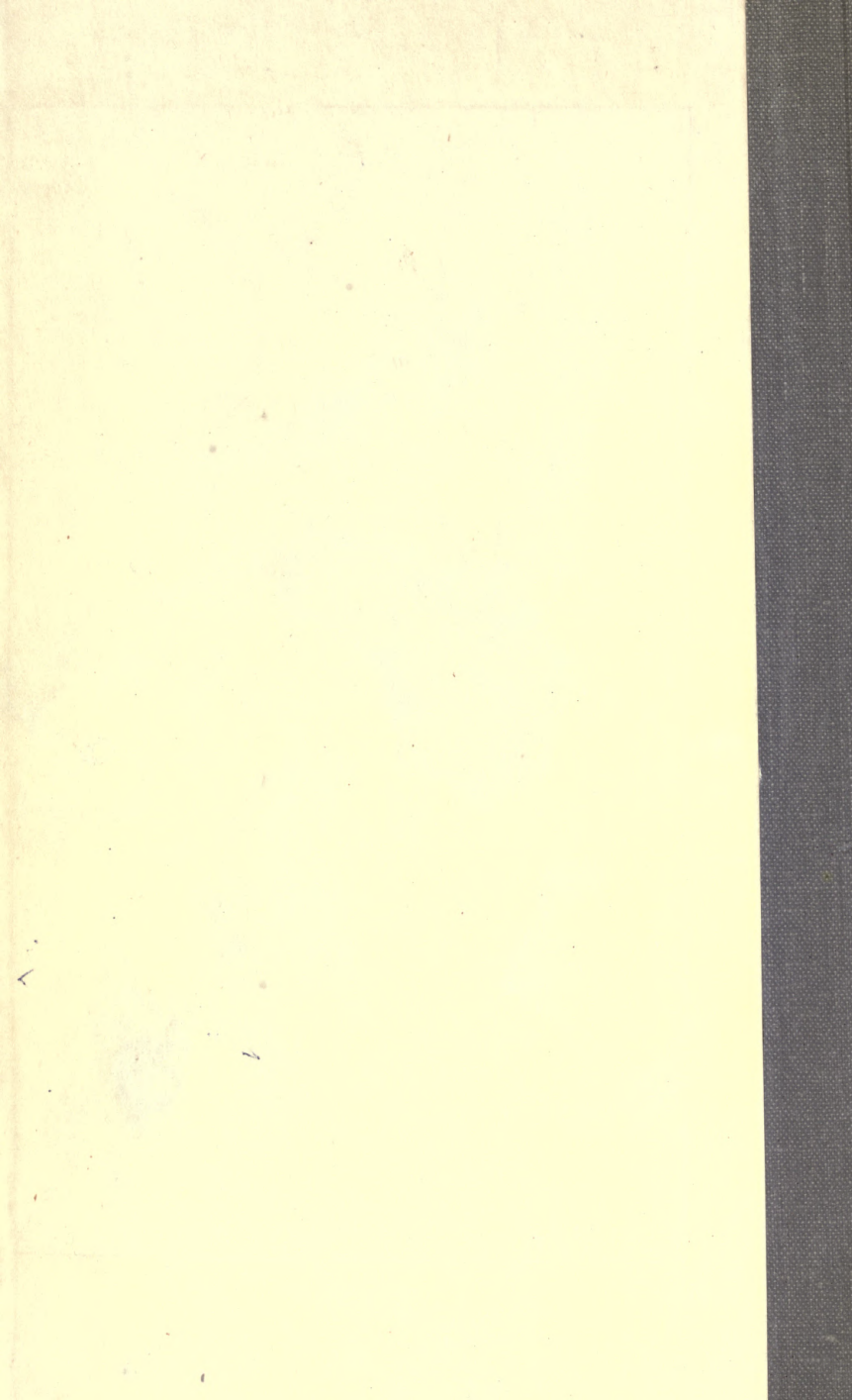




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THE
HISTORY
OF
IRELAND.

BY
S. BARLOW AM

VOL. I.

LONDON
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THE
HISTORY OF IRELAND,

FROM THE
EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE PRESENT TIME;

EMBRACING ALSO

*A STATISTICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL ACCOUNT
OF THAT KINGDOM;*

FORMING TOGETHER

A COMPLETE VIEW

OF ITS

PAST AND PRESENT STATE, UNDER ITS POLITICAL, CIVIL,
LITERARY, AND COMMERCIAL RELATIONS.

BY

STEPHEN BARLOW, A. M.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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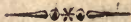
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INTRODUCTION.



IT must surely have excited surprize in the minds of many readers, that while we have histories of Greece, Rome, and England, adapted to popular use, no attempt has been made to familiarize us with the events of Irish History, by presenting its records in a commodious and economical form. Yet it will not be denied, that the transactions which have happened in Ireland, during the last two centuries, and especially during the present reign, are deserving of as much attention from the philosopher and historian, as any which are to be found in the authentic pages of English History. Ireland is daily becoming an object of greater and greater importance, and he who would appreciate her present character, must know something of her past struggles, of her past misfortunes, and of her past injuries and oppressions.

terature, Manners, Customs, &c. of the Irish people. Under this head are comprised a general inquiry into the merits of their great literary characters, and specimens of the forensic and senatorial eloquence of their Grattans, their Currans, their Floods, their Burghs, &c. Anecdotes of the great leaders in the political theatre of Ireland, during the last fifty years, are also introduced, and lively as well as faithful pictures of a people, curious, beyond any other, perhaps, in many of their most distinguishing characteristics.

Each of these divisions is brought down to the present time; and it may be confidently asserted, therefore, that the whole presents such a comprehensive view of Ireland, as has never been attempted with regard to that or perhaps any other country.

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HISTORY

OF

IRELAND.

INTRODUCTION.

Importance of Irish history—Causes of the slow progress of civilization in that Country—Description of the people in Queen Elizabeth's time—Kerns—Bards—The various uses of the mantle—Obscurity of early Irish history—General outline of the present work.

AMID the great and astonishing events which have been and are still transacting around us, it may be doubted whether any of them can be justly said to have more forcible claims upon *our* attention and respect than those which connect themselves with the past and present state of Ireland. Her present state, indeed, may be supposed to have the most immediate reference to our feelings; but he who would satisfactorily investigate the causes of the condition in which she now is, must carry his enquiries into preceding ages, and trace with dili-

gence that long chain of circumstances which has been operating upon the destinies of her people for many centuries. The grievances of which Ireland complains have not been of modern origin; they have taken root in the past ages of darkness and bigotry, of ignorance and despotism, and they have been nourished and increased by successive sacrifices of justice, humanity and truth, to the temporising politics of a party, or the narrow policy of a minister. She has, during that period, made various efforts to acquire her freedom; I will not say to regain it, for it has been her melancholy fate never to have possessed it. The licentiousness of barbarism is not liberty, but the right of doing wrong with the ferocious freedom of savages. To *acquire* her liberty, however, has been her constant struggle; and as must ever be the case when weakness contends with power for strength, every new struggle has only tended to aggravate her calamities, and every new effort to shake off her chains, has only rivetted them the faster. Still, however, she has not borne her lot with the meekness, with the uncomplaining submission of a broken spirit; proud and fierce in the consciousness of her rights, she has fought and bled for them through every period of her history, with a hopelessness of despair, which has made every succeeding conflict more dreadful to herself and to her enemies.

It has been the natural result of such a state, that the progress of civilization was greatly re-

tarded in Ireland. At a time when England and Scotland had distinguished themselves by their military greatness, and by their exertions in literature and the arts; when England had produced her Chaucer, her Spenser, her Sydney, her Shakspeare, and her Drake and Burleigh, and when Scotland had produced her Drummond, her Knox, and her Buchanan, Ireland was still in a state of deplorable degradation, morally and politically. She had been treated with all the harshness of a conquered country, and her interests had been neglected by her conquerors, with all the haughtiness of superiority. She was not permitted to do any thing for herself, and she found no one willing to do any thing for her. The consequence was, that she remained in that state of humiliation which destroyed within her all desire of greatness, and left her only the inextinguishable love of liberty and independence. Spenser visited Ireland in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, as secretary to Lord Grey of Wilton; and when he returned, he wrote and published "A View of the State of Ireland," which is supposed to be the substance of a dialogue between *Eudoxus and Ireneus*. As an authentic record of the country and its inhabitants at that period, this production is deserving of high consideration, independently of that value which must attach to it as the composition of Spenser; and, as it is much less known than it ought to be, I shall extract here one or two passages, descriptive of the state of manners and society in that

era. The following description of the Irish bards, and a race of men called *Horse-boys*, may be considered as interesting.

“ There is amongst the Irish a certain kind of people, called *Bardes*, which are to them instead of poets, whose profession is to set forth the praises or dispraises of men in their poems or rithmes; the which are had in so high regard and estimation amongst them, that none dare displease them for fear to run into a reproach through their offence, and to be made infamous in the mouths of all men. For their verses are taken up with a general applause, and usually sung at all feasts and meetings by certain other persons, whose proper function that is, who also receive for the same great rewards and reputation amongst them.

“ *Eudox.*—Do you blame this in them, which I would otherwise have thought to have been worthy of good account, and rather to have been maintained and augmented amongst them, than to have been disliked: for I have read, that in all ages, poets have been had in special reputation, and that (methinks) not without great cause; for besides their sweet inventions and most witty layes, they have always used to set forth the praises of the good and virtuous, and to beat down and disgrace the bad and vicious; so that many brave young minds have oftentimes, through hearing the praises and famous eulogies of worthy men sung and reported unto them, been stirred

up to affect the like commendations, and so to strive to the like deserts. So they say that the Lacedemonians were more excited to desire of honour with the excellent verses of the poet Tirtæus, than with all the exhortations of their captains, or authority of their rulers and magistrates.

“ *Iren.*—It is most true, that such poets as in their writings do labour to better the manners of men, and through the sweet bait of their numbers to steal into the young spirits a desire of honour and virtue, are worthy to be had in great respect. But these Irish Bardes are for the most part of another mind, and so far from instructing young men in moral discipline, that they themselves do more deserve to be sharply disciplined: for they seldom use to choose unto themselves the doings of good men for the arguments of their poems; but whomsoever they find to be most licentious of life, most bold and lawless in his doings, most dangerous and desperate in all parts of disobedience and rebellious disposition; him they set up and glorify in their rithmes, him they praise to the people, and to young men make an example to follow.

“ *Eudox.*—I marvel what kind of speeches they can find, or what faces they can put on to praise such bad persons as live so lawlessly and licentiously upon stealths and spoils, as most of them do; or how they can think that any good mind will applaud or approve the same?

“ *Iren.*—There is none so bad, Eudoxus, but shall find some to favour his doings; but such licentious parts as these, tending for the most part to the hurt of the English, or the maintenance of their own lewd liberty, they themselves being most desirous thereof, do most allow. Besides this, evil things being decked and attired with the gay attire of goodly words, may easily deceive and carry away the affection of a young mind that is not well stayed, but desirous by some bold adventures to make proof of himself: for being (as they all be) brought up idly, without awe of parents, without precepts of masters, and without fear of offence, not being directed nor employed in any course of life which may carry them to virtue, will easily be drawn to follow such as any shall set before them: for a young man cannot rest; if he be not still busied in some goodness, he will find himself such business, as shall soon busy all about him. In which, if he shall find any to praise him and to give him encouragement, as those Bardes and Rithmers do for little reward, or a share of a stolen cow; then waxeth he most insolent and half mad with the love of himself and his own lewd deeds. And as for words to set forth such lewdness, it is not hard for them to give a goodly and painted shew thereunto, borrowed even from the praises which are proper to virtue itself. As of a most notorious thief and wicked outlaw, which had lived all his lifetime of spoils and robberies, one of their Bardes in his praise will say, that he was none of

the idle milk-sops that was brought up by the fire-side, but that most of his days he spent in arms and valiant enterprises; that he did never eat his meat before he had won it with his sword; that he lay not all night slugging in a cabin under his mantle; but used commonly to keep others waking to defend their lives: and did light his candle at the flames of their houses, to lead him in the darkness; that the day was his night, and the night his day; that he loved not to be long wooing of wenches to yield to him, but where he came he took by force the spoil of other men's love, and left but lamentation to their lovers; that his music was not the harp nor lays of love, but the cries of people and clashing of armour; and finally, that he died not bewailed of many, but made many wail when he died, that dearly bought his death. Do you not think (*Eudoxus*) that many of these praises might be applied to men of best deserts, yet are they all yielded to a most notable traitor, and amongst some of the Irish not smally accounted of: for the song, when it was first made and sung to a person of high degree there, was bought (as their manner is) for forty crowns.

“ *Eudox.*—And well worthy sure. But tell me, I pray you, have they any art in their compositions; or be they any thing witty or well savoured, as poems should be?

“ *Iren.*—Yea truly, I have caused divers of them to be translated unto me, that I might understand them: and surely they savoured of sweet

wit and good invention, but skilled not of the goodly ornaments of poetry; yet were they sprinkled with some pretty flowers of their natural device, which have good grace and comeliness unto them; the which is great pity to see so abused, to the gracing of wickedness and vice, which with good usage would serve to adorn and beautify virtue. This evil custom therefore needeth reformation. And now next after the *Irish Kern*, me thinks the *Irish Horse-boys* would come well in order, the use of which, though necessity (as times now be) do enforce, yet in the thorough reformation of that realm, they should be cut off. For the cause why they are now to be permitted, is want of convenient inns for lodging of travellers on horseback, and of hostlers to tend their horses by the way. But when things shall be reduced to a better pass, this needeth specially to be reformed. For out of the frie of these rakehell Horse-boys, growing up in knavery and villainy, are their Kern continually supplied and maintained. For having once been brought up an idle horse-boy, he will never after fall to labour, but is only made fit for the halter. And these also (the which is one foul oversight) are, for the most part, bred up amongst the *Englishmen*; of whom learning to shoot in a piece, and being made acquainted with all the trades of the *English*, they are afterwards, when they become *Kern*, made more fit to cut their throats. Next to this, there is another much like, but much more

lewd and dishonest, and that is of their *Carrows*, which is a kind of people that wander up and down to gentlemen's houses, living only upon cards and dice; the which, though they have little or nothing of their own, yet will they play for much money; which if they win, they waste most lightly; and if they lose, they pay as slenderly, but make recompense with one stealth or another; whose only hurt is not that they themselves are idle Lossels, but that through gaming they draw others to like lewdness and idleness. And to these may be added another sort of like loose fellows, which do pass up and down amongst gentlemen by the name of Jesters, but are, indeed, notable rogues and partakers, not only of many stealths, by setting forth other men's goods to be stolen, but also privy to many traitorous practices, and common carriers of news; with desire whereof you would wonder how much the *Irish* are fed; for they send commonly up and down to know news; and if any meet with another, his second word is, What news? insomuch that hereof is told a pretty jest of a *Frenchman*, who having been sometimes in *Ireland*, where he marked their great enquiry for news, and meeting afterwards in *France* an *Irishman* whom he knew in *Ireland*, first saluted him and afterwards said thus merrily, O Sir, I pray you tell me of courtesie, have you heard any thing of the news you so much enquired for in your own country."

I shall make one more extract, which relates to a custom then universal among the Irish, and still practised by the lower classes, that of employing the mantle as a covering applicable to almost every purpose of life. The modern Irishman, indeed, like the modern Highlander, does not convert his jacket or mantle to so many uses as he was necessitated to do before superior civilization had produced superior methods of domestic accommodation, but he still uses it more like the mantle of his forefathers than the covering adopted by his own generation. Without stopping to enquire what affinity there may have been between this mantle and those worn by the Scythians, the Greeks, and the ancient Romans, I shall proceed to let Spenser inform the reader to how many purposes an Irishman applied it in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. After admitting the necessity of it, he proceeds to shew its inconveniences.

“ It is,” says he, “ a fit house for an outlaw, a meet bed for a rebel, and an apt cloke for a thief. First, the outlaw being for his many crimes and villanies banished from the towns and houses of honest men, and wandering in waste places, far from danger of law, maketh his mantle his house, and under it covereth himself from the wrath of heaven, from the offence of the earth, and from the sight of men. When it raineth, it is his pent-house; when it bloweth, it is his tent; and when it freezeth, it is his tabernacle. In

summer he can wear it loose, in winter he can wrap it close; at all times he can use it; never heavy, never cumbersome. Likewise for a rebel it is as serviceable; for in this war that he maketh (if at least it deserve the name of war) when he still flieth from his foe, and lurketh in the thick woods, and strait passages, waiting for advantages, it is his bed, yea, and almost his household stuff. For the wood is his house against all weathers, and his mantle is his couch to sleep in: therein he wrappeth himself round, and coucheth himself strongly against the gnats, which in that country do more annoy the naked rebels, whilst they keep the woods, and do more sharply wound them than all their enemies swords or spears, which can seldom come nigh them. Yea, and oftentimes their mantle serveth them when they are near driven, being wrapped about their left arm, instead of a target, for it is hard to cut through with a sword; besides, it is light to bear, light to throw away, and being (as they commonly are) naked, it is to them all in all. Lastly, for a thief, it is so handsome, as it may seem it was first invented for him: for under it he may cleanly convey any fit pillage that cometh handsomely in his way; and when he goeth abroad in the night on freebooting, it is his best and surest friend; for lying, as they often do, two or three nights together abroad, to watch for their booty, with that they can prettily shroud themselves under a bush or a bank-side, till they can conveniently do their errand; and when all is

over, he can, in his mantle, pass through any town or company, being close hooded over his head, as he useth from knowledge of any to whom he is endangered. Besides this, he or any man else, that is disposed to mischief or villany, may, under his mantle, go privily armed without suspicion of any, carry his head-piece, his skean, or pistol if he please, to be always in readiness. Thus necessary and fitting is a mantle for a bad man, and truly for a bad housewife it is no less convenient; for some of them that be wandering women, called of them *mona-shull*, it is half a wardrobe, for in summer you shall find her arrayed commonly but in her smock and mantle, to be more ready for her light services: in winter, and in her travail, it is her cloak and safeguard, and also a coverlet for her lewd exercise: and when she hath filled her vessel, under it she can hide both her burden and her blame; yea, and when her bastard is born it serves instead of swaddling clouts. And for all other good women which love to do but little work, how handsome it is to lie in and sleep, or to louse themselves in the sunshine, they that have been but a while in Ireland can well witness. Sure I am that you will think it very unfit for a good huswife to stir in, or to busie herself about her huswifery in such sort as she should. These be some of the abuses for which I would think it meet to forbid all mantles."

It is sufficiently obvious from these extracts, that Ireland at that time was in a state of civili-

zation far behind her sister kingdoms, notwithstanding that nearly four hundred years had elapsed since the invasion under Henry II. How little therefore her interests must have been attended to need not be told; and hence the paucity of native historians, for where there is little to relate, few will be found eager to do it. From these circumstances it has happened, and from her subjugation by England, that a great portion of her history is involved in obscurity; not perhaps that we need lament this obscurity, for we should probably find, could it be removed, that the chief transactions of her early ages consisted of the fierce and predatory wars of rude and martial chieftains, fighting only for plunder or revenge, and destroying rather than fostering those seminal principles of legislation and government which might have expanded into full and perfect growth in the progress of years. It is remarkable, however, that at a very early period, so early as the 5th century, Ireland produced in her monasteries, while her people still retained all the savage ferocity of their manners, men of such elevated piety and learning, that she became celebrated through all Christendom. This day of greatness, however, soon set in a long and gloomy night, from which she has emerged by progressive steps during the last century, and into which there is no possibility of her again relapsing.

For very obvious reasons, therefore, her history up to the 18th century shall be briefly detailed,

while those events which have happened since that period, and especially within the last fifty years, shall be exhibited with a minuteness commensurate to their importance. It is within that time that she has achieved for herself her present eminence in literature, in science, and in arms; and that she has struggled to throw off the shackles that enthralled her, with a noble and persevering ardour. At the end of the reign of George II. Ireland still exhibited the appearance of a country recently conquered. The great mass of the population was catholic, and every catholic was denied participation in all civil rights whatsoever; what toleration, slender as it might be, they did enjoy, they enjoyed, not by the authority and sanction of law, but because the operation of penal and disqualifying statutes was suspended rather than enforced. It was impossible that men could rest satisfied under such a system, aggravated as their feelings must have been by the near view of such a different state of things in England. They could not but contrast their own condition with that of their conquerors, and the contrast could not fail to exasperate their minds; the impulse of that exasperation led to measures which involved the expression of the public feeling, and they progressively obtained the repeal of some, and the mitigation of others, of the most oppressive laws that were in force against them. Still, however, their complete emancipation remained unaccomplished, and still remains so, and they still

have been and are actively employed to obtain the much-desired object of their wishes. But I do not mean to anticipate these pregnant and important transactions, as it is chiefly to a full and harmonised detail of them that the reader's attention will be directed in the course of the following work. Some preliminary pages, however, will be devoted to those topics which necessarily enter into an historical work; and as it is intended that the present one should be destined rather for the use of those who may wish to form a general estimate of Ireland in her past and present condition, by a rapid but distinct view of her features, civil, political, and natural, some details will be admitted which the dignity of history, in its strict and legitimate form, might feel itself called upon to reject.

BOOK I.

AN HISTORICAL REVIEW OF IRELAND FROM THE
EARLIEST RECORDS TO THE PRESENT TIME.

 CHAP. I.

Geographical view of Ireland—When first discovered by the Phœnicians—Mentioned by Caesar—Anciently called Scotia—Its situation—Greatest length and breadth—Original Population—Its present division into counties when completed—Enumeration of them—Early traditional history—Anecdote of Sir Walter Raleigh—Historical epochs of Ireland.

IN treating of the general history of a country from the earliest periods of which tradition has preserved any memory, it may perhaps be permitted to borrow something from the peculiar province of geography, in laying the foundations upon which the fabric is to stand. They mutually serve to illustrate each other; and it is a natural impulse of curiosity to enquire into the original population, name, and discovery of a country, with all the historical events of which we are about to become acquainted. Such auxiliary knowledge helps to infix more strongly in our memory those

facts which connect with it more or less; and I shall therefore commence by briefly stating what are the commonly received opinions upon the subjects to which I have alluded.

It is probable that Ireland, being situated to the west of Great Britain, was discovered by the Phœnicians as early as the sister island. It is supposed to have constituted one of the Cassiterides, and that it was known to the Greeks by the name of Juverna about two centuries before the Christian era. The next account we have of Ireland is from Cæsar, who, in his Commentaries, describes it as being about half the size of Great Britain, *dimidio minor, ut existimatur, quam Britannia**; and Ptolemy has given a map of the island, the accuracy of which is held to be superior to that of Scotland; thus furnishing a probable proof that of the two it was the better known to the ancients. In progress of time, when the country had been peopled with various tribes, the Romans discovered that the ruling people in Ireland were the Scoti, and hence the country began to be termed Scotia, which name was retained by the monastic writers, according to Pinkerton, *only* till the 11th century. Orosius gives it the title of Hibernia, but styles its inhabitants Scoti: Archbishop Usher, however, says, "that it was not till *after* the coalition between the Scots and the Picts in the 11th century that

* Lib. 5. c. 10.

both nations, namely, Ireland and Scotland, came promiscuously to be called Scotland; and even then, all correct writers, in mentioning the two countries, distinguished them by *Vetus et Nova Scotia, major or minor, ulterior and citerior.*" Ireland, in fact, retained the name of Scotia until the 15th century, for at that period it is mentioned as such by foreign writers; but shortly after the appellation of Scotia was appropriated exclusively to modern Scotland, and the ancient name of Hibernia began to reassume its honours. This name, and the Gothic denomination Ireland, are both of them supposed to derive their origin from the native term Erin, which implies the country of the west.

Ireland lies, according to Pinkerton, (*Mod. Geog. vol. i. p. 213.*) between $51^{\circ} 19'$ and $55^{\circ} 23'$ north latitude, and between $5^{\circ} 19'$ and $10^{\circ} 28'$ west longitude. Its greatest length, measured on a meridian, is from the Stags of Cork harbour, to Bloody Farland Point in the county of Donegal, which comprises a space of about 235 miles; and the greatest breadth, measured nearly on a parallel of latitude, is from the western point of Mayo, to the mouth of Strangford Lough, 182 miles. The breadth, however, is very unequal, in consequence of the deep indentations on the western coast so that Galway and Dublin Bays are not 120 miles distant from each other; and it is computed that there is not a spot in the island more than about 60 miles from the sea. The superficial contents may be estimated at 30,370 square miles,

or 19,436,000 acres; and the population being about four millions, if we admit the calculations of Pinkerton, there will be about 130 inhabitants to each square mile. More recent estimates, however, fix the population at above five millions, which is probably nearer the actual number; but in the census which was taken in 1802 and in 1812, the population of Ireland was studiously omitted; for what political purpose it is not easy to say. In consequence, however, of the exertion of Sir John Newport, late Chancellor of the Irish Exchequer, and the unwearied assertor of the rights of Ireland in the British parliament, some progress will probably be made in fixing this dubious point. The only data upon which we can now go, and that data very uncertain, is the number of houses which there were according to the official return in 1791. They were computed at above 700,000, and allowing six inhabitants only to each house the population would exceed four millions, which, however, is certainly below the actual number.

The original population of Ireland probably passed from Gaul, and was afterwards increased by the emigration of the Guydil from England. Ireland, however, was so much crowded with Celtic tribes, who were expelled from the continent and from Britain by the progress of the German Goths, that the Belgæ almost lost their native speech and distinct character.

All antiquarian minuteness would be essentially

foreign to the professed object of this work, whose general purposes of utility will be better attained by an enumeration here of its modern divisions into provinces and counties, rather than by any specification of those obscure ones which are to be derived from an inspection of Ptolemy's map of Ireland. It may be premised, however, that its present division into counties was not completely effected until the reign of Charles I. and that the first survey of the island by Sir William Petty, the result of which was contained in his maps of the several counties, published in 1685, has been the ground-work of all subsequent maps of that country.

The following are its present divisions.

<i>Provinces.</i>	<i>Counties.</i>	<i>Assize Towns.</i>
Ulster.	Antrim.	Carrickfergus.
	Down.	Downpatrick.
	Armagh.	Armagh.
	Tyrone.	Omagh.
	Londonderry.	Londonderry.
	Donegal.	Lifford.
	Fermanagh.	Eniskillen.
	Cavan.	Cavan.
Connaught.	Monaghan.	Monaghan.
	Leitrim.	Carrick on Shannon.
	Sligo.	Sligo.
	Roscommon.	Roscommon.
	Mayo.	Castlebar.
	Galway.	Galway.

<i>Provinces.</i>	<i>Counties.</i>	<i>Assize Towns.</i>
Leinster.	Louth.	Dundalk.
	Meath.	Trim.
	Dublin.	Dublin.
	Wicklow.	Wicklow.
	Wexford.	Wexford.
	Kilkenny.	Kilkenny.
	Carlow.	Carlow.
	Kildare.	Naas.
	Queen's County.	Maryborough.
	King's County.	Philipstown.
	Westmeath.	Mullingar.
Munster.	Longford.	Longford.
	Clare.	Ennis.
	Limerick.	Limerick.
	Kerry.	Tralee.
	Cork.	Cork.
	Waterford.	Waterford.
	Tipperary.	Clonmell.

In passing from the modern state of Ireland and its modern divisions, to a rapid view of its ancient history, it may be necessary to observe, that the greatest diversity of opinion prevails upon that subject. While the English writers regard the whole of its traditional, and even its written records of early times with a fastidious degree of incredulity, the native historian never fails to raise both them and the manners of the ancient Irish, as Dr. Leland has observed, to "an illustrious eminence above all the European coun-

tries." One reason, perhaps, why this incredulity has been strengthened in British writers may be found in the fact, that none of them were sufficiently masters of the Irish language to understand the authors in their native tongue. I cannot think, however, that the most profound and ingenious knowledge of the vernacular idiom of Ireland could materially tend to strengthen our belief in events and circumstances so strongly marked with a fabulous character as those which belong to the primitive ages of Irish history; nor perhaps could any thing but the bigotry of patriotism wish to claim for them that respect which is denied to the remote transactions of every other nation.

Whoever is acquainted with Irish history, or whoever has had opportunities of mixing with the natives of that country, cannot be ignorant that they claim a descent from a long race of Milesian kings, who reigned over them for 13 centuries before the Christian era. The stock from which this long line of monarchs emanated is traced to a pretended Milesian colony, which is supposed to have emigrated from Spain into Ireland under the conduct of Heremon and Heber. The most rational enquirers, however, into the subject consider it as nothing more than a tissue of imaginary events originating in the fertile fancies of their bards. A very brief and general abstract of this contested part of Irish history shall be given in the words of Mr. Plowden.

“ About 140 years after the deluge Ireland was discovered by one Adbua, who had been sent from Asia to explore new countries, by a grandson of Belus: he plucked some of the luxuriant grass as a specimen of the fertility of the soil, and returned to his master. After that, the island remained unoccupied for 140 years; and about 300 years after the flood, one Partholan, originally a Scythian, and a descendant from Japhet in the sixth generation, sailed from Greece with his family and 1000 soldiers, and took possession of the island. They all died off, and left the island desolate of human beings for the space of 30 years. Afterwards, different sets of emigrant adventurers occupied and peopled the island at different periods. About 1080 years after the deluge, and 1300 years before Christ, Niul, (the son of Phenius, a wise Scythian prince,) who had married a daughter of Pharaoh, inhabited, with his people, a district given to him by his father-in-law on the Red Sea, when Moses led the Israelites out of Egypt. The descendants of that Phineus (more generally called Feniusa Farsa) were afterwards expelled by Pharaoh’s successors on account of their ancestors having favoured the escape of the Israelites through the Red Sea. They then emigrated and settled in Spain, whence, under the command of Milesius, a colony of them sailed from Brigantia in Galicia to Ireland, gained the ascendancy over the inhabitants, and gave laws and a race of monarchs to the island. The

Milesian dynasty continued to govern Ireland, without interruption, till about the year 1168, when it ceased in the person of Roger O'Connor, and the sovereignty was assumed by our Henry II. Of this race of kings the first 110 were pagan, the rest Christian. St. Patrick was sent from Rome about the year 431, to preach the Christian religion to the Irish in the reign of Loгаire, the first Christian monarch, who received baptism from the hands of St. Patrick."

The authenticity of the greater part of these traditional events Mr. Plowden labours to establish by reasonings which evince more research than ingenuity; but though he should fail in convincing any one that he is right in his deductions, he will surely succeed in impressing them with a notion that his opinions are entitled to attention. The maxim of Voltaire, that incredulity is the source of wisdom, is peculiarly applicable to historical details, where the less we believe the more we shall certainly know. Lord Bolingbroke, indeed, has pronounced it to be great folly to endeavour to establish universal pyrrhonism in matters of history, because there are few histories without some lies, and none without some mistakes. His lordship was a free-thinker, and in him it was consistent to believe what others doubted, because he invariably doubted what others believed. To me there appears more truth in the opinion of Dr. Johnson, who used constantly to maintain that all the colouring of history was false; an opi-

nion which no man can venture to dispute who reflects but for a moment on the uncertainty of human testimony. Even in the present age, when every facility of communication is to be found in the invention of printing, and the various channels of intelligence which a free and unlimited press provides, how impossible is it to find any two accounts of the same event reconcilable, I will not say in minute and unimportant features, but in the great and leading circumstances. How then can it be supposed that the transactions of successive ages, preserved only in oral traditions delivered down from one generation to another, or if recorded in a less perishable shape, restricted to a narrow compass, and incapable of being contrasted with living witnesses, how can it be supposed that such transactions can have come down to us without such an enormous admixture of fiction as must entirely conceal and vitiate the little portion of truth that may exist in the whole? There is a striking anecdote related of Sir Walter Raleigh, which peculiarly illustrates this subject. While that great man was confined in the Tower he occupied his hours of improvement in composing his *History of the World*. One morning, when he was deeply engaged in reconciling the contrary accounts of various historians respecting some noted transaction that had occurred in the early ages of the world, he was disturbed by a fray which took place in the court-yard exactly beneath his window. He was not able to see the occur-

rence, but he enquired of the first person who entered his room what it was, and received from him a full account of it, for he had witnessed the whole affair. Shortly after, another friend dropped in, and the discourse turning upon the recent disturbance, Sir Walter enquired of him if he had been present, to which he received an answer in the affirmative, followed by an account of it altogether different from the preceding one. The narrator had scarcely gone, when a third person entered Sir Walter's room; and having been an eye-witness also, he gave a recital of the business, differing no less from the other two, than they had differed from each other. No sooner was Sir Walter alone than he began to meditate deeply upon this circumstance. "Good God!" he exclaimed, "how is it possible I can pretend to arrive at certainty respecting events which happened 3000 years ago, when I cannot obtain a correct account of what happened under my own window only three hours ago?" The impression was so strong upon his mind, that he immediately threw the nearly finished manuscript of his ancient history into the fire.

My apprehension of the wisdom of this proceeding will be best known by my practice; and in passing over altogether what may certainly be considered as the fabulous eras of Irish history, I feel that I am inflicting no punishment upon the reader. They, however, who may wish to dive deeper into the actions of imaginary beings, and

to store their minds with the lumber of antiquarian research, ought to be informed how they may gratify such propensities. Such then I refer to Giraldus de Barri or Cambrensis; to O'Flaherty, who published in 1685 his *Ogygia seu rerum Hibernicarum Chronologia*, relating chiefly to the ancient history of that country; to Sir Richard Cox, to Dr. Warner, to Dr. Leland, to the *Annals* of Sir James Ware, to Mr. Archdale's *Monasticon*, to General Valancey's *Collectanea*, to Dr. Ledwich, and last, not least, to Mr. Grose. I need not add, that I mean no insinuation as to the value and importance of the labours of these writers, for they deserve to be highly estimated; but their enquiries, generally speaking, are not such as need find a place in a work like the present. I shall therefore proceed to commence my narration at the period of Henry Plantagenet's invasion of Ireland, presenting first of all to the reader the following useful enumeration of historical epochs from Mr. Pinkerton's Geography.

The first historical epoch of Ireland is its original population by the Celtic Gauls, and the subsequent colonization by the Belgæ.

2. The maritime excursions of the Scoti against the Roman provinces in Britain.

3. The conversion of Ireland to Christianity in the fifth century, which was followed by a singular effect; for while the mass of the people retained all the ferocity of savage manners, the monasteries produced many men of such piety

and learning that Scotia, or Ireland, became celebrated all over Christendom.

4. This lustre was diminished by the ravages of the Scandinavians, which began with the 9th century, and can hardly be said to have ceased when the English settlement commenced. The island had been split into numerous principalities, or kingdoms as they were styled; and though a Chief Monarch was acknowledged, yet his power was seldom efficient, and the constant dissensions of so many small tribes rendered the island an easy prey.

5. In the year 1170, Henry II. permitted Richard Strongbow, Earl of Pembroke, to effect a settlement in Ireland, which laid the foundations of the English possessions in that country. There are, however, coins of Canute, King of England, struck at Dublin, perhaps in acknowledgment of his power by the Danish settlers.

6. Ireland began to produce some manufactures about the 14th century, and her sayes, or thin woollen cloths, were exported to Italy. It is probable these were produced by the Bristolian colony, which had passed to Dublin.

7. Richard II. King of England, attempted in person the conquest of Ireland, but being imprudent and ill served, nothing of moment was effected. The subsequent attempts of the English monarchs to accomplish this purpose need not be enumerated.

8. In the reign of James I. Ireland became

entirely subjugated, and colonies of English and Scots were established in the north.

9. The chief mean of the assimilation of the countries having been compleatly neglected, namely, the universal institution of parochial schools for the education of children in the protestant religion and English language, the Irish continued a distinct people, and being instigated by their fanatic priests, executed their dreadful massacre of the English settlers in 1641. This insurrection was not totally crushed till Cromwell led his veterans into Ireland.

10. The appearance of James II. in Ireland to reclaim his crown may also deserve a place.

11. The amazing progress of Ireland in manufactures and commerce, within these twenty years, may be classed as the most illustrious of its historical epochs.

12. The deplorable events which have recently happened in Ireland have led the way to its union with Great Britain; a measure which it is eagerly to be hoped will be productive of great reciprocal advantages.

CHAP. II.

First interference of the English with respect to the affairs of Ireland—Irish gallantry and intrigue, the cause of that interference—Arrival of Henry II. in 1172—His proceedings—Summons a synod at Cashel—English form of government introduced among the followers of Henry; but restricted, at last, to what was called the Pale—Several acts passed with regard to the Irish—Commencement of English tyranny.

AS I have disclaimed all enquiry into the annals of Milesian history, it will not be necessary that I should advert to the causes which led to the subversion of the Milesian dynasty, but it will be very requisite that the reader should know under what circumstances England first began to assume any interference with the sister island. During a long protracted period of nearly 300 years, namely, from the death of Turgesius in 868, to the landing of the English in 1169, the reader finds nothing in the Irish annals but an unbroken series of intestine wars and commotions. About the year 1162, we find Dermod Mac Morogh presiding as king over the province of Leinster, whose character and personal appearance are thus described

by Giraldus Cambrensis, a contemporary historian :

“ Dermod Mac Morogh was a tall man of stature, and of a large and great bodie ; a valiant and a bold warrior in his nation ; and by reason of his continuale halowing and crieing, his voice was hoarse ; he rather chose and desired to be feared than to be loved ; a great oppressor of his nobilitie, but a great advancer of the poor and weak. To his own people he was rough and grievous, and hateful unto strangers ; he would be against all men, and all men against him.”

The reader will easily conceive from this amiable character of Dermod Mac Morogh, that he had few friends and many enemies. His ferocious conduct, indeed, soon drew upon him the resentment of Roderick O'Connor, the last king of Ireland. About the year 1155, Teighernan O'Rourke, king of Briefne, had married a lady, who happened to have less predilection for him than he had for her ; and as her passions by no means tended to a platonic intercourse, she very naturally sought to gratify her appetites at the expense of her conjugal fidelity. The name of this lady, not the most adapted for pronounciation by the lips of love, was Dearbhforguill, the daughter of Mortough Mac Floinn, king of Meath. The object upon whom she pitched to accomplish her designs, was Dermod Mac Morogh, whom she very modestly invited to carry her off from her husband, whose embraces she detested. With

that cautious spirit of intrigue also which a woman is always better able to regulate than a man in affairs of gallantry, she informed her lover that a very convenient opportunity for the execution of their scheme would soon occur, as her husband was shortly about to depart upon his pilgrimage to St. Patrick's purgatory; and I suppose she thought it an act of catholic zeal to keep him there as long as she could, by preparing another purgatory for him when he returned home.

Dermod received this message with all the joy that might be expected in a lover, and he lost no time in preparing to carry into execution the plan suggested by his mistress. He repaired to the appointed place, and found the lady ready to receive him. She sprung into his arms, and was placed on horseback behind one of Dermod's superior officers, who soon reached his palace in Leinster. It was necessary, however, that the lady should assume a virtue, if she had it not, and when she was seized, she did not fail to cry out, to call for help which she did not want, and to be clamorous about a situation in which she delighted to find herself. Geraldus very honestly tells his opinion of the matter: *Rapta nimirum fuit, quia et rapi voluit*: that is, she was ravished because she would be ravished.

Her husband, the king of Briefne, was, as has been already stated, at that time upon his pilgrimage; but when he returned home, and found that his wife had undertaken a pilgrimage of an-

other sort, he instantly meditated revenge, and he applied for assistance to Roderick, king of Ireland. He endeavoured also to stimulate the nobility and gentry of his own country to espouse his cause, and aid him in punishing the ravisher for a crime which so deeply affected his peace and honour. The king of Ireland was not indisposed to befriend the king of Briefne against Dermod, for independently of the adulterous outrage which he had committed, his general oppression and tyranny rendered him not only obnoxious to his sovereign, but so unpopular even with own retainers, that they all deserted him in the hour of trial, taking that opportunity to avenge the miseries which they had long been forced to suffer and to conceal.

Success was on the side of the kings of Ireland and Briefne, and Dermod was obliged to fly and seek refuge in England, where he threw himself at the feet of Henry II. imploring his assistance, and swearing, in return, fealty and allegiance to him. This was an event not unwished for by the English monarch, for it is agreed by all historians, that he had long been desirous of an opportunity to gain a footing in Ireland. In pretending to espouse the cause of Dermod, he nearly did what all ambitious monarchs have done in all ages, rendered his interposition subservient to the final views of conquest and subjugation. Henry, indeed, had some cause to regard the conduct of the Irish with resentment, for they had committed

many depredations in Wales, united with the Ostmen or Danes. He could not, however, support the cause of Dermod by force of arms at that time, because he was engaged in a war against Louis, king of France; but he caused the following edict to be issued in his behalf: "Henry, king of England, &c. &c. unto all his subjects, &c. &c. sendeth greeting; whensoever these our letters shall come unto you, know ye, that we have received Dermod, king of Leinster, into our protection, grace, and favour; wherefore, whosoever within our jurisdiction will aid and helpe him, our trustie subject, for the recoverie of his land, let him be assured of our favour and licence in that behalfe."

With this kind of credential he hastened to Bristol, where he hoped, from the intercourse that then subsisted between that city and Ireland, to hear some information respecting his native country. He there caused the royal edict to be read, and offered a liberal reward, both in money and lands, to any that should assist him in the recovery of his rights. Ireland was at time regarded as a place where such barbarity of manners prevailed, that few would be willing to accept his proposals. They attracted, however, the ambition of Richard, son of Gilbert de Claire, earl of Strigul and Chepstow, who went to Bristol, and after conversing with Dermod on the subject, promised to go over to Ireland, the ensuing spring, upon condition that Dermod should give him in

marriage his only daughter Eva, and settle upon him the succession of his whole inheritance and property, in Ireland. These stipulations being arranged, Dermod became anxious to behold again his native land. There would be some mournful satisfaction in doing this, even though at a distance, and he repaired accordingly to St. David's, of which place Giraldus was bishop. Here, according to his testimony, "Languishing and lying for a passage, he comforted himself as well as he might; sometime drawing, and as it were, breathing the air of his country, which he seemed to breathe and smell; sometimes viewing and beholding his country, which in a fair day a man may ken and descry." Let me stop here for a moment, to remark how similarly nature operates in all ages and in all countries, when she operates in her own character. We find here the rude and unpolished inhabitant of a country, endeared to him by no forms of social life, by no luxurious pleasures, by no refinements of epicurean delights, by no memory of its splendour and prosperity, fondly gazing towards its shores while an exile in a foreign land, and inhaling the air that blew from them with melancholy delight, because it came from his native vallies and mountains. Bryan Edwards, in his *History of the West Indies*, relates a pathetic incident, much resembling the above, only exceeding it in all the qualities of tenderness. Doctor Robertson, in his *History of America*, mentions the circumstance of several vessels being

fitted out from Hispaniola to the Lucayos, for the purpose of ensnaring the natives, whom they told they had come from a delicious country, in which their departed ancestors resided, and by whom they were sent to invite them to partake of the bliss which they enjoyed. That simple people listened with wonder and credulity, and eager to visit those happy regions, above forty thousand of them followed the Spaniards to Hispaniola, there to share in the sufferings of that island and its wretched race of men. But they do not forget the artifice by which they were deluded.

“ Many of them,” says Edwards, “ in the anguish of despair, refuse all sustenance, retire to desert caves and woods, and silently give up the ghost: others, repairing to the sea coast on the northern side of Hispaniola, cast many a longing look to that part of the ocean where they suppose their own islands situated, *and as the sea-breeze rises eagerly inhale it, believing it has lately visited their own happy vallies, and comes fraught with the breath of those they love, their wives and children.* With this idea they continue for hours on the coast, till nature becomes utterly exhausted; when, stretching out their arms towards the ocean, as if to take a last embrace of their distant country and relatives, they sink down and expire without a groan.”

While the coadjutors of Dermod were making preparations in England, he himself was not inactive. He went over to Ireland in disguise, and

spent the winter in the monastery at Ferns, which he had founded, and secretly occupied his time in concerting his plans for the reception of his English friends. He was successful in winning over numbers to his views; and when in the spring of the year 1170, Robert Fitzstephens landed in the Ban near Wexford, he began to form plans upon the Irish monarchy, confident of success from the aid of his English allies. But his hopes and his ambition were defeated by his death, which happened at Ferns in the month of May, 1171. The Irish historians affirm that he died by a dreadful visitation of God as a punishment for his crimes, his body becoming suddenly covered with foetid sores, and labouring under the *morbis pedicularis*.

The death of Dermod, however, did not interrupt the proceedings of the English, who, under Strongbow *, continued so successful as to excite the jealousy and suspicion of Henry. That monarch strictly interdicted all intercourse with Ireland, and he even commanded all his subjects to return to England on pain of forfeiting all their lands, and of perpetual banishment. Strongbow, however, to avert the ruin that threatened him, and to facilitate his ambitious designs, for he had now married the daughter of Dermod, dispatched Raymond Le Gross with the following letter to his sovereign:

* See Appendix, No. I.

“ 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 Morough: what I won, was with the sword; what is given me, I give you.

“ I am yours, life and living.”

The bearer of this epistle was received with indignation by the king, and dismissed without any answer. Meanwhile, the time allowed by Henry’s proclamation had elapsed, and Strongbow and his adherents were proscribed in Britain. The effect of this proscription was in no respect lessened by the security of their situation in Ireland, for there they had rendered themselves detested by their avarice and cruelty. Thus become desperate from despair, he succeeded, as desperate men often do, by a dreadful perseverance in his course. Roderick appeared once more with his army before Dublin, and was discomfited and dispersed by Strongbow, who fought with the bent-up energies of a man who knew that he was fighting for life and for liberty. This success, unexpected as it was, enabled him to effect a settlement in that country; and Henry, finding him now powerful enough to make resistance, concealed the resentment he felt, and assumed an appearance of reconciliation and confidence, the better to forward his own designs.

The consequence of this disastrous change in the affairs of Roderick was, that the country became divided into factions, while its king, irresolute what to do, did nothing that could at all impart vigour to his affairs. A nation torn by intestine discords is the easy and inevitable prey of neighbouring powers. Henry no sooner heard of the dissensions that prevailed in Ireland than he availed himself of them in furtherance of his own views, which pointed directly to its subjugation. He accordingly made great preparations for invading it in 1172. He sent over for Strongbow, received him with all the gracious dissimulation of royal artifice, restored him to his forfeited estates, and appointed him his steward in Ireland. A treaty was entered into between them, and Henry was to be put in possession of Dublin, Waterford, and all the maritime places which Strongbow held; while he, on the other hand, was to be guaranteed in the peaceable tenure of the rest of his territories. Nothing was done by Roderick to counteract this meditated invasion, which, there is strong reason to believe, was privately countenanced by several of the native princes.

In the autumn of the year 1172, Henry sailed with a fleet of some hundred ships from Milford Haven, and entered the harbour of Waterford on the 18th of October. His force consisted of 400 knights and 4000 men at arms. When he landed, Strongbow presented him with the keys

49 *Arrival of Henry. Synod held at Cashel.*

of Waterford on his knees, and putting his hands closed into those of Henry, he did homage to him for his kingdom of Leinster. The next day Dermot Mac Carthy presented him with the keys of his capital city of Cork, and also rendered homage to him as the monarch of Ireland. Elated with these successes, and confident of future ones, he only reposed a few days, when he marched his army to Lismore, and from thence to Cashel, where he was waited upon by Donald O'Bryen, Prince of Thomond, who tendered to him the keys of his capital of Limerick, and did homage to him as his sovereign. Various other princes in like manner became tributary to him; and having intrusted the government of Waterford to Robert Fitz-Barnard, he proceeded on his march towards Dublin through Ossory; but the haughty Roderick O'Connor, King of Connaught, would not step beyond the Shannon to greet the English monarch; there, however, Hugh de Lacy and William Fitz-Aldeline met him, and administered the oath of allegiance. Thus, according to Giraldus, "there was no one within that land, who was of any name or countenance, but that he did present himself before the king's majesty, and yielded unto him subjection and due obedience."

Tranquillity being now established within the island, the king ordered a synod to be held at Cashel, which was splendidly and numerously attended. "Besides the legate," says Plowden, "there appeared the Archbishops of Munster,

Leinster, and Connaught, with their suffragans; many mitred abbots, and several of the inferior clergy. There, for the first time, he produced in public the bull of Adrian IV. though he must have had it by him about 17 years, and its confirmation by his successor Alexander III. Henry very successfully worked upon this synod, by pressing on the clergy the powerful sway which the Roman Pontiff at that time possessed over the politics of all Christian princes. And it is evident, that through their influence the whole nation was induced to submit to Henry with a facility which no other means would have secured to the invader.

“ How much this interference of the see of Rome restrained the hands of the Irish, not only upon this, but upon other occasions, may be inferred from the following remarkable words in a memorial from O’Neal, King of Ulster, presented in 1330 to John, the 22d Bishop of Rome, in the name of the Irish nation. ‘ During the course of so many ages (3000 years) our sovereigns preserved the independency of their country; attacked more than once by foreign powers, they wanted neither force nor courage to repel the bold invaders; but that which they dared to do against force they could not against the simple decree of one of your predecessors, Adrian, &c.’

“ The acts of this council are only recorded by Cambrensis, who tells us, that after accepting of the bulls, they proceeded to the reformations so

much wanted, ' which were to make the Irish Christians in effect as well as in name, and which were to bring back their Church from disorder and anarchy to regular discipline.' This reform is reduced to eight articles: the first enjoins, that the people should not marry with their close kindred. 2. That children should be catechised outside of the church door, and infants baptised at at the font. 3. That the laity should pay tithes. 4. That the possessions of the Church should be free from temporal exactions. 5. That the Clergy should be exempt from eric, or retribution on account of murder or other crimes committed by their relations. 6. Directs the manner of disposing, by will, of the effects of a dying man. 7. Enjoins burial to the dead. And the 8th, that divine service should for the future be performed in Ireland, in every particular according to the English church: ' for it is meet and just,' says Cambrensis, ' that as Ireland hath by Providence received a lord and king from England, so she may receive from the same a better form of living. For to his royal grandeur are both the church and realm of Ireland indebted for whatever they have hitherto obtained, either of the benefit of peace, or the increase of religion; since before his coming into Ireland, evils of various kinds had from old times gradually overspread the land, which by his power and goodness are now abolished.' Such were the specious and imposing articles, with which Henry endeavoured to gain

the Clergy, and through them to induce the nation to acquiesce in his assumption of the dominion of Ireland. It is notorious that each of these articles was, at this period, more strictly observed in Ireland than in Britain.

We are told by Matthew Paris, that in this same year, 1172, a council was also held at Lismore, where the English system of legislature was established; but as no mention is made of that important meeting by Giraldus, it is probable that it has been confounded with the synod at Cashel, over which the Bishop of Lismore presided. The fact of the English laws being established in Ireland at this period is strongly denied by the Irish historians, and as strongly maintained by the British. The former say, that the English laws were neither received nor practised out of the English pale till the reign of James I. and their assertion is confirmed by Baron Finglass, who, as late as the days of Henry VIII. confesses, "that the English statutes passed in Ireland are not observed eight days after passing, whereas those laws and statutes made by the Irish on their bills, they keep firm and stable without breaking through them for any favour or reward." If, indeed, Henry had the power to enforce obedience to the laws of England it might fairly be presumed, that he also possessed the power of subjugating the whole country; but we find, upon indubitable authority, that he possessed no such power; for though the public submissions of the princes of

44 *Peace signed between Roderick and Henry.*

Munster, Leinster, Ossory, and the Deasies, had given him authority over a considerable part of Ireland, still he made no hostile attempts, whatever to extend his power over the other provinces. He remained, however, six months in the country, and passed his Christmas at Dublin; but such was the mean state of that city, that no house could be found in it sufficiently large for the accommodation of his household, and he was obliged to construct one of twigs and wattles, according to the custom of the country.

It is certain, however, that the English form of government was introduced by Henry among his own followers; and that form of government was adopted by some and rejected by others, until it was finally confined to what was called the *pale*, which did not comprehend the twentieth part of the kingdom. His power in Ireland was certainly of a very equivocal nature, and during his whole stay we find nothing remarkable, except his being acknowledged King of Leath Mogha. In 1175, however, a formal peace was concluded at Windsor between Roderick's ministers on one side, namely, Catholicus, Archbishop of Tuam; St. Lawrence O'Toole, Archbishop of Dublin; the Abbot of St. Brandon, and Dr. Lawrence, chaplain and chancellor to the King of Connaught; and those of Henry on the other. Whoever looks into the terms of this peace, however, the articles of which may be seen in the Appendix to Mr. Plowden's *Historical Review*, No. 2, will be led to conclude, that they

certainly did not rest upon the basis of admitted conquest, or any formal introduction of new laws or of a new constitution by the conqueror.

“ By the first article,” says Plowden, “ Roderick, on agreeing to do homage to Henry, (which if he did, it must have been by proxy,) and to pay him a certain tribute, was to possess his kingdom of Connaught in as full and ample a manner as before Henry’s entering that kingdom. By the second article, Henry engages to support and defend the King of Connaught in his territories with all his force and power in Ireland, provided he should pay to Henry every tenth merchantable hide throughout the kingdom. The third excepts from this condition the possessions of Henry and his barons, such as Dublin with its liberties, and Meath with its domains, which were to be holden by them in as full a manner as they had been held by O’Mealsachlin, or those deriving under him; Wexford, with all Leinster; Waterford, with all its domains, as far as Dungarvon, which, with its territory, was also to be excluded from this taxation. The fourth permits such Irish as had fled from the lands holden by the English barons, to return in peace, on paying the above tribute, or such other services as they were anciently accustomed to perform by their tenures, at the option of their lords. If they should prove refractory, on complaint of such lords, Roderick was to compel them; and they were to supply Henry with hawks and hounds annually.”

During the remainder of Henry's reign nothing was either undertaken or effected by the English adventurers in Ireland of sufficient importance to excite the attention of the historian. About the year 1175 he summoned Strongbow to attend him at Rouen, and intimated to him his intention of entrusting the affairs of Ireland to his entire direction. This trust he undertook in conjunction with his friend Raymond la Gross, but he did not long enjoy his dignities, for he died in the ensuing year, 1176, and was succeeded in them by Raymond, who had been elected governor by the council, under the title of procurator. In the same year Henry nominated his own son, John, Earl of Morton, King or Lord of Ireland. This nomination, however, may be considered rather as a cession of the king's proprietorship in his Irish territories than as a deputation of the government to his son's hands, for he had not attained his 14th year; but when he arrived at the age of 21, (1184,) he was sent over to Ireland with a great retinue of courtiers, who, with the usual arrogance of favouritism, acted with such contumelious despotism towards the Irish that insurrection began to shew its head, and John was recalled. The Irish government was then entrusted to John de Courcy, Earl of Ulster, a man of great personal prowess, and who continued in his situation till the death of Henry, which happened in 1189. Henry was succeeded on the English throne by Richard, surnamed Cœur de Lion, a prince whose

name is still cherished with a sort of romantic fondness, because of the high and chivalrous gallantry of spirit which he possessed, and of the valorous achievements which he performed in the Holy-Land during the Crusades. The memory of this prince has been equally adorned by poetry and history; he was indeed himself no mean poet; and he pursued, with all the enthusiasm of military glory, the glittering and specious phantoms of warlike renown in that quarter of the globe where alone it could be obtained in the estimation of the age in which he lived. It may be supposed therefore, that during his reign, which lasted only nine years and nine months, his views were very little directed towards his domestic policy, and consequently we find that nothing was done during that whole period which could be said materially to affect the condition of Ireland.

All the acts that at all connected themselves with that country emanated from his brother John, as Lord of Ireland, in consequence of the grant made to him by their late father. It was he who appointed deputies to govern those territories which belonged to the English, and who directed every other proceeding of sovereignty. By various charters he granted lands, franchises, and liberties, to be holden of him and his heirs, as if he himself held the island in fee, or absolute and uncontrouled dominion; but notwithstanding, he did not pretend to exercise any authority beyond those parts which had been possessed by his father.

