dublin. The other Irish chiefs were engaged, according to custom, in arranging their miserable quarrels, or in carrying on a petty warfare against each other, instead of uniting their forces to those commanded by this enterprising and chivalrous prince. Finding himself left to his own resources, he, after several partial engagements with the English, retreated within his own principality, where he remained on the defensive.

Proclamation prohibiting the Irish from entering into the service of their native princes.

Elizabeth, aware of his being strong enough to be dangerous, and too wise to again trust himself at her court, sent overtures, offering him and his heirs the title of Earls of

Tyrone and Baron Dungannon.* His answer to the commissioners charged with these proposals, was one worthy of his ancient name, and equally worthy of being recorded,—"If Elizabeth, your mistress, is Queen of England, I am O'Neil, King of Ulster. I have never made peace without her solicitations. I am not ambitious of so mean a title as that of earl: my blood and my birth are above that rank. I will not become the vassal of any one. My ancestors have always been kings of Ulster. They gained this kingdom with their swords; and I shall keep it with mine."† After the failure of the negociation, and the departure of the commissioners, O'Neil prosecuted the war with great vigour. He laid siege to Derry; during which, the magazine exploded, and seven hundred English soldiers with their commander, Randolph, perished in the ruins. Notwithstanding this success, O'Neil was too weak to struggle unsupported, against the power of England, and too frank in his disposition to be enabled by intrigue to counteract the cunning of his adversaries—his fall seemed inevitable. The other Irish princes, jealous of his celebrity as a warrior, and hating him for his popularity, were easily induced by the English leaders to remain quiet spectators of the struggle, or to join them against him. The powerful family of the Mac Guires, and many others, declared against him. Surrounded on all sides by false friends and active enemies, he decided on seeking an asylum amongst the Scotch in preference to submitting to the English. The Scotch had made a predatory descent on Ulster; and O'Neil in a skirmish with them, in which he was victorious, had made prisoner, Surleboy Mac Donnell, whom he released. Trusting to the gratitude of the Scotch chief, who had rejoined his countrymen, for the lenity he had shewn him, O'Neil shortly after presented himself at the Scotch camp at Claneboy, where were six hundred men under the command of Alexander Mac Donnell, the brother of Surleboy. He was

* Camden's reign of Elizabeth.

† Ancient Irish Manuscript. Cox's Hist. Ireland, p. 321.

received with apparent kindness. Lulled into a fatal belief in the honour of Mac Donnell, he had come unarmed, and with few followers. He suffered for his temerity. The Scotch, either from a feeling of revenge for the injuries he had inflicted on some of their countrymen, or a wish to propitiate the English, put him and all his retinue to death, and sent his head as a present to the Lord Deputy, who exposed it on the end of a pole on Dublin Castle.* Thus ingloriously fell this brave and active chief, who gave in his own person an example of persevering patriotism and firmness, which, if followed by the other princes, would have for many years resisted, and perhaps finally prevented the occupation of their island by the English invaders.† With his death all resistance to the encroachments of the latter ceased. His estates were confiscated to the crown, as well as those of his faithful adherents. They comprised the greater part of the north of Ireland. The government of Elizabeth thought it prudent to show some moderation towards the family of the murdered chief. Turlough Lynoh, a most influential branch of the O'Neil's, was recognised by the queen as head of the family; but to counterbalance his power, she conferred on Hugne, son of Mathieu O'Neil, the title of Baron of Dungannon, and afterwards Earl of Tyrone, the very same

O'Neil treacherously murdered.

* This barbarous and disgusting custom, which had since fallen into disuse, was revived in 1798.

† In the act of attainder of O'Neil, addressed to Queen Elizabeth by the Lord Deputy, after reciting the manner in which he was murdered, goes on to state, that "Alexander Oge, after this bouchery handling of this cruel tyrant, caused his mangled carcase to be carried to an old ruinous church, where for lack of a better shroud, he was wrapt in a Kern's old shirt, and there miserably interred—a fit end for such a beginning, and a funerall pompe convenient for such a defacer of God's temples, and a withstander of his princess' lawes and regall authoritie, and after being four days in earth, was taken up by William Piers, and his head sundered from his bodie, was brought unto the Lord Deputy to Droheda, the 21st June, 1567, and from thence conveyed unto the city of Dublin, where it was bodied with a stick, and standeth on the top of your Majesty's Castle of Dublin." —*Irish Statutes.*

honours that had been so indignantly refused by his proud relative.* Whenever an English courtier was to be provided for, or the military appetite of the English soldier for plunder satisfied, Ireland furnished the means; and the confiscation of the Irish estates by Elizabeth, entailed on her successors the task of defending the claims of the descendants of her soldiers to the forfeited lands. These confiscations caused all the revolutions that subsequently distracted the country. Some of these estates had been parcelled out by Strongbow to his followers who had first invaded the island; but their descendants having resisted the authority of the Queen, were by her edicts deprived of all claim to the property won by their ancestors, and treated with the same severity as "the mere Irish."

The principal barrier to innovation being removed by the death of O'Neil, and the occupation of his territory, Elizabeth used every effort to establish the Reformed Religion in Ireland. Statutes were passed inflicting pains and penalties on those who did not send their children to the Protestant places of worship, and several heads of families were arrested, and punished with imprisonment for daring to disobey. This severity caused great alarm amongst the Catholics; and the Earls of Ormond and Thomond yielding to their fears, sacrificed their religious scruples to please the court.

Statutes passed against the Catholics.

About this period, Pope Pius the Fifth pronounced sentence of excommunication against Elizabeth, denouncing her as a heretic. This remarkable document recited the persecutions and murders connected with her government in Ireland, and absolved from their allegiance all who had sworn fidelity to her person. Thus absolved, and suffering under the most unrelenting persecution, the greater part of the population determined on resistance. Turlough Lynoh O'Neil, the head of his tribe, joined his countrymen; and the rebellion was only quelled by another treaty, which conferred great power on him and his heirs for ever.

Pope Pius V., pronounces excommunication against Elizabeth.

The dissensions that paralysed Irish strength by disuniting

* Camden's Reign of Elizabeth, part I. page 131.

her people, spread its venom amongst the English leaders, and was followed by serious quarrels, that caused Elizabeth much uneasiness. To put an end to all struggles for supremacy, she appointed the Earl of Essex lord deputy of Ulster. This nobleman, followed by a crowd of military adventurers, landed at Carrickfergus about the end of August, and was complimented on his arrival by Brian Mac Felimy O'Neil. This chief, however, observing the great number of military followers, not liking their appearance, and suspicious of their intentions, hastily left Carrickfergus, and joined his kinsman, Turlough O'Neil.

The Earl of Essex, accustomed to the luxuries of a court and the endearments of majesty, soon became tired of his appointment, surrounded by so many difficulties, and fearing the intrigues of his enemies during his absence, suddenly returned to England, but too late to counteract the machinations of Leicester. He was arrested by orders of the queen, and afterwards was brought to the scaffold. The tardy submission of the Irish, their frequent revolts, and the obstinate resistance to her power by several of the chiefs, irritated Elizabeth, and determined her to adopt still more severe measures to reduce them to obedience. In pursuance of this decision, she selected for lord deputy, Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy—one of her private minions—a nobleman possessing great military talent, and of undoubted courage; combining habitual prudence with an energy amounting to cruelty.

Lord Mountjoy appointed lord deputy, 1599.

On assuming the chief command of the English army in Ireland, he at once perceived the impossibility of success, or of the establishment of a permanent tranquillity, unless he was authorised to exterminate and to burn. The permission demanded was immediately granted; and a strong reinforcement having arrived, the Lord Deputy took the field with an army whose career was distinguished by burning and rapine, and whose footsteps were marked in the blood of their victims. Instead of following the example of his predecessors, in remaining inactive during the winter, which

afforded to the Irish time to recruit their strength, and prepare for the summer campaigns, Mountjoy, after leaving strong garrisons in the fortified places, on which he could, in case of emergency, fall back, kept the field amidst the rigours of the season. By the adoption of this plan he prevented the agricultural operations of the native Irish. The ground was untilled, and the seed unsown, except in those places where his army had not yet been. The commanders of the garrisons had orders to sally forth and cut the corn while green, and to prevent the labour of the husbandman.

The lord deputy commences a war of extermination.

The Lord Deputy proved himself worthy of the choice of his royal mistress, whose injunctions he obeyed to the letter, by burning the towns and villages, and slaying those who were not so fortunate as to escape the active pursuit of his troops. The Irish unprepared to either combat with the English, or struggle against the inclemency of the weather, fled to their morasses and woods where they died in thousands; and this worthy deputy of a cruel mistress, destroyed their cattle, and carried off every thing that could be of service to the inhabitants. He had received instruction from the queen "to lay the axe to the root of the rebellion," and he thus strictly obeyed them.* In describing the strength and determined resistance of the Irish under Tyrone, he says—"in regard whereof, I presumed that man's wit could hardly find out any other course to overcome them, but by famine, which was to be wrought by several garrisons planted in fit places and altered upon good occasions."†

The queen's instructions.

The garrisons however were not always successful in their marauding expeditions. They were frequently repulsed by the Irish under Tyrone. These defeats are thus described by Mountjoy—"None of our garrisons had stirred abroad, but they returned beaten; the enemy being so far master of the field, that Tyrone had measured the whole length of Ireland. In pursuance of his avowed intention to reduce the natives to obedience by famine and the sword, he from time to time sent a report of his "*journeys*," as he termed those massacres

* See Morrisson's (Secretary to the Lord Deputy) Diary. † Ibid.

(known at the present time by the military name of *razzias*) to the queen. In one of these he says with becoming piety, "It has pleased God that in all our conflicts which were many, we so prevailed against them, (the native Irish), as though all the rebels of Leinster were there gathered together; yet by killing Owny Mac Rory, with many of the best men of both countries, and by utterly *spoiling* them that were exceeding rich in all means of life, they have never since been able to make head any otherwise than to live dispersed in little numbers as wood-kernes, and daily are consumed and wear away." And farther he states, "I first fell into the Glins, the fastest country in Ireland, and till now of all the parts of Leinster only untouched, where I first *spoiled* all the country, and made Daniel Spanigh, whom before I had received your majesty's mercy, to join with me therein. Returning to the north, all the *Ferney* with a *journey* when I was present, wherein, besides many others, were killed two of Ever Mac Cooley's sons. I wasted the Fuse by Sir Richard Morryson. The care of devastating the northern part of the country was left to Sir Arthur Chichester, governor of Carrickfergus, and Sir Henry Dockwara, governor of the forces about Lochfoyle." Mountjoy's report to Elizabeth.

Elizabeth not yet tired with the butchery of thousands, still thirsted for a further gratification of her cruelty, and in Mountjoy she found an enterprising and determined officer, ready to extirpate, if required, the whole population. His conduct received her approbation by letters written with her own hand; and fearing he might relax in the work of destruction, or that a feeling of humanity for the victims might induce him to shew them mercy, she encouraged him to proceed, "by wasting their goods to make their obedience more durable."* In the administration of mercy, she judged one condition necessary, "not to pardon any but upon service done, not only upon those whom particularly they hated, but upon any other as they should be directed."† In one of those letters she terms the Irish, Letter of Elizabeth to the lord deputy.

* Morryson, Book III. cap. i. † Ibid.

"snakes in my bosom." On whatever point the army marched, it carried dismay and destruction along with it. Whenever the people deserted their homes, their houses were burnt and their property pillaged; and if they remained, their lives paid the forfeit of their temerity.

The activity displayed by the Lord Deputy in "*spoiling*" the country, and destroying the inhabitants, did not, however, keep pace with the sanguinary impatience of Elizabeth. For Morryson, secretary to Mountjoy, an authority that cannot be doubted, informs us, that when at Newry, the Lord Deputy received another letter from her, urging him to greater activity in the work of devastation. In this letter she says—"Next we do require you, even whilst the iron is hot, so to strike, as this may not only be a good summer's *journey*, but may deserve the title of that action which is the war's conclusion." Thus licensed and encouraged, the troops were let loose on the population of the north, and similar atrocities to those that carried dismay and misery into the south were perpetrated. The Lord Deputy in person superintended the unholy and inhuman work of destruction. At Tullogh Oge he "*spoiled*" the country, and according to the same authority, was present at the burning of the corn of Tyrone's estate, and had the gratification of breaking to pieces the stone chair in which the O'Neils of Ulster were seated on their assumption of royal authority. His lordship fatigued with his exertions and perhaps stricken with remorse, seems to have been touched with some feeling
Ann. 1601. of pity for the sufferers: for in his report to the lords in 1601, he informs them, "that having with our own eyes daily seen the lamentable estate of that country, (the banks of the river Bann), wherein we found men dead of famine, insomuch that O'Hagan protested unto us, that between Tullogh Oge and Toome, there lay unburied one thousand dead; and that since our first drawing this year to Blackwater, there were above three thousand starved in Tyrone."* He then consoles his conscience as follows—"And sure the poor

* Morryson's Diary.

people of those parts never yet had the means to know God, or to acknowledge any other sovereign than the O'Neils, which makes me more commiserate them, and hope better of them hereafter."*

If the knowledge of God can be conveyed to an ignorant people by means of a wholesale butchery, the Irish received ample instruction from this hypocritical monster; and if the acknowledgment of a sovereign depends on famine, on fire, and the sword, Elizabeth had the strongest claims to the title.

The Irish population, deprived of the means of subsistence, and pursued like beasts of prey, died in great numbers. The few that survived, were hid in caverns, or concealed in the morasses, subsisting on vermin of every description. When these failed, they were forced to subsist themselves by eating nettles and other weeds. Multitudes of these unfortunates were found dead in the ditches and fields, their mouths green with the docks and leaves they had devoured. Morryson, in Book III. cap. i., says, "Now because I have often made mention formerly of our destroying the rebel's corn, and using all means to famish them, let me by two or three examples shew the miserable estate to which the rebels were thereby reduced. Sir Arthur Chichester, Sir Richard Morryson, and the other commanders of the forces sent against Brian Mac Art, in their return homeward, saw a most horrible spectacle of three children, whereof the eldest was not above ten years old, all eating and gnawing with their teeth the entrails of their dead mother, upon whose flesh they had fed twenty days past, and having eaten all from the feet upwards to the bare bones, roasting it continually by a slow fire, were now come to the eating of her said entrails, in like sort roasted."

Murder of an Irishman not capital.

During the reign of Elizabeth and her predecessors, the Irish who refused to acknowledge them as their sovereigns, were denounced and treated as rebels, and the putting them to death was not considered or punished as a capital crime,—as laid down at Waterford, before Judge Wogan,

* Morryson's Diary.

Chief Justice of Ireland, in defence of Robert Wayles, for having murdered John, the son of Mac Gillemoy.* But if it was proved that the man murdered was of English origin, his murderer underwent all the pains and penalties of the law. In all civil processes, judgment was given in favour of the stranger against the native inhabitants, the former merely pleading, that he was *de sanguine libre*, that is, a settler in the land, and not an Irishman.

The flatterers of Elizabeth easily prevailed on her to believe, that the immorality and licentiousness of the woman was pardonable in the queen; that obstinacy was firmness, and violence, decision. Devoid of the feelings of religion, of mercy, or humanity, she directed her soldiers to burn, pillage, and murder the people of Ireland, and to live at free quarters on both Protestant and Catholic; for the former, if born in Ireland, was not excused from finding accommodation for the soldiers of her majesty's army.

The Earl of Tyrone, driven to extremity by these barbarous proceedings, marked by a more than Indian cruelty, finding himself unable to combat an overwhelming force with any prospect of success, offered his submission; and an interview took place between him and the Lord Deputy, on the 30th of March, 1603, when, previous to being admitted to the presence of Mountjoy, the descendant of the proudest of Irish kings was obliged to demean himself by remaining on his knees at the door, and to declare and demand pardon for his errors and treasons.

Irish prisoners tortured in the tower.

It appears on record, that Irish prisoners were sent to England during the reign of Elizabeth, and tortured in the tower of London. The warrants for the application of the question were, if not signed by the queen, entered in the council register, therefore the number tortured, as directed

* Quod Robertus de Wayles rectatus de morte Joannis filii Ivor Mac Gillemoy felonice per ipsum interfecti, &c. Venit et benè cognovit quod prædictum, Johanem interfecit; dicit tamen quod per ejus interfectionem felomain commitete non potint quia dicit quòd præictus Johannes fuit purus Hibernicus et non de libro sanguine, &c &c.

by the sign manual, is unknown. The warrants issued by the council for the torture of prisoners, are in the state paper office still preserved; and the names of the victims who, from obstinacy or innocence refused to confess, are to be found in the reports of the governor of the fortress.

The courage and determination of an Irishman as there recorded, must excite commiseration in all who esteem these virtues. His enduring fortitude was worthy of a better fate, and the excruciating torments he underwent, from the application of Skeffington's irons stamp his executioners with infamy.* His name was Thomas Myah; and in the reports of the lieutenant of the tower, bearing date the 10th of March, 1580, he is described as obstinate and refusing to confess; "notwithstanding, we have made trial of him by the torture of Skeffington's irons, and with so much sharpness, as was in the judgment of the man and his case convenient." The courage of Myah was proof against these torments, and his unshaken determination to preserve silence, seems to have irritated his destroyers; for there is an order from the council to the lieutenant of the tower and Norton, "to deal with him with the rack in such sort as they should see cause."

Whether he sank under the hands of these ruthless monsters, or was discharged from the tower, is not recorded; but the probability is, that this brave and unfortunate man, like many others, was swept from existence by the secret hand of despotic power. The following lines, cut in the walls of his cell, are still visible:—

"Thomas Myah, which lieth here alone,
That faine wold from hens begon;
By torture strange my trouth was tryed,
Yet of my libertie denied.

THOMAS MYAH.

* These instruments of torture were invented by a lieutenant of the tower, named Skeffington, in the reign of Henry the Eighth, and consisted of a couple of iron hoops, one for the neck and the other for the ancles, which by means of a screw bent the body double.—See *Jardine on Torture.*

CHAPTER V.

Death of Elizabeth—Her character—Mary, Queen of Scots—Her treatment by Elizabeth.

Death of Queen Elizabeth.

ELIZABETH, whose reign was as remarkable for her success against the continental enemies of England, as for her cruelty and oppression of the Irish, died the 24th March, 1602, at the age of sixty-nine years, four months, and seven days. Her death, as might be expected, was not that of the good and pious Christian, who uses the power and riches put into his or her hands by Providence, as the means for conferring happiness on mankind; but that of one, who like a broken and dishonest bankrupt, fears to examine the long list of accounts, and dreads the day of settlement. It was preceded by the most excruciating torments of both body and mind; and is described by a writer as—"*Paucis ante diebus et ingentibus cruciatibus laborans animam efflavit.*"

Character of Elizabeth.

The character of this princess is described by those writers who admired her as the unwearied defender of the Reformed Religion, to have been full of all the virtues that adorn human nature. In the very face of history, they have the hardihood to invest her with all the attributes of an excellent monarch and virtuous woman. Their bigotry can see no blemish—their fanaticism can see no cruelty—and their prejudices no persecution. Her reign was brilliant; but the so-much vaunted policy of her government was the work of her ministers, who contrived and advised the adoption of those measures which placed England in a situation to brave the dangers by which it was surrounded. The talents of the queen were obscured by qualities the most detestable. She combined, with a strong understand-

ing, all the blood-thirsty propensities of her father. Ingratitude, jealousy, cruelty, and duplicity were the leading features of her character. In all her acts she evinced the most unbending obstinacy, and the most outrageous violence. As a woman, she was not possessed of that gentleness, that softness of the sex that endears them to mankind; and as a queen, she was wanting in that calm and dignified demeanour that commands respect, and insures admiration. The history of her reign cannot be concealed; and in its bloody pages are to be found strong evidence of her inhumanity as a queen, her falsehood as a friend, and her want of delicacy as a woman. Her conduct with respect to the Earl of Essex, and many others of her favourites, are facts that cannot be varnished over by sophistry, or got rid of by mere assertion. The first wish of her heart was to be admired by the other sex; and flattered by the corrupt and crawling sycophants of a court, she readily believed herself to be the most beautiful of women. Her antipathy to Mary Queen of Scots, did not arise from political animosity, but from a hatred of the transcendent beauty both of mind and body, that made her the charm of all by whom she was surrounded—those dangerous gifts of Providence that rendered a short existence miserable, and finally conducted to the scaffold.

A writer of some note,* relates the following anecdote of Queen Elizabeth, that does not support the character for magnanimity given her by some historians. She demanded of a Scotch nobleman if her sister of Scotland danced gracefully? The honest and frank Scotchman, unaccustomed to courts, and little versed in compliments, had the imprudence to answer—"Please your majesty, she is the best dancer in the whole universe." Elizabeth could not conceal her feeling of injured vanity at this answer. She was observed to change countenance; and immediately retired

* Higgon's Short View, page 214.

to her cabinet, where she gave way to a burst of passion of tears, anger, and vexation.

Mary, Queen of Scots.

To more clearly understand the disposition of Elizabeth, it is necessary to here give an extract from the tragical history of the unfortunate and fascinating Mary Stuart. On the death of Francis the Second, Mary left France, and arrived in the kingdom of Scotland. This princess, who had been accustomed to associate with the polished dames and proud chivalry of the most cheerful court in Europe, found herself all at once removed to a country inhabited by religious enthusiasts. Buoyant with youth, and radiant with beauty, she cast a brilliancy along the dark horizon of Scottish bigotry that offended the gloomy fanatics of her court. Her gaiety of manner did not accord with their narrow view of propriety. Her vivacity was incompatible with their ideas of sanctity; and their cold gravity of deportment could ill brook the graceful affability of their accomplished queen.

At the time of her arrival, the country was torn with religious dissension, of which Elizabeth availed herself by secretly encouraging a faction against Mary's authority. "We leave it," says Higgons, "to casuists and lawyers to decide whether a prince may assist rebels in arms against their sovereign with whom he is at war; but it is a violation of the law of nations, and all that is the most sacred amongst men, to secretly excite sedition amongst the subjects of a prince with whom he is at peace." One so young and so beautiful did not long remain without suitors for her hand in marriage. Her choice fell upon Lord Darnley, son of Earl Douglas, by Margaret, neice of Henry the Eighth. This lord was her near relation; and in choosing him for her husband, she was actuated by not only a love for his person, but also by a knowledge of the possibility of his being, at no distant period, called to the English throne; and she considered an alliance with him as necessary to support her pretensions to the crown of England. This

selection did not meet the approbation of Elizabeth, who wished her to espouse the Earl of Leicester; but Mary persisted in her resolution; and as a preliminary step, she created Darnley Duke of Rothsay, (the title of the eldest sons of the Scottish kings), and shortly after, the nuptials were celebrated.

Immediately after the marriage, and with the consent of the Scotch peers, Darnley was proclaimed king of Scotland. A difference of religion has always been the apology for persecution: and in this instance it served as a pretext for open rebellion. The Lord Murray, the illegitimate brother of Mary, was the first who declared against her. He assembled the malcontents, and proposed the following questions—"Do the laws permit of the country being governed by a Papist?" Can a Queen of Scotland, of her own accord, marry a Scotch nobleman; and could not the peers oblige her to accept a husband of their choosing?" He soon afterwards committed an overt act of treason; but being foiled, he took refuge in England, where he was received and protected by Elizabeth. Murray not having succeeded by open violence, intrigued to occasion suspicion and disunion between Mary and her husband. With the assistance of paid agents about the royal person, he contrived into the mind of Darnly doubts of the fidelity of his wife.

The queen was passionately fond of music, and the gratification of this favourite passion was the cause of all her misery. Her private secretary, David Rizzio, to whom is attributed the composition of several of the popular Scotch airs, was a proficient in that delightful art; and the queen, surrounded by courtiers whose taste was confined to sacred music, naturally indulged in his society. With that want of caution, which at once proves her innocence, she was in the habit of retiring, accompanied by her female attendants, from a circle of gloomy bigots, so little suited to her lively disposition, to hear him sing those soft Italian airs, that so forcibly recalled those days of mirth and happiness

she had past at the court of Francis. At one of these meetings, the unfortunate Rizzio was inhumanly butchered in her presence, by her husband.*

Darnley afterwards discovered he had been deceived, and having determined to avenge himself on Murray, who had, through Mary's clemency, been pardoned and allowed to return to Edinburgh. The latter heartless conspirator, however, suspecting his intention, had him strangled, whilst asleep, his body thrown into the garden, and his house blown up. This assassination, on becoming public, was, by the people, attributed to the conspirators, and by them to the queen; but when we consider her gentle manners, her feminine softness, her horror of cruelty, and the absence of all proof, it is but fair to infer, that she knew nothing of this atrocious deed.†

The death of Darnley prepared the way for further attempts, by the conspirators, against the power, the fame, and safety of Mary. Betrayed by her friends, abandoned by her councillors, finding herself unprotected, she, at the instance of Murray and Morton, sought protection in an alliance with the Earl of Bothwell. This marriage completed her destruction; for a report had been industriously circulated of her new lord having been the principal agent in the destruction of Darnley. Every thing combined to deprive her of the respect and esteem of her subjects. The fanatical leaders of the Scotch denounced her as one unworthy of reigning over a moral and religious nation; and Murray and Morton again appeared in arms against her authority. Mary was unprepared to meet, with the necessary vigour, this new rebellion; and Bothwell having fled to Denmark, where he shortly after died, his unfortunate consort was arrested by the fanatics, and made a close prisoner, under the charge of Murray's mother at Lochleven Castle. The dissensions and intrigues that produced these

* Camden's Elizabeth, An. 1567. † Ibid.

melancholy results, were commenced and urged on by Elizabeth; but with her usual hypocrisy, she affected to deplore them.* To conceal her want of principle and good faith, and to impress on Mary, a belief of her affection, she dispatched Sir Nicholas Throgmorton to Scotland, on what she well knew to be a fruitless errand—to remonstrate with the leaders of the rebellion on their conduct to their sovereign. Sir Nicholas found the confederates furious against the unhappy queen. Some were for perpetual banishment, —others for imprisonment for life, and that her son should be proclaimed king—and others, less humane, insisted on her being degraded as Queen, and put to death.† The celebrated fanatic, John Knox, whose mistaken zeal for the propagation of the Presbyterian religion, counselled persecution and the sword against all who presumed to hold a different doctrine, supported the latter proposal. Unmoved by the tears of beauty, untouched by the misfortunes of a woman, with a heart hardened to those feelings of mercy that a true sense of religion inspires, carried away by the cold bigotry that destroys all feeling of humanity, he publicly preached against the authority of princes, and advocated their destruction. Throgmorton employed in vain all his persuasion and eloquence to moderate his enthusiasm, and deprecate his wrath. He quoted to him passages of scripture that inculcated obedience to princes as a duty—he urged that the Queen was not subject to be judged by the multitude, but by God. His representations and remonstrances only tended to render the imprisonment of Mary more rigorous. She was more strictly guarded than ever, and the permission to see her child was withdrawn. It was intimated that she was about to be tried on three charges—incontinence, tyranny, and the murder of Darnley; but at the same time she was informed, that by abdicating she would be at once liberated. Thus persecuted, and setting

* Camden's Elizabeth. † Ibid.

but little value on a crown, the wearing of which had been attended with so much misery, she signed an act of abdication in favour of her son, then only thirteen years old, and constituting her greatest enemy, Murray, as regent during his minority.

Five days afterwards, James the Sixth was declared king, and Murray assumed the office of regent. One of the first acts of the Regent was the arrest of some of Bothwell's friends under pretext of their being concerned in the murder of Darnley; and after a mock trial, they were condemned to death. These victims of state policy declared on the scaffold, that Murray and Morton were the instigators of this foul murder, and that the Queen was innocent.*

Notwithstanding that Mary had signed her abdication, she still remained a prisoner at Lochleven. Deceived by promises, and still trembling for her personal safety, she decided on escape as the only means of saving herself from the ruthless persecution of her enemies. Assisted by the faithful George Douglas, the Queen accomplished her purpose; but the dispersion of the army, headed by the nobility, who had issued a manifesto, declaring her abdication null, having deprived her of all hope of an asylum in Scotland, she decided on seeking the protection of her relative the Queen of England. She announced her intention by letter to Elizabeth; sending her, at the same time, a valuable ring which she had formerly received from her as a mark of friendship,† imploring her support and assistance in reducing to obedience her Scotch subjects, and soliciting an interview whereby she might be enabled to explain away in person, any circumstance of a suspicious nature that might have been insinuated to her disadvantage. Elizabeth sent an answer, condoling with her on her misfortunes, and couched in terms of the most affectionate friendship, promising to

* Baker, page 337. † Higgons's Short View.

grant assistance against the rebels; but the permission to appear at court was refused, as was stated, for political reasons, but in reality, because Elizabeth could not bear that one so lovely and unfortunate should appear at her court, where a comparison might have been formed, not very flattering to her well-known vanity. The same unworthy and degrading jealousy of her illustrious rival induced her to sign an order, under the plea of protecting her against the secret machinations of the Scotch rebels, for conducting her as prisoner to the castle of Carlisle. Concealing her deadly hatred under the mask of hypocrisy, she declared it was necessary to rebut the charges brought against Mary of conspiring against the English crown, that commissioners should be appointed to examine and report on her political affairs and private conduct, hoping to find sufficient ground for bringing her to trial for the very crimes she affected to disbelieve. Their report was framed in accordance with the wishes of their mistress, in which Mary was charged with intriguing to undermine the authority of the Queen of England, and a warrant received the sign manual for her trial.

On being apprised of these proceedings, the Queen of Scotland declared her innocence. But being aware that this would be of little avail, she protested against the legality of the commission appointed to try her, as one not answerable to the laws of England, and demanded to be heard before the English parliament in presence of Elizabeth. But her demand was refused: and after frequent examinations before the commissioners, she was declared guilty of conspiring, along with Babington and others, against the life of the English Queen, and sentence of death was pronounced against her. Means were secretly used to urge the peers to present a petition to Elizabeth, praying for immediate execution, founding their demand on examples drawn from scripture; instancing the judgment of God against Saul and Ahab for having spared Agag and Benha-

dad. Notwithstanding that Elizabeth ardently desired the death of Mary, she still wished to preserve the appearance of being forced into sanctioning her execution. Her hesitation was assumed; and although the result could not be doubted, she ordered another investigation, which confirmed the sentence that had already been passed. If Elizabeth had wished to save the life of her relative, the exertions of the royal prerogative in her favour, could not have been attended with any danger to the state, as Mary was a prisoner without political support, and deprived of all means of acting against her government. But her ferocious and cruel disposition, like that of Henry the Eighth, could only be gratified by the axe of the executioner. Tired, as she said, by the repeated remonstrance and impatience of her people, she gave a reluctant consent to the execution of Mary.

In the opinion of some of her courtiers, her impatience outstripped her prudence, and her cunning her penetration; as notwithstanding the arts used to induce the people of England to believe that Elizabeth was averse to the destruction of her victim, they suspected her motives, and doubted her humanity. The Earl of Leicester, a man not more troubled with compunction of conscience than his royal mistress, in whose confidence he was, but whose conduct was regulated by greater coolness, conjured the Queen not to outrage public feeling by an act of infamy. Elizabeth heard him, and asked—"How then shall I act?" Leicester replied, "Send her the court apothecary, not the executioner. If she is to die, let things be managed with decency."*

When Mary was informed that she was to suffer, she received the communication with the greatest composure, only observing, "I never could have thought that the Queen of England could sanction the execution of a person

* Higgons's Short View.

not subject to the laws of the country; but as it is her will, I bend to it." She then sat down to supper, and retired at the usual hour. The following morning, after the performance of her devotions, she dressed herself for the last time, and accompanied by the sheriff, Thomas Andrews, she ascended the scaffold with a cheerful countenance, where the block, covered with black cloth, awaited her. After some time spent in prayer, and having recited the Psalm in *Te Domini Speravi*, she, without betraying the slightest symptoms of fear, placed her head on the block, which was immediately separated from her body. Her patience under misfortune, her resignation to the will of Providence, as well as the courage with which she met her fate, could only have arisen from an inward consciousness of innocence. Her death was not that of a sinner. Exposed to the fanatical persecution of half-insane bigots, who considered themselves warranted by scripture in pursuing their victim to the scaffold—betrayed where she expected protection—imprisoned and condemned to death—she never was heard to express a wish for vengeance on her persecutors. Her death was that of a pious queen and virtuous woman.

The character of both monarchs is derived from historical records, the authenticity of which are beyond dispute. It is for posterity to judge which of them merit the admiration of the good and virtuous—"the Virgin Queen," or the unhappy mother.

CHAPTER VI.

Tranquillity interrupted in the reign of Charles I.—Rebellion of Sir Phelim O'Neil—Barbarous cruelties—Cromwell—His cruelties—Puts the garrison of Wexford to the sword—Banishes the survivors to Connaught—Further cruelties committed by his army—Battle of the Boyne—Desperation of the Irish—Siege of Limerick, 1690.

In endeavouring to arrive at the causes of the continued state of depression and misery of the greater part of the Irish people, the limits of this work will not permit of a detail of the various acts of the different governments. The observations are, therefore, necessarily confined, with a few brief exceptions, to those reigns which are considered as the most eventful periods in Irish history, at a time when force constituted right, and when the law was the sword, and the argument the gibbet.

The death of Elizabeth, and the succession of James the First, produced a salutary change in Irish affairs. If the reign of the former had been marked by bloodshed and terror, that of the latter was distinguished by mercy and forgiveness. One of his first acts was to order the Lord Deputy, Mountjoy, to issue a proclamation, declaring a pardon for all offences committed at any time previous to the accession of his majesty. In this reign, Davis states, that the revenue of the crown had increased to a double proportion "by the encouragement given to the maratime towns and cities, as well to increase trade of merchandise, as to cherish mechanical arts," and in his description makes use of the following words—"The strings of the Irish harps were all in tune." In the succeeding reign, Ireland appears to have advanced in prosperity. In 1634 six subsidies were granted,

amounting to £250,000, and the free gifts previously given to King Charles amounted to £210,000. The commodities exported were twice as much in value as the merchandise imported, and shipping is said to have greatly increased.*

Tranquillity again interrupted in the reign of Charles I.

After a peace of forty years, the tranquillity that produced confidence in the government, and a gradual improvement in cultivation and commerce, was fatally interrupted in the reign of Charles the First. The arms of England, under Elizabeth, had reduced the Irish to subjection; but had failed to eradicate from their breasts the desire for revenge, and a determination, the first favourable opportunity that offered, to attempt to regain their lands, that had been bestowed on the English soldiery. A hatred of the English was their only inheritance, and had been carefully fostered by the heads of families, and they were not backward in avowing it. This detestation of their government extended itself to the descendents of those English who had first invaded the country, and religious principles and prejudices had a powerful effect in confirming it.

The professed policy of James was to abolish all religious animosities, and to destroy its bitter fruits. The real concealed policy of the cabinet was to encourage disunion by invidious and odious distinctions, and to separate them into two parties, that combined in themselves all the elements of eternal warfare—a difference of religion. The Protestants were flattered by being told, they were the only loyal subjects of the crown, and that the Catholics were a disaffected and dangerous people. The latter, descended from the old Irish families, were proud and high-minded, and could ill brook both insult and fraud. Deceived in their expectation of receiving justice from Charles; disappointed in their hopes of the abrogation of the penal statutes of Elizabeth; well aware of the impossibility of regaining their estates

* Lord Strafford's Letters.

without force of arms; inspired by a wish for vengeance, and the restoration of their former grandeur; they found little difficulty in exciting the same desires in the great mass of the ancient Irish. Suffering from oppression, and steeped in poverty—dependents where they were formerly masters—despising every other profession but that of arms—they were easily persuaded to make another desperate attempt to establish themselves once more as masters of the island. Hopes were held out of foreign assistance, and emissaries were sent from some of the foreign courts to forward the intended rising. Strafford, the Lord Lieutenant, had information of their proceedings; but did not consider them important enough to warrant his taking any extreme measures to meet the danger.

Roger Moore, the head of a once powerful family, and Sir Phelim O'Neil, were chosen leaders by the conspirators; and it was determined to surprise the Castle of Dublin—the former was to lead this enterprise, whilst the latter was charged with the duty of heading the northern insurrection. Their intentions, however, were prematurely discovered, by the attempt of one of the conspirators, Mac Mahon, to induce a servant of Sir John Clotworthy to join the conspiracy, in time to prevent success; and several of the conspirators were arrested, but the principals managed to escape. Sir P. O'Neil, in the mean time, succeeded in raising the north, and surprised the Castle of Charlemont; and the rebellion assumed a formidable appearance.

The English settlers, who considered themselves as secure from all danger, and who had become, by their industry, rich and powerful, found themselves all at once exposed to the miseries of civil contention and certain spoliation. The success attending their active leader soon swelled the ranks of O'Neil to thirty thousand men; yet they acted with forbearance—no blood being shed except in open warfare; but the Irish in their turn did not hesitate to plunder their English neighbours. The Scottish planters, who had been

located by James the First, were not molested; but the English were pursued and persecuted without mercy. They denounced Charles as unworthy of governing, declaring they would have a native king, and that they would not allow an Englishman to remain in the country. The English settlers in the north were taken by surprise; but the panic occasioned by this unexpected outbreak having subsided, they began to take measures against the rebels. Driven from their homes, they sought refuge in Carrickfergus, where they were kindly received and armed by Chichester, the governor. The force there assembled having been considered strong enough for offensive operations, they ventured to march out against the enemy.

Barbarous cruelties of both troops and rebels.

Succours in men, arms, and money having been received by the commanders in the north, the war against the rebels was attended with great success. Sir Phelim O'Neil was defeated with great loss at Castle Derrick. The horrible atrocities practised on both sides by orders of the commanders of the troops, were such as to stamp them as men totally divested of every feeling of humanity. Fire and sword were again employed to clear the country of "the mere, or native Irish," who, on their part, inflamed by the brutal cruelty they experienced, and driven to madness by oppression, were guilty of similar acts of barbarism. Wholesale murders were committed with impunity. In one night the English garrison of Carrickfergus sallied forth, and butchered in their beds, without distinction of age or sex, the inabitants of a neck of land, called Island Magee. The only offences they were charged with, were being Irish and Catholics—crimes quite sufficient, in those days, to warrant murder and legalise robbery. The number put to death amounted to nearly three thousand persons of both sexes.

The civil war that wasted the island still continued with unabated barbarity, when the execution of Charles the First called from obscurity the talents of the puritanical and bigoted adventurer, Oliver Cromwell; who soon perceived

that Ireland was the field where his abilities might be displayed to his future advantage. A successful campaign he foresaw would, by adding to his popularity, powerfully
Cromwell. assist him in his ambitious projects. The first step was to obtain the appointment of Lord Lieutenant. The sanctity of the enthusiast, and the characteristic cunning of the man were employed for this purpose, and he was appointed to the situation by the unanimous vote of parliament. Having obtained his object, he embarked, along with eight thousand foot, four thousand horse, twenty thousand pounds in cash, a train of artillery, well appointed, and all other munitions of war, and landed on the 15th day of August in the city of Dublin.

Immediately on landing, he published an amnesty, and offered protection to all who would submit to the authority of Parliament; and having left a strong garrison in the city, he hastened to commence operations against Ormond, who was leader of the Irish army, and who had declared in favour of the House of Stuart. The latter, finding he was not in sufficient force, retired before him, leaving a numerous garrison in Drogheda, which was strongly fortified, in the expectation that he might be occupied in a long siege, which would afford time for a junction with Lord Inchiquin, and that the number of the parliamentary troops might be diminished by the resistance of the garrison. In this he was deceived; the decision of Cromwell was called into play, and his impatience determined him to carry the town, no matter at what price. He summoned the governor, who refused to surrender; and in two days, a breach having been made, an attempt was made to storm the town, which was repulsed with great slaughter. The third, however, succeeded; Cromwell himself led the attack, and the place surrendered under an understanding that quarter should be given to the garrison. But the observance of this promise was at variance with the intended mode of proceeding against the Irish, which was to strike terror, by

military execution, on all who should resist the parliament, and the unfeeling monster determined to deliver the whole population to the sword. Even his own soldiers, it is said, obeyed with reluctance the sanguinary orders of their leader to destroy their prisoners. Thirty only escaped the merciless slaughter, and these were transported to the colonies. Cruelties of Cromwell.

Although the season was far advanced, Cromwell resolved to avail himself of the general panic occasioned by these cruel proceedings, and marched on the county Wicklow. The terror of his name, and the certainty of his vengeance, in case of resistance, induced the garrisons of the small forts and military stations to surrender, and on the 1st October, he arrived before Wexford, which had been provisioned and garrisoned by a corps of fifteen hundred men. Ormond, considering the safety of the place secured, continued his retreat with the main body of the army to Ross, where he encamped. Treachery, however, could not be guarded against. As the batteries erected by Cromwell commenced firing, a large body of his soldiers were admitted to the castle, by Stafford, the governor, who had been corrupted; and the inhabitants were astounded at finding the cannon ready to fire on the town. The panic that ensued led to the destruction of all; every one endeavoured to avoid their fate—resistance was impossible—and Wexford was the scene of similar atrocities to those of Drogheda—all were put to the sword, with a deliberation that adds if possible to the horror of the act. Having failed in his attack on Duncannon, Cromwell determined on crossing the river Barrow, and entering Kilkenny. Ormond, who had come to terms with O'Neal, and had been joined by a part of that chieftain's forces, decided on disputing the passage of the river; but Cromwell, previous to his arrival, had succeeded in passing it. After this attempt to arrest his victorious and bloody progress, Ormond disheartened, could make but little resistance; he Puts the garrison of Wexford to the sword.

however endeavoured to reconcile the conflicting interest of the native Irish, and the descendents of the English settlers; and prevailed on the clergy to publish a declaration that neither life nor fortune would be secure under the government of Cromwell. Notwithstanding all these attempts to impede his progress and defeat his plans, fortress after fortress surrendered to his troops; and Cromwell, resigning the command of the army to Suton, embarked for England. Previous to his embarkation, not considering the work of extermination complete, he devised a plan, by which he hoped to root out the surviving population. A large tract of Connaught, that was separated by a river from the rest, had been depopulated, by the murder of the inhabitants. To this tract all the Irish who survived, and who, according to Leland, "Cromwell had declared innocent of the rebellion," were ordered to repair, on a certain day, under penalty of death, and all who were found in any other part of the kingdom, without a permission to remain, were declared outlaws, and, whether man, woman, or child, might be put to death with impunity; and this he called "an act of grace." The land within this district, the most barren in the kingdom, was made over by this act of grace to them, and apportioned out in such small patches as might suffice, with careful industry, to afford them a subsistence. Towards those who had been despoiled of the greatest quantity of land in other districts, a sort of retributive justice was exercised, by allotting to them a larger proportion than others within this precinct; but previous to giving them possession, they exacted from these unfortunates a release of all their former rights and titles to the lands they formerly held, which had been taken from them and assigned to Cromwell's soldiers. The families thus driven at the point of the sword from their estates, into the wilds of Connaught, were scattered over that province, and had to struggle against cold and hunger. Without corn to sow, or cattle to assist in the cultivation of

Banishes the survivors to Connaught

the almost barren waste—without cabins to shelter them from the rigours of winter, or bread to eat—forbidden to overstep, in search of a subsistence, the borders of the narrow limits to which they had been transplanted—many died of famine, whilst others were cruelly put to death for their temerity in endeavouring to escape. Wherever the soldiers of Cromwell met any of the peasantry on the roads, or discovered their hiding places, they killed them on the spot. Ludlow, one of the commissioners appointed by the parliament, tells us that, "being on my march, an advanced party found two of the rebels, one of whom was killed by the guard before I came up, the other was saved and brought before me. I asked him if he had a mind to be hanged? and he only said, as you please—so insensibly stupid (from fear) were many of these poor creatures."* Proceeding in his narrative he further says, "we found some poor people retired within a hollow rock, which was so thick that we thought it impossible to dig it down upon them, and therefore resolved to reduce them by smoke." He then states that some of his men spent the greater part of the day in trying to suffocate them by fire placed at the entrance; and thinking they were dead, or incapable of resistance, some of his soldiers crept into the cave, but the first man that entered was shot dead with a pistol, upon which he determined to stop up every crevice that conveyed them air, to order a fresh fire to be kindled, to be kept burning all night. In the morning the wretched inmates were all, with the exception of fifteen, found dead, and these were instantly put to the sword. A faithful chronicler† observes, that "neither the Israelites were more cruelly persecuted by Pharoah, nor the innocent infants by Herod, nor the Christians by Nero, or any of the other Pagan tyrants, than were the Roman Catholics of Ireland at that juncture by the savage commissioners."

Further cruelties committed by the soldiers of Cromwell.

The bulk of the population of the south being destroyed,

* Mem. vol. i. † Moryson, p. 14.

and the remainder transplanted to the wilds of Connaught, where they were hemmed in and closely watched, Cromwell, whose exploits has rendered his name a bye-word to express a murderer and robber, on his return to England, was received as the pacificator of Ireland; but to him may be applied the terrible words of Tertullian, *ubi solitudenem faciunt, pacem appellant.* The ferocious conduct of this sanctified savage has left an impression of the greatest horror on the minds of the Irish, which the lapse of two centuries has not been able to efface; and the name of Cromwell is to this day accompanied with maledictions that forcibly express their detestation and remembrance of his atrocities. It appears that Cromwell, like Elizabeth, used religion as an apology for cruelty; for in his report of the capture of Wexford, where he admits two thousand were put to the sword, he states that he was willing to spare the inhabitants, and that "God would not have it so; but by an "unexpected providence, in his righteous justice, brought "a judgment upon them, causing them to become a "prey to the soldier." The death of Cromwell, and the restoration of Charles the Second, produced a temporary calm to Ireland; but the sanguine expectations of those who had been deprived of their estates, and the jealous uneasiness of the host of adventurers, on whom they had been conferred, roused a feeling of bitterness and suspicion, that threatened a renewal of their miseries. In several instances the Catholics attacked the new proprietors, and confusion and disorder were the consequences. The latter represented these partial attacks as an attempt at another revolution. Agents were sent to Ireland, who, from interested motives, exaggerated these disturbances, and described them as arising from a conspiracy to set aside the authority of Charles; so that previous to the arrival of the king, an act was passed, confirming the grants made by Cromwell, thus securing to them and their descendents for ever the property of which they had possessed themselves.

The extirminating system, and the confiscation of property, adopted by Elizabeth, which amounted to four-fifths of the whole kingdom, was considered necessary to terrify and keep in subjection the Irish people; clemency was called weakness, and cruelty wisdom. The "journies" or razzias of Mountjoy, the butchery of Cromwell, and the persecutions under some succeeding reigns, had produced a sullen kind of resignation to circumstances amongst the people; but their hatred was only smothered, not extinguished, and burst forth with redoubled rancour, whenever an opportunity offered for its gratification. The defeat of James the Second at the battle of the Boyne, handed Ireland over to the government of William. The loss of this battle, so fatal to his interests, has been attributed to the pusillanimity of James; but when we turn to the history of his services when Duke of York, we find that on several occasions he distinguished himself as a courageous and able commander. His conduct at this battle is more to be attributed to his unwillingness, arising from a consciousness of a want of military knowledge as a sailor, to assume the immediate command of the army, than to any want of personal bravery. The embarkation of the deposed monarch followed close on his defeat, and confusion and terror spread rapidly amongst the Irish officers and soldiers. A proclamation of William was issued, promising pardon and protection to the common soldiers, but did not include their leaders. The latter, therefore, perceived that their only hope was in a continued and desperate resistance. The remains of the Irish army retreated on Limerick and Athlone, where they awaited the advance of the English forces, and determined to wipe off with their blood the stain cast on their national character at the battle of the Boyne. Exasperated by their defeat, and their desertion by James —anticipating the application of the usual means to restore Irish tranquillity: persecution on the score of religion, and confiscation on the plea of rebellion—having no faith in the

Battle of the Boyne.

An. 1690.

Desperation of the Irish.

promises of pardon—they prepared to continue the war with a desperation that such feelings naturally excited. A portion of the English army, under Douglas, was repulsed from before Athlone, and rejoined the main body under the king, which was in full march against Limerick, the head quarters of the Irish army. The memorable siege of this important place commenced on the 9th day of August; both the besiegers and besieged displaying the greatest courage and perseverance. William's operations were carried on without the material necessary for a siege, as the train of artillery, on its way from Dublin, had not arrived, and the enterprising Sarsfield, second in command in Limerick, having received information of the route it would take, of the numbers of the escort, decided on intercepting it. If success attended the attempt, the siege would be retarded, and the spirits of the garrison, which was beginning to droop, be revived. Selecting for the enterprise his best troops, he crossed the Shannon, and being well acquainted with the country, he avoided the troops dispatched by William, and falling unexpectedly on the convoy, he cut them to pieces, destroyed the cannon, and returned to Limerick without much loss. This success gave fresh vigour to the besieged. Animated by the example of their officers, they defended themselves with a desperation amounting to fury, neither giving nor receiving quarter.

Siege of Limerick, 1690.

Two guns of the convoy that had not been rendered useless were brought to the English camp, and others having been sent from Waterford, a battery was opened on the town; and on the 27th a breach having been made, the king directed a storming party to carry the counterscarp, and two towers that flanked it. Under the cover of a heavy fire they dislodged the enemy, and some of them even entered the tower; but were forced to retreat with great loss by the Irish, who had rallied, and were crowding to the defence of the breach. The Irish fought with the valour

of despair. The women, in the moment of excitement, forgetting the natural timidity of the sex, were seen mingled with the defenders of their homes, encouraging them to fight for their protection; and placing themselves by the side of their husbands, braved death with a courage worthy of a better fate. A close and deadly combat was maintained for three hours—a battery seized by a battallion of foreign mercenaries in the pay of William exploded, and they all perished. This accident infused greater confidence into the ranks of the besieged. The breach was defended with the greatest obstinacy. The best troops of William essayed in vain to make themselves masters of it—they were either shot or hurled from the walls by the besieged. Five hundred were slain, and nearly two thousand wounded, when William ordered a retreat.

The determined resistance of the garrison, and the great loss sustained by his army, made the King decide on withdrawing from before the town. He destroyed the batteries, and retired without being followed by the Irish, who were not in sufficient strength to meet him in the field. Some writers assert, that the conduct of William in his retreat was unworthy the great character for humanity and forbearance claimed for him by his friends. It is related, that on being asked, how the sick and wounded prisoners should be disposed of? he coolly replied—"Burn them;" and that one thousand were in this manner destroyed.* This cruelty is treated by others as a malignant and infamous invention,† who speak of the king as one incapable of such cruelty; but as the life of an Irishman had always been considered by the settlers of little value, and as they might with impunity deprive them of it, it is not improbable that irritated by, and smarting under his defeat, such orders were issued and carried into execution by an exasperated, dissolute, and discomfited soldiery.

* Porter. † Leland.

CHAPTER VII.

King William returns to England—Siege of Limerick, ann. 1691—Treaty of Limerick—Violation of the treaty—Commerce restricted—Mines of Ireland—Woollen manufactory—Assumption of the English parliament.

William returns to England.

Soon after the repulse of his troops from before Limerick, William embarked for England at Duncannon, leaving the army under the command of Ginckle and Solmes. But the campaign, notwithstanding the rigours of winter, was not ended. The King, on his arrival in England, found every political impediment to the prosecution of the Irish war removed. The French at sea were powerless—all dissensions amongst the English had ceased—and six or seven thousand disciplined troops were ready to perform any service to which they might be appointed. These were immediately embarked under the command of Marlborough; and having joined Ginckle, speedily reduced Cork and Kinsale. The handful of French troops who formed part of the garrison of Limerick under Boileau, having quarreled with their Irish comrades, marched to Galway, there to await transports to convey them to France. The Irish remained under the command of Sarsfield, their countryman, whose good qualities as a man, and activity, wisdom, and bravery as a soldier, they held in the highest estimation.

Nothing decisive occurred during the winter; but several skirmishes with different results, took place between the two parties. The miseries attending military licentiousness was increased by the lawless attacks of the starving population. Wherever food was to be found, they attempted to procure it by force, and often periled their lives to obtain a scanty and precarious subsistence.

In order to check these disorders, the English commanders enlisted religion in their cause—a proceeding that has been continued, and which has secured to them the possession of the country. The Protestant was armed against the Catholic. The former was taught to believe that difference of creed warranted extermination, and the latter was described as a sort of noxious animal that it was his duty to his God to hunt and to destroy. Civil war raged in all its fury once more in this unhappy country, which seemed destined never to enjoy the blessings of peace. Man in pursuit of plunder destroyed his fellow man without remorse, and the truths of religion were perverted in extenuation of the crime.

After a protracted siege, Athlone surrendered, and Ginckle reinforcing his army by the withdrawal of all the troops that could be spared from the different stations and garrisons, marched against Limerick. Profiting from the severe lesson given by the former defeat, he approached this last place of refuge of the Irish army with the greatest caution. He made himself master of the passes of the Shannon, and an English squadron was in that river to aid him in his operations. His measures, taken with the greatest deliberation, were carried into effect with a slowness that did not accord with the impatience of the government; but Ginckle felt that in rashness lay defeat, and in caution, victory. He took the precaution of protecting the battering train, destined for the siege, by a strong escort, which secured it this time from surprise. The Irish, after burning all the houses in the environs, retired within the town, and on the 26th of August Ginckle made his first approaches against it. This memorable siege was as vigorously pressed as obstinately resisted; and notwithstanding some success on the part of the besiegers, the difficulties were so great, that it was proposed to reduce the place by blockade. But this was overruled, and the besiegers continued their exertions.

Siege of Limerick, an. 1691.

Ginckle, who combined a humane feeling with great

energy of character and sound political sense, aware that the soldiers of the garrison were divided in opinion respecting the best method of resistance, and that discord existed between the two parties—those who wished to surrender, and those who were determined to fight it to the last—issued a proclamation, calling on the well-disposed to join him in putting an end to the miseries of war, and promising pardon and protection to all who had taken up arms in defence of the interests of James.

The want of shelter for the besiegers, should the Irish hold out until the commencement of the severe weather, gave great uneasiness to the English commander, and he saw the necessity of bringing the siege to an immediate termination either by force or negociation. To accomplish this, he addressed another proclamation to the besieged, promising, in case of surrendering within eight days, a full amnesty for past offences, restitution of their estates, and restoration of whatever they might claim as belonging to them. To this declaration, the Irish paid little attention; and Ginckle despairing of success by treaty, assembled the different leaders under his command, and pointed out to them the probable consequences of longer delay, urging them to excite their men to one vigorous effort by which they would secure repose and the thanks and rewards of their government.

At this meeting it was agreed, that the strong works that covered Thomond Bridge should be carried. The
1691. assault was made on the morning of the 22nd of September. Both sides fought with the most determined valour. The bloody contest continued nearly until evening. Mass after mass pressed on with loud cries to the assault. The destruction hurled on those in advance seemed only to increase the courage of those who followed.

The Irish when forced by the renewed attack of superior numbers to retire, were reinforced, and returned to the defence of the works; but under cover of a tremendous fire

of artillery, which carried a sweeping destruction through the ranks of the devoted defenders of the works, the English and Dutch rushed upon the survivors who endeavoured to escape into the town; but a French major who had the command, ordered the drawbridge to be raised in order to prevent the English from entering with the fugitives, who, thus cut off from escape, were bayoneted without mercy. The bridge was encumbered with their bodies. Six hundred dead strewed the approaches to it; some hundreds were driven into the Shannon, and were drowned; and one hundred and twenty-six officers and men were made prisoners, whose lives were only saved by the interference of the English commanders.

The conduct of the French officer who was charged with allowing his countrymen to escape before he raised the bridge, made the Irish soldiers furious against their allies. They suspected treachery, and resolved to consult their safety in capitulation, by which they hoped to obtain terms which might be refused should they continue their resistance. On the following day a cessation of hostilities was agreed on, and negociations commenced. It was to continue three days. On the third, the Irish submitted their terms for surrender to Ginckle. They demanded an amnesty for all who continued in arms throughout the kingdom, with the promised restitution of the estates they possessed previous to the revolution—liberty to worship according to the rites of the Romish Church—that Roman Catholics should be eligible for every office, civil or military—that they should be admitted into all corporations—and finally, that the officers and men of the Irish army should be retained and paid the same as the other troops of King William. Ginckle answered, that he could not, consistent with honour, grant all that was asked; but on his side made proposals as follows:—1st. That all Roman Catholics should be permitted to worship according to the rites of their church, as in the reign of Charles the Second. 2nd. That their majesties

Treaty of Limerick.

would endeavour to procure from parliament further concessions. 3rd. That all, mentioned in the capitulation, should retain their estates, goods, and chattels. 4th. That the Irish gentry should be allowed to carry arms, and no oath should be exacted except that of allegiance.

The military articles agreed upon specified, that all soldiers and officers who wished to leave the country and enter into the service of foreign powers beyond the seas, should not be prevented to embark for that purpose. Fourteen thousand of the Irish army wished to avail themselves of this permission; but the government would not allow their wives and children to accompany them, and this was the first infringement of the treaty. The articles of capitulation were approved and confirmed by their majesties; and yet two months afterwards, we find they were grossly violated. "The justices of peace and other magistrates, presuming on their power in the country, did, in an illegal manner, dispossess several of their majesties' subjects, not only of their goods and chattels, but of their lands and tenements, to the great disturbance of the peace of the kingdom, subversive of the law, and reproach of their majesties' government."*

The treaty of Limerick violated.

Complaints were forwarded from all parts of Ireland of the scandalous infraction of the articles agreed on, and of the total contempt of their majesties' commands. In a report of the lords justices, dated 19th November, 1691, they state, that representations had been made of the non-performance of these articles; "and that contrary to public faith, as well as law and justice, they (the inhabitants) were robbed of their substance, and abused in their persons."†

It does not appear that the government was inclined to notice these remonstrances, as it did not disavow the acts of its subordinates; but on the contrary, gave its tacit appro-

* Harris's Life of King William. † Carey's Civil Wars.

val of these disgraceful proceedings, by which the possession of the lands of the original proprietors of the soil was confirmed to those who had obtained them either by force or fraud since the first plundering expedition of Strongbow down to the massacres under Elizabeth and Cromwell. The greater number of the old Irish families were reduced to beggary, and many of their descendents are now labourers on the estates which formerly belonged to their ancestors.

William the Third died March the 8th, 1702, and was succeeded by Queen Anne. During his reign, the restrictions imposed on Irish commerce were very great, and were marked with the strongest circumstances of national distress and despondency. The commerce of Ireland which had always been circumscribed, was still confined to more narrow limits by the grasping avarice of the English monopolist. Gifted by nature with the advantages of an insular situation—possessing the finest and most commodious harbours in the world—placed between the new and the old continent—her position giving her the means (if independent) of cutting off the commerce, not only of England, but of the greater part of Europe—with a soil productive beyond all belief, and with a population indued with the bold spirit of enterprise—she was looked upon and dreaded as a dangerous rival to her neighbours. Consequently any efforts for the extension of her commerce were watched with great jealousy by the merchants of England. If any commercial speculation was ventured, immediately petitions were forwarded from the great towns in England, remonstrating in strong terms against the granting of any commercial privileges or indulgences to the Irish merchant or manufacturer; representations that were received and gravely discussed by the English government.

Commerce restricted, 1688–98.

In the year 1698 two were presented from the towns of Folkstone and Aldborough, in Suffolk, setting forth the injury they sustained by the Irish Herring Fishery at Waterford; as the fish, when saved were sent to the Medi-

terranean, "thereby forestalling and ruining petitioners market." The restrictions that already bore heavily on the trade of Ireland, were multiplied, and rigorously enforced. The Irish were prevented from participating in the advantages arising from trading with the colonies; and in order to destroy the staple manufacture of the island, a heavy duty, almost amounting to prohibition, was imposed on the importation to England of Irish linens, whilst those of Holland were admitted comparatively duty free!

These prohibitory duties were not levied for the sole purpose of encouraging and protecting the English manufacturer, but also to ruin the Irish capitalist—a proceeding that perpetuated commercial jealousies, and national animosities.

Mines of Ireland.

Amongst the many natural advantages possessed by Ireland, that of her mines is not the last in the scale of importance. These are to be found in several districts, and, if properly worked, would be an inexhaustible source of wealth to the country. Gold has been frequently discovered in the beds of streams. Gerard Boat, who was state physician to the justices of the commonwealth, in his work on the natural history of Ireland, cap. xvi. sect. 11, thus speaks of them—"All the mines which are at this day found out in Ireland, have been discovered by the new English, that is such of them as came here in and since the days of Elizabeth, and these were iron, lead, and silver." He also states that a drachm of pure gold was found in a stream in the county Tyrone, and infers from this that the mountains abound with this precious metal. In chapter eighteen. he describes the produce of a silver mine in the county of Antrim, as having repaid the proprietors by yielding for every thirty pounds of ore, one of pure silver. Adrianus, a Dutchman, a much earlier writer, thus speaks of the Irish mines—

——"*Stannique Sodinas,*
Et puri argenti venas."

That the mines of Ireland were known in very remote ages, we have the authority of Donatus Fesicoli, one of the earliest writers, who thus speaks of them—"*Insula dives gemmarum vestis et auri.*" And the name of Cambrensis can also be added to the list of authors who have described Ireland as an island rich in the precious metals. Not many years since, a copper mine was discovered in Kerry, which bore marks of having been formerly explored. Shafts had been sunk, and implements for mining, differing in shape from those now used, were found. A lead mine has been lately discovered at Bangor, in the county of Down, and is worked by an English company, who derive great profit from it. The finest amythests, aqua marina, and emeralds, are also met with in Ireland. Geologists have found, near the Lake of Killarney, specimens containing tin; and iron is found in the same county. The fabrication of woollens, in 1639, had been by the industry of the Irish, introduced into the country, which derived great advantages from it. This, however, excited the jealousy of England, and in that year an attempt was made by Lord Strafford to interdict the manufacture of broad cloths in Ireland; but the injustice of such an arbitrary proceeding was too glaring, and he was forced to relinquish the intention. In 1667, Charles the Second, by the advice of the privy council, issued a proclamation, encouraging the exportation of their manufactures to foreign countries. We find also by the Irish statutes, of the 13th Henry VIII., 28th Henry II., and 18th Charles the Second, that an inclination was evinced by their governments to protect Irish industry. It appears by these statutes that every facility was given to the exportation of Irish woollens, and strong hopes were entertained that they would not be deprived of this branch of industry. By a report of the Commissioners of Trade, dated 23d December, 1697, laid before the house of com-

Woollen manufacture.

mons in 1698, we find that the woollen manufactures had increased since 1665 as follows—

Years.	New draperies.	Old draperies.	Frizes.
1665	224 pieces	32 pieces	444,381
1687	11,360 —	103 —	1,129,716
1696	4,414 —	34½ —	104,167

Fearful, however, that the riches produced by this manufacture would render Ireland too powerful—throwing aside all sense of shame, and regardless of every feeling of justice, on the 23d February, 1697, a law was proposed in the English house of commons, for restraining the exportation of the woollen cloths of Ireland, which was ultimately passed in 1699. This tyrannical proceeding is illustrative of what has been asserted of England, that when she puts forth her mighty arm, it is not to sustain the commerce of her settlements, but to overthrow and extinguish it. In the latter part of the reign of William the Third, the king listening to the interested remonstrances of the English merchants, declared in his answer to them, in 1699, that "he would, as far as in him lay, restrict the Irish woollen trade," which promise he, unfortunately for Ireland, religiously adhered to, and a law was accordingly made, prohibiting the exportation of manufactured woollens. From this time may be dated the decline and final ruin of the Irish woollen trade. After the passing of this unjust and impolitic act, five years elapsed before a parliament was held, therefore no remedy could be applied to the numerous evils arising from this measure. In progress of time the manufactory of woollens, thus discouraged, disappeared from Ireland, and with it the habits of industry it had engendered. The manufactory of linen, proposed as an equivalent, required much capital, and many years ere it could be brought to that perfection so as to compensate for the great loss sustained by the wholesale destruction of the

fabrication of woollens. The spirit of enterprise that had infused life into the whole population, was at once extinguished. In the south it never revived, Bereft of commerce by unjust laws, the capital that afforded employment to the people was either lost or totally withdrawn. Her industry thus fettered, Ireland speedily became, what she has remained up to the present period, a country with every requisite to form a great and powerful nation, but steeped in poverty and ground down by oppression. English capital, combined with English coercion, was but too successfully employed to counteract every attempt at improvement; and the same cause poisoned every source of national prosperity in trade, in the arts, and in agriculture. Session after session passed without any measure being introduced to benefit the Irish manufacturer, from a dread of giving offence to the sleeve-button or garter makers of Birmingham and Manchester, whilst measures to cripple Irish enterprise were passed without discussion. The commerce of Ireland, under the baneful effects of this fatal and cruel policy, soon languished and became nearly extinct. The Irish parliament possessed many members enthusiastically devoted to their country (for at that time the aristocracy felt an honest pride in being Irish) who struggled hard but ineffectually against this tyrannical combination. Every law they introduced to protect the Irish interests, if not met with a decided negative by the British government, was so mutilated as to render it useless. Thus under the different administrations—for neither change of dynasty or administration produced a more liberal policy—Irish industry was offered up as a sacrifice on the altar of British prejudice and British monopoly. Left unprotected by domestic legislation, and prostrate at the feet of her rulers, another blow was thought necessary, ere the inordinate appetite for commercial monopoly could be satisfied, or the fears of despotism tranquillised. The English government, alarmed at the possibility of Ireland becoming a rival in

the markets of the world, continued the same system that had already been so fatal to her prosperity; and fearing that Poyning's law, severe as it was, would be ineffectual for the purpose—urged by the British traders, anxious to grasp the exclusive commerce of the world—encouraged by the slavish supineness that benumbed the best energies of her inhabitants—and conceiving that every act of oppression, though severely felt, would be borne in silence—determined to arrogate to itself the sole power of legislating for Irelend, and "at one fell swoop" to extinguish her independence. Accordingly, without condescending to consult the wishes of the Irish people, or to ask permission of their representatives in Parliament—in defiance of the solemn compact entered into by the two nations—in contempt of every principle of justice, of honour, and of integrity—in the sixth year of the reign of George the First, a law was enacted, conferring on Great Britain what was falsely and ostentatiously denominated "the inherent and imprescriptable right of governing Ireland," to make such laws as she thought necessary for that purpose, which laws it was the duty of the Irish to obey, although they had not originated in their own house of parliament. This gross assumption of despotic power left Ireland the mockery of a parliament, and the phantom of an independent government. Stripped of the attributes of a free nation, she rapidly descended to that abject state of misery, which has called forth the commiseration of all who have visited her shores, or who have either written or spoken of her misfortunes. These laws would, it was supposed, have the desired effect of destroying all competition in trade, and at the same time eradicate from the minds of the Irish all thoughts of independence. Their character had apparently undergone a great change. From being a people who bore with impatience the taunts, the insolence, and the exactions of the oppressor, habit, combined with poverty, seemed to have subdued the spirit of resistance, and to have reconciled them

Assumption of the English parliament.

to their degradation. Their feelings of independence, their enthusiastic love of country, it was believed, had for ever vanished, and had been replaced by a sense of weakness, which made them crouch down, and wish to conciliate their self-styled conquerors. If occasionally symptoms of discontent were manifested, they were soon suppressed, and they only afforded a pretext for adding another link to the chain their efforts had failed to snap asunder. Accustomed to suffer, it was imagined they would cease to complain; but the many causes that entailed beggary on the population, were too obvious to escape the observation of an injured and clear sighted people. True they had sunk into a state of almost hopeless despondency; coercive laws, rigidly and tyrannically administered, crushed them to the dust. The seeds of dissension, in the shape of political and religious animosity, artfully introduced, and industriously sown, produced their bitter fruits. A religious persecution in the name of the Lord had commenced, and was continued with all the bigot virulence, fanatical violence, and ignorant intolerance, that characterise sectarian warfare—oppression, poverty, and their attendant evil, disease, careered throughout the land, withering and destroying. Her manufacture ruined, her trade extinguished, her population in rags, and worse housed, and worse fed than any other on the face of the earth—almost forgotten as a nation, or if remembered as such, the acknowledgment was accompanied with contempt, and her nominal independence treated with derision. Ireland, at the commencement of the American revolution, stood amongst nations like a blasted tree in the midst of the green and glorious forest, and yet England, the boasted land of liberty, had been in possession of the kingdom for more than six hundred years!!

CHAPTER VIII.

The Irish vilified—Landlords and tenants—Fertility of the soil—Population Early marriages—State of Ireland previous to the general arming—Education of the people—American revolution—Speech of Lord Chatham—Venality of the Irish parliament—Origin of the Volunteers—Volunteers vilified—War between France and England—France prepares to invade Ireland—Generous conduct of the Irish nation—Volunteers—Religious disputes cease—Determination not to use British manufactures—Great Volunteer demonstration in Belfast—Resolutions entered into at Armagh—Dungannon meeting—Resolutions at Dungannon—Quarrel with Portugal—Mr. Fitzgibbon.

The Irish people vilified.

THE principal feature that distinguished the English cabinet with respect to Ireland was its anxiety to conceal her true state and great importance, as a possession, from the other powers of Europe. To accomplish this, the island was represented and believed to be of very little commercial or political importance; and the inhabitants described as a fierce and savage race, incapable of being instructed, and averse to civilization. The Irish gentry, reared in those prejudices that form the barrier between them and the affections of their tenantry, when visited by the stranger, receive him with their characteristic hospitality; but he is taught by them to consider Ireland as almost uninhabitable, in consequence of the natural vicious propensities of the people. Confirmed by these misrepresentations in all his national prejudices, on his return to his country he describes the Irish as a degraded and demoralised people addicted to every vice, and stained with every crime. Ignorance and prejudice are thus combined to stamp the Irish character with indolence and turbulence; but the crowds of vigorous husbandmen who annually leave her shores to seek employment during the time of the harvest in England, and the host of Irish labourers who cheerfully

perform the hardest work in the cities of the United States of America, their orderly conduct, their courteous demeanour, and their obedience to the laws, fully refute these shameful calumnies.

If the social state of a whole people is the best criterion of a good or bad administration of the laws, how can the population of Ireland, perishing in the midst of plenty, whose condition compared with that of the Russian serf, is misery, be supposed to enjoy the advantages of a good government? In England, the landlord acting on the principle of "live and let live," gives encouragement to his tenant, by not demanding or receiving more than the actual value of the land he lets, and by pursuing this wise system, his estate is improved, and the cultivator is repaid for his labour; but "live and let starve" is the principle that, with a few exceptions, actuates the conduct of the south of Ireland landlords. When the long leases granted by their progenitors fall, the people who had settled on their estates by the subletting of the holders or middlemen to whom those leases had been granted, are with their families turned out of their wretched hovels, often by the summary process of taking off the roofs, and left to seek subsistence from the charity of their neighbours. To them no new lease of their wretched tenements is given; and if permitted to remain as yearly occupants at a rack rent, they are handed over by the absentee proprietor to the paternal care of some pauper agent or country attorney, who, if their patch of land is made more productive by their industry, immediately pounces upon them for an increase of rent; and should they refuse to pay it, notice is immediately given them to quit at the end of the year, and seek a habitation elsewhere.

Landlords and Tenants.

Whilst other countries have been making rapid strides in the path of prosperity, Ireland has retrograded. The causes that have forced her back into the wretchedness from which she was emerging, are manifold. The union that handed over her population to grinding agents and avaricious

middlemen, the faction fights which have only just ceased, the gross corruption, until lately, in the administration of justice; the road-jobbing; the enormous war rents continued in the time of profound peace; illicit distillation, which if not permitted is tolerated; the corruption of forty shilling freeholders; the tithes; and last, though not least, religious dissension. These form the gangrene that eats into the heart of Irish happiness and Irish prosperity. They arouse the passions, excite a spirit of resistance to the laws, and create a feeling of deadly hatred to the landlords and their agents. Disputes between the owners of the soil and the tenantry still frequently occur, and have their origin in the letting of land. An Irishman not having any daily employment, naturally endeavours to obtain a small portion of land from which he may derive an existence, consequently competition amongst the peasantry has increased with an increasing population. When a plot of ground is known to be vacant a host of hungry aspirants to the situation of tenant encumber the door of the agent to whom they offer much more rent than the land is worth. Once in possession, the tenant by his industry is enabled for three or four years to pay the rent and eke out an existence, but after that period the soil is worn out, and becomes unproductive, the rent is not forthcoming, and the occupant is driven from his hovel. The English people are deceived into the belief that Irish tranquillity would remain undisturbed were it not for the unfounded calumnies and outrageous declamation of unprincipled demagogues, that Irish grievances are ideal, and that exaggerated statements of neglect and oppression lead the peasantry into the commission of crime. But could they visit their wretched cabins, had they an opportunity of contemplating their squalid misery, could they mark the starvation that furrows their cheek, and the anxiety that sits on their brow, and then cast their eyes over the rich pastures, the cultivated fields that surround those abodes of disease and poverty, conviction would be carried to their

minds that misery does exist, that the iron hand of the oppressor does press heavily on the tiller of the soil, and their only feeling would be that of astonishment at the patience and forbearance, under such destitution, of a people who are described as "the most excitable of the human race."

The residence of men of large fortune in a country, is always attended with great advantages. In passing through a county where the men of property for the most part reside, the estate of the absentee is easily distinguished by the squalid wretchedness of the tenantry, and the miserable state of cultivation. Men of property originate all improvements in agriculture; the actual farmer cannot bear the risk. It is they who enable him to make experiments. Let these men reside in another country, and the farmer no longer encouraged by the flattering approval of the landlord, and deprived of all assistance to carry out improvements on the property, will have neither inclination nor motive for such undertakings. The Irish peasant is abandoned. Hence his hatred to his landlord whom he never sees—hence his discontent, his rags, and misery. The same neglect and oppression of the native Irish that commenced under Henry the Second has been steadily pursued and diligently encouraged—the same jealousy of Irish commerce sedulously cultivated—the same anxiety to counteract and put down every exertion of the people to raise their country in the scale of civilization carefully fostered—and the same ruinous method of mismanagement unremittingly and publicly pursued.

Fertility of the soil.

The fertility of the soil has long been celebrated. Nature has been prodigal in her gifts; as it produces in abundance every necessary of life. The pasture lands abound in the richest herbage, which affords sustenance to the black cattle that supply the English markets and victual her navies. That England depends on the Irish market for provisioning her fleet is a well-known fact. When the French expe-

dition anchored in Bantry Bay in 1798, provisions destined to supply the British navy for the following year, valued at upwards of a million sterling, were in the stores of the city of Cork; and had the French disembarked and occupied that place, the British navy, glorious and splendid as its achievements have been, would have been starved into inaction!