This limit to his authority was acknowledged equally by himself and by foreigners; for when the pope sent his legate through all the dominions of Richard, in order to raise contributions for that monarch's service in the Holy-Land, his commission and jurisdiction were expressly limited to England and Wales and "*those parts of Ireland in which John, Earl of Morton, had power and dominion.*" We find also, that John himself restricted his power within the same limits, for in his charter of franchise to the city of Dublin he grants immunities, not throughout all Ireland, where they would not be valued, but expressly throughout his own dominions in that country, (*per totam terram et potestatem meam.*) Some internal calamities, however, happened during this period, and among others, the burning of the city of Dublin, as well as the prevalence of a nefarious band of robbers, by which the peace and tranquillity of the country were greatly disturbed. This latter evil is ascribed by Dr. Hammer to the famous Robin Hood, some of whose followers fled to Ireland, as a place where turbulence might reign without controul, and consequently as being well adapted for their predatory course of life. The system, however, became at last so flagrantly oppressive, that they were compelled by the natives to seek safety in Scotland. The only other event that occurred in Ireland during the reign of Richard, necessary to record, was the death of Roderick O'Connor,

which happened in 1198. He was the last of the Irish monarchs, and had lived through a period of great violence and confusion. He died at an advanced age in the monastery of Cong*, where he passed his latter years in quiet, unmoved by the factions that agitated his distracted province. It was some alleviation, however, in his last moments, to hear of the advantages gained by his son Cathal over the English, whom he very naturally detested as his bitterest and most unprovoked enemies.

* For an account of this monastery see Appendix, No. II.

CHAP. III.

Reign of King John—Meilar Fitz-Henry appointed Lord Chief Justice in Ireland—His power not supported by the King—Violent commotions—King John visits Ireland in 1210—Division of the country into counties—John delegates the government to John de Gray, bishop of Norwich—Reign of Edward I.

RICHARD Cœur de Lion died in 1199, and to him succeeded his brother John, a man as opposite to his predecessor as it is possible to conceive. His reign is equally the blot and glory of the English annals, for while his pusillanimous vices disgraced his age, the noble struggle of his Barons, who wrested from him the basis of all our liberties, *Magna Charta*, adorned and glorified it. Something, however, was done by him with respect to Ireland, which deserves to be recorded. One of his first acts upon his accession, was to remove with disgrace from the government of that country, Hamo de Valois, who had, from peculation both on the clergy and laity, amassed an immense treasure. Some of it, John, either from a love of avarice or a love of justice, from the former most probably, transferred into the English exchequer,

by mulcting him in a sum equal to fifteen thousand pounds of present money.

Meilar Fitz-Henry was appointed his successor as Lord Justice. He was the natural son of Henry I. by his concubine Nest, and was one of the most distinguished Barons who had originally adventured into Ireland. He is thus described by a contemporary historian, Giraldus Cambrensis: " Meilar was a man of a brown hue and complexion, his eyes black, his look grim, and his countenance sour and sharp, and of a mean stature; his body for the bigness very strong and broad breasted, and he was small bellied. His arms and other limbs more sinewous than fleshy, a stout and valiant gentleman he was, and emulous. He never refused any adventure or enterprize which were either to be done by one alone, or by more; he would be the first that would enter the field, and the last that would depart from the same. In all services, he would either have the garland, or die in the place; and so impatient was he in all exploits, that he would either have his purpose, or lie in the dust; and so ambitious and desirous he was to have honour, and to attain thereunto, there was no means nor mild thing but that he would surely have the same either in death, or in life; for, if he could not have it and live, he would surely have it by dying. And verily both he and Reymund have been worthy of too much praise and commendation, if they had been less ambitious of worldly honours, and more

careful of Christ's church, and devout in christian religion, whereby the ancient rights thereof might have been preserved and kept safe and sound; and also in consideration of their so many conquests and bloody victories, and of the spilling of so much innocent blood, and of murdering of so many christian people, they had been thankful to God, and liberally contributed some good portion for the furtherance of his church and religion. But what shall I say? It is not so strange, but much more to be lamented, that this unthankfulness, even from our first coming into this land, until these presents, this hath been the general and common fault of all our men."

The appointment of Meilar was like the shadowy lineage of Macbeth, for, unprotected by the King's countenance, it was placing only a barren sceptre within his grasp. The rude and turbulent commotions which were fomented by John de Courcy and Hugh de Lacy, two of the most powerful settlers in Ireland, and who had for some time affected a state of independence, Meilar found himself unable either to repress or to subdue. De Courcy, indeed, so far from acknowledging allegiance to King John, openly impeached his title to the throne, and both he and De Lacy had united their forces in the cause of Cathal, the son of the deceased King Roderick. John was highly incensed at the revolt of De Courcy, and summoned him to repair to his presence and do him homage; but the mandate was treated with con-

tempt. Meanwhile De Lacy and his brother Walter being restored to the king's favour, they had a commission to seize and send De Courcy prisoner to his majesty. This commission De Lacy executed with treachery, for having declined to accept the challenge of De Courcy to meet him in single combat, he offered a large reward to any person who should deliver him into his hands alive or dead. Not satisfied with this, he bribed some of his attendants who assailed De Courcy while in an act of devotion near the church of Down, and killed some of his retinue. De Courcy himself, however, was not to be easily subdued; and if we may credit the accounts which have come down to us, he sacrificed thirteen of his assailants to his fury, with a large wooden cross, before he could be overpowered, bound, and surrendered into the hands of De Lacy; who, with strict consistency of conduct, rewarded his agents first with the money he had promised, and then with the gibbet, for he ordered them every one to be hung. De Courcy meanwhile was conveyed to England, and confined in the Tower, where he remained unnoticed until a champion of Philip, King of France, appeared at the court of John, and proposed to assert his master's claim to Normandy in single combat. De Courcy was considered as a fit person to meet this challenge, which he at last accepted, after many indignant refusals. When he entered the lists, the Frenchman, terrified at his stern aspect and gigantic size, declined the combat, and basely

retired. De Courcy having won this bloodless victory, exhibited a proof of his bodily strength at the request of the two kings, by cleaving at one blow, a helmet, coat of mail, and stake on which they were fastened. John gave him his liberty, restored him to his possessions, and in compliance with a singular request of De Courcy, granted to him and his heirs the privilege of standing covered in their first audience with the Kings of England.

In 1210, John visited Ireland with a view to gratify personal revenge against a woman, who had ventured to accuse him of murdering his nephew Arthur. He arrived in the month of June, and soon after his landing, more than twenty dynasts attended to do him homage. There were in his retinue several men of learning, by whose counsel and assistance a regular code and charter of English laws were drawn up and deposited in the exchequer of Dublin, under the King's seal, for the common benefit of the land, as the public records express it. In order to secure an effectual execution of these laws, John caused, besides the establishment of the King's courts of judicature in Dublin, a new division of the King's lands into counties, over which sheriffs and other officers were appointed. The twelve counties which were then established, viz. Dublin, Meath, Kildare, Argial, now called Louth, Katherlagh, Kilkenny, Wexford, Waterford, Cork, Kerry, Limerick, and Tipperary, mark the extent of the English territory, as confined to a part of Leinster and Mun-

ster, and to those parts of Meath and Argial which lie in the province of Ulster. From this division also, we may infer the credibility of what the Irish annalists assert, that the chiefs in the remoter districts of Ulster had not given John a dominion of their lands.

John resided only three months in Ireland, and during those three months he attempted no military exploit. When he departed, he delegated the administration of his government to John de Grey, Bishop of Norwich, who held it for three years, administering the laws with a vigour and effect hitherto unknown. In 1213, the government passed into the hands of Henry de Londres, Archbishop of Dublin; but its execution was chiefly by deputy, for the Archbishop was forced to attend his royal master in England, whose confidence he fully possessed. The rest of this monarch's ignoble reign presents no new features with respect to Ireland, though it furnishes one of the most illustrious in the annals of English history. He died at Newark in 1216, and was succeeded by his infant son Henry, the third of that name, who was crowned King at Gloucester in the 10th year of his age. The Earl of Pembroke was appointed protector during the minority of the young prince; and the Irish barons, stimulated by a like spirit of independence to what had impelled the English nobles to wrest from their pusillanimous monarch, the great bulwark of our freedom, transmitted a list of grievances to the

Lord Protector, who had lived among them, and supplicated him to vouchsafe his protection for the security of their privileges. To this prayer, Pembroke returned the noblest answer he could; he sent them a duplicate of Magna Charta, in which their rights, privileges and immunities were placed upon the very same foundation with those of the English. By that charter Ireland was placed, as a free and independent nation, upon precisely the same footing with respect to its civil and political institutions as England, and in the next year, 1217, Pembroke procured for them a ratification of the charter, which begins in the following words: "The King to the archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls, barons, knights, and free tenants, and to all his faithful subjects in Ireland. In proof of our approbation of your fidelity to our father, which he has experienced, and which we are likely to experience, we will, in consequence of your distinguished fidelity, that you and your heirs enjoy for ever, out of our favour, and as a gift to your kingdom, the liberties granted you by our father and ourselves."

Pembroke possessed large landed estates in Ireland, in consequence of his intermarriage with Eva, Earl Strongbow's daughter, and therefore had a more than usual interest in its tranquillity; consequently we find that during his protectorate, the country was but little harassed by internal feuds. Unfortunately, however, he died in the year 1219, when Hugn de Lacy, aided by O'Nial

of Tyr Owen, made incursions into his estates in Meath. The young Earl of Pembroke immediately hastened over to Ireland to secure his paternal property, and commenced hostilities with De Lacy, which occasioned the devastation of Meath and several adjoining districts. From this period also, may be dated the commencement of a turbulent and factious era, which continued during the four ensuing reigns, with very little diminution of its hostile character.

Hubert de Burgo, justiciary of England, was made deputy in Ireland in 1219; and he appointed as his deputy his kinsman, Richard de Burgo, and during his administration, an order was transmitted from England, commanding him at a certain day and place to summon "the archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, earls, barons, knights, freeholders, and sheriffs, and in their presence to cause to be read publicly the charter of King John, and that in obedience to it, they should swear to observe the English laws and customs in Ireland, and that in behalf of the King, he should command the laws and customs contained in the said charter to be firmly observed in the several counties of Ireland, of which public proclamation should be made in each of them respectively, that none might presume to disobey his majesty's command. This was an admission to the English laws and liberties in their full extent, of all such Irishmen as renounced their ancient

form of polity, and consented to hold their lands by English tenure."

Passing over years of distraction and disorder, of bloodshed and rebellion, the next remarkable feature in the history of Ireland is the grant of it made by Henry to his son Prince Edward in 1253. He had projected a marriage between that Prince and the Infanta of Spain; and, as a valuable consideration, he conceded the kingdom of Ireland, with certain exceptions, to him and his heirs for ever, with a special proviso, however, that Ireland should always be connected with and dependent on the English crown. Consequently the general appointments under government were afterwards made in the name of Edward; though the King frequently interfered, lest Edward should successfully arrogate to himself a dominion that might ultimately stand independently of all allegiance to the English government. We have an authentic record relating to this period, which, according to Mr. Mollyneux, proves the antiquity of the Irish parliament, and that neither men nor money could be raised in Ireland without their consent. Henry being engaged in a war upon the continent, in defence of his French territories, and pressed in his means to carry it on, his Queen transmitted to Ireland the following requisition: "To the archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, earls, barons, burgesses, freemen, &c. intreating from them assistance of men and money against the King of Castile, who had in-

vaded Gascony, the compliance with which would turn to their immortal honour.”

Henry III. after a reign of fifty-six years, was succeeded by son Edward I. who has been justly denominated the English Justinian. Notwithstanding, however, that he had received from his father a grant of Ireland, it does not appear that, as the King of both countries, he paid much attention to that which was specifically his when Prince Edward. During the whole course of his reign, which lasted five and thirty years, he seems to have taken so slight an interest in all that concerned Ireland, that not one state act of his, with respect to that country, has been recorded by any of the English historians. There were, however, some few occurrences during this period which deserve to be mentioned. In 1272, the Irish, convinced that all hope of exterminating the English from their territory was extinct, sought to change the state of tributary vassalage to the King of England for the security and advantage of complete English subjects; and in order to attain that prudent and desirable object, they offered, through Ufford, the chief governor, 8000 marks to the King, provided he would grant the full participation of the laws of England indiscriminately to the whole Irish people. To this application Edward returned the following answer:

“ Edward, by the grace of God, King of England, Lord of Ireland, Duke of Aquitain, to our

truly and well beloved Robert de Ufford, Justiciary of Ireland, greeting :

“ The improvement of the state and peace of our land of Ireland, signified to us by your letter, gives us exceeding joy and pleasure. We entirely commend your diligence in this matter, hoping (by the Divine assistance) that the things there begun so happily by you, shall, as far as in you lieth, be still further prosecuted with the greater vigor and success.

“ And whereas the community of Ireland hath made a tender to us of 8000 marks, on condition that we grant to them the laws of England to be used in the aforesaid land, we will you to know, that inasmuch as the laws used by the Irish are hateful to God and repugnant to all justice, and having held diligent conference and full deliberation with our council on this matter, it seems sufficiently expedient to us and to our council, to grant to them the English laws ; provided always, that the general consent of our people, or at least of the nobles and prelates of that land, well affected to us, shall uniformly concur in this behalf.

“ We therefore command you, that having entered into treaty with these Irish people, and examined diligently into the wills of our commons, prelates, and nobles well affected to us in this behalf, and having agreed between you and them on the highest fine of money that you can obtain on this account, to be paid to us, you do with the consent of all, or at least of the greater and

sounder part aforesaid, make such a composition with the said people, in the premises, as you shall judge in your diligence to be most expedient for our honour and interest. Provided, however, that these people shall hold in readiness a body of good and stout footmen, amounting to such a number as you shall agree upon with them for one turn only, to repair to us when we shall think fit to demand them."

The views of the English monarch, however, were thwarted by his own servants, who, to forward their rapacious views of extortion and oppression, prevented a convention of the King's barons and other subjects in Ireland. This interposition between the wishes of the Irish and the intentions of the government at home, was completely effectual, and it was in vain that they solicited with eager and unquestionable sincerity, to be admitted partakers of all the benefits of the English constitution as it was then established. The royal ear was poisoned, as it has been in later times, by the representations of interested individuals; and so completely were the wise and benevolent views of Edward frustrated, that during his reign several individuals of the Irish race were necessitated to sue for particular charters of denization on their intermarriages with the English. What could be expected from such a procedure but that which actually followed? The Irish finding themselves discountenanced in every attempt to rank on an equality with their sub-

jugators, feeling that they were marked out as victims to the cruel policy which too commonly regulates the conduct of a nation towards a conquered people, and justly indignant at the haughty disregard with which all their assurances of fidelity were treated, resorted to the fatal but inevitable means of redress, which alone are left to those who have no mercy to expect, and who can hope for no justice but what they extort from their oppressors. In their hearts and minds they were still unsubdued; in the sanctuary of their feelings and their thoughts, liberty had still upheld her shrine, and with all the generous enthusiasm of their character, they bowed before it, and worshipped the divinity with a rude but honest sincerity. From this period, perhaps, remote as it may seem, it would not be difficult to trace the origin of those disastrous measures which have been alienating from us, century after century, the cordial allegiance of that devoted people. In the proud and austere dignity of the English government, no sentiment of conciliation has found a place; it has scorned to soothe those whom it could never entirely subdue; and it has weakly preferred the dubious and questionable obedience which has been sullenly paid to the sword and the law, to that frank and cordial submission which might have been obtained by temperate and conciliatory measures. The Irish, however, impatient of such despotism, retorted the bitter lesson upon their tyrants, and they have never ceased to

make them feel that it costs somewhat more to oppress a brave and high-minded people than to conquer them by kindness. Sir John Davies, who was speaker of the Irish House of Commons in the reign of James I. and whose opinions upon any subject are entitled to much consideration, makes the following very just reflections upon the state of the Irish in his time: "As long," says he, "as the Irish were out of the protection of the law, so as every Englishman might oppress, spoil, and kill them without controulment, how was it possible they should be other than outlaws and enemies to the crown of England? If the King would not admit them to the condition of subjects, how could they acknowledge and obey him as their sovereign? and, in a word, if the English would neither in peace govern them by the law, nor in war root them out by the sword, must they not needs be pricks in their eyes, and thorns in their sides, till the world's end?"

Such was the state of the Irish people in the seventeenth century, such has been nearly their state ever since, and such was their state during the reign of Edward I. The infatuation of the English government at that period is wholly unaccountable. Without possessing any thing like the entire dominion of the country, they cantoned the whole of it out among ten English families, who styled themselves owners and lords of Ireland. Nothing was consequently left, and nothing was intended to be enjoyed by the natives; and it is

asserted that, for 300 years and upwards after the invasion, not any grant of land was made to an Irish lord, except one from the crown to the King of Thomond, during the minority of Henry III. and the treaty with the King of Connaught. The English settlers, in fact, were a species of petty sovereigns, exercising their dominion with all the worst features of delegated authority; while the native Irish were reduced to a state of the most opprobrious vassalage and servitude; I mean that part of them which inhabited the lands that were actually conquered by the English.

Notwithstanding, however, that the Irish were thus hostilely treated, Edward endeavoured to exact from them the same contributions as if they were enjoying all the privileges which such contributions ought to procure. In 1295, he sought to avail himself of the papal power, in order to obtain the grant of a tenth of all the ecclesiastical revenues of the Irish clergy. The pretence for this exaction was the ordinary one of that age, an expedition to the Holy-land; but the clergy of Ireland were less disposed than that of England to submit to any temporal interference on the part of the Pope, and as they were therefore neither disposed nor enabled to comply with this demand on the part of the English monarch, he was disappointed in his expectations. He succeeded better, however, with the laity of Ireland, who granted him, with some little reluctance, a fifteenth of their effects.

Another important feature which marks the History of Ireland during the reign of Edward, was the assembling the first regular parliament which the country could be said to possess: This was in 1295, and although it was inconsiderable in point of number, yet many of the legislative provisions which it enacted were beneficial to the people.

“It was enacted,” says Plowden, “that tenants of every degree should provide according to their rank towards a militia, and that absentees should contribute out of their Irish revenues to that establishment. It was also enacted, that in particular incursions of the Irish, the neighbouring settlers, who should not attempt to assist the government, or repel the invasion, should for their wilful neglect be liable to pay damages to their suffering neighbours. And in order to prevent the national evil of frequent military expeditions by the great lords, it was also ordained, that in future no lord should make war but by licence of the chief governor, or by special mandate of the King. Several other wholesome ordinances of like, though subordinate tendency, were passed by the express order of Edward, who, it appears, really wished to promote the welfare of Ireland, though in so doing he forgot not his own interest, however he were thwarted in it by the mal-administration of this distant government. In cases of any sudden insurrection of the Irish, when the chief governor was at a distance, it was further enacted, that from the moment hostilities commenced, the

country attacked should instantly, and without further orders, rise in arms, and maintain the war at their own charges, without intermission or suspension, till the enemy should be reduced, or consent to cessation, or the chief governor should otherwise direct. And in order to deprive the enemy of their usual shelter, every lord was directed to repair and clear the roads through his woods and forests, to make bridges, pathways, and other provisions for traversing the country with readiness and security, and pursuing the insurgents into their retreats. And for the purpose of preventing any mistake between Englishmen and Irishmen (for killing the latter there was no punishment), it was still further enacted, that all Englishmen should conform strictly to the garb and tonsure of their own countrymen, at least in the tonsure of their hair, on pain of seizure of their lands and chattels, and imprisonment of their persons. And lastly, two lords in every county and liberty in which Irishmen were resident, were, in the absence of the chief governor, vested with power to treat with the Irish in all matters in which the public tranquillity was concerned."

While the reader peruses these enactments, and acknowledges the propriety of many of them, surely he cannot but feel a sentiment of lively and indignant disgust at that barbarous policy which excluded an Irishman from the common rights of human nature, by rendering his life of no value in the estimation of crimes. It is hardly

possible to conceive a proscription more detestable than that; and while it strongly marks the ferocious character of the English government towards Ireland, it more than extenuates, for it justifies every act of rebellion by which they endeavoured to retaliate upon their bloody and relentless persecutors a stigma so savage and so disgraceful. Where was the use of any legislative provisions tending to civilize or regulate the manners of the people, while there existed such a marked and hateful distinction between the settlers and the indigenious population; a distinction which degraded them beneath the beasts of the field, for at the very moment, when it was held no crime to kill an Irishman, there were many and severe laws against the destruction of animals of the chase, and a stag was actually of more value in the appreciation of the English government than a man, if that man happened to be a native. Can we wonder therefore, looking at the record of such a practice as this, that insurrections, wars, and tumults marked every step of time in this period of Irish history; or that the English found it no very easy task to maintain themselves even in the province of Leinster? Such was the fact however; a spirit of insubordination was rapidly spreading throughout the land, and every thing threatend danger and confusion when the reign of Edward closed in the year 1307, after a dominion of 35 years over the

kingdom of England, and nominally over that of Ireland.

Edward II. succeeded his father, and the first act of his sovereignty with regard to Ireland was to make it a partaker of that fatal system which marked his whole life, and which led to his most deplorable end. Piers Gavaston, the favourite and minion of Edward, had rendered himself so odious to the English nobles, that they obtained from the king the promise of his absolute and entire banishment, enforced by a conditional excommunication from the bishops in case he should infringe it. But Edward, instead of dismissing Gavaston to the continent, appointed him his vicegerent in Ireland, and accompanied him with a splendid retinue as far as Bristol. On his first arrival in Ireland he was extremely popular both with the English settlers and the native Irish; for besides his personal endowments, which were great, and besides his love of magnificence and splendour, which was equally great, he possessed a bold and adventurous spirit of enterprize, and by his activity and zeal he soon succeeded in quieting the tumults that prevailed. Having tranquillized Leinster and defeated O'Brien, he erected castles, and opened communications throughout the English territory. But he was too prosperous to be long without machinations against him. Richard, Earl of Ulster, no less affected by his successes than by his pomp and

splendour, endeavoured first to vie with him in the latter, and then to counteract the former by hostilities. Richard was at that time the most powerful chieftain in Ireland; but before their animosities could proceed to any open rupture Gavaston was recalled, and his rival was shortly after appointed plenipotentiary to conclude a treaty with Robert Bruce, the Scotch monarch, whose deputies attended upon the Earl of Ulster in Ireland.

The policy of concluding a treaty with the Scots upon terms much more advantageous than had ever been offered to the sister kingdom, and concluding it at the same time in Ireland, thus proclaiming to the people of that country the humiliation in which they stood with respect to the Scots, was fully verified by the result; for the hatred of the English still increasing, they invited the gallant Bruce, who had recently achieved the splendid victory at Bannockburn, to aid them in an attempt at regaining their liberties, and to avenge themselves on the common enemy. They even offered to receive a sovereign from Scotland; and Edward, the brother of Bruce, was named and accepted by the chieftains of Ulster, who were promised that he should soon be sent to their assistance with a formidable army. The intelligence was received with joy throughout the whole country, and in May, 1315, Edward Bruce landed about 6000 men in Ulster, to assert his claim to his new kingdom. He no sooner raised his

standard than hundreds of adherents daily flocked to it; the English settlers were massacred with every character of inhumanity, and their castles and dwelling-houses committed to the flames. In a very short time almost the whole of Ireland had declared in favour of the Scots. Sanguinary battles were fought; desolation and famine followed in their train; while Edward Bruce, the author of all this calamity, was crowned with great solemnity at Dundalk.

Meanwhile his brother Robert Bruce arrived in Ireland to assist him with a powerful army, but the dearth and famine that prevailed soon compelled him to return, leaving, however, a considerable part of his forces behind him, which were soon increased by daily accessions of numbers from among the discontented Irish. In this deplorable state of public affairs, the English settlers, finding they had nothing to expect from their sovereign at home, resolved to assert their own rights, and to that end some of the principal English lords formed a vigorous and effective association among themselves. The king, though he either could not or would not give them more substantial aid, bestowed upon them the cheap one of his royal favour, and John Fitz-Thomas, Baron of Ophaly, was created Earl of Kildare, and Lord Edmund Butler received the title of Earl of Karrick.

When the English nobles found themselves strong enough for active operations they marched into Connaught, with the especial intention of sub-

duing Fedlim O'Connor, who had joined the Scotch invaders. His forces were collected near the town of Athunree, where both parties met, and where a bloody conflict ensued, which terminated in favour of the English. This disaster, however, had little influence upon Bruce, who still continued his devastating career to the very walls of Dublin.

The situation of the English became daily worse and worse, and Edward II. at last had recourse to the spiritual power of the Pope in aid of his temporal dominions in Ireland; a refuge commonly resorted to in those ages when it was easier to shackle mens' minds than to enslave their bodies. Accordingly, in 1316, the court of Rome issued a solemn sentence of excommunication against all the enemies of the King of England, specially including those who were aiding and abetting the invasion of Ireland by the two Bruces. This interposition was anticipated, however, by the Irish, and they were prepared to meet it with a statement of their grievances, and of the various oppressions under which they groaned, as an extenuation, if not a complete justification, of their proceedings against the English. The following passages from their remonstrance may serve to exhibit some faint image of the evils which they endured: " And those kings were not Englishmen, nor of any other nation but our own, who with pious liberality bestowed ample endowments in land and many immunities on the Irish

Church; though in modern times our churches are most wantonly plundered by the English, by whom they are almost entirely despoiled. And though these our kings so long and so strenuously defended against the kings and tyrants of different regions the inheritance given them by God, preserving their innate liberty at all times inviolate, yet Adrian IV. your predecessor, an Englishman, more even by affection and prejudice than by birth, blinded by that affection and the false suggestions of Henry II. King of England, under whom, and perhaps by whom, St. Thomas of Canterbury was murdered, gave the dominion of this our kingdom, by a certain form of words, to that same Henry II. whom he ought rather to have stript of his own on account of the above crime. Thus omitting all legal and juridical order, and alas! his national prejudices and predilections blindfolding the discernment of such a pontiff, without our being guilty of any crime, without any rational cause whatever, he gave us up to be mangled to pieces by the teeth of the most cruel and voracious of all monsters, &c."

When we remember the arrogance which was built upon papal infallibility, it may excite some surprize that this remonstrance sincere and affecting as it was, should have awakened any sympathy in the court of Rome. Its effect, however, was such that John XXII. who then held the papal sovereignty, transmitted a copy of it to the king, very wisely exhorting him to redress the grievances

therein complained of, that the Irish might no longer have any excuse for their revolt. This advice was partly complied with, but war still continued to desolate the unhappy country. Another battle was fought between the English and Bruce at Dundalk, in which that titular monarch met his death, from which catastrophe the English cause derived great strength. This happened in 1318, but the advantages resulting from it were not so great as might have been expected. The country was exhausted by war and famine, the treasury was impoverished, and the population was thinned. The storm had partly subsided, but it had not wholly passed away, and to the evils already existing were added fresh ones by the notorious misrule and rapacity of those to whom power and authority were entrusted. Among other barbarous and nefarious practices which sprung up during that period, there was none which embraced a wider field for every species of oppression, of rapine, and of massacre, than that which was then called *coigne and livery*, but which has since been known by the name of free quarters, viz. the forced quartering of soldiers upon the inhabitants. Of this hateful system, especially with regard to its effects upon Ireland, Sir John Davis thus delivered his opinion, for it was still practised in his time: "In the time of King Edward II. Maurice Fitz-Thomas, of Desmond, being chief commander of the army against the Scots, began that wicked extortion of *coygne and*

livery and pay; that is, he and his army tooke horsemeate and mansmeate and money at their pleasure, without any ticket or any other satisfaction. And this was, after that time, the general fault of all the governours and commanders of the army in this lande. And by this it appeareth, why the extortion of coygne and livery is called in the old statutes of Ireland a *damnable custome*, and the imposing and taking thereof made *high treason*. And it is said in an ancient discourse *Of the Decay of Ireland*, that though it were first invented in hell, yet if it had been used and practised there, as it hath been in Ireland, it had long since destroyed the very kingdome of Beelzebub." And (p. 171), " But the most wicked and mischievous custome of all others was that of *coygne and livery*, often before mentioned; which consisted in taking of *mansmeate, horsemeate, and money* of all the inhabitants of the country, at the will and pleasure of the soldier, who, as the phrase of Scripture is, *did eate up the people as it were bread*, for that he had no other entertainment. This extortion was originally Irish, for they used to lay *bonught* upon their people, and never gave their soldiers any other pay. But when the English had learned it, they used it with more insolency, and made it more intollerable; for this oppression was not temporary, or limited either to place or time, but because there was every where a continuale warre either offensive or defensive, and every lord of a countrie, and

everie marcher, made warre and peace at his pleasure, it became universal and perpetuale; and was indeed the most heavy oppression that ever was used in anie Christian or heathen kingdom."

No other event of any importance occurred during the remainder of Edward's reign. As a legislator, he did more for Ireland than any of his predecessors; and such was his confidence in their loyalty and fidelity, that it is said he intended to throw himself upon their allegiance during the pressure of his multiplied calamities in England.

CHAP. IV.

Reign of Edward III.—Various legislative provisions—Cruelty of some of them—Reign of Richard II. and Henry IV.—Viceroyship of the Duke of Lancaster—Reigns of Henry V. and VI.—Popularity of the Duke of York as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland—Reigns of Edward IV. V. Richard III. and Henry VII.—The imposture of Simnel and Warbeck—Account of Poyning's law.

THE reign of Edward III. furnishes the first definite and precise marks by which we are enabled to trace the progress of the British constitution; but though much was done for England, very little was done for Ireland. His whole reign, indeed, to use the words of a contemporary historian, "was an uninterrupted tissue of the defection and reduction, confiscation and relapse, punishment and revenge of different chieftains, both English and Irish." A few, however, the leading circumstances that distinguished this period shall be briefly enumerated.

In the year of his accession, 1327, two parliaments were assembled, one at Kilkenny, the other at Dublin, but nothing particular was effected; and in 1331 several ordinances were made in the English parliament for the regulation of Ireland,

In the same year also a papal bull was issued to excommunicate the lawless Irish; but the Irish contemning this, replied to it by invading the county of Wexford. The king was advised by his parliament to go over to Ireland in person, and he accordingly issued commissions to raise forces, and victualled his ships ready to transport them. But the same parliament advised him then not to go, and he disbanded his troops, and remained at home; issuing, however, a commission to the Prior of the hospital of St. John's of Jerusalem, in Ireland, to treat with the captains of the rebels, and to grant them such terms as he might see fit. But the most memorable transaction of this reign was the king's imprudent revocation of all the grants that had been made, either by himself or his father, in favour of the Irish, which revocation spread universal discontent throughout the country. Such an effect did it produce, in fact, that, as Prynne says, "It was upon the point of being lost for ever out of the Kings of England's hands." To allay this ferment, Sir John Morris, the chief governor, summoned a parliament to meet at Dublin in the month of October; but the mayors of the king's city, and the better sort of the nobility and gentry of the land, had announced a more general parliament to be held at Kilkenny in the month of November. In this convention, for such it strictly was, they agreed and ordained, that solemn ambassadors should be sent with all speed to the King of England, to

protest “ against his ministers’ unequal and unjust government in Ireland; and to intimate, that from henceforth they neither could nor would endure the realm of Ireland to be ruled by his ministers as it had wont to be; and particularly they complained of them in the following questions: ‘ *Imprimis*, How a land full of wars could be governed by him that was unskilful in war? Secondly, How a minister or officer of the king should in a short time grow to so much wealth? Thirdly, How it came to pass that the king was never the richer for Ireland?’ ”

To these interrogatories the king was not inattentive, and various regulations were adopted to provide for the redress of their grievances, not only immediately subsequent to the presentation of this protest, but during the whole of his reign. Yet while the Duke of Clarence was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in 1361, the famous statute of Kilkenny was passed, of which the following is the substance :

“ It was enacted, that inter-marriages with the natives, or any connection with them as fosterers, or in the way of gossipred, should be punished as high treason; that the use of their name, language, apparel or customs, should be punished with the forfeiture of lands and tenements; that to submit to be governed by the Brehon laws was treason; that the English should not make war upon the natives without the permission and authority of government; that the English should

not permit the Irish to graze upon their lands; that they should not admit them to any benefice or religious privilege, or even entertain their bards; that to compel English subjects to pay or maintain soldiers was felony, (this respected the oppressive imposition of coigne and livery); that traitors and felons should not be protected by flying to sanctuaries, which, by affording an asylum to criminals, had been found very detrimental to the public tranquillity. It was likewise enacted, that wardens should be appointed to estimate the men and armour which each of the king's vassals was obliged to provide for military service."

This celebrated act of legislation, if any thing so utterly subversive of the civil and natural rights of mankind can be so called, furnishes an additional proof of the despotic and ferocious tyranny which the English continued to exercise in that devoted country; and, as has been already observed, these and similar oppressions more than justified that spirit of turbulence and rebellion which has constantly deformed the stormy and tempestuous annals of the Irish nation. It is asserted, however, notwithstanding this very statute of Kilkenny, that Edward, to the very close of his reign, uniformly manifested his anxiety to do justice to his Irish subjects; but what that anxiety was, surely need not be described, when it is remembered that such ordinances as those which have been just recapitulated were suffered to be enacted. It is true indeed, that the final

subjugation and perhaps the amelioration of the Irish people by legislation, were equally the object of Edward II. and of Edward III.; yet the latter, with all the power which he really possessed, and with all the disposition to conciliate which he was presumed to possess, advanced the English interest in Ireland very little beyond the state in which it had been left by his father. The measures which he adopted were some of them wise and provident, but they seem to have had no fixed object either in their origin or in their prosecution. Expediency and momentary views of interest guided him in his general conduct towards Ireland, and which perhaps may be partly ascribed to the infancy in which the science of legislation was in his time. Had he indeed conceived any large and general views of policy, and had he been truly anxious that those views should be permanently carried into effect, he would necessarily have been more solicitous to provide governors for Ireland, whose qualities might have insured to them a continuance of their viceroyalty; for he would have been aware, that nothing can be more fatal to any extended series of measures carried on by continual co operation, than a frequent change of those who are delegated to conduct them. This is a vital principle in every question of policy; for it is so impossible to expect that a succession of individuals should form precisely the same opinions upon the transactions of any government, or that they should be all

cordially disposed to promote their progress, that it has always been one of the chief objects of modern political arrangements to secure the same men, in order successfully to carry the same measures; and we find in the present day the acknowledgment of this principle so deeply rooted, that it is the common language of parliamentary reproof to deny the possibility of any change of measures without a previous change of men. We find, however, that Edward, during his reign, which continued 50 years, appointed no less than 43 successive governors for conducting the affairs of Ireland; a circumstance of itself quite sufficient to defeat any general and connected purpose of reformation in that country, especially when we recollect how very imperfectly the system of diplomacy was understood in those days; and the consequence was, that with the best intentions on the part of Edward to conciliate his Irish subjects, we find them in a state of any thing but conciliation, and Edward himself leaving them at his death just as he found them at his accession, rebellious and dissatisfied.

The same mischievous policy was adopted by his successor, Richard II. during whose reign of 22 years no fewer than 25 governors of Ireland were appointed; a rapidity of succession, which, as Plowden observes, "making reasonable allowances for the uncertainty of weather, the slowness of travelling, and the general difficulties of communication in those days, the averaged interval of

each appointment and recall would scarcely cover the term of nine calendar months." The first instance that is recorded of any change in this injurious policy was at the commencement of the 15th century, when we find that Thomas, Duke of Lancaster, the eldest son of Henry IV. was appointed to the government of Ireland for 21 years; a change which probably involved as many evils on the other side as could possibly result from the brief and transitory appointments of his predecessors. The arrival of his royal highness in Ireland, however, gave a weight and stability to the English government, and Ulster was for a time freed from the Scotch marauders, who, from the commencement of his father's reign, had harassed that province in separate detachments. But the various troubles which agitated England and threatened to overthrow the usurped authority of Henry, frustrated the benefits which might have been derived from the permanent establishment of the Duke of Lancaster as Vicegerent of Ireland, for they compelled him to return to England; so that, according to Sir John Davies, "the seed of reformation took no root at all."

In the fifth year of this reign the statute of Kilkenny was confirmed in a parliament convened at Dublin by the Earl of Ormond, who was then chief justice; but it appears that the holding of parliaments was offensive to the native Irish, for it is especially observed, that during a parliament which was convened in the 14th year of the reign

Curious stipulations of the Duke of Lancaster. 83
of Henry IV. "the Irish fell to burning in divers places, as they had often done in parliament times."

During this reign the Duke of Lancaster was twice appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, once for a term of twelve, and once of seven years. The stipulations which he made on his last appointment were singular; for, besides the provision made for his attendants and their pay, he was allowed, at the king's charge, to transport a family or two out of every parish in England to inhabit Ireland. The consequences of this agreement are thus noticed by Plowden: "Had this provision been acted upon," says he, "an influx of above 20,000 indigent individuals might have been thrown upon a distressed country, which, from the long continuance of war and famine, was little able to support its own population. This appears to have been the first idea of plantations in Ireland, afterwards so fatally mischievous to that country. He was also enabled to grant benefices, and appoint his own deputy. It was further provided, that all the demesnes of the crown should be resumed, and the acts of absentees executed. Some historians relate, that the Duke of Lancaster was wounded under the walls of Dublin; but they all agree that he returned to England within three months of his last appointment. Nothing important to Ireland happened during the remainder of this reign. Sir J. Davies, indeed, has remarked, that 'after this the state of England

had no leisure to think of a general reformation in the realm, till the civil dissensions of England were appeased, and the peace of that kingdom settled by Henry VII.'”

Henry IV. was succeeded by his son, Henry V. who ascended the throne with every auspicious hope of his subjects, but with very little of their respect. His name is endeared to the imagination of the reader, as recalling to him the *Hal* of his favourite Shakespeare, that mixture of great and mean qualities, of nobleness and folly, of magnanimity and vice. With respect to Ireland, however, his reign was little else than a dreary blank; for he was too intensely occupied with the favourite object of those days, the recovery of his French territories, to attend very diligently to the condition of his Irish subjects. The most remarkable event was an act passed by the English parliament in the year 1416, imposing penalties on Irish prelates for collating Irishmen to benefices in England, or bringing Irishmen to parliament, lest they should disclose the councils of England to the rebels of their own country. Notwithstanding the obvious injustice as well as impolicy of this act, it was so far rendered operative as to cause the indiscriminate expulsion of all Irishmen out of the kingdom. As if, however, it was thought impossible to degrade and insult this people sufficiently, we find, in the year 1425, during the reign of Henry VI. another oppressive law passed, by which it was enacted, that if any

Irishmen were found with their upper lips unshaven by the space of a fortnight (for it was the Irish fashion to wear the beard on the upper lip) it should be lawful for any man to take them and their goods as Irish enemies, and as such to ransom them.

In the year 1449 we find the Duke of York appointed to the lord-lieutenancy of Ireland through the intrigues of Margaret of Anjou, who was solicitous to get an aspiring rival for power removed to such a distance as might considerably weaken the influence of his pretensions to the throne. The duke accepted of this appointment for ten years, upon the express condition of receiving the whole revenue of Ireland without account, with an immediate advance of 2000 marks, and an annual pension of 2000 more from England; of disposing of all offices; of levying such forces as he should judge necessary; of being empowered to let the king's lands, of naming his deputy, and of returning at pleasure. By this last stipulation it would seem that he was not unconscious of the machinations that were in contemplation against him, by removing him so far from the theatre of action; and that by securing to himself the power of return whenever he might see fit, he partly anticipated those calamitous scenes at home in which he was destined to act so conspicuous a part. When he repaired to his government, however, he exhibited great splendour and magnificence, and every one was

eager to crowd to a court where every one was received with an affable and conciliating condescension. To the urbane and polished manners of a prince he added something of the policy of a statesman, and he was particularly careful to display an equal degree of favour towards the heads of the two leading factions that then divided the country, the Geraldines and the Butlers. His administration of power was wisely and beneficially exerted; but it was soon discovered that every act of his government had a direct tendency to promote the views of his party in England, and to support those measures against the crown which already began to occupy his attention. So little, indeed, did he conceal his projects, that when his intention of returning to England was known, orders were sent to the Sheriffs of Cheshire, Shropshire, and Wales, directing them to oppose his landing; but he eluded all their vigilance, and soon appeared in London, leaving the administration of the Irish government to the Earl of Ormond as his deputy. After his defeat by the Lancastrians, at Blore Heath, in 1455, he fled to Ireland for shelter, and was received, not only with the respect due to a chief governor, but with a grateful remembrance of his former services. The duke had been formally attainted by a parliament of the successful party at Coventry; but that attainder did not diminish the fidelity of his Irish subjects, who declared almost unanimously in favour of their governor, and asserted

their determination to shed their blood in his cause. Writs were sent over to seize some of the leading Yorkists, and to bring them to justice; but the viceroy interposed his power, and the nullity of the king's authority was immediately obvious. He not only prevented the execution of these writs, but he prevailed upon an Irish parliament to enact a law, making it high treason for any person, under pretence of any writs, privy seals, or other authority, to attach or disturb the persons of strangers in Ireland. Nor was this law suffered to be inoperative; for an agent of the Earl of Ormond being sent into Ireland to attach some of the Yorkists by virtue of the king's writs, was instantly seized, condemned, and executed as a traitor.

The Duke of York remained in Ireland until 1460, when the success of his party at Northampton induced him to return to England. He arrived in London, accompanied by a great number of Irish adherents, and was declared successor to Henry by a parliament assembled for that purpose, and which was surrounded and intimidated by his forces. The ambitious and intriguing Margaret raised a powerful army in the north to oppose him in this assumption of regal authority, and the Duke of York, who hastened to meet this force with a very unequal one of his own, fell in the battle of Wakefield, and with him fell the proudest hopes of his party. The rest of the

reign of Henry VI. contains nothing with regard to Ireland that deserves to be recorded.

The reign of Edward IV. commenced in the year 1461, and in that year his Majesty's brother, George Duke of Clarence, was appointed to the Lieutenantancy of Ireland for life; but on the restoration of Henry VI. by the vigorous interposition of the Earl of Warwick in 1470, we find him created by a new patent Lord Lieutenant of Ireland for 20 years only. The Earl of Kildare was his deputy. Nothing memorable occurred during his vicegerency; and the same may be said of the brief reigns of Edward V. and Richard III.

Henry Earl of Richmond, after the battle of Bosworth Field, was elected King by the acclamations of his soldiers, and as he united in his own person all the presumed claims which had agitated the contending factions of York and Lancaster, his accession healed the wounds of civil war, and promised peace and security to the kingdom. That promise, indeed, was sometimes violated by occurrences, over which he had no controul, but which luckily were not important enough to involve permanently the tranquillity of the nation.

The Earl of Kildare was continued Lord Deputy of Ireland, and his brother Thomas Lord Chancellor; and this country was now pitched upon for the scene of a transaction which has not many parallels in history. One Lambert Simnel

had been artfully tutored by Richard Simon, a priest of Oxford, to revive the extinct claims of the house of York. A report prevailing that the Earl of Warwick, son of the late Duke of Clarence, who had been born in the castle of Dublin, had escaped from the tower. Simnel, who was a youth of comely and interesting appearance, was instructed to personate him, and to avoid any untoward mischance which might defeat the success of the scheme, Ireland was selected as the fit theatre of it's first exhibition. Simnel accordingly arrived at Dublin in 1486, and presented himself to the Lord Deputy as the son of Clarence, and he exclaimed vehemently against what he artfully pronounced the usurpation of the Earl of Richmond. The scheme was successful, and the news was soon spread abroad that the Earl of Warwick had arrived. The people of Dublin instantly declared in his favour, and their example was followed by all the nation, except the citizens of Waterford, the prelates of Cashel, Tuam, Clogher and Ossory, the family of Butler and the baron of Hoath. These, however, were unable successfully to oppose the popular contagion. In a few days Simnel was solemnly proclaimed king by the name of Edward VI. and the Earl of Kildare summoned the citizens of Waterford to proclaim the new king also. To this summons they returned an indignant answer, but the bearer of it was ordered to be hung. Meanwhile, Henry felt some alarm, and caused the captive Earl of Warwick to

be taken from the tower, and publicly led in procession through the streets of London, in order to convince the world that he was still a prisoner, and that Simnel was consequently a notorious impostor. This had no effect, however, in defeating the scheme, for Simnel was still more solemnly crowned in the cathedral of Christ church, Dublin, attended by the lord deputy, the officers of state, the English nobles, and all the adherents to the house of York. The young adventurer, to keep up the solemn mockery, summoned a parliament, in which laws were enacted and subsidies granted, and the utmost vengeance was denounced against all those who should presume to question his right to the throne. The city of Waterford was pre-eminently noticed in this denunciation of revenge, and its possessions and franchises were declared forfeited, in consequence of their pertinacious resistance to the new government. The ultimate issue of the business was, that Simnel, attended by a large force, and with many men of note in his train, landed in England in 1487, where Henry engaged with him near the village of Stoke, in the county of Nottingham, and, after a well contested battle, gained a complete victory. The greater part of Simnel's adherents fell in the conflict, and Simnel himself was taken prisoner, as well as his first instigator, Simon the priest. Simon was sent to prison, and there paid the forfeit of his crimes; but Simnel was reserved for a still deeper humiliation. He was consigned by

Henry to a menial situation in his kitchen; in which inglorious servitude the pseudo monarch passed the rest of his days. Meanwhile those Irish lords who had abetted his scheme, were busy in imploring and obtaining pardon from the king, whose deposition they would have accomplished if they could. It was the policy of Henry to grant them that pardon, and Kildare was accordingly retained in his government, with the assurance, however, that the continuance of royal grace would depend upon its future loyalty. This royal amnesty, however, did not entirely extinguish all the personal animosity that reigned between some of the contending nobles. Desmond, O'Carrol, M'Carthy, O'Nial, O'Donnel, and others, made war and peace with each other, as if they had been independent princes rather than tributary subjects. A curious specimen of the laconic correspondence between O'Nial and O'Donnel, on this occasion, is preserved by Plowden. *Send me tribute, or else* — was the message of O'Nial. *I owe you none, and if* — was the answer of O'Donnel.

It might have been supposed that after the unsuccessful issue of Simnel's imposture, no fresh attempt of a similar kind would have been made to disturb the possession of Henry; but the hopes of the party, whose ascendancy he had thwarted, were not wholly destroyed. In 1487, one Perkin Warbeck, the son of a Flemish Jew, was, by the intrigues of a party, selected to assume the cha-

racter of Richard Plantagenet, who was also supposed to have escaped from the tower. Ireland was likewise chosen as the fruitful source of this deception; but Henry hoped to frustrate the whole scheme, by the timely removal of the Earl of Kildare from his government, appointing Walter, Archbishop of Dublin, in his stead, who acted in the capacity of deputy to the Duke of Bedford. The dismissal of Kildare, involving in it many minor interests, produced various commotions in Ireland; and while the country was in that state of turbulence and disquiet, Perkin Warbeck landed on the southern coast in 1493, and appeared in the city of Cork as Richard Plantagenet, unattended by any troops or retinue whatever. He did not remain long in Ireland, but his stay was long enough to increase the jealousies and factions that already prevailed. The Archbishop of Dublin was summoned to England, to lay before the king a full and detailed account of all the acts of his administration, and Sir Edward Poyning was subsequently appointed to be deputy in Ireland, and was invested with extraordinary powers to hear all complaints and decide all controversies, to punish delinquency, to reward merit, and to put down all grounds of turbulence and discontent among the Irish. In 1495, he marched against Warbeck, under whose banners the Yorkists in Ireland had once more rallied, and defeated him, after which he summoned a parliament at Drogheda. In this parliament, numerous statutes

were passed, and among them that celebrated one, of which much will be said in the future pages of this work, called Poyning's Law, a law whose repeal was effected towards the close of the last century, and was hailed as the first signal of Irish independence. The history of this law should be minutely understood by all those who are desirous of distinctly comprehending some of the most important features in the last 50 years of Irish history; and the detail of it's origin and nature shall be here presented in the words of Mr. Plowden.

“ Twenty-three different statutes were enacted for the purposes of settling the validity of many former statutes and ordinances, which had been ordained by parliaments or conventions of contested jurisdiction, of securing the pale against the incursions of the Irish, of extending the English law throughout the whole of the island, and introducing several regulations for the internal management of that kingdom. To effectuate this, an act was passed, whereby all statutes made in England before that time were established and made of force in Ireland; and for keeping up in future a complete English ascendancy and controul in the English cabinet over the legislature of Ireland, it was enacted, *at the request of the Commons of the land of Ireland*, that no parliament should be there holden, ‘but at such season as the king's lieutenant and council should first certify to the king under the great seal of that

land, the causes and considerations, and all such acts as to them seemeth should pass in the same parliament, and such causes, considerations and acts affirmed by the king and his council to be good and expedient for that land, and his license thereupon, as well in affirmation of the said causes and acts, as to summon the said parliament under the great seal of England had and obtained.' No parliament was thenceforth to be holden in Ireland, but under this badge of submission to the English cabinet. Thus in the most extended view of the Irish legislature, was their parliament confined to a mere negative voice against the direction or approbation of the English cabinet. This limitation of the Irish parliament to the *Veto*, has from the time of it's passing been the constant theme of complaint from the Irish, and the occasion of too despotic a sway of the English government over the Irish parliament.

“ All the Irish patriots throughout the whole of the last century uniformly decry Poyning's law as a most unconstitutional national grievance. As this statute precluded any law from being proposed, but such as had been preconceived before the parliament was in being, which occasioned many inconveniences, and made frequent dissolutions necessary, it was provided by statute 3d and 4th of Philip and Mary, chap. 4, that any new proposition might be certified to England in the usual forms, even after the summons and dur-

ing the sessions of parliament. To remedy in some measure the inconvenience arising from these laws, the Irish lords and commons had adopted a mode of originating laws in their own houses. A lord or commoner applied to the house, of which he was a member, for leave to bring in the heads of a bill, which being granted by a majority of the house, the heads were proposed, received after a regular discussion, alteration, and amendment, and having passed through all the forms of parliamentary order, paragraph by paragraph, and being perfected to the satisfaction of the house, where they had originated, they were sent to the Irish privy council, in order to be transmitted to the King of England. If these heads of bills were transmitted to England by the Irish privy council (which was not always the case,) and were assented to by the king, they were then transmitted to Ireland, and if not negatived by either of the houses of parliament, they received a formal royal assent from the viceroy. These pre-legislative proceedings were incessantly complained of by the people of Ireland, as blighting in the bud the most promising fruit. When the heads of a bill prepared by the Irish lords or commons dissatisfied the council, or displeased the viceroy, they were arrested in their course to the throne, and were in the technical language of the council, 'put under the cushion,' whence they never reached the ear of majesty. When the heads (or practically speaking, the form or draught)

of the bill came certified from the Irish council to the king, it was immediately delivered to the attorney-general of England, to be perused and settled by himself, or the solicitor-general. It was, in fact, generally done by some conveyancing counsel, who had leisure to attend to it. In the year 1769, the inconveniency of this system was illustrated by a bill returned to Ireland, altered in 74 places, which had been successively revised by the late Lord Thurlow, when attorney-general, Lord Roslyn, when solicitor-general, and the late Mr. Macnamara, a chamber counsel. The bill so metamorphosed was rejected by the commons of Ireland. The temporary duties expired some weeks before a new bill could be perfected; and in the mean time the merchants imported duty free. The commissioners without any existing law levied the duties, seized the goods, and lodged them in the king's stores. The merchants with the *posse comitatus* broke open the stores, and the goods were conveyed away in triumph."

I shall not now stop to shew the virtual degradation to which the Irish people were reduced by the effects of a law such as this, as another opportunity will offer itself for that discussion.

In addition to various other legislative acts performed by this parliament, may be mentioned the attainder of the Earl of Kildare, and which attainder that Lord contrived to evade, with a singular mixture of frankness and intrepidity. He was summoned to England to answer his accusers,

he was admitted into the presence of the king. "I would advise you," said his majesty, "to provide yourself with counsel." "Yes," replied the Earl, "the ablest in the kingdom," and seizing hold of the king's hand, added, "I will take your highness for my counsel against these false knaves." The king was not displeased at this liberty, and still less was he displeased at the candid ascription to him of integrity which it implied. In the course of his trial, it was urged against him, that he had impiously and sacrilegiously burnt the church of Cashel. "I know I did," said Kildare, "but then I thought the archbishop was in it." When the trial was concluded, his prosecutors, feeling that they had not successfully proved their accusations, at least not to the satisfaction of the king, they said to him with all the bitterness of resentment, "that all Ireland could not govern that earl," to which Henry promptly replied, "then that earl shall govern all Ireland." And he was as good as his word, for he received him into favour again, and made him deputy of Ireland, in the place of Sir Edward Poynings; a generosity of conduct which Kildare justified by his subsequent gratitude, which was soon put to the test by the rebellion of Ulick Burke, Lord Clanricarde, who had married his daughter. That alliance, however, intimate as it was, did not impede him in the full discharge

of his duty. He collected his English forces, and met the rebel lord at Knockston, near Galway, whom he defeated with great slaughter, besides taking two of his sons prisoners. This was the last event of any importance which occurred during the reign of Henry VII.

CHAP. V.

Henry VIII.—The importance of his reign—Great events that took place during the 15th and 16th centuries—The protestant religion attempted to be introduced into Ireland—Reflections upon the policy of this measure, and the present disqualifications attached to the Catholics—Error of Dr. Mosheim with respect to the Ecclesiastical history of Ireland—Proceedings of Archbishop Browne—Reigns of Edward VI. of Mary, and of Elizabeth.

THE reign of Henry VIII. constitutes a new era in the histories both of England and of Ireland, and the age in which he lived may be said to constitute a new era in the history of mankind. It was during this period that an event took place, calculated to produce the most important results upon the destinies of human nature; an event whose consequences have not even yet ceased to operate upon the policy of European governments. I speak of the REFORMATION. It is not perhaps possible to name any period of time since the creation of the world, (if we except the appearance of our Saviour) in which so many great and extraordinary events occurred, as took place from the middle of the 15th to the middle of

the 16th century. Within that short period was discovered the art of printing, an invention which has contributed more than even christianity itself to civilize mankind; within that period also, a new world was discovered by Columbus, an event which has led to commercial results, which distinguish the present age beyond any preceding one; within that period a passage was discovered to the East Indies, by Vasco de Gama; and lastly, within that period, the Reformation was begun and established. In reference, therefore, to the history of Europe in general, the time to which the course of this work is now approaching, deserves peculiar consideration, and it equally deserves it in reference to our own history, for Henry VIII. was instrumental, I will not say exactly from any purity of motive, in introducing the reformed religion into these realms; and though he was certainly one of the foulest and most abhorred tyrants that ever sat upon the English throne, yet it cannot be forgotten, that from him, impure as the source may have been, flowed all those blessings which we now enjoy as a protestant people, governed by a protestant king, and protected by laws which support a protestant establishment. The wisdom of Providence is shewn in nothing more than in that power which belongs to it, of educing real good from apparent evil; and while our ancestors were groaning beneath the tyranny of Henry VIII. they knew not that they were enduring a monarch, through whose vanity

would be entailed upon their posterity the most substantial of political advantages.

But there is another point of view in which the reign of Henry VIII. may be regarded as peculiarly important, and that is with respect to Ireland; for by establishing the reformed religion in England, and by endeavouring to establish it in Ireland, he drew that line of demarcation between the people of the two countries, which has so long constituted, and does still constitute the most fruitful source of dissention and discontent. When the reformers had become so impressed with the abuses of the catholic religion, as to attempt its purification, they immediately felt that the one which they proposed to substitute in its stead, was too opposite in its principles, cordially to coalesce with it as a political establishment. In every country, therefore, where the reformed faith was introduced, and where a part of the population still adhered to the catholic persuasion, it was found necessary to secure the former by all the guards and conditions which penal and prohibitory statutes could provide. These statutes bore with all their weight upon those subjects who were presumed to be inevitably and necessarily hostile to the religion of the state. As, however, the protestant persuasion was introduced principally into those countries where the great majority were favourable to it, and where consequently nothing very serious was to be apprehended from the machinations of the dissenting catholic, it was not always necessary

to oppress them with the actual operation of those laws, the enactment of which was dictated by sound policy. But the case was very different in Ireland, where the great majority of the people were catholic, and a very small number had embraced the new doctrines. There it was to be apprehended nothing could secure the smaller proportion from the most dreadful persecutions, but the vigorous and effective interposition of penal laws. As the establishment of the protestant religion was held to be of singular importance as a measure of state policy, and as it was impossible to insure obedience from recusants, by the liberal medium of argument and reasoning, there remained no alternative but to enforce it by the terrors of the law. It is the unquestionable right of every government to legislate for the people, and to compel the observance of those measures which may be considered conducive to the interests of the whole.