Population. The population of Ireland arising from the early marriages of its inhabitants, has increased with more rapidity than that of any other country; and notwithstanding the swarms that annually emigrate to the American continent, the numbers are calculated to be nine millions. In the south the greater part are in the most abject state of destitution, subsisting on the scanty crop of potatoes raised from a small portion of land, for which a rent far above the real value is exacted. In the north of Ireland, where the great landholders generally reside, and where capital circulates, the people are comparatively more comfortable.

Gervase Parker Bushe, in an essay concerning the population of Ireland in 1789, states the Catholics at that period to consist of four millions forty thousand, and one million and a half of Protestants; since which, it has increased rapidly. This increase is attributable not only to female virtue, but also to the poverty of the priesthood, whose means of existence are derived from the fees on marriages and baptisms; and it is natural, therefore, that they should encourage young persons to marry, which they generally do at the age of puberty. Indeed the peasantry are early taught to consider a man who remains from prudential motives in a state of celibacy, as one unworthy of the name of Christian; and as abstinence, whether forced or involuntary, is favourable to the propagation of the species, we ought not to be surprised at the swarms of naked and starving children with which their miserable cabins are tenanted. An Irishman, accustomed to implicitly obey and follow the directions of his priest, does not pause to ask himself the

Early marriages of the Irish.

question, where he is to find food for his offspring? but enters into the marriage state, and trusts to Providence for their support!

State of Ireland previous to the arming of the Volunteers, 1779.

The miserable and mistaken policy adopted and persevered in by the English cabinet, appeared to have settled into a fixed principle with every succeeding administration. Her distress augmented; and pauperism and despondency took possession of the island. Notwithstanding all her natural advantages, Ireland presented a frightful picture of destitution—the result of misgovernment; for as the tree is known by the fruit, so a just estimate may be formed of the good or bad acts of a government by their effects on the governed. In 1779, Ireland borne down by oppressive laws that restricted her commerce, her population deprived of the rights enjoyed by the other subjects of the British crown, with an inefficient parliament, subject to the arbitrary dictation of the English ministry, shorn of the constitutional right of originating laws, an empty treasury, and a bankrupt people, had sunk into a mere English province, and her inhabitants into inactivity and apparent apathy, seemingly careless of the welfare of either themselves or their country. The unwarrantable assumption of supreme authority by the British cabinet, and the insolent and unconstitutional claim of the British Parliament, without a shadow of right on which to found the claim, to legislate without the concurrence of the Irish House of Commons, was an act of political atrocity that finds no parallel in the history of nations. The influence of this despotic and unjust system of governing, gave a severe blow to commercial activity, and had a stunning effect in paralysing every effort at improvement. Having possessed herself of the means, England constantly and eagerly applied it for the discouragement of Irish industry. If a measure favourable to Irish commerce was proposed, it was only necessary for the English speculator to express his dissent to have it rejected, and every struggle of the few members who

remained uncorrupted to protect the interests of the country were of no avail.

In possessing an independent parliament free to make salutary laws, England anticipated a commercial rivalry that was thought incompatible with the cherished monopoly she had established. Dreading the removal of the restrictions on trade that she had imposed which would give to Ireland the right of free barter with other nations, and having usurped the power of confirming and adding to them, she decided on crushing, by the colossal application of capital and prohibition, the hopes of the Irish merchant, and the industry of the Irish manufacturer; men were found, who, forgetting their duty to their country, unblushingly advocated the right of Great Britain to treat Ireland as a colony, and whose purchased oratory sedulously inculcated the absurd belief that without English protection Ireland must perish. Carefully concealing the true position of both countries, which lean on each other for support, and whose salvation depends on a feeling of mutual friendship, an impartial administration of the laws, and an equal participation of civil and religious liberty. The commerce of the country thus fettered and the seeds of industry exterminated, the fatal effects were felt by every class of the community. Want of employment produced dissolute habits and consequent poverty amongst the labouring classes. The better orders partook of the habits of the peasant, the children of both were generally educated in the same school—the stable, and the dog-kennel, and the intellect of the landlord was often, in other respects, as uncultivated as that of his tenant or dependant.

Education of the people.

The dark cloud that had so long obscured the sun of Irish prosperity was at length tinged with a ray of coming light which seemed struggling to penetrate the gloom of adversity and oppression, and to communicate life and heat to the benumbed energies of the country. The serpent folds of British jealousy had succeeded in poisoning the

source of her happiness, but had failed in totally extirpating her vitality, when in the year 1782 she awoke from her lethargy, no longer the dejected and humble supplicant for justice; but feeling her strength she stood erect in the presence of her oppressor, and with the bold front of conscious rectitude demanded, in a voice of thunder not to be mistaken, an equality of commercial rights with other British subjects. This demand, supported by the lightning that gleamed from a hundred thousand bayonets in the hands of a determined and patriotic population, comprised of men in whom mutual suffering had caused mutual exertion, was too powerful to be resisted, and what was called "Free trade" or the permission hitherto withheld, of trading with the colonies, was reluctantly and tremblingly granted. The English ministry according that to fear, which they had obstinately refused to a sense of justice, thus affording another illustration of the remark, that Ireland has always been indebted to a display of physical force for every legislative concession on the part of England.

American revolution.

It is a curious coincidence that the circumstances which put arms in the hands of the Irish people and enabled them to remove the commercial restrictions under which they suffered, arose out of the efforts of the American colonists to obtain similar concessions. The despotic principle that operated with such fatal success in Ireland, was about this period applied by England to her colonies on the other side of the Atlantic. Principles that produced an explosion in America, that shook the old world to its centre, and which disseminated a love of independence that threatened the monarchical system of Europe with, if not total destruction, a great change in its most ancient and cherished institutions.

The Americans smarting under the exactions and degrading treatment of what was termed "the mother country," roused to a sense of their importance as a powerful and intelligent people, disgusted with the laws attempted to be forced upon them by a nation from whom they were

separated by the vast Atlantic, determined to renounce allegiance to a government to which they had in vain appealed and from which they found they had nothing to hope. The enthusiasm arising out of this determination became general, and America under the most fearful disadvantages, entered into a struggle for liberty against the power of a country whose riches made her formidable as an enemy, whose despotic arrogance could only be humbled by defeat, and whose prejudices could only be rooted up by the sword.

Without money, without arms, and with a circumscribed population, the attempt was thought madness, and her success impossible. But feeble as were her resources and helpless her condition, she evinced a courage and perseverance that augured well for the future, and created an universal feeling in her favour. Even in the ranks of the English aristocracy there were some, who superior to the prejudices of their class, caught the enthusiasm of the day, and dared to declare their sentiments in favour of the revolted colonies, openly avowing their admiration of their exertions, and strongly denouncing the attempts of the government to coerce them into obedience.

Speech of Lord Chatham.

The celebrated Lord Chatham lent his splendid talents in support of American liberty; and in reference to the struggle, said from his place in the House of Commons, "Sir, I rejoice she has resisted, I am proud and happy she has shown her English blood and English origin, and I hope it may descend to her sons for future ages." As the difficulties she had to encounter increased, America shone forth a brilliant example of what may be accomplished by a people suffering under the lash of an iron despotism, if united by sympathy, endowed with courage to resist, and determined to conquer. The citizens of America, animated by a sense of their wrongs, and their duty to their country, willingly sacrificed all the comforts of domestic life, the fond sentiments and endearing attachments of kindred and

friendship, in order to obtain the rights of a free and independent nation. The American revolution had attracted the attention of both the governments and people of the old world. The former dreaded the consequences of its success, and felt alarmed at the dissemination of the principles on which it was based, whilst the latter hailed with undissembled delight the efforts of the Americans to establish these principles, which, if successful, would produce results advantageous to civil liberty in Europe. It was at this period that Ireland began to be sensible of her strength, and to feel her degradation. Her commerce had been destroyed, her independence a shadow; the right of legislation withdrawn, her population in misery; the undisguised anxiety to prevent her from participating in the advantages that providence intended she should enjoy, and the persecution under which her people groaned, all combined to add fuel to the flame of their already strongly excited passions, and still more firmly confirmed their national prejudices and hereditary hatred. The rapidly increasing population, and the unsubdued spirit of the people, effected an unexpected change in the position of the country—a change that promised prosperity to Ireland, and carried dismay into England.

The American revolution had awakened an unfounded alarm in England, and all her efforts were directed to stifle the smouldering flames of Irish independence, which, after a lapse of centuries, began at this period to burn with renewed lustre. It might naturally be expected to follow, that a people suffering from misgovernment, and so long dependent on the will of a more powerful nation, would have ceased to consider themselves as capable of self-government—would have lost all feeling of patriotism, all sense of independence. The Irish parliament, previous to 1779, had evinced a degrading subserviency to the orders of the British cabinet; and with a few brilliant exceptions, the members of that body yielded to temptations held out to

Venality of the Irish parliament.

them in the shape of place, pension, or title; yet even those were sometimes shamed by their more sternly virtuous colleagues, into a resistance of measures that tended to destroy the remnant of prosperity enjoyed by their country. Smarting under the lash of the oppressor, some of the representatives of the people evinced a spirit that was reechoed from without, and carried conviction to England that the weight of injustice that had so long pressed Irishmen to the earth, must be, if not wholly removed, considerably lightened. Prohibited by the law already mentioned from the discussion of any great constitutional measure, their debates were confined to the arrangements of local interest, still during their continuance it frequently occurred that matter was introduced, bearing on constitutional questions; and the conduct of the British cabinet furnished ample field for severe animadversion and violent controversy. The wishes of the Viceroy had often been resisted in a manner which gave reason to hope that the Irish Parliament, corrupt as it was, would still hesitate, previous to lending itself to the views of the government, to totally extinguish the liberties of its country. These disputes, though carried on with great warmth, had no healthy result, and only foretold the certainty of a return to the path of patriotism, from which it had so disgracefully turned. Out of parliament, however, these discussions roused a spirit of inquiry into the cause of Ireland's degradation, that ultimately produced effects which, in a short time, placed her in an attitude that carried terror into the very heart of the British cabinet. The obstinate and unexpected resistance of the Americans—their courage, their perseverance, and self-devotion in the great cause for which they struggled, revealed to Ireland the secret that had been so long carefully concealed—the secret of her strength as a people and her resources as a nation. The attitude assumed by the American colonies placed England in a situation that rendered it dangerous to refuse relief to Ireland. Shut out

from the American ports, through which hitherto her commerce had flowed, it became a matter of paramount importance to make concessions that might satisfy the Irish merchants, and restore that attachment between the two people that the commercial restrictions and arbitrary proceedings of England had nearly for ever destroyed. Ireland it was feared, goaded to desperation, might follow the example of America, and, availing herself of the embarrassment occasioned to England by the war, endeavour to establish herself as an independent and separate country. This dread accomplished that which the urgent representations and repeated remonstrances had failed to obtain—representations that had heretofore been listened to with insolent arrogance, and treated with contemptuous coldness. All at once a new light seemed to have illuminated the understanding of statesmen, and ministry affected to have at length discovered that it was not incompatible with the safety of the state that Irishmen should be permitted to trade with the colonies. The conviction carried to the minds of the English ministry was not the result, as they wished the world to believe, of a more kind feeling and liberal policy, but a truth forced on them by a whole people in arms, who were fully determined to obtain their rights.

Origin of the Volunteers, 1778–79.

The general armament, that produced such a beneficial result to Ireland, occurred in 1779. In that year England was at war with the revolted colonies; and an American privateer had the audacity to enter the port of Larne, in the north of Ireland, and to order the authorities to supply her with provisions and water. The unprotected state of the coast, and indeed of the whole island, which had only an army of 5000 regular troops, alarmed the merchants of the large seaports, who lost no time in applying to government for an addition to this force. To this application an answer was returned, stating the inability of government to send the required reinforcements. This unsatisfactory communica-

tion threw the Irish on their own resources, for the defence of their coast, and the preservation of their property. Meetings were held in the principal towns, in order to discuss the propriety of organizing and arming the inhabitants. The large and flourishing town of Belfast took the lead in giving an impulse to this movement. At these meetings, all who had a stake in the country stepped forward to encourage it, and before many months had elapsed, Ireland found herself strong enough not only to resist foreign aggression, but also to demand those rights and immunities which had so long been unjustly withheld. The bright spark of independence communicated itself to every bosom, and kindled the flame of freedom throughout the kingdom. Ireland for the first time displayed a true sense of her interests, by the union of her population, for the attainment of two great objects—commercial equality and constitutional liberty. Firmly resolved to support each other in these demands, at the same time aware of the necessity of forbearance and discretion, the armed population pledged their faith, their honour, and their all to Ireland, in the hearing of surrounding nations, to uphold their country's good, its freedom, its honour, its safety, and its independence. There were some who, interested in the suppression of a body so well organized and disciplined, affected to consider the Volunteers as a disorderly mob, not armed for the protection of the country, but assembling for the purpose of dictating to the government what they considered should be done for the good of the nation; and for the introduction of anarchy into the island. Every engine of power was put in motion to annihilate the Volunteers, and every art, every menace, every abuse, used to destroy them, by misrepresenting their motives; but their forbearance and temper, at a time when they might have renounced English connexion, and when every means were employed, and every epithet used to villify and degrade them, gave the lie to such aspersions,

Volunteers villified.

and created a feeling of just admiration, respect, and gratitude, that to the present day remains in the breasts of their descendents.

The mutual jealousy of the two great rivals, France and England, whose endeavours to arrive at European ascendancy, had carried desolation into the neighbouring states, was still in full vigour. Although bound by fallacious treaties to observe peace, each nation anxiously watched for an opportunity to weaken or destroy the power of its opponent. The American revolution was an event that led France to believe that the moment was arrived when she could humble the pride of England, by giving her powerful aid to the revolted colonies. A manifesto was soon issued by the former, detailing the want of faith and flagrant breach of treaties, the usual apology for aggression, by the latter, and a war was commenced and pursued by both nations, in which the resources of each were applied for the attainment of their views. France, from a strong desire to ruin England, decided on supporting the republican principle in America, whilst England endeavoured to reduce her colonies to the most abject slavery. Each expended her blood and treasure in the obstinate struggle, and America alone reaped the benefit of their mutual hatred. Europe looked on with amazement at the efforts of a despotic country in the cause of freedom, and the colossal exertions of a free state to establish despotism. The revolt of the English colonies had produced an astounding effect on European institutions. The French people, proud of the services of their troops, partook of republican enthusiasm, and became deeply imbued with the republican principles for which they combatted; ultimately those principles overturned the monarchical system in France, and threatened destruction to surrounding governments. During the unnatural struggle to establish despotism in the colonies, Ireland did not remain an unconcerned spectator, well aware that the only chance of the restoration of her

War between France and England.

constitutional rights was in the display of her physical force, and in the failure of the arms of England, and that the battle for the glorious prize of Irish liberty was to be fought on the other side of the Atlantic. She contemplated with intense anxiety the probable result of the sanguinary contest. The Irish people, considered of little weight in the empire, their miseries unheeded, their wrongs unredressed, though armed, and firm in their determination to obtain justice, evinced a moderation and caution that conferred much honour on the national character. Meetings were convened in the principal towns, at which the policy of continuing the war against American liberty was freely discussed, and resolutions passed, animadverting on the conduct of the British cabinet, in continuing a war fraught with misery to both countries. Whilst the resources and the energies of the American people were vigorously employed to obtain a separation from England, Ireland availed herself of the opportunity to obtain a participation in the liberties guaranteed by her constitution.

France prepares to Invade Ireland.

In order to withdraw the attention of England from her revolted colonies, and by so doing to assist the Americans, France made preparations for invading Ireland. These preparations for the invasion of a country whose population had been rendered discontented by oppression and who were not averse to any change, occasioned much uneasiness to the English government. Her army employed in the attempt to crush the republicans of the New World, or scattered amongst her other possessions, she was left without the power of furnishing a sufficient number of troops in case of a landing, for the protection of Ireland. The conduct of the Irish at this critical period, was that of a generous and proud people, and evinced a chivalrous feeling which, although lauded and praised, was not afterwards either appreciated or rewarded. Ireland unprotected by England, was left to struggle almost alone for her preservation, and found herself in a situation either to receive the invaders as

Generous conduct of Ireland towards England.

liberators, or to continue to cling to a government that had invariably oppressed her. Trusting to the gratitude of England, and confiding in her future justice, unwilling to throw themselves into the arms of England's most inveterate and persevering enemy, acting under the wise and prudent directions of their leaders, the association already mentioned was formed, and was afterwards employed in obtaining the commercial freedom for their country which English ingratitude continued to withhold. The ranks of the volunteers filled rapidly, the natural warlike spirit of the Irish so long held in subjection burst forth,—religious distinctions were forgotten in the wish to promote the general welfare, whilst those of rank only served to give the example of energetic patriotism to the classes beneath them. Volunteers

This mixing of the different grades in wealth, in rank, and religion, this combination to promote the interests of all, effected an utter change in the minds and manners of the whole population. The Irish were threatened with invasion and armed themselves to resist and repel it, and this unanimity is the only instance in the history of their country where they were banded together to resist the domination of the stranger.

This arming led to an intercourse between the proprietors of the soil and their tenants, and produced that good feeling which forms a strong link in the chain of affection that bound them together. The Irish peasant naturally quick at perception, soon learned the melancholy tale of his country, his mind became impressed with the injuries it had suffered, and with the hope of its future prosperity. For the first time he associated with those above him, he began to consider himself of some importance in the scale of humanity, and felt an honest pride at finding himself called upon to assist in the defence of his country.

When arms are placed in the hands of the citizen his first impulse is to use them for his own protection and that of his fellow-men against foreign aggression, his second to

uphold and maintain a good internal government, and his third to resist any attempt of the ambitious or designing to subvert the liberty of the nation. These principles were sedulously inculcated, soon understood, and quickly adopted. In a short time the enthusiastic spirit spread over the whole surface of the island, which seemed to realise fabled mythology, by suddenly producing an armed host of determined and disciplined soldiers. Although the Catholics were at that time prohibited from carrying arms, still they were most active and zealous in encouraging the general armament of their Protestant brethren. They freely gave their money to procure them arms, and strongly exhorted them to perseverance, their liberality soon softened down religious animosity, and a spirit of tolerance began to infuse itself into the Protestant population. Sectarian jealousy gave way before the eloquence of truth, and the conviction that religious feuds were the great obstacles to national improvement was clearly and ably demonstrated by the press and inculcated from the pulpit.

The quarrels of the people about the other world were forgotten, to promote the happiness of all in this.

The theological controversies that had been introduced in order to divide, and carried on for centuries with a rancorous and fanatical spirit that was anything but Christian, and worthy of the dark ages, were abandoned. The insanity that had made the people the blind and bigoted dupes of English ascendancy, yielded to the light of reason and induced them to renounce those baneful prejudices founded on ignorance and superstition, which had so long and so fearfully operated against civilization and clouded their understanding. A general feeling against the continuance of the penal laws, those disgraceful records of obsolete fanaticism that degraded the Catholic was the consequence, and the unanimity with which their abrogation was insisted on, gave them hopes of participating in the privileges of the constitution.

Their calmness and perseverance on that occasion forms a striking contrast to their conduct in 1800, when they lost

that constitution by merely listening to and trusting in the insidious promises of the English minister. The people of Ireland finding themselves surrounded by nations comparatively deficient in resources, in information, and in strength, emboldened by the conviction of their superiority, possessed of advantages of which few other countries could boast, perceiving that an opportunity offered of wresting from the hands of her rulers those rights and privileges of which they had been so long, unjustly, and treacherously deprived, determined to substitute demand for supplication, and physical display for abject submission. This determination, supported by the imposing attitude assumed by the volunteers, and their declared determination to insist on an equality of commercial intercourse, added to the general agreement not to import or use any thing of British manufacture, and the independent spirit that had been awakened in the parliament, produced the desired effect. Lord North accordingly proposed measures for extending the freedom of commerce to the Irish, which passed the British Parliament without opposition. But as these concessions were described by the minister as a boon that might be withdrawn at pleasure, an opinion became prevalent, that at some future period it was intended to withhold them. Hence it was inferred, that without a legislature unshackled, and free to originate and confirm statutes for their government, the people would still be at the mercy of English caprice and English prejudice, and that their interests might again be compromised to gratify the spirit of sordid monopoly. The Irish Volunteers had become an armed deliberative body, and, as citizens, could only be dangerous to despotism. At their reviews declarations to that effect were published. On the 9th of June, 1780, in Dublin, the Duke of Leinster in the chair, the following remarkable resolution was proposed and carried amidst the cheers of the armed multitude, "that the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland only were competent to

Determination not to use British manufactures.

make laws binding the subjects of this realm, and that they would not obey, or give operation to any laws save only those enacted by the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, whose rights and privileges jointly and severally they were determined to support with their lives and fortunes." The principles embodied in this energetic resolution had been previously proposed in still stronger language by the Irish House of Commons in the preceding April. In that month Mr. Grattan moved, "that no power on earth save the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland had a right to make laws for the country." This resolution after a protracted debate was however withdrawn, as it was ascertained that ministers had secured a majority against it. Notwithstanding these demonstrations the several bills for Ireland continued to be transmitted for the approval of the British Minister who was not deterred from modelling them according to the dictates of the cabinet. The discontent of the people increased and found vent in publications expressive of their distrust in both the English cabinet and their own representatives.

Great Volunteer demonstration at Belfast.

The Volunteers continued to meet and deliberate.—At a review in Belfast, six thousand well armed and equipped, attended by a train of thirteen pieces of artillery, displayed a discipline and knowledge of military science that might have been equalled but not surpassed by the best troops of the kingdom. The rapid growth of this military spirit which had at first been encouraged by the English administration, now became a source of much embarrassment and uneasiness, and at the end of the year 1780, the Earl of Carlisle was sent over as Viceroy, with secret instructions to use every means to put down the Volunteers. A scheme was formed to produce disunion in their ranks by raising men to be officered by the dependants of government. This plan was however, abandoned as impracticable. But the government did not despair of ultimate success, they publicly affected the greatest complacency, but haunted by the armed

spectre of separation, they privately endeavoured to seduce from their allegiance to their country, both officers and men.

The purchased majority of the Irish Parliament, the ready tools of England, had rendered themselves distrusted for their corruption, and despised for their subserviency by the whole nation. Their venality was notorious, and at a meeting of the 1st Regiment of Ulster at Armagh, the Earl of Charlemont in the chair, resolutions were proposed and carried, calling on the different corps to send delegates to deliberate on the state of Ireland, and to adopt such measures for the preservation of their country as might be deemed expedient. In pursuance of these resolutions the different armed bodies proceeded to elect delegates who assembled at the town of Dungannon on the 15th day of February, 1782. This celebrated meeting, composed of men as remarkable for their talent as for their enthusiastic attachment to their country, gave confidence and hope to the whole nation. It was marked throughout by a firmness, moderation, and good sense that did honour to the Irish character. The delegates amounting to two hundred, armed and cloathed in uniform, and surrounded by their fellow-citizens, marched to Dungannon Church, the place appointed for their meeting. The solemnity attending this procession of patriots was heightened by the thoughts of the awful responsibility which attached to these proceedings, necessarily involving not only their personal security, but perilling the connection that had so long existed with Great Britain. On their deliberation depended the prosperity of their country and their own and their children's future happiness or misery, whilst the wrongs of their country was present to their thoughts, the warmth of their patriotism was tempered by discretion, and their deliberations were marked by that gravity of deportment caution and good sense well calculated to command attention and insure respect from both the Irish nation and English government; consider-

Resolutions entered into at Armagh.

Meeting of Delegates at Dungannon.

ing themselves entitled under the constitution to assemble and discuss political questions, it was proposed that this principle, recognised and established in England, should be the basis of their proceedings, namely, "the people's right of preparatory resistance to unconstitutional oppression." This principle was embodied therefore in their first resolution which was, "that citizens by learning the use of arms, abandon none of their civil rights." The English Revolution had legalised this principle in as much as the people had armed against their own sovereign, and by their resistance placed popular power in the hands of William. At this meeting other resolutions were passed, condemning as totally unconstitutional, the assumption by the English Parliament, of the power of legislating for Ireland, of Poyning's law, of the tyrannical exercise of despotic power in throwing obstacles in the way of Irish commercial enterprise, and of their determination to persevere until these grievances were redressed. These resolutions were recorded in plain and simple language easily to be understood by all classes, not mystified by argument, or attended by unnecessary remarks, and were the sentiments of the representatives of twenty-five thousand Ulster soldiers, of men actuated alone by a love of country, who had come to the conclusion that without the united efforts of the Irish Volunteers, the same system, fraught with ruin to their country, would be continued, their grievances treated as imaginary, and their representations with contempt.

The following were the resolutions unanimously carried—

Resolutions at the Dungannon Meeting.

"Whereas it has been asserted that volunteers, as such, cannot with propriety debate or give their opinion on political subjects, or the conduct of parliaments or public men. Resolved unanimously, that a citizen by learning the use of arms, does not abandon *any* of his civil rights.

"That a claim of *any* body of men, other than the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, to make laws to bind this kingdom, is *unconstitutional, illegal, and a grievance.*

" That the power exercised by the Privy Council of both kingdoms, under pretence of the law of Poyning, is *unconstitutional, and a grievance.*

" That the ports of this country are by *right* open to *all* foreign countries not at war with the king, and that any burthens thereupon, or obstruction thereto, save only by the parliament of Ireland, are *unconstitutional, illegal, and grievances.*

" That a military bill, not limited in point of duration from session to session, is *unconstitutional and a grievance.*

" That the independence of judges is equally essential to the impartial administration of justice in Ireland, as in England, and that the refusal or delay of this right to Ireland, makes a distinction where there should be no distinction, may excite jealousy where perfect union should prevail, and is in itself *unconstitutional and a grievance.*

" That it is our *decided* and *unalterable* determination to seek a redress of these grievances, and we pledge ourselves to each other, and to our country, as freeholders, fellow-citizens, and men of honour, that we will at every ensuing election support those only who have supported us therein, and that we will use every constitutional means to make such our pursuit of redress speedy and effectual.

" That as men and Irishmen, as Christians, and as Protestants, we rejoice in the relaxation of the penal laws against our Roman Catholic fellow-subjects, and that we conceive the measure to be fraught with the happiest consequences, to the union and prosperity of the inhabitants of Ireland.

" That four members from each county of the province of Ulster (eleven to be a quorum) be, and hereby are appointed a committee till next general meeting, to act for the volunteer corps here represented, and as occasion shall require, to call general meetings of the province. That the said committee do appoint nine of their number to be a committee in Dublin, in order to communicate with such other volun-

teer associations, in the other provinces, as may think proper to come to similar resolutions, and to deliberate with them on the most constitutional means of carrying them into effect." These resolutions, as remarkable for the truths they contained, as for the firmness they displayed, had the effect of deciding those that wavered. They became the political creed of the whole nation. Redress of grievances and national independence were subjects that were discussed in every society, and were words that imparted courage to the timid, found an echo in every bosom, and stimulated to increased exertion. These strong symptoms of returning animation into the hitherto almost lifeless mass of the Irish people, convinced the English cabinet that the Irish felt their strength, were aware of their degradation, and unanimous in their determination to obtain the privileges, to which, as subjects, they were fully entitled.

The resolutions couched in language adapted to the understanding of every class, were read with avidity by the landlord and the tenant, by the peer and the peasant, a new life was infused into the provinces; the different corps lost no time in sending in their adhesion. At their military meetings they boldly declared—"that no earthly authority, save the King, Lords, and Commons, had power to make laws for their country, and that they would resist with their lives and fortunes, the execution of all British statutes affecting to bind the independent kingdom of Ireland." Having passed the resolutions the meeting adjourned, leaving it to the nation to pronounce on the wisdom of their proceedings, and the members returned to their respective districts where they were rewarded by the approbation of their countrymen for their zeal, moderation, and decision.

The Duke of Portland, on assuming the government of Ireland, had declared to the parliament, that the English cabinet was perfectly satisfied with the existing laws, and that no alteration of those affecting the commercial interests of the country was contemplated, or would be admitted. Mr. Grattan, the watchful advocate of his country's claims,

immediately prepared an address to the King, praying the removal of the Duke, as he had not the confidence of the nation. His lordship, finding that the hitherto bought majority were, either through fear or shame, beginning to waver; fearing that the address would be carried, and convinced of the impossibility of resistance, reluctantly yielded to the demands of the nation—Poyning's law was repealed, and free trade granted.

The wise and temperate conduct of the Delegates averted civil war from their country; placed at the head of a well-disciplined army of men enthusiastic in the cause for which they armed, they might have exacted where they implored, and frightened where they conciliated. Had they made use of the irresistible power placed at their disposal, Ireland might have dictated her own terms, but they preferred a firm representation of grievances to unsheathing the sword, in the hope that they would be redressed without proceeding to extremities, and that England convinced of her injustice, and sensible of her perilous situation, would make the concessions called for by justice and the nation: Ireland had never enjoyed such tranquillity as at this time. This was produced by confidence in their armed brethren, in a belief of the honest purity of the views of their leaders, and an admiration of their disinterested patriotism. They lived in the affections of the whole people, they succeeded in rendering essential service to their country, but the fruits of that success were blighted by either the cunning, fraud, or imbecility of some of those very leaders, and Ireland was destined to behold the sunshine of prosperity whose warmth had infused life and vigour into her frame once more obscured, and again she plunged into misery, dissension, and darkness.

The parliament that assembled in October, 1781, had voted thanks to the Volunteers for their services, yet a corrupt majority was always at the command of the ministers to negative any proposition for the advantage of the trading part of the community. In consequence of the treaty of Methuen,

Quarrel with Portugal.

the British legislature had decided that Ireland should be permitted to export her linens and woollens to Portugal, and several of the manufacturers availing themselves of the permission, had made large shipments to that kingdom—which were however seized at the custom house of Lisbon. This act of a government the ally of Great Britain, depending on her for her existence, and servilely obedient to her commands—at the principal port of the kingdom, the residence of the British ambassador, where consuls were placed expressly to protect the trade of British subjects, created a great sensation and strong suspicion that England had secretly connived at and sanctioned this extraordinary proceeding. No doubt could be entertained that the English capitalists viewed with great jealousy the concessions in favour of Irish commerce, and it was inferred that the British minister not daring to resist the wishes of so great and influential a body, had adopted this secret method of counteracting Irish enterprise.

This more than suspected insincerity of the government, tended to widen the breach between the two countries. The opening prospects of the Irish merchant were destroyed, and his speculations paralysed—the mercantile population complained loudly of the grievance, whilst the great body of the people considered the seizure as a national insult, and both believed their interests sacrificed to the clamours of the button makers of Birmingham, and the hosiers of Nottingham. A petition was presented expressive of their sentiments, stating the fact and soliciting the interference of the government. In order to stifle inquiry, ministers had recourse to their accustomed plausibility and juggling diplomacy, it was argued that precipitation might endanger the interests of commerce, and the necessity of negociating and explaining was strongly urged by Mr. Eden, the then chief secretary for Ireland, who moved that the petition of the Irish merchants should lie on the table until a communication should be made, and an answer received from the Portuguese government. This attempt to evade investi-

gation, was too manifest to deceive, and had the opposite effect to that intended. It proved the certainty of what had been only suspicion, and excited a feeling of distrust in the sincerity and honesty of British professions. This result, which had not been contemplated, served still further to stir up the heated passions of the multitude, who having lost all confidence in their representatives had transferred it to the armed population to which they now turned for support and protection.

To satisfy the nation, some negociations were commenced with the Portuguese, but were not followed with energy, or supported by sincerity,—for the secret machination of England counteracted the feeble efforts of diplomacy, and Portugal erroneously believing in the inability of Ireland to enforce justice, and relying on the good disposition of England to favour the avaricious speculations of her merchants, resolutely refused the redress demanded by the Irish nation. The obstinacy of the Portuguese was the consequence of the purposely weak remonstrance of England, and their perseverance was secretly encouraged by the English monopolist. At the commencement of the session the excitement was so great, and diplomatic deceit so detested and exposed, that ministers finding no means of escape, determined to shelter themselves under the supposed obstinacy of the Portuguese, and, anticipating the opposition, to make a statement through the secretary, of the unavailing efforts of England to convince the court of Lisbon of its injustice. This was accompanied by a communication of the ultimate decision of the Portuguese against the admission of Irish manufactures. In hopes that time might lull the storm this transaction had awakened, ministers moved an address to his majesty, praying that the subject (already considered) might be taken into consideration, and to apply for the redress that had already been denied! This disreputable quibbling, unbecoming the character of honest politicians, and virtuous men. This procrastination for a sinister purpose produced contempt without the doors of parliament,

and was warmly opposed within the house by the independent friends of Ireland. Unwilling to incur the responsibility of proposing the address, and ashamed of the crooked policy of his colleagues in office, Mr. Eden declined submitting it to the house, but found an Irishman in the person of Mr. J. Fitzgibbon, afterwards Lord Clare, less scrupulous as to political character; this gentleman's arrogant demeanour and bold daring, was only equalled by his political venality and despicable ambition;—to the latter he sacrificed every feeling of the heart, whilst his head was busied in devising means for his own elevation, on the ruins of his country's happiness.* Sir Lucius O'Brien moved an amendment in language at once announcing the independence of his country, and publishing to the world the power of Ireland to force her *protectors* to exertion.

Mr. Fitzgibbon.

This amendment, if adopted, would have placed Ireland in the position to which she has the strongest claim—that of a free country. It called upon the sovereign as King of Ireland to support the just demands of his Irish subjects by declaring *war against Portugal*, and finished with these remarkable words "we doubt not that this nation has vigour and resources sufficient to maintain all her rights and astonish all her enemies." The amendment although rejected had the effect of infusing a still stronger feeling amongst the ranks of the opposition, and the fact of a King of Ireland being addressed as such by an Irish Parliament and called upon by Irish subjects to declare war in their behalf, led to discussions which at length obtained their emancipation, from all commercial restrictions, and familiarised the people in considering their country to be a distinct and independent state, governed by laws made by their own parliament and confirmed by the monarch as King of Ireland. It also declared to the people that the connection with England was only federative and identified alone by the monarchy.

* Mr. Fitzgibbon, afterwards Lord Clare, was described by Mr. Grattan as one who had "lived too long for his country, and too short a time for justice."

CHAPTER IX.

Second Dungannon Meeting—Determined conduct of the Irish—Quarrel between Grattan and Flood—The Volunteers demand Free Trade—England conciliates the Irish people—Character of Grattan—Vaccilating conduct of Lord Charlemont—His character—Volunteers in 1782—Meeting of Delegates at the Rotunda—Procession to the Rotunda.

Second Dungannon Meeting.

THE nature of the connection between the two countries was now freely canvassed. It was a question that the people had never before ventured to entertain, because their rulers had impressed them with a belief in their utter helplessness as a people, and insignificance as a nation. These discussions soon dispelled the cloud that darkened their understandings, and they discovered their true political position. They learned that an Irish King had the constitutional right to make war, in right of his *Irish* crown, without embroiling England as King of *England*. The conduct of ministers with respect to Portugal, clearly demonstrated that the seizure of Irish property by the Portuguese, was not considered by them as an act of aggression against England; and that, therefore, the King of England was not bound, as King of that country, to avenge the insult offered to Ireland. It was apparent when in difficulties, Ireland was considered as a distinct government, but when prosperous, England was not backward in claiming the right to participate, by levying taxes on that prosperity. The coldness shewn by England when called on to protect the property of the Irish merchants had taught them that they must depend on their own resources for protection against foreign aggression. Every thing

concurred to confirm them in this opinion. It was manifest that if Ireland was an integral part of the empire, she was entitled to demand the interference of the ministers of the crown to obtain, if required, redress; but if she was only considered as a federative state, she was then entitled to lean on her own resources for support, and trust to her own power for protection. But in fact her position as a nation was not well defined. She was called independent, but in reality was dependent. Her parliament was free to deliberate on, but not originate, laws for her government. Her industry was crippled, not encouraged. Taxes on her trade were levied by a government that refused protection to that trade; and the bulk of her population deprived of the rights of citizenship.

These indisputable truths penetrated the minds of those who composed the armed associations. The Volunteers felt themselves bound to insist on the removal of these abuses. If England was deaf to their remonstrances, they knew they had the means of restoring her hearing;—defeated in America, she was humbled, and open to conviction, which might make her concede to the claims of a too long neglected and oppressed people. The interested friends of English connection—the corrupt and timid supporters of English extortion—endeavoured to stop the impetuous torrent of public opinion, by cunningly appealing to the generosity of the nation. They affected to deplore the general movement, and what they termed the intemperate conduct of the Volunteers, as compromising the character of the Irish for forbearance and generosity. They represented England as having shown a disposition to concede what was asked, and that a demonstration of physical power, in her present state of prostrated strength, was unworthy of a brave and generous people. They strongly deprecated an appeal to arms; they inculcated the necessity for great circumspection, and implored the armed associations not to exact from the weakness of Great

Britain concessions which she would willingly make at a future period, and which would be more permanent than those extorted during her adversity. But the days of deceit had passed away, and Irishmen were no longer the easy dupes of political gamblers. They were heard with impatience, and looked upon with distrust; their motives were manifest, and their duplicity despised. Foiled in their attempts to seduce the Volunteers, by flattering the national honour, they employed other means, which they vainly imagined would ensure success. They depicted Ireland as not possessing the power of continuing a contest; without wealth and without a navy, they predicted ruin to her commerce, and certain destruction to her inhabitants; that failure would produce confiscation, and she would lose any importance she had acquired as an independent nation. These arguments were listened to, but failed to convince; they had the opposite effect to that intended—they roused the pride of the people to whom they were addressed. They had acquired the power of reasoning for themselves, and this power taught them that unanimity was strength, and that opportunity should not be lost. Experience had proved that faith might be broken, and treaties forgotten; they could not be persuaded to wait the convenience of government to grant that which was within their grasp, and which might be lost to them for ever; they did not consider it dishonourable to profit by the weakness of England, in rescuing from usurpation those rights that had been once held by their forefathers, and which they had lost by their weakness; they could not believe in the doctrine of political forbearance, that permits an enemy to breathe, in order to destroy; they felt that another opportunity might never occur, and instinct taught them to seize on the fortunate moment to assert their liberties. The arrogance of England was forced to put on the smile of conciliation, and insolence yielded to expediency. The concessions demanded were

Determined conduct of the Irish people.

granted, because they could not be refused; and an armed population dragged from the hands of an unwilling minister those privileges that humility had failed to obtain.

The sacred fire that had been kindled, could not be extinguished, and continued to burn too fiercely for the safety of Ireland. Her enthusiasm carried her on with too great rapidity, until she arrived at a precipice, over which she madly plunged, and, along with her liberties, was dashed to pieces. Intoxicated with success, the people forgot that to their own exertions they were alone indebted for what they had received, and gave credit to England for a generosity she had not displayed, and a feeling she did not possess.

The dissension of her political leaders was the first blow struck against her newly-acquired liberties, and was eagerly, though secretly hailed by the English cabinet as a symptom of her approaching ruin. The deplorable misunderstanding between two of the most powerful patriots, Mr. Grattan and Mr. Flood, laid her again open to the insidious designs of her enemies, who soon availed themselves of it by recommencing their operations against her liberties.

Quarrel between Grattan and Flood.

We now return to the causes that had produced effects so beneficial to the commerce, both foreign and domestic, of the Irish people. Ireland was weary of beseeching where she was spurned, and ashamed of flattering where she was reviled. Her weakness had been represented of a nature to require the support of her more powerful neighbour; the possibility of her ever being able to govern herself, treated as a fable, and resistance to England considered as the dream of the enthusiast. The American revolution that had humbled England to the dust, had raised Ireland from her ashes. Great Britain had become weak, whilst Ireland had gathered strength, and arrived at the knowledge of her importance. The Volunteers had paraded through the streets of Dublin, with a label appended to the mouths of their cannon, inscribed with these

significant words, "*Free Trade, or else*——." The other armed corps had caught the enthusiasm, and the population of every town and district poured forth their armed multitudes to assert their demands of free trade and equal laws. The first object of their solicitude was the former, and they trusted to military demonstration to obtain a full participation in all the other benefits of a free constitution. These symptoms could not be mistaken; the alarm became general in England; the political intolerance of the cabinet was shaken; a feeling of fear replaced that of arrogance; and after essaying all the wily paths of a tortuous diplomacy, ministers came to the conclusion that "something must be done to tranquillize Ireland." But it was determined that the "something" should appear as a boon, not as an act of necessity—thus trying to hide their mortification under the cloak of magnanimity, and conceal their fears beneath the mask of generosity. Bills to carry into effect the concessions of England were hurried through the British Parliament with a speed that betrayed anxiety. The sixth of George I. declaratory of the dependence of Ireland was repealed. But these concessions were made without those guarantees that were indispensable to constitute permanency, and were granted with a view to ulterior revocation, a sort of tub thrown to the whale, which, unfortunately, it swallowed.

The Volunteers demand Free Trade.

On the 27th of May the Irish Parliament met, when in a speech from the throne, they were informed that the British legislature, anxious to prove its sympathy with the people of Ireland, had repealed the 6th of George I. and expressed a determination to remove the causes of discontent and jealousy that existed between the two nations. This communication was received with repeated cheers, almost every member rose to express his satisfaction at the happy results of the struggle that had agitated the country. The address embodying these feelings was moved by Mr. Grattan in an eloquent speech, and was carried with only

two dissentient voices, Mr. Walsh, and Sir Samuel Bradstreet, because of the following passage, "*That there will no longer exist any constitutional question between the two nations that can interrupt their harmony.*" This great national benefit was gained by the moderate yet persevering exertions of an armed force without the commission of a single act which could compromise their characters as good citizens. Such a great event could not arrive without exciting a lively gratitude in the breasts of all, to that Providence who had thus guided the hearts and understandings of both the ministers and the people for their mutual advantage, and a day of thanksgiving was accordingly appointed. Had the liberal policy of Great Britain been the result of a conviction of the impolicy of continuing restrictive laws, had she been as sincere as she wished Ireland to believe, had these concessions been freely given not forced from her, and had they been granted without a concealed intention to revoke them, the measure would have been fraught with the happiest consequences to both nations, mutual interests would have made them mutual friends, and they would have been bound together by the strong tie of affection that neither the corruption or malice of future administrations could have severed.

England conciliates the Irish people.

But if Great Britain yielded to expediency, she could not pardon the wound inflicted on national pride, or forget those who caused her humiliation, and after ten years of peace and prosperity, Ireland was again made the arena of political and religious dissension where senseless gladiators put forth their strength to destroy each other, at the bidding and for the amusement of their masters. It was believed that commercial jealousy, a disease more virulent in England than in any other country, had been banished from the minds of ministers and replaced by a more liberal and enlightened feeling. But fear still prevailed over a sense of justice, jealousy over sound policy, and deceit over honesty.

The existence of these causes were soon made evident by their consequences.

The liberality displayed towards Ireland was well calculated to win the affections of a warm-hearted and unsuspecting people. It captivated their understandings, and stimulated their gratitude. They did not suspect the concealed treachery that crouched under the faithless professions and soothing language of the British cabinet, which was silently preparing a rebellion to destroy them as a people and annihilate them as a nation. They did not perceive the quicksands by which their independence was surrounded; they placed implicit confidence in the specious language of their rulers, and disdained to suspect their honour as Englishmen, or their character as statesmen.

The repeal of the 6th George I. had diffused a general joy throughout the kingdom. But this feeling was of short duration; the clouds began to appear on the political horizon. The Duke of Portland had been recalled on the death of the Marquis of Rockingham, and Lord Temple sent over as Viceroy. Meanwhile the armed Volunteers, justly proud of what they had accomplished, and conscious of their strength, continued to meet and to deliberate. Some of the leading members of the Irish House of Commons, at the head of whom was the celebrated Mr. Flood, were amongst the few who dared to declare their suspicions of English sincerity. The latter from his place declared his doubts, and that nothing short of an entire renunciation on the part of England, to bind Ireland by English laws, ought or should satisfy the Irish people. He argued that the mere repeal of the 6th George II. left Ireland still dependant, for although permitted to originate laws they could not be confirmed as such without the sanction of the English cabinet, and that without a declaration on the part of that cabinet of its intention to renounce all interference in Irish affairs, the country would be exposed to the attacks of any profligate minister who might avail himself of the un-

suspecting and want of foresight of the defender of its liberties. Within the walls of parliament the repeal seemed to have given satisfaction, but such was not the case throughout the population; discontent increased, and it was strongly urged at the armed meetings that the security proposed by Mr. Flood should be demanded. By some his proposal was considered as an attempt to cast a shade over the brilliant success of his great rival Mr. Grattan; but the people eagerly caught at every new subject for political agitation with an anxiety that seemed to increase with every concession, and Mr. Flood was pronounced by his countrymen to be one whose political views were not to be diverted from the future or blinded by the present. In the debate on this question, Mr. Grattan in the fulness of his belief in the integrity and good faith of England, emphatically expressed his opinion, that "the nation that insists on the humiliation of another is a foolish nation,"—forgetting that political integrity amongst nations, yields to the thirst for aggrandizement, and that the love of power and conquest is not regulated by those high feelings of honour and forbearance that pervades the transactions of individuals. There never existed a man more universally and deservedly beloved than Mr. Grattan, his never tiring and disinterested zeal in the service of his native land, his ardent attachment to its institution, exalted him above all others, and made more conspicuously useful his unrivalled talents, Ireland is justly proud of a man whose rigid consistency was equally proof against the allurements of power, the temptation of avarice, the smiles of adulation, or the distinctions of rank. He combined rapidity of thought with great force of expression and fertility of illustration,—he possessed in an eminent degree the power of condensing important truths and enforcing them with a profusion of beautiful imagery.*

Character of Mr. Grattan.

* In reproaching his countrymen with intolerance, he said—"The source of your reason tells you that you should embrace every sect of religion; how then can you hope to receive sovereign mercy, if you are deaf to the

He was sometimes hurried away with the tide of popular phrenzy, but generally he listened to the voice of sober reason more than furious declamation. His opinions, though inwardly convinced of their truth, were not delivered with an air of authority, but modestly insinuated, the sure characteristic of intrinsic merit. In conversation he was marked by the most perfect chastity of expression, but when warmed by an allusion to the wrongs of his country, his eloquence like a hurricane, swept everything before it, uprooting and scattering to the winds the arguments of his opponents. His gentleness and singular modesty endeared him to those who had the pleasure of his acquaintance. His humanity no less distinguished him than his delicacy of feeling, and incorruptible integrity, reflect honour on human nature.

Such was Grattan, the profound scholar, the elegant gentleman, and the ardent patriot. The mind of this extraordinary man, constantly excited, wore out the frame; but he lived long enough to witness the success of the insidious enemies of his country against its liberties, and he sunk into the grave with the conviction, that political honesty was incompatible with courtly favour, and that ministerial probity was a word used only to deceive. The unfortunate dissensions of the two great popular leaders, Grattan and Flood, gave just foundation for alarm to the friends of Ireland's freedom, and infused new hopes into the British cabinet.

The machiavelian principle of creating fierce political animosity between parties with a view to enslave, gained much by this quarrel. It was hoped that the dispute would extend to the people, that disunited they would cease to be dangerous, and become an easy prey to political profligacy.

cries of your fellow-creatures? The doctrine of *the dark conclave of bigotry* which bursting, overwhelmed the nations of the earth, may be urged in favour of such criminal apathy; but the pangs of him who suffered a cruel crucifixion, will rush from the sepulchre to upbraid you with ingratitude, and involve your future tranquillity."

Mr. Flood's character.

Mr. Flood had become from his boldness in debate and declared scepticism as to the ulterior intentions of England, a great favourite with the nation. Though inferior as an orator to Mr. Grattan, his acquirements were great, and his political foresight rendered him more cautious and more difficult to deceive than the latter; Mr. Grattan was the fiery patriot, Mr. Flood the prudent politician.

The language of the former, fascinated by its force and dazzled by its brilliancy. That of the latter carried conviction to the understanding by the soundness of its reasoning. Both were great, and both proud. Neither had the grandeur of soul to forget their personal jealousy in their anxiety for the happiness of their country; they formed a deplorable illustration of the ambition founded on vanity, from which no human being is exempt, and which is so fatal and dangerous an enemy to the liberty of nations. In their efforts for pre-eminence, they were blind to the ruin their quarrel entailed on their country. Encouraged by the interested and cunning mercenaries who swarmed in the court of the Viceroy, they entered on the mad career, which in a few years led them to the grave of Irish independence. Party spirit which has been well defined, as "the madness of many for the advantage of a few," replaced patriotism, each had his supporters, and each weakly imagined that the battle of the partisan was the combat for liberty.

Second Dunganon meeting.

Had their ardour been controlled by reason, and their ambition by patriotism, had a prudent caution weakened too great confidence, and had a sense of their united strength taught them that to demand was to receive, the sacred temple of their country's freedom would have been erected on a rock that would have remained for ages unshaken by the political tempests of Europe.

But the film that obscured their vision was not removed until too late, and they recovered their reason only to mourn over their loss. Like reckless gamesters they threw away

the chance that would have secured the game, and established Irish independence. The question of a reform in the Irish Parliament had been introduced, and a feeling of its necessity infused over the whole country. A deep impression had been made, that without it there was no security for the constitution, no safeguard against the undermining influence of the British government. To discuss this question it was determined that another meeting of delegates should be held at Dungannon, and the 8th September was the day appointed for them to assemble. At this meeting it was resolved to select five persons to represent each county in a national convention, to assemble in Dublin on the 10th of the following November.

The assembled Delegates declared that the people were not fairly represented, inasmuch, as the House of Commons was composed of three hundred members, seventy-two of which only were elected by the free choice of the constituency, and the remaining two hundred and twenty-eight, by different noblemen and gentlemen, by whom they were bound to vote as they should dictate. It was decided that a committee of correspondence should be formed, whose duty it should be to collect information, and to correspond with the influential men of the kingdom, to give publicity to their views and intentions and to secure their co-operation in the great work of reform. One of their first acts was to apply to Lord Charlemont the commander-in-chief of the Irish volunteers, for his opinion on that vital question. His reply was characteristic of that nobleman, it was cold, cautious, and temporising; it recommended that the measure alone should be proposed, leaving it to "the mature deliberation of parliament to decide on its necessity." This letter was neither satisfactory or encouraging to the Irish army; it recommended moderation at a moment when the English government in its feebleness was not in a state to publicly oppose their wishes for reform, but was secretly sowing the elements of discord in their ranks. Deceived in the hope of receiving

Vacilating character of Lord Charlemont.

his approbation, the volunteers for the first time began to show symptoms of disunion. The wreath of shamrock that had united Irishmen in the bonds of amity, was torn asunder by the same hand that had assisted in weaving it, and not long afterwards the withered leaves were scattered and destroyed. Some hesitated, and were startled at their own temerity, others declared their determination not to abandon the cause they had espoused, or disappoint the expectations of the country.

Character of Lord Charlemont

The talents of Lord Charlemont were not of that description which constitute greatness. His understanding was weakened by too much kindness of the heart, and his ideas of liberty resembled those of the slave of the seraglio, whose views are circumscribed by the walls that enclose it. He only looked to English protection, and was unable to comprehend the possibility of Ireland existing as a distinct kingdom,

Educated in the belief of the omnipotence of England, he clung to it with the greatest pertinacity. As a commander, he was deficient in the vigour of mind necessary to conduct a great enterprise, and his humane feeling and mistaken philanthropy, made him shudder with horror at the persecutions and bloodshed that sometimes attend popular commotion. His mind magnified things of little moment into great importance; though incapable of betraying national confidence, he was easily flattered into a fatal hesitation, and he sacrificed the hopes of the country on the altar of discretion—his ambition was satisfied with command, but his capacity was not adapted to the difficulties and dangers attendant on the situation—yielding to the false colouring of the imagination he ceased to support the patriotic views of the volunteers. They had considered him as the palladium of their liberties, he had conducted them to the great fountain of national independence, but when at the brink he turned round and refused to slake their thirst at the stream. He neglected to seize the advantages within his grasp, and abandoned for ever the interests of Ireland.

At this period almost every one who had a house or a field in the country were enrolled as volunteers. Prejudice vanished before the light of reason, Catholic and Protestant no longer guided by the false reasoning of fanaticism, had ceased fighting about the other world, and united to obtain in this, liberty and happiness.

Volunteers in 1782.

The greatest order and propriety prevailed, the higher classes set an example of firmness and propriety of conduct that was followed by the whole nation, crime was scarcely heard of, and all joined as one family, alone anxious for the general good. Such was the situation of Ireland in 1782. Could it be grander, stronger, or more formidable? The nation contemplated with pride her sons in arms, and exulting in the prosperity arising from their exertions, looked forward with intense anxiety, and well founded hope to the period when Ireland should resume her place as a country worthy of being consulted, from her riches, her commerce, her population, and her political consequence. She saw in her armed associations a guarantee for the preservation of property and the repression of violence, whilst their rigid discipline insured tranquillity, and their numbers commanded respect.

Notwithstanding the opinion contained in his letter addressed to the delegates at Dungannon, Lord Charlemont still retained the chief command of the volunteers. His timidity increased with the boldness of the army he commanded. His love of quiet cheated his imagination into the belief of the possibility of uniting ministerial liberality with armed determination, and he saw in the convention about to assemble on the 10th November, a demonstration of the intention of the volunteers to intimidate the government, and force a separation. He did not conceal these opinions, and they had the effect of insinuating doubt and alarm into the minds of the feeble of intellect, and infirm of purpose.

As the 10th November approached the alarm of ministers

increased,—it was necessary to adopt some measure to calm the rough sea of public opinion, and to decide on what course to pursue. Too feeble to attempt putting down the meeting by force, it was determined to have recourse to open flattery and private treachery. On the 14th October, a vote of thanks to the Volunteers for their services to the country, was proposed and carried. In this debate ministers were lavish in their praises of their orderly conduct, and the protection they had afforded to the country; whilst their adherents were sedulously employed in circulating alarming reports of the sinister views and treasonable intentions of the Volunteers and Delegates.

Meeting of Delegates at the Rotunda.

The eventful day at length arrived. On the tenth of November, the Delegates, headed by Lord Charlemont, proceeded to the Rotunda, guarded by a squadron of horse. They marched two and two, and presented an imposing array of the intellect and wealth of the kingdom. Parliamentary reform was the ostensible reason for their assembling, but other political matters relative to the situation of the country were also to be discussed. This glorious display of mutual exertion to benefit their country—this union of men of every sect and creed, was only the expiring blaze of the fire of Irish enthusiasm that was on the point of being extinguished, and this meeting that comprised within its circle all that was good, great, and respectable, only prepared the way that led to the destruction of Irish independence. Detachments of volunteers from each county attended their deputies, a guard of honour composed of the elite of the different regiments was stationed at the Rotunda during the sittings, and an officer's guard was placed at the house of the president. The different corps had clothed themselves for the occasion in new uniforms, and their military appointments were in the best order. When paraded together, their steadiness under arms, and their soldier-like appearance was the admiration of the inhabitants, and their devotion to their country was the theme of every tongue.

The Royal Exchange having been found too small to contain the deputies, they adjourned to the Rotunda. The firing of a royal salute by the volunteer artillery announced this movement. They were preceded by the Rathdown cavalry, commanded by Col. Edwards, of Old Court, county of Wicklow; the brigade of Dublin artillery, commanded by Napper Tandy; the grenadiers of the regiment of barristers, under the orders of Col. Pedder, bearing the green standard of Ireland; a battalion of infantry with a band, and then the Delegates, wearing side arms, and broad green ribbands across their shoulders—the different bands playing the Volunteer's March. The chaplains in their canonicals accompanied each regiment. The procession of a self-armed and appointed people, conducting to the place appointed for deliberation, men of their unbiassed choice, exalted for their private virtues, public patriotism, and tried talent to watch over their interests, was one worthy of a great, united, and powerful people. The line of march was through the largest streets and along the quays of the metropolis, which sent forth its population to cheer them on their way. The walls of the houses at each side of the streets looked as if formed of green banners and human heads, and the houses were roofed with human beings. The animation that marked every countenance, the smile of exultation and pride, the firm grasp of the hand, the cheers of the multitude, and waving of handkerchiefs by the fair daughters of Ireland, gave evidence of general sympathy and national approbation. This reception of the delegates was not that of a turbulent and impatient people, but a public demonstration of political feeling, which conveyed to their rulers their firm yet calm determination, to support them in their endeavours to obtain Reform. The excitement amongst the people was general, but it did not hurry them into any excesses, or cause them to compromise their character, as men, or their loyalty as subjects; never did any country send forth her legions in a more holy cause, with greater confidence in

Procession to the Rotunda.

their strength, or stronger reliance in their forbearance. These legions had already removed the restrictions that fettered commerce: they had wrung from the English government a tardy, but public declaration of the independence of Ireland, and they now met in the capital to consummate the great work, by seeking for a reform in a Parliament that was still under the control of a British minister.

CHAPTER X.

Mr. Pitt's duplicity—The Earl of Bristol—Sinister conduct of government —Want of decision in Lord Charlemont—Bill for reform, 1783—Mr. Fitzgibbon's speech—Reproved by Mr. Curran—Bill rejected.

THE tranquillity of the country remained undisturbed, and the strict discipline, and orderly conduct of the Volunteers gave security of its continuance. Irishmen anxiously, but calmly, awaited the result of the efforts for reform, in full confidence of the incorruptible integrity of the members of the National Convention, whose principles were not to be bought by the treasury, or their minds biassed by court favour.

Mr. Pitt's duplicity.

The English minister to satisfy the clamours of the people, had proposed a partial reform in the British House of Commons, and was secretly employed in undermining his own measure. Notwithstanding the renunciation of all right of interference in the affairs of Ireland, he furtively employed every means to defeat the patriotic exertions of the armed associations. That renunciation had been publicly declared, and the federal compact which deprived England of the right of all future interference, solemnly ratified by the monarch. The display of an armed force, meeting to deliberate within a short distance, and in sight of the House of Commons, was described as an attempt to overawe the members, to deprive the legitimate legislature of all power, and to degrade it in the eyes of the nation. It was evident that their co-existence could not be permanent, and was incompatible with the peace of the country.

It is gratifying to the honest pride of Irishmen, to look back to this eventful period, when the intelligence, the rank,

and the wealth of the nation were collected in one great meeting, where love of country predominated over every selfish feeling, patriotism bid defiance to corruption, and liberty threw down the gauntlet to despotism.

It is an acknowledged fact, that no government ever reformed itself; that corruption is a sort of cancer which gradually undermines public health, and if not extirpated by the public knife, depraves the body politic, and finally destroys vitality. There is not a grievance, public or private, that does not arise from the corruption of legislators, and there is not a blessing that may be wished for by the governed, that may not be obtained by virtuous legislation. To frame an honest Parliament is therefore the first duty of a citizen, and his highest interest. The mode of obtaining this invaluable good is simple, short and easy. The first and obvious step is that of sending those only to legislate whose character for ability is known, and whose integrity is beyond suspicion. The adoption of this principle secures to posterity a system of salutary laws, for the loss of which, no lord or landlord can make any compensation. To neglect this principle is criminal, and to oppose it, treason to humanity. Let it not be said, one will be oppressed by his landlord; another fears his employers; a third, his customers. These are selfish and degrading considerations, which, in the moral man should not be allowed to enter into the scale against national prosperity. There is no evil which may not be wiped away by pursuing this principle, and the reward will immediately follow, by the benefits which will flow from an honest representation. The equalizing hand of justice will be stretched forth to increase commerce, encourage agriculture, and foster manufactures. In a well constituted society, where morality forms the basis of government, and public good the principle of legislation, such precautions are not necessary; but in a country where wide extended influence and corruption sway public opinion, where self-interest and personal aggrandisement are raised on the ruins of national

morality and national prosperity, it is the duty of the elector to act with the greatest circumspection in the choice of a representative, and to obtain every possible guarantee for his fidelity to the people*

* In the year 1795, it was proposed that the following test should be presented to candidates for a seat in Parliament; it left no room for equivocation. "I pledge myself to my countrymen of every persuasion and description, should I be returned to Parliament. 1. That I will seek by every constitutional means, and endeavour with my utmost ability to obtain an equal representation of *the whole Irish people* in the Commons House of Parliament, by abolishing all rotten boroughs, by extending the elective franchise to the utmost limit which the collective wisdom of the nation shall deem safe. 2. That I shall endeavour to restore to the people their constitutional right to short Parliaments. 3. That in order accurately to ascertain the national will on those and all other momentous subjects, I will endeavour to obtain a law for restoring and preserving to the people the right of peaceably assembling either collectively or by delegation, for the purpose of discussing and petitioning. 4. That to correct the alarming and unconstitutional influence in the House of Commons, I will endeavour to obtain an unequivocal law, which shall not only exclude, but render inelligible all pensioners and placemen of every denomination. 5. That considering the exclusive possession of civil and political rights as the parent of injustice and persecution, I will endeavour to procure the unqualified emancipation of my Catholic countrymen, who form the great majority of the nation, and to abrogate all the penal statutes, test acts and religious disqualifications whatsoever. 6. That for the better preservation of the liberty of the subject, I will endeavour to obtain a law for strictly defining the privileges of both Houses of Parliament, which have *been hitherto uncertain and arbitrary*, their extent *unknown to the people at large, and even to the Parliament itself.* 7. That I shall endeavour to obtain a law for the exclusion of clergymen of every persuasion from both Houses of Parliament as I consider their spiritual duties incompatible with those of a temporal nature. 8. That in order to purify and preserve the great bulwark of our liberties—trial by jury—I will endeavour to restore to the people, the ancient and constitutional right of electing their sheriffs; the abuse of whose power in packing juries, is become monstrous and intolerable. 9. That as a necessary step to the establishment of national economy, I will endevour to procure the total abolition of sinecure places. 10. That as the best means of promoting the peace, morality, and industry of the nation, and for the purpose of rendering unnecessary, that sanguinary code of criminal laws, in whose bloody characters the uninstructed Irishman can only read the negative duties of man, I will exert my utmost ability to obtain for the whole people an efficient na-

The convention was now regularly installed, and proceeded to appoint a committee, whose duty it was to receive plans of reform from whoever thought proper to submit them for consideration. Popular movements have the effect of bringing into notice men who otherwise might have remained buried in obscurity. Their zeal is awakened by the stirring events around them, and their patriotism excited by the attempts to prevent the expression of national feeling. The conduct, on this occasion, of Frederick, Earl of Bristol, an Englishman, and Bishop of Derry, is a striking illustration of the truth of this observation. Of high birth, large fortune, great learning, and brilliant imagination, but very eccentric; his affability and condescension, accompanied with courtly manners, insensibly softened down political animosity, and gained him friends amongst those who before ranked as his most determined political opposers. Ambitious to lead, he stooped to court public applause, by professing what he did not feel. His religious zeal, like others of his profession, was coupled with an anxiety for temporal authority, and to obtain it he was willing to make every sacrifice, and practise every dissimulation. The moment

Frederick, Earl of Bristol.

tional education, and the abolition of all taxes upon newspapers, books and pamphlets, the great vehicles of communication and knowledge. 11. That as the maintenance of the clergy by tythes is a grievance, as injurious to religion as to industry, to the church as to the country; fomenting animosity between the pastor and the people; creating an unnatural race of harpies in the persons of proctors; adding fuel to the basest litigation, and cramming our prisons with laborious poor, I will exert my utmost power to procure *the abolition of tythes*, and to establish some more equitable provision for the *acting* ministers of the church. 12. That I will never vote for any law which may effect the elective franchise of the people, or any other part of the constitution, without previously convening and consulting the constituent body thereon. 13. That I will never, directly or indirectly, for myself or family, receive place, pension, title, or any species of bribe for my vote in parliament. 14. That I will at all times be ready to receive instructions from my constituents, &c. to present to the House of Commons, all such petitions, and support such laws, at they or the general body of my fellow citizens may deem expedient for the advancement of their interests."

had arrived which he imagined would place him high in public confidence. Bold and enterprising, his daring pleased and his eloquence inflamed an irritated and injured people. His popularity and his ambition made him dangerous. By some it was supposed he aimed at separation from England; the cautious were alarmed; many of the popular leaders sought the advice, and followed the example of the weak and temporizing Lord Charlemont. If such were his views, they were counteracted at a time when union, boldness, and determination would have lent their aid to their accomplishment; but timidity and irresolution deprived him of the support he expected, and defeated his intentions.

The Duke of Leinster, Mr. Brownlow, and many others adopted the cautious Charlemont policy; but the mass of the people were enthusiastic in their admiration of the military character of the daring prelate, who urged them to avail themselves of an opportunity, which, if lost, would prostrate them at the feet of the British minister. This difference between men, professing to have only one common object in view, it was evident must end in the triumph of the principles of either the one or the other. The trial of strength was in the election of president. Lord Charlemont was successful. The final dissolution of that body soon after, put an end to the hopes and fears of both parties. Watchful of the proceedings of the convention, ministers and their adherents soon discovered the germ of future discord amongst its members. The intemperate language of some of the Delegates confirmed the cautious in their fears of popular tumult, and the impatient demonstration of the people gave a colouring of truth to the alarming reports of intended revolution, industriously spread by the agents of government.

Sinister conduct of the Government.

The embarrassment of the British ministry increased. They were fully aware that if the reform demanded was conceded, England would no longer have the power of using the Irish parliament as a tool for upholding English ascen-

dency, and the extirpation of Irish industry. Parliament had shewn strong symptoms of an approach to independence, many of its members, hitherto the interested and crawling creatures of the castle, had been warmed into Irish feeling by the rising sun of Irish liberty. It was necessary to extinguish this feeling before they could regain their influence. Despotism was to be restored, and the hand of corruption was employed to repair the tottering edifice of English ascendancy. It was at this critical period, the infamous conspiracy was hatched, which stirred up the vile, but almost extinguished passion of religious animosity, introduced the scourge of civil war, deluged the country with blood, and destroyed the endearing ties of family love and brotherly affection. Humanity shudders at the cold blooded atrocity that could deliberately plan the destruction of a country they affected to love and to protect, and repudiates as men the monsters that calculated on the gibbet, the sword, and the torture for replacing Ireland within the unsisterly grasp of the country they governed. The events that followed remove all doubts of the truth of these assertions.

Conspiracy to produce dissension.

On the 29th of November, Mr. Flood proposed that the convention should go down in a body to the House of Commons and demand the introduction of a Bill of Reform similar to the one he had submitted to the deputies, and which had been approved of by them, and moved, "that the convention should not adjourn till the fate of the bill was ascertained." Both motions were agreed to. The ardour of Mr. Flood overcame every obstacle; the ascendency he had obtained over the people was felt within the walls of the Rotunda, and any proposal no matter how wild or rash, would have received the cordial support of the whole nation. A strong party had been formed against the vacilating system of Lord Charlemont, of which Mr. Flood and the Earl of Bristol were the leaders. The rejection of the latter as president had wounded his pride

and checked his ambition. Angry and disappointed, he joined the opposition, whose power was soon evinced by the adoption of Mr. Flood's proposition. In this instance, the usual good sense of Mr. Flood yielded before his enthusiasm, and in his wish to serve his country, his impatience defeated his object.

Relying on the support of the armed population for the completion of his views, it did not occur to him, that an armed interference of a people (no matter how pure the motive) with their rulers is always looked on with suspicion, and that the fear of military despotism detaches many from their ranks, and neutralises their efforts to enforce their measures for the public advantage. The predominant feature of Lord Charlemont was that weakness which is the foundation of indecision. Individually brave, but, as a public character, timid in the extreme, commanding with dignity at a review, but destitute of that moral courage for great achievements so necessary to form a good officer in the field of battle. He was deservedly respected for his virtues, and this respect always found an apology for his faults. The hands of the Irish people were on their swords but he prevented their being unsheathed. He dreaded civil war, but the very measures he proposed and carried, entailed it, at a later period, on his country.

Want of decision in Lord Charlemont.

The eminence to which he had arrived, opened to his view a prospect which he could not contemplate with firmness. He descended from it carrying along with him Irish independence, Irish happiness, and Irish prosperity. His fall was as sudden as his elevation had been rapid. His virtues are not forgotten, but his faults are a matter of history, and can never be forgiven by his country. The Lord Lieutenant and the cabinet were undecided as to their proceedings. They calculated on the increasing dissension for the dissolution of the convention and the total breaking up of the volunteers. In adopting this course they displayed great foresight; not strong enough to employ force, they

had recourse to the weapon of the weaker, dissension. By alternately alarming the timid, flattering the vain, and corrupting the venal, they hoped to obtain the accomplishment of their wishes. The moderation of Lord Charlemont was praised, and his pride gratified, by being told, that on him alone the government depended for the preservation of peace, and the connexion between the two kingdoms. It was artfully represented, that if he felt himself unable to control the warlike propensities of the Volunteers, or the fiery spirit of the Delegates, he ought at once quit their ranks. That his resignation would be followed by that of others, and that this would enable government to propose measures for the suppression of an illegal assembly. His hesitation announced his perplexity, and his weakness trembled at responsibility. He had organized the Convention, and notwithstanding his resignation he was aware that he would still have to answer for their proceedings. He would not be ordered, but his mind was commanded by his fears. His sense of what he considered duty to the government, struggled with the feeling of love to the country, and shame at the abandonment of the vessel amidst the tempest he had raised. The combat was not of long duration; his timidity mastered his understanding, and his resignation, at the moment when he was within reach of the rich fruit of his labours, deprived him, as a public man, of the love of his country, his glory, and of the respect of posterity. His resignation had the effect anticipated by ministers. His defection from the sacred cause of Irish freedom, gave a fatal blow to those who had elevated him to so proud an eminence, and was the first step towards the dissolution of the armed associations. Gaining confidence by their success in detaching Lord Charlemont from the Convention, ministers resolved to make a desperate effort against the Volunteers, by instructing their majority in the House of Commons to refuse leave for the introduction of the bill, framed by the convention, for reform in Parliament, under the plea of its emanating from an armed and unconstitutional body.

On the 29th of November, in the House of Commons, Mr. Henry Flood moved for leave to introduce a bill for the more equal representation of the people in Parliament.* The motion was opposed by the Attorney-general, Mr. Yelverton, in a speech remarkable for its eloquence. He was followed by the arrogant and ready advocate of oppression, Mr. Fitzgibbon, who, unable to control his vindictive and malignant spirit, made a speech full of invective against the Volunteers; describing them as armed demagogues,

Bill for Reform, 1783

* Plan for reform in Parliament, proposed by the National Convention of Volunteer Delegates, assembled in Dublin in 1783.

Decayed boroughs to be opened by the admission to suffrage of a barony or baronies, parish or parishes, as the case may require.

Any city, borough, or manor, which hath hitherto returned members, shall be considered decayed, that does not contain a number of electors, over and above potwallopers, not less than 200 in Ulster, 100 in Munster and Connaught, and 70 in Leinster; or at any time hereafter when such cities, &c. shall so far fall into decay as not to furnish that number of Electors, they shall cease to return members until the due number shall be supplied.

Triennial Parliaments.

In all cities, towns, boroughs, or manors, forty shilling freeholders and upwards to have votes in such cities, &c.

In counties, besides their present electors, persons possessing leasehold interests for years, originally set for sixty-one years, or upwards of ten pounds yearly value, and twenty years unexpired, to be voters in counties.

Extension of suffrage to Roman Catholics.

Voters to swear to qualification, and that he will vote for the candidate he believes most likely to support the interests of the people in Parliament; also to take the oath against bribery; votes once taken to stand unimpeachable; heavy penalty against a voter falsely swearing, and loss of his franchise.

Members in Parliament (besides the present oaths in use,) to swear that neither they, nor any person for them, with their knowledge, bribed any elector to vote for them.

That they will not accept, during their holding seats in Parliament, pension, place, or title.

Placemen to vacate their seats, but capable of re-election. A member convicted by a jury of perjury, to be disqualified from sitting.

Abrogation of all corporation bye laws contracting the franchise of Electors.

Mr. Fitzgibbon's speech.

ready to plunge the country into confusion and bloodshed, and loaded the Convention with every epithet of abuse. His speech produced an irritation which, had it been supported by the house, might have been immediately fatal to British connexion; but his abuse was not approved of, and his conduct met with a severe reproof from the eloquence of Curran, who denounced him as one dangerous to the peace of the country; an incendiary, who, for his own advantage, wished to kindle the torch of civil war and religious intolerance. The debate degenerated into uproar; party violence usurped the place of sound argument, and personal abuse, that of courtesy. After a debate unprecedented for warmth and party irritation, in which Mr. Yelverton declared, "that to receive a bill which originated with an armed body, was inconsistent with the dignity of the House, and the freedom of debate," the bill was rejected by 158 to 49; of this majority, 138 were placemen. Had this bill passed, the Union Bill in 1800 would not have been carried; for these same men formed the majority when that national suicide was committed by the Irish Parliament.

Reproved by Mr. Curran.

In proposing his bill to the house, Mr. Flood, whose arguments were couched in terms remarkable for their energy as their courtesy, said, "I ask you, will you receive it from us, from us your members; neither intending by any thing within doors or without, to intimidate or overawe you?—I ask, will you receive it as our bill, or will you conjure up a military phantom of interposition to affright yourselves?"

Bill for Reform rejected.

On the rejection of the bill, the Attorney-general anxious, to seize on the moment to stamp with reprobation the National Convention, immediately moved, "that it was now necessary to declare, that this house would support the rights and privileges of Parliament against all encroachments." This motion was also carried, and an address embodying it was voted to his Majesty. The rejection of their bill, with-

out condescending to discuss its merits—the abuse poured out against them within those walls which had formerly resounded with their praise, caused a strong feeling of indignation amongst the Volunteers. A sullen deportment announced a discontent that only wanted some daring spirit to call it into action. The mind of the well-meaning, but feeble Lord Charlemont, was agitated by love of country on the one side, and fear of revolution on the other. The phantom of popular tumult seemed to have haunted his imagination from the moment of the first meeting of the Convention, and the inconsiderate conduct and intemperate language of the Bishop of Derry and the other deputies, only served to confirm him in the belief of its existence. In his alarm, he forgot that Ireland looked to him for independence; carried away by the fear of revolution, he fell into the snare so artfully prepared for him; and after consulting a few of his intimates, he resolved on dissolving the Convention. Aware that this would meet with opposition, and doubtful of success from the sensation occasioned by the rejection of Mr. Flood's bill, he stooped to employ cunning. On Monday morning, long before the usual hour of assembling, accompanied only by some of his own partizans, who alone knew of his intentions, he repaired to the Rotunda. The few Delegates who assembled were surprised at his arrival, and on his taking the chair, a member of the convention rose, and commenced a tirade against the House of Commons, for the insult they had received by the unceremonious rejection of the bill. This was expected by his lordship, and he was prepared to silence any attempts to discuss it. He called the Delegate to order, and fearful that time might be given, by discussion, for the arrival of the rest who would vote against adjournment, he appealed to his sense of propriety, by stating it to be unparliamentary to take notice of what had occurred in the other house. By this absurd apology for refusing to hear the opinion of the people through the Delegates, he silenced all who

attempted to speak on the subject, and hurried to the conclusion of the drama, in which he had been the principal and responsible performer. After some short debate of minor importance, a farewell address was voted to His Majesty. The adjournment was proposed and carried, *sine die*. The doors of the Rotunda were closed, and on the arrival, at the hour of meeting of the great body of Delegates, they heard with mixed feelings of surprise and indignation that the man of the people had betrayed his trust, and that their functions had ceased.