While, however, we admit this, there is another principle which cannot easily be denied, and that is, that the majority should always prevail over the minority. The condition of the Irish catholics, however, is wholly subversive of this principle, and hence Johnson, with all his bigotry, pronounced them to be in an unnatural state. The most zealous supporters of right must allow the operation of this maxim upon the human mind, that the feelings and wishes of the many ought to controul and govern those of the few;

and any body of men acting together, will necessarily act upon this maxim in all questions of great and vital moment affecting themselves. Now if we apply this principle to the Irish roman catholics, what is the necessary result? In the reign of Charles II. according to the calculations of Sir Wm. Petty, the roman catholics were supposed to be as eleven to two of the whole population. In the present day, as the number of protestants has considerably increased, especially in Ulster, they have been estimated at only about two thirds of the whole population; but at the period of the Reformation, they were probably as eleven to one. What then, it may be asked, in the spirit of liberal policy, ought to have been the religion of a country in which so great a majority of the people were catholics? In which so great a majority of the people were professing that religion, which at the time was the religion of all Europe, and was held to be the only true religion? The answer is immediately obvious, and it could not have failed to present itself with strong features to the minds of the Irish catholics at the time of the Reformation. Acting then from that conviction of propriety which the impression of this truth would necessarily create, the Irish would feel themselves politically aggrieved by the operation of those laws which were passed against them at various periods subsequently to the Reformation, and they would feel themselves more than justified in every act of opposition to them. In adverting, there-

fore, to that inherent right, which, it may be presumed, every government possesses, to legislate for its subjects, let us not forget that inherent right, which also centers in the people, to demand that the interests of the whole, or nearly the whole, should predominate over the few. Thus much it was thought necessary to say, as a desirable introduction to a period of Irish history, from which may be dated the origin of those causes which have so calamitously operated through the whole of the last three centuries.

Henry succeeded his father in the year 1509, and in the 19th year of his age. With respect to the interests of Ireland, he was not very attentive to them. Kildare and the other ministers of state were continued in office; but the death of the former happened in 1513, when his son Gerald was elected as his successor, and distinguished himself by the vigour and activity of his government. These virtues did not go unrewarded by Henry; but the honours conferred upon him by his monarch, excited the envy of Peter Butler, Earl of Ormond, who sought to undermine him in the royal favour, by paying servile adulation and court to Cardinal Wolsey, through whose capacious channel all the streams of regal bounty flowed. His treachery was not unsuccessful, for the deputy was summoned to England, to answer for his conduct, and Thomas, Earl of Surry, substituted in his place: This nobleman discharged his high functions with great distinction, and after

a residence of two years in Ireland, he was succeeded by Ormond himself, who was destined, in his turn, to fall before the intrigues of the man whom he had formerly displaced by his own. His government being not satisfactory to the people, the Earl of Kildare transmitted complaints of it to the English court, and was appointed to succeed him. But his honours were not permanent. The King of France, who was then at war with Henry, endeavoured to harass and distress him, by proposing to enter into a treaty with Earl Desmond, whose turbulent insurrections had already caused much trouble and anxiety to the English government. Henry, justly irritated at this, issued his commands to Kildare, and ordered him to seize Desmond; but Kildare, from a sentiment of partiality towards his kinsman, affected only to obey the order without substantially doing so. This conduct was represented to Henry, whose haughty and imperious mind was soon inflamed by it, and the deputy was cast into prison, from which he was enlarged with much difficulty. On the death of Wolsey, however, he regained his former height and favour, and felt himself established in the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland with so much security, that he hardly considered himself as wielding only a viceregal sceptre, but aspired to all the independent dignity of an Irish chieftain. Henry, however, could brook no rival near the throne, nor at a distance from it; and the aspiring deputy was peremptorily summoned

to England, to answer his accusers, being ordered at the same time to entrust his government to some one, for whose conduct he could be responsible. Unfortunately, he entrusted it to his son, Lord Thomas Fitzgerald, an amiable and interesting youth, then only in his 21st year. When Kildare arrived in London, he was committed to the Tower, and a report was immediately circulated that he had been beheaded there. This rumour no sooner reached his son, than it drove him into a state of open and avowed rebellion, which, after various successes and reverses, was at last quelled by Sir Wm. Skeffington. O'Nial and O'Connor, who had joined in it, made their submission to Henry, and Lord Thomas was promised his pardon, provided he repaired to England, and made his submission to the king personally. He confided in the integrity of Henry, and went over to England; but he was arrested on his way to Windsor, committed to the Tower, and soon afterwards tried and executed as a rebel.

Henry, with that liberal spirit of tyrannous subjugation which so conspicuously marked every act of his reign, affected to regard the suppression of this rebellion as a species of new conquest of the country, and seriously debated with his council, whether he had not acquired by that new conquest a right to seize on all the temporal and spiritual estates in the kingdom. Consistently also with the sanguinary features of his character, his mind brooded over schemes of murderous revenge

against the whole race and lineage of Kildare. The new deputy of Ireland, Lord Gray, received positive orders from Henry to seize the five uncles of Lord Thomas Fitzgerald, and send them prisoners to London. To add to the nefarious character of this transaction, it was a matter of notoriety, that three out of these five wholly disapproved of their nephew's proceedings, and though the other two had partially countenanced and abetted them, yet they were justified in expecting a pardon, from the general nature of the treaty entered into with the rebels. Upon this presumption they acted, and accepted an invitation from Lord Gray to a banquet, at which they were treacherously and basely captured, sent to London, and there executed for high treason. Gerald, a youth under 12 years of age, and brother to Lord Thomas, was rescued from the vengeance of the king by his guardian, who conveyed him secretly to Cardinal Pole, then in Italy, and who received the young Lord as his kinsman, educated him suitably to his birth, and preserved him to regain the honours of the family of Kildare. The old earl, it is said, died in his prison through grief at the multiplied disasters that had fallen upon his family and house; and it will afford some satisfaction to the reader to learn, that Lord Gray, the treacherous slave of a treacherous master, did not long survive his perfidy, for he was himself beheaded on Tower-hill, for having been engaged in some conspiracy against the king; so true it is

that “even-handed justice returns the poisoned chalice to our own lips,” and so true also is it, that a mind degraded enough to act in subserviency to baseness, is already sufficiently corrupted to be base itself.

In 1535, Henry began the great work of reformation in Ireland, upon which transaction the learned Mosheim, in the 4th volume of his Ecclesiastical History, has the following observations :

“The cause of the Reformation underwent in Ireland the same vicissitudes and revolutions that had attended it in England. When Henry VIII. after the abolition of the papal authority, was declared *supreme head, upon earth, of the church of England*, George Brown, a native of *England*, and a monk of the Augustine order, whom that monarch had created, in the year 1535, archbishop of *Dublin*, began to act with the utmost rigour in consequence of this change in the hierarchy. He purged the churches of his diocese from superstition in all its various forms, pulled down images, destroyed relics, abolished absurd and idolatrous rites, and, by the influence, as well as authority, he had in Ireland, caused the king's *supremacy* to be acknowledged in that nation*.

* The learned and pious primate Usher, in his *Memoirs of the Ecclesiastical Affairs of Ireland*, speaks of Bishop Brown in the following manner: ‘George Brown was a man of a cheerful countenance, in his acts and deeds plain downright, to the poor merciful and compassionate, pitying the state and condition of the souls of the people, and advising them, when

Henry shewed, soon after, that this supremacy was not a vain title; for he banished the monks out of that kingdom, confiscated their revenues, and destroyed their convents. In the reign of Edward VI. still farther progress was made in the removal of popish superstitions, by the zealous labours of Bishop Brown, and the auspicious encouragement he granted to all who exerted themselves in the cause of the Reformation. But the death of this excellent prince, and the accession of his sister to the throne, changed the face of things in *Ireland*, as it did in *England**. Mary

he was provincial of the Augustine order in *England*, to make their application solely to Christ; which advice coming to the ears of Henry VIII. he became a favourite, and was made Archbishop of *Dublin*. Within five years after he enjoyed that see, he caused all superstitious relics and images to be removed out of the two cathedrals in *Dublin*, and out of all the churches in his diocese; and caused the *Ten Commandments*, the *Lord's Prayer*, and the *Creed*, to be placed in gilded frames about the altars. He was the first that turned from the Romish religion of the clergy here in *Ireland*, to embrace the Reformation of the Church of England.' See a very curious pamphlet in the fifth volume of the *Harleian Miscellany*, p. 558, intitled *Historical Collections of the Church of Ireland*, &c.

* Here Dr. Mosheim has fallen into a mistake, by not distinguishing between the *designs* of the Queen, which were indeed cruel, and their *execution*, which was happily and providentially prevented. This appears from a very singular and comical adventure, of which the account, as it has been copied from the papers of Richard, Earl of Cork, and is to be found among the manuscripts of Sir James Ware, is as follows:

'Queen Mary having dealt severely with the protestants in *England*, about the latter end of her reign, signed a commission

pursued with fire and sword, and all the marks of unrelenting vengeance, the promoters of a pure and rational religion, and deprived Brown and other protestant bishops of their dignities in the church. But the reign of Elizabeth gave a new and deadly blow to popery, which was again recovering its force, and arming itself anew with the authority of the throne; and the Irish were obliged again to submit to the form of worship and discipline established in *England*."

for to take the same course with them in *Ireland*; and, to execute the same with greater force, she nominated Dr. Cole one of the commissioners. This doctor coming with the commission to *Chester* on his journey, the Mayor of that city, hearing that her majesty was sending a messenger into *Ireland*, and he being a churchman, waited on the doctor, who, in a discourse with the mayor, taketh out of a cloak-bag a leather box, saying unto him, *Here is a commission that shall lash the heretics of Ireland* (calling the protestants by that title). The good woman of the house, being well affected to the protestant religion, and also having a brother, named John Edmonds, of the same, then a citizen in *Dublin*, was much troubled at the doctor's words; but watching her convenient time, while the mayor took his leave, and the doctor complimented him down the stairs, she opens the box, takes the commission out, and places in lieu thereof a sheet of paper, with a pack of cards wrapt up therein, the knave of clubs being faced uppermost. The doctor coming up to his chamber, suspecting nothing of what had been done, put up the box as formerly. The next day going to the water side, wind and weather serving him, he sails towards *Ireland*, and landed on the 7th October, 1558, at *Dublin*. Then coming to the castle, the Lord Fitz-Walters being lord deputy, sent for him to come before him and the privy council: who, coming in, after he had made a speech

This Brown being appointed to the archiepiscopal see of Dublin, was sent over with other commissioners specially instructed and appointed, to confer with the clergy and nobility, in order to procure a general acknowledgment of the king's spiritual supremacy. The task, however, was found much more difficult than was suspected; for, as has been observed, "the true Irish have ever been enthusiastically tenacious of their religion." The first person who openly declared against this assumption on the part of the King of England was Cromer, Primate of Armagh, an Englishman by birth, and who held, at that time,

relating upon what account he came over, he presents the box unto the lord deputy, who, causing it to be opened, that the secretary might read the commission, there was nothing save a pack of cards with the knave of clubs uppermost; which not only startled the lord deputy and council, but the doctor, who assured them he had a commission, but knew not how it was gone; then the lord deputy made answer, *Let us have another commission, and we will shuffle the cards in the meanwhile.* The doctor being troubled in his mind, went away, and returned into England; and coming to the court, obtained another commission; but staying for a wind on the water side, news came to him that the queen was dead; and thus God preserved the protestants of Ireland.

' Queen Elizabeth was so delighted with this story, which was related to her by Lord Fitz-Walter on his return to England, that she sent for Elizabeth Edmonds, whose husband's name was Mattershad, and gave her a pension of forty pounds during her life. See Cox, *Hibernia Anglicana, or History of Ireland*, &c. vol. ii. p. 308. *Harleian Miscellany*, vol. v. p. 568.'

the office of chancellor. He summoned the suffragans and clergy of his province, and exhorted them to adhere with unbending perseverance to the sanctity and supremacy of the apostolic chair. Nor did he stop here. He immediately dispatched two emissaries to Rome to represent the danger of the Church, and to entreat the interposition of the pontiff. Meanwhile Archbishop Brown was indefatigable in his endeavours to accomplish the object of his mission; but finding obstructions greater than he could overcome, he recommended that a parliament should be summoned, which was accordingly done on the first of May, 1536. The king found the Irish parliament obsequious, notwithstanding the stubborn prejudices of the people. All the acts which it passed were mere transcripts of the English statutes upon the same subjects. The king was declared supreme head on earth of the church of Ireland; all appeals to Rome in spiritual cases was annulled; and among other enactments, the authority of the Bishop of Rome was solemnly renounced, and the maintainers of it in Ireland made subject to a præmunire. Nor did their accommodating spirit stop here. The same parliament annulled the marriage of the king with Catharine of Arragon, and confirmed the sentence of separation which had been pronounced by the Archbishop of Canterbury. In order, however, to get rid of a potent opposition to the establishment of the royal supremacy, a previous act was passed to exclude

from parliament the two proctors from every diocese, who had usually attended parliaments in Ireland; but this was justly regarded by the nation as an act of most tyrannical oppression.

Archbishop Brown found all his zeal insufficient for maintaining the cause of reformation even in the seat of government, yet every thing was done that could be done partaking of violence and fanatic zeal. Cathedrals were burned, relicks were destroyed, and the national religion insulted in every possible way. But this violence of persecution was attended with its inevitable result, that of defeating the purpose it was intended to promote; and religion soon became the pretext for rebellions of a more sanguinary nature than any that had yet disgraced or wasted that unhappy country. O'Nial, O'Bryan, and other Irish chieftains, rose up in arms, but they were subdued, and submitted to Henry, who was not ignorant of that policy which consists in subjecting men by favours rather than by arms. He conferred upon the discontented chiefs titles and dignities, that *money of opinion*, as Montesquieu calls it, which never exhausts the treasury of a king; and in order the more effectually to reconcile them to the English government, he granted to each of the newly-created peers a house and lands near Dublin, for their more convenient attendance on the lord-lieutenant and the parliament. By these means he at least made the reformation to a cer-

tain degree popular with the higher orders, however little it might be so with the lower.

In 1542, Henry made another step towards the subjugation of the country. His predecessors hitherto had been satisfied with the title of Lords of Ireland; but Henry caused an Irish parliament to enact, that “forasmuch as the king and his progenitors ever rightfully enjoyed all authority royal by the name of Lords of Ireland, but for lack of the title of King were not duly obeyed, his highness and his heirs for ever should have the style and honour of *King* of Ireland, and that it should be deemed high treason to impeach that title, or to oppose the royal authority.” If, as Mirabeau once said in the national assembly of France, *words are things*, then there might be some wisdom in this change of title on the part of Henry; but I should doubt, and history sanctions the doubt, whether either he or his successors governed actually with more vigour, or were obeyed with more diligence, as Kings than of Lords of Ireland. This careful preservation of dignity, however, was not the only business of note transacted by the parliament. They passed a very wise and salutary law, which provided, that electors were in future to be possessed of freeholds of 40s. a year, and that such as were elected for counties, cities, and towns, should be resident in the places for which they were elected. Every legislative arrangement, however, failed in com-

pletely subduing the people. There still existed a marked distinction between those who lived within and those who lived without the pale; that is, between the native Irish and the English settlers; for, while the latter were bound by the regulations instituted by the government, the former frequently set them at defiance, considering their rulers as aliens, and their controul as tyranny. The condition to which such a regulation necessarily reduced the country at this period is thus described by Sir John Davies. "For all this while, the provinces of Connaught and Ulster, and a good parte of Leinster, were not reduced to shire ground. And though Munster were anciently divided into counties, the people were so degenerate, as no justice of assize durst execute his commission amongst them. None of the Irish lords or tenants were settled in their possessions by anie graunt or confirmation of the crowne, except the three great earls before named; who, notwithstanding, did govern their tenants and followers by the Irish or Brehon law, so as no treason, murther, rape, or theft, committed in those countries, was inquired of or punished by the law of England." And he also remarks, "That the abbies and religious houses in Tyrone, Tirconnel, and Fermanagh, though they were dissolved in the 33d year of Henry VIII. were never surveyed or reduced into charge, but were continually possessed by religious persons until the reign of James I."

No other transaction worthy of record occurred during the remainder of Henry's reign, who died in 1546, and was succeeded by his son, Edward VI. during whose short administration of government we also find nothing that requires to be related. When his sister Mary ascended the throne in 1553, she restored the civil establishment of the catholic religion, and by that act secured, to a certain degree, the pacific conduct of the Irish. Her reign was short, and not very eventful, as far as Ireland was concerned; but when Elizabeth, her sister, succeeded to the crown of England, events of greater importance took place.

“The education of Elizabeth,” says Hume, “as well as her interest, led her to favour the Reformation; and she remained not long in suspense with regard to the party she should embrace; but though determined in her own mind, she resolved to proceed by gradual and secure steps, and not to imitate the example of Mary in encouraging the bigots of her party to make immediately a violent invasion on the established religion.” This, it must be allowed, was a wise and prudent policy, and she adopted a similar one towards Ireland. No sooner, however, was it known that she had declared for the Reformation than a general discontent prevailed throughout that country. The Earl of Sussex was at this time lord-lieutenant, and had contrived, with a garrison of 320 horse and 1360 foot, to preserve a tolerable degree of order and quiet. In-

structions were sent out to him, in Cecil's own hand-writing, desiring him to make a survey of all the lands spiritual and temporal, and ordering that none should be let but upon the best estimate of their value. It was also ordered, that the lands of Leix and Offaly should be sold to the best advantage of the queen and the country. By this measure a universal spirit of turbulence and insubordination was excited. In Leinster particularly, the survivors of the old families of Leix and Offaly considered themselves as iniquitously deprived of their possessions, and they were stimulated to every species of hostility against the new grantees of their lands.

The first and greatest object, however, of Elizabeth was to promote the success of the reformed religion in Ireland, and in doing which she was disposed to go even greater lengths than had been attempted by her father; for she wished to dogmatize in certain-obscure matters of faith. Some of her intended measures, indeed, were so strong that she felt even the Irish parliament would be in hostility towards her, unless she previously adopted some state manœuvre to secure the success of them. She accordingly ordered the lord-lieutenant to predispose the minds of the members in favour of what she intended to do, and she directed writs to be issued to the representatives of ten counties instead of six, as had hitherto been the case. With all these precautionary steps she felt herself pretty secure of a majority, and

a parliament was therefore convened in the second year of her reign; in which parliament it was enacted, that the spiritual jurisdiction should be restored to the crown, that all the acts of her sister Mary, which related to the civil establishment of the Roman Catholic religion, should be revoked; that the queen should be authorised to appoint commissioners to exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction; that the oath of supremacy should be taken by all ministers and officers, whether ecclesiastical or lay, on pain of forfeiture and total incapacity; that any person who should in any way maintain the spiritual supremacy of the Bishop of Rome, or aid or abet its being maintained, should forfeit for the first offence all his estates real or personal, or if not worth 20l. should be confined in prison for one year; that he should incur a præmunire for the second offence; and that the third offence should be declared high treason; that the use of the Common Prayer should be enforced in Ireland the same as in England; that every person should attend the established church and the new service under pain of ecclesiastical censure, and the forfeiture of twelve pence for every offence, to be levied by the churchwardens by distress of the lands or chattels of the defaulter; that the first fruits and twentieths of all church revenues should be restored to the crown; and that the old writ and form of *congé d'elire* should be superseded by the king's letters patent, by which in future all collations to vacant sees

were to be made. These ordinances were followed by another, which recognized the queen's title to the crown, making it a case of præmunire to speak, and of treason to write, against it. This parliament sat from the 12th of January to the 12th of February, 1560.

It must not be supposed that laws so comprehensive and of such vital importance as these could pass without exciting considerable opposition. So great indeed was this opposition that Sussex was glad to get rid of it by dissolving the parliament, and hastening to England to inform the queen minutely of the particulars. Meanwhile the impolicy of endeavouring to enforce modes of faith became quickly visible. A very just picture of the state of Ireland at this period was exhibited by the late Lord Clare, in his speech in the Irish House of Lords, on the 10th of February, 1800. "It seems difficult," says he, "to conceive any more unjust or impolitic act of government than an attempt to force new modes of religious faith and worship, by severe penalties, upon a rude, superstitious, and unlettered people. Persecutions or attempts to force conscience will never produce conviction. They are calculated only to make hypocrites or martyrs; and accordingly the violence committed by the regency of Edward, and continued by Elizabeth, to force the reformed religion on Ireland, had no other effect than to foment a general disaffection to the English government; a disaffection so ge-

neral as to induce Philip II. of Spain to attempt partial descents on the southern coasts of this island, preparatory to his meditated attack upon England."

There is perhaps no problem of government more difficult to solve, or one which requires more mature reflection in acting upon it, than that of establishing a mode of faith upon an abstract view of its propriety. To innovate upon the ideas of mankind is a dangerous experiment, and has perhaps never been successfully effected. Persecution for opinions, where all opinions must be dubious, is the sure characteristic of an unenlightened age, and has been productive of more misery to the human race than any other system. The principles of toleration, indeed, seem to be too little understood, even in the present age; and we find in our own country a virtual system of persecution, which in its spirit would have been worthy of the most bigoted period of the history of the world. Intolerance seems, indeed, to be a vice which nothing can wholly extirpate from the human mind; for we find those who preach it up most warmly still guilty of it in some way or other. Thus Milton has justly observed, that "it is more wholesome, more prudent, and more christian that many be tolerated rather than all compelled." Yet, he immediately adds, "I mean not tolerated popery and open superstition; which as it extirpates all religious and civil supremacies, so itself should be extirpated." A similar mode

of argument is too often pursued by others who would plead the cause of toleration. They are tolerant to what they wish, intolerant to what they hate. The following observations upon the policy of England with respect to tolerating religion are from the pen of the Rev. CHRISTOPHER WYVILL, an amiable and enlightened supporter of freedom of opinion.

“ In the British empire, the struggle between the friends of religious freedom and the powers of intolerance has been long, and in different reigns attended with various success. Under the government of Cromwell, who probably was influenced chiefly by political considerations, a toleration was maintained for a few years against a decided majority of almost every sect. In the reign of the first of the restored Stuarts, protestant intolerance seems to have prevailed against the will of the monarch; and in that of his bigot brother popish tolerance was insidiously displayed in proclamations against the laws, and against the wish of the established church. Under the tolerant William, the famous but imperfect Act of Toleration passed; but in about ten years the same prince was obliged, also, to consent to laws enacting fresh severities against anti-trinitarian and Roman Catholic Christians. In the reign of Anne, the new toleration was scarcely maintained; and under the two succeeding sovereigns religious rancour was abated, but no legal diminution of those or of similar severities was ef-

fects in England; and fresh severities were enacted by the parliament of Ireland. But in the present reign a melioration of the temper and principles of the nation, in that respect, has been proved by successive relaxations in the code of persecution in England and in Ireland. These concessions in favour of the rights of conscience were considerable, and they were obtained in the parliament of England chiefly by the efforts of a most distinguished patriot*, and of a great philosophical statesman † now no more; and in that of Ireland by an illustrious and still surviving benefactor ‡ of his countrymen, to whom the friends of humanity and liberty are deeply indebted, and cannot sufficiently express their feelings of gratitude and respect. By the influence, or with the approbation, of those generous and enlightened men, applications were addressed to each parliament, at different periods, for relief from some of the pains and penalties of our intolerant code; and those applications were grounded, not on the principles of duty, but on considerations of policy, or on the feelings of humanity. At that time, when government was disposed to repeal some of the most injurious statutes of that code, it was wisely done not to press a principle too extensive for the subsisting prejudices of the public or of the legislature, but ra-

* Sir George Saville.

† The Right Hon. Charles James Fox.

‡ Right Hon. Henry Grattan.

ther to propose, on narrower grounds, some partial concession, which they might hope to gain by the assistance of government, from the imperfect candour of the times. By attempting more at those periods, by insisting on a complete restoration of the rights of conscience immediately and at once, our excellent patriots would have lost those opportunities to raze to the ground some of the bulwarks of persecution. By availing themselves, with their accustomed wisdom, of those favourable moments, they lost nothing in principle; they gained every thing in practice which it was possible then to gain; and upon the whole, by their partial successes, an important advance was gradually made towards the extinction of intolerance."

Had Elizabeth and her successors acted upon a wise and liberal system of policy with regard to religious toleration, Ireland would never have been that devoted country which she has, and England would have found in her a generous friend instead of a sullen and discontented subject. By the ordinances which were passed in the first parliament, and which have been already recited, the people were provoked because of the violence which they offered to their religious opinions; and while she inflamed the one party, she was bitterly inveighed against by the partizans of Rome as a heretic. Nonconforming clergymen abandoned their cures, and no reformed ministers could be found to supply them. The

consequence was, that the churches fell into ruin; the people were left without religious worship, and the laws that had been passed were either neglected or evaded with impunity. In this manner the affairs of that country went on for several years, injury still being added to injury and insult to insult. In 1569 another statute was enacted, by which the lord lieutenant was empowered to present to all the dignities of Munster and Connaught for ten years; and an act also for the attainder of Shane O'Neile and the extinguishment of the name of O'Neile, and the entitling of the queen's majesty, her heirs and successors, to the county of Tyrone, and to other countries and territories in Ulster. There were some accompaniments to this measure, which seemed to be studiously intended as an insult to the feelings of the Irish nation. Among other things, it asserts the title of the English monarch to the sovereignty of Ireland, as being paramount to the Milesian race of kings, urging in support of this ridiculous pretence a fabulous tale of one King Gurmonde, "son to the noble King Belan, of Great Britain, who was lord of Bayonne, in Spain, as many of his successors were to the time of Henry II. who possessed the island afore the coming of Irishmen into the said land." When we remember that the Irish were a race of people peculiarly alive to the pride of ancestry and to the authenticity of their national traditions, we cannot be surprised that this direct legislative

denial of all that they most fondly believed should have irritated their minds, and concurred with other causes to goad them into rebellion.

The Irish had a cordial hatred for Elizabeth, and it is well known that Elizabeth felt as little affection for them. Her character was violent and imperious, and excessively impatient of opposition; and it may be judged, therefore, how little she would be disposed to brook the unsuccessful issue of her attempts to establish an English settlement in Ulster upon the forfeited lands there. Hurried on by the warmth of her resentments, she equally afforded grounds of dissatisfaction even to her own subjects within the pale. She commanded Sir Henry Sidney, her lieutenant, to impose, by the mere authority of council, a new tax by the way of composition for the charge of purveyance, which amounted to about 12*l.* for every plough land. This excited great discontent, and the inhabitants of the pale, finding no redress from their governors, assembled and deliberated upon their grievances. The result of their deliberation was a deputation of three confidential agents to her majesty, with a written memorial of their case. These deputies, however, instead of obtaining redress, were committed to the Fleet prison, as contumacious opposers of the royal authority; and the queen ordered Sidney to imprison every person who should offer any opposition to the new tax, and to dismiss all her servants who “ had been present at the original com-

plaint, and neglected to maintain her prerogative." There were many notwithstanding, and those of the highest note, who persisted in remonstrating against what they considered as an unconstitutional mode of taxation, but they were immediately committed to close confinement in the castle; and the deputies in England, applying a second time to the queen, were removed to the Tower, an imprisonment which implied that their offence was treasonable. These arbitrary proceedings excited the alarm of the whole Irish nation, and the menacing attitude which they assumed intimidated the imperious princess. The deputies in England were released, as were also those who had been confined in the castle at Dublin; an act of justice to which she was impelled, not from any conviction of its propriety, but from apprehensions which she already began to have of that hostility from Spain, which she expected as a retaliatory measure for her fomenting and supporting the rebellion in the Netherlands.

Her apprehensions were not wholly unfounded. The insurrection of Desmond was yet unsubdued, when Philip sent, under the name of the pope, a body of 700 Spaniards and Italians into Ireland, on the coast of Kerry, where the Spanish general, San Josepho, built a fort. They brought with them ammunition and arms for 5000 men; but being besieged by the Earl of Ormond, who was President of Munster, and by Lord Gray, who was then the queen's lieutenant, they made

but a very weak and cowardly resistance, and after feebly sustaining some assaults, they surrendered at discretion. They were, however, afterwards all massacred in cold blood; an atrocious crime, committed, according to some historians, under the direction of Lord Gray, and according to others, under that of Sir Walter Raleigh. Whoever committed the foul and barbarous outrage, it is certain that the queen was greatly displeased at it, though it was attempted to be justified by the imperious circumstance of the inferiority of numbers on the side of victory.

In 1586 the second session of parliament, which had been assembled in 1584, took place, and in it a bill of attainder was passed against the Earl of Desmond, including also about 140 of his accomplices, all whose estates were forfeited. In the same year Elizabeth entered upon her favourite project, that of wholly extirpating the original population of the country by colonizing it with English settlers. She began with the province of Munster. "Letters," says Plowden, "were written to every county in England, to encourage younger brothers to become undertakers or adventurers in Ireland. Estates were offered in fee at a small acreable rent of three-pence, and in some places at two-pence, to commence at the end of three years; and one half only of these rents was to be demanded for the three following. Seven years were to be allowed to complete the plantation. The undertaker for 12,000

acres was to plant 86 families on his estates; those who engaged for less seigniories were to provide in proportion. None of the native Irish were to be admitted among their tenantry. Amongst other advantages, they were assured that garrisons should be stationed on their frontiers for their protection, and commissioners appointed to decide their controversies. Sir Christopher Hatton, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Thomas Norris, Sir Waham Saintleger, Sir George Bouchier, and others of less note, received ample grants."

The result of this measure was so little like what was anticipated by Elizabeth that she found it necessary to appoint some vigorous person as lord-lieutenant, whose wisdom and general talents might put an end to the confused and deplorable state of affairs in Ireland. The person upon whom she pitched as the one fittest for that purpose was her favourite, the young Earl of Essex, whose personal accomplishments and chivalrous character had gained a complete ascendancy over the feelings of the queen. Essex, as the favourite of the queen, had of course many enemies at court, and many rivals, among whom the most powerful were Burleigh and Raleigh, who sagaciously foreseeing what would be the inevitable consequence of any attempt to subdue Ireland by force, artfully encouraged their sovereign to send him out there, in the confident expectation that he would necessarily fall into some dilemma, from which they might work his ruin. At all events, if this

did not ensue, they would at least succeed in removing from about the person of the queen a rival whom they both hated and feared. That Essex was much beloved, or at least that he was popular, and that much was expected from him, may be inferred from the following lines in the chorus to the fifth act of Henry V. where Shakspeare alludes to his expected return as a matter of general triumph and desire.

“ But now behold,
In the quick forge and working-house of thought,
How London doth pour out her citizens!
The mayor, and all his brethren, in best sort,—
Like to the senators of the antique Rome,
With the plebeians swarming at their heels,—
Go forth, and fetch their conquering Cæsar in:
As, by a lower but by loving likelihood,
Were now the general of our gracious empress,
(As, in good time, he may,) from Ireland coming,
Bringing rebellion broached on his sword,
How many would the peaceful city quit,
To welcome him?”

Essex departed for his Irish government in the month of March, 1599. Besides a magnificent retinue, he was attended by about 150 persons of distinction. The condition of the country at the period of his arrival is thus ably portrayed by Hume.

“ Though the dominion of the English over Ireland had been established above four centuries, it may safely be affirmed, that their authority had hitherto been little more than nominal. The Irish princes and nobles, divided among themselves,

readily paid the exterior marks of obeisance to a power which they were not able to resist; but, as no durable force was ever kept on foot to retain them to their duty, they relapsed still into their former state of independence. Too weak to introduce order and obedience among the rude inhabitants, the English authority was yet sufficient to check the growth of any enterprizing genius among the natives. And though it could bestow no true form of civil government, it was able to prevent the rise of any such form from the internal combination or policy of the Irish.

“ Most of the English institutions likewise, by which that island was governed, were to the last degree absurd, and such as no state before had ever thought of, for the preserving dominion over its conquered provinces.

“ The English nation, all on fire for the project of subduing France, a project whose success was the most improbable, and would to them have proved the most pernicious, neglected all other enterprizes, to which their situation so strongly invited them, and which, in time, would have brought them an accession of riches, grandeur, and security. The small army which they maintained in Ireland, they never supplied regularly with pay; and as no money could be levied from the island, which possessed none, they gave their soldiers the privilege of free quarter upon the natives. Rapine and insolence inflamed the hatred which prevailed between the conquerors and the

conquered: want of security among the Irish, introducing despair, nourished still farther the sloth, so natural to that uncultivated people.

“ But the English carried farther their ill-judged tyranny. Instead of inviting the Irish to adopt the more civilized customs of their conquerors, they even refused, though earnestly solicited, to communicate to them the privilege of their laws, and every where marked them out as aliens and as enemies. Thrown out of the protection of justice, the natives could find no security but in force; and flying the neighbourhood of cities, which they could not approach with safety, they sheltered themselves in their marshes and forests from the insolence of their inhuman masters: being treated like wild beasts, they became as such; and joining the ardour of revenge to their yet untamed barbarity, they grew every day more intractable and dangerous.

“ As the English princes deemed the conquest of the dispersed Irish to be more the object of time and patience than the source of military glory, they willingly delegated that office to private adventurers, who enlisting soldiers at their own charge, conquered provinces of that island, which they converted to their own profit. Separate jurisdictions and principalities were established by these lordly conquerors: the power of peace and war was assumed: military law was exercised over the Irish, whom they subdued, and, by degrees, over the English, by whose assistance they

conquered: and after their dominion had once taken root, deeming the English institutions less favourable to barbarous empire, they degenerated into mere Irish, and abandoned the garb, language, manners, and laws of their native country.

“ By all this imprudent conduct of England, the natives of it's dependant state remained still in that abject condition, into which the northern and western parts of Europe were sunk, before they received civility and slavery from the refined policy and irresistible bravery of Rome. Even at the end of the sixteenth century, when every christian nation was cultivating with ardour every civil art of life, that island, lying in a temperate climate, enjoying a fertile soil, accessible in it's situation, possessed of innumerable harbours, was still, notwithstanding these advantages, inhabited by a people, whose customs and manners approached nearer those of savages than of barbarians.

“ As the brutality and ignorance of the Irish were extreme, they were sunk below the reach of that curiosity and love of novelty, by which every other people in Europe had been seized at the beginning of that century, and which had engaged them in innovations and religious disputes, with which they were still so violently agitated. The ancient superstition, the practices and observances of their fathers, mingled and polluted with many wild opinions, still maintained an unshaken empire over them; and the example alone of the

English was sufficient to render the Reformation odious to the prejudiced and discontented Irish. The old opposition of manners, laws, and interest, was now inflamed by religious antipathy ; and the subduing and civilizing that country seemed to become every day more difficult and impracticable.

“ The animosity against the English was carried so far by the Irish, that, in an insurrection, raised by two sons of Earl Clanricard, they put to the sword all the inhabitants of the town of Athenry, though Irish, because they began to conform themselves to English customs and institutions, and had embraced a more cultivated and civilized form of life, than had been practised by their barbarous ancestors.

“ The usual revenue of Ireland amounted only to six thousand pounds a year : the Queen, though with much repining, commonly added twenty thousand more, which she remitted from England ; and with this small revenue, a body of one thousand men was supported, which in extraordinary emergencies, was augmented to two thousand. No wonder that a force, so disproportioned to the occasion, instead of subduing a mutinous kingdom, served rather to provoke the natives, and to excite those frequent insurrections and rebellions, which still farther inflamed the animosity between the two nations, and increased the barbarity and disorders, to which the Irish were naturally subject.

“ The native Irish were so miserably poor, that their country afforded few other commodities but cattle and oatmeal, which were easily destroyed or driven away on the approach of the enemy; and as Elizabeth was averse to the expence requisite for supporting her armies, the English found much difficulty in pushing their advantages, and in pursuing the rebels into the bogs, woods, and other fastnesses, to which they retreated. These motives made Sir John Norris, who commanded the English army, the more ready to hearken to any proposals of truce or accommodation made him by Tyrone; and after the war was spun out by these artifices for some years, that gallant Englishman, finding that he had been deceived by treacherous promises, and that he had performed nothing worthy of his antient reputation, was seized with a languishing distemper, and died of vexation and discontent. Sir Henry Bagnal, who succeeded him in the command, was still more unfortunate. As he advanced to relieve the fort of Black-water, besieged by the rebels, he was surrounded in disadvantageous ground; his soldiers, discouraged by part of their powder accidentally taking fire, were put to flight; and though the pursuit was stopt by Montacute, who commanded the English horse, 1500 men, together with the general himself, were left dead upon the spot. This victory, so unusual to the Irish, mightily raised their spirits, supplied them with arms and

ammunition, and exalted the reputation of Tyrone, who assumed the character of the deliverer of his country, and patron of Irish liberty.”

Such was the state of Ireland, when Essex, listening to the dictates of his ambition, aspired to subdue it. When he landed at Dublin, he deliberated with the Irish council upon the proper methods of carrying on war against the rebels. But here he fell into an error, which led to his ultimate discomfiture. While in England, he had constantly censured those former commanders who had protracted the war, instead of striking one decisive blow; and willing not to fall into the same mistake himself, he insisted on leading his forces immediately into Ulster against Tyrone, the capital enemy. His instructions had been drawn agreeably to these intentions; but the Irish counsellors persuaded him that the season was too early for the enterprise, and that as the morasses in which the Irish usually sheltered themselves, would not be passable to the English forces, it would be better to employ them at that season in an expedition into Munster. This advice was probably delivered from a just impression of its propriety, but the fact certainly was, that many of those who gave it, possessed large estates in the province of Munster, and they were therefore naturally desirous that the enemy should first be dislodged from thence. Whether Essex was aware of this, or not, is uncertain; but he certainly followed the suggestion of his counsellors,

who, when they witnessed the unfortunate termination of the plan, were mean enough to disclaim any participation in it.

“Essex,” says Hume, “obliged all the rebels of Munster either to submit or to fly into the neighbouring provinces: but as the Irish, from the greatness of the Queen’s preparations, had concluded that she intended to reduce them to total subjection, or even utterly to exterminate them, they considered their present defence as a common cause; and the English forces were no sooner withdrawn, than the inhabitants of Munster relapsed into rebellion, and renewed their confederacy with their other countrymen. The army, meanwhile, by the fatigue of long and tedious marches, and by the influence of the climate, was become extremely sickly; and on their return to Dublin, about the middle of July, were surprisingly diminished in number. Their courage was even much abated: for though they had prevailed in some lesser enterprizes, as against the Lord Cahir and others; yet had they sometimes met with more stout resistance than they expected from the Irish, whom they were wont to despise; and as they were raw troops and unexperienced, a considerable body of them had been put to flight at the Glins, by an inferior number of the enemy. Essex was so enraged at this behaviour, that he cashiered all the officers, and decimated the private men: but this instance of severity, though

necessary, had intimidated the soldiers, and had increased their aversion to the present service.

“ The Queen was extremely disgusted when she heard that so considerable a part of the season was consumed in these frivolous enterprizes ; and was still more surprised, that Essex persevered in the same practice which he had so much condemned in others, and which he knew to be so much contrary to her purpose and inclination. That nobleman, in order to give his troops leisure to recruit from their sickness and fatigue, marched with a small body of 1500 men into the county of Ophelie against the O’Connors and O’Mores, whom he forced to a submission : But on his return to Dublin, he found the army so extremely diminished, that he wrote to the English council an account of his condition, and informed them, that if he received not immediately a reinforcement of 2000 men, it would be impossible for him in this season to attempt any thing against Tyrone. That there might be no pretence for farther inactivity, the Queen immediately sent over the number demanded ; and Essex began at last to assemble his forces for the expedition into Ulster. The army was so extremely averse to this enterprize, and terrified with the reputation of Tyrone, that many of them counterfeited sickness, many of them deserted ; and Essex found, that after leaving the necessary garrisons, he could scarce lead 4000 men against the rebels. He marched, however, with this small army, but was soon sensible

that, in so advanced a season, it would be impossible for him to effectuate any thing against an enemy, who, though superior in number, were determined to avoid every decisive action. He harkened, therefore, to a message sent him by Tyrone, who desired a conference; and a place near the two camps was accordingly appointed. The generals met without any of their attendants, and a river ran between them, into which Tyrone entered to the depth of his saddle: but Essex stood on the opposite bank. After half an hour's conference, where Tyrone behaved with great submission and respect to the lord-lieutenant, a cessation of arms was concluded to the 1st of May, renewable from six weeks to six weeks; but which might be broke off by either party upon a fortnight's warning. Essex also received from Tyrone proposals for a peace, in which that rebel had inserted many unreasonable and exorbitant conditions: and there appeared afterwards some reason to suspect, that he had here commenced a very unjustifiable correspondence with the enemy."

It might naturally be expected, that such an inglorious termination of an extensive undertaking, should excite the displeasure of Elizabeth, who was of a temper extremely irascible. She ordered Essex to continue in Ireland till her pleasure for his departure should be signified to him; but Essex, who was fully apprised of her displeasure, and who dreaded the secret machinations of his enemies at court, resolved to disobey her in-

structions. He quitted Ireland suddenly, and hastened with all expedition to London, where he presented himself before the Queen most unexpectedly, and in his travelling attire. He threw himself on his knees before her, kissed her hand, and had some private conference, from which he retired so well pleased with his success, that he declared, though he had had storms and tempests abroad, he had found sweet peace and calm at home. The calm, however, upon which he relied, proved deceitful. Elizabeth had been taken by surprise, and acting from the sudden impulse of her feelings, had displayed a placability of temper not very natural to her. When Essex had departed, she had leisure to reflect upon his conduct, and to listen to the suggestions of those about her, who were eager enough to prepossess her against a hated rival and favourite.

Accordingly, when Essex waited upon the Queen in the afternoon, he experienced a reception altogether different from that which he had found when he first hastened into her presence on his return from Ireland. The coldness of her manner sufficiently betokened the change in her sentiments, and Essex was no doubt skilful enough in the ways of courts and courtiers, to know that that change was the forerunner of his own downfall. The Queen ordered him to be confined to his own chamber, had him examined twice before the privy council, and finally committed him to the custody of the lord-keeper Egerton, not permitting him any

intercourse, even by letter, with his Countess. Essex affected all submission to her will, and expressed his determination of retiring from the splendid career of ambition, to lead a private and innoxious life in some calm and rural retreat. But his philosophy was only assumed, for the displeasure of the Queen weighed so heavily upon his spirits, that he became ill; and though he afterwards partially regained her favour, yet the intrigues of his adversaries were too powerful, and he at last fell a victim to them. He was tried, condemned, and executed on the 25th February, 1601, betrayed at last by the perfidy of a woman (the Countess of Nottingham) to whose hands he had entrusted a ring to deliver to the Queen, to remind her majesty of that token, which she had given him as a security in the hour of danger.

Sir Robert Naunton, in his *Fragmenta Regalia*, has given the following character of this distinguished but unfortunate nobleman:

“ My Lord of Essex, as Sir Henry Wotton, a gentleman of great parts, and partly of his times and retinue, observes, had his introduction by my Lord of Leicester, who had married his mother, a tie of affinity: which, besides a more urgent obligation, might have invited his ear to advance him, his fortune being then, and through his father's infelicity, grown low. But that the son of a Lord, Ferrers of Charley, Viscount Hartford, and Earl of Essex, who was of the ancient nobility, and formerly in the Queen's good grace,

could not have a room in her favour, without the assistance of Leicester, was beyond the rule of her nature, which, as I have elsewhere taken into observation, was ever inclinable to favour the nobility. Sure it is, that he no sooner appeared at court, but he took with the Queen and courtiers; and I believe they all could not choose, but look through the sacrifice of the father on his living son, whose image, by the remembrance of former passages, was afresh, like the bleeding of men murdered, represented to the court, and offered up as a subject of compassion to all the kingdom*. There was in this young lord, together with a most goodly person, a kind of urbanity, or innate courtesy, which both won the Queen, and too much took upon the people, to gaze upon the new adopted son of her favour. And as I go along, it were not amiss to take into observation two notable quotations; the first was a violent indulgency of the Queen (which is incident to old age, where

* "It was shrewdly suspected, that Walter, Earl of Essex, father to the favourite, was poisoned by Crampton, the yeoman of his bottles, and Loyd, his secretary, at the instigation of Leicester, and to clear the way for his wedding the widowed countess. The accusation is thus stated in a libel, called "*Leicester's Ghost.*"

The valiant Earl, whom absent I did wrong,
In breaking Hymeneus' holy band,
In Ireland did protract the time too long,
While some in England ingled under hand,
And at his coming homeward to this land,
He died with poison, as they say, infected,
Not without cause, for vengeance I suspected."

it encounters with a pleasing and suitable object) towards this lord; all which argued a non-perpetuity; the second was a fault in the object of her grace; my lord himself, who drew in too fast, like a child sucking on an over uberous nurse; and had there been a more decent decorum observed in both, or either of those, without doubt the unity of their affections had been more permanent, and not so in and out as they were, like an instrument ill tuned and lapsing to discord.

“ The greater error of the two, though unwillingly, I am constrained to impose on my Lord of Essex, or rather on his youth, and none of the least of his blame on those that stood certinels about him, who might have advised him better; but that like men intoxicated with hopes, they likewise had sucked in with the most, and of their Lord's receipt; and so like Cæsar's would have all or none, a rule quite contrary to nature, and the most indulgent parents, who though they may express more affection to one in the abundance of bequests, yet cannot forget some legacies, just distributives, and dividends to others of their begetting; and how hateful partiality proves, every day's experience tells us, out of which, common consideration might have framed to their hands, a maxim of more discretion for the conduct and management of their now graced lord and master.

“ But to omit that of infusion, and to do right to truth, my Lord of Essex, even of those that truly loved and honoured him, was noted for too

bold an ingrosser, both of fame and favour; and of this, without offence to the living, or treading on the sacred urn of the dead, I shall present a truth and a passage yet in memory.

“ My Lord Mountjoy, who was another child of her favour, being newly come to court, and then but Sir Charles Blunt, (for my Lord William, his elder brother, was then living,) had the good fortune one day to run very well a tilt, and the Queen therewith was so well pleased, that she sent him in token of her favour, a queen at chess of gold, richly enamelled, which his servants had the next day fastened on his arm with a crimson ribbon, which my Lord of Essex, as he passed through the privy chamber, espying, with his cloak cast under his arm, the better to commend it to the view, enquired what it was, and for what cause there fixed; Sir Foulk Greville told him, that it was the Queen’s favour, which the day before, and after the tilting, she had sent him; whereat my Lord of Essex, in a kind of emulation, and as though he would have limited her favour, said, now I perceive every fool must have a favour; this bitter and public affront came to Sir Charles Blunt’s ear, who sent him a challenge, which was accepted by my Lord; and they met near Mary-bone park, where my Lord was hurt in the thigh, and disarmed: the Queen missing the men, was very curious to learn the truth; and when at last it was whispered out, she swore by God’s death it was fit that some or other should

take him down, and teach him better manners, otherwise there would be no rule with him ; and here I note the innition of my Lord's friendship with Mountjoy, which the Queen herself did then conjure.

“ Now for fame, we need not go far ; for my Lord of Essex having borne a grudge to General Norris, who had, unwittingly, offered to undertake the action of Britain with fewer men than my Lord had before demanded ; on his return with victory, and a glorious report of his valour, he was then thought the only man fit for the Irish war, wherein my Lord of Essex so wrought, by despising the number and quality of rebels, that Norris was sent over with a scant force, joined with the relics of the veteran troops of Britain, of set purpose, as it fell out, to ruin Norris, and the Lord Burrows, by my Lord's procurement, sent at his heels, and to command in chief ; and to confine Norris only to his government at Munster, which brake the great heart of the general, to see himself undervalued and undermined by my Lord and Burrows, which was, as the proverb speaks it, *imberbes docere senes*.

“ My Lord Burrows, in the beginning of his persecution, died ; whereupon the Queen was fully bent to have sent over Mountjoy, which my Lord of Essex utterly disliked, and opposed with many reasons, and by arguments of contempt against Mountjoy, his then professed friend and

familiar ; so predominant were his words, to reap the honour of closing up that war and all other.

“ Now the way being opened and plained by his own workmanship, and so handled that none durst appear to stand for the place ; at last, with much ado, he obtained his own ends, and withal his fatal destruction, leaving the Queen and the court, where he stood firm and impregnable in her grace, to men that long hath sought and watched their times to give him the trip, and could never find any opportunity, but this of his absence, and of his own creation ; and these are the true observations of his appetite and inclinations, which were not of any true proportion, but carried and transported with an over desire and thirstiness after fame, and that deceitful fame of popularity. And to help on his catastrophe, I observe, likewise, two sorts of people, that had a hand in his fall ; the first was the soldiery, which all flocked unto him, as foretelling a mortality, and are commonly of blunt and too rough counsils, and many times dissonant from the time of the court and the state ; the other sort were of his family, his servants, and his own creatures, such as were bound by the rules of safety and obligations of fidelity, to have looked better to the steering of that boat, wherein they themselves were carried, and not have suffered it to float and run on ground, with those empty sails of fame and tumour of popular applause ; methinks one honest man or other, that had but the office of brushing

his clothes, might have whispered in his ear, " My Lord, look to it, this multitude that follows you, will either devour you or undo you ; strive not to rule, and over-rule all, for it will cost hot water, and it will procure envy, and if needs your genius must have it so, let the court and the Queen's presence be your station : " but, as I have said, they had sucked too much of their Lord's milk ; and instead of withdrawing, they blew the coals of his ambition, and infused into him too much of the spirit of glory ; yea, and mixed the goodness of his nature with a touch of revenge, which is ever accompanied with a destiny of the same fate ; and of this number there were some of insufferable natures about him, that towards his last gave desperate advice, such as his integrity abhorred, and his fidelity forbade ; amongst whom, Sir Henry Wotton notes, without injury, his Secretary Cuff, a vile man, and of a perverse nature. I could also name others, that when he was in the right course of recovery, and settling to moderation, would not suffer a recess in him, but stirred up the dregs of those rude humours, which by time and his affliction, out of his own judgment, he sought to repose, or to give them all a vomit. And thus I conclude, this noble Lord, as a mixture between prosperity and adversity, once the child of his great mistress's favour, but the son of Bellona. "

The Lord Deputy Mountjoy succeeded Essex in the government of Ireland, and during his ad-

ministration of the viceregal functions, the haughty and rebellious Tyrone was finally subdued. He acknowledged his guilt, implored mercy, and renounced for ever the name of O'Neale, with all his former pretensions to independent sovereignty, entreating to be admitted, through the bounty of his sovereign, to some part of his inheritance for an honourable subsistence. Thus terminated a rebellion, which had its origin in that fatal policy of governing Ireland as a subdued kingdom; a policy which through all succeeding times has been fruitful of evil, and which even the enlightened wisdom of the present age has not wholly renounced. This was the last act of importance in Elizabeth's reign, who died in 1603.

CHAP. VI.

Accession of James I.—His endeavours to conciliate the Irish—The Earl of Chichester defeats this design—Sham plot fomented by him—James adopts the favorite scheme of transplanting English and Scotch settlers to Ireland—Encourages Chichester in his proceedings—Contumelious reception of the Irish deputies—Reflections upon the conduct of England towards Ireland, from the time of Henry to that of James.

BY the accession of James VI. of Scotland to the throne of England a very important change was effected in the government of those two kingdoms. James was peculiarly anxious to ingratiate himself with his Irish subjects by encouraging reports of his disposition to favour the rights and privileges of the catholics; a disposition which was magnified by the enthusiastic hopes of the catholics themselves into an actual toleration of them, and in the full confidence of these hopes, they no longer thought it necessary to practice their religion in secrecy. But their wishes outran the truth, for Mountjoy marched an armed force into Munster to punish this open violation of the

law. It was in Munster chiefly where the catholic rights had been thus freely celebrated. When he reached Waterford he found the town gates shut against him, and the citizens refused to open them, upon the plea of a charter from King John, by which they were exempted from the necessity of quartering soldiers; but Mountjoy emphatically answered, that with the sword of King James he would cut in pieces the charter of King John, level their city to its foundation, and strew salt upon its ruins. The menace was successful; Waterford opened its gates; and the other towns of the province of Munster following its example, the dawning hopes of toleration were quenched at once.

James, however, was still desirous of doing something that might conciliate the Irish, and in 1605 an act of oblivion and indemnity was passed, by which all offences committed against the crown during the late times of turbulence and confusion were pardoned and entirely remitted. By the same proclamation also, all the Irish, who had hitherto received no specific protection from the English government, because living in immediate subordination to their own chieftains, were admitted into the immediate protection of the King; a measure which, according to Sir John Davies, “bred such comfort and security in the hearts of all men, as thereupon ensued the calmest and most universal peace that ever was seen in Ireland.”

The puritanical principles which first began to display themselves against the tolerating measures of James, soon became visible in Ireland. But James met their approaches with something like vigour and determination. He issued a formal promulgation of the act of conformity of the 2d of Elizabeth, and annexed to it his own proclamation for its strict observance. But this measure, according to Leland, instead of terrifying the delinquents, enraged them. It had in it, certainly, several humiliating features, and among other things it enacted, that the catholics of condition should be appointed inquisitors to watch and inform against those of their own communion who did not frequent the protestant churches, by neglect of which they were subjected to fine and imprisonment. That these proceedings should excite distrust and disaffection may be naturally conceived, and that disaffection was, to a certain degree, fomented and increased by the Lord Deputy Chichester for party purposes. His object was to lay the foundations of that sham plot, of which so much advantage was afterwards taken. An anonymous letter was dropped in the privy council chamber, intimating a traiterous scheme of rebellion formed by the Earls of Tyrone and other lords and gentlemen of the north, in defence of the catholic religion. It is certain, indeed, that Tyrone and Tyrconnel both fled the country, and were, with some others of inferior note, attainted of high treason. This flight has been

considered, by some historians, as a proof of their guilt, while it has been asserted by others, that they fled from no consciousness of guilt, but because they were informed that perjured witnesses would be suborned against them to prove whatever the malice of their enemies wished. Whatever may have been the cause, however, (and there is strong reason to believe that fraud and treachery would have been employed against them,) the effect was precisely what was wished, the confiscation of all their vast estates, so that almost six entire counties in Ulster were forfeited to the crown*. Upon a loose survey, these forfeited lands were computed to comprise 511,456 Irish acres.

James now began to pursue with great vigour his favourite scheme of colonizing Ireland with English settlers, to the utter exclusion of the aboriginal inhabitants, and for the purpose of successfully establishing the reformed religion. The forfeited lands, therefore, were parcelled out among English and Scotch adventurers. The latter were by far the more numerous, and they transplanted with them the seeds of presbyterianism into the northern province of Ulster, where their descendants at this day form a race essentially distinct in physical and moral qualities from the rest of the inhabitants of Ireland. Every precaution was taken to make this new settlement concurrent to the establishment of the new reli-

* These counties were Cavan, Fermanagh, Armagh, Derry, Tyrone, and Tyrconnel, now called Donegal.

gion. Among the most opulent adventurers were the citizens of London, who obtained a large tract of land upon the lower part of the river Ban, where they rebuilt the town of Derry, and in memory of the place they had quitted they called it Londonderry. It is supposed that of the 511,456 Irish acres which escheated to the crown, 209,800 acres were bestowed upon the Londoners alone; and in a book, which was printed for the better direction of the settlers, it was specially mentioned "that they should not suffer any labourer, that would not take the oath of supremacy, to dwell upon their land." This measure is regarded as the most important point of policy pursued by James towards Ireland, and it may not be uninteresting therefore to consider it with some attention. James, indeed, may be regarded as having done more for Ireland than any of his predecessors; and though Hume is too much the apologist of the Stuarts on all occasions, no one, perhaps, will wholly deny the truth of the following statements as to the services he rendered this dependency. "To consider James in a more advantageous light," says he, "we must take a view of him as the legislator of Ireland; and most of the institutions which he had framed for the civilizing that kingdom being finished about this period, it may not here be improper to give some account of them. He frequently boasts of his management of Ireland as his master-piece; and it will appear, upon enquiry, that, his vanity, in

this particular, was not altogether without foundation.