CHAPTER XI.

Indignation of the people—Another reform bill rejected—The Volunteers disperse—Mr. Pitt in 1784—Character of Mr. Pitt—Prosperous state of Ireland—Meeting in Dublin to petition the king—Mr. Pitt's answer—Some Volunteers continue to meet—Duty on Irish produce—Servile conduct of Fitzgibbon—Duke of Buckingham appointed Viceroy—The Irish Parliament address the Prince of Wales—The Prince's answer—The Union suggested by Mr. Dundas—Origin of the Irish Rebellion—Application to the Catholics—Proceedings to produce rebellion—Mr. Duigenan—Insidious policy of Mr. Pitt—Meetings in the North.

indignation of the people.

THE indignation of the deputies spread amongst the people, and the insulted majesty of the nation vented its anger in contempt for the man who had betrayed its confidence. A new leader was wanting; one whose patriotism shielded him from corruption, and whose courage despised intimidation. The Bishop of Derry, who had endeared himself to the people, was the man chosen to repair the faults of imbecility and hesitation. The Volunteers continued to meet and to deliberate, but their union had been destroyed by the desertion of their leaders, and their thoughts, which had been hitherto occupied with plans for their country's welfare, were suddenly turned into another channel—one that proved fatal to the repose of the country, and one that placed the people of Ireland again at the mercy of Great Britain. The spirit of liberty that nerved the nation was humbled and paralysed; government gained ground, as the Volunteers became disunited; the Parliament was purchased, and disappointed hope engendered despair. A last effort, however, to introduce a reform bill into Parliament was, on the suggestion of Lord Charlemont, determined on. He had been cheated into the belief that government would no longer resist a measure, if brought under their considera-

tion in the usual way, which had been refused to the demands of an armed and discontented population. This proposition enabled his lordship to retire from public life with some show of decency, and was offered as an apology for the abandonment of the cause he had espoused and cherished.

Another bill introduced and rejected.

Mr. Flood was selected to present the bill. His speech was tame and deficient in the eloquence produced by the prospect of success. It was supported by Mr. Grattan; but his support wanted energy, and was given only to the measure, not to the proposer—jealousy of his great rival damped his ardour, and silenced his eloquence. The bill of the Volunteers had excited a spirit of resistance because it was considered as military dictation, and the bill of the people was rejected, because it struck at the root of the tree of corruption.

This last blow to their hopes was fatal to the armed associations. Their numbers gradually diminished, and the resignation of the majority of their officers gave the signal of approaching extinction. They survived a few years; but disunion had done its work, and the proud bearing of the Irish Volunteers was replaced by a puerile display of childish vanity—they had been betrayed by their leader—they despaired and dispersed. Such was the end of an institution, whose patriotism was unbounded, and whose force was irresistible. It did some good; but its efforts were paralysed by placing too much confidence in the character, intelligence, and energy of its commanders.

The Volunteers disperse.

Mr. Pitt, 1784.

In consequence of a change in the British ministry, Mr. Pitt, son of the great and venerated Earl of Chatham, was appointed Premier, and the Duke of Rutland was sent over to replace Lord Northington as Lord-lieutenant of Ireland. Great good was augured from this appointment; Mr. Pitt had declared himself as a strenuous advocate for reform in the Parliament of England, and it was anticipated that no opposition would be offered to a similar measure for cleansing of corruption the Irish House of Commons. The apos-

tasy of public men from their political opinions is so common an occurrence that it has ceased to astonish, and is no longer considered disgraceful. When it arises from a conviction of error it is not reprehensible, for, as obstinacy is generally founded on ignorance, the yielding to the arguments of truth is a proof of cultivated intellect and sound judgment; but when they prostitute their talents to secure the support of the public voice—when they flatter the prejudices and inflame the passions of the people in order to seize on the reins of government, and then turn round and desert them —it is no longer an apostasy that can be palliated; it is political swindling; it is the servant disposing to the highest bidder, the property he has stolen from his master.

Character of Mr. Pitt.

Mr. Pitt began his public life under circumstances that promised a brilliant career in the path he had chosen which led to popularity. At the close of the American war, he either did or affected to see the necessity of Parliamentary reform. He declared his sentiments on this vital question, and thus secured to himself the support which he sought from the great body of the nation. Men of high and princely fortunes were found amongst his most enthusiastic admirers; corruption summoned all its sophistry to its aid in opposition to his propositions, and the same arguments were used against reformation, which afterwards received the sanction of his great name and the powerful support of his known abilities. Pamphlets were published, exposing the borough system—those of Mr. Pitt probed the wound to the bottom. He advocated public meetings to ascertain public opinion on the conduct of the legislation, and finished by deserting the party of the people, to which it was thought he had for ever bound himself. Nearly sixty years have elapsed since he commenced his career as prime minister of England, and during that long period his system of governing has been steadily pursued, with only one exception of consequence—Parliamentary reform. It is for the nation to judge of the wisdom or the folly of that system by the benefits it has con-

ferred or the injuries it has inflicted on the country. Deeply immersed in the study of measures tending to the good of his fellow-creatures, every faculty of a man's soul is under its influence; and, with regard to memory, what in the common herd of mankind is an involuntary defect, is in him systematic, and under the direction of a judgment perfectly sound, and a discernment so quick and penetrating, that he sees at one glance what ought to be remembered or forgotten, and can be retentive or oblivious according to convenience, or as existing circumstances require. To give an instance or two. It was convenient for Mr. Pitt to forget the instructions he received in his youth from a father who lived and died in the belief of the purity of his principles. It was also proper and convenient to forget the speeches he delivered in the House of Commons, and what passed in the societies for reform in 1784. His career as minister of Great Britain is written in the national debt; and his history as man recorded in the blood-stained annals of the Irish Rebellion. On his accession to power, Ireland was daily improving in prosperity—never since the first invasion had she enjoyed such peace and happiness—her population employed; absenteeism almost unknown, for the great landholders resided on their estates; religious feuds had ceased; in short, Ireland was rapidly approaching to a state of prosperity and happiness, which again aroused the jealousy of the British cabinet, and under the auspices of Mr. Pitt, an infamous and dark conspiracy was formed, to subvert her constitution, to ruin her trade, and destroy her population.

Happy and prosperous state of Ireland.

The Duke of Rutland succeeded the Earl of Northington, and with him commenced the political crusade against Irish independence, which ended in deluging her fields with blood, and extinguishing her as a nation. The petitions of the people for parliamentary reform had been rejected, and the demand for duties to protect the manufactures refused —a law against the liberty of the press had been passed. The excitement became general, and excesses were com-

Petitions for Reform rejected.

mitted by the populace, who assaulted, on their way to the house, some members who were known to be favourable to the views of the British government. The people accustomed under the protection of the armed associations to meet and discuss political questions bearing on matters of vital importance to their interests, determined, notwithstanding the disunion that rendered the Volunteers feeble and powerless, on petitioning against any encroachment on the constitution, and urging reform in Parliament.

Meeting in Dublin to petition the King.

An address was put forth, calling on the inhabitants of counties to meet and take into consideration the propriety of petitioning the throne for Parliamentary Reform, and to pray his Majesty to resist all attempts for the subversion of the laws for the protection of Irish commerce. A petition to this effect was carried unanimously at the first meeting which was held at Dublin, on the 25th of October, to which was added a prayer that his Majesty would dissolve the Parliament. This petition, couched in strong, though respectful language, was of a nature to displease the government, which, beginning to feel its returning strength shewed by the answer of the Lord-lieutenant its contempt of the petition and petitioners. It was as follows :—" Gentlemen, at the same time that I comply with your request in transmitting to his Majesty a paper signed by you, entitled a petition of the freemen, freeholders, and inhabitants of the City of Dublin, I shall not fail to convey my entire disapprobation of it, as casting unjust reflections upon the laws and parliament of Ireland, and tending to weaken the authority of both."

The arrogant coldness of this reply had the double effect foreseen by the government. It irritated the petitioners and infused new hopes into the faction, which, under the fostering hand of England, was forming to counteract the exertions of their fellow-countrymen to forward the cause of reform, and place their country in the position which Providence intended she should hold amongst nations. The vigour

displayed by the government was applied to other parts of Ireland where similar meetings had been called. Criminal proceedings were taken against the sheriffs who had presided, and the High Sheriff of Dublin was sentenced to fine and imprisonment for the offence he had committed. Notwithstanding these severe measures the flame of independence still continued, though feebly, to burn. A similar petition was forwarded to Mr. Pitt, the supposed advocate of reform, from Belfast, for presentation to his majesty. The answer returned by the minister to the petitioners destroyed all hopes of his support, and though still professing a belief in the necessity of reform, it contained proofs of his dissent from their principles, and clearly announced his change of political feeling. He informed them "that he had undoubtedly been, and still continued a zealous friend to a reform in parliament, but that he must beg leave to say, that he had been so on grounds very different from those adopted in their petition, that *what was there proposed he considered as tending to produce still greater evils* than any of those which the friends of reform were desirous to remedy."

Mr. Pitt's answer.

Some corps of Volunteers continue to assemble.

The volunteers unwilling to renounce their character for perseverance in the great cause of reform, still continued to struggle against the exertions made to stifle all public demonstration in its favour. But divided as to the extent of their demands, and disunited on the always fatal question of Catholic emancipation, they formed into parties, each sacrificing the general good in useless and illiberal quarrels about the world to come. Nothing is so injurious to the peace and prosperity of a nation as religious dissension, because of the unforgiving rancour of the different prsuasions. Its virulence is unbounded, and no reasoning can remove the ignorant prejudice of fanaticism, or check the cruel persecution of bigotry; and education and sound intellect plead in vain at the bar of intolerance, and self-interest. The poison introduced by the government soon began to operate, it infected the whole frame of Irish union, and finally destroyed its

giant strength. The Irish Volunteers formerly so powerful, dispersed and were dissolved, leaving behind them a grateful remembrance of their eminent services, accompanied with a regret that a too great confidence in their leaders, and a feeling of religious animosity, should have deprived their country of their powerful protection.*

* The following excellent advice was, in humble verse, at this period given, but not followed :—

ADVICE TO PADDY.

TUNE—"*Larry Grogan.*"

Arrah Paddy my joy,
What makes you so shy
To join your Catholic brother, your brother?

Sure you never can thrive
If you both do not strive
To live on good terms with each other, each other.

Your foes long have prided
To see you *divided*,
That they with more ease might oppress you, oppress you.

But when they once find
You together have joined,
I'll be bound they'll be glad to caress you, caress you.

Then your rights will be granted
And all things you wanted,
To fit you for every high station, high station.

With such a connection
You'll shine in perfection,
Oh! then you'll be a bright nation, bright nation.

But if by a blunder
You still keep *asunder*,
Those blessings can never attend you, attend you.

Till you go to your graves
You shall live and die slaves,
And all will cry out, devil mend you, devil mend you.

The British parliament met on the 25th of January, 1785, and that of Ireland, on the 28th of the same month. Both were occupied in discussing commercial regulations, to which their attention had been called by the speech from the throne. The expectations of protection for Irish industry from both parliaments had been disappointed. The nation loudly called for protecting duties. English produce of every description was admitted at very low *ad valorum* duty into the Irish ports; but an impost, amounting almost to prohibition, was laid on every thing Irish entering England, with two exceptions—the talents and bravery of her sons, and her linen cloth. The people, however, had felt their strength, and it was not thought prudent to rouse the spirit that had been with such difficulty suppressed. That something must be done was evident. Accordingly, the 7th of February, 1785, Mr. Orde, the Irish Secretary, proposed a series of resolutions for the regulation of the commerce between the two nations, founded on a system of mutual admission of their respective produce into the ports of each. These resolutions passed the Commons, and were sent to England; but instead of presenting them in their original form for discussion in the British senate, the minister artfully incorporated them in a bill, containing twenty propositions, all of which were worded to deceive the Irish people into a belief that their commerce and manufacture were particularly favoured, whilst in fact, it gave the English monopolist every advantage; and by the introduction of a clause, England was enabled to appropriate the revenues of Ireland to the fitting out and manning her navy. Another bill was framed, embodying the twenty propositions of Mr. Pitt, and sent for the approval of the Irish parliament. Though ignorant of commerce, the country gentlemen who were not yet corrupted, saw through the insidious attempt to assail Irish prosperity.

A heavy duty levied on Irish produce.

The debate became animated, and grave discussion ended in personal invective. The Attorney-general's (Fitzgibbon)

arrogance was such, as to call forth the anger of the house. His subserviency and truckling to ministers was strikingly contrasted to his insolent and overbearing language to their opponents. After a debate that continued all night, a division took place, which gave a doubtful victory to ministers, the numbers being 127 for the measure, and 108 against it. The bill was withdrawn, and the defeat never forgiven. Its rejection decided the fate of Ireland; for from that moment the mind of Mr. Pitt was employed in devising plans for corrupting the members of the Irish legislature, and destroying her independence.

Servile conduct of Mr. Fitzgibbon.

When men in power decide on the accomplishment of a favourite measure, the scruples arising from the feelings of honour and humanity that in private life prevent the commission of crime, are seldom allowed to govern their actions. That "the end justifies the means" is their maxim, and the rule of their conduct. It is their apology for private villainy and public cruelty: it is a principle that acknowledges no law and respects no religion. With them expediency gives absolution for political delinquency, and a bill of indemnity shields them from consequences, and satisfies their consciences. The ministerial career of Mr. Pitt and his fellow-labourers in the great field of Irish corruption and cruelty, illustrates the truth of these observations.

On the demise of the Duke of Rutland, which took place in October, 1787, the Duke of Buckingham was appointed viceroy of Ireland; and shortly after, George the Third was affected with the deplorable malady that incapacitated him from attending to public business. It was necessary a Regent should be appointed to govern. Mr. Pitt, foreseeing that the election of the Prince of Wales to fill the situation would be fatal to his continuance in office, put every intrigue in motion, and used all his influence to induce the parliaments of both kingdoms to vote an address to her Majesty, calling on her to administer the affairs of the nation. The report of the physicians, signed by the mem-

Duke of Buckingham appointed Viceroy.

bers of the Privy Council, was laid before parliament on the 4th of December, 1789. On that day, committees of both Houses were directed to examine the physicians, who agreed as to the incapacity of his Majesty to govern. Mr. Pitt immediately moved for a committee to search for precedents; and it was decided, that it was the exclusive privileges of both Houses to appoint a head to the government of the kingdom. The restoration of his Majesty, however, fortunately rendered legislation on the subject unnecessary. During the interregnum, steps were taken to secure the concurrence of the Irish parliament to the views of the administration; so that the Irish parliament should act in accordance with the British House of Commons. But the opportunity of showing their independence, gratified the national pride, was not to be thrown away. The Irish members, who had hitherto been the willing dupes of the minister, abandoned him on this momentous question, and voted in direct opposition to his wishes. Mr. Grattan supported the proposition of the English Whigs in favour of the Prince of Wales; whilst Mr. Fitzgibbon, the Attorney-general, with his usual pertinacity, adhered to the path pointed out by his patron.

The Irish Parliament vote an address to the Prince of Wales.

The same line of argument adopted by Burke and Fox in England, was followed by Mr. Grattan. He argued, that as the crown must at some future period devolve on the Prince, it was an insult to him, as well as impolitic, to direct the regal power from its direct channel. There was a political demise, and that if the House were of opinion that such was the case, they would exceed their power in appointing any other than the Prince, to the high situation of Regent of the kingdom. That the Prince had an inherent right to administer the laws as king could not be doubted; and that the assumption of the royal dignity by any other, and the exercise of its functions, although sanctioned by parliament, would be unconstitutional and dangerous. Mr. Grattan supported his opinion with his accustomed eloquence

Address to the Prince of Wales.

and sound reasoning; and concluded by moving, that an humble address be presented to His Royal Highness, to take upon himself the government of this realm, during the continuation of His Majesty's present indisposition, and no longer, and "under the style and title of Prince Regent of Ireland, in the name of His Majesty, to exercise and administer, according to the laws and constitution of this kingdom, all regal powers, jurisdictions, and prerogatives to the crown and government thereof belonging."

The opposition of the Attorney-general was marked by great firmness and ability; but his arguments were enfeebled by his arrogance; and government not wishing to expose their weakness, allowed the measure to pass without a division. Defeated, but not discouraged, the ministry threw every obstacle in the way of this address being forwarded to His Royal Highness. Instructions were sent to the Lord Lieutenant to refuse transmitting it, on the ground of its being contrary to his oath to submit an address, calling on the Prince to assume the government before he was entitled to do so by the law. Immediately this refusal was communicated to the House: Mr. Grattan moved that a deputation should be chosen from the members of the House of Commons to present it to His Royal Highness. This motion, after a short discussion, was carried by a majority of 130 against 74. The Lords appointed the Duke of Leinster and Lord Charlemont; and the Commons,—J. O'Neil, W. B. Ponsonby, and J. Stewart, as their representatives, to present the address. The deputation proceeded to London, and arrived there on the 25th of February, 1789; and next morning they waited on His Royal Highness to present the address, which was graciously received. In his answer, the Prince, after expressing his thanks for the confidence reposed in him by the Irish people, said, "But the fortunate change which has taken place in the circumstances which gave occasion to the address agreed to by the Lords and Commons of Ireland, induces me to delay, for a few

The Prince's answer.

days, giving a *final answer;* trusting that the joyful event of His Majesty's resuming the personal exercise of his royal authority, may then render it only necessary for me to repeat those sentiments of gratitude and affection to the loyal and generous people of Ireland, which I feel is indelibly imprinted on my heart." Soon after this answer His Majesty was restored by Providence to the prayers of a loyal and affectionate people.

The daring act of insubordination of the Irish Houses of Parliament, in presuming to exert their undoubted right without consulting the wishes of the British minister, was considered by him as a personal insult, and one which he determined to chastise. But with every inclination to inflict it, he was at a loss in what manner to proceed, so as to convince the people of Ireland that they must not consider themselves as an independent people, but merely as a nation tolerated by Great Britain. In this dilemma he consulted Mr. Dundas, afterwards Lord Melville, a man as remarkable for his cunning as for his cupidity, and whose meanness was only equalled by his venality. This person represented to Mr. Pitt the difficulty the English ministry would have to contend with, if Ireland was longer permitted to have a parliament of her own, the members of which they would be obliged to purchase every session, and strongly urged the minister to immediately commence operations, so as to secure a union of the two legislatures. The comprehensive mind of Mr. Pitt immediately caught at the suggestion, and saw the great advantages that would accrue to his administration by the accomplishment of the measure; but in his anxiety to establish his power on a firm basis, and his impatience to avenge insulted diplomacy, he overlooked the consequences of the political profligacy that destroyed Irish prosperity and English tranquillity. Had Ireland been permitted to retain her parliament, the agitation that has extended itself to England would have been unknown, and, governed by her own legislature, she would have become

The project of a union suggested by Mr. Dundas.

Origin of the Irish Rebellion

the powerful auxiliary, instead of the dissatisfied and dangerous dependent.

The proposition of Mr. Dundas was communicated to the leading members of the British cabinet by Mr. Pitt, and the means for carrying it into effect determined on. The union of all classes of the Irish people had divulged to them the secret, which it is the interest of all governments to conceal from the governed, of their intellectual and physical strength. To destroy that Union was the great object of the Pitt conspiracy. The flame of religious animosity that was nearly extinguished was again fanned into a wide spreading conflagration; suspicion replaced confidence; political discord soon followed; and the glorious temple of Irish freedom erected by her volunteers was levelled to the dust by the same hands with which it was reared. The atrocious policy that under Elizabeth and Cromwell made Ireland a desert, was again employed under George the Third with the same results. England secured supremacy at the expense of national integrity, and Ireland lost her independence, but not her virtues or the remembrance of her wrongs.

Application to the Catholics.

The first step of the English minister was to intimate to the leading Catholic families, his wish to abrogate the penal statutes. This intimation, conveyed to them by the Duchess of Buckingham, herself a Catholic, was coldly received because a similar petition had not only been rejected but actually trampled under foot by the members of the Irish House of Commons, and although many years had elapsed since the indignity was offered, and religious hatred had ceased, still they feared that it might be again aroused, and that they would by a similar application subject themselves to a repetition of the insult. It was necessary for the success of the plot, and with a view to ulterior proceedings, that their reluctance should be overcome, accordingly the Catholics were assured that government would use all its influence in their favour, and that thus powerfully supported

their success could not be doubted. Encouraged by these promises, a petition for the repeal of the penal statutes was presented to parliament. This proceeding was represented by the government agents as the first step of the Irish Catholics towards supremacy, and it was insinuated that should their prayer be granted the cherished Protestant ascendancy would be endangered, and that ultimately a claim would be made by them for the restoration of the confiscated lands of their ancestors.* These insinuations alarmed the weak and the credulous.

* To give a direct denial to these assertions at a meeting of the Irish Catholics in Dublin, the following declaration was agreed to.

DECLARATION OF THE CATHOLICS OF IRELAND.

Whereas certain opinions and principles, inimical to good order and government, have been attributed to the Catholics, the existence of which we utterly deny, and whereas it is at this time peculiarly necessary to renounce such imputations, and to give the most full and ample satisfaction to our Protestant brethren, that we hold no principle, whatsoever, incompatible with our duty as men or as subjects, or repugnant to liberty, whether political, civil or religious. Now, we, the Catholics of Ireland, for the removal of all such imputations and in deference to the opinion of many respectable bodies of men and individuals among our Protestant brethren, do hereby, in the face of our country, of all Europe, and before God, make this our deliberate and solemn declaration.

1. We abjure, disavow, and condemn the opinion that princes, excommunicated by the Pope and council, or by any ecclesiastical authority whatsoever, may therefore be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or any other persons.

We hold such doctrine in detestation, as wicked and infamous, and we declare we do not believe, that either the Pope, with or without a general council, or any prelate or priest, or any ecclesiastical power whatsoever, can absolve the subjects of this kingdom, or any of them, from their allegiance to His Majesty King George the Third, who is, by authority of parliament, the lawful King of this realm.

2. We abjure, condemn, and detest as unchristian and impious, the principle, that it is lawful to murder, destroy, or any ways injure any person whatsoever, for or under the pretence or colour of their being heretics; and we declare solemnly before God, that we believe no act in itself unjust immoral or wicked, can ever be justified or excused by, or under pretence

The descendants of the soldiers of Elizabeth and Cromwell trembled for their possessions, and saw in every con-

or colour, that it was done either for the good of the church, or in obedience to any ecclesiastical power whatsoever.

3. We further declare that we hold it, as an unchristian and impious principle, that "no faith is to be kept with heretics." This doctrine we detest and reprobate, not only as contrary to our religion, but as destructive of morality, and society, and even of common honesty; and it is our firm belief, that an oath made to any person, not of the Catholic religion, is equally binding as if it were made to any Catholic whatsoever.

4. We have been charged with holding as an article of our belief, that the Pope with or without the authority of a general council, or that certain ecclesiastical powers can acquit and absolve us, before God, from our oaths of allegiance, or even from the just oaths and contracts entered into between man and man. Now, we do utterly renounce, abjure, and deny that we hold or maintain any such belief, as being contrary to the peace and happiness of society, inconsistent with morality, and above all, repugnant to the true spirit of the Catholic religion.

5. We do further declare that we do not believe that the Pope of Rome, or any other foreign prince, prelate, state or potentate, hath or ought to have, any temporal or civil jurisdiction, power, superiority or pre-eminence, directly or indirectly, within this realm.

6. After what we have renounced it is immaterial in a political light, what may be our opinions or faith on other points respecting the Pope, however, for greater satisfaction we declare that it is not an article of the Catholic faith, neither are we thereby required to believe that "the Pope is infallible," or that we are bound to obey any order in its own nature immoral, though the Pope, or any ecclesiastical power, should issue or direct such order, but on the contrary, we hold, that it would be sinful in us to pay any respect or obedience thereto.

7. We further declare, that we do not believe, that any sin whatsoever committed by us can be forgiven at the mere will of any Pope, or of any person or persons whatsoever, but that sincere sorrow for past sins, a firm and sincere resolution, as far as may be in our power, to restore our neighbour's property or character if we have trespassed on, or unjustly injured either; a firm and sincere resolution to avoid future guilt, and to atone to God, are previous and indespensable requisites, to establish a well founded expectation of forgiveness; and that any person who receives absolution without these previous requisites, so far from obtaining thereby any remission of his sins, incurs the additional guilt of violating a sacrament.

8. We do hereby solemnly disclaim, and for ever renounce all interest in, and title to, all forfeited lands, resulting from any rights, or supposed rights,

Proceedings of the government to produce rebellion.

cession to the Catholic an approach to spoliation. Thus prepared to adopt any proposition that might avert the supposed danger, the corrupt, daring, and ready tool of despotism, the Irish Chancellor, Fitzgibbon, received secret instructions to prepare and forward to the different counties counter petitions for their signature. As the government had urged the Protestants to forward these addresses, they naturally expected that they would be supported by ministers, and that the reply to the Catholics would have been that as it was evident that all the property of the kingdom was in direct opposition, it would be impossible to grant their request. They were deceived however in their expectations, Mr. Pitt, had determined on forcing the measure of a repeal of the obnoxious laws, and thereby secure the support of the Catholics whilst he foresaw and calculated on the discontent and jealousy it would occasion amongst the Protestants. The Catholic Relief Bill was introduced by Mr. O'Neil, and seconded by Mr. Gardner, both strenu-

of our ancestors, or any claim, title or interest therein; nor do we admit any title, as a foundation of right, which is not established and acknowledged by the laws of the realm, as they now stand—we desire further, that whenever the patriotism, liberality, and justice, of our countrymen, shall restore to us a participation in the elective franchise, no Catholic shall be permitted to vote at any election for members to serve in parliament, unless he shall previously take an oath to defend, to the utmost of his power, the arrangements of property in this country, as established by the different acts of attainder and settlement.

9. It has been objected to us, that we wish to subvert the present church establishment, for the purpose of substituting a Catholic establishment in its stead, now we do hereby disclaim, disavow, and solemnly abjure any such intention; and further, if we shall be admitted into any share of the constitution, by our being restored to the right of elective franchise, we are ready in the most solemn manner to declare, that we will not exercise that privilege to disturb and weaken the establishment of the Protestant religion, or Protestant government in this country.

Signed by order and on behalf of the general committee of the Catholics of Ireland,

RICHARD BYRNE, Chairman,
RICHARD M'CORMICK, Secretary.

ous advocates for the abrogation of the penal statutes. The introduction was the signal for furious declamation against the administration. The Irish gentry denounced the proceeding as treacherous to themselves, and dangerous to the country—under the influence of prejudices and alarm they refused to submit to the dictation of Mr. Pitt, alleging that there existed no necessity for the measure, as the Catholic religion had been for many years retrograding. That scarcely an individual professing that creed was possessed of five hundred pounds per annum, and that the penal laws ought to be continued, otherwise popery would again be established in the country.

Many of the leaders of the opposition were excellent men, and worthy gentlemen, but strongly saturated from their boyhood with groundless fears of Catholic supremacy. They had been educated in the intolerant school of ignorant bigotry, where they were taught to consider the Catholics as idolators, their priests impostors, and their salvation doubtful. Inheriting all the prejudices of their fathers, in concession they saw rebellion, and in any relaxation of the penal code, anarchy and spoliation. Others, whose religion was political, and whose patriotism was place, were the most inveterate opponents to any change in the existing laws.

Doctor Duignan.

But the most violent antagonist, and bitter enemy of the Catholics, was Doctor Patrick Duignan, Judge of the Prerogative Court of Ireland. His obstinate and persevering acrimony against his Catholic countrymen knew no bounds, and his name will survive, and be repeated as the uncompromising enemy of social order and of his country, so long as the unhappy dissensions of that country are remembered;* violent in debate, his invective was un-

* Dr. Duignan on being asked by a friend to account for his hatred of Catholics, replied, "my wife is one, and my house is constantly infested by Catholic priests."

checked by decorum, and as a public orator he was more remarkable for warmth than for wisdom, more audacity than argument—when excited he often overstepped the bounds he had himself laid down for his government, and, forgetting his character as a bigot, he betrayed a feeling quite contrary to the doctrine he avowed and supported. He worshipped Episcopacy, and the Primate of Ireland was the only person who could soften down his asperity, or control his temper—as Vicar-General he was closely connected with the church establishment. When its rights were attacked his fury was awakened, and he spared neither Protestant nor Catholic. In private life, a convivial and entertaining companion, and, as a public character, a coarse and corrupt partisan. After the legislative union he accepted the office of commissioner, for paying the promised bribes to members of parliament under the name of *compensation*, for loss of their *seats* in parliament, and died at an advanced period of life in the enjoyment of all his faculties, and the firm conviction of having done his duty in the persecution of his countrymen, and in assisting to deprive Ireland of her constitution !*

Notwithstanding that the bill met with the same fate as the former, Mr. Pitt, with that pertinacity which distinguished all his political proceedings, determined, cost what it might, to carry a point on which depended the accomplishment of his plans, for the fostering of religious animosity. He directed that peerages should be offered for sale, either for two seats in parliament or for the sum of five thousand pounds, for the purpose of obtaining with the money thus levied from the vanity of its possessors, a majority in the

* Doctor Duignan, Lord Annesly, and Mr. Jameson, an Englishman, under this commission, distributed by Lord Castlereagh's directions, one million five hundred thousand pounds of the Irish money, amongst members of the Houses of Lords and Commons, this sum, along with creations of peers, purchased the majority which voted for the act of union.—*Barrington.*

Irish House of Commons, and it was accordingly expended in that way. Many of the Irish gentry were thus ennobled, little dreaming that the sums paid were to be used in corrupting the members of both houses, with the ulterior view of bringing about the legislative union, to which many of them, when the measure was proposed, evinced so uncompromising an opposition. The experiment succeeded—the enemies of Catholic concession were silenced, fanaticism bent its stubborn head before the splendour of title, and the allurements of profit. The Catholic Relief Bill, relaxing the severity of the penal statutes, passed both houses without much opposition, and was hailed by the Catholics as the herald of emancipation, and of religious and political freedom. Elated with the progress of corruption, the English minister silently pursued the path traced out for the destruction of Irish independence. Jealousies were awakened, and family feuds fomented, some argued that the people should rest satisfied, others that they should not be contented with any thing short of total emancipation, without which peace and security could never be established on a firm and lasting foundation.

The fervour of Irish patriotism having abated, different shades in politics, the result of corruption, began to show themselves in the Irish Parliament. A degenerate feeling of dependence on England replaced that of Irish freedom, and the scramble for the artificial distinction of title became, with a few noble exceptions, general. The love of country that had produced the unanimity which gave to Ireland freedom of commerce was gradually subsiding, and finally ceased to exist. The English minister saw, with a malicious exultation, the moment approach for striking a blow that would crush Irish happiness. Dead to every feeling except that of vengeance and ambition, he continued to practice on the vanity of the weak, the fears of the timid, and the cupidity of the avaricious. Personal aggrandisement grasped at the bribe, vanity was gratified by distinc-

Insidious policy of Mr. Pitt.

tion, and timidity sought confidence under his protection. Thus armed he proceeded to urge on the civil war that rendered Ireland a waste that carried tears and lamentations throughout the land, that handed over to the sword, the scaffold, and the torture men who, from their rank and information, were useful members of society and an honour to their country.

CHAPTER XII.

Effects of the French Revolution.—Measures to promote the Union.—Lord Fitzwilliam appointed Viceroy.—Enthusiasm of the People.—Mr. Beresford—A Pluralist.—His Dismissal.—Resignation of Earl Fitzwilliam.

PROFLIGATE statesmen are seldom deterred from pursuing their political path by a feeling of shame, or a sense of injustice, and never hesitate to employ means the most vile, and men the most despicable, for the completion of their projects. Hurried away by the ambition of being considered men of profound diplomatic talent, they stop not to consider the consequences that may be the result of their policy, nor the misery their acts may entail on future generations. The career of Mr. Pitt with respect to the Irish rebellion and subsequent union, is a strong and melancholy illustration of the truth of this observation. The repeal of several of the laws that pressed severely on the Catholics, gave great offence to the Protestants of the North, meetings were held, at which speeches were made declaratory of their disgust at the conduct of the government, and deprecating in the strongest terms any further concessions to the Catholics. These speeches created an unfounded suspicion of intended treachery, and the uneducated Protestant was taught to believe that the Catholics aimed at both the recovery of their forfeited estates, and the suppression of the Protestant religion. Previous to the heartless Pitt conspiracy, the Protestant and Catholic had lived in the greatest harmony, mutual oppression had made them friends, disputes about the other world never disturbed the peace of society. The question of "is he a Catholic, or is he a Protestant" was never asked. To be an Irishman, and honest, was the only and strongest recommendation to secure kindness, hospi-

Meetings in the North.

tality, and confidence. But the great and paramount project of the union was to be perfected, and the violation of the peace of society, the sacrifice of human life, and the ruining of thousands, were but dust in the balance when weighed against expediency, and personal ambition. To complete a legislative union, proceedings unparalleled for baseness in the whole history of diplomatic corruption, were resorted to, which unchained all the worst passions of the people of both countries, which gave blood to the bigot, and power to the oppressor, and produced events that may ultimately lead to the subversion of those institutions, under whose protection these islands have so long flourished. The admirers of Mr. Pitt's politics describe him as "the pilot that weathered the storm;" but it is to be feared they may yet discover that he who weathered it, ran the great vessel of the state on the fatal shoals of the national debt and Irish union.

The enthusiasm caused by the French revolution spread like an electric shock through the whole of Europe, and Ireland, already prepared by the insidious measures of the minister for the political explosion that destroyed her as a nation, soon caught the flame.

Effects of the French Revolution

The spirit that armed her population was not yet extinct, and the people still remembered the lesson of independence taught them by the volunteers, but forgot that, since that glorious period, religious dissension had been introduced, that sectarian suspicion and violence had replaced the Christian feelings of brotherly love and toleration. In the fatal belief that they were still strong as a united people, they hurried forward in the treacherous path prepared for them, and with that carelessness of consequences that marks the Irish character, they never suspected or looked back at the base hand that pressed them on to destruction.

1791. The dissemination of principles in direct opposition to monarchy began to produce effects that alarmed the different governments of Europe. Their fears induced them to adopt vigorous measures for their suppression, and whilst these

measures were in progress in England, in Ireland revolutionary principles were zealously propagated, and allowed to be inculcated even in the capital, under the eye of the Irish executive.

Paid agents were instructed to inflame the minds of the people, who fell into the abyss prepared to receive them. The impulse given to the revolutionary feeling was felt throughout the whole nation. The spirit of insurrection began to show itself, secret associations, under the name of the United Irish, were formed. The rich and flourishing town of Belfast took the lead in these proceedings. Essentially Presbyterian, its inhabitants were hostile to the Church establishment, and had always evinced a stronger inclination to cultivate a good understanding with the Catholics than with those who belonged to the Church of England.

Mr. Pitt proceeds with his measures for a Union.

The revolutionary train was laid, and only awaited the touch of the match to explode, but it was necessary to conceal the hand that applied it. Having divided the country, and corrupted the parliament, the next step of the government was, by a show of further concession to the Catholics, to irritate the Protestant population. It was determined to send Earl Fitzwilliam to supersede Lord Westmoreland as Viceroy. This appointment occasioned great surprise to all who were not in the minister's confidence, as that amiable nobleman was one of the opposition, and had always been the strenuous advocate of Catholic emancipation.

Lord Fitzwilliam appointed Viceroy.

Mr. Pitt was aware that his being sent over as Lord-Lieutenant would awaken hopes that he was determined should never be realised, and that his recall at the time when he was about giving peace to the country, would bring on that political crisis he so long and so ardently expected. The arrival of Earl Fitzwilliam gave universal satisfaction, and was hailed by the people as a proof of the wish of the government to inquire into and redress their grievances and promote their happiness. Sentiments of confidence were expressed, and flattering hopes of future prosperity cherished.

The public mind which had been agitated by wanton acts of shameful atrocity, became composed, and all men united in giving their support to a Viceroy who presented himself as the benefactor and pacificator of their country. From one corner of the kingdom to the other, nothing was to be heard but invitations to an union in favour of his administration; but this exultation was of short duration. The cup which had been presented in mockery to the parched lip of the slave, was rudely withdrawn, dashed to the ground, and along with it all the dreams of the future which had gladdened the heart and intoxicated the imagination.

enthusiasm of the people.