“ After the subjection of Ireland by Elizabeth, the more difficult task still remained, to civilize the barbarous inhabitants, to reconcile them to laws and industry, and to render their subjection durable and useful to the crown of England. James proceeded in this work by a steady, regular, and well-concerted plan; and in the space of nine years, according to Sir John Davies, he made greater advances towards the reformation of that kingdom than had been made in the 440 years which had elapsed since the conquest was first attempted.

“ It was previously necessary to abolish the Irish customs, which supplied the place of laws, and which were calculated to keep that people for ever in a state of barbarism and disorder.

“ By the *Brehon* law or custom, every crime, however enormous, was punished, not with death, but by a fine or pecuniary mulct, which was levied upon the criminal. Murder itself, as among all the ancient barbarous nations, was atoned for in this manner; and each man, according to his rank, had a different rate or value affixed to him, which, if any one was willing to pay, he needed not fear the assassinating his enemy. This rate was called his *eric*. When Sir William Fitzwilliams, being lord deputy, told Maguire that he was to send a sheriff into Fermannah, which, a little before, had been made a county, and subjected to the English law, *Your sheriff*, said Maguire, *shall*

be welcome to me; but let me know beforehand his eric, or the price of his head, that, if my people cut it off, I may levy the money upon the county. As for oppression, extortion, and other trespasses, so little were they regarded, that no penalty was affixed to them, and no redress for such offences could ever be obtained.

“ The customs of *Gavelkinde* and *Tanestry* were attended with the same absurdity in the distribution of property. Upon the death of any person, his land, by the custom of *Gavelkinde*, was divided among all the males of the sept or family, both bastard and legitimate: and after partition made, if any of the sept died, his portion was not shared out among his sons, but the chieftain, at his discretion, made a new partition of all the lands belonging to that sept, and gave every one his share. As no man, by reason of this custom, enjoyed the fixed property of any land, to build, to plant, to inclose, to cultivate, to improve, would have been so much lost labour.

“ The chieftains and the *Tanists*, though drawn from the principal families, were not hereditary, but were established by election, or more properly speaking, by force and violence. Their authority was absolute; and notwithstanding that certain lands were assigned to the office, the chief profit resulted from exactions, dues, assessments, for which there was no fixed law, and which were levied at pleasure. Hence arose that common bye-word among the Irish, *That they dwelt westward of the law, which dwelt beyond the river of the*

Barrow; meaning the country where the English inhabited, and which extended not beyond the compass of 20 miles, lying in the neighbourhood of Dublin.

“ After abolishing these Irish customs and substituting English law in their place, James, having taken all the natives under his protection, and declared them free citizens, proceeded to govern them by a regular administration, military as well as civil.

“ A sufficient army was maintained, its discipline inspected, and its pay transmitted from England, in order to keep the soldiers from preying upon the country, as had been usual in former reigns. When Odoghartie raised an insurrection, a reinforcement was sent over, and the flames of that rebellion immediately extinguished.

“ All minds being first quieted by an universal indemnity, circuits were established, justice administered, oppression banished, and crimes and disorders of every kind severely punished. As the Irish had been universally engaged in the rebellion against Elizabeth, a resignation of all the rights which had been formerly granted them to separate jurisdictions was rigorously enacted; and no authority but that of the king and the law was permitted throughout the kingdom.

“ A resignation of all private estates was even required; and when they were restored, the proprietors received them under such conditions as might prevent, for the future, all tyranny and op-

pression over the common people. The value of the dues, which the nobles usually claimed from their vassals, was estimated at a fixed sum, and all further arbitrary exactions prohibited under severe penalties.

“ The whole province of Ulster having fallen to the crown by the attainder of rebels, a company was established in London for planting new colonies in that fertile country. The property was divided into moderate shares, the largest not exceeding 2000 acres: tenants were brought over from England and Scotland: the Irish were removed from the hills and fastnesses, and settled in the open country: husbandry and the arts were taught them: a fixed habitation secured: plunder and robbery punished: and by these means, Ulster, from being the most wild and disorderly province of all Ireland, soon became the best cultivated and most civilized.

“ Such were the arts by which James introduced humanity and justice among a people who had ever been buried in the most profound barbarism. Noble cares! much superior to the vain and criminal glory of conquests; but requiring ages of perseverance and attention to perfect what had been so happily begun.”

This account of Hume may perhaps be suspected of a little partiality, because he is known to have been the apologist of the Stuarts; but I should unwillingly adopt either the language or the opinion of a modern historian, (Plowden,)

who pronounces, that "it is the most false, ignorant, and insulting representation of the Irish nation that is to be found in any modern author of respectability." Such assertions are more easily made than established.

In 1613, after a lapse of 27 years, a new parliament was convened in Ireland, for the express purpose of providing some support for the newly-established colony in Ulster; and on this occasion we find the first instance of the doctrine of managing parliaments avowed by Chichester, who was still lord lieutenant. He pledged himself that, with absolute power, he would convene such a parliament as should carry any measures that the crown might wish. Confident, however, as he was of success, he was not able to conceal his intentions from the country, and the knowledge of them excited great popular discontent. As it was one of the professed objects of this packed parliament to support the protestant establishment, the catholics naturally took the alarm, believing that it was intended to harrass them with some fresh penal enactments, and six of the principal lords of the pale addressed a letter to the king, in which they warmly expressed their apprehensions, and distinctly displayed to the sovereign the infallible consequences which would ensue from that persecution of their established faith. It may easily be supposed that this free remonstrance would ill suit with the high notions of prerogative which James possessed. In his speech to the

parliament in 1609 he very kindly admonishes them not to meddle with the main points of government; "that is my craft," says he, "*tractent fabrilia fabri*, to meddle with that were to admonish me."

Meanwhile his pliant tool, Chichester, was diligently pursuing his plan for establishing the protestant ascendancy in Ireland. He continued to increase the number of new boroughs, to represent which only court candidates were elected, till at last he found himself at the head of a decided majority, who were prepared to carry any measures which he should dictate. When this parliament assembled, violent altercations took place between the court and country members; of the former, the greater part were protestants, and among the latter were to be found the catholic representatives, or recusants, as they were then termed. The number of members returned was 232; six were absent; of the remainder, 125 were protestants, and 101 formed the recusant party. The upper house consisted of 16 temporal barons, 25 protestant prelates, five viscounts, and four earls, of which a considerable number, says Leland, were friends to the administration. Such a factitious majority as this would necessarily excite indignation in the catholic party, and for a time they seceded altogether from the house till they were assured that nothing should be propounded to the parliament at that moment, except a bill for recognizing the king's title. The

parliament was soon prorogued, and the catholic party sent agents to lay their grievances at the foot of the throne. The lord deputy did not fail to dispatch his agents also to counteract those of the catholics. When the former arrived in London, two of them were imprisoned by James, and the rest received from him a most ungracious reception. The claims of the catholics on this occasion were referred to the final decision of the English privy council, by whose advice James dismissed the catholic agents, with a total rejection of their demands. He also imprisoned one of them (Sir James Gough) on his return to Ireland, because he had boasted of the king's promise to grant redress; and as a further proof of his hostility to their wishes, he remunerated Chichester with fresh grants. A modern Englishman, who feels and knows what a limited being the King of England is, must experience no small degree of surprise at the contumelious conduct of James towards the deputies representing the bulk of his Irish subjects. In his speech to the lords of the council, and while the deputies were present, he thus taunted themselves and their mission: he called them *a body without a head; a headless body; you would be afraid to meet such a body in the streets: a body without a head to speak. Nay, half a body. What a monster was this—a very bugbear!*—and—*What is it to you whether I make many or few boroughs? My council may consider the fitness, if I require it; but if I made 40 noblemen*

and 400 boroughs—the more the merrier—the fewer the better cheer. And again—You that are of a contrary opinion must not look to be law-makers: you are but half subjects, and should have but half privileges.—Ab uno disce omnes: this alone is characteristic of the man, and sufficient to make us execrate the monarch.

Flushed with the success of his first scheme of colonization, James proceeded to extend the system, and issued a commission of enquiry to scrutinize the titles and determine the rights of all the lands in Leinster and the adjoining districts; and such a convenient scrutiny did these convenient commissioners institute, that James very soon found himself entitled, upon their report, to make a distribution of 385,000 acres in those counties, which acres were apportioned to English settlers, and to some few of the natives, under regulations nearly similar to those by which he had settled the colony in Ulster. It may be observed, however, that the most atrocious violations of justice were committed, and private property infringed in the most shameless manner, merely to gratify the colonizing wishes of the king. This attempt, however, was the last act of any importance which marked the reign of James; for the remainder of it, according to Plowden, was “an uninterrupted scene of vexatious oppression of the recusants, grievous extortions of the soldiery and their officers upon the people, the execution of martial law in time of peace, the abusive exactions

of the clergy and ecclesiastical courts, the unconstitutional interference of the privy council and castle-chamber in causes which ought to have been determined by common law, the invasion of property in different plantations, and extreme rigour in executing the penal laws.”

In pausing to look back upon the period of Irish history which has been gone through, one conclusion immediately offers itself to the mind, that from the time of its first attempt to be conquered in the reign of Henry II. down to that of the first of the Stuarts, one invariable system of tyranny and coercion was observed; one fixed and settled determination to treat the inhabitants as a subjugated people, and to exasperate their sense of servitude by the most open and avowed oppression. The fatal policy, begun in the dark ages of despotism and superstition, was continued through those times when the divine right of kings produced an arbitrary sway, even worse than undisguised despotism, and is still perpetuated by a timid or a corrupt adherence to the prescription of long-established custom. Removed from the immediate seat of government, the people have always been the prey of rapacious or perfidious deputies, or, at least, of insincere ones; because, prepared to carry into execution the views and wishes of the crown, however hostile to the interests of the nation, and which interests, from local knowledge, they have commonly had sufficient means of ascertaining. Every remonstrance

against their oppressors has been thought insolent, and every determination to assert their rights has been pronounced rebellion. They have been deluded with a mockery of freedom, only calculated to make their slavery more bitter; and though the present age has departed a little from the haughty and imperious tone assumed by preceding monarchs towards that country, there is very little in its actual practice which differs from the conduct of the Tudors and the Stuarts. They are still, emphatically speaking, an oppressed people. Something, it might have been hoped, would have been effected in their favour by the union, and something certainly has been effected in the way of amelioration. But much yet remains to be done before she will reap all the advantages which she promised herself, and which England promised her also, as derivable from that measure.

CHAP. VII.

Reign of Charles I.—Lord Strafford appointed to the viceroyalty of Ireland—The parliament assembled by the most unconstitutional methods—Dissolved—The king's title to the lands in Connaught fraudulently enforced—The grand rebellion of 1640 breaks out—The immediate and remote causes of that event—The dreadful circumstances that attended its progress—Hume's energetic and eloquent account of it—Religion made the pretext—Dublin saved from the insurgents—Inveteracy of Ormond against the catholics—Execution of Charles.

THE transactions of Irish history during the unfortunate reign of Charles I. though certainly inferior in interest to those which marked the annals of England during the same period, rise, notwithstanding, in importance above those of preceding reigns. The Irish formed pleasing hopes of being allowed a free toleration of their religion, and in point of fact, they did enjoy a more open practice of it at the commencement of his reign. But the calm was only the presage of a storm. Charles too soon displayed that insincerity which finally brought him to the scaffold,

and his Irish subjects did not escape some of its evil consequences. His first deputy, the Earl of Faulkland, by his mild and conciliatory conduct, gave the catholics every reason to hope for better times than they had yet witnessed; but his recall in 1629 dissipated their cheering prospects, and left them nothing to anticipate but the gloomy turbulence of persecution. He was succeeded in the administration by the two lords justices, Viscount Ely the chancellor, and the Earl of Cork the lord high treasurer, who, without any instructions from the king, enforced, with great severity, the penalties enacted by Elizabeth. They were informed, indeed, that these proceedings were not acceptable to Charles, and it was suggested to them, that they were not very consistent with his own interests in Ireland. But the most memorable events occurred during the administration of the unfortunate Earl of Strafford, who continued lord deputy from the year 1633 to the year 1641. The acts of his government during that period form an important feature in Irish history. Strafford displayed great vigilance, activity, and prudence, but he acquired very little popularity. "In a nation," says Hume, "so averse to the English government and religion, these very virtues were sufficient to draw on him the public hatred. The manners too and character of this great man, though to all full of courtesy, and to his friends full of affection, were, at bottom, haughty, rigid, and severe. His authority and

influence, during the time of his government, had been unlimited; but no sooner did adversity seize him, than the concealed aversion of the nation blazed out at once, and the Irish parliament used every expedient to aggravate the charge against him."

Had Hume written with impartiality he might have added, that Strafford exercised great severity during the whole of his administration, and the haughtiness of his temper was so great that it displayed itself equally to his own party as well as to the Irish. On his first landing, he neglected to summon several members of the council, and those whom he did summon he proudly dismissed, after keeping them waiting for two hours. They remonstrated the next day, and he told them that there was no necessity which compelled him to use their advice, for that, at the peril of his own head, he would subsist the king's army without their help, namely, by free quarters. The menace had its due effect, and he obtained from the protestants a written promise, that they would provide the next year's contribution for the king. He then proposed to call a parliament, a measure which gave great satisfaction, because they hoped that by its interference this grievance of annual contribution would be remedied. Strafford, however, took sufficient precautions to have such a parliament as would minister to all his views. "For the purpose of securing a protestant majority," says Plowden, "in parliament, the new lord

deputy, by his own account of it to secretary Coke, says, 'he sent out with the writs of summons about 100 letters in recommendation of quiet and governable men. The lower house,' says he, 'should be so composed that neither the recusants nor yet the protestants should appear considerably one more than the other: holding them as much as might be in an equal balance, as being thus easier to govern.' And for varying the the balance of votes according to the exigency of circumstances, this wary deputy apprises us of the nature of the *corps de reserve* which he kept at command. 'I shall labour to make as many captains and officers burgesses in this parliament as I possibly can, who, having immediate dependence upon the crown, may always sway the business between the two parties which way they please.' When the Earl of Fingal represented to him, that it had ever been usual for the lords of the pale to be consulted concerning the parliament, and the matters to be therein propounded, he told this nobleman, that 'assuredly his majesty would reject with scorn all such foreign instructions: that the king's own councils were sufficient to govern his own affairs and people, without borrowing from any private man whatever.'" That a parliament thus procured and thus constituted should contribute very little to the amelioration of the Irish may easily be conceived. When it met they were informed by Strafford, "that his majesty expected 100,000*l.* debt to be discharged,

and 20,000*l.* a year constant and standing revenue to be set apart for the payment of the army; and that his majesty intended to have two sessions of that parliament, the one for himself, the other for them; so as if they without condition supplied the king in this, they might be sure his majesty would go along with them in the next meeting through all the expressions of a gracious and good king." This sort of compact between a parliament and the monarch has an anomaly in it which the practice of modern times makes sufficiently striking. It was not, however, so repugnant to the usages of those days, and accordingly the Irish received the offers of their sovereign with earnestness and good faith. Charles, however, was fatally persuaded by Strafford to violate the promise he had made, and at his instigation he consented to incur all the obloquy and disgrace of such a proceeding. Nor does it appear that this act of infamy was merely a passive one in the king, for we find him, in the following letter, thanking Strafford for counsels, which ought to have excited a prompt and virtuous indignation.

“ Wentworth,

“ Before I answer any of your particular letters to me, I must tell you, that your last dispatch has given me a great deal of contentment, and especially for the keeping off the envy of a necessary negative from me of those unreasonable graces that people expected from me.”

Who does not wish that the unfortunate Charles had imbibed better notions of morality, and that he had learned one important truth, that the laws of virtue which bind a private man are no less obligatory upon kings and princes. Had he acted upon that one persuasion towards his English subjects, from what scenes of misery and bloodshed would he have rescued them, and from what a wretched and humiliating death would he have saved himself! Insincerity was the rock on which he split—a rock which no man tempts without the danger of shipwreck. This vice in his character, however, was not yet fully displayed, and the Irish, willing to believe him what they wished him to be, confided unsuspectingly in his integrity. They voted him six entire subsidies, amounting to 240,000*l.* a sum far exceeding Strafford's expectations, and certainly a very large sum for that age. In return, however, the commons drew up a remonstrance concerning his majesty's promised graces, and particularly in relation to the enquiry into defective titles. This remonstrance they presented by a deputation to the lord lieutenant, but they were soon contemptuously informed by him, that it had never been sent over to the king, and that they were to rest satisfied without making any more stir about defective titles, which was a thing not to be departed from.

In 1635 the parliament was dissolved, and Strafford commenced his favourite project of en-

quiring into the king's title to the whole province of Connaught, a proceeding which had been rejected almost with horror in the preceding reign. This iniquitous business was pursued with unremitting severity. Hired spies and informers, accompanied by adventurers of all descriptions, and court lawyers, were despatched through the province, and by their united knavery every title was found defective which the deputy wished should be so. The most nefarious means were taken to compel the verdicts of juries. If they did not find for the king they were imprisoned and mulcted in enormous sums, care being taken to select such jurors only whose wealth was sufficient to pay the penalties imposed. The lord deputy himself followed these infamous precursors at the head of the commissioners of plantation, escorted by an armed force. The county of Leitrim had been previously intimidated into a voluntary recognition of the king's title, and they submitted to a plantation; Roscommon was the next, where the king's title was found without scruple or hesitation; Mayo and Sligo followed the same example, and found for the king. But the Galway jury was less pliant; they did not find for the king; and what was the consequence? The flagitious tyranny of Strafford caused the sheriff to be fined 1000*l.* for returning what he called a pact and insufficient jury; and each of the jury was fined 4000*l.* their estates seized, and they imprisoned till the fine should be paid. Such

was the administration of justice in this devoted country under the second of the Stuarts! Such was the method taken by the Irish government to make them a "*rich and civil people,*" according to the phrase used by Strafford to the juries when he told them that the king's intentions in establishing his undoubted title was not to deprive them of their just possessions, but to invest them with a considerable part of his own. Nor must the whole odium of these arbitrary proceedings be thrown upon Strafford; at least they were done with the knowledge and sanction of the king; for the deputy has informed us himself, that upon making his report to the king and council upon these proceedings, his majesty said "it was no severity; wished him to go on in that way; for that if he served him otherwise, he should not serve him as he expected. So I kneeled down," adds he, "kissed his majesty's hand, and the council rose." It may naturally be supposed the Irish would complain heavily and grievously of these transactions, but their complaints had no effect upon Charles; for in 1640 he recalled the lord deputy, made him Earl of Strafford, (his former title being Lord Wentworth,) and sent him back to Ireland, with increased authority, as lord-lieutenant, where he continued to excite the hatred and disaffection of the people. So conscious, indeed, was he of his own unpopularity, and so painful was the sense of it to him, that he condescended to employ the paltry expedient of manufacturing

his own praises, and forcing them upon the records of the country. “ The preamble of the last act of subsidies,” says Plowden, “ contains the most fulsome panegyric of his *sincere and upright administration*, with thanks to his majesty for having placed over them so *wise, just, and vigilant a governor*. These very commoners, in the next session of parliament, entered into a solemn protestation (in which they were joined by the lords) ‘ that the aforesaid preamble to the act of subsidies was contrived, penned, and inserted fraudulently (without the privity of the house) either by the Earl of Strafford himself, or by some other person or persons, advisers, procurers, or actors of or in the manifold and general grievances and oppressions of his majesty’s kingdom of Ireland, by the direction and privity of the said earl, on purpose to prevent and anticipate the just and universal complaints of his majesty’s faithful, dutiful, and loyal subjects against him.’ ”

The perfidy of Charles, and his minister in Ireland, had become so notorious, and was likely to produce such effects, that it was no longer thought prudent to persevere in the system without some shew of honesty and candour. The king, therefore, wrote to the lords justices a public letter of assurance that his loving subjects should thenceforth enjoy the graces promised to them in the fourth year of his reign. Soon after this assurance the parliament was adjourned, and the people generously confided in the veracity of the

royal proclamation; they forgot former breaches, and were willing to hope that the monarch was at length sincere. During the recess, however, of parliament, the grand rebellion broke out, to which there were many subsidiary causes that require to be adverted to, especially the influence of the puritans in Ireland, where the power of that party was, if possible, greater than in England. It was greater, because, as it professed to be hostile to the catholics as a religious body, they received in Ireland the cordial co-operation of the protestants, who were equally hostile to that religion, and though the aim of the coalesced parties was obviously different, yet they united in the common cause of opposition to the catholics. The puritans thus acquired an accession of power in Ireland, as the consequence of that artful delusion with which they acted in both countries; and while the protestants believed they were assisting them only to repress the evils of popery, they were in fact made the tools by which the crown itself was menaced and finally overthrown. It may be recorded, however, to the honour of the Irish catholic, that they were the first to take up arms, and the last to lay them down, in defence of their king, perfidious and unfaithful as he had been to them.

Every means were taken by the puritans to produce a popish rebellion. The lords justices, Borlase and Parsons, prevented the bills of grace from passing, in direct contravention of the king's

commands; they countenanced and stimulated the bitterest persecution against the catholics, and they industriously circulated throughout Ireland petitions which had been presented to the English parliament for means to extirpate the religion of popery, and for destroying the lives and estates of those that professed it. Analogous to these petitions were the resolutions of the Scotch covenanting army, and the Irish apprehended that they would maintain their resolutions in the province of Ulster by fire and sword. Under the terror of such alarms, the persecuted but loyal catholics in the north took up arms as a measure of self-defence, and associated against those whom they considered enemies to God and their king. The dread of being exterminated for adherence to their faith was the strongest, and perhaps original, motive to insurrection; but when the torrent once burst forth, many subordinate streams were subsidiary to its grandeur and resistless force. There was certainly no want of grievances.

“ According to various opinions *, some were excited by the success of the Scotch covenanters, who by their irruption into England had obtained the sum of 200,000*l.* to induce them to return quietly into their own country and lay down their arms; others, from the dread of the menaces of the covenanting army in Ireland, that they would exterminate every priest and papist out of the nation: many took them from zeal to their own,

* Plowden, I. 369.

or systematic abhorrence to the reformed religion under all its different forms and denominations: some of the old Milesian Irish seized upon this moment of confusion and weakness in the English government to revive and enforce their ancient claims, which they still considered as usurped by the English, and withholden from them by no other title than force: no inconsiderable portion of the nation was stimulated into insurrection by their clergy, who had been educated abroad, in hopes of procuring a civil establishment of the catholic religion, and by other foreign emissaries from courts, the politics of which prompted them to weaken the power of the British empire by the internal dissensions of its subjects. Many individuals, bereft of their possessions by plantations and forfeitures, persecuted for the exercise of their religious duties, or prevented from any useful or permanent occupation by the effects or abuse of the penal laws, or the indolence of their own dispositions, composed a formidable body of malcontents, who sought redress, preferment, or existence in the confusion of an unsettled and weak government. But the main source of the evil lay in the existence of real grievances, which formed a plausible rallying point to all; namely, the too well founded apprehension of an immediate general massacre, or extermination of the whole body of the catholics*. There prevailed

* This, amongst many other documents, appears by a remonstrance presented at that time by the northern nobility and gentry to the king, which is to be seen in Des. Cur. Hyb.

at that time a conviction, that the armed force in Ireland was generally hostile to the king, and that the English parliament, had, either by concession or usurpation, acquired the government of the kingdom of Ireland †. All the remonstrances of the catholics expressed their loyalty to his majesty, and tenders of service against his enemies, for such from that time they considered

vol. 2, p. 86, and contains the following passage: 'There was a petition framed by the puritans of this kingdom of Ireland, subscribed by the hands of many hundreds of them, and preferred to the house of commons of the new parliament of England, for suppressing our religion, and us the professors thereof residing within this kingdom of Ireland: which, as we are credibly informed, was condescended unto by both houses of parliament there, and undertaken to be accomplished to their full desires, and that without the privity or allowance of your majesty.' Dr. Anderson, in the *Royal Genealogies*, p. 786, says, "That the native Irish, being well informed as they thought (in 1641) that they must either now turn protestants or depart the kingdom, or be hanged at their own door, they betook to arms in their own defence, especially in Ulster, where the six counties had been forfeited.' About this time a very strong and dispassionate remonstrance from Cavan, said to have been drawn up by the protestant bishop Bedel, and in which he himself joined with the inhabitants of his diocese against the new contribution, was presented to the lords justices; and Burnet, in his *Life of Bishop Bedel*, owns, that this remonstrance gives the best colour to their proceedings of any of their papers he had ever seen." (Vid. my App. No. XXII.)

" † Dr. Warner (*Hist. of Reb.* p. 5,) says, 'So that he might further notify his resolutions to make his Irish subjects easy under his government, in the beginning of May he appointed the Earl of Leicester, and not the *English parliament*, as Ludlow says, lord-lieutenant of that kingdom.'"

the covenanters, and all those who supported or adhered to them.”

From this statement two inferences are deducible; first, that when the spirit of turbulence and disaffection is once excited, there will never be wanting wherewith to feed it and urge it to its utmost; and secondly, that when a nation is roused to resistance by the immediate pressure of one great and striking evil, they soon recall the memory of minor ones affecting distinct classes of the community, so as to involve, in one general cause, the whole population of a country. Thus we find in this rebellion the first and most obvious grievance to be the actual and threatened persecution of the catholics; but the standard once raised, how many inferior cohorts rallied round it, and swelled the aggregate bulk of the insurgents. Some fought for their religion, some from anticipation of being bribed into peace, some because they had been injuriously dispossessed of their properties, some from the vain pretext of restoring the Milesian dynasty, some because they had demanded justice, and demanded it in vain, and some from the influence of an unquiet spirit, which delights to walk abroad in the hour of storm and tempest, to aggravate the horrors of discord, and to heighten the convulsions of intestine commotion. Such and so various were the motives that actuated, as by one common impulse, the rebellious Irish at this period, and of such a motley body will the great mass of people always

be composed when they break loose from the orbit of social life, and demand from existing authorities the restitution of rights they once possessed, or the creation of privileges they have learned to desire. In every popular insurrection there commonly exist two distinct operative interests. There are those who are suffering under actual oppression, and who are striving to rend the fetters that enslave them; and there are those also whose turbulent and ferocious natures make them rush into the din of war as a sort of elemental strife, which seems to be necessary to their existence. Of violent and ungovernable passions, with gloomy and malignant feelings, with no interest in society, because they possess no stake in it, anxious for confusion and turmoil, because what is wrested from the peaceful and the virtuous may by rapine pass into their hands, they rush to the standard of insurrection with yells and screams not less savage, not less horrible, than the portentous howling of the tiger when his famished nature scents its distant prey. With such unworthy associates the cause of freedom and truth has too often been identified; and good men frequently pause when they are about to seek the means to accomplish the downfall of tyranny, because they know that their views will become corrupted by an inevitable union with the base and designing.

When a rebellion is once in action, however, a government has to inquire, not only how it has been excited, and of what materials it is com-

posed, but by what exertions of vigour it may be suppressed or extinguished. Accordingly, when it was known that a general spirit of insurrection prevailed throughout Ireland, the lords justices issued a proclamation on the 23d of October, 1641, in which they declared, that a most detestable and disloyal conspiracy had been detected, which originated with some evil affected Irish papists, and which spread universally throughout the kingdom. The terms of this proclamation were not very precise or definite, and we need not be surprised, therefore, that many of those persons who conceived themselves to be included within its comprehensive expressions remonstrated upon the aspersion cast upon them by implication. Accordingly the lords and gentlemen of the pale immediately represented, in a petition to the lords justices and council, that they and other innocent persons might seem to be involved as catholics in the general terms of the proclamation; upon which, on the 29th of the same month, an explanatory proclamation was issued, declaring that by the words "*Irish papists*" they intended only such of the old mere Irish in the province of Ulster as had plotted, contrived, and been actors in that treason, and others that adhered to them, and none of the old English of the pale or other parts of the kindom."

The rebellion now broke out in all its horrors. The chief leaders of it were Lord Maguire, Sir Phelim O'Neale, and a gentleman called Roger

More. They thought that by the rebellion of the Scots, and the factions of the English, the king's authority in Britain was reduced to so low a condition, that he never could exert himself with any vigour in maintaining the English dominion over Ireland. These arguments, joined to many others of a similar nature, were not without their effect upon the rude, and martial, and oppressed individuals to whom they were addressed. They soon joined the conspiracy, and the intention was, that Sir Phelim O'Neale and the other conspirators should begin an insurrection throughout Ireland on the same day, should attack all the English settlements, and that Lord Maguire and others should surprise the castle of Dublin. Winter was fixed upon for the commencement of this revolt, because in that season of the year it would be difficult to obtain supplies from England; they, however, expected succour from France, in consequence of a promise to that effect from the Cardinal de Richlieu. The news that daily arrived from England of the fury expressed by the commons against the papists inspired the conspirators with fresh activity, and gave them fresh hopes of success from the concurrence of their countrymen in the cause they were embarked in. The government of Ireland, meanwhile, was lulled into security on the very brink of danger. The Earl of Leicester had been appointed lord-lieutenant, but he still remained in London, and affairs were administered by the two justices, Sir William Par-

sons and Sir John Borlase. The security in which they reposed, however, was soon disturbed; for O'Connelly, an Irishman and a protestant, informed Parsons of the intention to seize Dublin Castle on the very eve of its completion. The panic was general; the castle was secured, and Maguire, one of the conspirators, was taken, as well as another named Mahone, who first betrayed the secret of the general insurrection which was organizing. Every thing now wore the aspect of tumult, and alarm, and horror; the traitors were betrayed, and they fled to arms as a measure of self-defence; the government were apprised of the conspiracy, and they were prepared to meet its force and to resist it; and the most dreadful scenes ensued.

“Though O'Connelly's discovery saved the castle from a surprize,” says Hume, whose account is peculiarly interesting, “the confession extorted from Mahone came too late to prevent the intended insurrection. O'Neale and his confederates had already taken arms in Ulster. The Irish, every where intermingled with the English, needed but a hint from their leaders and priests to begin hostilities against a people whom they hated on account of their religion, and envied for their riches and prosperity. The houses, cattle, goods, of the unwary English were first seized. Those who heard of the commotions in their neighbourhood, instead of deserting their habitations, and flocking together for mutual protection, remained at home in hopes of defending their property, and

all thus separately into the hands of their enemies. After rapacity had fully exerted itself, cruelty, and the most barbarous that ever in any nation was known or heard of, began its operations. An universal massacre commenced of the English, now defenceless and passively resigned to their inhuman foes. No age, no sex, no condition was spared. The wife weeping for her butchered husband, and embracing her helpless children, was pierced with them, and perished by the same stroke. The old, the young, the vigorous, the infirm, underwent a like fate, and were confounded in one common ruin. In vain did flight save from the first assault: destruction was every where let loose, and met the hunted victims at every turn. In vain was recourse had to relations, to companions, to friends: all connexions were dissolved, and death was dealt by that hand, from which protection was implored and expected. Without provocation, without opposition, the astonished English, living in profound peace and full security, were massacred by their nearest neighbours, with whom they had long upheld a continued intercourse of kindness and good offices.

“ But death was the lightest punishment inflicted by those more than barbarous savages: all the tortures which wanton cruelty could devise, all the lingering pains of body, the anguish of mind, the agonies of despair, could not satiate revenge excited without injury, and cruelty derived from no cause. To enter into particulars would shock the least delicate humanity. Such

enormities, though attested by undoubted evidence, appear almost incredible. Depraved nature, even perverted religion, though encouraged by the utmost licence, reach not to such a pitch of ferocity; unless the pity inherent in human breasts be destroyed by that contagion of example which transports men beyond all the motives of conduct and behaviour.

“ The weaker sex themselves, naturally tender to their own sufferings, and compassionate to those of others, here emulated their more robust companions in the practice of every cruelty. Even children, taught by the example and encouraged by the exhortation of their parents, essayed their feeble blows on the dead carcasses or defenceless children of the English. The very avarice of the Irish was not a sufficient restraint to their cruelty. Such was their frenzy, that the cattle which they had seized, and by rapine had made their own, yet, because they bore the name of English, were wantonly slaughtered, or, when covered with wounds, turned loose into the woods and deserts.

“ The stately buildings or commodious habitations of the planters, as if upbraiding the sloth and ignorance of the natives, were consumed with fire, or laid level with the ground. And where the miserable owners, shut up in their houses, and preparing for defence, perished in the flames, together with their wives and children, a double triumph was afforded to these insulting butchers.

“ If any where a number assembled together, and, assuming courage from despair, were resolved to sweeten death by a revenge on their assassins, they were disarmed by capitulations and promises of safety, confirmed by the most solemn oaths. But no sooner had they surrendered than the rebels, with perfidy equal to their cruelty, made them share the fate of their unhappy countrymen.

“ Others more ingenious still in their barbarity, tempted their prisoners by the fond love of life to embrue their hands in the blood of friends, brothers, parents; and having thus rendered them accomplices in guilt, gave them that death which they sought to shun by deserving it.

“ Amidst all these enormities, the sacred name of RELIGION resounded on every side; not to stop the hands of these savages, but to enforce their blows, and to steel their hearts against every movement of human or social sympathy. The English, as heretics, abhorred of God, and detestable to all holy men, were marked out by the priests for slaughter, and, of all actions, to rid the world of these declared enemies to catholic faith and piety was represented as the most meritorious. Nature, which in that rude people was sufficiently inclined to atrocious deeds, was farther stimulated by precept; and national prejudices empoisoned by those aversions, more deadly and incurable, which arose from an enraged superstition. While death finished the sufferings of each victim, the bigotted assassins, with joy and

exultation, still echoed in their expiring ears, that these agonies were but the commencement of torments infinite and eternal.

“ Such were the barbarities by which Sir Phelim O’Neale and the Irish in Ulster signalized their rebellion: an event, memorable in the annals of human kind, and worthy to be held in perpetual detestation and abhorrence. The generous nature of More was shocked at the recital of such enormous cruelties. He flew to O’Neale’s camp, but found that his authority, which was sufficient to excite the Irish to an insurrection, was too feeble to restrain their inhumanity. Soon after he abandoned a cause polluted with so many crimes, and he retired into Flanders. Sir Phelim, recommended by the greatness of his family, and perhaps too by the unrestrained brutality of his nature, though without any courage or capacity, acquired the entire ascendant over the northern rebels. The English colonies were totally annihilated in the open country of Ulster: the Scots at first met with more favourable treatment. In order to engage them to a passive neutrality, the Irish pretended to distinguish between the British nations; and claiming friendship and consanguinity with the Scots, extended not over them the fury of their massacres. Many of them found an opportunity to fly the country; others retired into places of security, and prepared themselves for defence; and by this means the Scots planters, most of them, at least, escaped with their lives.

“ From Ulster the flames of rebellion diffused themselves in an instant over the other three provinces of Ireland. In all places death and slaughter were not uncommon; though the Irish in these other provinces pretended to act with more moderation and humanity. But cruel and barbarous was their humanity! Not content with expelling the English their houses, with despoiling them of their goodly manors, with wasting their cultivated fields, they stripped them of their very clothes, and turned them out naked and defenceless to all the severities of the season. The heavens themselves, as if conspiring against that unhappy people, were armed with cold and tempest unusual to the climate, and executed what the merciless sword of the barbarians had left unfinished. The roads were covered with crowds of naked English, hastening towards Dublin and the other cities which yet remained in the hands of their countrymen. The feeble age of children, the tender sex of women, soon sunk under the multiplied rigours of cold and hunger. Here the husband, bidding a final adieu to his expiring family, envied them that fate which he himself expected so soon to share. There the son, having long supported his aged parent, with reluctance obeyed his last commands; and abandoning him in his utmost distress, reserved himself to the hopes of avenging that death which all his efforts could not prevent nor delay. The astonishing greatness of the calamity deprived the sufferers

of any relief from the view of companions in affliction. With silent tears or lamentable cries, they hurried on through the hostile territories, and found every heart, which was not steeled by native barbarity, guarded by the more implacable furies of mistaken piety and religion.

“ The saving of Dublin preserved in Ireland the remains of the English name. The gates of that city, though timorously opened, received the wretched supplicants, and discovered to the view, a scene of human misery, beyond what any eye had ever before beheld. Compassion seized the amazed inhabitants, aggravated with the fear of like calamities: while they observed the numerous foes, without and within, which every where environed them, and reflected on the weak resources, by which they were themselves supported. The more vigorous of the unhappy fugitives, to the number of three thousand, were inlisted into three regiments: the rest were distributed into the houses; and all care was taken, by diet and warmth, to recruit their feeble and torpid limbs. Diseases of unknown name and species, derived from these multiplied distresses, seized many of them, and put a period to their lives: others, having now leisure to reflect on their mighty loss of friends and fortune, cursed that being which they had saved. Abandoning themselves to despair, refusing all succour, they expired, without other consolation than that of receiving, among their countrymen, the honours of a grave, which,

to their slaughtered companions had been denied, by the inhuman barbarians.

“ By some computations, those, who perished by all those cruelties, are made to amount to an hundred and fifty or two hundred thousand : by the most moderate, and probably the most reasonable account, they must have been near forty thousand.”

After perusing this fine specimen of historical narration, which certainly surpasses the celebrated description of the destruction of Alba in the first book of Livy, the reader will hardly be prepared to proceed immediately with the comparatively cold and uninteresting details of the further progress and continuation of this rebellion. It shall be succinctly, however, narrated. The insurgents, not content with using open and avowed force, endeavoured to strengthen their cause by the fraudulent arts of delusion. They pretended authority from the king and queen, but chiefly from the latter, for their insurrection, and affirmed that the cause of their taking arms was to vindicate the royal prerogative, now invaded by the puritanical parliament. In order to support this delusion, Sir Phelim O'Neale having found a royal patent in Lord Caulfield's house, whom he had murdered, tore off the seal, and affixed it to a commission which he pretended to have received from the king, but which, in fact, he forged. News of this rebellion was soon dispatched to England, and Charles immediately communicated the intelligence to the

Scotch parliament, expecting from them and the Scotch nation a warm assistance on the present occasion. He had not forgotten the zeal with which they had maintained the doctrines of the reformed religion, and the conclusion, therefore, that they would display an equal zeal in opposing the successes of the catholic Irish, was not very extravagant. But he knew not the character of his northern subjects, though he bitterly understood it when they afterwards sold him to his enemies. The Scotch had no immediate interest or concern in the business, and the Scotch therefore remained inactive. They did indeed, in strict conformity with their national characteristics, send a small body of troops to assist, not the English in Ireland, but their countrymen in Ulster, while with that cautious and parsimonious policy which so peculiarly belongs to them, they dispatched commissioners to treat with the English parliament about the sum which they should receive if they supplied more effectual aid. Such was the zeal of Scotland for the reformed religion, and such was their fidelity to their king.

Charles, meanwhile, unable to subdue the Irish rebels, found himself obliged to have recourse to his English parliament ; but when they heard that those rebels pleaded the king's commission for all their violences, they affected to believe the foul and injurious slander, and loaded their unhappy prince with the whole enormity of a contrivance so barbarous and so inhuman. At length the king

signed a commission in 1642, directed to the Marquis of Ormond, the Earls of Clanricard and Roscommon, Viscount Moore, Sir Thomas Lucas, Sir Maurice Eustace, and Thomas Bourke, Esq. to meet the principal confederates who had petitioned his majesty to listen to their grievances, and to receive in writing what they had to say or propound. But Ormond, instead of complying with the king's commands, acted in obedience to those issued by a committee of the English parliament, and marched with an army of 5500 foot and 500 horse towards Ross, in which expedition nearly 1000 of his countrymen lost their lives. He was the only one of the commissioners who did not attend the confederates at Trim, which confederates delivered to the other commissioners a very full remonstrance upon all their grievances. This remonstrance was accepted, and transmitted by them to his majesty, who, in return, informed the lords justices that he had authorised the Marquis of Ormond to treat with his Irish subjects who had taken arms, for a cessation of hostilities for one year, to the furtherance of which cessation he desired they would use their best endeavours. All the efforts, however, of the king to accomplish that object, were frustrated by the determined hostility of Ormond to the measure, and it was not until a fifth letter from his majesty to Ormond, of the 7th September, 1643, that his most urgent commands upon the subject were ultimately submitted to.

No sooner, however, had this cessation been agreed upon, than it was rejected by the northern army, which was under the command of Ormond, as were all the rest of the king's forces in Ireland; and this rejection was followed up by their taking the covenant*; and those of the English army which had agreed to the cessation, consented to follow Monroe whenever he should march against the Irish. Lord Inchiquin openly revolted from the king, and accepted the presidency of Munster from the parliament. An oath was administered to each of his followers, pledging them to extirpate catholicism, and to extirminate the Irish. The parliament of England published a declaration against the cessation, because it was their business to find fault with every measure adopted by the opposite party, and because they would not lose so fair an opportunity of reproaching the king with his favour to the Irish papists. Among other reasons, they insisted upon the divine vengeance which England might justly dread for tolerating antichristian idolatry, on pretence of civil contracts and political agreements.

* By this covenant, the subscribers, besides engaging mutually to defend each other against all opponents, bound themselves to endeavour, without respect of persons, the extirpation of popery and prelacy, and superstition, heresy, schism, and profaneness; to maintain the rights and privileges of parliaments, together with the king's authority, and to discover and bring to justice all incendiaries and malignants.

The inveteracy of Ormond against the catholics prevented him from seconding what he knew to be the sincere and ardent wishes of the king, with respect to his Irish subjects, and he contrived to delay any peace with them for three or four years, until at last, peace became unavailing, because the royal authority was suspended by the imprisonment of the king in the year 1646. The rebellious contumacy of Ormond in the whole of this business, entitles him to the execration of posterity; for it should be remembered, that *he* had not even the pretext of opposing royal authority, when exerted against the liberties of the subject. The object of Charles in this instance, was to conciliate and to benefit the Irish catholics; he was convinced of their loyalty, and he felt for their sufferings; he wished to reward the one by alleviating the other. In Carte's life of Ormond, there are several of Charles's letters to that nobleman, in all of which we find him repeatedly and sincerely urging those measures which were, he knew, desirable, not only for the prosperity of his English affairs, but for the happiness of Ireland. His benevolent policy, however, was constantly thwarted, and at last frustrated, by the perfidy of his representative, who stood ungraciously and foully between the expression of royal kindness and its objects.

The king, well convinced of the fidelity of the Irish catholics, and fearful that the persecution of Ormond would tend to alienate that fidelity, hit

upon a plan which he thought likely to counteract its operation. He had experienced, in his troubles, the most eminent support from the Marquis of Worcester, who was a catholic, and who expended above 150,000*l.* in the king's service, a sum of great magnitude for those times. He reposed the most implicit confidence in the loyalty and zeal of his eldest son, Edward Somerset, Lord Herbert, whom he created Earl of Glamorgan. Being of the same religion as the Irish confederates, his majesty availed himself of the influence he conceived this circumstance, coupled with his connexions in Ireland, must naturally give him, granted him a patent of very extraordinary powers, and peculiarly calculated to overawe and check the mischievous power exerted by Ormond. Glamorgan was enabled to levy any number of men in Ireland and other parts beyond seas, to command them, to put officers over them, to make governors in forts and towns, to give powers to receive the king's rents, &c. These large authorities were extended by two other commissions, enabling him to use a power even beyond the law, if circumstances should seem to require it. The king pledged his honour as a monarch and a christian, to ratify whatever Glamorgan should grant to the confederates under his hand and seal, because, to use the words of the commission, the said confederates had, "by their supplies, testified their zeal to our service." These confederates, however, were deluded to their undoing both by the duplicity of

Charles and the perfidy of Ormond. They were induced by the latter to make peace publicly with himself and privately with Glamorgan, thus separating the religious from the political articles. The general assembly of the confederates met at Kilkenny on the 6th March, 1645, and they dispatched Muskerry and other commissioners to Dublin, to conclude publicly the peace with Ormond. The secret treaty, however, with Glamorgan, had been concluded six months before, the chief conditions of which related to the toleration of the catholic religion and to the sending over of subsidies to the King of England. This secret treaty happened to become public, and though both Ormond and Digby were privy to the commissions and authority under which Glamorgan acted, they caused him to be indicted for high treason, pretending that he had surreptitiously obtained them. He was accordingly committed to close custody, and the discovery was immediately reported to parliament, when Charles, with a degree of insincerity which it is painful to contemplate, protested, in the most solemn manner, that he had never given to Glamorgan those powers and commissions. Such is one account of this transaction; but other historians have related it differently, and in a manner calculated to rescue the character of Charles from all imputation of duplicity on this occasion. They say, and there certainly exist documents to support the assertion, though it is not necessary to go into them here,

that Charles never denied having given those powers to Glamorgan, but he maintained that they were given in subserviency to Ormond, that is, Glamorgan was desired to consult Ormond, and to advise with him upon every step which he took, and that consequently in concluding the secret treaty with the confederates, without Ormond's privity, he, in fact, departed from his instructions. Certainly it is as easy to believe one account as the other, and when our belief can point to the dignity of human nature, it may be supposed more pleasing to follow it. The commitment of Glamorgan, however, was not of long duration, for he was soon discharged upon his own and the Earl of Kildare's recognizance, the confederates having instantly declared that they would break off the treaty for peace until he was discharged.

The confederates, thus deceived by the king, and indignant at the fraud, took very little pains to conceal their resentments. Dissentions ensued, which were actively fomented by Ormond, who, to crown his long series of treacherous deeds, at last surrendered, in 1646, his sword, the castle of Dublin, and the king's authority to the commissioners of the parliamentary rebels. But he was not a villain without receiving a villain's hire. He stipulated for 5,000*l.* in hand, 2,000*l.* a year for five years successively, and a total release and discharge of all encumbrances upon his estate, which were very heavy, up to the time of the insurrection. After this base surrender of his trust, Or-

mond met the just reward of his treachery, for he was ignominiously expelled from the castle by the very persons to whom he had betrayed it. He hastened to England, but was soon forced to fly into France, because he was informed a warrant was issued for his apprehension by those same persons also, in whose behalf he had become a traitor.

After Ormond's departure, the confederated catholics again met at Kilkenny, where they took into consideration "that his majesty was in restraint, that all addresses to him were forbidden, and that some members of parliament who had ventured to speak in his favour, were expelled, therefore, in that extremity there being no access to his majesty for imploring either his justice or mercy, all laws either human or divine did allow the said catholics to take some other course, in order to their defence and preservation: not against his sacred majesty, but against those who had laid violent hands on his person, who designed to abolish the royal authority, and resolved to destroy or extirpate the said catholics."

Ormond finding himself, as it were, caught in his own snare, the victim of his own perfidy, felt the utmost rancour against those who had betrayed him into the toils he was himself spreading for others, and he resolved to reek some revenge upon them, whatever sacrifice of honour and character it might cost. He determined now, therefore, to try if loyalty would be more profitable than

treachery, and he landed at Cork on the 29th September, 1648, with a view to make the Irish catholics the instruments of his own revenge. He concealed his violent hatred of them with a skilful duplicity well suited to his purpose. He was joyfully received on his arrival, and invited by the general assembly at Kilkenny to conclude a peace, and join with the nation in making head against the parliamentary rebels. He was received in triumph at Kilkenny by the whole body of the assembly and all the nobility and gentry of the neighbourhood, and lodged in his own castle, with his own guards about him. In all discussions with the confederates, however, Ormond steadily refused every proposal which led either to the toleration of religion, or to the repeal of any of the penal laws; but peace was at length concluded on the 17th January, 1648, only fourteen days before the melancholy close of Charles's life, a close which Ormond's perfidy and duplicity had evidently accelerated, by having so long deprived him of the assistance of his catholic subjects in Ireland. He was deeply, indeed, convinced of their unshaken faith and loyalty to their sovereign, but he was resolved that his sovereign should derive no benefit from them. "It is," says Plowden, "no small unequivocal mark of the eminent loyalty and fidelity of the Irish catholics, that at Charles's execution, they formed the only compact national body throughout the extent of the British empire; who had preserved untainted and

unshaken their faith and attachment to the royal cause, although they had been throughout his reign more oppressed, persecuted, and aggrieved by their sovereign, than any other description of his subjects whatsoever. No sooner were the melancholy tidings of the death of Charles conveyed to Ormond, who was then at Youghall, than he instantly proclaimed the Prince of Wales king, by the style of Charles the second."

CHAP. VIII.

Fidelity of the Irish catholics to the house of Stuart—The artful proceedings of Cromwell—His conduct in Ireland, and the sufferings of the native Irish—Speech of Lord Clare upon some of the events of this period—The court of claims—termination of the protectorate.

THE fidelity of the Irish catholics to the house of Stuart remained unshaken by the solemn catastrophe of Charles's death; they still continued to struggle in defence of the throne, and Ormond, who placed himself at the head of the confederates, soon reduced most of the strong holds which were in the possession of the protestants in the north of Ireland. Dublin and Londonderry, however, resisted his power, though he was peculiarly solicitous to gain possession of the former place, that he might in some measure redeem the baseness of his conduct in having bartered it to the parliamentary rebels. He only added, however, ignominy to ignominy by his disgraceful defeat at Rathmines by a force under Michael Jones, the parliamentary governor of Dublin, very inferior to his own. He that has been once fraudulent will not easily recover his reputation for integrity; and the Irish catholics, who had not

forgotten the venal treachery of their leader, saw in this defeat only fresh grounds of suspicion against Ormond, which grounds were strengthened by the inauspicious result of all his subsequent undertakings. Meanwhile the nominal but exiled monarch (Charles II.) wrote a letter from the Hague, signifying his approbation of the articles of peace with the confederates, and his intention of confirming them. Yet, after he had been proclaimed in Scotland, he accepted, by the advice of Ormond, the invitation of the commissioners to seat himself on that throne, though he was well aware that a previous measure must be the signing of the covenant. On the 23d of June, however, 1650, Charles arrived in Scotland, and signed both the national and the solemn covenant, thus choosing rather to attempt the recovery of his dominions by hypocrisy and perfidy in Scotland than by any gallant enterprize in Ireland. In order to give full effect to his treachery, he published a declaration two months afterwards, "that he would have no enemies but the enemies of the covenant; that he did detest and abhor popery, superstition, and idolatry, together with prelacy: resolving not to tolerate, much less to allow, those in any part of his dominions, and to endeavour the extirpation thereof to the utmost of his power;" and as a further proof of his perfidious dealing with the Irish, he added "that he was convinced in his conscience of the sinfulness and unlawfulness of it, and of his allowing them (the confederates)

the liberty of the popish religion, for which he did from his heart desire to be deeply humbled before the Lord; and for having sought unto such unlawful help for the restoring of him to his throne." The wily Ormond well knew what would be the effect of this declaration, to which he had advised his sovereign. It would alienate from him the affections of his Irish catholic subjects, who saw themselves exposed to the full operation of that merciless persecution which was avowed in every clause of the covenant; they saw themselves the devoted victims of a monarch's perfidy, in defence of whose family they had shed some of their dearest blood. Still, however, their allegiance was not to be corrupted or shaken by temporary feelings.

Cromwell, however, knew too well the impotence of Irish loyalty to rest satisfied till he had humbled it to the very dust. With that artful cunning which characterized his whole career, he confounded loyalty with popery; he connected them together, and directed the zealous fury of the puritans equally against the religion as well as the fidelity of the catholics. He exhibited them as devoted to the odious system of catholicism, beneath the influence of which it was held a mark of piety to believe that nothing honourable, manly, or pious could thrive; and having heated their imaginations by these delusive sentiments, he found it an easy task to apply the religious hatred of his followers against the political firmness of his

enemies. The blind and undistinguishing zeal of religious persecution is the fittest instrument which tyranny and fraud can employ against the liberties of a free people, for it is one of the consequences of sincerity in matters of faith that we extend our abhorrence to every thing either political, civil, or moral, that is connected with our adversaries.

Cromwell, therefore, eagerly sought to crush the last remaining stay of the Stuarts, in subduing their catholic adherents in Ireland. He landed at Dublin on the 15th of August, 1650, with 8000 foot and 4000 horse, a great quantity of ammunition, and a splendid military retinue. He remained a fortnight to recruit his forces, and then marched with 10,000 men to Drogheda, which was bravely defended by Sir Arthur Aston, but at length surrendered in consequence of a proclamation from Cromwell, that quarter should be shewn to all who would lay down their arms. Cromwell kept his word for two days, at the expiration of which time, having disarmed all the garrison, he ordered the whole to be massacred in cold blood; and this inhuman butchery was so faithfully executed by the wretches who obeyed him, that only 30 escaped with their lives, and those 30 were transported to Barbadoes. Republicans are equally brutal in all ages. Ludlow, in describing this infamous slaughter, merely observes, "that he presumed it was used to discourage others from making opposition;" and with

equal apathy he says, "at Wexford the slaughter was almost as great as at Drogheda." Wexford was betrayed by Colonel Stafford, whom Ormond had appointed governor of the castle. Ormond himself, speaking of the massacre at Drogheda, says, in his letter to the King and Lord Byron, "that on this occasion Cromwell exceeded himself and any thing he had ever heard of in breach of faith and bloody inhumanity; and the cruelties exercised there for five days after the town was taken would make as many several pictures of inhumanity as are to be found in the Book of Martyrs or in the relation of Amboyna." Cromwell, indeed, made his followers believe that the Irish ought to be dealt with as the Canaanites were in Joshua's time. In addition to the terror which his severities excited, he added that of uncommon vigour and promptitude. He marched towards the south, and obtained a partial success. Ross surrendered conditionally. Ireton was compelled to raise the siege of Duncannon, but Inchiquin was defeated by Cromwell, and Ormond was compelled to retire to Kilkenny; but Cromwell failed in two attacks upon Waterford. He next surprised Carrick-en-Suire, but retired from Kilkenny almost as soon as he approached it, in consequence of hearing that one Tickle, through whose treachery he was to have got possession of the place, had been seized and hung up two days before. The winter was now approaching, and his army went into quarters in

Munster. In February next year they again took the field, and commenced the siege of Kilkenny, the garrison of which place, under the command of Sir Walter Butler, defended themselves with such bravery, though reduced by the plague to only 450 men, that the regicide general was about to retire from before it, when some secret advice from the mayor and citizens recommended Cromwell to persevere. He did so, and a surrender ensued upon honourable terms. After this Cromwell left the conduct of the war in Ireland, which had not succeeded to his expectations, to his generals, and he hastened to England to head the army against a threatened invasion by the Scots in favour of Charles II. He appointed Ireton his successor, who, after some successful efforts in Munster, died of the plague at Limerick on the 26th of November, 1651. Ormond finding that he could not oppose the power of the regicides in Ireland but by the help of the confederated catholics, he rather chose to give up the cause of his royal master altogether than employ their aid. Accordingly he surrendered his authority into the hands of the Earl of Clanricarde, whose loyalty and integrity were justly without suspicion. At this time all Ireland, except the province of Connaught, the county of Clare, the city of Limerick, and the town of Galway, was either in the actual possession or under the controul of the regicides. Connaught and Clare were, for the greater part, waste, and Clanri-

carde, unable to support the troops which he commanded, threw himself into the town of Carrick, where, "being encompassed," says Ludlow, "by our men on all sides, he submitted, and obtained liberty to transport himself with 8000 men to any foreign country in friendship with the commonwealth, within the space of three months." Clanricarde left Ireland in 1652, and within a twelvemonth afterwards Mortagh O'Bryen, the last of the Irish commanders, submitted to the parliament on the usual terms of transportation, by the favour of which 27,000 men had been that year sent away.

At the conclusion of this war of extermination, Ireland presented a melancholy and affecting picture of misery and wretchedness. The ravages of war had been heightened by their worst and most direful consequences, pestilence and famine. The country was little else than one vast desert. The cries of misery resounded from every quarter. Its flourishing population had been wasted by fire, by the sword, by want, by disease, and by transportation; and it was once the project of Cromwell to proceed in his sanguinary career till he had literally extirpated the natives from the face of their own country. But it was thought the plan had too much of undisguised horror and perfidy in it, and another was substituted, the villainy of which was a little masked. This was called *an act of grace*. "The whole native population of Ireland," says Plowden, "that pro-

fessed the religion of their ancestors, were driven in herds into Connaught and Clare, then a desolated waste, and a proclamation was published, that if, after the 1st of March, 1654, any Irish catholic, man, woman, or child, should be found in any other part of the kingdom, they might be killed by any person who should meet them, without charge or trial. Arbitrary allotments of these wasted lands were made, though some attention was pretended to be had to the proportion of the possessions of which individuals had been elsewhere divested; but the merciful donative was fettered with an insidious obligation of releasing and renouncing, for themselves and their representatives for ever, whatever estates and property they or their ancestors had possessed. Thus were these scanty wrecks of the native Irish made martyrs to royalty, and penned up like hunted beasts in the devastated wilds of Connaught, hardly existing in the gregarious and promiscuous possession and cultivation of the soil, without the means of acquiring live or dead stock, and wanting even the necessary utensils of husbandry. This tyrannical appropriation of the soil of Connaught and Clare went to divest the possessors of their inheritances, as much as if their estates had been situated without the precincts of this proscription."

Detestable as this picture is, some of its shades have been darkened by time in the extraordinary sanction bestowed upon the cruel injustice which

it exhibits by subsequent writers, historians, and statesmen.

Cromwell assumed the protectorate in 1654, and Ludlow had the command in Ireland, between which period and the death of the usurper every species of tyranny and oppression was exercised upon the inhabitants of that devoted country. The only gleam of sunshine that illumines the dark and gloomy atmosphere of this period shone forth from the benevolence of the usurper's son Henry, who possessed the government for nearly four years, partly during the life of his father, and partly during that of his brother Richard. So pure was his administration of justice that when he departed for England he had not money enough to pay the expences of his journey. The death of the protector and the restoration of Charles shortly afterwards created a new era in the history of this country.

When the British empire had become sick of of civil wars and satiated with democracy, the first wish and project that actuated men's minds was to restore their legitimate sovereign. How that restoration was brought about belongs more properly to a history of England than of Ireland; but it may be observed, that when, from the progress of affairs in the former country and in Scotland, it became evident that such a design was entertained, Lord Broghill, president of Munster, and Sir Charles Coote, president of Connaught, both listened to the overtures of General Monk,

and not only promised their assistance to him, but wrote to the king himself, who was then at Bruxelles, and reiterated their assurance of assisting in his restoration. Coote seized upon the castle of Dublin, but both he and Broghill did not make any very decisive efforts in the royal cause until they saw what was likely to be the issue of the undertaking in England. It may be supposed that the native Irish, (those who were cooped up in the province of Connaught and in the county of Clare,) who had fought so long, though so unsuccessfully, in behalf of the unfortunate Charles, would hail with sincere congratulations the return of his son to the throne of his inheritance; and it may also be supposed that these suffering loyalists would experience largely the grateful benevolence of the restored monarch. It might have been expected that Charles would have recalled the banished catholics and loyal protestants from the waste and desart fields of Clare and Connaught, and returned to them their paternal possessions, of which they had been robbed and despoiled by Cromwell because they remained faithful to the cause of his family. He might have done this, even admitting the fallacious arguments of the late Earl of Clare in the following sentences from his speech recommending the Union, and which was delivered in the Irish house of peers on the 10th of February, 1800. "After a fierce and bloody contest for

eleven years, in which the face of the whole island was desolated, and its population nearly extinguished by war, pestilence, and famine, *the insurgents* were subdued and suffered all the calamities which could be inflicted on the vanquished party in a long-contested civil war. This was a civil war of extermination. Cromwell's first act was to collect all the native Irish, who had survived the general desolation and remained in the country, and to transplant them into the province of Connaught, which had been depopulated and laid waste in the progress of the rebellion. They were ordered to retire thither by a certain day, and forbidden to repass the Shannon on pain of death; and this sentence of deportation was rigidly enforced until the restoration. Their ancient possessions were seized and given up to the conquerors, as were the possessions of every man who had taken part in the rebellion, or followed the fortune of the king after the murder of Charles I. This whole fund was distributed amongst the officers and soldiers of Cromwell's army, in satisfaction of the arrears of their pay, and amongst the adventurers who had advanced money to defray the expences of the war. And thus a new colony of new settlers, composed of all the various sects which then infested England, Independents, Anabaptists, Seceders, Brownists, Socinians, Millenarians, and dissenters of every description, many of them infected with the leaven of democracy, poured into Ireland, and were put into

possession of the ancient inheritance of its inhabitants."

In addition to this representation of the state of Ireland under Cromwell, the same nobleman observed, that "it would have been an act of gross injustice on the part of the king to have overlooked the interest of Cromwell's soldiers and adventurers, who had been put into possession of the confiscated lands in Ireland." Without knowing any thing of the genealogy of Lord Clare, it might almost be supposed that his ancestors were among those who had partaken of the unjust spoliations committed by Cromwell and his adherents; the only rational mode of accounting for that perversion of argument which could defend the conduct of the usurper, if not avowedly, at least by implication. Had Charles been actuated by a true spirit of magnanimous generosity he would, immediately on his restoration, have given back to their right owners the confiscated estates; and if rigid justice demanded it, compensated the followers of Cromwell in some other manner. "Such, however," says Plowden, "was the force of prejudice against the Irish, who resisted the usurpation of Cromwell almost to extirpation, and spent their last blood and treasure in supporting the royal cause, that by the first legislatures after the restoration the rebellious regicides were established and confirmed in the wages of their sanguinary usurpation. Thus basely and

inhumanly were the crimes of one kingdom compromised by the forfeitures of the other.”

As one proof of the manner in which justice was dispensed by Charles, and of the gratitude which he felt towards those who had most vehemently supported the rebellious cause of the regicides, he created Broghill Earl of Orrery, and Coote Earl of Montrath, and appointed them lords justices of Ireland. The first parliament that was called was convened on the 8th May, 1661; and it was so prepared as to be able to carry into effect the favourite measure of the protestant party, that of confirming the intruders in their possessions, and of banishing for ever from the native Irish all hopes of regaining their paternal estates. State commissioners were sent to the king to forward this grand design; and in order to prevent the Irish catholics from sending over agents to counteract them, the convention at Dublin put in execution all the severe laws and ordinances made by the usurper, so that the catholics were prohibited going from one province to another. These and several other severities were among the first acts of the restored monarch. The Duke of Ormond resumed also the government of Ireland, and by him were framed and settled the king's declaration, the acts of settlement and explanation, and by him also was made out the list of the persons excepted by name out of the ruinous effects of that act amount-

ing altogether to about 500. These acts are thus explained by Lord Clare in his speech already alluded to.

“ The act of settlement professes to have for its object the execution of his majesty’s gracious declaration for the settlement of his kingdom of Ireland, and the satisfaction of the several interests of adventurers, soldiers, and others, his subjects there; and after reciting the rebellion, the enormities committed in the progress of it, and the final reduction of the rebels by the king’s English and protestant subjects, by a general sweeping clause vests in the king, his heirs and successors, all estates real and personal, of every kind whatever, in the kingdom of Ireland, which at any time from the 21st of October, 1641, were seized and sequestered into the hands, or to the use of Charles I. the then king, or otherwise disposed of, set out, or set apart, by reason or on account of the rebellion, or which were allotted, assigned, or distributed to any person or persons, for adventures, arrears, reprisals, or otherwise, or whereof any soldier, adventurer, or other person was in possession for or on account of the rebellion. And having thus, in the first instance, vested three-fourths of the lands and personal property of the inhabitants of this island in the king, commissioners are appointed with full and exclusive authority to hear and determine all claims upon the general fund, whether of officers and soldiers for arrears of pay, of adventurers who

had advanced money for carrying on the war, or of innocent papists, as they are called, in other words, of the old inhabitants of the island, who had been dispossessed by Cromwell, not for taking a part in the rebellion against the English crown, but for their attachment to the fortunes of Charles I. But with respect to this class of sufferers, who might naturally have expected a preference of claim, a clause is introduced, by which they are postponed, after a decree of innocence by the commissioners, until previous reprisals shall be made to Cromwell's soldiers and adventurers who had obtained possession of their inheritance. I will not detain the house with a minute detail of the provisions of this act; but I wish gentlemen, who call themselves the dignified and independent Irish nation, to know, that seven millions eight hundred thousand acres of land were set out under the authority of this act, to a motley crew of English adventurers, civil and military, nearly to the total exclusion of the old inhabitants of the island. Many of the latter class, who were innocent of the rebellion, lost their inheritance, as well from the difficulties imposed upon them by the court of claims in the proofs required of their innocence, as from a deficiency in the fund for reprisals to English adventurers, arising principally from a profuse grant made by the crown to the Duke of York. The parliament of Ireland, having made this settlement of the island in effect on themselves, granted an hereditary revenue to the crown,

as an indemnity for the forfeitures thus relinquished by Charles II."

The Court of Claims here mentioned was first proposed and afterwards modelled by Ormond, who appointed the first members of it, whose corrupt and venal conduct was so notorious, that he was compelled to dismiss them, and substitute others in their stead of somewhat greater respectability. This system, which was avowedly designed to favour the protestant intruders and to oppress the suffering catholics, could not fail to meet with great opposition. But such was the ascendancy acquired by Ormond over the mind of Charles that whatever he proposed was adopted, and whatever he approved of was persevered in. Notwithstanding, therefore, the unpopularity of the measure, he was appointed lord lieutenant for the purpose of carrying it through, and the Irish parliament voted him the sum of 30,000*l.* as a reward for his services. The commissioners, who were appointed to execute these acts of settlement, were not much regulated in their decisions by any maxims of justice or humanity. The innocency and the nocency of the claimants was still made a matter of examination, and both the one and the other were determined in the most arbitrary manner. They who had not taken up arms, but who merely resided in a district occupied by the insurgents, were judged nocent, and they who had been compelled to take up arms by Cromwell and his adherents under the penalty of immediate death

were considered in the same light, while those who had voluntarily fought as rebellious regicides against the royal authority, were confirmed in the possessions given to them as the reward of their disloyalty by the usurper. Such was the equity of the proceedings of these commissioners. The time limited for holding this court was a twelve-month, and of those twelve months only six were actually occupied in listening to claimants. At the expiration of that time they broke up, having decided upon only 600 out of 4000 claims, leaving the remaining number exposed to all the severities that could have been inflicted on them had they been bona fide found nocent. "They were left," says Carte, "to be ruined merely for the want of that common justice of being heard, which is by all nations allowed to the worst of malefactors."

When a law in itself iniquitous was further aggravated by a most iniquitous execution of it, what could be expected but a general hatred and detestation of its authors and abettors? Ormond, however, was resolved to secure a true protestant English interest at whatever expence it might be obtained, and he took care that the council, the parliament, the army, the magistracy, and the bench, should be composed of persons devoted to the accomplishment of this project. The catholics, broken down and dispirited, submitted to their rigorous destiny; not, indeed, without complaint, for their sufferings were too great, but

without any attempt to redress their grievances by force of arms. They were the victims of unceasing persecution during the whole of the reign of Charles II. The old farce of plots and conspiracies was resorted to, and under its mask dreadful enormities were committed. Carte allows that there were too many protestants in Ireland (1680) who wanted another rebellion, that they might increase their estates by new forfeitures. One melancholy consequence of these vile practices, of these hired perjuries, was the trial and execution of Plunkett, the Roman catholic archbishop of Armagh, to whose worth even Burnet bears testimony. In 1681 Ormond was succeeded in his government by Lord Roberts, and afterwards by the Earl of Essex. It may be mentioned, that it was during Ormond's administration of the government that the hateful and oppressive hearth-tax was first imposed. Nothing else very memorable occurred during the reign of Charles II. who died on the 6th of February, 1685, and we hasten therefore to the more important and momentous though brief reign of his successor.

CHAP. IX.

Accession of James II.—Hopes of the catholics and alarm of the protestants—James visits Ireland—Received with enthusiasm by his catholic subjects there—Battle of the Boyne—Flight of James to France—King William returns to England—Taking of Athlone and Galway—The Earl of Marlborough takes Cork and Kinsale—Siege of Limerick—Articles of Limerick—Reflections—the Irish character delineated.

IT may naturally be supposed, that the catholics of Ireland would look with a degree of confidence and expectation to the succession of a popish prince to the throne of England. What they had hitherto endeavoured to obtain by supplication as matter of indulgence, or by force as matter of right, they now hoped to receive as a spontaneous gift emanating from the pious and orthodox faith of their sovereign. They looked with anxious solicitude to the first measures of his government, and they found in them the operation of principles which raised them from despondency to hope. They knew he was a catholic, and the doctrines of their religion taught them how to discover his motives rather in his faith than in his actions. Almost the first thing

he did was to remove Ormond from the government of Ireland, and to place it in the hands of Boyle, the lord primate and chancellor, and the Earl of Granard, appointing them lords justices. Boyle was a protestant, but a high churchman, with such zealous fervour that he was generally thought to have at least as much popery as protestantism in his character; but the disturbed state of the country was such that these noblemen soon grew heartily tired of their new dignities, and solicited to be recalled, which, after some hesitation, was done by James, who appointed as their successor the Earl of Clarendon, whose sister the king had married. He, however, was too firm a protestant to promote all the views of his master in the country which he governed. James's intentions evidently were to occupy all the great offices in Ireland with catholics. Instructions to this effect were given to the Earl of Clarendon, and though they were contrary to the act of Elizabeth, which expressly declares, that all civil and temporal officers, as well as ecclesiastical, should take the oath of supremacy, yet that nobleman undertook to carry the king's wishes into effect. The consequence immediately was, that catholic judges, magistrates, and sheriffs were nominated, and the army was commanded by catholic officers. The Earl of Tyrconnel, a catholic nobleman, was appointed commander in chief of the army, with a power which made him independent of the lord-lieutenant.

It may easily be supposed that measures like these would excite considerable alarm among the protestants, who would see in them a probable course of events most disastrous to their interests. Many who possessed property fled with it from the country, for they knew not how soon it might otherwise pass into other hands. Tyrconnel acted with extreme haughtiness and imprudence, but he gained the confidence of the catholics, and was prevailed on by them to go over to England, in the hope that he might prevail upon the king to repeal the act of settlement; and notwithstanding the dreadful confusion of property which must have followed from that repeal, Tyrconnel was so far successful as to obtain the king's promise in favour of it. Nor was this all, for in 1686 he returned to Ireland as lord-lieutenant, a measure which tended in no small degree to alienate from the king the affections of his protestant subjects in Ireland. Every elevation of a catholic to place or power was what they would naturally look upon with distrust, because it implied a systematic adherence to principles which threatened their destruction. Independently of this general distrust of catholics, however, Tyrconnel was peculiarly obnoxious to the Irish protestants, and they regarded his nomination to the lord-lieutenancy with feelings of more than ordinary indignation. They knew he had the most unbounded influence over the king's mind, and they knew also that he was entirely devoted to the interests

of the catholics; they had little reason, therefore, to expect any thing very propitious to their own welfare.

James was enthusiastically bent upon establishing his own religion in Ireland with all liberty, splendor, and efficacy; but he fell a victim to his enthusiasm, both as it related to that country and to England. The protestants in Ireland had long been impressed with the danger which threatened them, and they were in open opposition in the north a considerable time before the abdication of James. They organised themselves, appointed their own officers, had regular meetings, chose governors of counties, nominated councils and committees to transact their affairs, and assumed all the appearance, and exercised all the functions, of a regularly formed body hostile to the throne, and avowing their hostility. This formidable force had considerably augmented and gained strength several months before the landing of William. But Dr. Lesley draws a very curious and significant picture of the convenient and mutable loyalty of the protestants at this period. "Before the association in the north of Ireland, September, 1688, they prayed for King James. The beginning of March following they proclaimed the Prince of Orange king, and prayed for him. The 15th day King James's army broke their forces at Dromore, in the north of Ireland, and reduced all but Derry and Enniskillen. Then they prayed again for King James, *that God would strengthen*

him to vanquish and overcome all his enemies. In August following Schomberg went over with an English army; then, as far as his quarters reached, they returned to pray the same prayer for King William; the rest of the protestants still praying for victory to King James and for the people; and yet now they tell us that all that while they meant the same thing: four times in one year praying forwards and backwards point blank contradictory to one another."

When James, acting partly from his own pusillanimity, and influenced partly by the insidious counsels of others, abdicated the throne of England, he did not consider himself as having foregone all claims to the crown of Ireland; neither did his catholic subjects there think that he had. The protestants in the north, indeed, seem to have taken it for granted that he *must* abdicate; for they arrayed themselves in open rebellion against him before that event took place. Meanwhile Tyrconnel summoned the loyal part of the nation to unite in defence of their king against the usurper, as William was then called, and against the northern rebels. An army of about 30,000 men was soon formed, officered almost wholly with catholics. Their hopes were still kept up by the repeated assurances of James that he would come over and head them in person, Louis XIV. at whose court the exiled and unfortunate monarch was residing, offered him a French army to assist him in reasserting his rights, but

he declined the offer with the noble declaration, "that he would recover his dominions by the assistance of his own subjects, or perish in the attempt." He sailed from Brest with a strong armament, having 1200 of his own subjects on board, and landed at Kinsale in the month of March, 1689. From thence he proceeded to Dublin, where he was received as king with great pomp and solemnity. "Addresses," says Leland, "were instantly poured in upon him from all orders of people. That of the protestant established clergy touched gently on the distraction of the times and the grievances they had experienced. He assured them of protection; he promised to defend, and even to enlarge their privileges. But his fairest declarations were received with coldness and suspicion, when all the remaining protestants of the privy council were removed, and their places supplied by D'Avaux, Powis, Berwick, the Bishop of Chester, and others of his zealous adherents. He now issued five several proclamations: by the first he ordered all protestants who had lately abandoned the kingdom to return, and accept his protection, under the severest penalties; and that his subjects of every persuasion should unite against the Prince of Orange. The second was calculated to suppress robberies, commanding all catholics, not of his army, to lay up their arms in their several abodes. A third invited the country to carry provisions to his troops. By the fourth he raised the value of

money. And the last summoned a parliament to meet at Dublin on the 7th day of May, and which did meet, and sit from that day to the 12th of July, and then adjourned to the 12th of November following."

There is no part of Irish history more familiar, perhaps, to every reader than that which embraces the events consequent upon James's landing in the country. It is well known that Schomberg arrived with an English army of 40,000 men, which was afterwards headed by William in person. He sailed from England about the middle of June, 1690, and landed at Carrickfergus, where he was received with all imaginable demonstrations and acclamations of joy. Here he joined the relics of Schomberg's army, and his whole force, which included a very great proportion of foreign mercenaries, amounted to about 36,000 men. The whole amount of James's force was about 45,000 men. Of these he kept 30,000 with himself, and distributed the rest through the different fortresses of the country. From Carrickfergus he proceeded to Belfast, and from thence to Drogheda, where he arrived in six days. James meanwhile had abandoned the passes between Newry and Dundalk, where the local advantages were such that he might have disputed every inch of ground. He repassed the Boyne, and encamped on the south side of it. Here he summoned a council of war, and deliberated as to the best mode of procedure, whether he should

make a stand there, and risk all upon the issue of a battle, or whether he should march to Dublin, and abandon all the intermediate country. His council, which consisted of Irish and French officers, were unanimous only in one thing, and that was, that though they had a very advantageous position, yet they were too inferior in number to venture the whole success of the cause upon a single battle. They advised him, therefore, to march off to the Shannon, with the horse and a small part of the foot, to wait the result of Louis XIV.'s promise of a large fleet to co-operate in the Irish seas. Notwithstanding, however, the prudence of this advice, James persevered in his own opinion, that they must stay and defend the Boyne, lest by marching to Dublin they should dispirit those who were friends to their cause. This resolution being taken, and William's forces being encamped on the opposite side of the river in sight of James's troops, both kings prepared for battle on the last of June, 1690. As William was riding along the banks of the river he was wounded in the shoulder by a cannon-ball, and though it was but slight, yet the rumour soon spread that he was killed. It even reached France, and the court of Versailles indulged in a sort of indecent rejoicing at the event; but their mortification was no less awkward than severe when they found that he still lived.

William, having called a council of war, resolved to cross the river in three divisions, com-

manded severally by Count Schomberg, by the duke his father, and by himself in person. This being effected with great skill and gallantry, the Irish troops soon began to give way, but they were partly rallied by General Hamilton, who commanded the cavalry. Schomberg was killed in the action, which, after being severely contested for some time, was at last decided in favour of William. About 2000 of the Irish fell, but, according to the English report, William's army did not sustain above one fourth of that loss. James, who had kept himself at a secure distance during the whole battle, a cold spectator of the contest for his crown, was among the first who fled when he saw his troops in disorder. He hurried to Dublin, and from thence to Waterford, where a frigate was ready to convey him to France, whither he fled, leaving his devoted army to whatever fate the victor might choose to inflict. Had he not abandoned them so shamefully, there is little doubt that they would have fought for him to the last; for they had a very natural attachment to his person because he was a catholic, and they also very justly remembered that though he had virtually abdicated the English crown by his flight from that country, and by several of his acts that preceded it, yet it was incontestible that at the period when he landed in Ireland he was the lawful sovereign of the country.

The flight of James and the subsequent retreat of his army left William in the undisturbed pos-

session of a large disposable force in the neighbourhood of Drogheda, which he summoned to surrender, and which, after a time, did so, to avoid the execution of a threat from William, that he would treat the garrison as Cromwell had done. He then sent his army to the Shannon in pursuit of James's, and proceeded himself to Dublin, not making that complete use of his victory which circumstances enabled him to do. He was received with great enthusiasm by the protestants, and without opposition by the catholics. The French were at this time masters of the sea, and he therefore marched along the coast, and took the forts of Wexford, Waterford, and Duncannon. He left the army on the 27th of July, intending to return to England, but he returned to it on the 8th of August, and advanced to Limerick, where the greater part of James's army was collected. After having lain ten days before the town, William commanded a general assault to be made, but was repulsed with great loss. The rains at length forced him to raise the siege, when he set off immediately for England, leaving the command of the army to Count Solmes, who was soon after superseded by General Ginckle.

But though the season was far advanced the campaign did not end here. The Earl of Marlborough, who was continuing unemployed in England, and who was extremely anxious to signalize himself, represented, to the ministers and the court, the importance of Cork and Kinsale as harbours

peculiarly adapted for France to pour in her succours. These towns he engaged to reduce with 5000 men from England, added to such forces as it might be possible to spare him from the troops in Ireland when he arrived there. The proposal was accepted, and the embarkation was prepared at Portsmouth, while William was yet lying before Limerick. On the 21st of September, 1690, he arrived in Cork Road, and within 23 days he effected his brave purpose, to the utter mortification of those who had represented the undertaking as injudicious and impracticable. He returned to England on the 28th October, and was received with general admiration and applause, mixed with some feelings of national pride and glory that an English general had accomplished in less than a month what all the foreign officers of William could not do in two campaigns. The king, however, above any feelings of national distinction, did justice to the merit of Marlborough, and declared, that he "knew no man so fit for a general who had seen so few campaigns." The reader need hardly be informed, that this Earl of Marlborough was afterwards that Duke of Marlborough who shed such lustre on the English arms.

William, meanwhile, was most anxious to terminate the war in Ireland, and gave orders to Ginckle to effect that termination with all the celerity he could. Some events took place which rendered this the more easy of accomplishment.

The recreant and abdicated monarch, James, made such an unfavourable representation of his affairs in Ireland to Louis XIV. and spoke of the cowardice of the Irish troops with such apparent sincerity, that orders for the recal of many of the French auxiliaries were immediately issued, and they embarked at Galway for France. Meanwhile Athlone was taken by storm, and St. Ruth, who had taken the command of the French army in the spring of 1691, fell back upon Aghrim, which lay about 10 miles to the southward. Here he collected about 25,000 men, and resolved to put the fate of the country upon the issue of a general engagement. Great skill was manifested by St. Ruth in his dispositions on this occasion, and for a time the Irish and French forces were successful. But St. Ruth himself was killed by a cannon-ball, which entirely changed the fortune of the day, and the English gained a complete victory, which they sullied and disgraced by following the vanquished enemy for four miles without giving any quarter. Sarsefield, who succeeded to the command upon the death of St. Ruth, not being acquainted with the plans of that general, found it impossible to rally his troops, and they retired therefore within the walls of Limerick.

Meanwhile, General Ginckle, who led on the English troops, thought it necessary to reduce Galway before he proceeded to besiege Limerick. The garrison of Galway consisted of seven weak regiments, but they expected considerable rein-

forcements. With the hopes of these reinforcements Lord Dillon, the governor, returned a defiance to the summons of Ginckle, and declared that he and all his officers were unanimous in their resolution of defending the town. But the prudent and vigorous plans of Ginckle soon compelled them to change these lofty sentiments, and in a few days the town capitulated; and Ginckle, who knew that William was desirous of finishing this Irish war, resolved to grant such terms to Galway as might convince the Irish of the infatuation of their perseverance, and dispose them to an immediate submission. The garrison, accordingly, was allowed to march out with all the honours of war, and to be conveyed to Limerick, with liberty to those who desired it to continue in the town, or to repair to their respective habitations. A free pardon was granted to the governor, magistracy, freemen, and inhabitants, with full possession of their estates and liberties under the acts of settlement and explanation. The Romish clergy and laity were allowed the private exercise of their religion, their lawyers to practice, and their estated gentlemen to bear arms. These were favourable terms, and the capitulation of Galway was regarded in England as the immediate precursor of the reduction of Ireland; but the generals employed upon the actual service were not quite so sanguine as those politicians who fight battles and besiege garrisons only in their closets. Limerick was yet to be reduced, and many ob-

stacles presented themselves to that achievement. General Ginckle, however, was not to be deterred by difficulties, and he made such preparations for carrying on the siege of Limerick as he thought likely to conduce to success. He did not fail in his enterprize, though victory was purchased by great slaughter on both sides. At length, when there was no longer any reasonable hope on the part of the Irish, the garrison capitulated, and certain civil and military articles were entered into on both sides, which it was thought would secure to the Irish catholics all the liberty and protection they required. "By this treaty" says Leland, "the authority of the crown of England was unalterably established," and as its provisions form a conspicuous feature in the after periods of Irish history, it shall be here inserted.

THE CIVIL AND MILITARY ARTICLES OF
LIMERICK,

Exactly printed from the letters patent, wherein they are ratified and exemplified by their majesties, under the great seal of England.

Gulielmus & Maria, Dei gratia, Anglæ, Scotiæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ, rex et regina, fidei defensoris, &c. Omnibus ad quos presentes literæ nostræ pervenerint salutem: inspeximus irrotulamentum quarund. literarium patentium de confirmatione geren. dat. apud. apud Westmonasterium vicemo quarto die Februarii ultimi præteriti in

cancellar. nostr. irrotulat. ac ibidem de recordo remanem. in hæc verba. William and Mary, by the grace of God, &c. To all to whom these presents shall come, greeting. Whereas certain articles, bearing date the third day of October last past, made and agreed on between our justices of our kingdom of Ireland and our general of our forces there on the one part, and several officers there commanding within the city of Limerick, in our said kingdom, on the other part: Whereby our said justices and general did undertake that we should ratify those articles within the space of eight months or sooner; and use their utmost endeavours that the same should be ratified and confirmed in parliament. The tenor of which said articles is as follows, viz.

ARTICLES AGREED UPON THE THIRD DAY OF
OCTOBER, ONE THOUSAND SIX HUNDRED AND
NINETY-ONE,

Between the Right Honourable Sir Charles Porter, Knight, and Thomas Coningsby, Esq. lords justices of Ireland; and his Excellency the Baron De Ginckle, lieutenant-general and commander in chief of the English army, on the one part;

And the Right Honourable Patrick, Earl of Lucan, Piercy, Viscount Gallmoy, Colonel Nicholas Purcel, Colonel Nicholas Dusack, Sir Toby Butler, Colonel Garret Dillon, and Colonel John Brown, on the other part:

In behalf of the Irish inhabitants in the city and county of Limerick, the counties of Clare, Kerry, Cork, Sligo, and Mayo.

In consideration of the surrender of the city of Limerick, and other agreements made between the said Lieutenant-general Ginckle, the governor of the city of Limerick, and the generals of the Irish army, bearing date with these presents, for the surrender of the city, and submission of the army, it is agreed, That,

I. The Roman catholics of this kingdom shall enjoy such privileges in the exercise of their religion as are consistent with the laws of Ireland, or as they did enjoy in the reign of King Charles the Second: and their majesties, as soon as their affairs will permit them to summon a parliament in this kingdom, will endeavour to procure the said Roman catholics such further security in that particular *as may preserve them from any disturbance upon the account of their said religion.*

II. All the inhabitants or residents of Limerick, or any other garrison now in the possession of the Irish, and all officers and soldiers now in arms, under any commission of King James, or those authorised by him to grant the same, in the several counties of Limerick, Clare, Kerry, Cork, and Mayo, or any of them; and all the commissioned officers in their majesties' quarters, that belong to the Irish regiments now in being, that are treated with, and are not prisoners of war, or

have taken protection, and who shall return and submit to their majesties' obedience, and their and every of their heirs, shall hold, possess, and enjoy all and every their estates of freehold and inheritance, and all the rights, titles, and interest, privileges, and immunities, which they and every or any of them held, enjoyed, or were rightfully and lawfully entitled to in the reign of King Charles II. or at any time since by the laws and statutes that were in force in the said reign of King Charles II. and shall be put in possession, by order of the government, of such of them as are in the king's hands, or the hands of his tenants, without being put to any suit or trouble therein; and all such estates shall be freed and discharged from all arrears of the crown, rents, quit-rents, and other public charges incurred and become due since Michaelmas, 1688, to the day of the date hereof; and all persons comprehended in this article shall have, hold, and enjoy all their goods and chattles, real and personal, to them or any of them belonging, and remaining either in their own hands or in the hands of any persons whatsoever, in trust for, or for the use of them, or any of them; and all and every the said persons, of what profession, trade, or call soever they be, shall and may use, exercise, and practice their several professions, trades, and callings, as freely as they did use, exercise, and enjoy the same in the reign of King Charles II. provided that nothing in this article contained be construed to extend to or restore

any forfeiting person now out of the kingdom, except what are hereafter comprised; provided also, that no person whatsoever shall have or enjoy the benefit of this article, that shall neglect or refuse to take the oath of allegiance, made by act of Parliament in England, in the first year of the reign of their present majesties, when thereunto required.

III. All merchants, or reputed merchants of the city of Limerick, or of any other garrison now possessed by the Irish, or of any town or place in the counties of Clare, of Kerry, who are absent beyond the seas, that have not bore arms since their majesties' declaration in February, 1688, shall have the benefit of the second article, in the same manner as if they were present; provided such merchants, and reputed merchants, do repair into this kingdom within the space of eight months from the date hereof.

IV. The following officers, viz. Colonel Simon Lutterel, Captain Rowland White, Maurice Eustace of Yermanstown, Chieveas, of Maystown, commonly called Mount Leinster, now belonging to the regiments in the aforesaid garrisons and quarters of the Irish army, who were beyond the seas, and sent thither upon affairs of their respective regiments, or the army in general, shall have the benefit and advantage of the second article, provided they return hither within the space of eight months from the date of these presents, and sub-

mit to their majesties' government, and take the above mentioned oath.

V. That all and singular the said persons comprized in the second and third articles, shall have a general pardon of all attainders, outlawries, treasons, misprisions, of treason, premunires, felonies, trespasses, and other crimes and misdemeanours whatsoever, by them, or by any of them, committed since the beginning of the reign of King James II, and if any of them are attainted by Parliament the lords justices, and general, will use their best endeavours to get the same repealed by Parliament, and the outlawries to be reversed gratis, all but writing-clerk's fees.

VI. And whereas these present wars have drawn on great violences on both parts; and that if leave were given to the bringing all sorts of private actions, the animosities would probably continue that have been too long on foot, and the public disturbances last: for the quieting and settling therefore of this kingdom, and avoiding those inconveniences which would be the necessary consequence of the contrary, no person or persons whatsoever, comprized in the foregoing articles, shall be sued, molested, or impleaded at the suit of any party or parties whatsoever, for any trespasses by them committed, or for any arms, horses, money, goods, chattles, merchandizes, or provisions whatsoever, by them seized or taken during the time of the war. And no person or persons whatsoever, in the second or third articles

comprized, shall be sued, impleaded, or made accountable for their rents or mean rates of any lands, tenements, or houses, by him or them received, or enjoyed in this kingdom, since the beginning of the present war, to the day of the date hereof, nor for any waste or trespass by him or them committed in any such lands, tenements, or houses: and it is also agreed, that this article shall be mutual and reciprocal on both sides.

VII. Every nobleman and gentleman comprised in the said second and third articles, shall have liberty to ride with a sword and a case of pistols, if they think fit; and keep a gun in their houses for the defence of the same, or for fowling.

VIII. The inhabitants and residents in the city of Limerick, and others garrisons, shall be permitted to remove their goods, chattles, and provisions, out of the same, without being viewed and searched, or paying any manner of duties, and shall not be compelled to leave the houses or lodgings they now have for the space of six weeks next ensuing the date hereof.

IX. The oath to be administered to such Roman Catholics as submit to their Majesties' Government, shall be the oath aforesaid and no other.

X. No person or persons who shall at any time hereafter break these articles, or any of them, shall thereby make, or cause any other person or persons to forfeit or lose the benefit of the same.

XI. The lords justices and general do promise

to use their utmost endeavours, that all the persons comprehended in the above mentioned articles, shall be protected and defended from all arrests and executions for debt or damage, for the space of eight months next ensuing the date hereof.

XII. Lastly, the lords justices and general do undertake, that their majesties' will ratify these articles within the space of eight months, or sooner, and use their utmost endeavours that the same shall be ratified and confirmed in Parliament.

XIII. And whereas Colonel John Brown stood indebted to several Protestants, by judgements of record; which appearing to the late Government, the Lord Tyrconnel and Lord Lucan, took away the effects the said John Brown had to answer the said debts, and promised to clear the said John Brown of the said debts; which effects were taken for the public use of the Irish and their army: for freeing the said Lord Lucan of his said engagement, passed on their public account, for payment of the said Protestants and for preventing the ruin of the said John Brown, and for satisfaction of his creditors, at the instance of the Lord Lucan, and the rest of the persons aforesaid, it is agreed, that the said lords justices, and the said Baron De Ginckle, shall intercede with the King and Parliament, to have the estates secured to Roman Catholics, by articles and capitulation in this kingdom, charged with, and equally liable

to the payment of so much of the said debts, as the said Lord Lucan, upon stating account with the said John Brown, shall certify under his hand, that the effects taken from the said Brown amount unto; which accompt is to be stated, and the balance certified by the said Lord Lucan in one and twenty days after the date hereof:

For the true performance hereof, we have hereunto set our hands.

Present,

Scravenmore.

Charles Porter.

H. Maccay.

Thos. Conningsby.

T. Talmash.

Baron De Ginckle.

And whereas the said city of Limerick hath been since, in pursuance of the said articles, surrendered unto us. Now know ye, that we have considered of the said articles, are graciously pleased hereby to declare, *that we do for us, our heirs, and successors, as far as in us lies, ratify and confirm the same and every clause, matter and thing, therein contained.* And as to such parts thereof, for which an act of Parliament shall be formed to be necessary, we shall recommend the same to be made good by Parliament, and shall give our royal assent to any bill or bills that shall be passed by our two houses of Parliament to that purpose. And whereas it appears unto us, that it was agreed between the parties to the said articles, that after the words, Limerick, Clare, Kerry, Cork, Mayo, or any of them, in the second of the said articles, the words following, viz.

“ And all such as under their protection in the said counties,” should be inserted, and be part of the said articles. Which words having been casually omitted by the writer, the omission was not discovered till after the said articles were signed, but was taken notice of before the second town was surrendered: and that our said justices and general, or one of them, did promise that the said clause should be made good, it being within the intention of the capitulation, and inserted in the foul draft thereof. Our further will and pleasure is, that we do hereby ratify and confirm the said omitted words, viz. “ And all such as are under their protection in the said counties,” hereby for us, our heirs and successors, ordaining and declaring that all and every person and persons therein concerned, shall and may have, receive, and enjoy the benefit thereof, in such and the same manner as if the said words had been inserted in their proper place, in the said second article; any omission, defect, or mistake in the said second article, in any wise notwithstanding. Provided always, and our will and pleasure is, that these our letters patents shall be enrolled in our court of Chancery, in our said Kingdom of Ireland, within the space of one year next ensuing. In witness, &c. witness ourself at Westminster the twenty-fourth day of February, anno regni regis et reginæ Gulielmi et Mariæ quarto per breve de privato sigillo. Nos autem tenorem premissor, predict ad requisitionem attornat, general domini regis et dominæ reginæ

pro regno Hiberniæ, Durimus exemplificand. per presentes. In cujus rei testimonium has litteras nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Testibus nobis ipses apud Westmon. quinto die Aprilis, annoq. regni eorum quarto.

BRIDGES.

Examinat. { S. Keck. } In Cancel.
per nos. { Laion William Childe, } Magistros.

Military Articles agreed upon between the Baron De Ginckle, Lieutenant General, and Commander in Chief of the English army, on the one side ;

And the Lieutenant-Generals De Ussoon and De Tesse, Commanders in Chief of the Irish army, on the other ; and the General Officers hereunto subscribing.

I. That all persons, without any exceptions, of what quality or condition soever, that are willing to leave the Kingdom of Ireland, shall have free liberty to go to any country beyond the seas (England and Scotland excepted) where they think fit, with their families, household stuff, plate and jewels.

II. That all general officers, colonels, and generally all other officers of horse, dragoons, and foot guards, troopers, dragooners, soldiers of all kinds that are in garrison, place, or post, now in the hands of Irish, or encamped in the counties of

Cork, Clare and Kerry, as also those called Raparees, or volunteers that are not willing to go beyond seas as aforesaid, shall have free leave to embark themselves, wherever the ships are that are appointed to transport them, and to come in whole bodies as they are now composed, or, in parties, companies, or otherwise, without having any impediment, directly, or indirectly.

III. That all persons above-mentioned, that are willing to leave Ireland and go into France, shall have leave to declare it at the times and places hereafter mentioned, viz. the troops in Limerick, on Tuesday next, in Limerick; the horse at their camp, on Wednesday, and the other forces that are dispersed in the counties of Clare, Kerry, and Cork, on the eighth instant, and on none other, before Monsieur Tameron, the French intendant, and Colonel Withers; and after such declaration is made, the troops that will go into France must remain under the command and discipline of their officers that are to conduct them thither; and deserters of each side shall be given up and punished according.

IV. That all English and Scotch officers that serve now in Ireland, shall be included in this capitulation, as well for the security of their estates and goods in England, Scotland, and Ireland, (if they are willing to remain here), as for passing freely into France, or any other country to serve.

V. That all the general French officers, the in-

tendant, the engineers, the commissaries at war, and of the artillery, the treasurer, and other French officers, strangers, and all others whatsoever, that are in Sligo, Ross, Clare, or in the army, or that do trade or commerce, or are otherwise employed in any kind of station or condition, shall have free leave to pass into France, or any other country, and shall have leave to ship themselves, with all their horses, equipage, plate, papers, and all their effects whatever; and that General Ginckle will order passports for them, convoys and carriages, by land and water, to carry them safe from Limerick to the ships where they shall be embarked, without paying any thing for the said carriages, or to those that are employed therein, with their horses, cars, boats, and shallops.

VI. That if any of the aforesaid equipages, merchandize, horses, money, plate, or other moveables, or household stuff belonging to the said Irish troops, or to the French officers, or other particular persons whatsoever, be robbed, destroyed, or taken away by the troops of the said general, the said general will order it to be restored, or payment to be made according to the value that is given in upon oath by the person so robbed or plundered: and the said Irish troops to be transported as aforesaid: and all other persons belonging to them, are to observe good order in their march and quarters, and shall restore what-

ever they shall take from the country, or make restitution for the same.

VII. That to facilitate the transporting the said troops the general will furnish fifty ships, each ship's burthen two hundred tons; for which, the persons to be transported shall not be obliged to pay, and twenty more, if there shall be occasion, without their paying for them; and if any of the said ships shall be of lesser burthen, he will furnish more in number to countervail; and also give two men of war to embark the principal officers, and serve for a convoy to the vessels of burthen.

VIII. That a commissary shall be immediately sent to Cork to visit the transport ships, and what condition they are in for sailing: and that as soon as they are ready, the troops to be transported shall march with all convenient speed, the nearest way, in order to embark there: and if there shall be any more men to be transported than can be carried off in the said fifty ships, the rest shall quit the English town of Limerick, and march to such quarters as shall be appointed for them, convenient for their transportation, where they shall remain till the other twenty ships be ready, which are to be in a month; and may embark on any French ship that may come in the mean time.

XI. That the said ships shall be furnished with forage for horse, and all necessary provisions to subsist the officers, troops, dragoons, and soldiers, and all other persons that are shipped to be trans-

ported into France; which provisions shall be paid for as soon as all are disembarked at Brest or Nantz, upon the coast of Brittany, or any other port of France they can make.

X. And to secure the return of the said ships (the danger of the seas excepted) and payment for the said provisions, sufficient hostages shall be given.

XI. That the garrisons of Clare-castle, Ross, and all other foot that are in garrisons in the counties of Clare, Cork, and Kerry, shall have the advantage of this present capitulation; and such part of those garrisons as design to go beyond seas shall march out with their arms, baggage, drums beating, ball in mouth, match lighted at both ends, and colours flying, with all the provisions, and half the ammunition that is in the said garrisons, and join the horse that march to be transported; or if then there is not shipping enough for the body of foot that is to be next transported after the horse, General Ginckle will order that they be furnished with carriages for that purpose; and what provisions they shall want on their march, they paying for the said provisions, or else that they may take it out of their own magazines.

XII. That all the troops of horse and dragoons that are in the counties of Cork, Kerry, and Clare shall also have the benefit of this capitulation; and that such as will pass into France shall have quarters given them in the counties of Clare

and Kerry, apart from the troops that are commanded by General Ginckle, until they can be shipped; and within their quarters they shall pay for every thing, except forage and pasture for their horses, which shall be furnished gratis.

XIII. Those of the garrison of Sligo that are joined to the Irish army shall have the benefit of this capitulation; and orders shall be sent to them that are to convey them up, to bring them hither to Limerick the shortest way.

XIV. The Irish may have liberty to transport 900 horse, including horses for the officers, which shall be transported gratis; and as for the troopers that stay behind, they shall dispose of themselves as they shall think fit, giving up their horses and arms to such persons as the general shall appoint.

XV. It shall be permitted to those that are appointed to take care for the subsistence of the horse that are willing to go into France, to buy hay and corn at the king's rates wherever they can find it, in the quarters that are assigned for them, without any let or molestation, and to carry all necessary provisions out of the city of Limerick; and for this purpose the general will furnish convenient carriages for them to the places where they shall be embarked.

XVI. It shall be lawful to make use of the hay preserved in the stores of the county of Kerry, for the horses that shall be embarked; and if there be not enough, it shall be lawful to buy

hay and oats wherever it shall be found, at the king's rates.

XVII. That all prisoners of war, that were in Ireland the 28th of September, shall be set at liberty on both sides; and the general promises to use his endeavours that those that are in England and Flanders shall be set at liberty also.

XVIII. The general will cause provisions and medicines to be furnished to the sick and wounded officers, troopers, dragoons, and soldiers of the Irish army, that cannot pass into France at the first embarkment; and after they are cured, will order them ships to pass into France, if they are willing to go.

XIX. That at the signing hereof the general will send a ship express to France; and that besides, he will furnish two small ships of those that are now in the river of Limerick, to transport two persons into France that are to be sent to give notice of this treaty; and that the commanders of the said ships shall have orders to put ashore at the next port of France where they shall make.

XX. That all those of the said troops, officers and others, of what characters soever, that would pass into France, shall not be stopped on account of debt, or any other pretext.

XXI. If, after signing this present treaty, and before the arrival of the fleet, a French packet-boat, or other transport ship, shall arrive from France in any other part of Ireland, the general will order a passport, not only for such as must

go aboard the said ships, but to the ships to come to the nearest port to the place where the troops to be transported shall be quartered.

XXII. That after the arrival of the said fleet, there shall be free communication and passage between it and the quarters of the abovesaid troops; and especially for all those that have passes from the chief commanders of the said fleet, or from Mons. Tameron, the intendant.

XXIII. In consideration of the present capitulation, the two towns of Limerick shall be delivered and put into the hands of the general, or any other person he shall appoint, at the time and days hereafter specified, viz. the Irish town, except the magazines and hospital, on the day of the signing of these present articles; and as for the English town, it shall remain, together with the island, and the free passage of Thomond-bridge, in the hands of the Irish army that are now in the garrison, or that shall hereafter come from the counties of Cork, Clare, Kerry, Sligo, and other places above-mentioned, until there shall be convenience found for their transportation.

XXIV. And to prevent all disorders that may happen between the garrison that the general shall place in the Irish town, which shall be delivered to him, and the Irish troopers that shall remain in the English town and the island (which they may do until the troops to be embarked on the first 50 ships shall be gone for France, and no

longer,) they shall entrench themselves on both sides, to hinder the communications of the said garrisons; and it shall be prohibited on both sides to offer any thing that is offensive, and the parties offending shall be punished on either side.

XXV. That it shall be lawful for the said garrison to march out all at once, or at different times, as they can be embarked, *with arms, baggage, drums beating, match lighted at both ends, bullet in mouth, colours flying, six brass guns, such as the besieged will choose, two mortar pieces, and half the ammunition that is now in the magazines of the said place;* and for this purpose an inventory of all the ammunition in the garrison shall be made in the presence of any person that the general shall appoint, the next day after these present articles shall be signed.

XXVI. All the magazines of provisions shall remain in the hands of those that are now employed to take care of the same, for the subsistence of those of the Irish army that will pass into France; and if there shall not be sufficient in the stores for the support of the said troops whilst they stay in this kingdom, and are crossing the seas, that upon giving up an account of their numbers, the general will furnish them with sufficient provisions at the king's rates; and that there shall be a free market at Limerick, and other quarters where the said troops shall be; and in case any provision shall remain in the magazines of Limerick when the town shall be given up, it

shall be valued, and the price deducted out of what is to be paid for the provisions to be furnished to the troops on ship-board.

XXVII. That there shall be a cessation of arms at land, as also at sea, with respect to the ships, whether English, Dutch, or French, designed for the transportation of the said troops, until they shall be returned to their respective harbours; and that on both sides they shall be furnished with sufficient passports both for ships and men; and if any sea commander, or captain of a ship, or any officer, trooper, dragoon, soldier, or any other person, shall act contrary to this cessation, the persons so acting shall be punished on either side, and satisfaction shall be made for the wrong that is done; and officers shall be sent to the mouth of the river of Limerick, to give notice to the commanders of the English and French fleets, of the present conjuncture, that they may observe the cessation of arms accordingly.

XXVIII. That for the security of the execution of this present capitulation, and of each article therein contained, the besieged shall give the following hostages ———, and the general shall give ———.

XXIX. If before this capitulation is fully executed there happens any change in the government, or command of the army, which is now commanded by General Ginckle, all those that shall be appointed to command the same shall be

obliged to observe and execute what is specified in these articles, or cause it to be executed punctually, and shall not act contrary on any account.

Oct. 19th.

BARON DE GINCKLE.

Thus was the Irish nation formally reduced, by the terms of this treaty, to a state of dependence upon England; and such was the conclusion of a struggle, on the part of Ireland venial, in support of a king who professed a religion similar to her own, and from whom they very naturally expected a restoration to those rights and possessions of which successive usurpations had robbed them. Lord Clare, in his speech on the Union, has given the following succinct statement of the events of this reign as they affected Ireland.

“ After the expulsion of James from the throne of England, the old inhabitants made a final effort for the recovery of their ancient power, in which they were now once more defeated by the English army, and the slender relics of Irish possessions became the subject of fresh confiscation. From the report made by the commissioners appointed by the parliament of England in 1698 it appears, that the Irish subjects outlawed for the rebellion of 1688 amounted to 3978, and that their Irish possessions, as far as could be computed, were of

the annual value of 211,623*l.* comprising one million sixty thousand seven hundred and ninety-two acres. This fund was sold, under the authority of an English act of parliament, to defray the expences incurred by England in reducing the rebels of 1688, and the sale introduced into Ireland a new set of adventurers.

“ It is a very curious and important speculation to look back to the forfeitures of Ireland incurred in the last century. The superficial contents of the island are computed at eleven millions forty-two thousand six hundred and eighty-two acres. Let us now examine the state of forfeitures.

	ACRES.
In the reign of James I. the whole of the province of Ulster was confiscated, containing.....	2,836,837
Set out by the court of claims at the Restoration.....	7,800,000
Forfeitures of 1688	1,060,792
	Total 1,697,792

“ So that the whole of your island has been confiscated, with the exception of the estates of five or six families of English blood, some of whom had been attainted in the reign of Henry VIII. but recovered their possessions before Tyrone's rebellion, and had the good fortune to escape the pillage of the English republic inflicted by Crom-

well; and no inconsiderable portion of the island has been confiscated twice, or perhaps thrice, in the course of a century. The situation, therefore, of the Irish nation at the Revolution stands unparalleled in the history of the inhabited world. If the wars of England, carried on here from the reign of Elizabeth, had been waged against a foreign enemy, the inhabitants would have retained their possessions under the established law of civilized nations, and their country have been annexed as a province to the British empire."

Some reflections naturally present themselves at this period of Irish history; for it forms one of those epochs in it upon which the mind rests, as it were, to retrace the scenes it has contemplated. It is remarkable, that England seems always to have been influenced in her policy towards Ireland by a spirit of hostility rather than of conciliation. No sincere or generous efforts have ever been made to win her affections by kindness; but one undeviating, one uniform system of coercion, of haughty despotism, has been enforced with a view to humiliate and depress her. Neither the experience of years, nor the abstract contemplation of the character of her people, has ever been able to effect any change in this pernicious policy, and consequently wars and conflagrations, and famine, and confiscation, have been the only acts by which England, from the period of her first invasion under Henry, to that at which we have now arrived, sought to establish.

her dominion, A fatal and a cruel system! A system, too, not called for by any conduct on the part of the oppressed, insulted, and degraded natives of the country. It ought, indeed, never to be forgotten by those who even still venture to talk of coercion and rigour, and who would reject with indignation the complaints of a suffering people, it ought never to be forgotten by those advocates for tyranny, that the Irish catholics were true and faithful to their sovereign when English subjects rose in rebellion against him. Not all the arbitrary conduct of James through his minion Chichester, not all the perfidious insincerity of Charles through the unfortunate Strafford, not all the ingratitude of the second Charles, who confirmed the confiscations of the regicides, nor even the base desertion and unmanly cowardice of the second James, who left his adherents to ruin and disgrace, could drive the Irish catholic from his allegiance to his sovereign. When he rebelled, it was against the delegated tyrant who ruled over Ireland with a rod of iron; it was against those deputies who seem to have been selected for the situation from the possession of every quality which could make them odious, and contemptible, and mischievous. When this is recollected, it does, indeed, seem wonderful how a succession of sovereigns could be so far unmindful of their own interests as to forego the cordial services and honest attachments of a faithful and loyal people for the sake of gratifying some temporary interests,

or because they would not disturb some favourite in his career of extortion and rapacity.

The Irish are a peculiar, but they are a distinguished people; they have strong and ardent feelings, with resentments as quick as the impulses which lead them to be generous, high-minded, and faithful. Ruled by a skilful hand they would be the firmest prop of the British empire. One who knows them well, and who knows also how they have been misunderstood, has given the following interesting portrait of this anomalous people.

“Whenever England wishes to be truly acquainted with the natural character, the real state, and the abundant resources of the Irish people, she should first explore the channels through which she has heretofore derived her imperfect information; she should seriously reflect whether such representations have yet tended to promote those measures best calculated to attach, either to her interest or even to their own, a brave, a generous, but a jealous nation; or whether she has been led to pursue a narrow and crooked policy, utterly unadapted to either of those important purposes. England should also especially consider how far representations, transmitted from Ireland to her cabinet, have in general proved, by their results, to have been perfectly correct or eventually judicious. Such representations must, from their nature, be frequently defective. It is not through the temporary and fugitive intercourse of British viceroys that Irish character can be

accurately learned or duly appreciated. Limited as must necessarily be the intercourse of men in high stations with the population of a country, the advantages of even that limited intercourse are frequently rendered still more contracted by the address of official dependents, as it were walling in their governors, and raising to themselves a fictitious importance by applying appropriate representations, and acquiring exclusive audience—a system not difficult to be established since Ireland has ceased to enjoy the power of open investigation in her own parliament. Official knowledge of Irish character, therefore, becomes confined, as general intercourse is restricted; and from the convivialities of a corporation banquet, the adulatory addresses of a village, or the sumptuous entertainment of a speculating nobleman, is generally collected the whole fund of information acquired through the progress of viceregal excursions. Yet all official representations are of course considered by British ministers to be absolutely orthodox, while those of the wisest personages of Ireland, if opposed to, or even unconnected with, the objects of the existing administration of Great Britain, too often meet with a cold if not a supercilious reception.

“ If Great Britain should seek for an insight into Irish character through the talents and the conduct of the representatives of Ireland embodied in the imperial parliament, and, as public men, proper subjects of observation and criticism,

she would equally fail to attain that knowledge. The natural character of a people appears, with all its bearings, only within their own country. The qualities are always superficially affected by the habits of a new society; and their most pointed and marked peculiarities, new modelled by foreign intercourse, cease to represent the true character of the people, and deceive the observer by a fallacious surface. The general failure of the most eloquent men of Ireland, when removed into the British senate, strongly exemplifies that observation: introduced into an assembly more awful, but to them far less interesting, than their own parliament, they become mingled with strangers, whose manners were less open, and whose minds less ardent and fruitful, but more suspicious and reserved. Undervaluing the language of eloquence, as unadapted to the compass of common, plain, direct conception, the Irish member became almost ashamed of his talents; elocution appeared bombastic; a social instinct imperceptibly drew down the Irish orator to the British level; and without being able to acquire a new character, he frequently lost the finest features of his own. Many singular examples have proved this theory: men of superior talents have become cold: those of inferior abilities are become silent; but suppose in themselves an inferiority which does not really exist; and both feel a want of confidence ungenial to their nature. When genuine Irish character, therefore, is sought for, but little of its

energy can be discovered, and few of its qualities distinguished, in the language, the manner, the inactivity of the Irish representatives* : and if an Irishman becomes a British minister or an officer of the government, the knowledge of character through him is removed to a still greater distance. It would be doing a flagrant act of injustice to any country to determine the national character of its inhabitants of its people by the public conduct of its ministers.

“ The only criterion by which the character of the Irish can be justly ascertained is a minute and impartial survey of their collective demeanour throughout all the windings of difficult times and embarrassing situations, and a diligent comparison of the theory founded on that general observation, with acts of public conduct, and private anecdotes of individual intercourse. It is impossible, however, to determine on one character for all ranks of society in any country: the influence of high education generally disguises many of the natural qualities of the human mind, so as to bring a great proportion of the well-educated people of all nations to nearly one common level, or one class of society; but from that number, comparatively so small, we cannot draw a general

* Mr. Grattan, in his eloquent but severe pamphlet in answer to Lord Clare's speech in the house of lords, of 1800, beautifully accounts for Mr. Flood's inferiority in the British parliament:—“ He was,” (says Mr. Grattan) “ a tree of the forest, too great and too old to be transplanted at fifty.”

character for the aggregate population of the country.

“ To attain a just conception of the remote causes of two great and repugnant revolutions in Ireland within 18 years, we must, with deep and accurate research, investigate that general character; we must view the ranks of which society is there composed, as well as their proportions, and their influence on each other; and in the peculiarities and ardency of that character will be clearly discovered the true sources of many extraordinary events; it will evidently appear, that, to the foibles of that unfortunate nation, worked upon by art, and imposed upon by policy—and not to native crimes or peculiar views—are attributable the frequency of her miseries and the consummation of her misfortune.

“ The Irish people have been as little known as they have been grossly defamed to the rest of Europe; nor is it from what they have done, but from the means from which they have been seduced or goaded to it, that an impartial world will judge of their intellect, or appreciate the value or the disposition of their country.

“ The monstrous and incredible fictions of ignorant and foreign authors have, from the earliest ages been employed to excite the contempt of the English nation towards the Irish people. The lengths to which English writers have proceeded in pursuit of this object would surpass all belief, were not the facts proved by histories written

under the immediate eye and sanction of Irish governments—histories replete with falsehood, which, combined with the still more mischievous misrepresentations of modern writers, form altogether a mass of the most cruel calumnies that ever weighed down the character of a meritorious people.