Lord Fitzwilliam's departure for Ireland was delayed in consequence of Mr. Pitt's questioning the terms on which the Duke of Portland alleged he had received the appointment of Viceroy. The dispute however was finally arranged, by giving a compensation to the then Lord Lieutenant, Lord Westmoreland, and Lord Fitzwilliam, came over under engagements to certain persons in Ireland, with full powers from the Duke of Portland to fulfil these engagements, and with the knowledge and acquiescence of Mr. Pitt, whose duplicity concealed his intention of employing all his influence to secretly thwart the Viceroy's endeavours to give peace and tranquillity to the people whom he was appointed to govern.* Lord Fitzwilliam took possession of his government on the 4th January, 1795, under auspices the most cheering to the country. He commenced his labours by the dismissal from office, but with ample compensation, of such persons as had lost the confidence of the country, and who were intimately connected with the abuses of the former government. Their removal from official situations was considered necessary as they might have impeded the great work of reform, and in so doing he acted with the privacy, and consent of the English cabinet, under the belief of its being the serious intention of the ministry to

* These engagements are, Catholic Emancipation and Reform in the Irish House of Commons.

strangle the monster of Irish corruption. A supply from the Irish parliament, liberal beyond the example of any former period, was granted, and every thing tended to revive the hopes that had been nearly destroyed. This amiable, high minded, and unsuspecting nobleman, had accepted the situation of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland from an anxious wish to satisfy all parties, and tranquillise the country. Armed with great authority, he repaired to Dublin under the conviction that his endeavours would receive the support of ministers, and satisfy both countries. Mr. Pitt had long and secretly decided on inflaming the passions of the people into overt acts against the government, and only permitted him to proceed in the work of reform to a certain point, so as to enable him to change his government with the precipitancy necessary to irritate and alarm. Among the dismissals there was one which gave great satisfaction to the people, but which was strongly resisted by the Pitt administration, that of Mr. Beresford. This gentleman had been long in the service of the revenue and the crown. He had voted for seven and twenty years for *every* measure of *every* administration, however hostile or odious to the Irish nation, and had acquired, along with an unenviable celebrity, some influence from being supposed to be the devoted agent and ready tool of England. He had rendered himself obnoxious by, on every occasion, bartering political probity for place, and voting against the resolutions which had been carried in favour of free trade. Having taken in the person of his son an active part against the Roman Catholics, in 1792, and in the person of the same son having opposed the Catholic Relief Bill in the same session, he was thought an improper person to be continued in the confidence of a government whose great and wise object was to unite all ranks in support of the crown. He united in his own person, or his sons, the different lucrative situations of commissioner of the treasury, of revenue, of counsel to the commissioners, of store keeper and banker. There were other and more

1795.

Mr. Beresford's character and dismissal.

powerful reasons for the removal of this person from the influential situations, that rendered him a dangerous enemy to a liberal government. His family had aspired to all the powers of government, his brother-in-law was chancellor, his son-in-law, treasurer. He endeavoured to make his brother primate, and he himself had the entire control of the revenue, so that the system of the family was to monopolize the patronage of the church, the law, and the revenue, and by holding the last to overawe and govern all the mercantile interest of the country. It was thought therefore expedient that he should be dismissed, which was accordingly done with a compensation of £3000 per annum. His family retained the places and emoluments actually in their possession. His case, however, was thought by the English cabinet to be one of compassion, or rather it afforded a favourable opportunity to break faith with Lord Fitzwilliam, and at the same time convince the unprincipled speculators in Irish politics that their services were appreciated, and that their future exertions should not be overlooked or forgotten. Mr. Beresford's dismissal gave a pretext for remonstrance, which was soon followed by the resignation of the most popular, enlightened, and virtuous Viceroy that had ever administered the affairs of Ireland.

A pluralist.

Resignation of Earl Fitzwilliam

In March, 1795, his lordship, to whose public and private virtues, all Ireland bore testimony, finding the double and unprincipled game by which it was intended to mystify the people, and to rob them of their parliament, resigned the high situation of Viceroy, and the country was deprived, in the hour of its greatest difficulty, of his talents and his virtues, which had he remained at the head of the government might have been employed to prevent those measures that plunged the country into anarchy and bloodshed. Too high minded to lend himself as a tool, and too virtuous to assist oppression, he resigned the government of Ireland.

Throughout the whole history of tortuous, and deceitful diplomacy, there is not an instance of greater address, or of

more atrocious perfidy, than was displayed by the British minister. Earl Fitzwilliam wished to prevent rebellion, but Mr. Pitt had decided on producing it. The departure of the former from Ireland cast a general gloom throughout the nation, which was only the prelude to the storm that swept away the lives of thousands, whilst the latter rejoicing in his success, shut his heart to every feeling but ambition, and exulted in the prospect of reducing Ireland from an independant nation to an humble province of Great Britain. When we consider the popularity of the measures which Lord Fitzwilliam was forced to abandon; the solemn pledges which he had given to the parliament of Ireland for their immediate adoption; the national detestation of the men whom he was so peremptorily directed to restore, and the strong reinforcement of troops that had been cautiously and gradually landed, little doubt can be entertained of the diabolical policy of the Pitt cabinet, a policy that was deaf to the cries of the wretched, and laughed at the sufferings of the multitude.

That the discontentment, arising out of the recall of Lord Fitzwilliam had been purposely created by the English ministry is too notorious to be disbelieved by the most sceptical, and on this subject little proof is necessary. His forced resignation is an incontrovertible and sufficient evidence of Mr. Pitt's wish to produce general indignation; a few weeks had elapsed since unanimity and harmony pervaded the nation. It was fondly believed by the people that the grievances under which they had so long laboured were to be done away, and that all religious differences were to be abolished. Exulting in these expectations, they had made large sacrifices, and they were made with the most marked willingness; yet the people were cruelly deceived. A beloved Viceroy was taken from them; their hopes were blasted, and their expectations disappointed.

For other acts ministers might have been shielded by the

word "expediency," but here the mischief they occasioned admitted of no excuse, nor permitted of any subterfuge. Deprived at a most critical moment of the man to whom they looked to for an impartial administration of the laws, and under whose mild sway they anticipated a brilliant future, the national spirit which had slumbered was again roused, meetings were called at which the indignation expressed clearly demonstrated the alienation of the Irish people. In barbarous times government rested on the superstition of the people for support, and in feudal times it existed by the love which vassals entertained for their lords who led them to what is called glory, and to spoil; but in the open intercourse of modern manners where there is no bond of union between the governors and the governed, but the advantages resulting from good government and legitimate obedience; when ignorance is banished, and superstition is forced to yield to reason, on what is a government to lean for support but on the attachment of the multitude who witness, with gratitude, the labours of their representatives in enacting good and salutary laws for the welfare of all? But with respect to Ireland a good, virtuous, and impartial administration of the laws was incompatible with the crooked policy of Mr. Pitt—he despised the attachment of a people whom he hated, and decided on humbling a nation which he feared.

During the short period of Lord Fitzwilliam's administration, the Irish people were satisfied with the management of the affairs of the country. The Protestants of the Established Church were inclined to forget their newly awakened and groundless fears of Catholic supremacy, and the Presbyterians joined both in expressing their approbation of the viceregal government. This approbation arose out of the conviction that Lord Fitzwilliam was not actuated by the low and narrow policy of dividing the country to degrade it. They knew it was his wish to unite all His

Majesty's subjects in affection for each other, and in a common love for their sovereign and the constitution, to bury religious dissension. He departed from the country, bearing with him the gratitude of the whole nation, and left behind him a cloud that for many years hung over Ireland, freezing her hopes and darkening her prospects. Had he remained, no rebellion would have been permitted, and no union would have been accomplished.

CHAPTER XIII.

Origin of the United Irish—Lord Edward Fitzgerald—Fatal consequences of Lord Fitzwilliam's recall—Arrival of Lord Camden—Riots—Mr. Fitzgibbon, the Irish Chancellor—Lord Camden—His government—The Catholics and Protestants unite—Mr. Pelham—Strong measures—Origin of the Orangemen—The Press—Energies beyond the law—Major Sirr—Spies and Informers—Lord Castlereagh—His Character—Arrest of the leaders of the United Irish—Partial Justice—Orange atrocities—Necessity of Revolt to produce a Union—Lord Carhampton—He withdraws the Dublin Garrison—Order under the sign manual—Lord Carhampton resigns the command of the Army—Sir R. Abercrombie appointed to succeed him—He resigns—The United Irish send an Agent to France—The French offer a large force—Refused—The United Irish encouraged to believe aid unnecessary—Reynolds, the informer—Military men appointed Magistrates—Martial law declared—Prisoners tortured—Arrest of Lord Edward Fitzgerald—System of terror—Lord Edward Fitzgerald dies of his wounds—General Lake declares martial law in the North.

Origin of the United Irish. Lord Edward Fitzgerald.

In the year 1791, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, hitherto unknown to his countrymen, except as an accomplished young nobleman, the finished scholar, and the polished gentleman, came to Ireland. He was beloved by all who had the pleasure of his acquaintance, and was distinguished in his own family by his devoted attachment to every member of it. His Lordship being an Irishman and consequently no favourite at the court of George the Third, who was notorious for his dislike to every thing Irish, had been overlooked in the promotion at the Horse Guards, although his claims were of a much stronger description than those gentlemen whose services consisted in a promenade to Windsor or a parade in the park; possessing a mind so organized as to magnify slight into insult, and neglect into contempt. Enthusiastically attached to his country, actuated

by a feeling of disgust at the treatment he had received, he determined to resign his commission in the army, and to devote his person, talents, and influence, to one great object, the union of Irishmen. He perceived that the chief cause of all the miseries under which Ireland had for centuries laboured, was the disunion of her people, and he conceived the idea of uniting them, by an abolition of all distinctions founded on religious opinions. From the moment this idea took possession of his mind, his whole time was devoted to the completion of the great work of union. In pursuance of this determination he repaired to the north of Ireland where he was for many months employed in endeavouring to soften down those religious animosities which he was fully aware formed the grand obstacle to his wishes.

Having assembled the leading men of each religious persuasion, he stated his suspicions of the sinister intentions of England, and forcibly pointed out the means that he considered indispensable for the attainment of the freedom of the country, recommended a mutual forgiveness of all previous injuries, an oblivion of all religious dissensions, and finished by drawing a glowing picture of future prosperity to the country, if they would agree to form a brotherhood composed of men of all religious persuasions, whose sole object should be to shake off what he considered the yoke of England, and to place Ireland on the list of the nations of the earth. His success was commensurate with his zeal. Throughout the whole of the north and nearly all of the province of Leinster his views were eagerly adopted. He next submitted to them his plan of government, which was the establishment of a republic.

Having formed a directory composed of the most respectable persons in the north, he proceeded to the south of the Island where he endeavoured to explain his intentions, and made similar proposals to the people, but there he was met by distrust and refusal in consequence of the ignorance of the population as to the meaning of the word republic.

Foiled in his attempt with the multitude, he next assembled their priests, to whom he entered into an explanation of his views, holding out to them hopes of the restoration of the ecclesiastical property, and of their being placed on a footing with the clergy of every other religion. It is not a matter of surprise that the Catholic clergy, who laboured under the pressure of poverty should have immediately promised their influence to assist him in organizing their flocks.

Fatal consequences of Lord Fitzwilliam's recall.

The appointment of Lord Fitzwilliam had raised the hopes of the Catholics to the highest pitch of expectation, and his departure at the moment when they were about being realized inflamed their minds and prepared the path that conducted to the civil war meditated and arranged by the Pitt cabinet. The English minister foresaw, that the recall of the viceroy would be followed by discontent, discontent by conspiracy, and conspiracy by open rebellion; and whilst he was silently but effectively preparing to suppress it, his whole power was secretly at work to produce it. Anticipating the consequences of the coercive system he intended to introduce along with Earl Camden, Mr. Pitt directed strong reinforcements to be sent to Ireland. Regiment after regiment was gradually introduced, and orders given to quarter the troops on the people on the first symptom of popular movement. Great indignation was felt by the country at the recall of Lord Fitzwilliam; a flagrant act of deception had been practised both on his lordship and on the Irish nation; meetings were called in every parish, and resolutions adopted that fully expressed the irritation of the public mind. In the parish of St. Catherine's, in Dublin, the following resolution was unanimously carried—"Resolved that our feelings as Catholics are lost in our feelings as Irishmen, at the outrage offered in this instance of ministerial treachery to the insulted honour of our independent country. Shall an English minister dare to dictate to an Irish Parliament, and prefer the claims of a peculating junto* to the unanimous voice of an entire na-

* The Beresfords and others.

tion? The king of Ireland and the cabinet of Ireland ought alone to direct the councils of Ireland, and the uncalled for interference of the cabinet of England is an attack on the independence of our country, and an usurpation over the sovereignty of our legislature." These public declarations, couched in terms that gave strong evidence of the irritation of public feeling had been foreseen, and were hailed by Mr. Pitt as the heralds of that rebellion that he knew would ruin Ireland and confirm his power. The crafty, daring, and unprincipled minister saw all the advantages to be derived from these demonstrations; agents were employed and liberally paid to attend the meetings, whose duty it was to encourage and applaud violent declamation, and to use every means to urge the people to take up arms.

Arrival of Lord Camden followed by riots.

On Tuesday, the 30th of September, 1795, the successor of Lord Fitzwilliam—Earl Camden, arrived in Dublin. His reception was marked by events that evinced the general indignation at the removal of his predecessor, and the riots and outrages that followed occasioned alarm and uneasiness to the well disposed and peaceable inhabitants of the capital. He was escorted to the Castle by a party of dragoons, and in his progress was scoffed and hissed at by the assembled multitude. These public insults were not directed against the person of the Viceroy, as the people knew nothing of his lordship, but were intended to manifest their dislike to the measures of the British cabinet, and to his political connection with a minister whose associates had been long known as inimical to the freedom and happiness of the Irish nation. Emotions of sorrow and indignation were visible in every countenance; strong patroles of both horse and foot paraded the streets, and the tumult was only allayed at the expense of some bloodshed; some part of the discontent which recent circumstances had produced manifested itself, on this occasion, towards the persons of those whom popular fury pointed out as unfriendly to Irish independence.

Mr. Fitzgibbon, the Irish Chancellor.

The Lord Chancellor, Fitzgibbon, then Lord Clare, was pelted with stones whilst proceeding in his carriage to his house, and his lordship was exposed to imminent danger from this attack of the people. Houses were also attacked, and the windows broken; from the apartments of Mr. Beresford several shots were fired on the multitude, by which one man was killed and several wounded.

Lord Camden.

Every one acquainted with political affairs was fully aware that Lord Camden came over as the immediate agent of Mr. Pitt, bound to support his politics, to forward his diabolical scheme for fomenting rebellion, and to implicitly obey his instructions, but the particular motive for the preference given to this nobleman, at so critical a moment, to govern Ireland, was not generally understood. That motive was a characteristic firmness or rather dogged determination, accompanied with a sufficient stock of personal courage, that enabled him to execute any order, no matter how arbitrary, or to commit any act, no matter how tyrannical or revolting, to humanity. The cruelties committed during his government have been attributed more to the vindictive and arrogant Lord Clare than to his lordship, but both had received their instructions, and both agreed to obey them by exciting a civil war to superinduce the union. A fallacious hope was indulged in by those who were acquainted with his character, that his lordship was too proud to be ordered, and too merciful to oppress, that he would not be dictated to by the odious party who had so long usurped the authority of governing Ireland by the heartless expedients of corruption in parliament, coercion, tumults, mob meetings, and secret associations. But it was soon evident that his lordship was not exempt from the influence which neither conferred honour on his high station nor produced benefit to the country he was sent to govern. Alarm, confusion, malicious persecution, and wilful misrepresentation, again were employed, and the government was once more placed in the hands of men without discretion, property, talents, or connections;

men who sneered at patriotism, and grasped at power, sacrificing the former to obtain the latter; whose prejudices made them cruel, and whose ambition made them unprincipled.

Lord Camden's government.

Lord Camden assumed office with all the bitter reflection of having succeeded one whose popularity was unbounded, and whose philanthropy had endeared him to the nation that he Lord Camden was directed to destroy. He knew he was sent to exercise power without popularity, to administer laws he did not understand, and to coerce a people to whom he was an object of hatred and suspicion As yet the secret intentions of the government had not been suspected, or allowed to transpire, and their staunch adherents accustomed to admire every act, were struck with amazement at a line of conduct which they were fully aware must ultimately goad the people to desperation. The existence of the societies of United Irishmen had been for some time known to the government. These associations had been formed for the ostensible purpose of obtaining "an equal representation of all the people of Ireland," but in reality, for organising and arming the population in defence of what they considered their constitutional rights. It was generally believed that the united Irish only sought for, and would be satisfied, with reform in parliament, therefore men of rank and influence were prevailed on to join them. At first these societies were chiefly composed of Protestants; the distrust from the difference of religion still acted as a barrier to mutual confidence. The energetic representations of Lord Edward Fitzgerald had, however, succeeded in destroying suspicion, and Catholic and Protestant, forgetting their prejudices, became joined as one in the first and patriotic work of Catholic emancipation and parliamentary reform.

The Catholics and Protestants united

The Presbyterians of the north were more attached to political liberty than the Catholics whose first object was emancipation. The rejection of the bill for removing the

disabilities of the latter was seized on by the leaders of the union, and urged as a proof of the necessity of uniting themselves to the former, without which they were told success was impossible.

During these proceedings the Irish executive were fully aware of the intention of the conspirators, and although repeatedly urged by the leading noblemen and gentlemen of the country to instantly arrest the members of the directory, (all of whom were well known), as well as Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and thus prevent open rebellion, they showed the most perfect indifference to these applications. The time had not yet arrived to fire the mine that was destined to carry ruin and dismay throughout the island. This state of things was allowed to continue for three years, without any effort to arrest the leaders of the united Irish; a time more than sufficient to enable them to mature their plans for a general rising of the whole kingdom.

Mr. Secretary Pelham.

Mr. Pelham, the intimate friend and willing slave of Mr. Pitt, was at this critical period secretary to the Irish government. He was selected to hold this high situation from an intimate knowledge of his abilities as a wily diplomatist. Gifted with a superior understanding, and careless of consequences to other countries, so long as England's aggrandisement was secured, he prostituted his talents to the British minister, under whose auspices and directions he commenced his career at the Castle of Dublin, by maturing these plans for the overthrow of the institutions of the country. He made use of his power to counteract the acts of the Privy Council, which had decided on stopping the further progress of the united Irish, by arresting their leaders, although this determination had received the sanction of the head of the government. But it was soon made manifest that the secret societies had extended further and become more powerful than had been anticipated; a premature movement was therefore necessary in order to occasion

alarm and to at once suppress insurrection, before it could acquire the strength that might render it dangerous to those who had produced it. The English minister, aware that the people were ripe for rebellion, and that the country would ere long make a demonstration of its physical force, had been employed in throwing troops into Ireland. This was done by degrees, as it was not his intention to awe the multitude, or to prematurely stifle insurrection. Camps were formed in the four provinces of Ireland, of about five thousand men each. Lord Carhampton, commander-in-chief, had under his immediate orders the troops in Leinster; General Murray in Munster, and General Dalrymple, in the North. The preparation to speedily suppress any sudden outbreak of the people being now completed, orders were issued to the commanders of corps to quarter the troops under their command on the inhabitants.*

Strong measures, 1795–6.

Previous to the union, the Irish people proposed and perfected by Lord Edward Fitzgerald, two armed factions under the names of Peep-of-day-Boys, and Defenders, opposed to each other in religious belief, had committed many acts of cruelty and spoliation on the persons and property of each other. The former composed exclusively of Protestants, found their numbers much reduced by the union, many, however, still adhered to their prejudices and cherished their hatred against the Catholics. Their religious animosity was encouraged by the government, and under the name of orangemen they grew into political importance, lodges were formed, and oaths administered, binding the members to support the English monarchy. Cradled in intolerance, and blinded by ignorance, the orangemen became the willing tool of the crafty and designing, who found it not difficult to fetter the beings whom ignorance and prejudice had prepared to their

Origin of the Orangemen.

* Free quarters means the occupation of the houses of the people by the soldiery, who are empowered to make use (without payment) of what they contain, and to treat the inhabitants as they may think proper.

hands. The sacred name of the Almighty was used to sanction their orgies, whilst petty squires were the substantial objects they were taught to worship. The social affections of man, his natural love of peace, and abhorrence of strife, were perverted; often from trifling, and oftener from infamous motives. Persecution for religious belief was inculcated as a duty, and the blasphemed God of all was declared propitious to acts of blood! Miserable beings enlisted in what was denominated "the cause," and uninterested in the event, because unacquainted with that cause, were marched forth to commit murder, with no more compunction at their deeds, than in the exercise of an useful art or an honourable profession. With them it was a principle, full and open in declaration, and in practice established, that the bulk of mankind were created with an inability to take care of themselves. That this, as a direct task, would be too troublesome to their Maker; that therefore a few were specially endowed for the purpose, who were to manage and drive them as a shepherd does his sheep, and they were instructed to assist their leaders in domineering over, and rioting in the wretchedness of their countrymen.

The Press. That terror of bad governments, the scourge of the wicked, and powerful protecter of the injured—the public press—lent its aid in the destruction of prejudice and the promotion of union. The military, both officers and men, were guilty of most gross attacks on the citizens, in almost every town in Ireland, and even women were subject to their indecent violence. Representations to government remained unanswered, and no attention was paid by the commanders to the complaints of the people. The public press, however, did not fail to denounce, in no measured terms, the individuals guilty of these atrocities; a public journal, published in Belfast, called the *Northern Star*, had been instrumental in holding up to the indignation of the citizens the conduct of the military quartered in that town, and had in the month

of February printed the defence of Arthur O'Connor against the charge of high treason.

This proceeding gave great offence to the Irish executive, and produced one of these illegal acts denominated by Mr. Dundas "energies beyond the law," from the effects of which he and colleagues were afterwards shielded by a bill of indemnity. Instructions were sent to Colonel Barber— a violent partizan officer of the Irish artillery, at that time quartered in Belfast—to take steps to prevent its further publication; accordingly, he, accompanied by other officers and a military escort, entered the office of this newspaper, seized all the books, papers, and types, which he carried off, leaving the house occupied by a guard, under the command of a corporal who had been made a special constable for the purpose. Similar outrages were committed in other towns, and thus the last spark of the freedom of the Irish press was extinguished. The moment at length arrived, when the government considered it expedient to awake from its seeming lethargy; active operations were commenced against the United Irish societies, by the arrest of their leaders or those suspected of favouring their proceedings. In Dublin, the notorious Major Sirr was employed to perform this duty, and in the north, the no less celebrated Robert Stewart, afterwards Lord Castlereagh, was charged with the same office. The exploits of Sirr, whose well paid loyalty rendered him an active instrument in the hands of government, were of such a nature as to recommend him to the ministry. This Sirr, the son of an obscure whiskey merchant in French-street, followed the same trade as his father, and was appointed to the situation of deputy, under Major Sandys, the town-major of Dublin. This person had all the attributes of a good police officer; active, persevering, and cunning; devoid of feeling and insensible to fear; servile and mean to his superiors, and insolent to his inferiors; ready to execute any act no matter how ille-

Energies beyond the law.

Major Sirr.

gal, and to obey any order no matter how arbitrary. To the Major was confided the task of organizing a band of spies and informers, and although the selection did not confer honour on the selected, it showed the great penetration of government.

Spies and informers.

This band was composed of wretches the outcasts of society, lost to shame, guilty of every vice, and saturated with depravity. These men were scattered throughout Ireland and received instructions to attend public meetings, there to spread and eulogize the doctrine of resistance by an appeal to arms. In every house, in every place of public resort, they were to be found encouraging by every means in their power the belief, that the United Irish were strong enough to openly bid defiance to England, and as their pay depended on the importance of their communications, they did not fail to exaggerate and misrepresent the sentiments of all with whom they conversed. Some of those who had received a superior education, quoted high authorities for violent proceedings; Archdeacon Paley's chapter on civil government was printed and distributed amongst their unfortunate victims, and they were urged to follow the precepts it inculcated* by a display of physical force, which they were told was sufficient to awe the government, and to secure the independence of their country. These miscreants spread alarm of every kind amongst the people, and secretly denounced the very men whom they induced to conspire against the laws and peace of the country. They introduced distrust into the ranks of the united Irish, and by the fabrication of charges against individuals, they fur-

* "Let civil governors learn from hence to respect their subjects; let them be admonished *that the physical strength resides in the governed;* that this strength wants only to be felt and roused to lay prostrate the most ancient and confirmed dominion; that civil authority is founded on opinion; that general opinion, therefore, ought always be treated with deference, and managed with delicacy and circumspection."—*Paley.*

nished government with an excuse for arbitrary measures. They busied themselves in composing seditious songs and handbills, which were sung in every public house and sold in every street; rejoicing in their security, they gloated over the victims that produced them the price of their infamy; amongst them were men whose mental attainments were of the first order. They were under the command of Majors Sirr, Swan, and Sandys, from whom they received their private instructions previous to being let loose to hunt down their prey, and to whom they addressed their reports of the political state of society. To these reports was appended a list of the disaffected in each district, and the life and character of respectable citizens was placed at the mercy of a gang of heartless ruffians, whose trade was perjury, whose profession was deceit, and whose lives were infamous.

The agent selected by government for conducting the arrest of the leaders of the united Irish societies of the north was the Hon. Robert Stewart, afterwards Lord Castlereagh. This gentleman commenced his political career, like Mr. Pitt, as a reformer, and like him finished it by political apostacy. He was an active member of the Volunteer association, and his name is recorded amongst the men of rank, riches, and influence, who first assembled in Ulster, under the denomination of the Northern Whig Club (the nucleus of the secret societies), for the redress of grievances, which they announced to the multitude could only be obtained by their united exertions.* Lord Castlereagh.

* At a meeting of the Northern Whig Club, held at Belfast, on the 16th of April, 1790, Gawin Hamilton, Esq. in the chair, the following resolutions and address were agreed to.

Resolved unanimously—That when an unmasked and shameless system of ministerial corruption manifests an intention to sap the spirit, virtue, and independence of parliament, it is time for the people to look to themselves.

Resolved unanimously—That if the people have a due regard to their

This selection was very judicious, he being a person well calculated, from his knowledge of the different members of

essential rights and interests; if they reflect that the arch of the constitution was cemented with the blood of their ancestors, or consider themselves trustees for millions unborn, they will steadily oppose so ruinous and execrable a system; if they do not, instead of glorying in that independence, which they so lately with efficacy vindicated, they must sink into the most ignominious slavery.

Resolved unanimously—That our respectful address to the electors of Ireland, together with these resolutions, the toasts of the day, and a list of the members of this club, be published.

TO THE ELECTORS OF IRELAND.

The third state of parliament no longer exists. The power of regenerating reverts to you; and never was a wise, a faithful, a *spirited* use of that power more loudly called for. The corrupt support given in the session, by placed and pensioned majorities, without pretension to argument, decency, or ability, to an administration equally destitute of them all, in measures avowedly hostile to the rights, liberties, and prosperity of this country, proclaims your danger, points out your defence, and challenges your best exertions. In the name of your country then we call upon you to support the rights of Ireland, to exert the important privilege of freemen at the ensuing election, and to proclaim to the world that you deserve to be free. Guard your share in the legislature, as the great distinction between our constitution and tyranny. Preserve it equally from the inroads of the crown and of the aristocracy.

Where a representative has proved faithful, renew the trust, where he has bartered his duty for emoluments either for himself or his retainers, reject him with disdain; and amongst new candidates support those, and those only, whose characters place them above suspicion, and give a just ground for confidence. Regard not the threats of landlords and their agents, when they required you to fail in your duty to your country, to yourselves, and to your posterity. The first privilege of man is the right of judging for himself, and now is the time for you to exert that right. Let no individual neglect his duty. The nation is an aggregate of individuals, and the strength of the whole is composed of the exertions of each part; the man, therefore, who omits what is in his power, because he has not *more* in it, stands accountable for confirming and entailing slavery on the land that gave him birth. As an upright House of Commons is *all* that is wanting, do your duty to your country by endeavouring to create one; and let no considerations tempt you to sacrifice the public to a private tie—the greater duty to the less.

the secret societies, for the situation. Unsuspicious of any design to arrest their persons, the leaders remained quietly in the midst of their families, little dreaming they were so soon to be dragged from them and immured in dungeons,

We entreat you in the name of your insulted nation; we implore you by every social and honourable tie; we conjure you as citizens, as freemen, as *Irishmen*, to exclude from the representative body that herd of slaves, who have dared to barter your dearest rights and most essential interests for their private gain. The illustrious minority of the last session have acquitted themselves in a manner seldom equalled. It remains for you to do your duty to yourselves, if you are not satisfied with a house of commons, in which the voice of the nation is with difficulty to be heard; with a majority of that house, returned by rotten boroughs, and filled through ministerial profligacy, with 104 pensioned hirelings; if you do not wish to countenance corruption—if you desire to guard the treasure of the public from the rapacity of English Viceroys; if you do not wish the fountain of nobility contaminated by the sale of the honors of one house for the purpose of boiling the other, and to see a police ruffian stand sentinel at every man's door in the land. You will propose the following questions by deputations of electors, and on the very hustings to every gentleman who offers himself for the trust of representing you in parliament; and you will not hesitate to reject the claim of any man, however great his rank, or extensive his connections, who shall not unequivocally pledge himself to support the following salutary and necessary measures.

"Will you regularly attend your duty in parliament, and be governed by the instructions of your constituents? will you, in and out of the house, with all your ability and influence, promote the success of a bill for amending the representation of the people? a bill for preventing pensioners from sitting in parliament, or such placemen as cannot sit in the British House of Commons? a bill for limiting the number of placemen and pensioners? a bill for preventing revenue officers from voting or interfering at elections? a bill for rendering the servants of the crown of Ireland responsible for the expenditure of the public money? a bill to protect the personal safety of the subject against arbitrary and excessive bail, and against the stretching the power of attachment beyond the limits of the constitution? and will you, as far as in you lies, prevent any renewal of the police act."

Resolved unanimously—That we will not vote for, nor support any candidate who shall not solemnly and publicly pledge himself to the measures recommended to the electors of Ireland in the preceding address.

Signed (by order),

GAWIN HAMILTON, President,

A. HALIDAY, Secretary.

O

by the very hand that had pushed them on to ruin. Ireland beheld with sorrow and surprise his disgraceful apostacy, but did not foresee the extent of the evils he was preparing for her in the destruction of her constitution and the misery of her people. Robert Stewart had early, but secretly, adopted the degrading doctrine that patriotism was a mockery, the semblance of which was, however, necessary to forward the ambition of those who professed it. He cared not for his country's independence, of what import the hatred of a whole people. Let them be conducted to the scaffold or flogged in the public streets; let their money be squandered in corrupting their representatives; let gaunt misery sweep over the face of the land, provided that it contributed to ministerial success and to personal aggrandizement.

The polished gentleman, but unprincipled politician; as an orator his figures of speech were at times striking and forcible, at others they bordered on the absurd and the ridiculous. His mind was not proof against the assaults of vanity, and he eagerly sought the artificial distinctions conferred by a court. Dazzled by a star, or seduced by a ribbon, he was sometimes flattered, by obtaining them, into a sacrifice of his political opinions.

The following are a few of the names of the original members of the Northern Whig Club.

Lord Charlemont,	Hon. R. Ward,
Hon. Robert Stewart (Lord Castlereagh),	Hon. H. Rowley,
Lord de Clifford,	Eldred Pottinger,
Lord Moira,	W. Brownlow,
Right Hon. John O'Neil (Lord O'Neil),	Savage Hall,
Right Hon. H. L. Rowley,	W. Sharman,
Archibald H. Rowan,	John Forbes,
William Tod Jones,	Richard J. Ker,
Honourable E. Ward,	E. I. Agnew.

The following were among the toasts of the day.

"President Washington, and the United States of America."
"A happy establishment to the Gallic Constitution."
"Freedom to the Brabanters."
"Our Sovereign Lord—the People."

One hundred thousand copies of "Payne's Rights of Man," were printed at the expense of the members, and distributed amongst the people.

Such was the public character of Robert Stewart, Lord Castlereagh, and yet (strange contradiction), in all the relations of private life, no man was more beloved, or displayed greater kindness of disposition. His memory will long live in the recollection of Irishmen, as one who has added another bloody page to the history of the misfortunes of his country.*

Arrest of the leaders of the United Irish in the North.

The arrest of the leaders of the united Irish in the North was, under the superintendence of Lord Castlereagh, soon accomplished, and they were conveyed to Dublin guarded by a strong military escort.† The gaols were crowded with prisoners of minor importance, whose trials were conducted so as to give little chance of escape. The so much vaunted trial by jury, the palladium of liberty, was vitiated and rendered worse than useless. Its intentions were reversed; it was made the legal apology for inflicting unmerited punishment on the innocent, and used as a shield for the protection of crime; juries were packed and intimidated; conviction was necessary, and the perjury of paid informers hurried them to the scaffold, or banished them from their country.

Partial administration of justice.

If a jury had the hardihood to pronounce a verdict in opposition to the charge of the bench, they were discharged, and marked as men of doubtful loyalty; and if they pronounced a verdict of guilty against an orangeman or soldier, for outrage or murder, their verdict was set aside by the prisoner producing a pardon from government.‡ Of all the

* The author lately visited the Bank of Ireland where the Irish parliament formerly held its sittings; an attendant pointed to the spot where Lord Castlereagh stood when the act of union was passed—a well dressed individual stepped forth from the crowd and spat upon it.

† The military, accompanied by a person wearing a mask, visited several houses in Belfast, and arrested the individuals whom he pointed out. This man was afterwards discovered to be a government informer, who, as a painter of miniatures, had formerly been admitted into their families.

‡ At the assizes for Armagh, Colonel Sparrow was tried and found guilty of murdering a Mr. Lucas, and when called up to receive sentence, he handed his Majesty's pardon to the court, and was immediately liberated.

measures for the suppression of disaffection, none was less effectual than the Insurrection Act, which however fully answered the end for which it was passed—that of irritation. Of all the refinements on coercion, none was more galling or offensive than this. Its provisions gave impunity to the military and the magistracy; it outraged all the rights and privileges of the people; it "gave more effective powers" to the magistracy, by empowering them to enter houses in search of arms and ammunition, to prevent the assembling of large bodies of the people, and to commit to prison for an indefinite period, any one suspected of disaffection. When this bill was submitted by the Attorney-general to Parliament, he drew a terrific picture of the state of society —of the assassinations and outrages of the defenders, but was silent as to the persecutions and atrocities of the orangemen; the ever watchful mind of Grattan supplied the deficiency. He described, in strong language, the lawless conduct of these persons; he told the house "they were men who committed massacre in the name of God, and exercised despotic power in the name of liberty." Protected by this act of indemnity, the magistrates had recourse to the strong measures so necessary to produce a general outbreak. The religious warfare was carried on in the north, with all the fanatical fury of the barbarous ages.

Orange atrocities in the county Armagh.

The county of Armagh was the scene of the greatest atrocities. The magistrates of that district, with a few exceptions, refused their protection to the Catholics, and declined taking their examinations against their persecutors; seven thousand Catholics had their houses burned, and were forced to seek refuge in the neighbouring districts, and the brigands who expelled them were encouraged, connived at, and protected by the government. At this time the United Irish received a great accession of strength from the Catholics; the numbers now amounted to five hundred thousand men—the greater part well trained in the use of arms. Confident of success, many of their leaders advo-

cated an immediate movement against the government, whilst others, more prudent, counciled caution and delay, until the long promised succours from France should arrive. The plan of government began to develop itself; aware of the strength of the United Irish, and forewarned of their intentions, they made no vigorous effort to crush the intended insurrection. Disaffection had been speedily put down in Scotland and England, and the tranquillity of Ireland, had it been the sincere intention of the minister might have been, by the same means, preserved. The feeble efforts to suppress the secret societies by the arrest of their leaders, served only to irritate; but the burning and wrecking of houses and imprisonment of their owners, drove the people to desperation. The mysterious and inexplicable conduct of the Pitt administration alarmed their friends, and had the desired effect of giving confidence to the conspirators. The government beheld with savage joy the moment approach that confirmed their power, secured Ireland as a colony, plunged the inhabitants into tears, and drenched her soil with their blood. To the few who were in the confidence of government, its supineness when surrounded with danger created no surprise. They were fully acquainted with its intentions, and felt no alarm at the consequences. They knew that ministers had long been in possession of information respecting the plans of the conspirators, and the means they had of carrying them into execution. They felt secure, because they were aware that a blow was meditated against the Irish constitution; that to inflict it revolt was necessary, and that preparations had been made to speedily and effectually suppress any popular movement. There were others whom it was not considered prudent to entrust with a state secret of so much importance; men of a high sense of honour and uncompromising integrity, who had hitherto supported the British minister in all his measures, from a mistaken confidence in the purity of his motives.

Necessity of a revolt to produce a union.

The Earl of Carhampton, one of the most influential of

Earl Carhampton.

the privy council, and commander in chief of the army, was the first to express doubts of the honesty of ministers, and to loudly protest against their unaccountable proceedings. His lordship had not been educated in the school of diplomacy, that teaches deceit, and inculcates treachery; as a soldier, he had courage, and as a gentleman, a high sense of honour. His military services were not great; but he was a man of much decision of character, inflexible in the performance of what he considered to be his duty, and obstinate in his resolves. Finding that disaffection to the existing order of things was not only general in the provinces, but that the citizens of Dublin had also succeeded in withdrawing from their allegiance a part of the garrison, and that nearly one whole regiment, the Kildare Militia, had taken the oaths as United Irishmen—he, without consulting government, marched the garrison out of the city, and formed two distinct camps on the north and the south, a few miles from it. This, he conceived, would prevent all communication with the disaffected of the capital, and enable him to act with advantage in the event of an explosion. The prompt measures of the commander-in-chief were disapproved by the Lord-lieutenant, who, finding the hopes of rebellion thus frustrated, directed the immediate breaking up of the encampments. But the Earl of Carhampton, foreseeing the consequences, and believing that such an order must have been issued in ignorance of the actual state of the capital and the country, and wishing to avert a civil war—positively refused to obey; observing, that he, as commmander-in-chief, was responsible for the peace of Ireland, and that unless he had the full power of disposing of the forces under his command, he could not answer for the continuance of tranquillity.