“ This system, however, was not without its meaning. From the reign of Elizabeth the policy of England has been to keep Ireland in a state of internal division: perfect unanimity among her inhabitants has been falsely considered as likely to give her a population and a power almost incompatible with subjection; and there are not wanting natives of Ireland, who impressed with that erroneous idea, zealously plunge into the same doctrine, as if they could best prove their loyalty to the king by villifying their country. Not only the distinct classes of society, but also the inhabitants of the several provinces of Ireland, were distinguished from each other by different characteristic qualities. Leinster, the pale of the ancient English settlers; Connaught, the retreat of the aboriginal Irish; Munster, the general abode of Irish and of foreigners; and Ulster, the residence of Scottish colonists, were inhabited by people nearly as distinct from each other in natural disposition as the sources whence they respectively derived their origin.

“ The class of wealthy industrious yeomanry, which has contributed to form so largely the inde-

pendent manner and character of the English pale, was much too scantily interspersed throughout the other parts of Ireland: there the ranks of society were more distinct, and the links of their connexion wider and more distant: the higher classes were too proud, and the lower too humble, to admit the possibility of an intimate association without the interposition of unforeseen occurrences.

“ The Irish peasantry, who necessarily composed the great body of the population, combined in their character many of those singular and repugnant qualities which peculiarly designate the people of different nations; and this remarkable contrariety of characteristic traits pervaded almost the whole current of their natural dispositions. Laborious, yet lazy—domestic, yet dissipated—accustomed to wants in the midst of plenty—they submit to hardships without repining, and bear the severest privations with stoic fortitude. The sharpest wit, and the shrewdest subtilty, which abound in the character of the Irish peasant, generally lie concealed under the semblance of dulness or the appearance of simplicity; and his language, replete with the keenest humour, possesses an idiom of equivocation which never fails successfully to evade a direct answer to an unwelcome question.

“ Inquisitive, artful, and penetrating, the Irish peasant learns mankind without extensive intercourse, and has an instinctive knowledge of the

world without mingling in its societies: and never, in any other instance, did there exist an illiterate and uncultivated people who could display so much address and so much talent in the ordinary transactions of life as the Irish peasantry.

“ Too hasty or too dilatory in the execution of their projects, they are sometimes frustrated by their impatience and impetuosity; at other times they fail through their indolence and procrastination; and without possessing the extreme vivacity of the French or the cool phlegm of the English character they feel all the inconvenience of the one, and experience the disadvantages of the other.

“ In his anger, furious without revenge, and violent without animosity—turbulent and fantastic in his dissipation—ebriety discloses the inmost recesses of the Irish peasant’s character. His temper irascible, but good-natured—his mind coarse and vulgar, yet sympathetic and susceptible of every impression—he yields too suddenly to the paroxysms of momentary impulse, or the seduction of pernicious example; and an implicit confidence in the advice of a false friend, or the influence of an artful superior, not unfrequently leads him to perpetrate the enormities of vice, while he believes he is performing the exploits of virtue.

“ The Irish peasant has, at all periods, been peculiarly distinguished for unbounded but indiscriminate hospitality, which, though naturally de-

voted to the necessities of a friend, is never denied by him even to the distresses of an enemy. To be in want or in misery is the best recommendation to his disinterested protection: his food, his bed, his raiment, are equally the stranger's and his own; and the deeper the distress, the more welcome is the sufferer to the peasant's cottage.

“ His attachments to his kindred and his connexions are of the strongest nature. The social duties are intimately blended with the natural uncorrupted disposition of an Irish peasant; and though covered with rags, oppressed with poverty, and perhaps with hunger, the finest specimens of generosity and heroism are to be found in his singular but unequalled character.

“ A martial spirit and a love of desultory warfare is indigenious to the Irish people. Battle is their pastime: whole parishes and districts form themselves into parties, which they denominate factions; they meet, by appointment, at their country fairs; there they quarrel without a cause, and fight without an object; and having indulged their propensity, and bound up their wounds, they return satisfied to their own homes generally without anger, and frequently in perfect friendship with each other. It is a melancholy reflection, that the successive governments of Ireland should have been so long and so obstinately blind to the real interests of the country as to conceive it more expedient to attempt the fruitless task of suppressing the national spirit by legal severity, than to adopt

a system of national instruction and general industry, which, by affording employment to their faculties, might give to the minds of the people a proper tendency and a useful and peaceable direction.

“ In general the Irish are rather impetuously brave than steadily persevering; their onsets are furious, and their retreats precipitate; but even death has for them no terrors when they firmly believe that their cause is meritorious. Though exquisitely artful in the stratagems of warfare, yet, actually in battle, their discretion vanishes before their impetuosity; and, the most gregarious people under heaven, they rush forward in a crowd with tumultuous ardour, and without foresight or reflection whether they are advancing to destruction or to victory.

“ An enthusiastic attachment to the place of their nativity is another striking trait of the Irish character, which neither time nor absence, prosperity nor adversity, can obliterate or diminish. Wherever an Irish peasant is born, there he wishes to die; and, however successful in acquiring wealth or rank in distant places, he returns with fond affection to renew his intercourse with the friends and companions of his youth and his obscurity.

“ Illiterate and ignorant as the Irish peasantry are, they cannot be expected to understand the complicated theory and fundamental principles of civil government, and therefore are too easily

imposed upon by the fallacious reasoning of insinuating agitators; but their natural political disposition is evidently aristocratic. From the traditional history of their ancient kings their minds early imbibe a warm love of monarchy; while their courteous, civil, and humble demeanour to the higher orders of society proves their ready deference to rank, and their voluntary submission to superiority; and when the rough and independent, if not insolent, address of the English farmer to his superiors is compared with the native humble courtesy of the Irish peasant, it would be the highest injustice to charge the latter with a natural disposition to democracy.

“ An innate spirit of insubordination to the laws has been strongly charged upon the Irish peasantry; but an illiterate people—to whom the punishment of crimes appears rather as a sacrifice to revenge than a measure of prevention—can never have the same deference to the law as those who are instructed in the principles of justice, and taught to recognize its equality. It has, however, been uniformly admitted by every impartial writer on the affairs of Ireland, that a spirit of strict justice has ever characterized the Irish peasant. Convince him by plain and impartial reasoning that he is wrong, and he generally withdraws from the judgment seat, if not with cheerfulness, at least with submission; but to make him respect the laws he must be satisfied that they are impartial, and with that conviction

on his mind, the Irish peasant is as perfectly tractable as the native of any other country in the world.

“ An attachment to, and a respect for, females is another marked characteristic of the Irish peasant. The wife partakes of all her husband's vicissitudes, and accompanies him upon all occasions: they are almost inseparable. She watches over him in his dissipation: she shares his labour and his miseries, with constancy and with affection. At all the sports and meetings of the Irish peasantry the women are always of the company: they have a great influence; and in his smoky cottage the Irish peasant, surrounded by his family, seems to forget all his privations. The natural cheerfulness of his disposition banishes reflection, and he experiences a simple happiness which even the highest ranks of society might justly envy.

“ The miscellaneous qualities of the Irish character are marked and various:—peculiarly polite—passionately fond of noise and merriment—superstitious—bigoted—they are always in extremes; and as Giraldus Cambrensis described them in the twelfth century, so they still continue: ‘ If an Irishman be a good man, there is no better; if he be a bad man, there is no worse.’

“ In his person, the Irish peasant is strong, active, hardy, and extremely swift. The finest men in Ireland are the descendants of the Spaniards, who, after so many centuries, are still distinguishable by their fine oval countenances,

their large black eyes, their noble mein, and manly features:—the descendants of the Danes are red-haired and hard-featured, but remarkably hardy, though less active:—the offspring of the Scots are very similar, though in many respects inferior, to their kindred race in Scotland:—and those descended from the English settlers are the least remarkable of any Irishmen for any singularity of person or of character.

“ Possessed of these qualities, and suffering under these humiliating depressions, the Irish peasant in 1780 was found uncultivated, ignorant, and wretched, but gifted, capable, and generous; and it was reserved for that celebrated period to introduce to the notice of Europe that calumniated people, and develope to general view those qualities, which, in other times, would probably have been entirely overlooked, or certainly under-rated.

“ These were the intellectual qualities which capricious nature had distributed, in varied and unequal proportions, among the inhabitants of this extraordinary island. Their fertile dispositions, adapted to the cultivation of almost every passion, produced individual characters of the greatest variety, diversified by gradations of the rank, and influenced by the extent of their education.

“ The middle class of gentry, interspersed throughout the country parts of the kingdom, possessed as much of the peasant character as accorded with more liberal minds and superior society. With less necessity for exertion than the

peasant, and an equal inclination for the indulgence of indolence, their habits were altogether devoid of industry, and adverse to reflection:—the morning chase and evening conviviality composed the diary of their lives, cherished the thoughtlessness of their nature, and banished the cares and solitudes of foresight. They uniformly lived beyond their means, and aspired beyond their resources; pecuniary embarrassment only gave a new zest to the dissipation which created it; and the gentry of Ireland, at this period, had more troubles and fewer cares than any gentry in the universe.

“ These habits, however, while they contracted the distance between the lower and the superior order, had also the effect of promoting their mutual good-will and attachment to each other. The peasant looked up to and admired, in the country gentleman, those propensities which he himself possessed:—actuated by a native sympathy of disposition, he loved old customs: he liked to follow the track and example of his forefathers, and adhered to the fortunes of some ancient family with a zealous sincerity; and, in every matter of party or of faction, he obeyed the orders of his landlord, and even anticipated his wishes, with cheerfulness and humility.

“ Thus the Irish country gentleman, without either the ties of blood or the weight of feudal authority, found himself surrounded by followers and adherents ever ready to adopt his cause, and

risk their lives for his purposes, with as warm devotion as those of the Scottish laird or the highland chieftain; and this disposition, cultivated by family pride on the one side, and confirmed by immemorial habit on the other, greatly promoted the formation, the progress, and the zeal of those armed associations, which soon afterward covered the face of the country, and for a moment placed the name of Ireland on the very highest pinnacle of effective patriotism.

“ It was the fashion of those days to cast upon the Irish gentry an imputation, which though they by no means generally deserved, yet it would be uncandid not to admit that there were some partial grounds for the observation—that they shewed a disposition to decide petty differences by the sword, and too fastidious a construction of what they termed the ‘point of honour.’ This practice certainly continued to prevail in many parts of Ireland, where time and general intercourse had not yet succeeded in extinguishing altogether the romantic but honourable spirit of Milesian chivalry; and when we reflect on the natural warlike disposition of the Irish people—that indigenous impetuosity and love of battle which so eminently distinguished their aboriginal character—it is not surprizing that hasty and unnecessary encounters should occasionally occur among a people perpetually actuated by the pride of ancestry and the theories of honour. But, even in these contests, the Irish gentleman forgave his

adversary with as much readiness as he fought him: he respected the courage which aimed at his own life; and the strongest friendships were sometimes formed, and frequently regenerated, on the field of battle. It is natural to suppose that this practice should have been noticed and perhaps exaggerated by the English people, whose long enjoyment of police and of industry had endowed them with less punctilious and much more discreet propensities.

“ The cowardly crime of suicide, however, which prevailed and prevails so extensively throughout England, was almost unknown among the Irish gentry. Circumstances which would plunge an Englishman into a state of mortal despondency would only rouse the energies of an Irishman to bound over his misfortunes: under every pressure, in every station, in every climate, a lightness of heart and openness of disposition distinguishes him from the inhabitants of every other country.

“ A circumstance, not unfrequently injurious to the concerns of Ireland, was that influence which the imposing condescensions of superior rank, and the flattering professions of power and of interest, occasionally acquired over the natural independence of the Irish gentry. This partial imbecillity of mind was but too well ascertained, and often too successfully practised upon, for the political purposes of artful governments; and on that interesting occasion, when every weapon,

which the ingenuity of man could invent, was used to impose the Union on a reluctant people, it will be seen that Ireland lost the active exertions of many a zealous friend, through the insidious blandishments of a noble visitor.

“ But this paralysing weakness was far from being universal: numerous instances will occur in the course of this memoir, where the public and individual spirit and integrity of the Irish gentry were tried to their full extent, and proved to be invincible: the reader will see exhibited frequent examples of patriotism too precious to be forgotten, and which it would be ungrateful to the individual, and injustice to the country, not to distinguish and commemorate.

“ On the whole of their characters, the Irish gentry, though far from being faultless, had many noble qualities: generous, hospitable, friendly, brave, but careless, prodigal, and indiscreet, they possessed the materials of distinguished men with the propensities of obscure ones; and by their openness and sincerity, too frequently became the dupes of artifice and the victims of dissimulation.

“ Among the highest orders of the Irish people the distinguishing features of national character had been long wearing away, and becoming less prominent and remarkable. The manners of the nobility, in almost every European country, verge to one common centre: by the similarity of their education and society they acquire similar habits,

and a constant intercourse with courts clothes their address and language, as it does their persons, in one peculiar garb—disguising the strong points, and concealing the native traits, of their original characters.

“ In Ireland the nobility were then in number comparatively few: the policy which the British minister soon afterward so liberally adopted, of diminishing the weight and resistance of the commons by removing their leaders into the lords, had not yet been extensively practised in Ireland.”

As the course of this history is now fast approaching to our own times, when it will embrace the conduct of individuals yet living, measures yet operating, and the sufferings as well as the errors of a people still exciting so large a portion of our attention, it could be no improper introduction to such a period, to present the character of that people, drawn by the pen of one who has studied them attentively, and who has viewed their peculiarities in reference to the political institutions and prosperity of the country itself.

CHAP. X.

Reign of William—The great importance of this period in reference to the subsequent events of Irish history—Proceedings of the Lord Sydney as Lord-lieutenant of Ireland—Various penal statutes passed against the catholics—The articles of Kilkenny violated by William's ministers.—The tolerant disposition of William thwarted by his parliament—History of the secret proclamation—Attempts of the English government to legislate for Ireland—Resisted by the Irish parliament.

WE have now arrived at that epoch of Irish history when all the events connected with it deserve our serious attention, not only from their own importance, but from the intimate connection which they have with the subsequent periods. Almost all the great leading features of her political character, which occupied the attention of her legislature and of England during the last fifty years, had their origin in the preceding fifty; and no person who wishes thoroughly to understand the struggles for liberty which Ireland successfully made under George III. can neglect the causes and progress of that servitude which began

under William, promoted by Anne, and was continued under the first two monarchs of the house of Hanover.

The Revolution of 1688, which produced so much good to England, was the source of little advantage to Ireland. That liberty which we so zealously and so nobly acquired for ourselves we refused to communicate to others; and while we revelled in the luxuries of political and civil freedom, we were forging chains, in all the insolence of conquest, for the sister kingdom. Some excuse indeed may be found in the circumstances under which Ireland then appeared. Her catholic population had fought against that liberty which the Revolution was intended to restore and confirm; and the unabated zeal with which the cause of the abdicated and bigoted monarch was upheld in Ireland could not be supposed the most effectual means of securing the protection and favour of the Whig party in England. Personal prejudices have commonly more effect in directing political measures than some theorists seem willing to suppose; and yet, with every allowance for the influence of those prejudices, it cannot be denied, that we legislated for Ireland rather in the spirit of subjection than of conciliation. The great and comprehensive mind of Burke took a just and philosophical view of this period of Irish history.

“By the total reduction,” says he, in his Letter to Sir Hercules Langrishe, “of the kingdom of Ireland in 1691, the ruin of the native Irish, and

in a great measure too, the first races of the English, was completely accomplished. The new interest was settled with as solid a stability as any thing in human affairs can look for. All the penal laws of that unparalleled code of oppression, which were made after the last event, were manifestly the effects of national hatred and scorn towards a conquered people, whom the victors delighted to trample upon, and were not at all afraid to provoke. They were not the effects of their fears but of their security. They who carried on this system looked to the irresistible force of Great Britain for their support in their acts of power. They were quite certain that no complaints of the natives would be heard on this side of the water with any other sentiments than those of contempt and indignation. Their cries served only to augment their torture. Machines which could answer their purposes so well must be of an excellent contrivance. Indeed, at that time in England the double name of the complainants, Irish and Papists, (it would be hard to say singly which was the most odious,) shut up the hearts of every one against them. Whilst that temper prevailed in all its force to a time within our memory, every measure was pleasing and popular just in proportion as it tended to harrass and ruin a set of people who were looked upon to be enemies to God and man; and indeed, as a race of bigoted savages, who were a disgrace to human nature itself."

There can be little doubt that these strong feelings of prejudice, nourished in Ireland by the continual dread of catholic ascendancy, and prevailing in England from ignorance and bigotry, operated in the production of measures injurious to the former country and disgraceful to the latter. The first instance that presents itself is the open violation of the articles of Limerick, especially the first; for scarcely two months after their signature the lords justices and General Ginckle acted in a way which shewed their contempt of public faith, and their determination to render those articles as little beneficial as possible. "The justices of the peace," says Harris, in his *Life of King William*, "sheriffs, 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, subversion of the law, and reproach of their majesties' government."

The next step which was taken to alienate the affections and to provoke the resentment of the Irish people, as well protestants as catholics, was the interference of the English legislature to enact laws for Ireland. Thus in the year 1691, before any Irish parliament was assembled, the English parliament passed an act to alter the laws of Ireland in a case which involved the most essential rights of the subject. This act (the 3d W. and

M. c. 2.) was entitled "An Act for abrogating the Oath of Supremacy in Ireland, and appointing other Oaths," which oaths were of such a nature that they accomplished what it was intended to accomplish, the exclusion of catholics from the Irish parliament. There is no doubt that in the passing of this act, William was controuled by his parliament; for his own tolerant disposition would have led him to a different proceeding. This may be fairly inferred from a well-attested historical fact. When William was anxious to conclude the war in Ireland, that he might be able to apply the military force there to his continental views, and especially in Flanders, he instructed the lords commissioners to issue a proclamation, offering the following conditions to the catholics. 1. The free exercise of their religion; 2. Half the churches of the kingdom; 3. Half the employments civil and military, if they pleased; 4. The moiety of their ancient properties. This proclamation was actually printed, but the decisive battle of Aghrim gave fresh hopes to the lords justices, and they withheld the publication of it, whence it has been called the *Secret Proclamation*. The subsequent events at Limerick rendered its employment unnecessary, and the whole was carefully destroyed; not, however, so effectually as to prevent the knowledge of the transaction coming down to posterity, and affording another instance that William was, by disposition, tolerant, though his parliament and ministers were

not so. The offer of these conditions also affords a curious and important answer to the cavils about the coronation oath during some recent discussions upon the catholic claims: that coronation oath William had taken; but upon the most sincere and candid interpretation of it he saw nothing that bound him down to intolerance and persecution.

At length, in 1692, a parliament was convened in Ireland by Lord Sydney, who had been appointed lord-lieutenant, because supplies were necessary, and the English government did not venture to be quite so arbitrary as to tax the Irish by its own acts. They attempted, however, to do something not much better. They originated two money bills, (a direct violation of the rights of the Irish parliament,) and transmitted them from England to be laid before the Irish commons. They had virtue enough, however, to mark their resentment at this proceeding by rejecting one of the money bills, and passing the other only on account of the extreme urgency of the case. At the same time they entered on their journals their reason for rejecting the one, "because it had not originated in the house of commons;" and in passing the other they recorded their declaratory vote, "that it was and is the sole and undoubted right of the commons to prepare heads of bills for raising money." Sydney was not very well pleased with these proceedings, and when he prorogued the parliament in November, he reproached them

with having undutifully and ungratefully invaded the royal prerogative. The parliament were obsequious enough to request leave to send commissioners to their majesties to explain their conduct. They were told by Lord Sydney, "that they might go to England to beg their majesties' pardon for their seditious and riotous assemblies." This was not more than they deserved for throwing a doubt upon their own rights by craving leave to explain them; but it does not diminish the odious arrogance of Lord Sydney, who likewise went so far as to enter his protest against their claim of right with respect to the originating of money bills, and procured, in his favour, the opinion of the judges, who pronounced the conduct of the commons in this case a breach of Poyning's law. After some further prorogations the parliament was dissolved, to the great disappointment of the public, as bills of importance were thus frustrated, and many grievances were left undressed. Lord Sydney became deservedly unpopular, and he was accordingly recalled, as the disaffection of the Irish was yet too recent in the memory of the English government to venture to provoke them by compelling them to endure a lord-lieutenant who was so odious.

Upon his return, three lords justices were appointed, viz. Lord Capel, Sir Cyril Wyche, and Mr. Duncombe. But they were not unanimous. The first was resolved to maintain the evasion of the articles of Limerick, while the latter were

equally zealous for their observance. Lord Capel acted upon the views and wishes of the government at home, and agreeably to those of many protestants in Ireland, who considered the articles of Limerick as too favourable to the catholics, and as precluding them from reclaiming what had been plundered from them. Sir Cyril Wyche and Duncombe acted upon the broad basis of public faith; and the consequence was, that they were soon removed from any share in the government, and Lord Capel was appointed lord deputy.

A parliament was convened by him in 1695, and several penal statutes against the catholics were enacted by it without opposition, and in direct violation of the articles of Limerick. Some of these were as follow: An act to restrain foreign education, 7 Will. and Mary, c. iv. An act for the better securing the government by disarming papists, 7 Will. and Mary, c. v. An act for banishing all papists exercising any ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and all regulars of the popish clergy, out of the kingdom, 9 Will. III. c. i. An act to prevent protestants intermarrying with papists, 9 Will. c. iii. An act to prevent papists being solicitors, 10 Will. III. c. xiii. This parliament annulled, also, by a formal act, the parliamentary proceedings under the authority of James, which had been before annulled by the English legislature; the act of settlement was explained and confirmed; the articles of Limerick were also confirmed, but so modified as to lessen

the security to the persons concerned. Sir Charles Porter, the chancellor, a strenuous advocate for the strict execution of the capitulation with the Romanists, was assailed by a party under the influence of the lord deputy, who fabricated a charge against him, accusing him of designs hostile to government. In support of this accusation a charge was made in the house of commons; but on being heard in his own defence, he was most honourably acquitted.

Nor was Sir Charles Porter the only individual who ventured, at this period, to dispute the authority of England. Mr. Molyneux *, one of the members for Dublin University, indignant at the attempt of the English legislature to bind Ireland by her own acts, and thus reduce her to a state of actual and unmitigated servitude, boldly asserted the rights of his native country, and maintained that her independence was as fully recognised and established as the independence of England herself. In 1698 he published his celebrated work, *The Case of Ireland's being bound by Acts of Parliament in England stated*; in which he carried his enquiries into the early periods of Irish

* Well known as the correspondent of Halley, Locke, and other great men, and the author of several mathematical works, and some philosophical papers in the Royal Society Transactions. His learning was greater than his taste, for in one of his letters to Locke he unequivocally declares, that all our English poets, except Milton, were mere ballad-makers compared to Sir R. Blackmore,

history, with a view to ascertain by what compact, implied or expressed, she was held in her allegiance to England. That allegiance he did not deny, but he fearlessly and distinctly asserted the perfect and reciprocal independence of both countries. This work, assuming so high a tone, and arguing with such strength as carried conviction to every mind, alarmed the English parliament, whose usurped power was so directly attacked; and they appointed a committee to examine it, and report what particular passages most tended to deny and weaken the authority of the parliament in England to legislate for Ireland. The committee enquired and reported accordingly, alleging, as one of the causes which might have occasioned the pamphlet, the fact of the Irish parliament re-enacting a bill which had passed in England respecting the abrogation of the oath of supremacy in Ireland, and which re-enactment, with some few alterations, they considered as a distinct assumption of independence on the part of the Irish parliament. The house immediately voted an address to his majesty on the 31st June, 1698, which was presented by the whole house; in which, after expressing their indignation at the tenets contained in Mr. Molyneux's book, they beseech his majesty "to preserve and maintain the dependence and subordination of Ireland to the imperial crown of this realm, and that he would be graciously pleased to take all necessary care that the laws which

direct and restrain the parliament of Ireland in their actings be not evaded, but strictly observed." They concluded this address with hoping that his majesty " would be pleased to discourage all things which may in any degree tend to lessen the dependence of Ireland upon England."

To this address William briefly replied thus: " Gentlemen, I will take care that what is complained of may be prevented and redressed as you desire."

The English parliament, however, not satisfied with their endeavours to impose a legislative servitude upon the Irish nation, resolved also to cripple her in every measure that might tend to give her vigour, or rivalry with England; forgetting, or if not forgetting, willing to sacrifice the truth to feelings of resentment, that as an integral part of the British empire, whatever debilitated Ireland weakened England. At the same time that they presented the above address, they also presented another to the king, complaining of the advances made by Ireland in her woollen manufactures, to the great endangering of that staple commodity in England, and to the neglect of her own linen manufacture, " the establishment and growth of which would be so enriching to themselves and so profitable to England;" and they intreat that his majesty will adopt effective measures to prevent Ireland from exporting wool, and to induce her to cultivate her linen trade.

The ministers of William were willing to cooperate with his parliament in every measure that could repress the pride or humble the spirit of Ireland, and accordingly a law was passed prohibiting the exportation of wool and woollen manufactures from Ireland upon pain of confiscation, imprisonment, and transportation, and no acquittal in that kingdom of any offence against these statutes was allowed to be pleaded in bar of any indictment upon them within the kingdom of England. This law was justly considered as peculiarly iniquitous and unjust.

A modern writer has made some judicious remarks upon this measure of the English parliament. "That encouragement was to be given," says he, "to the linen and hempen manufactures of Ireland, so as exclusively to supply the English trade in fabrics of this kind, and to amount to a compensation for the loss of the woollen was at that time understood; yet no encouragement was given till six years after; and in course of time the growing and manufacturing of hemp and flax was so favoured by government in Scotland and England, that these countries became rivals in this branch of industry to Ireland, where the trade of hemp thus entirely failed. But the most fostering indulgence to the Irish for profiting by these materials could never have compensated the loss of their woollen-manufacture for reasons too numerous to be here particularized. Wool was abundant, produced with little trouble

or expence, and manageable without risk. The Irish, except in Ulster, were little acquainted with flax; nor could they otherwise than slowly, in a course of years, acquire dexterity in a new trade. The preparation of the flax is delicate and precarious, the importation of the seed exhaustingly expensive to a poor country, the crops liable to failure from unsound seed and other circumstances; and the culture so unprofitable that notwithstanding great sums given in premium for its promotion, the farmers who made a full trial of its fruits, have abandoned it for ever. I have myself made the experiment to my loss, and have known many others in the same predicament. Flax is doubtless favoured in its growth by the moist air of Ireland, but it is found to flourish to much greater advantage in the soil of some other countries.

“ The woollen manufacture of the Irish, if carried to the utmost pitch of profit, could never have injured the English, since, from well known circumstances, the greater part of the advantage would have accrued to the latter. The immediate effect of the prohibitory laws was poverty and distress to the Irish, especially in the south. From the establishment of the acts of settlement and explanation their country had rapidly increased in wealth and improvement, to the admiration and envy of her neighbours, till it was again laid waste by the revolutionary wars under William III, and even from this calamity it was recovering with such quickness that in 1698, the balance

of trade in its favour amounted to between four and five hundred thousand pounds. But the effects were permanent of restricting laws, insurmountable by the fertility of the soil, the ingenuity of the inhabitants, a situation very advantageous for commerce, navigable rivers, and a multitude of harbours. Human affairs, however, are so contrived by Providence that the effects of injustice revert to its authors. Deprived of the means of subsistence at home, thousands of Irish manufacturers emigrated to France and other countries, where they assisted the inhabitants in the augmentation of the quantity, and improvement of the quality of their woollen cloths and established correspondents by which vast quantities of Irish wool, whose exportation except to England, was prohibited, were carried clandestinely to these countries. Thus the foreign demand for English cloth was prodigiously more lessened than it could ever have been by any exertions of Irish industry at home; the French were enabled not only to supply their own demands, but even to undersell the English in the markets of other nations: and thus for every thousand pounds of profit which Ireland might have acquired by a participation with England in this trade, the latter has lost ten thousand."

It may be doubted, however, whether the injury to England has been so great as stated by the ingenious writer, whose sentiments have just been quoted. Ireland was certainly a greater

sufferer than England; and the measure of restraining the exportation of wool except to England is rather to be condemned for its cruel policy with respect to the former country than for any evil which the latter has sustained. By the proceedings of the English parliament, it is evident that it was intended Ireland should find an equivalent in her linen trade, for the loss of her woollen manufacture: but there are some facts which prove that Ireland did not, nor could not find such equivalent. The Irish had, before this period, applied themselves to the linen trade, as appears from two of their statutes in the reign of Elizabeth, one laying a duty on the export of flax and linen yarn, and the other making it felony to ship them without paying such duty. But, experience had shewn them that the woollen trade was more advantageous, particularly as it was natural that a poor and exhausted country should work up the materials of which it was possessed, rather than those for which they must chiefly depend upon the supply of foreign markets.

There is no part of Irish history that has more frequently excited controversy, or has more frequently been referred to in proof of the tyranny and injustice of England, than her conduct with respect to the woollen manufactures of Ireland, and as those prohibitory statutes compelled the Irish nation to cultivate with all its assiduity and means, the only staple that was left, namely, the linen trade, which still continues to be her chief

commodity, the following succinct account of its rise and progress in this country, (especially in Ulster) by Dr. Stevenson, in the second Fasciculus of the Belfast Literary Society, deserves a place here.

“ The manufacture of linen,” says he “ is said to have been carried on at a very early period by the Phenicians particularly by the inhabitants of Bethsan *, a colony of Scythians, thence called Scythopolis † by the Greeks. About 1400 years before the christian era, they introduced their letters, arts and manufactures into Greece; and afterwards planted colonies at Carthage and Cadiz, whence according to the Irish historians, they passed into Ireland, and imported into that country among other useful inventions. The spindle and the loom.

“ If it be objected to this, that there is no single word in the Irish language that signifies a loom, it may be replied, that the same may be said of all the western languages. Thus, in English, loom signified any machine, but was afterwards appropriated to the weavers frame. In like manner, a loom in Irish is *beart-fhigaidh*, the weavers frame or engine.

“ Dr. Johnson has not the substantive sley. The verb, according to him signifies, to part, or twist into threads. For further explanation he refers us to sleave, a word, of which he candidly

* Reland.

† Bunonius in Culver.

confesses that he knows not well the meaning. The sley is the reed, the comb or pecten, and the sleys or sley-boards, the frame in which it is fixed: and the original of this word Dr. Johnson might have learned in the western isles, where sleighe, signifies a way, and when applied to a loom, the way through which the yarn must pass before weaving. A sliver of wool is a skain or lock which has passed through the sley.

“ The shuttle is often confounded with the sley, although both their derivation and office are widely different. Scut, is a boat, and nothing can resemble a boat, cut out of a single tree, more than the antient shuttle of this kingdom. Those, who admit, that these words are derived from the Phenician, will consider them as presumptive evidence, that the Irish were acquainted with these implements from the most remote antiquity.

“ The act of Henry VIII, against grey merchants forestalling, proves that linen yarn was a very considerable article of commerce, at that time in Ireland. In the reign of Elizabeth, this act was revived, with an additional clause, prohibiting the watering of flax and hemp in rivers. In another act, passed in the thirteenth year of the same reign, against the exportation of wool, flax, and linen, and woollen yarn, it is recited that the merchants of Ireland had been exporters of these articles for upwards of one hundred years, before that period. In 1599, Fynes Morrison, secretary

to Lord Mountjoy, observes, that Ireland yields much flax, which the inhabitants work into yarn and export in great quantities. There is still extant, an act of parliament restricting the higher orders from wearing an extravagant quantity of linen in their shirts. In the reign of Charles I, Lord Strafford adopted the most effectual measures for the encouragement of the linen manufacture, and in 1673, Sir William Temple asserts; that if the spinning of flax were encouraged, we should soon beat both the French and Dutch out of the English market. In that year, England imported from France linen to the amount of 507,250l,4s. including 2820 pair of old sheets*.

“ In 1678, the absurdity of this traffic became so evident that it was prohibited. But in 1685, James II, was so much in the French interest, that he obtained a repeal of the prohibitory act. At the revolution, however, the importation of French linen was declared a common nuisance; in the parliaments of the three kingdoms, and finally suppressed. In 1698, the woollen manufacture had taken such deep root in Ireland, as to excite the jealousy of the English to such a degree, that both houses of parliament addressed King William on the subject, beseeching him to take effectual measures to discourage the woollen manufacture of Ireland, and promising, in this case every encouragement to the manufacture of linen.

* *British Merchant*, Vol. i. p. 181.

This stipulation was announced to the Irish parliament by the lords justices in their speech from the throne. The two houses readily acquiesced, and this transaction has ever since been considered by the Irish as a solemn compact between the two nations*.

“ In consequence of an act of the ninth of Anne, a board of trustees of the linen and hempen

* “ At the time of the accession of William III, our farms were better suited to the woollen manufacture than the linen; our flocks were numerous, and our sheep-shearing began in May; the wool was immediately sorted and scoured; the short fine wool was preserved for grey spinning, the web made of it was called grey web, as in an act of Henry VIII. This was dyed drab, blue, or brown; and was spun on the great wheel, woven in summer and dressed for cloaths for the male branches of the family. Tuck mills were then more numerous than our bleach-mills are at present. The long fine wool was laid aside for the comb. This was generally spun upon the small wheel, the same as used for flax spinning; and was dyed of different colours, and woven as poplin, the warp and weft being of different colours; when doubled, it was woven as camlet, and worn by men in summer, or made into stockings. The middling kind of wool was made into blankets.

“ Mr. Young draws a comparison between the profits arising from the woollen manufacture and the linen, thus; Ulster exported linen to the amount of 1,000,000*l*. It contains, 2,836,837 plantation acres; suppose this vast tract under sheep, and feeding no more than two to an acre, their fleeces valued at 5*s*. each only, would amount to 1,418,418, and when spun into bay yarn, would amount to 2,127,622 annually; that is to say, the amount would be more than the whole value of the linen manufacture exported or consumed at home!”

manufactures was established; and on the sixth of October, 1711, the Duke of Ormond nominated an equal number of trustees for each province*.

“ This is justly considered as an event of great importance, in the history of the linen trade; but was preceded by one perhaps of equal consequence, the emigration of Hugonots, from France, on account of the revocation of the edict of Nantz, in 1685. Many of these refugees who had carried on the linen manufacture in France, were attracted to these kingdoms by their attachment to King William, and encouraged to settle in Ireland by the measures that had been taken in favour of the linen trade. Among these was Mr. Lewis Cromelin, who obtained a patent for carrying on and improving the linen manufacture, accompanied with a grant of 800*l.* per annum, as interest of 10,000*l.* to be advanced by him, or by his procurement, as a stock for carrying on the same; 200*l.* per annum for his pains and care in carrying on the said work; 120*l.* per annum

* The following were appointed in the province of Ulster; Hugh Earl of Mount Alexander; James, Earl of Abercorne; William, Lord Viscount Mountjoy; Clotworthy, Lord Viscount Massareene; Lord Conway; Edward Southwell, Esq. principal secretary of state for the kingdom of Ireland; Thomas Joshua Dawson, Esq. one of the Justices of her Majesty's Court of Queen's Bench; Charles O'Neil, Esq.; Hawkins Magile, Mathew Ford, Esq.; James Topham, Esq.; Charles Campbell, Esq.; Robert Clements, Esq.; Michael Ward, Esq.

for three assistants, and 60*l.* per annum for the support of a French minister. This patent was renewed by Queen Anne; but, in 1716, on the appointment of itinerants in each province, the three assistants were struck off. In consequence of this patent, Mr. Cromelin settled in Lisburn, in this county. He was a native of St. Quintin, where his ancestors had carried on the manufacture of linen with great success, for many generations. In 1705, he published a book, in which he successfully combated the prejudices that prevailed against the culture of flax, and the manufacture of linen. It consisted of six chapters on the following subjects; 1. Preparing ground, sowing, weeding, pulling, watering and grassing flax; 2. Dressing flax; 3. Hemp; 4. Spinning, and spinning-wheels; 5. Preparing yarn and looms; 6. Bleaching utensils and bleaching.

“ Cloth, resembling linen, has been made from the filaments of trees, found in the island of Madagascar, and in the islands of the South Seas, In Sweden, hop stalks were put into water in autumn, and taken out in March: the filaments were then dressed like flax, and made in the common manner, into fine strong cloth. The filaments of nettles have been dressed in the same manner as flax, and made into cloth of a fine texture.

“ Most of our flax-seed is imported from Riga, the low countries, and America. The farmers who are accustomed to sow Riga, especially if they

intend to preserve the seed, prefer it, because it produces the greatest quantity. Although the casks in which it is exported are new, they are often badly finished, and the seed sometimes damaged, and often too long kept: Memel seed has been imported into this province; it produces short flax and is now generally despised.

“ The Dutch is a large, dark coloured seed, some grains of it are nearly black, and flat, and shrivelled, like unripe seed hastily dried, yet it sells as high as Riga seed, and higher than American. It cannot be safely kept through the winter, so as to be sown the following spring. The old, close, damp wine hogsheads in which it is exported, were supposed to be the cause of this evil. The American casks are made of new, dry, well-seasoned oak, and readily admit air. Our merchants believing this theory well founded, changed it from Dutch into American casks, and stored it on well-aired, dry lofts, without any good effect. Probably, the damp air of the low countries, and unripe seed are the causes.

“ The American seed is smaller and rounder than the Dutch, the colour lighter, the skin smoother. The preference of the Dutch seed, is contrary to our experience of the advantage of changing the seed of grain to a kind of soil different from that in which it was produced. The soil of America differs more from the soil of Ireland, than the soil of the low countries. Yet the Dutch seed is preferred to the American,

from a supposition that it produces larger and longer stalks, and a greater quantity of flax.

“ The annual importation of flax-seed from each country into the ports of this kingdom is published in the yearly transactions of the linen board.

“ The annual average sale of flax-seed in Belfast, 5000 hogsheads—in Newry, 9000,—in Londonderry, 11,000—amounting to 25,000 hogsheads. The importations annually exceed the sales by several thousand hogsheads.

“ Riga and Dutch seeds are sold at the same rate by the wholesale merchants; New-York, Philadelphia and Boston, at the same rate; New-York and Boston are preferred by farmers to Philadelphia.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
“ In the year							
1805 Dutch seed sold for	7	19	3	American	6	16	6
1806 Dutch —————	7	19	3	American	4	11	0
1807 Dutch —————	7	7	10	American	4	5	0
1808 Old Dutch ———	10	4	9	New America	9	2	0

“ No new Dutch seed at market this season; a supposed scarcity, and a demand from fore-stallers occasioned the American seed to be sold in March, 1808, at 11l. 7s. 6d. some at 14l. 5s. 9d; in May the same year, it was sold at 7l. 7s. 10d $\frac{1}{2}$. great demands, the high prices, the danger and disappointments, induced the trustees to encourage the farmers of this country to save and sow their own seed. The greatest quantities were raised

when premiums were distributed by the acre, and itinerant men sent to inspect the crops.

The following, is an abstract of the legislative proceedings, which, were adopted in the reign of King William, with a view to destroy the woollen manufacture of Ireland of whose rivalry, England had become jealous: and to encourage the linen manufacture of whose superiority England afterwards became equally jealous, departing from her pledge with an insincerity that cannot be too severely stigmatized.

“ On the ninth and tenth of June, 1698, petitions from the houses of lords and commons, of England, were presented to King William, against the woollen, and in favour of the linen manufacture in Ireland. The address of the lords contains the following words:

“ We do most humbly beseech your most sacred majesty, that your majesty would be pleased in the most public and effectual way that may be, to declare to all your subjects of Ireland, that the growth and encrease of the woollen manufacture there hath long been, and will ever be looked upon with great jealousy, by all your subjects of this kingdom: and if not timely remedied, may occasion very strict laws totally to prohibit and suppress the same, and on the other hand, if they turn their industry and skill to settling and improving the linen manufacture, for which generally the lands of that kingdom are very proper, they shall receive all countenance, favour, and

protection, from your royal influence, for the encouraging and promoting the said linen manufacture to all the advantage and profit that kingdom can be capable of." To which the house agreed.

"It is ordered by the lords spiritual and temporal in parliament assembled. That the lords with white staves do humbly attend his majesty with the address of this house, concerning the woollen manufacture in Ireland."

Die Veneris, 10^o Junii 1698^o.

"The Lord Steward reported his majesty's answer to the address, to this effect, viz.—'That his majesty will take care to do what their lordships have desired.

Ashley Cowper,
Cler Parliamentor.'"

"*'The address of the commons contains the following words :*

"*'And we do most humbly implore your majesty's protection and favour in this matter; and that you will make it your royal care, and enjoin all those you employ in Ireland to make it their care, and use their utmost diligence, to hinder the exportation of wool from Ireland, except to be imported hither, and for discouraging the woollen manufactures, and encouraging the linen manufactures in Ireland, to which we shall always be ready to give our utmost assistance. Resolved,*

That the said address be presented to his majesty by the whole house.”

Sabbati, 2 die Julii,

“ ‘ *His majesty’s answer.*

“ ‘ Gentlemen, I shall do all that in me lies to discourage the woollen manufacture in Ireland, and to encourage the linen manufacture there; and to promote the trade of England.’ ”

Thursday, 27th September, 1698.

“ ‘ *Part of the lord justices speech,*

“ ‘ Amongst these bills there is one for the encouragement of the linen and hempen manufactures; at our first meeting we recommended to you that matter, and we have now endeavoured to render that bill practicable and useful for that effect, and as such we now recommend it to you. The settlement of this manufacture will contribute much to people the country, and will be found much more advantageous to this kingdom, than the woollen manufacture, which being the settled staple trade of England, from whence all foreign markets are supplied, can never be encouraged here for that purpose; whereas, the linen and hempen manufactures will not only be encouraged as consistent with the trade of England, but will render the trade of this kingdom both useful and necessary to England.’ ”

“ *The commons of Ireland returned the following answer to the speech from the throne :*

“ ‘ We pray leave to assure your excellencies that we shall heartily endeavour to establish a linen and hempen manufacture here, and to render the same useful to England, as well as advantageous to this kingdom ; and that we hope to find such a temperament and respect to the woollen trade here, that the same may not be injurious to England.’

“ And they passed a law that session commencing the 25th of March, 1699, laying 4s. additional duty on every 20s. value of broad cloth exported out of Ireland, and 2s. on every 20s. value of serges, baize, kerseys, stuffs, or any other sort of new, drapery made of wool or mixed with wool, (frizes only excepted) which was in effect a prohibition. And in the same session a law was passed in England, restraining Ireland from exporting those woollen manufactures, including frize, to any other parts except England and Wales.

“ Common sense, tells us, they did this under a perfect conviction, that they should receive ample encouragement from England in their linen trade: but what moon-shine would such encouragement prove, if England, departing from the letter and spirit of that compact, had encouraged her own linen manufacture to rival the Irish, after

the Irish had destroyed their woollen fabrics to encourage those of England? yet they did this in direct breach of the whole transaction, for the 23d of George II, laid a tax on sail-cloth made of Irish hemp. Bounties also have been given in England without extending fully to Irish linens. Checked, striped, printed, painted, stained, or dyed linens, of Irish manufacture, are not allowed to be imported into Britain. In which, and in other articles, they have done everything possible to extend and increase their own linen manufacture, to rival that of Ireland.—See *Young's Tour in Ireland*, Vol. ii. p. 145. Dublin Edition.”

While, however, we condemn the proceedings of the English legislature, at this period, it would be want of candour and of justice, not to exempt William from a great part of our censure. It is well known that he had not the power of controlling the parties that then agitated the country; and having succeeded to the throne of England, peculiarly by parliamentary influence, it can hardly be expected that he should exert his authority to negative any of the acts of that parliament. His disposition, which was tolerant and just, was over-ruled by that power, which he could not safely contend with himself. In no instance was this predominance of the parliament more conspicuous, than in its proceedings with regard to the resumption of Irish forfeitures.

William had rewarded the services of many of his adherents, by granting them large possessions in Ireland, the forfeited estates of those who had taken up arms in defence of King James. Those grants amounted to seventy six. The English parliament, with a view probably to vex the king, certainly with the intention of making him feel his dependance upon themselves, passed an act for the resumption of those grants, upon the plea that William had stipulated with his parliament, that the Irish forfeitures should be sold for the public use, and to help in defraying the expences of the war. They accordingly passed an act, in 1698, "for granting aid to his majesty by sale of the forfeited and other estates and interests in Ireland, &c." The whole scope and intention of this proceeding was to censure the conduct of the king. The preamble to the act, after stating that the conduct of the Irish in assisting James was treasonous, (though it should be remembered that James called upon them for their allegiance personally, and that they were not bound to adopt the conduct of England) concludes with this inference: "Whereas, it is highly reasonable that the estates of such rebels and traitors should be applied in ease of your majesty's faithful subjects of this kingdom, to the use of the public."

The consequence of this act was, that seven commissioners were appointed to enquire into the value of the forfeited lands, and the reasons of their alienation from the public. Of these

commissioners, three were in the interest of the crown, and the remaining four were attached to the parliament, who accordingly voted that their report alone was entitled to credit, and they also passed a resolution, "that the advising, procuring and passing the said grants of the forfeited and other estates in Ireland, had been the occasion of contracting great debts upon the nation, and levying heavy taxes upon the people; and that the advising and passing the said grants, was highly reflecting on the king's honour; and that the officers and instruments concerned in the procuring and passing these grants, had highly failed in the performance of their trust and duty."

A bill for the resumption of the granted lands, as public property, passed the lower house, and afterwards, though with some difficulty, the upper. The royal assent was given to it by William with great dissatisfaction, and in his speech to the commons, when they addressed him in relation to the Irish forfeitures, he said, "Gentlemen, I was not led by inclination, but thought myself obliged in justice to reward those, who had served well and particularly in the reduction of Ireland, out of the estates forfeited to me by the rebellion, &c." So captious were the commons, that when this answer was reported to them by the speaker, they resolved "that whoever advised it had used his utmost eudeavours to create a misunderstanding and jealousy between the king and his people."

From these facts it becomes sufficiently obvious that William acted in many instances from the control of that power, which had placed him on the throne, and whose authority he could not feel himself strong enough to resist by his own. He died soon after this, (1702), in consequence of a fall from his horse which fractured his collar-bone. He was in the fifty-second year of his age, and the thirteenth of his reign.

CHAP. XI.

The penal statutes that were passed against the catholics in this reign more attributable to circumstances, perhaps, than to any settled design of annihilating their civil and political rights—Reflections on this subject—Historical account of the various gradations of that pernicious code—Bill for excluding dissenters from offices under the crown in Ireland—How carried—Ministerial artifice employed—Factionous proceedings of the two parties in Ireland—Protest of the lords against disqualifying the dissenters—Indisposition of Queen Anne to the protestant succession—Her death.

QUEEN Anne, the daughter of James II. wife of the Prince of Denmark, and the last of the Stuarts, succeeded to the throne of England upon the demise of William, which happened in 1702. From her, allied to that family in whose defence the catholics of Ireland had suffered proscription, confiscation, and death, they might justly have hoped to find a protector and liberator; they might at least have expected, that, if she did not mitigate the severities of her predecessors, she would not add to them by fresh inflictions of her

own. But whatever may have been the tendency of her own unbiassed feelings, whatever anxiety she may have felt to befriend those who had befriended her father in his utmost need, she, like King William, was alternately the sport and victim of the two great parties that then divided the court, the senate, and the country. There was still another cause, which operated, and powerfully operated, in producing that strong determination on the part of the English legislature to cripple and disable the Irish catholics by penal statutes. Though James II. was dead, there was his son living, and it was not unknown that he entertained hopes of succeeding to the crown of his father. While such a calamity hung threatening over the destinies of England, she could not be unmindful of the disposition of Ireland to befriend and assist the family of Stuart; and as a preventive system, calculated to debilitate and enfeeble any efforts in that country to shake the yet recent structure founded upon the principles of the Revolution in 1688, it seemed a matter of just and necessary policy to disqualify the catholics of Ireland as much as law and persecution could do it. In assigning this as the probable and likely reason for those statutes which passed during this and the succeeding reign, it must be confessed, that the only reason *is* assigned on which can hinge the slightest justification of them. The just terror which the nation and the parliament had of a papal king and a papal ascendancy might make

both the one and the other more willing, in their eagerness to secure themselves, to oppress those from whom the danger was apprehended. In the tumultuous alarm of fear and consternation, reason and religion are alike dumb; and not being able to know at once how far it is necessary to go in order to protect ourselves, we more commonly exceed than fall short of the necessary means. But with whatever plausibility these arguments may be made to apply to the motives which produced those penal laws, they utterly fail when it is attempted to press them into the service of modern persecution: the horrors of a pretender are gone for ever: the roots of the royal lineage of the house of Hanover have struck deep into the soil of our constitution, and the authority of the papal see, disarmed, despoiled, and degraded, as the sovereign pontiff now is, exists only as a shadow of what it was, as the wreck of a mighty name. We prop and fence the tender sapling from the rude storm that may assail and lay it low; but we throw those fences by as useless when the tree acquires vigour, when the roots strike into the soil, when the branches spread themselves abroad, and the whole tree stands firm against every shock of the elements. Let those, then, who still talk of the danger of catholic emancipation, who still talk of the pernicious character of the catholic faith, who still dread catholic dogmas, and still fear catholic ascendancy as the probable issue of freedom to the catholics

of Ireland, shew that England, that Rome, that Europe, is in the same situation as when those penal laws were enacted; that the same just alarms exist; that the same evils threaten us; and that if we repeal those laws, a jacobite pretender will start up, or a popish aristocracy, a popish landed commonalty, will overthrow the constitution. Upon them lies the *onus*; let them prove these things, and the most lukewarm man in England will be roused to resistance, the most zealous advocate of the Irish catholics will withdraw from the cause, and rally round the throne, the constitution, and the church. But till they do shew this, till they prove it, till they do something more than merely assert it, and appeal to *past* ages for their proofs and the illustrations of their arguments, their hostility will look like bigotry, and their consistency like ignorance. That great man, Edmund Burke, speaking of the penal code enacted during the reign of Queen Anne, says, in his admirable Letter to Sir Hercules Langrishe, "You abhorred it, as I did, for its vicious perfection. For I must do it justice. It was a complete system, full of coherence and consistency: well digested, and well composed in all its parts. It was a machine of wise and elaborate contrivance, and as well fitted for the oppression, impoverishment, and degradation of a people, and the debasement in them of human nature itself, as ever proceeded from the perverted ingenuity of man."

The first step in this progression was the *Act for preventing the further growth of popery*, in which new severities were enacted against the catholics. This act passed in the Irish-parliament in 1703; and did we not remember that by the abrogation of the oath of supremacy in Ireland, and the substitution of another, catholics were virtually excluded from parliament, it might seem surprising that such an act should pass. Nor was there one man in either house who stood up in their defence. Some members, indeed, who affected a regard for their interests, seceded from parliament altogether, because they would not be a party to the passing of the law; but had they been the real friends of the catholics, they would rather have remained at their post, and endeavoured by their authority, their example, and their persuasion, to operate upon those who were favourable to the measure. Resignations, however, became so common on this account that the house passed a resolution, declaring the practice to be of dangerous consequence, and tending to the subversion of the constitution of parliament. There is a curious piece of political history belonging to this act which deserves to be related, as unfolding some of the arcana of ministerial intrigues. At the time this measure was in agitation there prevailed so violent a prepossession against the catholics in Ireland by the protestants there, that the English ministers knew not how to stem the torrent of animosity though they con-

demned its impetuous character. It happened also that at the moment we are speaking of, Queen Anne, who was in alliance with the Emperor of Germany, had been interceding with him in behalf of his protestant subjects; and it would appear peculiarly ungracious in her majesty's government to persecute her own subjects on the score of religion at the very moment when she was endeavouring to mediate in behalf of the subjects of another state. Yet the ministers feared to reject the bill of the Irish parliament, because it was supported by many dissenters of great political weight. What did they do? They endeavoured to accomplish their aim by stratagem; they tacked to it, by way of clause, a provision which enacted, that no person in Ireland should be eligible to fill any place under the crown, or to accept any corporate magistracy, who did not receive the sacrament according to the usage of the church of Ireland. This, it was justly thought, would render the whole bill unacceptable to its projectors in Ireland, as it excluded many of them from places of trust and profit as effectually as the catholics; but the dissenters were filled with some vague hope that the clause would soon after be repealed, and the bill received no opposition in either house, but passed into a law, notwithstanding the pleadings against it at the bars of both houses by Sir Theobald Butler, Sir Stephen Rice, and Mr. Malone, as counsel for the catholics. The dissenters were grievously disappointed,

and tried, but in vain, to get the obnoxious clause, which has been usually called the *sacramental test*, repealed. Not only it was not repealed, but it was often acted upon with great severity. Their fate, however, was not much to be lamented; in forging chains for others, one link was added for themselves.

In 1704 the Duke of Ormond was appointed lord-lieutenant. He was the grandson of that Duke of Ormond whose perfidious conduct has been detailed during the reign of Charles I. and the Commonwealth. He seemed to inherit all his ancestor's violence of prejudice against the catholics, though (such is the fallibility of human judgment when deciding upon human actions) he was, a few years after receiving the thanks of the Irish parliament for his exertions to prevent the increase of popery, convicted of high treason, and a reward of 10,000*l.* put upon his head for having deserted his *protestant* sovereign, and adhered to a *popish* pretender to the throne. It would puzzle the most acute reasoner to reconcile these two facts as applying to the same person; to explain, upon consistent grounds, how this man, who had been chiefly instrumental in giving efficacy to the bill for preventing the further growth of popery*,

* Of that bill Curry most happily said, that it was "a penal statute, through which there ran such a vein of ingenious cruelty, that it seemed to be dictated rather by some prætor of Dioclesian than by a British or an Irish nobleman."

should veer about, and advocate the claims of a popish prince. His hypocrisy seems to have been matchless, and his perfidy equal to his hypocrisy.

One of the operations of this bill to prevent the further growth of popery was, that it broke the influence of catholic power by the subdivision of their landed property. Their estates were ordered to descend in the manner of gavel-kind, in equal shares to all the children, notwithstanding any settlements to the contrary, unless the persons who should otherwise inherit would take prescribed oaths, and conform to protestantism; but the system was, perhaps, carried to unnecessary harshness in prohibiting catholics from realizing their money in lands, and from enjoying a leasehold interest for more than thirty-one years, besides some other instances of severity*. If the son of a catholic should become a protestant, he was vested with a power over the inheritance of his father, who, in that case, became tenant for life under mortifying restrictions. It is surely hardly possible to conceive a penal system conceived with more refinement of cruelty and persecution than this. Nor was the severity of principle upon which these acts were framed mitigated by any practical lenity; they were enforced during

* The reader who wishes to see a complete exhibition of the cruel character of these and similar laws, may consult the posthumous works of Burke, just published. (See vol. ix. 8vo. ed. p. 326 et seq.)

the whole of the queen's reign with a strictness and precision which made them still more odious, and made the catholics still more discontented.

In 1707 the house of commons of Ireland voted an address of congratulation to her majesty upon the union between England and Scotland; and on the same day they voted an address to the Earl of Pembroke, the then lord-lieutenant, in which they felicitated themselves upon the opportunity they should find under his administration of enacting still further laws necessary to the security of the protestant interest. The next viceroyal personage who presided over Ireland was the profligate Earl of Wharton; and he, when he prorogued the parliament in 1709, told them, that the sure way to keep down the catholic ascendancy in Ireland was, not only the enacting such statutes as had been passed, but unanimity among the protestants themselves. He signified to the dissenters that it was her majesty's royal will and pleasure that they should not be persecuted in any way on account of their religious persuasion; and yet the dissenters tried in vain to get the obnoxious clause for the sacramental test repealed. The Earl of Wharton, however, amused them with promises if he did not give them relief; and he at least kept them quiet as long as he nourished their hopes of being released from the chain that so sorely galled them.