Lord Carhampton withdraws the garrison from Dublin.

This bold and decided conduct of his Lordship, occasioned much embarrassment to the English minister, and he obtained the sign manual to an order which positively directed the immediate return of the troops to their former quarters.

Lord Carhampton resigns the chief command of the army.

This proceeding clearly exposed the hitherto inexplicable policy of the cabinet. Disgusted with the government, he resigned the command, and publicly declared, that it was the obvious intention of ministers not to crush but to foster rebellion.

The information received of the preparations in the ports of France to send men and arms to Ireland, determined ministers to use every means to effect a premature insurrection. Free quarters were ordered, and martial law, with all its horrors, declared. The former placed the property of the people at the disposal of a licentious soldiery, and the latter consigned their persons to the lash of the drummer, or the hands of the military hangman. This was the first act of the Irish tragedy.

Sir Ralph Abercrombie was appointed to succeed the Earl of Carhampton in the command of the army. This officer, who possessed all the chivalrous honour of the soldier, and the humane feeling of the virtuous man, was indignant at being selected to coerce and torture a generous and brave—a half armed and half ragged people, into insurrection against their sovereign. Determined not to lend himself to such premeditated atrocity, he tendered his resignation, accompanying it with the remark, that ministers had insulted him, and deceived themselves, in selecting him as commander-in-chief; that he was a soldier, not a politician, and that consequently he was quite unfit to act in both capacities. His resignation was accepted, and ministers were a second time foiled in the attempt to prevail on an experienced officer to assist them in the bloody work of civil dissension.* At length a man in the garb of a soldier was found, who made no such nice distinctions, who had none of those qualms of conscience that troubled his predecessors

Sir Ralph Abercrombie appointed.

Sir R. Abercrombie resigns.

* The disorganization of the army was such, that General Abercrombie, in general orders, described them as "soldiers who would soon be much more formidable to their friends than to their enemies."

—General Lake was apppointed, and soon after, the cry of "to arms" resounded throughout the island.

The united Irish send an agent to France, 1797.

The united Irish had long and anxiously waited the arrival of the promised assistance from France—a Mr. Lewins was despatched to that country, where he was received as their accredited agent. His solicitations for aid in arms, men, and money, were successful; the French government offered to send over a very large army, but as it was the intention of the Irish conspirators in the event of success to establish their independence as a distinct nation, this offer was looked on with suspicion, and their agent was directed to limit the number demanded to ten thousand men. This threw an impediment in the way of the preparations, as the French were not inclined to lend any assistance which would not be sufficient to secure Ireland as a conquest. After many months spent in negociating, great preparations were made in the ports of Holland, and General Daendels had actually embarked with the French troops and munitions of war, on board of the Dutch fleet, but from some unexplained cause, an order arrived from Paris for their disembarkation, and the fleet proceeded to sea without them. This fleet was attacked and defeated by Admiral Duncan, soon after, off Camperdown.

The French offer a large army—this refused.

The Irish encouraged to believe foreign aid unnecessary.

Disappointed in their hopes of assistance from France, they were encouraged, by the secret agents of government, in the belief that they were sufficiently strong to succeed without them. Exposed to the most gross and inhuman treatment, they plunged into rebellion, and Mr. Pitt's policy was crowned with success.

Reynolds, the informer.

The principal government agent employed in obtaining information, was a silk merchant of the city of Dublin, one Reynolds. This person being a Catholic, was not suspected of treachery by the conspirators; of plausible speech and insinuating address, he had been long in their confidence, and was intimately acquainted with their persons as well as their plans for overturning the government.

Reynolds was in constant communication with the secretary of state, Lord Castlereagh, who issued orders for the immediate arrest of all whom he thought proper to denounce. It was he who gave the information which led to the seizure of the delegates and their papers, at Oliver Bonds, the 12th of March, 1798, and, when discovered and avoided by his former associates, it was he who offered himself on every occasion where proof was wanting, to swear away the lives of men whom he did not know, and of whom he had never heard! His associate in obtaining information, was one Armstrong, a captain in the King's County Militia. For these services he received five thousand pounds, and a pension of fifteen hundred a year, which he enjoyed to the moment of his death, which took place at Paris, where he expired full of years and infamy.

Military men appointed Magistrates.

Throwing aside all respect for what is known by the name of constitution, a most daring and profligate attack was made on it, and a direct insult offered to the Irish gentry, by the appointment of military commanders, not possessing one foot of ground in Ireland, to be magistrates. This was a great grievance, inasmuch as under the mask of civil power the law could be perverted, and military torture inflicted.

Martial law declared.

Notices were issued in each county for the immediate surrender of arms. Troops were quartered in the houses of all suspected of being disaffected. At length the civil power was entirely superseded, and martial law declared. The elements of civil discord were let loose, anarchy, murder, and suspicion carried misery and dismay into the poor man's cottage, as well as the rich man's palace. Tenements were burned, others sacked, citizens were arrested on suspicion of having concealed arms and ammunition, and various tortures were invented, and applied, to extort confession. Many were daily flogged in the public market places; thumb-screws were placed, some were picketed, others half strangled. The heads of several were shaved, and caps of coarse linen, thickly smeared with pitch on the

Prisoners tortured.

inside, were placed on them, and adhered so firmly as not to be removed without tearing the scalp of the prisoner.* The mind recoils with horror from even the recital of such inhuman atrocities, and civilization shudders in contemplating the cruelties committed by men who presumed to rank themselves amongst its votaries.†

Arrest of Lord Edward Fitzgerald.

The government was fully informed of the day fixed for a general rising of the united Irish, and as Lord Edward Fitzgerald was considered dangerous on account of his military skill and determined courage, it was an object of the greatest importance to secure his person. A reward of one thousand pounds had been offered for his apprehension, but he had continued to escape the vigilance of his pursuers. "On the 19th of May, information was received that he was concealed in a house in Thomas-street, occupied by a man named Murphy, who dealt in feathers. Majors Sirr and Swan, accompanied by Captain Ryan, of the Sepulchre corps, and eight soldiers in plain clothes, proceeded to the street in hackney coaches; whilst they were in the act of posting the sentries so as to cut off all chance of escape. Major Swan observed a woman run hastily up stairs to apprise Lord Edward of the approach of the officers. He followed her, and entering an apartment, he discovered his lordship lying in bed, and approaching him told him he had a warrant for his arrest. Lord Edward instantly sprang from the bed, and presented a pistol at the officer, which missed fire; he then drew a dagger, and closing with him inflicted several wounds on different parts of his body. During the struggle, Captain Ryan entered, and placed a

* At a trial some years after the rebellion, in which Sir Thomas Fitzgerald was interested, an allusion was made to his having applied salt to the back of a flogged rebel, when, addressing the bench, he exclaimed, "My lord, by such means the country was *preserved*"—"and *pickled* too," rejoined his lordship.

† An officer of militia, named Hepenstal, of colossal stature, obtained the *sobriquet* of the walking gallows, from his strangling his prisoners over his shoulder.

pocket pistol close to his lordship's head, but it also missed fire, he then wounded him severely with a sword cane, and grappling with each other they fell to the ground; at that moment Lord Edward plunged the dagger into the side of the officer, and wounded him so severely, that his bowels fell on the floor. This desperate resistance was unavailing. Major Sirr entered the room, and meeting Lord Edward, he immediately fired, and wounded him in the shoulder, when his lordship renounced all further attempts to escape, and declared himself their prisoner. He was then conveyed to the Castle."* The name of his betrayer is not known; but it has been asserted that "the over anxiety of an indiscreet friend," discovered the place of his concealment. It is however, more probable that the very large reward offered for his apprehension, induced some person well acquainted with all his movements, to give the information. His lordship's wounds proved mortal, and he expired with prayers on his lips for the happiness and prosperity of his country.

Lord Edw. Fitzgerald dies of his wounds.

The death of Lord Edward Fitzgerald was a severe loss to the conspirators, who had relied on him as an experienced soldier, to direct their operations; but it did not occasion any alteration in the time appointed for insurrection. Without consulting the Irish Parliament, General Lake had issued a manifesto declaring the province of Ulster under martial law. This glaring act of military arrogance, this insolent exercise of illegal authority, was defended by ministers on the usual plea of expediency, and Mr. John Claudius Beresford, the celebrated placeman, and strenuous advocate of strong measures, in his place in the House of Commons, boldly, loudly, and emphatically declared, that "he wished the North of Ireland was at that moment in open rebellion, because he was persuaded the government was strong enough to suppress it." This declaration caused much surprise in the house; but, without, it was received as a confirmation, if any was wanting, of the wishes of the government to produce a premature insurrection.

General Lake declares martial law in the North without consulting Parliament

* Plowden.

System of terror.

The system of terror, when applied by a government to the governed, knows no law and acknowledges no religion. It stifles all feeling; it severs the bonds of society, and gives full license for the indulgence of the most vile passions. It protects the criminal, and deaf to the cries of the innocent, it hands them over without mercy, and often without trial, to military execution. But it was not martial law; it was not vehement threats, often carried into execution, to burn and to shoot, that solely constituted the miseries of unhappy Ireland. It was seizing the hour of silence and of rest, when all nature was still; when sleep held every faculty, peace every door, and unsuspecting innocence every heart. It was at that hour when all was hushed, that the silence was broken by the noise of cavalry and the tramp of armed men; by the demand for admittance to the peaceful cottage, accompanied with the yells and imprecations of a furious soldiery. The system of terror may succeed in producing a temporary calm, it may exult in the attainment of its views; but it leaves behind it an impression of horror that nothing can efface, and the remembrance of atrocities that are never forgiven.

On the 21st May, the Lord Mayor received a letter from Lord Castlereagh, announcing, "that his Excellency had discovered that the disaffected in the city and neighbourhood of Dublin, had formed a plan of possessing themselves in the course of the present week of the metropolis, and of seizing the executive government, and those of authority in the city;" and on the following day a similar communication was made to the parliament. His lordship's information was correct, the night of the 23rd May had been appointed for the attempt. The plan was skilfully arranged, and a belief in the ignorance of government promised certain success.

CHAPTER XIV.

Plan to surprise Dublin—Precautions to prevent success—Outbreak of the Rebellion—Battle of Naas—Torture to force confession—Effects of civil war—Politics preached from the pulpit—Rebels surprise Prosperous—Put the garrison to the sword—Royal troops under Mayor Foot defeated—King's troops routed at Gorey—Colonel Walpole killed—General Dundas defeated—Captain Armstrong, the informer—Execution of the Messrs. Shears—Prisoners sent to Prussia—Battle of Ross—Death of Lord Mountjoy—Burning of Scullabogue—Battle of Arklow—Defeat of the rebels—Determined conduct of Colonel Skerrit—Death of Father Murphy—Battle of Antrim—Rebels take the town—Rebels defeated—False report of religious warfare—Consequences of these reports—Courts martial—Battle of Vinegar Hill.

Conspiracy to surprise Dublin.

A GREAT many of the troops had been seduced from their allegiance; to them was assigned the task of spiking the guns in the Phœnix Park. The camp of Loughlinstown was to have been surprised, the castle to be occupied, and all the ministers and officers of government marched prisoners to the Pigeon House, and there embarked for England. The stoppage of the mail coaches, was to serve as the signal to the disaffected in other parts of the kingdom, to declare themselves. As it was not the intention of government to allow the rebels to take possession of any part of the seat of excutive, every preparation was made to defeat the attempt, and every assailable point was secured against surprise. The guards at the castle were trebled.

Precautions to defeat the attempt.

Troops were placed in strong detachments throughout the country, and all persons willing to assist in the defence of the city were furnished with arms and ammunition. Notwithstanding the rebels were aware of these precautions, they decided on making a simultaneous attack on the different military posts.

Outbreak of the rebellion.

On the evening of the 23rd May, all the mail coaches were destroyed, and on that night, and the following morning, the different positions occupied by the royal troops were attempted to be carried. In two instances only, were they successful, at Dunboyne, and Barretstown, where the feeble detachments could offer but little resistance. On the morning of the 24th, an obstinate and bloody rencontre took

Battle of Naas.

place between the royal troops and the rebels at Naas and Kilcullen. Lord Gosford had early, and correct information, of the numbers and force of the assailants, and by timely arrangements, succeeded in completely routing them. In this affair the few prisoners taken were immediately hanged. The King's troops lost many men, and several officers. The insurrection now was general. Proclamations were issued by the commanders of districts; directing all persons to remain within their houses from nine o'clock at night, till five next morning, and ordering military execution on the persons of all who should disobey. Another, bearing the

Torture applied to extort confession.

signature of the Viceroy, authorised his Majesty's generals to punish with *death*, or *otherwise*, "as their judgment should approve," all persons accused or suspected of assisting in the rebellion. With many of the generals suspicion justified arrest, and arrest justified punishment. It was necessary to extort confession; the pitch cap and cat of nine tails were employed to obtain it.

These sanguinary proceedings have placed the brand of infamy on the names of those who could have prevented them—a bloody mark that time can never efface, or title conceal. The plans of the insurgents, though arranged with great military skill, could not succeed. Without fire-arms, without officers, and without discipline, their bravery was unvailing, and their discomfiture certain.

Military executions.

In the attack on Dublin, in the night of the 23rd of May, the bodies of the rebels who fell were collected and brought in carts to the castle yard, where they were stretched out under the windows of the Viceroy, the bloody trophies of

the recent victory. The same day the prisoners, captured by the yeomanry corps under the command of Lord Roden, were pinioned and marched to the bridges, and principal streets, and hung to the lamp irons.* Others who endeavoured to escape in disguise were discovered, and instantly conducted to the scaffold. Every morning witnessed new executions. The feeling of mercy slept, and the unnatural thirst for blood seemed to increase with the number of the victims. The account of these executions soon reached the insurgents, and, exasperated to madness, they retaliated by putting to death their prisoners. A war of extermination commenced, and neither party gave or received quarter. Those who had hitherto stood aloof, were looked upon with the jaundiced eye of suspicion by both parties, and were at length forced to declare for either the one or the other.

Effects of the civil war.

The social relations were totally unhinged; the strong affections that bound friend to friend and relative to relative, were completely destroyed in the fire of political zeal; and the fury of party spirit separated every circle, and poisoned even the cup of domestic happiness. Each party invented calumnies against the other; concealed enmity was vented in charges of conspiracy where none existed; secret accusations sufficed to arrest and imprison the accused, or to send them on board the Tender; suspicion and distrust occupied every heart. Some were eager for revenge, others anxious for power; many persecuted their neighbours, and endeavoured to convince by torture, and the sword, the gaol and the gibbet. The courts of law were closed, and courts martial administered a spurious justice, that was blind to the revolting cruelty of military execution, whilst it convicted the suspected rebel without proof, and shut out all hopes of mercy to the condemned. Tumults were formed in the different towns, for the purpose of forcing peaceable and well behaved subjects to participate in acts of turbulence and licentiousness: anarchy replaced order, and cruelty and

* This was called by the military "illuminating the city."

corruption took possession of the sword of justice; her balance was broken, and her name became a mockery and a bye word in the mouths of a profligate and ferocious soldiery.

Nothing could palliate the perpetration of these cruelties; for the insurrection was not of a character to create any doubts as to the power of putting it down. Government had been effectually and silently preparing to allay the storm which itself had raised, and the possibility of success, on the part of the revolted, was treated as the troubled dream of the timid, or the heated aspiration of the enthusiast; therefore, these severe examples of military execution were uncalled for, as they only tended to produce retaliation, and excited a thirst for vengeance. To consummate these abominations, the ministers of religion abused their holy calling, by preaching politics from the pulpit, and men remarkable as quiet citizens, were suddenly transformed into fierce and intolerant partizans, denouncing, in all the fury of ignorant bigotry, their most intimate friends, and violating every principle of the social compact.

Politics preached from the pulpit.

The attack on Dublin and Kildare having failed, the rebels surprised, and put to the sword, the whole of the garrison of the town of Prosperous. In Wexford, they were at first very successful. The garrison, finding themselves too weak to oppose, with any probability of success, the rebel army, evacuated the town, and in their retreat lost many of their number. A strong body of rebels, posted at Oulart, under the command of a well known priest named Murphy, were attacked and dispersed by a detachment of the North Cork Militia, headed by Lieutenant Col. Tooke, which pursued them to the summit of the hill, when three hundred of the fugitives suddenly turned on their pursuers, and, after an obstinate struggle, slew the whole detachment with the exception of the Lieutenant Colonel, a sergeant, and two or three privates. Emboldened by this success, they marched on Camolin, where they seized eight hundred stand of arms, that had been sent by Lord Mount-

The rebels surprise, and put to the sword, the garrison of Prosperous

The royal troops defeated at Oulart.

morris for his yeomanry. They then pursued the fugitives to Enniscorthy, and their numbers having increased, they stormed the town, and after a desperate conflict the greater part of the garrison were put to death, the remainder gallantly cut their way through the rebels, and were fortunate enough to escape. The possession of Enniscorthy secured to them the strong position of Vinegar Hill, and left an extensive country at their mercy—every partial attempt to disperse the rebels was attended with defeat.

The royal troops, under Major Foot, defeated.

Major Foot and a detachment advancing on Oulart, was routed, and only three of his corps escaped. General Fawcet, who commanded the district, advanced to Tagmone, but holding the rebels too cheap, his advanced corps, composed of only eighty-eight men, were attacked under the Three Rocks, and destroyed, and he was forced to fall back on Duncanon, with the loss of his material and artillery.

The King's troops routed at Gorey; Col. Walpole killed.

Colonel Walpole, a brave man, but a bad officer, solicited and obtained leave to attack the rebel camp near Gorey; but approaching it without previously feeling his way, he was surprised by the rebels, and fell early in the action, which was closed by the capture of the whole of the artillery, and the dispersion of the royal troops.

General Dundas defeated.

The town of Gorey was taken and burned; several skirmishes took place with alternate success between the contending armies. At Kilcullen, General Dundas, relying on the weight of the heavy cavalry, had the imprudence to charge a strong column of the peasantry armed with pikes. The result was not in accordance with his expectations, and only served to prove that the pike, at close quarters, was a most dangerous and useful weapon. In this charge he lost two captains and many privates; the general himself escaped with difficulty. In the mean time, the disaffected were using every means to corrupt the military; emissaries were despatched to every camp and garrison in the island; but the camp at Laughlinstown, from its proximity to the capital, was the principal object of the rebels. It was com-

posed chiefly of the Irish militia, who began to show strong symptoms of insubordination.

Captain Armstrong

To discover these emissaries, Captain Armstrong, of the King's County Militia, offered himself to the government; considered as a trustworthy brother conspirator, he found no difficulty in ingratiating himself into their confidence, and having obtained their names and ascertained their guilt, he reported them to his employers. This person held the honourable situation of an officer, but forgetful of the principles it inculcates, he tarnished it by hiring himself as a common spy and despicable informer.

Execution of Messrs. Sheares.

Two young barristers, Henry and John Sheares, had, from a mistaken interpretation of the word patriotism, considered themselves justified in entering into a secret correspondence with the troops. Easy of access, of amiable manners, and confiding disposition, it was not difficult for Captain Armstrong to steal into their confidence. He offered to assist in seducing the troops from their allegiance; contrived secret meetings with the disaffected soldiers, and when he had thus established their guilt, he denounced them to the government. The brothers were arrested, and on his evidence, tried, convicted, executed, and beheaded. Whenever the strong raise the cry of fear against the weak, it is always the prelude to some flagrant act of injustice. It is generally accompanied by some word or phrase which is used to suit the ends of those who use it. Thus, "malignant" authorized cruelty and persecution in Scotland; "aristocrat" murder in France; and "croppy"* transportation, the triangles, or the scaffold, in Ireland. To be denounced as a croppy was the signal for arrest, and the word was often applied to gratify private hatred or avenge political animosity.

The arrest of the suspected had filled the tenders and gaols to suffocation. The number was so great as to occa-

* The word "croppy" was synonymous with rebel, because the hair cut short was considered in England as a mark of republicanism.

sion considerable embarrassment to the government. It was necessary to dispose of them; a treaty was accordingly entered into with the King of Prussia, by which he bound himself to incorporate them with his army, with an understanding that they should not be permitted to leave his kingdom, and these very men, years afterwards, composed the garrison of Flushing, which, by its obstinate defence, caused so much loss to the army commanded by Lord Chatham.

Prisoners sent to Prussia.

Flushed with victory, the rebels of the south conceived themselves invincible. Their audacity was in proportion to their success, and notwithstanding their ignorance of military tactics, they did not hesitate to attack the royal troops. Having taken the artillery attached to the unfortunate expedition of Colonel Walpole, they divided themselves into two bodies; the one commanded by Edward Rorke, and the other under Bagnal Harvey.

They then advanced to New Ross, which they attacked with the greatest impetuosity. Its possession was obstinately contested for ten hours; sometimes it was occupied by the rebels, at others, by the royalists; at length, drunkenness did its work. The town was fired, and the intoxicated insurgents, amounting to seven thousand men, were either shot, or perished miserably in the flames.*

Battle of New Ross.

In the early part of the day Lord Mountjoy was killed, when gallantly leading his regiment into action. To prevent co-operation, it was of paramount importance to destroy the confidence and separate the union that existed between the rebels of the south and those of the northern part of the island. Emissaries were dispatched, with instructions to mix themselves in their ranks, and to assure them that the insurrection in the North had assumed a religious character; that the Protestants had turned their arms against the Catholics, and that great numbers of the latter

Death of Lord Mountjoy.

* The commanders of the royal forces, Generals Johnson and Eustace, were both Irish. This accounts for the steadiness of the troops, who were almost all Irish.

had been cruelly massacred. The fanatical animosity that formerly existed was too recent to be forgotten, and gave an air of truth to the falsehood. The chiefs of the southern rebels, cut off by the royal army from all communication with the north, were not enabled to contradict the assertion—the consequences were fatal to the rebels.

Burning of Scullabogue and the prisoners confined in it.

In the dwelling house and barn of Mr. King, of Scullabogue, near Carrickburn mountain, a number of loyalists, some of them Catholics, were confined as hostages for the safety of the rebels prisoners to the King's army. The fugitives from the battle of Ross, smarting under defeat, and irritated to madness, by the report of a similar butchery having been perpetrated on the rebel prisoners, forced the guard, fired the barn, and barbarously consumed its unfortunate inmates.

The success of the rebels was the result of partial engagements, and had they confined themselves to a desultory warfare, for which Ireland is so well adapted, their resistance might have been protracted to a much more distant period. At Gorey, Carnew, the Three Rocks, and many other places, where they availed themselves of the intricacies of the ground, they completely defeated the royal army; and had they succeeded in taking Arklow, the capital would have been uncovered, to which they might have marched in one day. Aware of the importance of this town a strong reinforcement of royal troops, under the command of Colonel Skerret, was despatched for its defence. The disaffected of the capital were anxiously expecting the capture of this town as a necessary preliminary to their junction with their friends.

Battle of Arklow. Defeat of the rebels.

The rebel army although without discipline, was very numerous. It consisted of 3,000 men who made no secret of their intention to storm Arklow the following morning. This indiscreet announcement was in great measure the cause of their failure. To save Dublin, Arklow must be defended—a further reinforcement, composed of the Cavan

militia, commanded by Lord Farnham and some yeomanry, were directed to proceed immediately to the aid of General Needham—and, such was the pressing necessity, every vehicle was put in requisition to convey them to their destination.

The battle of Arklow was remarkable, not only from the numbers engaged; but also from the combatants, on both sides, displaying a greater knowledge of military tactics, than in any that occurred during the insurrection. The rebels amounted to many thousands, the King's troops to only fifteen hundred. The former armed with pikes and fire arms of every calibre, were but scantily provided with ammunition. A short time previous to the arrival of the Cavan militia the action had commenced. The royal troops were in line with their artillery on each wing. The peasantry were in their front covered by a ditch; each party had their skirmishes in advance, but the action did not become general until the arrival of the militia, when a heavy fire was sustained for some hours without occasioning much loss; at length, the fire from a piece on the flank of the insurgents, dismounted one of the royal cannon. Had the pikemen who were in the rear, charged at the moment, the movement would have been decisive. The battle of Arklow.

The royal troops wavered, and General Needham was on the point of sounding the retreat, but Colonel Skerret declared that he would not obey, and that himself and the regiment he commanded, the Dunbarton Fencibles, were determined never to turn their backs on the enemy. Had General Needham persisted in directing a retrograde movement, the whole of the royal troops must have been annihilated. Victory or death was the only alternative. At this critical moment a large party of pikemen detached from the main body, attempted too late to turn the flank of the royal army. They were met by a steady and well directed fire, which notwithstanding their daring impetuosity checked their advance. Their leader, Father Murphy, for whom Determined conduct of Colonel Skerrit.

Death of Father Murphy.

they had a superstitious veneration from a belief in his being invulnerable, was cut in two by a shot from a four pounder. His fall spread dismay amongst his followers, and the ammunition of those engaged in the front being expended they began the retreat, but in such good order that the royal army, satisfied with remaining masters of the field, did not think it advisable to interrupt it.

This victory saved the capital, for had the royal troops been defeated nothing could have prevented the occupation of the seat of government by the insurgents, where 30,000 men, well organised, awaited their appearance to take up arms. The disaffected in the north had not yet shown themselves. They waited until information should arrive of the proceedings in the south. Less subject to excitement than the rest of their countrymen, they took time to deliberate, and were not so enthusiastic in the belief of future success; at length the wished for intelligence was communicated.

Battle of Antrim.

The three victories gained in succession over the royalists were magnified into a total dispersion of the King's forces; elated by the news the insurgents without any preconcerted plan, assembled on the 7th June in the vicinity of the town of Antrim, a commander had been appointed by anticipation but failed to make his appearance. In this dilemma when the advanced guard of the troops, commanded by General Nugent, were within one mile of their camp, a man of proved courage and acknowledged talent, volunteered the chief command of his countrymen. Fearless of consequences he, with a chivalry worthy of a better cause, devoted himself to the attainment of what he believed to be his country's liberty. The offer of Henry M'Cracken was accepted, and preparations made to attack the town. Antrim was a station of considerable importance, situated about twelve miles from Belfast, and nearly the same distance from the British camp of Blaris; its possession opened the communication with the western district, and as a co-operation was expected in that direction,

its occupation was desirable. The town was strongly garrisoned, the cannon were placed so as to enfilade the principal street, and the cavalry were protected by the wall which surrounded the church. On the appearance of the insurgents, a heavy fire was opened, which however failed in arresting their advance, a charge was attempted by the cavalry which was gallantly repulsed, and they were forced to retire with considerable loss. A division of pikemen made a bold attempt to take the guns, but were mowed down by repeated discharges of grape, and after displaying the most undaunted courage, the survivors gained the church yard where they found safety under the protection of their musketry. Another and more successful attempt was made to take the guns, M'Cracken with a determined band charged through the principal street, drove every thing before him, and in the deadly struggle of man against man, displayed a cool and unbending courage, worthy of a better fate than that which awaited him. The town was taken; but by a fatal mistake was soon retaken by the British troops. The insurgents from the northern district were within a short distance of the town, and in one hour would have joined the main body under M'Cracken, but meeting the retreating cavalry they mistook their rapid flight for a charge, and imagining the day lost they fled in all directions. The royal troops having been reinforced from the camp at Blaris, became the assailants. The report was soon spread of the dispersion of the expected succour; dismay replaced exultation; and the insurgents evacuated the town. M'Cracken endeavoured to prevent this; but all his efforts were ineffectual; the rout became general, and each sought security in flight. Not long after he fell into the hands of the enemy, was tried by a court martial, and executed. On the scaffold, as in the field, he displayed a contempt for death, and his only regret was that it was one unworthy of a soldier.

The rebels take the town.

The rebels defeated.

It is a remarkable fact, that men executed for political

offences, have generally met their fate with the fortitude of martyrs. This courage in suffering death, probably arises from an idea they have formed of the justice of the cause for which they die, and also from a hope that at a future period their names may be mentioned, in the annals of their country, as heroes and martyrs. It is this feeling, and this hope, that makes them ascend the scaffold with a firm step, and suffer death without betraying the slightest symptom of fear.

The decisive battle of Antrim was followed by that of Ballynahinch, in the county of Down, which was equally disastrous in its consequences to the insurgents. Their leaders were also taken and executed; others on a smaller scale, took place between detachments of the royal army quartered at a distance from their regiments, with similar results. The report of the rebellion having assumed a religious complexion in the North, caused the burning of Scullabogue. The northerns were, on the other hand, assured that the Catholics had sworn to exterminate the Protestants, and that the burning of Scullabogue was only the prelude to similar atrocities in the North. The double falsehood succeeded; and from that moment the embers of religious discord, which were all but extinguished, were reallumed and have since continued to burn with redoubled fury. The wreath of shamrock that united Ireland's sons, was destroyed by the unchristian hands of bigotry and sectarian violence. In religious dissension England considers there is alone safety. Every means therefore, have been taken to implant a rooted hatred between Catholic and Protestant. But it is evident that we approach a period in the history of Ireland when such narrow policy can be no longer applied with safety to the empire, and that its security consists in endeavouring to gain the affections of the Irish by an impartial administration of justice, and by admitting them to the enjoyment of all the immunities and privileges of British subjects.

Report spread of religious warfare in the South.

Consequence of these reports.

The courts martial continued to sit. The discretionary power given to the military was often used with unnecessary severity; one instance occurred which is worthy of being recorded, as illustrative of military rigour and military justice. A lad of the tender age of fifteen, was detected in the act of affixing a revolutionary proclamation to the walls of a church. His arrest was reported to the general commanding the district, who wrote a note to the colonel in whose custody he was, containing the following short but significant sentence: "try—and hang him for an example." He was obeyed, and by a refinement of cruelty this youth was suspended to a tree opposite his mother's cottage, under which he had often played. That moment the wretched widow was seized with insanity, and died a maniac! The battles of Ballynahinch and Antrim, were followed by the immediate dispersion of the united Irish; no further attempt was made at insurrection, but the cessation of hostilities produced no relaxation in the sufferings of the people; the exercise of mercy was called weakness, and cruelty firmness; the angry passions were excited, and demanded more victims. To conceal a friend who was charged with revolt, was to participate in his offence.* Proclamations were issued, calling on the leaders of the insurrection to surrender themselves, and offering large rewards for the discovery of those who disobeyed; arms were surrendered, Courts martial.

* The following proclamation of Colonel James Durham, commanding the Fifeshire Fencibles, at Belfast, was issued after hostilities had ceased.

"……And shall it be found hereafter that said traitor had been concealed by any person or persons, or by the knowledge or connivance of any person or persons of this town and neighbourhood, or that they or any of them have known the place of his concealment, and shall not have given notice thereof to the commandant of this town, such person's house shall be *burnt*, and the owner thereof *hanged*.

"This is to give notice, that if any person is taken up by the patrols after ten o'clock, he will be fined five shillings, for the benefit of the poor; if the delinquent is not able to pay five shillings, he will be brought to a drum head court martial, and will receive *one hundred lashes*."

JAMES DURHAM, Colonel Commandant.

but neither the fear of military execution, or offers of reward, could induce the people to treacherously betray their chiefs, several of whom were afterwards fortunate enough to escape to America. The suppression of the insurrection in the north was an object of paramount importance to government; its duration was short, but sufficed to answer the purpose of the English statesmen; the terror it spread amongst the Protestant population made them acquiesce in that measure which transformed their country from an independent kingdom into a miserable colony.

Battle of Vinegar Hill.

The tranquillity of the north being restored, government was enabled to direct all its force against the insurgents of the south; the latter, after their defeat at Arklow, seized on the strong position of Vinegar Hill, where they entrenched themselves. Armed with only two thousand muskets, and but a small quantity of ammunition, they awaited the threatened attack, trusting to the pike, with which the remainder were armed, for their defence, should the royal troops decide on storming their encampment. The position was well chosen, and its defenders desperate. Under these circumstances, General Lake did not think it prudent to make the attack until strongly reinforced. Having assembled a force of 20,000 men, and a brigade of artillery, he, on the morning of the 21st June, marched to the attack, in four columns. The action commenced by a discharge of artillery, under cover of which, the King's troops moved to the assault of the position, the peasantry withstood for an hour and a half a tremendous shower of shells and shot, with the greatest bravery. The fire of the insurgents, though badly sustained, did considerable execution, several officers were killed and wounded; the few swivels they possessed were from being badly mounted, almost useless, whilst every shell carried destruction amongst their ranks. Deficient in ammunition, they charged with their pikes, and drove back their assailants in front; but nothing could withstand the murderous fire of a well served artillery. At length, finding

that all was lost, the survivors broke and found safety through the pass left unoccupied by the non arrival of General Needham.* In their retreat they received a feeble charge of cavalry, and the same evening they entered the town of Wexford. On the 22nd, General Lake arrived before the town, which he found occupied by some troops, under General Moore, the insurgents having evacuated it that morning. Some, trusting to the assurances of safety, made by Lord Kingsborough, who had been their prisoner, remained, were apprehended, and suffered death.

The separation of the united Irish was now complete. Hunted in every direction by the royal troops, they found little repose, and no mercy. Reduced in numbers no engagement of any moment took place, but in several skirmishes they died fighting with the courage of despair. With the battle of Vinegar Hill all serious resistance to the royal authority ceased; the reign of terror was established, a bill of indemnity was passed, and government now proceeded to complete the great work of the destruction of the Irish constitution. These sanguinary transactions, by carrying dismay throughout society, rendered all attempts to counteract the designs of ministers of little avail; a legislative union had long been determined—a union based on corruption and cemented with the blood of Irishmen.

* The pass had been purposely left open, as it was not the policy of government to immediately crush the rebellion.

CHAPTER XV.

Cruelties continued—The leaders enter into terms with government—Breach of faith of ministers—Landing of the French at Killala—Joined by the peasantry—Race of Castlebar—State of Ireland after the insurrection—First intimation of intended union—Lord-lieutenant's message—Debate on the address—Incompetency of the Irish Parliament—Sir Lawrence Parsons—Scotch and Irish Unions compared—Lord Perry's opinion of the Union—Extensive bribery—Lord Castlereagh proposes the Union—Lord Clare's speech.

Cruelties continued.

HOSTILITIES in the field had now ceased, but the cup of civil war was not yet exhausted. A portion of the half educated gentry of the south, eager to display a barbarous loyalty, still applied the torch to the cottage, and delivered the inmates to torture and transportation. These enormities were committed with impunity, and the peasantry, goaded to madness, mistaking retaliation for justice, wreaked their vengeance on the persons and properties of their persecutors.

Fanatical hatred was again awakened, and raged with all its former ferocity. Protestant and Catholic forgot the divine precepts of forbearance and forgiveness; mutual hatred produced mutual distrust, and the Christian religion was offered by both as an apology for disgraceful acts of cruelty and aggression that would have dishonoured the followers of Mahomet. At length government considered it time to arrest these proceedings; Earl Camden was recalled, and the Marquis Cornwallis was appointed to supersede him. His lordship had positive directions to use moderation, and check the ferocity of both parties. His first act was to issue a proclamation declaring an amnesty to all, the leaders excepted, who should deliver up their arms, and take the oath of allegiance to his majesty. He was selected, with Lord Cas-

tlereagh, to prepare the country for the legislative union. The system they pursued was one of the greatest duplicity; they insidiously introduced a strong feeling of fear amongst the Protestant population, as it was the only means that could induce them to surrender their constitution. With the horrors of the recent struggle still before them, it was supposed that, to prevent their repetition, the people would submit to any measure, it mattered not how arbitrary or dishonest. Tranquillity was gradually returning, but martial law was still in force, and several leaders of the insurrection were tried and suffered death under its provisions. The remainder were included, by a sort of capitulation, in the act of amnesty.

Arrangement of the leaders of the United Irish with Government.

By an agreement between Lord Castlereagh, on behalf of the government, and the prisoners in custody, Messrs. Emmett, O'Connor, MacNevin and Nelson, it was stipulated, that on permission being given to the latter to expatriate themselves, they would make a return of the arms, ammunition, and plans of the United Irish for overturning the executive, as well as an account of their relations with foreign powers. These informations were given on oath before a secret committee of the House of Commons, but afterwards the government was guilty of a shameful breach of the contract, by detaining fifteen of the principal conspirators in prison during the continuance of hostilities with France. On the 17th of July, a bill of attainder was passed against Lord Edward Fitzgerald, Cornelius Grogan and Bagnel Harvey, (all leaders in the late insurrection) deceased. This act of unnecessary cruelty fell severely on their relations. It was as uncalled for as it was vindictive, and occasioned a strong feeling of disgust against those who proposed it.

Breach of faith of the government.

Landing of the French at Killala.

The period had passed when assistance from France might have proved dangerous to Great Britain. The urgent demands of the United Irish had been answered by promises of aid, and now, when the insurrection had been

quelled, they despatched an armament to the Irish coast. They landed at Killala, on the 22nd of August, 1798, under General Humbert. They were joined by many of the peasantry, and advanced to attack Castlebar, strongly garrisoned, under the command of Lord Hutchinson. General Lake and his staff had only arrived that morning, and were quietly reposing in their quarters, when information was brought of the advance of the enemy. The troops were immediately under arms, and took up a position at a short distance from the town, supported by nine pieces of artillery.

Joined by the peasantry they defeat the royal troops at Castlebar.

On the advance of the French, they were received by heavy fire from the cannon, but a movement being made under the cover of some walls, to turn the flank of the English, and the orders issued to repel it being mistaken, confusion followed, and a general rout ensued; the British troops, in their panic, abandoned their artillery, and made the best of their way to Castlebar, closely pursued by the enemy. This town was occupied the following day by the French troops—this battle is still called *the Race of Castlebar*. The French, consisting of only a handful of men, finding that further resistance was useless, and that success was impossible, soon after surrendered prisoners of war, and were sent to France.

A considerable part of the Louth and Kilkenny regiments of militia had joined the invaders, and foreseeing that their disaffection would be punished with death, they determined to keep possession of their arms, and retreated on Killala, which was occupied by the peasantry. Lord Cornwallis marched against it, and after a severe conflict took the town. Many fell, and numbers were hanged; above ninety of the militia were amongst the latter. With this battle ended military power and martial law, which had destroyed the population and desolated the island.

The temporary success of the handful of troops under Humber, encouraged the French government to risk ano-

ther and more powerful attempt to subvert the British power in Ireland. On the 11th of October, a squadron, consisting of a ship of the line and eight frigates, appeared on the coast of Donegal. They were full of troops, under the command of the French General Hoche. On the following day they were attacked by Sir John Warren, who captured a ship of the line and six frigates. Theobald Wolfe Tone, one of the most active and intelligent agents of the United Irishmen, was on board. He held the rank of lieutenant general in the French service, and wearing the uniform, and speaking the language fluently, he either was not recognised or purposely allowed, from the humanity of the officers of the navy, to escape detection. Government were not so considerate; they were aware of his having embarked, and employed an old and intimate schoolfellow to betray him. This person was Sir G. Hill, who, entering the place where the prisoners were confined, selected Tone from amongst them, and walking up to him said, "how do you do Mr. Tone? Tone unhesitatingly replied, "quite well, Sir George, I hope Lady Hill is well." Being thus identified, he was conveyed to Dublin, tried, and sentenced to be executed, but escaped the scaffold by self-destruction.*

State of Ireland after the insurrection.

Ireland was now in that state which rendered helpless any struggle against the hands that had prepared her chains. The moment was propitious for bringing forward the proposition for a legislative union. Those that were well affected to the government were under the influence of fear, arising out of the recent outbreak. The disaffected, alarmed for their safety, dare not oppose the wishes of ministers. The Catholics were cajoled by promises of emancipation, and Ireland thus weakened and depressed, was unable to effectually resist the joint and too successful efforts of a Cornwallis and a Castlereagh, to pack a parliament with

* Sir George Hill was rewarded for this service by a lucrative situation, and although discovered as a peculator, was sent out governor of St. Vincents, where he died insolvent.

unprincipled legislators, in order to rob her of her constitution. Much as the Irish had to complain of the conduct of the borough members, English and Scotch speculators in Irish politics, there were many who, supported by the force of public opinion, had induced the house to give a legal utterance and form to the bill. England foresaw, that as long as there existed a separate legislature, her power to dictate would be disputed, and her supremacy denied; she was aware that a union would not only obviate this, but also secure an associate to ease her of the overwhelming burthens brought on by her wars, and her extravagance—to give security for her debts—to furnish places for her aristocracy, and to divide her taxes; she did not dare to propose this measure during Ireland's prosperity, but seized the moment of civil strife and fatal animosity to complete it.

First intimation of the intended Union.

A pamphlet written by Mr. Edward Cook, the under secretary of state, gave the first intimation of the intention of government. The country became alarmed—meetings were held in the metropolis, to protest against the measure. At their meetings it was declared that the removal of the legislation would be followed by the removal of the rank and riches of the country; that Ireland would be abandoned by the great landholders, to the tender mercies of agents and attornies; that poverty would ensue, and general misery prevail. That whenever the interests of the two nations should clash, the Irish members as a body would be without weight or influence, and be opposed by the prejudices, passions, and interests, of the English majority. Yet England persevered, pursued the policy of all ambitious and unprincipled powers, who take advantage of the dissensions of their neighbours, to promote their own selfish ends of aggrandisement.

Lord Lieutenant's speech recommending a union.

The Irish Parliament assembled on the 22nd January, 1799. The Viceroy's speech, after alluding to the attempts made to separate the two kingdoms, concluded with these words: "His Majesty commands me, to express his anxious

hope, that this consideration, joined to the sentiment of mutual affection, and common interest, may dispose the parliaments of both kingdoms to provide the most effectual means of maintaining and improving a connexion essential to their common security, and consolidating as far as possible into one firm and lasting fabric, the strength, the power, and the resources of the British empire."

Debate on the address

The address was an echo to the speech, and an amendment moved by Lord Powerscourt, against the contemplated union, was lost by a large majority. In the commons a similar address was moved by Lord Tyrone, who thus gained a degrading celebrity amongst his countrymen. He was the eldest son of the Marquis of Waterford. His speech, written for him, and concealed in the crown of his hat, was only remarkable for its arrogance and total absence of sound argument; without talent, and ignorant of the meaning of the word patriotism, he only considered the legislative union as a measure that would increase the already overgrown power of the Beresford family. The debate, which lasted twenty two hours, was warm and animated; it was strongly insisted upon by the opponents to the measure, that the Irish Parliament would exceed their powers by voting away the Irish constitution; that the members who composed it were returned to the house, not to commit an act of national suicide, but to legislate for the people. The advocates of the measure, drew a flattering picture of future prosperity to Ireland by its adoption; like the touch of the magicians wand, it was to change the whole face of the country. She was to share in the commerce of Great Britain. Her rivers were to be lined with warehouses. The sea to be covered with her ships. The hum of the loom and the shuttle were to be heard in the streets, and Irishmen were to enter into the enjoyment of all the immunities and privileges of British subjects.

Incompetency of Parliament

The incompetency of parliament even to entertain the question was strongly urged by some of the first Irish law-

to vote an Union.

yers. Mr. Plunket, afterwards Lord Plunket, Mr. Saurin, since Attorney-General, Sergeant Ball, Sir John, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Bush, afterwards Chief Justice, and many other men, eminent for their virtues and information, were of this opinion. They pronounced it illegal, contrary to every principle of equity, and subversive of the constitution. These were the leaders of the unbribed and incorruptible body that had virtue and firmness enough to resist the attack on the liberties of their country. Lord Castlereagh, in reply, declaimed against the opinion of these eminent lawyers; defended the competency of parliament to vote its own extinction, and dwelt on the great advantages that would accrue from the union. He pointed out the distracted state of the country, the religous dissensions, the danger to the landholders of a total separation, and the influence of British capital, if guaranteed by the union. He was followed by those members, who forgetful of their country's interests, had basely sold themselves to government; their arguments, though feeble, elicited an exposé of the sinister conduct of the British cabinet, to perpetrate a union.

Sir Laurence Parsons.

Sir Lawrence Parsons fearlessly stated the fact, that the government had by their acts terrified the country into submitting to any law it thought proper to propose; he insisted that tranquillity did not depend on a union; that Ireland possessed within herself the means of restoring that peace which had been disturbed by the machinations of a cruel policy. That if the Irish had been left to themselves, religious dissension would long since have ceased; and that the promised prosperity was a political cheat which could never be realised. It was argued that the Irish Parliament was the best protector of Irish interests; that the insurrection planned and brought into life by Mr. Pitt, had been extinguished by the energy and loyalty of the Irish legislation. It was not the foreign mercenaries who were introduced to destroy the population, that suppressed it; but the

vigorous measures and unshaken loyalty of the Irish Parliament.

The paid partisans of government instanced Scotland as a proof of the necessity for a union, and dwelt upon the great advantages she had derived from an incorporation of the two legislatures. But this reasoning was fallacious, as their existed no analogy between the two countries. In the reign of Anne, the question of a union became one of necessity, because in the event of her dying without issue, the crown of Scotland must have devolved on a Scotch Peer, the Duke of Hamilton, and the two kingdoms would have been separated; whereas the crown of Ireland, like that of England, was inalienable, and must have descended to the successor of the reigning monarch. The Scotch had their "*statute of security*," which enacted, that the crown should *never be worn by the same monarch as that of England.* But the Irish statute specified that the two crowns should *ever be worn by the same monarch.* Hence a union with Scotland was necessary; but with respect to Ireland, uncalled for. To the former, it gave protection and prosperity; to the latter, poverty and persecution. Such a precedent was a weak vindication for political delinquency, and an apology for premeditated political dishonesty; after a lengthened and angry debate, Mr. Ponsonby's amendment was negative by a majority of *one* in favour of ministers.

The Scotch and Irish union compared.

When the late Lord Perry, formerly speaker of the Irish House of Commons, was consulted by Lord Castlereagh, respecting a union, he emphatically said, "Young man, I have many years ago, and at different times, considered this subject with the assistance of the wisest men of the country, and our uniform opinion has ever been, that if this measure is carried, *it will end in the ruin of both countries. Ireland cannot be governed from Westminster.* Enter my opinion in your pocket book, I shall say no more on the subject."

Lord Perry's opinion of a Union.

The majority of only one in favour of the address, was

Extensive bribery by the government.

regarded as a ministerial defeat, and diffused general joy throughout the nation. But the union was to be accomplished, and the diabolical and swindling policy that had sprinkled the path that led to union with the blood of the people, was once more called into action. Fraud, fear, and corruption, were employed; places, pensions, and titles, were offered and accepted, the former by a host of hungry adventurers, who had been smuggled into parliament by the government, and the latter by those weak and venal hunters after artificial distinctions, that swarm in every country.* It having transpired that ministers had not abandoned their hopes of success, great fermentation followed, and it was not thought prudent to immediately press the measure; an adjournment would give time to corrupt and to terrify; accordingly parliament was prorogued to the 1st June, 1799. During the recess, Lord Cornwallis, assisted by Lord Castlereagh, employed every means to secure a majority. They made use of arguments that could not fail of carrying conviction through the pockets to some, and promises, that gratified the vanity of others; still the bought majority was not large enough to enable them to announce to the world that a union was the wish of the representatives of the people. Many held out for better terms, which were afterwards shamefully offered, and unblushingly accepted, even in the body of the house during the discussion of the measure.

Lord Castlereagh proposes the act of Union.

On the 15th of February, 1800, the parliament re-assembled, when numerous petitions were presented against the union. Lord Castlereagh brought down a message from the Viceroy, which he read, and then proceeded to announce the ministerial plan for a legislative union. In this speech he affected to believe that a total change had taken place in

* It was the late Lord Chatham who said, "I have found many men ambitious of honours, who would not sacrifice their principles; but from the moment I see a man a candidate for a peerage, from that moment I despair of him as a friend to his country."

the minds, of the representatives of the nation; that they were now convinced that the prosperity and happiness of Ireland depended alone on the incorporation of the two parliaments. He concluded a long speech as follows, viz., "I trust I have proved to every man, who hears me, that the proposal is such a one which is at once honourable for Great Britain to offer, as for Ireland to accept. It is one that will entirely remove from the executive power those anomalies which are the perpetual sources of jealousy and discontent; it is one which increases the resources of our commerce, protects our manufactures, secures to us the British market, and encourages all the produce of our soil; it is one that puts an end to religious jealousy, and removes the possibility of a separation; it is one that establishes such a representation for the country as must lay asleep for ever, the question of parliamentary reform, which, combined with our religious divisions, has produced all our distractions and calamities." He then moved for leave to bring in a bill for the consolidation of the legislatures. His reasoning was not conclusive but bribery had convinced, and at a very late hour the house divided, when there were 158 for and 115 against the motion. During the debate of this momentous question, the anxiety of ministers was strikingly apparent. Negociations were going on, and it was observed that the whisper of the secretary created a smile, which clearly announced the conclusion of a disgraceful bargain. Looks were interchanged that conveyed an acquiescence to demands, and a bend of the head gave a silent but impressive assent to the terms that had been before refused. And this disgraceful and disgusting scene took place under the eyes of two hundred and twenty gentlemen!*

In the House of Lords, the Earl of Clare, already mentioned as the complaisant and ready agent of the British Lord Clare's speech.

* This majority was obtained by the addition of twenty seven new titles to the peerage, promotions, grants, concessions, places, promises, and ready money.

Cabinet, brought forward a similar proposition. His speech was full of sophisms; his personality offensive, and his arrogance unbounded, At its conclusion he declared, "that if he lived to see that measure, the union, completed, to his latest hour he should feel an honourable pride in reflecting on the share he might have had in contributing to it." The measure was carried, and he did live; but not to congratulate himself on his success. His fate was that of other corrupt and unprincipled statesmen. He was neglected by the party he had so assiduously served, and his last moments were marked by a sincere repentance for the share he had taken in the destruction of his country's independence—of him it may be truly said that he descended

> "Into the vile dust from whence he sprung,
> Unwept, unhonoured, and unsung."

The first step having succeeded, all the cunning of diplomacy was called into action to keep up the delusion that in union consisted the safety of Ireland. The terrors of the rebellion was still fresh in the minds of the people, and was adroitly used to convince. The timid were alarmed, and those implicated in the recent outbreak trembled for their safety. But the most pestilent of all traitors to their country were those who sacrificed character, truth, and independence—who dared publicly to barter the constitution to which they had been appointed guardians by a too confiding people, for their own aggrandizement, and the selfish interests of their dependents. The people of all countries have been too apt to pardon, and sometimes even to applaud the vices and foibles of those who from birth and riches are their superiors, and although an aristocracy must always exist wherever there is education, talent and riches, still it is incumbent on that aristocracy, in whose hands the morals and liberties of those beneath them are necessarily placed, to be careful how they abuse the power with which they have been entrusted. It behoves them for their own safety

to be very watchful over the privileges of their fellow-countrymen, and not to forget that in their eagerness to serve themselves they may bring down ruin on the whole social fabric. The greater portion of the Irish nobility and gentry either despising or losing sight of this principle, sold themselves to government, and the social state of Ireland is a melancholy example of the truth of these observations.

CHAPTER XVI.

Compensation to proprietors of boroughs—Ireland declared a colony—House of Commons surrounded by military—Tithes—Inefficiency of the Protestant Church—The Irish Protestant—Means to force the Union—Conclusion.

THE permission to introduce a bill for a legislative union being granted, the viceroy and secretary had recourse to every description of meanness and deception to procure addresses favourable to their views. Every town and village was ransacked by their agents for signatures. The beggar was stopped on the highway, and received money for affixing his mark; the cottager was tempted by the promise of a lease; the tradesman by an assurance of custom, and the squireen—a race of small gentry peculiar to Ireland—by the promise of place, or the payment of ready money. Even felons under sentence purchased pardon by signing a paper that was presented them, and the poor peasant, unable to read, put his mark to a document, of the contents of which he was totally ignorant. The anti-union addresses were called seditious, and those who signed them disloyal.* In many places force was used to prevent meetings to petition, on the unconstitutional plea that the numbers assembled endangered the public peace, although no statute limits the number who may quietly meet to petition for a redress of grievances. Major Darby, the High Sheriff of the King's County, and Major Rogers of the artillery, placed two six pounders at the doors of the court house where the freeholders were assembled, and threatened to fire if they did not disperse. The fear of grape shot made them obey, and the petition was abandoned. These proceedings were so public that they could not be denied. Therefore all secrecy

* Mr. Humphry Butler, Clerk of the Pipe, was dismissed for having attended one of those meetings.

was unnecessary, and the purchase of political opponents by the agents of the castle was now as common as that of potatoes by the forestallers in the market.

Compensation to proprietors of Boroughs.

The only remaining difficulty was the parliamentary proprietors of boroughs, who began to feel alarm for their property. That, however, was soon overcome by Lord Castlereagh publicly announcing that compensation would be given to all who possessed them. He declared that every nobleman should receive £15,000 for each member he returned, that every member who had purchased a seat would be indemnified; that all members who should be losers by the Union would be recompensed by the treasury, and that £1,500,000 of the public money should be appropriated for this wholesale bribery. In short, that all who should support the measure should be amply provided for; to render him justice, it is necessary to state he kept his word, as after the debate on the union, a bill to raise one million and a half of money upon the Irish people was passed, which was expended in paying the unprincipled betrayers of their country.

Three members were appointed commissioners, at a salary of £1200 a year each, to parcel out the wages of corruption, these were the Hon. Mr. Annesley, Secretary Hamilton, and Dr. Duignan, all useful servants of the minister. The conspiracy was now complete, and the moment approached to strike the last fatal blow against Ireland as a kingdom, against Irish happiness, Irish prosperity, and Irish tranquillity. The House of Commons had adjourned to the 5th of February, on that day Lord Castlereagh brought on the motion that blotted his country as a nation, out of the map of Europe. Certain of a majority his exultation could not be concealed, and his tongue gave utterance to the joy that illuminated his countenance; yielding to the visions of ambition about being realised, his demeanour was haughty, and his language overbearing. After an ardent and pro-

tracted debate of the entire night a division sealed the fate of the Irish legislature. The numbers were,

Ireland declared a Colony.

For Lord Castlereagh's motion	158
Against it	115
Majority	43

By this division it appears the anti-Unionists had added to their number, and the names of the minority, men whom court favour had failed to flatter, or government money to bribe, will be handed down to posterity as senators whose patriotism has rendered them immortal, and whose conduct has saved the gentry of Ireland from the reproach of being all bought to swerve from their duty.

The House of Commons surrounded by the military

During the debate the House was surrounded by the military, although no danger could be apprehended from a desponding and depressed people. The rebellion had produced the effect that was anticipated, the people were disorganised and deterred by fear from making any effectual resistance. The period for an attack on the liberties of Ireland was judiciously chosen, the panic was general, places promised, and compensation freely offered. To these causes may be attributed the success of the minister in perfecting the union, and to that union the increased poverty and misery of the population.

Had the measure been deferred for a few years, all the influence of the crown, and all the corruption of the cabinet, would have failed in making Ireland a British colony. On the act of Union, impartial posterity will pronounce a verdict of condemnation against the perpetrators of this great national crime, and though concealed under the courtly varnish of titles, their names will ever remain on the black list of infamy and treachery.

Forty years have elapsed since the legislative union between the two countries, and during that time have either the promises or prophecies of those who proposed it been

fulfilled? Is the condition of the population improved? has commerce flourished? have manufactures increased? has religious dissension ceased, and has Ireland received her just share of the benefits conferred by the British constitution? Her present state of misery and discontent affords an ample answer to these questions. The same system is pursued that has raised a monument not of glory but of infamy to the projectors of the union; a monument in the minds of every Irishman, on which is traced in bloody and indelible characters, the names of a Pitt, a Dundas, and a Castlereagh.

The two great evils that form the incubus which sits on the breast of Irish prosperity, are the Established Church and absenteeism. It is evident that the former cannot much longer continue to hold its enormous revenues; and that government will be forced to follow the example of Henry the Eighth, (who to put down the Catholic Church, seized on and distributed a large portion of its lands amongst the laity), by annulling the absurd right of the Protestant Church to levy a tax that impedes the industry of a people who do not attend its worship or believe in its doctrines. Since the reformation, the greater part of the soil has been confiscated, which has placed the tithes, for the most part, in the hands of government, although they regranted the lands, they either reserved the Church property to themselves, or gave it to the bishops, consequently in Ireland the tithe system may be easily abolished,—for as each parish becomes vacant, a government tax may be laid on, as in England, and levied in place of tithes to form a fund for the payment of the working clergy *of every religious persuasion*, To this it may be objected that the money thus raised would be insufficient for the purpose; but the income of the heads of the Irish Establishment ought to be reduced, because it is much greater than that of the English, and this arrangement would increase rather than diminish their zeal, for it is notorious that the Scotch clergy, who are very poor,

Tithes.

are the best and most efficient teachers of the gospel in Europe. If the tithe question was thus arranged, the Catholic clergy like the Presbyterian would be at the mercy of government.* What Elizabeth ought to have done may yet be effected. Provide for the Catholic clergy; place them in their proper situation by making them no longer dependant on their parishioners for an existence; remove the causes that degrade an intelligent, active, and respectable priesthood; elevate them to that rank to which they have an undoubted right as the spiritual teachers of nearly a whole people, who cling to them and the doctrines they preach with a pertinacity confirmed by persecution, and an affection that precludes proselytism. Situated as they at present are, the Catholic priesthood must either work or starve; they therefore have established a poll tax on every Catholic householder in the kingdom, and hurry the Irish peasant into the connubial state at the age of puberty, in order to obtain the marriage fee. Hence the rapid growth of the pauper population, for the income of the priest is increased or diminished according to the number of his parishioners.

Agrarian outrage.

Those who delight in representing the Irish as a race of uneducated savages, point with great exultation at the protection given to criminals by the people, and in their anxiety to cast an odium on the whole population, purposely overlook, and carefully conceal the fact, that it is only the agrarian outlaw who meets with sympathy, and is shielded from justice. The anxiety to assist in the discovery and arrest of criminals, is strongly displayed by the Irish on every occasion where the crime is unconnected with disputes

* It has been asserted that the Catholic clergy would reject any offer of salary, so did the Presbyterians in the reign of Charles the Second; but the government of that period voted the necessary funds and gave them permission to draw for the amount. This they did not do for a year or two; at the end of that time, some yielding to their necessities accepted the money, and the example was quickly followed by the whole body.

about the tenure of land, and if the offences committed by the peasantry against the landlords and their agents were erased from the calendar, but little employment would be found for either judge or jury in Ireland.

Crime in England and Ireland.

Although no nation has a right to keep a register of crimes committed by the people of another, and hold the inhabitants up as a nation of savages and murderers, still as this is the practices of prejudiced writers on Irish affairs, it is but just to compare the state of England, with respect to crime, with that of Ireland. In the latter the victims are landlords or their agents who have roused by their oppression a feeling of bitter hatred followed too often by a fierce and cruel revenge; whilst the English murderer is only actuated by a wish to appropriate the property of others. The Irish peasant strikes to avenge, the English felon to plunder, both are culpable in the eyes of God and man, both expiate their offence on the scaffold, yet when we consider their motives, we feel some commiseration for the one, whilst we abhor and have no pity for the other. The victims to the blind fury of excited passion, in Ireland are always men, whereas in England the softness of the sex stays not the hand of the assassin.

The Protestant Church Establishment.

That enormous abuse, the Church Establishment—that colossus of religion, whose right foot rests on Protestant England for support, and whose left, planted on the neck of Catholic Ireland, presses her to the dust, must be pulled down, and shorn of its unjust proportions, not only from its inutility but also from its oppression. Its inefficacy in making converts has been fully established, and cannot create surprise in the minds of those acquainted with the history of the Protestant Hierarchy. Queen Elizabeth, whose ideas of prerogative were based on divine right to do wrong at her royal will and pleasure, directed the establishment of the Protestant Church in Ireland, and having confiscated four-fifths of the kingdom, she endowed it with the ecclesiastical property taken from the Catholic Church, but forgot to have the Bible and Liturgy

translated into the language of the country, and its own clergy employed to teach her new doctrines.* Instead of which she appointed English Protestant clergymen, ignorant alike of the people and their language, whose duties were confined to the collection of tithes, not "the cure of souls." But what they could not teach from the pulpit was inculcated by the sword, and men's religious and political opinions, it was vainly imagined, could be altered and directed by the hand of violence. The Irish people, therefore, rejected a religion they did not understand, whose precepts were conveyed to them through oppression, and whose ministers were only known by their exactions. The same causes still exist; the same ignorance of the language still prevails; the same system of exaction, under the name of tithe, still continues; the same intolerant contempt and hatred of the Catholics and their priests still fostered and encouraged, and Catholic Ireland is still afflicted with a Protestant hierarchy, who, instead of using the Christian forbearance and Christian charity that might convince the Catholics of their supposed error, mount the pulpit, and, hurried away by a mistaken and fanatical zeal, denounce their brethren as idolaters, as men deaf to the truths of religion and without hope of salvation. The *odium theologicum* thus poured out, is only heard by Protestants, for what Catholic will enter a Protestant church where he must expect to hear himself reviled, and his religion described as that of the heathen?

The Irish Protestant.

Saturated with the poison of intolerance, the Irish Protestant is a being totally different from all who profess the same creed in other countries. Blinded by prejudice, he thinks he is serving his God by persecuting his neighbour. He turns to the East, and making a low reverence at the name of the Redeemer, he sallies forth to oppress and abuse his fellow-countrymen, because they sprinkle themselves with water in the name of the Saviour. Ignorant of being used as a political tool by England, his mind is nar-

* Hume asserts that Her Majesty always believed in transubstantiation, and the virtues of the sign of the cross.

rowed into the belief, that without Protestant ascendency there is no safety, and without Protestant persecution there is no conviction.*

The riches accumulated by the Irish Protestant bishops are enormous, but the pauper population from whom these riches are derived (for the money *is* produced from the soil) receive no benefit from them. Not one farthing is disbursed for their benefit, but is employed in aggrandizing their families;† and the resources of the country, instead of being applied to public improvement, are divided between a resident hierarchy, and an absentee aristocracy. Previous to the passing of the law that admitted Ireland into a partnership in the English national debt, and deprived her of her commerce, the great landholders resided on their properties during summer, and in the winter, by their presence in Dublin, they added to the splendour of the court and happiness of the people. The expensive establishments of the nobility; the commerce of the city increasing; the animated appearance of the citizens; the busy hum of industry in the streets; the equipages of the wealthy, and the influx of visitors, all combined to render Dublin one of the most delightful cities in Europe. This prosperity vanished with the Union, and the capital of Ireland can now only be recognised by the splendour of its public buildings, occupied

* In Germany, and other places on the Continent, no one is asked how he worships his Creator, and Catholics freely offer their chapels for the performance of the rites of the Protestant religion.

† The following is an extract from the probate of wills as laid before the House of Commons, July 12th, 1832. Fowler, Archbishop of Dublin, left 150,000*l.* Beresford, Archbishop of Tuam, left 250,000*l.* Agar, Archbishop of Cashel, left 400,000*l.* Stopford, Bishop of Cork, left 25,000*l.* Percy, Bishop of Dromore, left 40,000*l.* Cleaver, Bishop of Ferns, left 50,000*l.* Bernard, Bishop of Limerick, left 60,000*l.* Porter, Bishop of Clogher, left 250,000*l.* Hawkins, of Raphoe, left 250,000*l.* Knox, of Killaloe, left 100,000*l.* Stuart, of Armagh, 300,000*l.* Total, 1,875,000*l.*, besides maintaining their wives and families—all, with two exceptions, Englishmen. .

as public offices. The houses of the nobility tenanted by lawyers; the streets filled with a discontented and destitute population, and the face of the country covered with the leprosy of pauperism and disaffection.* This change, produced by a measure that secured to England the power of legislating for the Irish, lost her their affections, weakened her strength as an empire, and ultimately may cause the destruction of both. Absenteeism has always been one great cause of the misery of the people. The only period in the history of Ireland, since the invasion of the English, that presents a picture of prosperity, is marked in the events arising out of the American revolution. Her sons, in arms for the general good, preserved order and protected property. Religious feuds, no longer introduced to cause disunion, were forgotten. Government, in the hour of peril, had called on the armed population to protect the coast from foreign aggression, and a domestic legislature, if it did not assert her independence, secured to her a resident gentry. But with the Parliament departed her prosperity—the gentry sought pleasure and amusement in the capital cities of the foreigner, her commerce languished, and religious animosity gave the final blow to her happiness. In a work entitled "The Interests of Ireland," published in 1682, we find that the attention of the English government was, at an early period, directed to absenteeism, and that a heavy tax was levied from absentee landlords. The writer says—"above any of these (the causes of Ireland's poverty) is the "stock drained out of the kingdom by absentees, which is "now augmented above treble what it was formerly, by

Absenteeism,

* The Irish quit and crown rents (some of which are sold) amounting annually to nearly 500,000*l.*, which were, previous to the Union, applied to public works in Ireland, are now paid into the office of woods and forests, and expended in England. An application lately made, by the Commissioners for the improvement of Dublin, for 20,000*l.* to repair the drains of the city, was refused by government, and another for 6,000*l.* for the gardens of the Royal Dublin Society met with a similar fate.

" the great estates the adventurers possess, who being most " of them estated men in England, live there, and draw " over vast sums of money yearly, which they spend and lay " out in purchases in England, &c. So that this one drain, " if no sluice can be contrived to stop its current, must ne- " cessarily draw Ireland dry of wealth. If all the aforemen- " tioned impediments were removed, which our predecessors " have long groaned under, and several strict laws have " been made to prevent it. As in the third year of Richard " the Second, Sir John Davis gives an account of an ordi- " nance made in England, against such as were absent from " their lands in Ireland, which gave two-thirds of their pro- " fits to the king until they returned to Ireland; *which* " *(saith he) was grounded upon good reasons of state, and was* " *put in execution for many years after, as appeareth by sun-* " *dry seizures made thereupon in the time of Richard the Se-* " *cond, Henry the Fifth and Sixth, whereof there remain re-* " *cords in the Remembrancer's office here. Amongst the rest,* " *the Duke of Norfolk himself was not spared, but impleaded* " *upon this ordinance, for two parts of the profit of his estates,* " *and afterwards himself, the Earl of Shrewsbury, the Lord* " *Berkely, and others who had lands in Ireland, kept their* " *continual residence in England, were entirely reassumed* " *by the act of absentees made 28th year of Henry VIII.—* " *thus much Sir John Davis, page* 199*—and it might seem* " *hard that these laws should now be executed, yet it is* " *harder a nation should be ruined, and if themselves be ne-* " *cessarily detained in His Majesty's service, or by their* " *greater concerns in England, yet why they should not* " *consign their interests in this kingdom to their younger* " *sons, &c., or be engaged in some other way to spend a* " *good part of their rents here, is not easily answered,* " *unless private men's interests be to be preferred before the* " *public, for this is a burden this kingdom will not be long* " *able to bear.*"

Those who declaim on the great advantages Ireland

Employment of English capital.

would, if tranquil, derive from the employment of English capital, are silent as to the much greater benefits that would accrue to the population from the residence of the landlords, for the expenditure, since the legislative union of the money raised in it, amounting annually to nearly nine millions, is a much greater sum than would be circulated by the introduction of British speculation. Agriculture is the true source of Irish wealth, and the fertility of the soil, if properly managed, would be the foundation of Irish prosperity. A country that depends on manufactures for the support of its inhabitants, and government may, by the superiority of what it produces, continue for years to monopolize the trade of the world, and become powerful from accumulated riches: but when deprived of the resources arising out of the sale of the articles manufactured, it falls much more rapidly than it had risen. On the other hand, when the prosperity of a nation is based on the cultivation of the soil, the accumulation of individual property may not be so great but the general good is promoted, and the plethora of riches, as well as its antithesis, poverty, are both avoided. The present embarrassed state of Great Britain is an answer to those who would make use of British capital in *manufacturising* the Irish people. The hostile tariffs that shut her out of almost every market, have been followed by famine and general discontent. The rapid improvement in the manufacture of every article by the foreigner, threatens destruction to her finances, and speculation; has assembled in her towns a mass of decrepid, degraded, and depraved human beings, who are numerous enough to be dangerous, and whose necessities may lead to revolution. England has been the great workshop of the world for more than a century. Her commercial prosperity, from the causes already stated, is on the decline, and her fiscal arrangements no longer fill the treasury. The interests of the hardy yeoman have been sacrificed to the sordid cupidity of the squalid manufacturer. The former is no longer a "nation's pride," and

the latter, deprived of employment, wanders through the streets in search of a precarious subsistence, and drunkenness, the usual attendant on idleness, destroys his body and weakens his understanding.

There is more ostentation than charity in the philanthropy that seeks in distant regions a field for its indulgence. The English philanthropists are loud in their denunciations of slavery in our colonies, selling of opium to the Chinese, and immorality in the mining and manufacturing districts; but are silent as to the drunken debauchery produced by English gin-palaces and English poor laws. The foreigner asks with astonishment, why a country, saturated with saints, should permit such abominations—ignorant that where an empty treasury is to be filled, the health or morals of a people are seldom taken into consideration. The stagnation of trade proves that capital may be employed beyond the bounds of prudence, and that the grasping hand of avarice may weaken a government, as well as destroy the moral and physical force of a nation. Ireland, therefore, it is to be hoped, will never be, like England, over manufactured, but, trusting to the fertility of her soil and the restoration of her gentry for prosperity, happiness will again visit her shores, and plenty once more gladden the hearts of her unfortunate sons. The Legislative Union has now continued for forty-three years, and the experiment has fulfilled the prophetic denunciations of that measure. England has reaped agitation and embarrassment, and Ireland has gleaned nothing but misery. England sought a union, not Ireland. England forced a union in her anxiety for aggrandizement, and pushed it forward in the crisis which she herself had produced, and which Ireland, in her insanity, had promoted. England availed herself of the political weakness her machinations had introduced, which pervaded and paralyzed the whole nation. England, by holding out to the timid a repetition of the horrors of civil strife which had desolated the country, and to the disaffected the threat of again inflicting

the lash and the scaffold, terrified and astounded, and England, finally, by bribery the most barefaced of the borough majority of the Parliament, returned for that purpose, accomplished the union—a union whose offspring has been degradation and misery to Ireland, and chartism and weakness to England. Ignorance and superstition had receded from the land—the Act of Union recalled them and made them the inheritance of Irishmen. The friends of the measure appealed to the flourishing state of Scotland, and attributed the prosperity of that country to the union with England. But the case was different with respect to Ireland: England and Scotland were two kingdoms in the same island, divided from each other by only a river or ridge of mountains; Ireland is a separate island, disjoined by a dangerous though narrow sea. Nature, by its situation, points out that it should be an independent state, and that both islands may be united under one head, but separate bodies, each possessing its own heart and its own members. The results of the Scotch Act of Union are such as the philanthropist would desire, and the statesman aim at. By it the Scotch are allowed to retain their peculiar laws, customs and religion. They are admitted into a full participation of all the privileges of British subjects. The places of trust and profit under the state are filled alone by Scotchmen. They have not been insulted by being obliged to contribute to the support of a church in which they do not believe, and their ministers have not been plundered in order to enrich a dominant hierarchy with which they have no sympathy, and Scotland has not been deprived, by the Union, of the benefits arising from a resident gentry. If the English government intend to act with the impartiality it professes, Ireland may yet boast of having given a Lord Advocate to Scotland, and a Lord Chancellor to England, and the Catholic population may yet hope to be relieved by the sending of the Protestant hierarchy, accompanied by an army of Englishmen, to Scotland, there to be maintained, in their turn, by the peo-

ple of that country. *It should not be forgotten that Spain lost the Low Countries by attempting to force a religion on the people, and by the appointment of Spaniards only to places under the government, and that the Dutch have lost Belgium by following the same system.*

The union with Scotland was necessary to secure the integrity of the empire, for had Queen Anne died without issue, the two countries must have been separated. The Duke of Hamilton would have been called on to reign, and, as in the case of Hanover, the two crowns would have been worn by different monarchs. The incorporation, therefore, of the two legislatures was based on necessity, and was perfected with the consent, and met with the approbation of the natives of both countries, because it conferred mutual benefit and mutual safety; but the same causes did not apply to Ireland. The Act of Union gave satisfaction to the Scotch, and stability to the empire; but a similar measure, with respect to Ireland, was uncalled for, was perfected by fraud and bribery,* has created disgust, and been productive of misery to the people, and weakness to England.

The Irish Parliament incompetent to enact an Union.

The competency of the Irish Parliament to vote away its power of making laws, was an assumption of authority for which there is no parallel. The members were delegated by the nation to legislate for, and watch over its interests, but were not invested with the power of destroying the constitution. The sale of their political existence was an action of black ingratitude to their constituents, and of base treachery to their country, Such was the opinion of the most profound lawyers—men as celebrated for their legal knowledge as for their incorruptible integrity.

* Lord Cornwallis sent a confidential agent to tell Earl Carhampton that if he chose he should be one of the representative peers. His answer was remarkable for the spirit by which it was dictated—"No;" said he, "tell "Lord Cornwallis he shall never hang on my back a mark of the ruin and "degradation of my country."

The present state of England and Ireland is full of danger to both, and it is the duty of good men and wise statesmen to endeavour to avert it. Without the concurrence of the former, the latter can never remain a powerful and independent nation, and the colossal strength of England, whilst that concurrence is withheld, must be paralyzed, and perhaps ultimately destroyed, by the discontent of Ireland. That the two countries can exist as separate and independent states, with different rulers, is impossible. The safety of the one depends on the support of the other—they must stand or fall together. To establish their connection on a sound and enduring foundation, Ireland must be conciliated by the restoration of her Parliament, and by the allocation of a portion of the useless bloated opulence of the Establishment to the education of the people. Then the resources of England, that have been always directed to crush Irish freedom and prosperity, may be applied to a more noble and profitable use. Let those statesmen who start at the name of Repeal, and declaim against it as a dismemberment of the empire, remember the last ominous words of the immortal Grattan in the Irish House of Commons, they were these—"IN SEPARATION THERE IS UNION, AND IN UNION SEPARATION."

THE END.

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