When we recollect the character of the Earl of Wharton as delineated by Swift, in his History

of the four last years of Queen Anne, and especially what he said of him, even before his death, in the following severe sentences, viz. that “ he had sunk his fortune by endeavouring to ruin one kingdom, and had raised it by going far in the ruin of another; that his administration of Ireland was looked upon as a sufficient ground to impeach him at least for high crimes and misdemeanours; and that yet he had gained by the government of that kingdom under two years 45,000*l.* by the most favourable computation, half in the regular way, and half in the prudential;” when these things are recollected, we cannot but reprobate and lament the degeneracy of the then Irish house of commons, which could come to a vote for presenting an obsequious address to the lord-lieutenant, in which they assured him, “ that they gratefully acknowledged her majesty’s more particular care of them in appointing his excellency their chief governor, whose equal and impartial administration gave them just reason to hope, and earnestly wish, his long continuance in the government.” Would such an address have been carried—nay, would any one have dared to propose such an address—had the Irish commons then possessed within its walls a Grattan, a Flood, a Ponsonby, or a Curran?

During the last four years of Queen Anne’s reign the Tory faction was predominant in England, and the Tories of Ireland, of which there were many, besides the catholics, who were Jaco-

bites as well as Tories, began to raise their heads, and create dissention between them and the Whigs, which so long agitated and disturbed the country. In the Irish house of peers the Tories prevailed; in the commons the Whigs still maintained a small majority. The main body of the clergy were inclined to Tory principles, while the University of Dublin was so attached to those of 1688, that they degraded and expelled one Edward Forbes for aspersions on the memory of King William. In consequence of their loyalty an application in their favour for 5000*l.* for the erection of a library, which was made in 1709 through the viceroy, was favourably received.

The parliamentary contests between these two parties at this time were very vehement. In an address of the lords to the queen, on the 9th Nov. 1711, they alleged "that sincere veneration for her majesty's royal person and prerogative, and tender regard for the peace and tranquillity of the kingdom, could alone prevail on them thus long to forget the high indignities offered to their house by the commons, and to submit their private injuries to her majesty's more public concerns, lest their just resentment, which the commons by their behaviour had so industriously provoked, might obstruct her majesty's affairs, and thus render effectual the malicious designs of evil-minded men." They complained that "the commons had treated them in a manner wholly unknown to former parliaments, and

had addressed them in language more indecent, more opprobrious, than had been used by another house of commons at a time when they voted the house of lords useless. That however justly her majesty might approve the conduct of the College of Dublin, in the late Revolution, still they humbly conceived that her majesty did not extend her bounty to them to promote (in general) *revolution principles*—principles which, as explained by the pamphlets and libels publicly avowed and circulated by men of *factionous and seditious tempers*, and particularly in a sermon preached on the 30th January, dedicated to that very house of commons, without censure or animadversion, did in a great measure maintain and justify the execrable murder of King Charles I. and on which might be founded any rebellion against her majesty and her successors. They insisted upon their right of construing the words and terms used by the commons in their address, viz. that the commons having in their vote mentioned the steady adherence of the provost and fellows of the College to the late Revolution as one consideration of their application for the 5000l. since granted by her majesty, the subsequent motive mentioned in that vote, viz. for the encouragement of sound revolution principles, could not, in good reason, or grammar, be referred to the late Revolution; since adherence to the late Revolution was a distinct motive of itself. And it was the known nature of principles to be as

well the rule and guide of future as of past actions. They disclaimed every intention of misrepresenting the commons to her majesty for their own actions; they were to be judged by God and her majesty. But for themselves, they did most solemnly assure her majesty they were heartily thankful to Almighty God for the late happy Revolution, acknowledging the necessity and justice of it; and that they would, at the utmost hazard and expense of their lives and fortunes, defend, support, and maintain her majesty's sacred person and government, her just prerogative in the choice of her ministers, the church of Ireland as by law established, and the succession of the crown in the illustrious house of Hanover, against the Pretender, and all those who designed revolutions either in church or state, against all her majesty's enemies abroad, and against all papists, jacobites, and republicans at home."

From the tone and temper of this address it may easily be conceived, that the contentions between the two parties had already gone to a considerable length, and that the principles of pure whiggism, which actuated the house of commons, began to be a source of alarm to the Tory administration in England and its supporters in Ireland. It seems, however, to be of the very essence of our constitution not only that parties should prevail, and to a powerful extent, but that the popular part of the constitution, the house of commons, should be the chosen and selected seat

of the Whig principles, as the aristocratical part is of the Tory principles. The aristocracy, as a permanent body emanating immediately from the crown, has all its interests intimately connected with those of the throne; while the commons, being the representatives of the people, and to a considerable degree dependent upon them for their power to legislate, has a national connexion and interest with them: and hence it need not excite our surprize to find the Irish peers rallying on the side of prerogative and monarchy, and the commons advocating the cause of popular liberty, though we may wonder a little at that bitterness of recrimination and reproof in which they indulged in their address. It would be irksome and incompatible with the plan of this work to dwell with any more minuteness upon all the acts, on both sides, to which this virulence of party gave birth; a virulence subsisting not as formerly, between catholic and protestant, but between protestant and protestant. A philosophical historian might trace, perhaps, the causes of these dissentions as far back as the reign of James, and through all the subsequent periods; the protestant population of Ireland being greatly composed of the descendants of Cromwell's adventurers, and, the spirit of puritanism prevailing throughout nearly the whole of the north of Ireland, the seeds of disunion and clashing interests were there deeply and profusely sown.

The English legislature at this period, and long afterwards, considered the parliament of Ireland as a merely nominal assembly, without allowing it any legislative power or authority. In every public act which at all embraced the interests or concerns of both countries, the parliament of England constantly legislated for Ireland as if she had no parliament of her own. Without alluding to the various enactments by which Ireland was regulated in many of its proceedings, without any concurrence of her legislature, (such as disqualifying papists from purchasing the estates of rebels, controlling the export of linen to the plantations, and appointing the town of New Ross, in the county of Wexford, as the *only* port permitted to export wool to England) one remarkable instance may be cited, which will suffice to shew the temper and spirit of the English parliament at this period. When Sir William Windham's schism bill was brought into the house of commons in England in 1714, the following clause was introduced: that "where the law is the same, the remedy and means for enforcing the execution of the law should be the same; be it therefore enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that all and every the remedies, provisions, and clauses, in and by this act given, made, and enacted, shall extend, and be deemed, construed, and adjudged, to extend to Ireland in as full and effectual a manner as if Ireland had been expressly named and mentioned

in all and every the clauses of this act." This clause was warmly debated both in the commons and lords, but it was finally carried, though warmly protested against in the former house. The protest made by the lords, thirty-three in number, contains many strong reasons against intolerancy in general, and as peculiarly relating to Ireland, deserves to be here extracted*. It was as follows:

1st. We cannot apprehend (as the bill recites) that great danger may ensue from the dissenters to the church and state; because,

1. By law, no dissenter is capable of any station which can be supposed to render him dangerous.

2. And since the several sects of dissenters differ from each other as much as they do from the established church, they can never form of themselves a national church, nor have they any temptation to set up any one sect among them; for, in that case, all that the other sects can expect is only a toleration which they already enjoy by the indulgence of the state; and therefore it is their interest to support the established church against any other sect that would attempt to destroy it.

2dly, If, nevertheless, the dissenters were dangerous, severity is not so proper and effectual a method to reduce them to the church as a chari-

* Debrett's Parliamentary Papers, vol. iii. p. 149.

table indulgence, as is manifest by experience, there having been more dissenters reconciled to the church since the act of toleration than in all the time from the act of uniformity to the time of the said act of toleration; and there is scarce one considerable family in England in communion with the dissenters. Severity may make men hypocrites but not converts.

3dly, If severity could be supposed ever to be of use, yet this is not a proper time for it while we are threatened with much greater dangers to our church and nation, against which the protestant dissenters have joined, and are still willing to join with us in our defence; and therefore we should not drive them from us by enforcing the laws against them in a matter which, of all others, must most sensibly grieve them, viz. the education of their children, which reduces them to the necessity either of breeding them up in a way which they do not approve, or of leaving them without instruction.

4thly, This must be more grievous to the dissenters, because it was little expected from the members of the established church, after so favourable an indulgence to them as the act of toleration, and the repeated declarations, and professions from the throne and former parliaments against all persecution, which is the peculiar badge of the Roman church, which avows and practices this doctrine; and yet this has not been retaliated even upon the papists, for all the laws made against

them have been the effect and just punishment of the treasons from time to time committed against the state ; but it is not pretended that this bill is designed as a punishment of any crime which the protestant dissenters have been guilty of against the civil government, or that they are disaffected to the protestant succession as by law established, for in this their zeal is very conspicuous.

5thly, In all the instances of making laws, or of a rigid execution of the laws against the dissenters, it is very remarkable that the design was to weaken the church, and to drive them into one common interest with the papists, and to join them in measures tending to the destruction of it; these were the measures suggested by popish councils to prepare them for this and successive declarations in the time of King Charles II. and the following issued by King James II. to ruin all our civil and religious rights; and we cannot think that the arts and contrivances of the papists to subvert our church are proper means to preserve it, especially at a time when we are in more danger of popery than ever, by the designs of the Pretender, supported by the mighty power of the French King, who is engaged to extirpate our religion, and by great numbers in this kingdom, who are professedly in his interests.

6th, But if the dissenters should not be provoked by this severity to concur in the destruction of their country and the protestant religion, yet we may justly fear they may be driven by this

bill from England, to the great prejudice of our manufactures; for as we gained them by the persecutions abroad, so we may lose them by the like proceedings at home.

Lastly, The miseries we apprehend here are greatly enhanced by extending this bill to Ireland, where the consequences of it may be fatal; for, since the number of papists in that kingdom far exceeds all the protestants of all denominations together, and that the dissenters are to be treated as enemies, or at least as persons dangerous to that church and state, who have always, in all times, joined, and would still join, with the members of that church in their common defence against the common enemy of their religion; and since the army there is much reduced, the protestants, thus unnecessarily divided, seem to us to be exposed to the danger of another massacre, and the protestant religion in danger of being extirpated.

And we may further fear that the Scotch in Britain, whose national church is presbyterian, will not so heartily and so zealously join with us in our defence, when they see those of the same nation, the same blood, and the same religion, so hardly treated by us.

And this will still be more grievous to the protestant dissenters in Ireland, because, while the popish priests are registered and so indulged by law as that they exercise their religion without

molestation, the dissenters are so far from enjoying the like toleration that the laws are, by this bill, enforced against them.

Somerset,	J. Ely,
Dorchester,	T. Wharton,
Scarborough,	Cornwallis,
Nottingham,	Jo. Bangor,
Haversham,	De Longueville,
Halifax,	Torrington,
W. Lincoln,	Devonshire,
Dorset and Middlesex,	Lincoln,
Sunderland,	Sommers,
Rockingham,	Montague,
Schomberg and Leinster,	Radnor,
Bolton,	W. Asaph,
Grafton,	Townsend,
Derby,	Orford,
Carlisle,	J. Landaff,
Foley,	Cowper.
Greenwich,	

Such were the arguments used by these protesting lords; and while it must be confessed, that many of the principles laid down by them do their memories honour as the firm and enlightened advocates of partial toleration, yet it must also be acknowledged, that they seemed to be guided in their declarations solely by views of temporary expediency and accidental policy. They were thoroughly impressed with the injustice of sub-

jecting the protestant dissenters to any pains and disabilities on account of their religion, because it might alienate their loyalty from the state, and their zeal for that church establishment which, as contradistinguished from popery, they were willing to uphold. But, while they thus argued upon that special principle, they had no hesitation in admitting that chains ought to be forged for the Roman catholics, or that those already hung upon that devoted people should be rivetted faster on their galled limbs. Who does not wish that their notions of toleration had been unwarped by any feelings of political prejudice, or by any desire to dignify the cause of freedom in one sect by degrading its attributes in respect to another?

At this period faction raged between the two parties of Whig and Tory without controul in England, and in Ireland the alarm was sounded, though not with so much vehemence. Every effort of the English government, however, aided by the delegated venality of the castle, was unable to suppress the protestant majority in the house of commons; I mean that protestant majority which avowed the principles, and would have imitated the practice, in some particulars, of the puritans and dissenters in Charles and Cromwell's time. Consequently, while toryism reigned in all its dignity of arbitrary and indefeasible right in the Irish house of lords, whiggism, combined with a little religious intolerance, stood like a bulwark in the Irish commons, and presented

its firm unbroken front to the patrician authority of the upper house. Violence, mutual animosity, and mutual invectives prevailed between the two branches of the legislature; there was neither unity of council nor unity of action between them; or if they did agree upon any one point, it was in that general one of oppressing the catholics. In the midst of this political confusion in both countries, a confusion which in Ireland was increased by causes that operated but remotely in England, and which in England was aggravated by the fears of a popish successor, Queen Anne died, (1714,) leaving behind her a strong impression upon the minds of her subjects that she was heartily indisposed to the succession of the house of Hanover, and that the efforts of her ministers, as well as her own, had been chiefly directed to the accomplishment of her brother's accession to the throne upon her demise, by persuading him to abandon popery, and become a convert to the protestant faith.

CHAP. XII.

Accession of George I.—Zeal and loyalty of the catholics—Acknowledged by the government—Yet fresh penal statutes enacted—Case of Esther Sherlock and Maurice Annesley—Passing of the act 6th Geo. I.—Character of Swift—Proceedings of the Irish in consequence of Wood's patent—Popularity of Swift for his conduct on that occasion—Account from Lord Orrery—Proclamation offering a reward of 300l. for his discovery—Lord Carteret's elegant reply to Swift on the occasion—Character of Primate Boulter, and the means he employed to maintain the English ascendancy.—Death of Geo. I.

IN spite, however, of every exertion made by the friends of the pretender in England, (and it is certain he had many powerful and willing friends,) his cause was not strong enough to prevail against the general sense of the nation, and George I. was proclaimed on the 1st of August, 1714, a few hours after the queen had expired; and a similar proclamation was made in Dublin on the 6th August, about eleven o'clock in the evening; but, so much was it apprehended that the pretender's right would be asserted in Ireland,

that the very next day another proclamation was issued for disarming all papists and suspected persons, and for seizing their houses. For this severity there seems to have been no other reason or cause than that *they* were catholics, and the pretender was one also. The last ministry of Queen Anne, indeed, had appeared to take measures which were specifically adapted for the successful attempt of the pretender upon Ireland; for the parliament of that kingdom had been abruptly prorogued, so as to prevent a bill of attainder against that personage being passed. A great part also of the army on the Irish establishment had been disbanded, while partizans of the Chevalier were openly recruiting in that country for his service. Notwithstanding, however, all these presumptive circumstances against the fidelity of the Irish catholics to the Hanover succession, in point of fact not the smallest opposition to that succession was made by them; and with respect to the protestant inhabitants of Ireland, nothing was to be apprehended from them.

In 1715 a parliament was assembled by the lords justices (viz. the Duke of Grafton and the Earl of Galway,) and it was conspicuously distinguished for its zeal in passing several acts recognizing the king's title. They also passed a bill of attainder against the Chevalier, including a reward of 50,000*l.* for the seizure of his person. The next step taken, to prove their loyalty to the house of Hanover, was an address from the

commons to the king, praying that he would be pleased to remove from his councils and service in that kingdom the Earl of Anglesey, on account of his participation in, or connivance at, the recruiting service, in behalf of the pretender, going on publicly in Dublin. They likewise passed a bill of attainder, with confiscation of his estates, and a reward of 10,000*l.* for his apprehension, against James Butler, Duke of Ormond, who had already, with too great rigour, been attainted by the British parliament for his co-operation with the Tory ministers of the late queen. These legislative proceedings, together with the undisturbed state of the whole catholic population, were thought to be so decisively declaratory of the loyalty and zeal of Ireland towards the house of Hanover, that the lords justices, in their speech to the parliament, rendered it the most honourable testimony by declaring, "that it was with no small satisfaction that they observed the calm which that kingdom (formerly the seat of so many rebellions) then enjoyed, while the traiterous enemies to the king and our happy establishment, discouraged by their early and steady zeal for the protestant succession, had thought fit to change their plan of action, and attempt elsewhere to disturb his majesty's government."

The "elsewhere" alluded to was Scotland, in which country rebellion was shewing her unabashed front, and making alarming progress under the Earl of Mar, at the head of 10,000 Scotch pres-

byterians. Nor was the declaration of the lords commissioners to be considered in the light of a mere compliment, or as an acknowledgment of virtues whose existence they did not believe; but which they hoped to create (as may often be done) by the admission of their reality. As a proof that the government, both at home and in Ireland, were sincerely impressed with the truth of that loyalty they commended, the lords justices added, that his majesty had ordered an addition to be made to each company of the militia till such time as he could replace those regiments which the necessity of his affairs had obliged him then to draw from Ireland to suppress the rebels in Great Britain, wherein their safety was equally concerned with that of his other subjects.

Such was the general tone of confidence assumed by the English government with respect to the collective body of the Irish people, and yet, mark the unabated and unabating rigour with which the papists were individually treated, and the inconsistency with which they were eulogised and aspersed in the same breath. These same lords justices, in their address to the commons, said, "We must recommend to you, in the present conjuncture, such unanimity in your resolutions as may once more put an end to all other distinctions in Ireland *but that of protestant and papist.*" Was that the conduct of a wise government? Was that the mode likely to conciliate the preponderating population of the country? or

rather, was it not a sort of royal recommendation to perpetuate the unhappy feuds and dangerous schisms by which Ireland had been torn, distracted, and almost ruined, through every period of her history? Nor was this all; for, at the very moment when the loyalty of the catholics was confided in, and when it deserved to be confided in, because it was unstained by any act that could render it suspected, they were still designated, in parliamentary language, as the *common enemy*; it was still recommended by parliament and by the castle to enforce rigorously the penal statutes against them; and the Irish house of commons came unanimously to the following resolution: "That it is the indispensable duty of all magistrates to put the laws in immediate execution against all popish priests who shall officiate contrary to law, and that such magistrates who neglect the same be *looked upon as enemies to the constitution.*" And, on another occasion it was resolved, *nemine contradicente*, "that an humble address be presented to their excellencies the lords justices, that they will be pleased to issue a proclamation, promising a reward to such who shall discover any person who is enlisted, or shall hereafter enlist in his majesty's service, to be a papist, in order to their being turned out and punished with the utmost severity of the law." Is it not matter of astonishment that any class of people, so proscribed, so invidiously marked out, so degradingly designated, should (remembering

also their superiority in point of numbers above their oppressors) remain even in a quiescent state? for it would be folly to suppose that they could be cordially attached to a government under which they possessed nothing but slavery, embittered by a proud and ceaseless persecution. They were quiet indeed, but it was the calm of hopeless despair, not the tranquillity of a satisfied contentment; it was the homage and allegiance of a broken heart, not the cheerful and willing obedience of a grateful one.

Shortly after this period an event took place (1718) which led to an assumption of power on the part of the English legislature that deserves to be minutely traced, as its recantation and denial at a subsequent era form one of the most remarkable features in Irish history.

In a suit for an estate between Hester Sherlock and Maurice Annesley, the latter obtained from the court of exchequer a decree in his favour, which, on an appeal, was reversed by the Irish lords. Appealing from their judgment to the British lords, Annesley was gratified with a confirmation of the first sentence, and an order for his being put in possession of the disputed ground. The Irish peers, on a petition from Sherlock for relief, proposed a question to the judges, whether by the laws of the land an appeal should lie from a decree of the court of exchequer in Ireland to the king in parliament in Great Britain? Having received an answer in the negative, the peers

passed a resolution, that they would support their honour, jurisdiction, and privileges in the affording of effectual relief to their petitioner, according to their order formerly given. But they afterwards received a petition from the Sheriff of Kildare, in which it was stated, that when he entered on his office he was commanded by an injunction from the court of exchequer to restore Annesley to the possession of the contested lands, which had been delivered to Hester Sherlock by the last sheriff; that he was fined for disobedience, and that through fear of an arrest he had not come to pass his accounts, in consequence of which he was also fined in 1200l. By the resolutions of the lords, the sheriff's conduct was approved, his fines were annulled, and the house of peers ordered the barons of the exchequer to be taken into the custody of the black rod for having obeyed an order of the English house of peers. On the other hand, a very explicit and elaborate representation of all the proceedings of the lords in Ireland, concerning appeals, was transmitted to his majesty, which was laid before the British house of lords and read; whereupon they resolved, that the barons of the court of exchequer in Ireland, in proceeding in obedience to their orders, had acted with courage, according to law, in support of his majesty's prerogative, and with fidelity to the crown of Great Britain; and that an humble address be presented to his majesty to confer on them some mark of his royal favour,

as a recompence for the injuries they had received by being unjustly censured, and illegally imprisoned, for having done their duty. Against these resolutions, however, the Duke of Leeds entered a spirited, interesting, and constitutional protest, consisting of fourteen articles, in the eleventh of which he noticed the great iniquity of obliging men to resort to a far distant tribunal, out of their own country, at expences insupportable by any except the rich, who must thereby be enabled to practice injustice with impunity.

This assumption of legislative authority, however, did not stop here; for the British parliament next proceeded to complete the subjection of Ireland and its dependence upon England by an express statute, which was passed in 1719, entitled, "An act for the better securing the dependency of Ireland on the crown of Great Britain;" by which the Irish house of lords was deprived of the right of judicature in appeals, and the legislative authority of the Irish parliament placed in a very problematical situation; for by this act the parliament of England declared, that it had "full power and authority to make laws and statutes of sufficient force and validity to bind the people of the kingdom of Ireland."

The great and splendid efforts which were made by Mr. Grattan and other independent members of the Irish commons to effect the repeal of this act, (commonly called the act of 6th Geo. I.) and which they accomplished in 1782, give it an

additional importance as a component part of Irish history; and it may not be unuseful, therefore, to recapitulate all its provisions as a proof of the arbitrary temper and spirit which then prevailed in the English government towards Ireland, and which caused this proceeding, whose only end could be to annihilate the privileges of the constitution as extended to Ireland. The act was as follows:

“ Whereas attempts have lately been made to shake off the subjection of Ireland upon the imperial crown of this realm, which will be of dangerous consequences to Great Britain and Ireland; and whereas the lords of Ireland, in order thereto, have of late against law, assumed to themselves a power and jurisdiction to examine, correct, and amend the judgment and decrees of the courts of justice in the kingdom of Ireland; therefore, for the better securing of the dependency of Ireland upon the crown of Great Britain, may it please your majesty that it may be enacted, and it is hereby declared and enacted, by the king's most excellent majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, in the present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that the said kingdom of Ireland hath been, and of right ought to be, subordinate unto and dependent upon the imperial crown of Great Britain, as being inseparably annexed and united thereunto; and that the king's majesty, by and with the advice and

consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons of Great Britain, in parliament assembled, hath had of right, and ought to have, full power and authority to make laws and statutes of sufficient force and validity to bind the people of the kingdom of Ireland.

“ And be it further enacted and declared, by the authority aforesaid, that the house of lords of Ireland have not, nor of right ought to have, any jurisdiction to judge, affirm, or reverse any judgment, sentence, or decree given or made in any court within the same kingdom; and that all proceedings before the said house of lords upon any such judgment, sentence, or decree, are, and are hereby declared to be, utterly null and void to all intents and purposes whatever.”

This seemed to be the last blow that could be aimed at the independence and liberties of the Irish people, and a few subsequent years of sullen obedience appeared to be a competent proof that every feeling of national honour was extinct, that every high-minded principle of national integrity was buried in the grave that had closed over its freedom. Precluded from the benefits of industry by restricting laws, the people were so miserably poor that Swift used to declare he “ rejoiced at a mortality as a blessing to individuals and the public.” During the period that elapsed between the passing of the 6th Geo. I. (1719) and the year 1724 no transaction occurred to diversify the gloomy scene of despondency which

seemed to pervade the whole nation. Court mis-
nions ruled, corruption went on, profligacy in-
creased, and slavery was embittered by penury.
The chief object of the castle was to consolidate
an aristocratic party, which might be ready on all
occasions to second and support the schemes of
the government at home; while in the commons
a small Whig majority continued to prevail; yet
only Whigs in whatever related to themselves, for in
1723 they came to eight violent resolutions against
the catholics, and upon those resolutions the heads
of a bill were brought in for explaining and
amending the acts to prevent the further growth
of popery, and for strengthening the protestant
interest in that kingdom. Posterity will hardly
believe that one of the proposed clauses in this
embryo act was to castrate every catholic clergy-
man that should be found in the realm. The
bill, thus disgracefully stained with barbarity, was
presented on the 15th Nov. 1723, to the lord-
lieutenant, and the commons most earnestly re-
quested his grace *to recommend the same in the
most effectual manner to his majesty*, humbly
hoping, from his majesty's goodness, and his grace's
zeal for his service and the protestant interest of
the kingdom, that the same might be passed into a
law. It was accordingly transmitted to England,
but the English legislature rejected it with indig-
nation and abhorrence. Some say that its rejec-
tion was owing to the interference of Cardinal
Fleury; but it may be hoped that British legisla-

tors needed no other interference than their own consciences, their own honour, their own feelings as men and as Christians, to reject a measure which would have disgraced the darkest periods of bigotry, ignorance, and persecution.

It is melancholy to dwell upon such long continued, such persevering efforts to annihilate the civil and political existence, and almost the natural existence, of a body of men, who were giving no fresh occasion for resentment, and who were, notwithstanding, daily and hourly, the victims of fresh severities. "On this gloom," however, to employ the energetic language of an anonymous writer, "one luminary arose; and Ireland worshipped it with Persian idolatry: her true patriot, her first, and almost her last. Sagacious and intrepid, he saw, he dared; above suspicion, he was trusted; above envy, he was beloved; above rivalry, he was obeyed. His wisdom was practical and prophetic; remedial for the present, warning for the future; he first taught Ireland that she might become a nation, and England that she might cease to be a despot. But he was a churchman. His gown impeded his course and entangled his efforts. Guiding a senate or heading an army, he had been more than Cromwell; and Ireland not less than England; as it was, he saved her by his courage, improved her by his authority, advanced her by his talents, and exalted her by his fame. His mission was but of ten years; and for ten years only did his personal power mitigate

the government; but though no longer feared by the great, he was not forgotten by the wise. His influence, like his writings, has survived a century, and the foundations of whatever posterity have since erected are laid in the disinterested and magnanimous patriotism of SWIFT*.”

It should not be forgotten by the attentive examiner of Irish history at this period, that three distinct parties prevailed there, and contributed, not to heal her wounds or allay her dissensions, but to aggravate the one and extend the other. They were all protestants, and they were all bigots. There was the old revolutionary party, affecting whiggism, but in fact acting upon the spirit and principles of the Oliverian puritans; these were the majority in the commons. In the lords the old Tory interest prevailed; and in the country at large, a small party (but though few in number, glorious in principle,) acquired a preponderance which they endeavoured to make subservient to the true, genuine doctrines of those Whigs who had reared the fair fabric of British liberty at the Revolution, and who were honestly anxious, as a genuine Whig must be, to communicate to others the blessings they themselves enjoyed. Yet there was one exception—and it seems to have been the madness of the times—an epidemic disorder—and that exception was the poor, unhappy, and degraded catholic. Upon

* Sketch of the State of Ireland, past and present, p. 9.

that question all parties were unanimous, however opposed to each other upon almost all other topics; upon the subject of annihilating every comfort and every enjoyment that could centre in the Irish catholic there was no difference of opinion; while they, helpless, persecuted, and forlorn, scarcely dared raise their heads to claim the common rights of existence.

But if we exclude this one sombre tint from the picture, we shall then find the patriotic few labouring with honest zeal in defence of the liberties and rights of the protestant few; and in no instance were their labours more conspicuous than in the well-known affair of *Wood's patent*.

Though the origin of this business may be familiar to the reader, yet the continuity of historical narration requires that it should be briefly adverted to here; and the most succinct account is that given by Mr. Plowden, and shall therefore be here transcribed.

“There had not been,” says that ingenious writer, “for many years a coinage of copper in Ireland; the low medium of halfpence and farthings had become very scarce; and the deficiency was found to be attended with great inconvenience. Applications were made in vain to England for a new coinage. What was refused to the voice of the Irish nation was granted to the intrigues of William Wood. He obtained a patent for coining copper halfpence and farthings, for the use of Ireland, to the amount of 108,000l.

They were cast of such base alloy that the whole mass was not worth six thousand. Of this base coin he poured an immense infusion into Ireland. Brass multiplied beyond example; was not only used in change, but attempted to be forced in payments. The Irish nation took the alarm, and made it a national cause; and it may be said to have been the first in which all parties in Ireland had ever come to issue with the British cabinet. The Irish parliament, in an address to the throne, told the king they were called upon by their country to represent the ill consequences to the kingdom likely to result from Wood's patent; that the prospect which it presented to view was the diminution of the revenue and the ruin of trade. An application from the privy council of Ireland to the king spoke the same language; and addresses to the like effect from most of the city corporations throughout the kingdom were handed up to the throne. At the quarter sessions the country gentlemen and magistrates unanimously declared against it, and the grand jury of the county of Dublin presented all persons who attempted to impose upon the people of Ireland the base coin, as enemies to government, and to the safety, peace, and welfare of his majesty's subjects. It was not to be expected that an individual speculator, who could raise an interest with the British cabinet more powerful than the united voice of the whole people of Ireland, should forego all his golden prospects from the opposition of those

whom he had, in the first instance, baffled and defeated. He still commanded such influence with his patrons as to bring forth a report from the privy council of England in his favour, which cast many severe (not to say indecent) reflections upon the parliament of Ireland for having opposed his patent. After the nation had been kept in turbulent agitation for a year by the real or imaginary effects of this job, tranquillity was restored by his majesty's revocation of the patent, which put an end to the currency of this base money, and opened to Ireland a dawn of confidence that their sovereign's ear would not be forever shut against the united voice of his Irish people."

Thus far Mr. Plowden; but it would be an unpardonable omission in any History of Ireland, and it is wonderful that it should be found in Mr. Plowden's, to neglect recording what were the services, the magnificent services of Ireland's patriot on this occasion. I allude to the DRAPIER'S LETTERS of Swift. Whatever benefit Ireland received by the abolition of the patent, she owed it all to that intrepid individual. He it was who first roused the nation to a sense of the injury that was about to be inflicted upon it; he it was that first pointed out the flagitious attempt of England to enrich an individual at the expence of the country. "At the sound of the Drapier's trumpet," says Lord Orrery, "a spirit arose among the people, that, in the Eastern phrase,

was like unto a tempest in the day of the whirlwind. Every person of every rank, party, and denomination, was convinced that the admission of Wood's copper must prove fatal to the commonwealth. The papist, the fanatic, the tory, the whig, all enlisted themselves volunteers under the banner of M. B. DRAPIER, and were all equally zealous to serve the common cause. Much heat, and many fiery speeches against the administration, were the consequence of this union; nor had the flames been allayed, notwithstanding threats and proclamations, had not the coin been totally suppressed, and had not Wood withdrawn his patent."

Nor must it be supposed that Swift was able to accomplish this powerful effect, to stand forth as the Apostle of a nation's rights, without incurring some of the hazards, some of the personal risks, and some of the personal glories and renown which attach to every assertor of momentous enterprizes. And here again the animated and pleasing detail of what belonged specifically to Swift shall be given in the lively narrative of the same nobleman.

"The name of Augustus," says he, "was not bestowed upon Octavius Cæsar with more universal approbation than the name of the DRAPIER was bestowed upon the DEAN. He had no sooner assumed his new *cognomen* than he became the idol of the people of Ireland to a degree of devotion that in the most superstitious country scarce any idol ever obtained. Libations to his health,

or, in plain English, bumpers were poured forth to the DRAPIER as *large* and as *frequent* as to the *glorious and immortal memory of King William the Third*. His effigies were painted in every street in Dublin. Acclamations and vows for his prosperity attended his footsteps wherever he passed. He was consulted in all points relating to domestic policy in general, and to the trade of Ireland in particular; but he was more immediately looked upon as the legislator of the weavers, who frequently came in a body, consisting of fifty or sixty chieftains of their trade, to receive his advice in settling the rates of their manufactures, and the wages of their journeymen. He received their addresses with less majesty than sternness, and ranging his subjects in a circle round his parlour, spoke as copiously, and with as little difficulty and hesitation, to the general points in which they supplicated his assistance, as if trade had been the only study and employment of his life."

The government, however, viewed with extreme jealousy and indignation the successful efforts of the Dean of St. Patrick; and Lord Carteret, the then lord-lieutenant, issued a proclamation, offering a reward of 300*l.* for the discovery of the author. The magnanimous conduct of Swift on this occasion, in dismissing a domestic who was acquainted with the secret, because he could not consent to live in the thralldom of that servant's power, is well known. The great po-

popularity of the cause, however, frustrated both the proclamation and the prosecution of Harding, the printer, the bill against whom was rejected by the grand jury. Lord Carteret was a nobleman of much politeness and discernment, and when Swift, some time afterwards, expostulated with him concerning the proclamation, he ingeniously replied in the following line from Virgil:

“ Res dura et regni novitas me talia cogunt moliri.”

Thus terminated this celebrated affair, and which deserves to be historically commemorated with some minuteness, because it was the first instance of opposition to the government at home which cordially united all parties in the kingdom.

Lord Carteret, who convened the parliament in 1725, was nominally the Viceroy of Ireland till 1732; but the man who substantially regulated and controlled the government from the year 1724 to the year 1742 was Primate Boulter, an ecclesiastic of towering ambition, strong passions, and misguided judgment. He was, during that period, the main prop and stay, and the indefatigable advocate, of the ascendancy of the *English interest*; nor was he very scrupulous about the means by which he accomplished his purpose. Steady with regard to his object, unawed and unchecked by any of those considerations which might have operated upon a mind duly and discriminately weighing the justice and propriety of a cause, his whole power, political, official, and intellectual,

was devoted to the single aim of asserting and maintaining the legislative superiority and dominion of England. Hence he was, by necessity, an enemy to the true interests of Ireland; and hence his memory is held in very little estimation by posterity, which judges more dispassionately than his contemporaries could do of his purposes and the agency through which he accomplished them.

The remaining years of the reign of George I. comprise nothing that relates very particularly to Ireland; and we hasten therefore to that of his successor. George I. died on Sunday, June 11, 1727, at the palace of his brother the Bishop of Osnaburg, while on his journey to visit his electoral dominions. He was in the 68th year of his age and the 13th of his reign.

CHAP. XIII.

Reign of George II.—Address to him by the Catholics—Superciliously received by the lord lieutenant—Character of Primate Boulter—his splendour—and his political intrigues—Duke of Dorset viceroy—Tythe of agistment unfairly resisted by the Commons of Ireland—Observations on Irish tythes and proposed method of remedying the grievance—Lord Chesterfield appointed viceroy in 1745—His beneficial Administration—Character of Primate Stone—His vices—Extract from Churchill—Death of George II.

ON the arrival of an express from Osnaburg, with the intelligence of the death of the king, the new monarch, assembling the privy council, commanded the members to be sworn anew: and he then declared to them his firm purpose, to preserve inviolate the constitution in church and state; and to cultivate those alliances which his father had made with foreign princes. It was soon evident, no essential alteration would be made in the political system established by the late king, as all the great officers of state were continued in their places; and Sir Robert Walpole, who was prime minister, seemed even to possess a higher and

more exclusive share of favour and confidence than before.

The Irish who had not forgotten the assertion, that many of the penal statutes, passed against them in the reign of Queen Anne, was to be ascribed to the circumstance, that they had neglected to address her on her coming to the throne, were resolved to leave no similar pretext for the enactment of any fresh severities, (if fresh severities could possibly be invented) or for the vigorous execution of those that already existed. Accordingly, for the first time since the revolution, the catholics ventured to approach the throne, by a public act of their body. They drew up an address of congratulation, which in a dignified manner expressed loyalty to their sovereign, and pledged themselves to a continuance of their quiet and peaceful demeanour. It was presented to the lords justices by Lord Delvin, and several respectable catholic gentlemen; but, in perfect consistency with that odious and detestable system, which had been uniformly adopted to degrade and dispirit the catholics of Ireland, this expression of their loyalty, zeal, and attachment, was received with silent contempt. The lords justices were, Primate Boulter, Thomas Wyndham, and William Conolly: and though they were most humbly entreated to forward it to the foot of the throne, they neither deigned to give any answer at the time, nor was it ever known whether it reached its destination or not. By con-

duct like this through a long series of a years, the catholic population of Ireland, were goaded into rebellion and contumacy, and then, when the measure of their offences came to be considered, they were punished for the iniquities of their tyrants and persecutors.

There is a wearisome monotony of oppression prevails through this period of Irish history. Almost every measure, whether originating in the native government, or in the cabinet at home, was only more or less conspicuous, as it went to destroy every thing that could give the catholic inhabitants of Ireland an interest in their country by identifying them with its prosperity, happiness, and liberty. Nay, so blind and infatuated was the policy adopted, that, in many cases those measures equally affected the welfare of the protestant inhabitant; for whatever crippled their commerce destroyed their manufactures, diminished their resources, or destroyed their political authority, and independence, affected them as much as it could the proscribed catholic. Indeed it might be shewn, with very little extent of reasoning; that the interests of the latter were intimately blended with those of the former, and that it was impossible to aim a blow at the prosperity of the one, without injuring that of the other.

Primate Boulter, who is now to act so conspicuous a part in the history of this country, and whose views and policy have been developed, in his own letters, was unceasingly active to maintain

the English ascendancy in Ireland, and to stigmatize as disaffected and disloyal, all, no matter whether tory, dissenter, or papist, who were anxious to preserve the native rights of Ireland unbroken. He now (1727) meditated a bold step. Not one of the oppressive and arbitrary acts of Elizabeth and Anne had gone so far as to deprive the catholics of their elective franchise. It was thought, at least, that as subjects of the same crown, and called upon to pay their proportion towards the general exigencies of the state, they were entitled to have a voice in the appointment of those who were delegated to watch over their interests. No matter, whether that elective franchise became a real or only a nominal advantage, or whether the Roman catholic was or was not anxious to exercise his right in favour of protestant representatives, whom he knew could have no political, civil, or religious feeling in common with himself. The principle was the thing to be guarded; and there is a great difference between depriving a man of a right, and leaving him in the possession of that right, to exercise it or not, as he may think proper. The Primate, however, with a view to confirm the English ascendancy, and to blot out the last remaining vestige of freedom which still belonged to the degraded catholic, resolved to disfranchise—what? four fifths of the population of Ireland! A moderate exercise of arbitrary and oppressive power! There had been indeed a

marked increase of cordiality between the catholics and the protestants upon many general political questions, which affected the exclusive privileges assumed by England in governing Ireland; in the common cause of asserting the rights of the latter country, partial and personal differences were forgotten, and the catholics endeavoured to exert the only influence they had which was in matters of election.

To counteract this, therefore, was the specific object of Boulter; and it was done effectually by disfranchising the whole catholic body. This act of injustice was committed too in a manner which must excite no less the astonishment than the abhorrence of the reader. In a bill that was brought into the Irish commons, (1 Geo. II. c. ix.) professing merely to regulate the election of members of parliament and prevent the irregular proceedings of sheriffs and other officers in electing and returning such members, a clause was silently introduced, in the way of amendment, which underwent no discussion, which excited no attention, and which indeed was unsuspected and unknown; but which quietly and insidiously robbed four fifths of the people Ireland, of that which Lord Chief Justice Holt, justly denominated the "noblest birth-right and invaluable privilege of the subject." By this clause, thus clandestinely incorporated with the bill, it was enacted that, "no papist, though not convict should be entitled or admitted to vote at the

election of any member to serve in parliament, as knight, citizen, or burgess, or the election of any magistrate for any city or other town corporate."

While there remained one modification of oppression and degradation, to which the Roman catholics were not subjected, it was impossible that Primate Boulter and the party with whom he acted, could consider the English ascendancy as secure from violation; and accordingly the next step taken was to prevent, by an act of parliament in 1733, papists practising as solicitors, which was the only branch of the law they were then permitted to practise.

In 1731 the Duke of Dorset was appointed viceroy of Ireland, and at this period the strength of the patriots seemed to be increased. In his address to the parliament, he abstained from a practice which had been almost uniformly adopted by his predecessors, that of recommending from the throne to provide further severities against the catholics: he merely told them he should leave it to their consideration, whether any further laws were necessary to prevent the growth of popery. When his grace was about to quit the government, in 1733, he paid an honourable and sincere testimony, to the loyalty of the inhabitants: "I think myself happy," said he "that on my return to his majesty's royal presence, I can justly represent his people of Ireland as most dutiful, loyal, and affectionate subjects." After a lapse of two years (1735) his

grace returned again as lord-lieutenant, and during his second viceroyalty an event happened, which deserves to be a little dwelt upon from its intimate connexion with some of the most momentous of subsequent events.

The commons, exerted their power this year (1735) to the deprivation of ecclesiastical property. The emigrations of protestants to America, which about this period were so numerous that we learn from Primate Boulter's letters, not fewer than 3000 departed annually from Ulster alone, were artfully represented by owners of estates, of which class the house of commons consisted, as occasioned by the oppression of tythes, particularly those of agistment for dry cattle, and which tythe was affected to be considered, as a new and unfounded claim though the courts of law had determined in favour of the clergy. Petitions and examinations on the subject were received by a committee, a report made, and the house came to a resolution that, "any lawyer assisting in a prosecution for tithes of agistment, should be considered as an enemy to his country."

In order thoroughly to comprehend the iniquity of this proceeding, a few facts require to be mentioned. The cultivated land of Ireland, at this period was not a hundredth part of what it is at present: according to Primate Boulter's declaration, not a *fortieth* part of the land of Ireland was under tillage. By the resolution of the

house of commons, therefore, the incumbents were robbed of the greater part of their property, and of that property which was derived from those most able to supply it. The reader will bear in mind, that, the persons most interested in refusing the tithe of agistment were the great graziers and protestant proprietors of land; men possessing great influence directly and indirectly in the house of commons, and who succeeded in deterring those from claiming it whose right it had been decided to be, by repeated decrees of the court of exchequer between the years 1722 and 1735. Thus the pasture lands of Ireland, were exempted from the payment of tythe, and the rector, or his proctor, was turned on the garden of the catholic cottager, while the protestant land holder of a thousand acres of pasture was exonerated. And what was the immediate consequence of this resolution of the house of commons? By its sweeping operation all pasture land was exempted from tythe, and the protestant clergymen, immediately increased their demands on the farmer and the cottager, to make up the deficiency in their income. The most grievous and vexatious exactions were consequently made from the cotter tenant, while the rich were exempted from bearing their share of a burden which is proved by the very exemption, and the whole weight suffered to fall upon the poor who were the least able to bear it. The oppression is the more galling, as it increases with

the increase of tillage, nor must it be forgotten that the catholic peasantry, were thus oppressed, to support an establishment for which they had *no use*, and whose doctrines they rejected and contemned. It is not meant to affirm that as dissidents from the established church, they should not bear their full proportion of the general contribution of the country; but it must also be confessed that when, as in this case, the evil was aggravated by an unjust distribution of the burden, there was reasonable ground for complaint and resistance.

From the year 1735, however, when the Irish house of commons, passed that resolution, relative to tythes of agistment *, down to the year

* As many readers not familiar with ecclesiastical dues and revenues, may be unacquainted with the peculiar nature of tythes of agistment, the following explanation may probably be acceptable.

The term *agistment*, according to Cowell, and also the *Codex Juris Ecclesiastici*, is derived from the French *giser*, (*jacere*) or *Gister* (*Stabulari*) and is peculiarly appropriated to deer.—It signifies to take in and feed the cattle of a stranger in the king's forests; but, in a general acceptation it means the feeding of cattle upon pasture lands which pay no other tithes. The general rule is, that the tithe is paid for beasts agisted for hire or for dry cattle which are dispastured to be *sold*; but not for cattle reared for the plough or pail, nor for cattle expended in the house. Where profitable and unprofitable, cattle feed together, the tithe is paid in kind, for the profitable, and agistment for the unprofitable. Agistment is paid thus. Where there is no special custom for guest cattle taken in the tenth part of the money received is payable; if for the

1760, the poor people of Ireland bore their grievances in silence, and in sadness. They felt the evil; they deplored it; and they could not but be indignant at its injustice; but they made no open resistance or complaint. What occurred afterwards, (and most of the insurrections that disturbed Ireland for nearly half a century had their origin in this evil,) will be narrated in the proper place: but I cannot hesitate to submit here to the reader's attention, the observations upon the grievances of tythes and general oppression of the catholics, with a proposed and efficacious remedy for the former, by the sagacious and eloquent author of the *Past and Present Condition of Ireland*. They will be perused with peculiar interest, from the author's *known* ability and character.

“Tithes,” says he, “the pretence, therefore, and cause of an hundred insurrections—a tax more vexatious than oppressive and more impolitic than either: vexatious, because paid directly and in

owners cattle, then the tythe shall be according to the value of the land, after the rate of two shillings in the pound; but by custom or prescription such tythe may be made in other manner, as by the acre, and for all manner of cattle together. If the tythe be denied, a suit may be commenced in the spiritual court, against the occupier of the land; or, in case they are guest cattle, either against the occupier of the land or owner of the cattle; and no prohibition will lie.

kind, at unequal and fluctuating rates: impolitic because it is vexatious; because a people, unanimous in this alone, declaim against it; because it might be replaced by a more equal, certain and satisfactory imposition.

“ But they are not unjust, not even oppressive; rather profitable to the tenant, computed as a tenth in his bargain, seldom amounting to a twentieth in his payment. Nor are they levied from the popish peasant, for the protestant parson. By the peasant, popish or protestant, they are not in fact paid; for his head rent is always diminished by more than their amount. Those who occupy tithe-free lands, pay, in the increased rent, a double tithe: hence follow, that tithes are really the contributions of the landlords; and that to abolish them, without condition or substitute, would be a direct donative to the rich, at the expence of the clergy and the poor.

“ If abolished they must be replaced, or the church establishment overthrown. The latter alternative I dismiss from my thoughts; and shall only consider of the fittest substitute. I disregard, as an obstacle, the divine origin of tithes; and disallow the claims of the church to them, as the hereditary property of those whose clerical character is not itself hereditary. In Levi's family, it might be just that tithes should descend, because the priesthood did; but here they are as they should be, the property of the state, that

pays its ecclesiastical, as it does its civil, military, and fiscal officers, with equal powers of change, modification, and controul.

“ It has been proposed to replace them by a ‘ commutation for glebe,’ impracticable from its complication; ‘ a corn rent,’ more oppressive and vexatious than the present evil; ‘ an acreable land tax,’ less objectionable, but unsatisfactory and unequal, as computed on the unalterable measure, and not on the various and fluctuating values of land.

“ I propose a system, not perfect perhaps, but preferable. *A poundage upon all rents;* not of a tenth, perhaps not a twentieth, probably of a thirtieth or fortieth.

“ The clergy in great towns are amply and cheerfully paid by a rate on the estimated value of each house. My proposition would improve and extend this system over the whole country.

“ In 1787 an intelligent prelate computed the average of each clergyman’s annual income at 133l. 6s. I will suppose it now to be 250l. the benefices fewer than 1200; the ecclesiastical establishment less, therefore, than 300,000l. But 6d. in the pound, one fortieth on the rent-roll of Ireland, would produce 500,000l. A sum adequate to the payment of ALL the clergy, protestant, catholic, and dissenting.

“ I pass over the details, I trust practicable, to arrive at the results, certainly beneficial—the peasantry relieved, at least appeased; the land-

lord secured; the protestant clergy amply indemnified;—the catholic priesthood—the servants of the British empire, not of Rome,—their power of good increased, of evil destroyed, and their present precarious and illegal livelihoods replaced by a constitutional and honourable provision; a chief cause of animosity eradicated; and the country indulged, improved, perhaps tranquillized, by the extension of a principle already familiar and approved.

“ The practical debasement of the lower orders of society is compounded of their ignorance and poverty, already examined; of the injustice or contumely of their superiors, to discuss which might exasperate these, inflame the others, and injure all; and lastly, of the dearness and difficulty of legal redress, not to be passed over unlamented, unreprehended.

“ The law has never thoroughly mingled itself with Ireland: there lately were—perhaps still are—districts impervious to the king’s writs, castles fortified against the sheriff, and legal estates invaded by force of arms; contumacies, not frequent indeed, but from which an enquirer will deduce, not unfairly, ordinary disrespect for the law. This in civil cases. In criminal—how large a share of our jurisprudence!—witnesses not unfrequently suborned, intimidated, or murdered; juries subdued; felons acquitted: in common transactions, the administration by justices of the peace, sometimes partial, generally despised and unsatisfac-

tory. The body—in England so effective—of mayors, bailiffs, and constables, unknown, or known as a jest. Parish offices, sinecures; the great man and the strong man executing, the poor and weak suffering the law.

“ The blame is not easily apportioned: much is in the pride and folly of the gentry; much in the native perverseness of the people; much in the indifference of the government; something in an indiscreet nomination of magistrates; more, and most of all, in the exorbitant taxation of legal proceedings, by which the law is become, not a refuge to the poor, but a luxury to the rich. The courts are open to the indigent only as spectators: the peasant, oppressed or defrauded to the amount of 10*l.* cannot buy even a chance of redress in the lottery of the law for less than 60*l.* By victory or defeat, he is equally irremediably ruined. This system *must* be amended—abandoned.

“ I consider the habitual weakness of the law as the first cause of the habitual weakness of the land, from Henry to George.

“ The thoughts of those who read for ideas, not words, will fill up my outline. Let us hope that the wisdom of the legislature will soon erase it.

“ On the subject of Catholic emancipation all men speak and write, but few candidly: its supporters and its opponents are equally injudicious or unjust; the reason is, that the parties of the

state have divided the question between them; and contest it, not for its sake, but their own: it is the means, not the object of the war.

“ The Roman empire was divided into two factions, and the green and the blue distracted the civilized world. Did the civilized world bleed for the colour of an actor’s coat, when they seemed to do so? No. They bled for their party, not for its symbol. Catholic emancipation is the green and blue of Ireland; the colour of the division, not the cause. This Emmett and M’Nevin, liberal, sagacious, and well informed, have admitted; though Keogh, Newport, and Parnell, furious, shallow, and bigoted, deny it.

“ How else could half a nation so pertinaciously seek and the other half refuse, an almost empty privilege? How else can it have happened that every concession has produced commotion, and complaint increased as the grievance disappeared? Twenty years ago there was much to desire and to refuse, and the catholic code was scarcely thought of; there now remains unconceded nothing in which the *people* are concerned; yet to the catholic code is attributed all our misfortunes. The truth is, the parties have made the question, not the question the parties.

“ Let us review and refute the sophisms of both; and first of the emancipators. 1. ‘The merits of the catholics.’ What merits? They have been loyal in 1745 and 1797, perhaps in 1798 and 1803; but if they were, as they were not,

unexceptionably loyal, what is the merit? Is it a virtue not to be criminal? is not to rebel, superelevation? Admit, however, the merit; has it not been already rewarded? A century of penalties remitted in half a score of years, is it no boon? Admit, still, that the reward was inadequate: we then ask, was the catholic so much *more* loyal than the protestant, that the latter should be stripped of his ascendancy to clothe the former? The conclusion is, that he who vaunts his loyalty as a merit has little merit in his loyalty; and that when catholic merit is pleaded against the ascendancy, protestant merit should be pleaded for it, and a balance struck. 2. The emancipators allege 'the force and power of the catholic body,' and apply the argument doubly, offering assistance or threatening opposition. What new assistance can we have? Two thirds of our military are already catholics, because two thirds of our population are so. If the proportion of catholic soldiers and sailors be greater, it is, and will be so, because they are the poorer sect: poverty, in all countries, takes refuge in the armies; nor would catholic emancipation make one man in Ireland a soldier, who had wealth enough to remain a citizen. Thus vanishes their promised aid. Their hostility I do not fear. The catholic force can never be united against the present establishment of law and property; and if it should, it would find that physical strength

is not the best part of power. 3. It has been alleged, that 'all our disturbances have sprung from the hardships under which the catholics labour.' What is this but to say, that they are *not* patient and loyal? that the rebellions and massacres, which we hoped were political, have all been *catholic*; the works of a perverse and pestilent sect, incapable of gratitude, unworthy of indulgence, unfit for toleration? Such is the false and detestable allegation of the partizan espousing the catholic cause without affection, and calumniating his friends to dupe his opponents. But let *us* not charge upon the catholic as a crime the frenzy of his advocate. 4. 'The moral injustice of the catholic laws' is vehemently urged, but not easily proved. The papist, when able, proscribed the protestant: the victorious protestant copied the papist statute against its enactors. We may doubt that this was wise, but not that it was just. Who pities the inventor and victim of the brazen bull? 'But it is unjust,' the catholics add, 'that the minority of a people should restrict the majority, which majority we are.' True, numerically, as two exceed one. But if rank, property, education, industry, skill, manners, intelligence—the essences of a nation be estimated—they are, of Ireland even, a weak minority; as, both numerically and morally, they are of the empire at large.

“ Finally, their plea should be, not of their force, nor of their numbers, but of their mode-

ration, liberality, and innocuous tenets: if they prove the former, without the latter, they prove against themselves.

“ Their adversaries have but little advantage over them in the argument. The fear of the protestant, like the complaint of the papist, comes too late. It strains at the gnat, having swallowed the camel.

“ I can well conceive why Lord Clare would have strangled papist privilege in its birth; why he feared to make the first plunge down the declivity of concession; why he refused power to the numerous and dangerous. But I cannot conceive why he should now feel this after-alarm; why, having rushed down precipices, we stop short at a slope; why we indulge the populace, and restrict the few, the rich, the noble, and the loyal.

“ If we fear the revengeful bigotry of the papist, let us not exasperate without disarming him. The power of the gentry and priesthood let us conciliate or unnerve. We are in a practical dilemma. We must resume all that we have granted, or grant all that we retain.

“ I confidently advise the latter course.

“ Before the Union, this perfect toleration was impracticable. No state religion has ever dared to indulge a sectarian majority. France persecuted the protestant, England the papist, and Scotland both; and all succeeded. Scotland be-

coming *predominantly* presbyterian, France catholic, and England protestant, persecution ceased and toleration began. Ireland is almost the only country in the world which has not had the disgrace and benefit of active persecution. There was enough to exasperate, not extinguish. But what early intolerance might have effected, the Union has accomplished. The established *now* outnumber the sectaries, and the catholic assertion of 'force,' and the protestant of 'danger,' are equally absurd.

"Do we fear a papist parliament? All the freeholders of the empire must first become papists, and then, emancipated or not, the parliament will, and ought to, be papist. A papist king? It cannot be till parliament and people are papist; then, so should the king. Papist judges and generals? Why not? if upright and skilful. Their talents we may employ, but their bigotry we cannot fear, till the king is papist; and in that event, however we now decide, there must be papist generals and judges.

"History is called in to deceive us, not to enlighten; to bear witness of the popish tyrants, John and James, and to omit Harry and Charles. We forget, too, how we *did* subdue John and expel James, and would, again, the imitator of either. Every thing is forgotten but passion and party, and a great nation wastes its strength and reputation in antiquated follies and differences about nothing.

“ I conclude, that the catholic lawyer, soldier, gentry, priesthood, and nobility, should be admitted to all the honours of their professions and ranks; that one torch of discord at least should be extinguished; that a nominal but degrading distinction should be abolished in a nation that fears the name of degradation, more even than the reality; that this should be done, because, in politics, words are things—because wisdom relieves real grievances, and policy even the fictitious; because evil cannot result from this good, or, if it can, is counterbalanced, or if not counterbalanced, may be remedied, as before.

“ Trade, when free, finds its level. So will religion. The majority will no more persist, when it is not a point of *honour* to do so, in the worse faith, than it would in the worse trade. Councils decide that the Confession of Augsburg is heresy, and parliaments vote that popery is superstition, and both impotently. No man will ever be converted when his religion is also his party.

“ But expedient as catholic emancipation may be, I think it only expedient, and concede it, not without the following conditions:

“ 1. That no violence be done to the constitution by forcing from any of the three estates a reluctant consent. If obstacles arise, they must be surmounted by time, by patience, and by the law.

“ 2. That the priesthood be catholic, but not popish; paid by the state, approved by the crown, and independent of all foreign controul.

“ 3. That a wide and liberal system of national education be adopted by the legislature, and promoted by every sect.

“ 4. Either that my former proposition concerning voters at elections be adopted, or that 40s. freeholders be disfranchised altogether, lest numerous ignorance overwhelm education and wealth.

“ 5. That the concession, general or restricted, be *final*; and that no Roman catholic shall partake of the advantages till he shall have acknowledged the immutability of this arrangement.

“ But if, at last, this measure be found impracticable, others more important and effective may be carried. I have enumerated them; and I solemnly assert, as my most mature opinion, that without *them* catholic emancipation would *not* tranquillize the country; and that they, without it, would. From those whom the penal laws would still affect, we have nothing to fear; from those whom poverty, ignorance, and oppression brutalize, we have nothing to hope.”

In extending the preceding extract beyond that portion of it which related to the subject of tythes, it was from the continuity of the reflections, and the intimate connexion of the topics, together with the excellence of the manner, that induced their protraction. On matters of such grave import which still continue to occupy the attention of both countries, it is desirable to know the opinions of those who, from superiority of

mind, or from facilities of information, are peculiarly competent to form accurate notions. The pamphlet * from which the extract has been taken was published anonymously, but it is generally understood and known to be the production of Baron Smith, of the Irish Exchequer.

In 1737 the Duke of Dorset was succeeded in the lieutenancy by the Duke of Devonshire. He was the most magnificent of the viceroys of this kingdom since the time of the great Ormond; for he expended his private revenue not only in a splendid stile of living, but also in works of public utility. Among other things, he built a wharf in the port of Dublin, which bears the name of his title. His administration passed with unusual tranquillity; persecution was unacceptable both to the king and his minister (Sir R. Walpole), if indeed it was possible, which may be doubted, to carry persecution any further than it had been. There was but one event occurred of any importance, and that was the alarm given to the possessors of confiscated lands by an application of the Earl of Clancarty (in 1739) to the king for the restoration of his estates, which had been forfeited by the rebellion of 1688, and were supposed to be worth 60,000*l.* annually at the time when he applied. The Earl had obtained the consent of the British cabinet that a bill should be brought

* A Sketch of the State of Ireland, past and present, 2d London edition, 1808.

into the Irish parliament for the reversal of his attainder; but the measure was relinquished in consequence of the vigorous resolutions of the Irish commons, who had addressed his majesty to that purpose in 1728 and 1735, and now in the session of 1739 voted, that any attempts to disturb the protestant purchasers of estates forfeited by rebellion would be of dangerous consequences to his majesty's person and government. Accordingly, the attainder of Lord Clancarty was not reversed, and he resented the irresolution of the English ministry; for, considering himself ill-used, he readily attended the summons of the old Chevalier to prepare for the intended invasion of Great Britain in 1745. "He sought," says M'Allister, Lett. p. 15, "any occasion for procuring to himself the prospect of possessing that great fortune, and would have joined the Grand Turk or Cham of Tartary to obtain it."

At this critical juncture (1745) the Earl of Chesterfield was appointed lord-lieutenant, and his moderation, good sense, and equity, kept Ireland quiet and steady in its allegiance. This loyalty of the catholics deserves the more to be noticed, because there was at that time a corps of British Jacobites, consisting of seven Irish regiments, (those of Dillon, Clare, Berwick, Roscommon, Lally, Bulkeley, and Fitzjames's horse,) and two Scotch, (the royal Scotch horse and Ogilvie's foot) in the pay of the French monarch, and who considered James Stuart as the rightful king

of these realms. At the battle of Fontenoy three of these regiments are said to have turned the fortune of the day in favour of the French; and it is reported, that when George II. heard of this, he exclaimed with much emotion, *Cursed be the laws which deprive me of such subjects.* Though, however, it is certain that there must have been much communication between the individuals serving in this Irish brigade and their relatives in Ireland, it does not appear that the Irish catholics manifested the slightest disposition to embark in the cause of the Pretender. The truth of this (and nothing that can tend to exalt the character of these oppressed and injured people should be omitted) is remarkably proved by Dr. Curry. "In the year 1762," says he, "upon a debate in the house of lords about the expediency of raising five regiments of these catholics for the service of the King of Portugal, Dr. Stone, (then primate,) in an answer to some common place objections against the good faith and loyalty of these people, which were revived with virulence on that occasion, declared publicly in the house of lords, that in the year 1747, after that rebellion was entirely suppressed, happening to be in England, he had an opportunity of perusing all the papers of the rebels and their correspondents, which were seized in the custody of Murray, the Pretender's secretary; and that, after having spent much time and taken great pains in examining

them, (not without some share of the then common suspicion that there might be some private understanding and intercourse between them and the Irish catholics,) he could not discover the least *trace, hint, or intimation* of such *intercourse or correspondence in them*, or of any of the letters favouring or abetting, or having been so much as made acquainted with the designs or proceedings of these rebels; and what, he said, he wondered at most of all was, that in all his researches he had not met with any passage in any of these papers, from which he could infer, that either their holy father the pope, or any of his cardinals, bishops, or other dignitaries of that church, or any of the Irish clergy, had, either directly or indirectly, encouraged, aided, or approved of, the commencing or carrying on of that rebellion." This is an honourable testimony of the loyalty of the catholics to the house of Brunswick, and entitles them to the confidence, clemency, and protection of its descendants.

The administration of the Earl of Chesterfield was one of those upon which Ireland still looks back with regret. His object was the conciliation of all parties, and he accomplished it. He displayed a full and entire confidence in the fidelity of the catholics; and when the vice-treasurer, Mr. Gardner, rushed into his presence one morning in a fright, to assure him that the people of Connaught were actually rising, he replied, with witty

composure, looking at his watch, "It is nine o'clock, and certainly time for them to *rise*; I therefore believe your news to be true."

Instead of raising new regiments or demanding troops from Britain, he sent four battalions to reinforce the royal army in Scotland, and supplied their place with additional companies to the regiments already on the establishment, and encouraged volunteer associations for defence, so that he neither augmented the public expenditure, the influence of the crown, his own patronage, or his private emolument. He demanded but a very moderate supply, and managed it with such economy, that there remained an excess in the hands of government, which was applied to the improvement of Cork harbour. His measures had in them that principle of rectitude which ensured support, and he disdained to obtain partizans by the grants of reversionary offices and emoluments. He was tolerant in principle and disposition; and under his viceroyalty the catholic enjoyed the free and undisturbed exercise of his religion. And what was the effect of this wise, beneficent, and conciliatory system? Complete unanimity, complete harmony, and an entire and sincere co-operation among all parties and all sects to uphold and further every measure of their beloved viceroy. It had been well for England, and better for Ireland, had such men been more frequently appointed to that exalted and important function, instead of those who went out to repair shattered

fortunes, or to act in vile subserviency to the schemes of whatever minister happened to rule at home.

But England was unwisely jealous of the boon she had bestowed upon Ireland in giving her such a viceroy as the Earl of Chesterfield. It had been reluctantly extorted from her fears, from her alarm, from her dangers; and when the peril of the time was gone by, and there no longer existed a necessity to be wise and just and magnanimous, she hastened to recal the blessing, as if dreading that the Irish should learn to value the privileges of civil, political, and religious comforts. Accordingly, in 1746, (April 25th,) only a few days after the total discomfiture of the rebels at Culloden, Primate Hoadley, Lord Chancellor Newport, and Mr. Boyle, the speaker of the house of commons, were appointed lords justices; and Lord Chesterfield, having served the temporary purpose of his appointment, was recalled, while the sighs, the wishes, and the love of the Irish people followed him to the shores of England. The Earl of Harrington was appointed his successor, and with his administration began the period, at which, Burke has observed, "the English in Ireland began to be domiciliated, and to recollect that they had a country."

At this period also we find Primate Stone guiding and animating the party in Ireland who still adhered to what was called the *English interest*, and in which phrase was combined a regular

system of oppression and injustice, and an unceasing endeavour to ruin and degrade the native interests of Ireland. Primate Stone had succeeded Hoadley; but in all the ambition of political intrigue and courtly subserviency he is to be regarded rather as the successor of Boulter. His grandfather had been gaoler at Winchester, but his father was a banker. He was of a comely person, handsome and seductive, and hence not inaptly termed the *beauty of holiness*. He was arrogant, ambitious, assuming; determined in the pursuit of his end; little scrupulous about the means. His passions were his masters, and in his resentments he was inexorable. He was thoroughly devoted to the court and to his patrons at home; and being in the prime of life when he was promoted to the primacy, they might calculate upon long and steady services. In his manners he was courteous and affable to those who bowed before him; hospitable and magnificent in his style of living; profuse and luxurious in the enjoyments he provided for others. He did not confine himself to the delicacies of the table; it is said he condescended to provide for his guests all the blandishments and delights of sexual gratifications. The prelate turned pander first of all to his own ambition, and it was no difficult step next to become pander to others. Besides, if report be true, wide-spreading report, which seemed the offspring of general knowledge, this saintly primate was no enemy to those recreations which it were vain to

hope to stigmatize by any adequate term of infamy. Hence his enemies commonly gave, as a toast, "May the importation of *Ganymedes* be discontinued in Ireland." The fact of his lying under this odious suspicion is incontestible. Churchill, in his indignant but disgusting poem, *The Times*, has the following lines, in which he is supposed to address a youthful pathic.

"Fly then while yet 'tis in thy power to fly,
 But whither canst thou go? on whom rely
 For wish'd protection? Virtue's sure to meet
 An armed host of foes in every street.
 What boots it, of *Apicius* fearful grown,
 Headlong to fly into the arms of STONE?
 Or why take refuge in the house of prayer
 If sure to meet with an *APICIUS* there?
 Trust not old age, which will thy faith betray;
Saint Socrates is fill a goat, tho' grey."

Such was the man into whose hands was now confided the management and direction of the English interest in Ireland. Inattentive to his pastoral duties, he was solely anxious to do the *king's business*.

About this period (1747) the agitation of a political question drew forth to public notice one of the earliest of Ireland's patriots, Dr. Charles Lucas, a man of vigorous mind and undaunted character. A trivial and local contest about the right of chusing the city magistrates of Dublin, which choice was then subject to the controul of the lord-lieutenant, excited his attention, and he

asserted the popular side of the question with great zeal and success. His speeches and writings made a great impression upon the public mind, and as the government could not controul his vehemence they resolved to crush him. Accordingly, a number of passages were industriously culled from his writings, and upon these a charge was instituted against him in the house of commons. That assembly, though their rights and privileges had been warmly and zealously defended by Lucas, were obsequious enough to second the views of the castle, and addressed the lord-lieutenant to order Lucas to be prosecuted by his majesty's attorney general. Lucas was the idol of the people; but he knew that the people could not defend him from the uplifted arm of arbitrary power. He therefore consulted his safety by flight, and took up his residence in England; but he afterwards resumed his seat in the Irish parliament with increased lustre and honour; and to this day his statue, in white marble, stands eminently conspicuous in the Royal Exchange at Dublin, as a monument of his steady patriotism.

These efforts of nascent liberty and freedom in Ireland rendered it not quite so easy a task as heretofore to support the English interest in all its undiminished energy and power. The new lord-lieutenant, however, when he met the parliament in October, 1747, particularly dwelt upon his majesty's continued paternal regard and affection for a dutiful and loyal people, and recom-

mended a continuance of that harmony and unanimity which prevailed. But an occurrence soon took place which taught another lesson to the government at home, that Ireland was advancing in the road of independence. This event is thus succinctly narrated by the late Lord Clare in his speech on the Union:—

“ After the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle the trade of this country had so increased that the hereditary revenue was amply sufficient for every public service, and a considerable surplus remained in the exchequer after defraying every charge upon it; so that in effect the crown was little, if at all, dependent on parliament for support; and it is difficult to say how long this oligarchy might have kept its ground if the intrigues of the ambitious ecclesiastic (Stone) then at the head of the Irish church, had not laid the foundation of party heat and animosities, which have long disturbed and degraded our parliamentary proceedings. The great trial of strength between the primate and the then speaker of the house of commons* was made in 1753, when a bill was proposed for applying the surplus then in the exchequer to pay a public debt, which had been some time before contracted. The courtiers of that day, ranged under the ecclesiastical banner, contended that this surplus belonged to the crown, and therefore that the king's

* Henry Boyle, afterwards created Earl of Shannon; the great and uniform political opponent of Primate Stone till the death of the latter.

previous assent to its application ought to be signified before the commons could appropriate it. The patriots, ranged under the speaker's banner, insisted that no such assent was necessary, and beat their political adversaries by a small majority. Heads of a bill for the appropriation passed the commons without taking notice of the king's previous assent to it. They were rejected by the crown, and the surplus was applied by the royal authority without the intervention of parliament. But the commons took effectual care that the question should not occur a second time, by appropriating every future surplus under the specious pretence of local public improvements. Windmills and water-mills, and canals and bridges, and spinning-jennies, were provided at the public expence; and the parliamentary patrons of these great national objects were entrusted with full discretionary powers over the money granted to complete them. From this system of local improvement a double advantage arose to the Irish aristocracy; it kept their followers steady in the ranks, and by reducing the crown to the necessity of calling for the supplies, made the political services of the leaders necessary for the support of the king's government. But the precedent was fatal, and a system has gradually been built upon it, which would beat down the most powerful nation of the earth."

Such was the question which for a considerable time divided the courtiers and patriots of the

Irish parliament; the contest was warmly maintained until the year 1753, when the Irish commons succeeded in establishing their principle; but the king had, in the mean time, drawn the money into his power, and thus ended the argument. The matter was vehemently agitated, and it was another of those instances which shewed the dawning spirit of freedom in Ireland. It called forth many characters and sentiments which appeared strange and extraordinary in those days of quiescency and servitude; but the detail of circumstances would have little interest now, compared to the events that will soon demand our attention, though as an historical fact it required to be noticed.

In 1757 the Duke of Bedford was appointed lord-lieutenant, and it is asserted he was the first chief governor who openly professed a favourable disposition to the catholics. Under the late administration heads of a registry bill had been prepared, which was intended as a severe penal law upon the catholics, and had created much alarm in that body; but their alarms, and the alarms of the government, as well as those of the protestants, had soon another object to dwell upon. In 1759 the Duke of Bedford informed the parliament, that by a letter from Mr. Secretary Pitt, written by his majesty's express command, it appeared that France, following up her plan of invasion, would, if able to elude the British squadron, make Ireland their first object,

He had, therefore, but to animate the loyal people of Ireland to exert their well-known zeal and spirit in support of his majesty's government, and in defence of all that was dear to them. The commons expressed their ready determination to assist the viceroy in all that was necessary for the prosecution of the most vigorous measures of defence; while the people were thrown into such a violent state of terror at the intimation, that a general suspension of all public business took place. Public credit was at a stand, and in consequence of an extraordinary run upon the bankers in Dublin, many of them were obliged to stop payment. By the prompt and active measures of the government, however, the nation was saved from bankruptcy.

During this period of peril and alarm the catholics hastened to lay assurances of their fidelity and loyalty at the foot of the throne. Assemblies of that body were held, and addresses voted, expressive of their zeal and allegiance. These addresses were favourably received by the viceroy, and graciously answered. It is said, indeed, that the intent of this condescension was to dispose the catholic body to a favourable reception of a union between the two countries, which was even then crudely thought of; but when the rumor was made public, some violent outrages were committed by the populace, who were taught to consider such a measure as ruinous

to their country. Members of parliament were stopped in the streets, and compelled to swear that they would never lend their sanction to such a plan. Other excesses took place, and the idea, if it were ever entertained, was abandoned.

The threatened invasion, however, took place, partially, and with disastrous consequences to the invaders. The grand fleet destined for this, under the command of Conflans, was defeated by Sir Edward Hawke in Quiberon Bay, in the midst of a storm, in the darkness of the night, and on a rocky coast; but in January, 1760, a marauding squadron, under the command of an enterprising officer, Thurot, effected a descent at Carrickfergus, after several disasters, which had reduced the number of men to about 600. The town capitulated for want of adequate means of defence; but the country rallied, and a body of 3000 men were advancing, when the French re-embarked the fifth day after their landing. Contrary winds, however, prevented their escape; they were engaged near the isle of Man by an equal force under Captain Elliot, and after a short engagement they struck, 300 of the men being killed, as well as the officer Thurot. This was the only attempt to invade Ireland by the French for upwards of two centuries. Thurot had distinguished himself as a captain of a privateer, and had rendered himself formidable to the commercial class in Britain. A detailed ac-

count of the whole business may be found in Mr. Plowden's *Historical Review*, p. 330 et seq.

This was the last event of any importance which occurred in the reign of George II. who died on the 26th of October, 1760, and was succeeded by his present majesty.

CHAP. XIV.

Reign of George III—Its length and eventful character—State and condition of Ireland, at the period of the American revolt—Paralyzing system adopted by England—Characters of the actors in the glorious cause of Irish liberty and independence—Consequences.

THE long and eventful reign of George III, comprises nearly every thing in Irish history, that that can be truly said to demand attention, or to excite interest. Within that period, the most momentous occurrences took place; Ireland, within that time, gained for herself a constitution, and lost it; she rebelled and was subdued; she became united to England, and is still discontented. Within that period too, her greatest men, whose names adorn her own history, and the history of England, appeared upon the scene; Grattan, Flood, Daly, Hutchinson, Fitzgibbon, Curran, Burgh, asserted her interests or betrayed them; her literary fame was exalted, and her renown in arms was achieved. This indeed, is the true era of her greatness and decline; of all that commands our admiration or regret. Arrived therefore at this epoch, a more ample canvas

must be spread out; and the first thing shall be to put the reader in possession of those characters, and that people, whose conduct and whose fortunes now became so important and interesting. No better introduction, perhaps, can be devised, in this point of view, than the following judicious observations from the pen of Sir Josiah Barrington, who thus describes this period, in his splendid work on the Legislative Union between England and Ireland.

“ It was not,” says he, “ until an advanced stage of the American revolt had attracted the attention of enlightened Europe to the first principles of civil liberty, that Ireland began steadily to reflect on her own deprivations.—Commerce and constitution had been gradually withdrawn, from her grasp, and the usurped supremacy of the British Parliament gave a death-blow to the last descendant of Irish independance.

“ The apathy produced by habitual oppression had long benumbed the best energies of Ireland: her national spirit depressed by the heavy hand of arbitrary restraint almost forgot its own existence; and the proudest language of her constitution could only boast that she was the annexed dependant of a greater and a freer country.

“ More than six centuries had passed away, since Ireland first had acknowledged a subordinate connexion with the English monarchy—her voluntary but partial submission to the sceptres of Henry and of Richard, had been construed by their

successors into the right of conquest, and the same spirit of turbulence and discord, which had generated the treachery and treason of M'Morrough, was carefully cultivated by every English potentate, as the most effectual barrier against the struggles of a restless and semi-conquered people—and Ireland, helpless and distracted, groaned for ages in obscurity under the accumulated pressure of internal strife and external tyranny.

“ The precise nature of the original submission of the Irish kings to the English monarchy, remained in those dark ages doubtful and disregarded. Tyrannic measures of arbitrary power on the one side, and turbulent resistance to oppressive authority on the other; were the necessary consequences of an undefined connexion; even in more modern days, when the sword had ceased to be the arbiter of discussion, the constitutional basis of the federative compact remained still equivocal and undecided: and while the Irish nation insisted upon the rights of a distinct crown, entailed upon the same dynasty, the English ministers indefatigably laboured, to contract the connexion into the narrowest principles of colonial government.

“ But in whatever relative situation the two nations really stood, the same jealous and narrow principle might be perceived uniformly attending every measure enacted as to the Irish people. If at any time a cheering ray of commercial advantage chanced for a moment to illuminate

the dreary prospects of Ireland; the sordid spirit of monopoly instantly arose in England, and rendered every effort to promote a beneficial trade, or advance a rival manufacture, vain and abortive. Commercial jealousy and arbitrary government united, therefore to suppress every struggle of the Irish nation, and root up every seed of prosperity and civilization.

“ Alarmed at the increasing population, the unsubdued spirit, and the inexhaustible resources of that strong and fertile land; a dread of her growing power, excited a fallacious jealousy of her future importance. In her timidity or avarice England lost sight of her truest interests, and of her nobler feelings; and kings, usurpers, and viceroys, as they respectively exercised the powers of government, all acted towards Ireland, upon the same blind and arbitrary principles, which they had imbibed from their education, or inherited from their predecessors.

“ This desperate policy, so repugnant to the attachment, and fatal to the repose of the two countries, excited the spirit of eternal warfare: an enthusiastic love of national independence sharpened the sword, and the zealots of religious fanaticism threw away the scabbard—the septs fought against each other, the English against all—the population was thinned, but the survivors became inveterate; and though the wars and massacres of Elizabeth and of Cromwell, by depopulating, appeared to have subjugated, the nation—the

triumph was not glorious—and the conquest was not compleat.

“ Direct persecution against principles only, adds fuel to conflagration. The persons of men may be coerced—but it is beyond the reach of human power, to subdue the rooted, hereditary passions and prejudices of a persevering ardent, and patriotic people:—such a nation may be gained over by address, or seduced by dissimulation, but can never be reclaimed by force, or overcome by persecution—yet from the very first intercourse between the two countries, that destructive system of force and dissention, which so palpably led to the miseries of Ireland, had been sedulously cultivated, and unremittingly persevered in.

“ Thus grievously oppressed, and ruinously disunited, Ireland struggled often, but she struggled in vain; the weight of her chains was too heavy for the feebleness of her constitution, and every effort to enlarge her liberty only gave a new pretext to the conqueror, to circumscribe it within a still narrower compass.

“ On the same false principles of government, this oppressed nation, was also, systematically retained in a state of the utmost obscurity, and represented to the world as an insignificant and remote island, remarkable only for her turbulence and sterility: and so perfectly did this misrepresentation succeed, that, while every republic and minor nation of Europe had become the theme

of travellers and the subject of historians, Ireland was visited only to be despised, and spoken of only to be calumniated. In truth, she is as yet but little known by the rest of Europe, and but partially even to the people of England. But when the extraordinary capabilities, the resources, and the powers of Ireland are fully known, an interest must arise in every breast, which reflects on her misfortunes—it is time that the curtain which has been so long interposed between Ireland and the rest of Europe should be drawn aside,—and that a just judgment may be formed of the policy or impolicy of measures which have been adopted, nominally to govern, but substantially to suppress, her power and prosperity.

“ The position of Ireland upon the face of the globe peculiarly formed her for universal intercourse, and adapted her in every respect for legislative independence. Separated by a great sea from England, the Irish people, dissimilar in customs, at least equal in talent, and vastly superior in energy, possess an island near 900 miles in circumference, with a climate, for the uniform mildness of temperature and moderation of seasons, unequalled in the universe—the parching heats or piercing colds, the deep snows, the torrent, or the hurricane, which other countries so fatally experience, are here unknown. Though her great exposure to the spray of the Atlantic increases the humidity of the atmosphere, it only

adds to the fecundity of the soil, and distinguishes her fertile fields by the productions of an almost perpetual vegetation.

“ The geographical situation of Ireland is not less favourable to cominerce than her climate is to agriculture; her position on the western extremity of Europe would enable her to intercept the trade of the new world from all other nations; the merchandize of London, of Bristol, and of Liverpool, must skirt her shores before it arrives at its own destination; and some of the finest harbours in the world invite the inhabitants of this gifted island to accept the trade of India, and form the emporium of Europe.

“ The internal and natural advantages of Ireland are great and inexhaustible—rich mines are found in almost every quarter of the island; gold is discovered in the beds of streams, and washed from the sands of rivulets—the mountains are generally arable to their summits—the vallies exceed in fertility the most prolific soils of England—the rivulets, which flow along the declivities, adapt the country most peculiarly to the improvement of irrigation; and the bogs and mosses of Ireland, utterly unlike the fens and marshes of England, emit no damp or noxious exhalations, and give a plentiful and cheering fuel to the surrounding peasantry; or when reclaimed, become the most luxuriant pastures.

“ The population of Ireland is great and progressive. About five millions of a brave and hardy

rate of men are seen scattered through the fields, or swarming in the villages; a vast redundancy of grain, and innumerable flocks and herds, should furnish to them not only the source of trade, but every means of comfort.

“ Dublin, the second city in the British empire, though it yields in extent, yields not in architectural beauty to the metropolis of England. For some years previous to the Union its progress was excessive; the locality of the parliament, the residence of the nobility and commons, the magnificence of the viceregal court, the active hospitality of the people, and the increasing commerce of the port, altogether gave a brilliant prosperity to that splendid and luxurious capital.

“ Ireland * thus possessing the strongest fea-

* “ The relative size of Ireland, compared to England and Wales, is about 18 to 30. It contains about eighteen millions of acres, is about 285 miles long and above 160 broad, has four provinces, 32 counties, 260 baronies, 2293 parishes, 3520 annual fairs, upwards of five million of inhabitants, about four millions of whom are catholics. Ireland furnishes more than 100,000 soldiers and sailors to the English fleet and army, and retains at home above one million of hardy men, from 17 to 47 years of age, fit to bear arms. Its annual *ordinary* revenue is upwards of five millions and a half sterling, being above 130 millions of French livres, and much more than the *ordinary* revenue of most nations in Europe. It pays four millions and a half sterling annually towards the army of the empire, being 108 millions of French livres, and transmits annually four millions sterling to England to pay the interests of her debt, and the rents and pensions of absentees and emigrants.”

tures of a powerful state, though labouring under every disadvantage which a restricted commerce and a jealous ally could inflict upon her prosperity, might still have regarded, with contempt, the comparatively unequal resources and inferior power of half the monarchies of Europe: her insular situation, her great fertility, the character of her people, the amount of her revenues, and the extent of her population, gave her a decided superiority over other nations, and rendered her crown, if accompanied by her affections, not only a brilliant, but a most substantial ornament to the British empire.

“ However, though thus gifted, and thus enriched by the hand of Nature, the fomented dissensions of her own natives had wedded Ireland to poverty, and prepared her for subjugation; her innate capacities lay dormant and inactive, her dearest interests were forgotten by herself or resisted by her ally, and the gifts and bounties of a favouring Providence, though lavished, were lost on a divided people.

“ By the paralyzing system thus adopted towards Ireland, she was at length reduced to the lowest ebb; her poverty and distresses, almost at their extent, were advancing fast to their final consummation; her commerce had almost ceased, her manufactures almost extinguished, her constitution withdrawn, the people absolutely desponding, while public and individual bankruptcy

finished a picture of the deepest misery*; and the year 1779 found Ireland almost every thing but what such a country and such a people ought to have been.

“ This lamentable state of the Irish nation was not the result of any one distinct cause; a combination of depressing circumstances united to bear down every progressive effort of that injured people. Immured in a labyrinth of difficulties and embarrassments, no clue was found to lead

* This wretched period cannot be better described than a most able and just statement of Irish grievances, published in the year 1779, by Mr. Hely Hutchinson. (father of the present Lords Donoughmore and Hutchinson,) then provost of the Dublin University, an eloquent and very distinguished member of the Irish parliament. In his book, entitled “ *Commercial Restraints,*” Mr. Hutchinson gives a pathetic description of the state to which Ireland was reduced by the jealous and narrow policy of England.

“ The present state of Ireland (writes Mr. Hutchinson) teems with every circumstance of national poverty. Whatever the land produces is greatly reduced in its value; the merchant justly complains, that all his business is at a stand, that he cannot discount his bills, and neither money nor paper circulates. In this and the last year about 20,000 manufacturers in this metropolis have been reduced to beggary for want of employment. They were for a considerable length of time supported by alms. Almost every branch of the revenue has fallen—a militia law, passed in the last session, could not be carried into execution for want of money.

“ Our distress and poverty are of the utmost notoriety; the proof does not solely depend upon calculation or estimate—it is palpable in every public and private transaction, and deeply felt among all orders of our people.

them through the mazes of their prison; and, helpless and desponding, they sunk into a doze of torpid inactivity; while their humiliated and inefficient parliaments, restrained by foreign and arbitrary laws, subjected to the dictation of the British council, and obstructed in the performance of its constitutional functions, retained scarcely the shadow of an independent legislature."

In estimating the struggles of a brave and vigorous people to acquire their liberty, it is indispensable that we should know the degree of thralldom in which they were held; we should know the strength of those chains they burst asunder, the greatness of those obstacles they overcome, before we can duly appreciate, or adequately applaud, the grandeur of that effort by which they became a FREE PEOPLE. Here then we behold a faint outline traced of that degrading servitude in which they were held, and of the

"An embargo on our provision (continued for three years) highly injurious to our victualling trade, the increasing drain of remittances to England for rents, salaries, profits of offices, pensions and interest, and for the payment of forces abroad, have made the decline most rapid," &c.

This book acquired such a character, and spoke so many plain truths, that for many years it was quoted as an authority in the Irish parliament. Mr. Flood often declared, that if there were but two copies of it in print, he would give a thousand pounds for one of them. It would be interesting to compare the state of Ireland in 1779 with that in 1794, when she had enjoyed only 12 years of constitutional independence and unrestricted commerce.

progressive steps that led to it, at the time when, by a magnanimous effort, they asserted their rights, and gave their country a name among the nations of the earth. The future pages of this history will develop a series of transactions perhaps the most interesting and singular that can be found in the occurrences of any nation.

George the Third ascended the throne with every prepossession in his favour. He was young, graceful, and conciliating; and he was also, to use his own expressions to the parliament when he first met it, "born and educated in this country, and gloried in the name of Briton." England looked up to the commencement of his reign with anticipating joy; Scotland was rewarded for its *recent loyalty* by the undivided affection of the new monarch; while Ireland alone continued to mourn her degradation, and to smart beneath new sufferings arising from trade destroyed and manufactures discouraged.

The first lord-lieutenant who was appointed by the youthful monarch was the Earl of Halifax, grand-nephew to the celebrated nobleman of the same name. He was attended by Gerard Hamilton as chief secretary, and Cumberland as his private secretary; the one distinguished by his eloquence in parliament, the other known as the writer of many successful dramas and other productions. The reader need hardly be reminded that Hamilton was significantly called "single-speech" Hamilton, in consequence of his remark-

able silence in the English house of commons, where he never made but *one* able oration, though in the Irish commons his eloquence was unequalled. The cause of this no inquiry can ascertain, therefore conjecture shall be silent. Hamilton was once suspected to be the author of Junius, but the supposition was soon discovered to be erroneous.

Lord Halifax was a nobleman of great elegance of person and of manners, and thoroughly versed in the trade of a refined, eloquent courtier, and an intelligent useful man of business. His speech to the Irish parliament on the opening of the session is upon record. It was generally esteemed a very brilliant composition. It is said Hamilton assisted him in it, but Cumberland says his lordship accepted very few of his suggestions or alterations.

Before I proceed to a regular narration of the history of this and the subsequent periods, I think it will not be unadvisable to occupy a few pages of my work with the characters of those eminent individuals who about this time, or very shortly after it, appeared upon the stage of Irish politics, and gave to them all the importance and lustre and efficacy which they received. In drawing these characters I shall borrow the pencil of those who knew them individually, and whose delineations are more likely to be exact than if they were derived merely from the recorded testimonies of their actions. Public men can only be adequately

known by those who have an opportunity of peeping behind the curtain, where they become visible, divested of all those specious trappings with which they sometimes deck themselves out to catch the admiring eyes of the populace. By introducing them at the present moment of the history a few years will be anticipated; but it will be better than to break the narration when we arrive at the events connected with them. The first shall be the

EARL OF CLONMELL.

“ John Scott, afterwards Earl of Clonmell, was, in the year 1769, recommended to the protection of Lord Townshend, then Viceroy of Ireland, by Lord Chancellor Lifford. The marquis had expressed his wishes for the assistance of some young gentleman of the bar, on whose talents and fidelity he might rely in the severe parliamentary campaigns then likely to take place. In consequence of this recommendation Mr. Scott was elected a member of the house of commons for one of the late Lord Granard's boroughs. This choice did great credit to the chancellor's discernment of character, as Scott not only answered, but even exceeded, the most sanguine expectations of the lord-lieutenant. The opposition at that time was sufficiently formidable, being composed of the most leading families in the country, joined to great parliamentary talents, and

led on by Flood, whose oratorical powers were then perhaps at their height. Against this lofty combination did Mr. Scott venture to oppose himself with a promptitude and resolution almost unexampled. No menace from without doors, no invective within, no question however popular, no retort however applauded, no weight or vehemence of eloquence, no airy and delicate satire, for a moment deterred this young, vigorous, and ardent assailant. On he moved, without much incumbrance of argument certainly; but all the light artillery, and total war of jests, and bon mots, pointed sarcasms, popular stories, and popular allusions, were entirely his own. He spoke, it must be confessed, very indifferently at first; but whilst his antagonists, and some of the fine gentlemen of the house, accustomed to a more fashionable and polished oratory, affected to disregard his eloquence (*if, in their opinion, it deserved that name*) as a noisy torrent, for ever voluble, and for ever the same, the older and more sagacious members soon perceived where the force of his talents lay, and that he was not calculated to move in a subordinate sphere. On the death of Tisdall he succeeded to the place of attorney general; and as, in a year or two afterwards, more important questions were agitated than had before engaged the attention of the house of commons, he was obliged to come forward, as the principal supporter of government, and encountered, of course, no small share of popular odium.

Several of his enemies, and persons who talked without consideration, asserted, that he displayed no talents whatever in defence of administration. But let justice be done him. He spoke often with much ingenuity, and, in some instances, great address. It is true that, in the warmth and tumult of debate, arguing, as he frequently did, on grounds not at all tenable, opposed by as eloquent men as ever sat in the house of commons, with the voice of the country calling aloud for freedom, and seconding all their efforts, he hazarded assertions, which, as he could not recall, his opponents would not suffer to pass without sharp animadversions. But as some of Dryden's productions were, according to Hume, the offspring of haste and hunger, the positions which Mr. Scott often advanced were the offspring of the moment; of a mind hurried, and driven beyond its sphere; in short, of a political combatant, who was obliged, at any rate, to defend administration. In this situation he was often ungenerously left almost alone; but, on looking back to those days, it may be said, that he was one of the best supports which ministers had in the house of commons. The times were almost wild; much management was required; and where others would always have irritated, he sometimes conciliated. He was removed from the office of attorney-general during the viceroyalty of the Duke of Portland, but in that of Lord Northington was appointed prime serjeant; and if popu-

larity is said, very justly too, to be of a most transitory nature, public disapprobation is often equally so; for, whilst holding the latter situation he was listened to with evident satisfaction in that house, where a year or two before, to make use of the words of Lord Clarendon, "he had rendered himself marvellously ungracious." But several in a similar situation would have rendered themselves still more so. He had many social virtues, and, in convivial hours, much unaffected wit and pleasantry, with a cordial civility of manners. To his great honour be it recorded, that he never forgot an obligation; and as his sagacity and knowledge of mankind must have been pre-eminent, so his gratitude to persons who had assisted him in the mediocrity of his fortune was unquestionable, and marked by real generosity and munificence."

HUSSEY BURGH.

"Walter Hussey, who afterwards took the name of Burgh, and was advanced to the station of lord chief baron of the exchequer, came at this time into parliament under the auspices of James, Duke of Leinster. He immediately joined the opposition then formed against the administration of Lord Townshend. His speeches, when he first entered the house of commons, were very brilliant, very figurative, and far more remarkable for that elegant, poetic taste which had highly

distinguished him when a member of the university than any logical illustration or depth of argument. But as he was blessed with great endowments, every session took away somewhat from the unnecessary splendour and redundancy of his harangues. To make use of a phrase of Cicero, in speaking of his own improvement in eloquence, his orations were gradually deprived of all fever*. Clearness of intellect, a subtle, refined, and polished wit, a gay, fertile, uncommonly fine imagination, very classical taste, superior harmony and elegance of diction, peculiarly characterised this justly celebrated man. Though without beauty, his countenance was manly, engaging, and expressive, his figure agreeable and interesting, his deportment eminently graceful.

“ To those that never heard him, as the fashion of this world in eloquence, as in all things, soon passes away, it may be no easy matter to convey a just idea of his stile of speaking; it differed totally from the models which have been presented to us by some of the great masters of rhetoric in latter days. His eloquence was by no means gaudy, tumid, nor approaching to that species of oratory which the Roman critics denominated Asiatic; but it was always decorated as the occasion required: it was often compressed and pointed, though that could not be said to have been its general feature. It was sustained by great inge-

* “ Quasi deferbuerat oratio.” *De Claris Oratoribus.*

genuity, great rapidity of intellect, luminous and piercing satire; in refinement abundant, in simplicity sterile. The classical allusions of this orator, for he was most truly one, were so apposite, they followed each other in such bright and varied succession, and, at times, spread such an unexpected and triumphant blaze around his subject, that all persons who were in the least tinged with literature could never be tired of listening to him. The Irish are a people of quick sensibility, and perfectly alive to every display of ingenuity or illustrative wit. Never did the spirit of the nation soar higher than during the splendid days of the volunteer institution; and when Hussey Burgh, alluding to some coercive English laws, and that institution, then in its proudest array, said in the house of commons, ‘that such laws were sown like dragons’ teeth, and sprung up in armed men*,’ the applause which followed, and the glow of enthusiasm which he kindled in every mind far exceeds my powers of description.

* Mr. Hardy (from whose *Life of Lord Charlemont* the preceding and some following characters are extracted) seemed not to know, nor did the late Mr. Fox, who, it is said, highly applauded this image, that it was borrowed from Milton. In his *Areopagetica*, speaking of the necessity that government should have a vigilant eye upon what books are published, he says, “I know they are as lively and as vigorously productive as those fabulous dragons’ teeth; and, being sown up and down, may chance to spring up armed.” Sterne has told us, it is only pouring out of one bottle into another!

“ Never did the graces more sedulously and uniformly attend any orator than this amiable and elegant man. They embellished all that he said, all that he did ; but the graces are fugitive or perishable. Of his admired speeches but few if any records are now to be found ; and of his harmonious flowing eloquence it may be said, as Tacitus did of an eminent speaker in his time, ‘ *Haterii canorum illud et profluens, cum ipso extinctum est.*’

“ He accepted the office of prime serjeant during the early part of Lord Buckingham’s administration ; but the experience of one session convinced him that his sentiments and those of the English and Irish cabinets, on the great questions relative to the independence of Ireland, would never assimilate. He soon grew weary of his situation, when his return to the standard of opposition was marked by all ranks of people, and especially his own profession, as a day of splendid triumph. Numerous were the congratulations he received on this sacrifice of official emolument to the duty which he owed to his country. That country he loved even to enthusiasm. He moved the question of a free trade for Ireland as the only measure that could then rescue this kingdom from total decay. The resolution was concise, energetic, and successful. He supported Mr. Grattan in all the motions which finally laid prostrate the dominion of the British parliament over Ireland. When he did so he was

not unacquainted with the vindictive disposition of the English cabinet of that day towards all who dared to maintain such propositions. One night, when he sat down after a most able, argumentative speech in favour of the just rights of Ireland, he turned to Mr. Grattan: '*I have now,*' said he, '*nor do I repent it, sealed the door against my own preferment; and I have made the fortune of the man opposite to me,*' naming a particular person who sat on the treasury bench.

"He loved fame, he enjoyed the blaze of his own reputation, and the most unclouded moments of his life were not those when his exertions at the bar or in the house of commons failed to receive their accustomed and ample tribute of admiration; that, indeed, but rarely happened; he felt it at particular moments during his connection with the Buckinghamshire administration; nor did the general applause which he received counterbalance his temporary chagrin. A similar temperament is, I think, recorded of Racine; but he had not Racine's jealousy. On the contrary, the best intellectual displays of his contemporaries seemed always to be the most agreeable to him; and I can well attest, that he hailed the dawn of any young man's rising reputation with the tribute of kindred genius.

"He died at a time of life when his faculties, always prompt and discriminating, approximated, as it should seem, to their fullest perfection. On the bench, where he sat more than one year, he

which Lord Bacon lays down for the conduct of a judge towards an advocate at the bar. ‘*You should not affect the opinion of poignancy and expedition by an impatient and catching hearing of the counsellors at the bar**.’ He seemed to be sensible of his deviation from this; to be convinced that security in our own opinions, like too great security in any thing, ‘*is mortals’ chiefest enemy*;’ and that, in our daily converse with the world, we meet with others who are far wiser than ourselves, even on those points where we fondly imagine our own wisdom to be the most authenticated. His honest desire not to feed contention, but bring it to as speedy a termination as could reasonably be wished, deserves great praise.

“He did not,” says Mr. Flood, alluding to him in one of his speeches, ‘live to be ennobled, but he was ennobled by nature.’—I value the just prerogatives of ancient nobility, but to the tears and regrets of a nation, bending over the urn of public and private excellence, as Ireland did over his, what has heraldry to add, or, at such moments, what can it bestow?”

SIR WILLIAM ORSBORNE.

“Sir William Orsborne was a most attentive, acute, and discriminating member of the house

* Lord Bacon’s speech to Judge Hutton on being made a Judge of Common Pleas.

of commons. He was always particularly attended to. There are few whose remarks, at certain moments, were more shrewd and pointed. When a gentleman, now no more, made his first speech in the house of commons, Sir William asked who he was, and being told; 'Well,' he replied, 'I think he will do. But I observe, that, contrary to the general practice of his family, he speaks on the side of opposition. If the opposition have enlisted him they are perfectly in the right, for he seems to have the *finest face for a grievance* of any man I ever beheld.' Many neat and apposite sayings are recorded of him."

MR. HENRY FLOOD.

" Mr. Henry Flood was by far one of the ablest men that ever sat in the Irish parliament. He came into the house of commons, and spoke during the administration of the Earl of Halifax. Hamilton's success as a speaker drew him instantly forward, and his first parliamentary essay was brilliant and imposing. Hutchinson, who was at that time with the court, replied to him with many compliments, and, as has been already observed, he was almost generally applauded, except by Primate Stone. He was a consummate member of parliament. Active, ardent, and persevering, his industry was without limits. In advancing, and, according to the parliamentary phrase, driving a question, he

was unrivalled; as, for instance, his dissertations, for such they were, on the law of Poynings, and similar topics. He was in himself an opposition, and possessed the talent (*in political warfare a most formidable one*) of tormenting a minister, and every day adding to his disquietude. When attacked he was always most successful, and to form an accurate idea of his excellence it was necessary to be present when he was engaged in such contests; for his introductory or formal speeches were often heavy and laboured, yet still replete with just argument, and throughout the whole were diffused a certain pathos, an apparent public care, with which a popular assembly is almost always in unison. His taste was not the most correct, and his studied manner was slow, harsh, and austere; the very reverse of Hamilton, whose trophies first pointed the way to Flood's genius, and whom he avowedly attempted to emulate. But in skirmishing, in returning with rapidity to the charge, though at first shaken, and nearly discomfited, his quickness, his address, his powers of retort and of insinuation were never exceeded in parliament. However, it was from the whole of the campaign that his abilities were to be duly appreciated. He entered, as has been observed by his illustrious opponent*, rather late into the British house of commons, and was never fairly tried there. His first exhibition was un-

* Mr. Grattan.

successful, and it seems to have indisposed him, for a considerable time at least, to any subsequent parliamentary effort. Besides, at the moment that he became a member, that house was completely divided into two distinct contending powers, led on by two mighty leaders; and his declaration, at the onset, that he belonged to no party, united all parties against him. His speech on the India bill, was, as he assured a gentleman from whom I had it, in some measure accidental. The debate had been prolonged to a very late hour, when he got up with the intention of merely saying, that he would defer giving his detailed opinion on the bill (to which he was adverse) till a more favourable opportunity. The moment that he rose, the politeness of the speaker in requesting order, the eagerness of the opponents of the bill, who knew that Flood was with them, seconding the efforts of the speaker, the civility always paid to any new members, and his particular celebrity as an orator, brought back the crowd from the bar, from above stairs at Bellamy's, and, in short, from the lobby and every part adjoining the house. There was such civility in this, mingled with no slight curiosity, that altogether it was sufficient to discompose most men. All the members resumed their places, and a general silence took place. Such a flattering attention he thought should be repaid by more than one or two sentences. He had some time lost sight of that wise precept

went on, trusting to his usual powers as a speaker, when, after some diffuse and general reasonings on the subject, which proved that he was not much acquainted with it, he sat down, amidst the exultation of his adversaries and the complete discomfiture of his friends, for he could be scarcely said to have one in the house but of those whose minds breathed nothing but parliamentary, indeed almost personal warfare, and expected much from his assistance. Altogether the disappointment was universal. He spoke, and very fully, some years afterwards on two or three occasions. On the French treaty, and on parliamentary reform. On the last-mentioned subject his progress was correspondent to that which has been already stated of him. He introduced it with a heavy solemnity and great but laborious knowledge. But his reply, especially to Mr. (now Lord) Grenville, was, as I have been assured, incomparable, and Mr. Burke particularly applauded it.

“ Till his acceptance of office, in 1775, he was the uniform friend and supporter of Lord Charlemont, who indeed scarcely took a political step without him. Their intimacy then ceased. It revived again, in some measure, when Flood revived his opposition; and was again eclipsed, not extinguished, by their adoption of different sentiments, at the time of what was called the simple repeal, in the autumn of 1782. Lord Charlemont was highly indignant at Flood's journey to Belfast, where he excited a violent ferment, and that even

among Lord Charlemont's particular friends. That cloud, however, passed away, and a cordial intercourse of letters took place during the regency. To such vicissitudes are political lives subject. Lord Charlemont was always amiable, and Flood possessed, or certainly could display, most engaging manners. He was extremely pleasing in private intercourse, well bred, open, and hospitable. His figure was tall, erect, graceful; and in youth, his countenance, however changed in our days, was of correspondent beauty. On the whole, he made a conspicuous figure in the annals of his country, and he is entitled to the respect of every public-spirited man in it; for unquestionably he was the senator who, by his exertions, and repeated discussions of questions seldom if ever approached before, first taught Ireland that it had a parliament. Mr. Flood died in December, 1791.

MR. DALY.

“ Mr. Daly was, for many years, a most distinguished member of the house of commons, and co-operated with Lord Charlemont till the administration of the Earl of Carlisle, when he accepted the place of muster-master-general; but the friendship between him and Lord Charlemont remained unaltered. He was descended from an ancient family, some of whom were remarkable

for strength of understanding, and distinguished themselves at the bar and in parliament. His direct ancestor was Denis Daly, who was a judge and privy-councillor in the reign of James the Second. A man of remarkable ability. Henry Lord Clarendon, at that time lord-lieutenant, speaks of him frequently, always with respect, and, alluding to his family, says, 'That he was of a race truly Irish, and bred under the famous Patrick Darcy, a name so well known in the preceding troubles.'

" Mr. Daly, whom I now touch on, was born in 1747, educated at Christ Church, Oxford, and came into parliament, as the representative of the county of Galway, in 1768. He was uncommonly gifted; for in him were united much beauty and dignity of person, great private worth, great spirit, extensive erudition, and penetrating genius. Seldom was any man more regarded in the house of commons than he was, not only whilst he continued with opposition, but after he had joined government, and indeed till the time of his death. He was rather an eminent speaker and orator than a debater. In the general business of the house he did not at all engage, but when he was forced to reply he spoke, though very shortly, with a promptitude and animation that were almost peculiar to him. His oratory was rapid, unaffected, displaying great energy of intellect, much fortitude of mind, dignified, not austere, nothing morose, but nothing ludicrous or jesting; still, how-

ever, solving grave debate with powers of ridicule, that almost put corruption out of countenance, and pouring itself forth in sentences so constructed as to style, and invigorated as to sentiment, that his hearers were, in truth, not only convinced but borne down by him. It is to be lamented that some of his speeches have not been preserved. That on the embargo, in December, 1777, when he opposed government, was so completely excellent in every part as would alone justify the fullest panegyric on his oratory. It was the most perfect model of parliamentary speaking that, in my opinion, could be exhibited. It is said, that in council he was superior. On some great questions he stood almost alone, and he was right. The measures that he advised were bold and rapid. At a meeting of the friends of government, in 1783, when Mr. Flood had announced his intention to the house of commons of bringing forward the reform bill, which had been, in fact, prepared by the convention, Mr. Daly infused his own spirit into the minds of several who were wavering, and prepared the resolution which Mr. Conolly moved in the house of commons. If he leaned to any party in the state, it was to a qualified aristocracy, accompanied with the utmost repugnance to jobbing. In fact, he was neither the tool nor the idol of any party. He served the crown with such a port and dignity that, at particular moments, government seemed to be borne along by him. As he loved liberty,

he uttered the most poignant sentiments against all public excesses, and, in truth, he seemed to have a horror of all public tumult. The people were ultimately served thereby, for he acquired an authority with ministers which checked their excesses also; and as he did not run headlong with either, he seemed to command both. He had pride, but it was not a pride that led him to excel, and was not obtrusive, or revolting. He was not only good-humoured but extremely playful. In private society he was above the practice of satire, and if ever he resorted to it, it was only to check the satirist, and with delicacy make him feel that he himself was vulnerable. Good manners in him seemed an emanation of good nature; and, as an illustrious friend of his, who lived in great intimacy with him, has more than once remarked to me, to know him and not to love him was impossible. He was a classical scholar, and not only collected the best editions of the great authors of antiquity, but read books with the ardor of a real lover of literature. His library was uncommonly valuable, and was sold, I believe, at a very high price. It may not perhaps be thought superfluous to state in this place, that, in a conversation which he once had with the author of these memoirs, he said, that as to English prose-writers, the style of Dryden, and that of Andrew Stuart, in his Letters to Lord Mansfield, especially the concluding part of them, were, in his opinion, the best models which any young man could attend to who wished to speak in the house of commons.

“ He once made an observation to me which shewed such a general knowledge of the Irish House of Commons, at that time, that I never shall forget it. On some question, (no matter what) the court was either left in a minority, or obliged to withdraw it. Some member attempted to pursue this apparent triumph by a more decisive resolution. “ How little is he acquainted with this house!” said Mr. Daly. “ Were I a minister, and wished to carry a very untoward measure, it would be directly after we had passed some strong resolutions against the court. So blended is the good nature of Irish gentlemen with their habitual acquiescence, that unless party, or the times, are very violent indeed, we always wish to shrink from a second resolution against a minister, and to make, as it were, some atouement for our precipitant patriotism, by as rapid a return to our original civility and complaisance.

“ He died at an early period not very much beyond forty. A nervous disorder, to which he had been long subject, at last closed his days. He rose to speak one night in the House of Commons, when, after delivering a sentence or two, with imperfect articulation, he made a full pause. The House cheered him with its usual approbation and respect. He continued silent. It was then perceived that his malady had so much increased, as to render him totally unable to go on. The stillness which succeeded for some moments, and the generous sympathy which the House displayed,

anxious at the same time to conceal, if possible, their feelings from him, produced the most interesting, indeed, affecting scene, which I ever witnessed in any popular assembly. It was the the last effort he ever made to express his sentiments in public."

MR. CURRAN.

I regret that, no character of this great man, drawn with spirit equal to the preceding ones, is to be found. The following however, will suffice to exhibit a general outline.

“ To assert that Mr. Curran’s eloquence is without defect would be absurd. The greatest orators of antiquity, perceived and acknowledged their own deficiencies. The perusal of his speeches, however inadequately reported, will enable the reader to form a better judgment than any elaborate critique. In the cross examination of a witness he is unequalled. The most intricate web that fraud, malice or corruption ever wove against the life, fortune or character of an individual, he can unravel. Let truth and falsehood be ever so ingeniously dovetailed into each other, he separates them with facility. He surveys his ground like a skilful general, marks every avenue of approach; knows when to attack, when to yield; instantly seizes the first inconsistency of testimony, pursues his advantage with dexterity.

and caution, 'till at last he completely involves perjury in the confusion of its contradictions.' And while the bribed and suborned witness is writhing in the mental agony of detected falsehood, wrings from him the truth, and snatches the devoted victim, from the altar. It is when in a case of this kind he speaks to a jury, that he appears as if designed by Providence to be the refuge of the unfortunate, and the protector of the oppressed. In the course of his eloquence, the classic treasures of prophane antiquity are exhausted. He draws fresh supplies from the sacred fountain of living waters. The records of Holy Writ afford him the sublimest allusions. It is then he stirs every principle that agitates the heart, or sways the conscience, carries his auditory whither he pleases, ascends from man to the Deity, and again almost seems to call down to earth fire from Heaven. While they who listen, filled with a sense of inward greatness, feel the high nobility of their nature, in beholding a being of the same species gifted with such transcendant qualities, and, wrapt in wonder and delight, have a momentary belief,—that to admire the talents, is to participate in the genius of the orator.

“ Mr. Curran has from his first mixing with the world enjoyed the intimate acquaintance of many who hold the first rank in England and Ireland, for private integrity, public spirit, fine genius and literary acquirements, and is con-

nected with some of them (*not the least distinguished*) in the bonds of the strictest friendship. In private life his manners are cheerful, sportive and goodnatured, never over-valuing himself. The most limited talents in private intercourse were never forced by him into a feeling of inferiority, nor has he ever in the most unrestrained hours of social mirth panged the heart of any who were present; so well is his wit tempered by the urbanity of his disposition. It is much superior to that species, which must always have an object to ridicule, and, to amuse a company, render one of the party miserable. Nor is it of that second rate mongrel kind, which always dwells in anecdote, to create an opportunity of itself, but is of the purest genuine nature, flowing spontaneously from the subject of conversation."

MR. GRATTAN.

Sir Jonah Barrington in his "Historical Anecdotes of the Legislative Union of Ireland," has drawn the following character of the illustrious individual who still lives and labours for his country.

"The address and the language of this extraordinary man were perfectly original; from his first essay in parliament, a strong sensation had been excited by the point and eccentricity of his powerful eloquence; nor was it long until those transcendent talents, which afterwards distin-

guished this celebrated personage, were perceived rising above ordinary capacities, and, as a charm, communicating to his countrymen that energy, that patriotism and that perseverance, for which he himself became so eminently distinguished: his action, his tone, his elocution in public speaking, bore no resemblance to that of any other person; the flights of genius, the arrangements of composition, and the solid strength of connected reasoning, were singularly blended in his fiery, yet deliberative language; he thought in logic, and he spoke in antithesis; his irony and his satire, rapid and epigrammatic, bore down all opposition, and left him no rival in the broad field of eloquent invective; his ungraceful action, however, and the hesitating tardiness of his first sentences, conveyed no favourable impression to those who listened only to his exordium; but the progress of his brilliant and manly eloquence soon absorbed every idea, but that of admiration at the overpowering extent of his intellectual faculties.

“ This was Mr. Henry Grattan of 1779, in the vicissitudes of whose subsequent life will be remarked, three distinct eras of public character, and disgusting proofs of popular inconsistency; the era of his glory, the era of his calumny, and the era of his resurrection; in the first, elevated to a pitch of unbounded gratification, by the attachment, the gratitude, the munificence of his countrymen; in the second despoiled of health happiness, and of

character, by the artifices of a powerful enemy *, and the proscription of an ungrateful people; and in the third, rising from the bed of sickness, re-embarking a shattered frame in the service of his country, and again receiving the most adulatory eulogies on his political virtue, from that very inconsistent body, which had traduced him for political enor-

* The animosity which Lord Clare professed and exercised toward Mr. Grattan, was of the most *vindictive* and unprincipled nature, and carried to such an extent, by means of his extraordinary power and influence, as would probably have ended in the destruction of that gentleman, had not the implacability of Lord Clare's own character diminished the weight of his accusations, and the effect of proceedings, which were known to be founded on personal animosity.

The secret committee of the House of Commons could not be brought over to his purposes; but he used effective measures to have Mr. Grattan's name brought before the secret committee of the Lords, and alluded to by their report. This circumstance Lord Clare and his partizans propagated with *incredible* assiduity; and both Mr. Grattan, and the Bishop of Down (Doctor Dixon) were absolutely *denounced* by his Lordship in the privy council;—but the vindictive objects of his Lordship were then so strongly perceivable, that many members of the council resolutely ventured to oppose Lord Clare's views upon that subject. Sir John Blaquiere, Mr. Denis Browne, and several others, though political adversaries of Mr. Grattan, resisted his Lordship on that occasion; yet so artfully was the defamation spread at that time, that many of Mr. Grattan's *own personal friends* were staggered by the steadiness with which his lordship persisted; and it was not until after Mr. Grattan had boldly assailed and silenced Lord Clare, by a printed reply, that the public mind was completely satisfied upon that subject.

mities, and elected by acclamation the representative of that metropolis, which had shortly before voted him unworthy even of its freedom. In Parliament, he taught the doctrines of Molyneux and of Lucas; he drew the true constitutional distinctions between the Crown and the Government, the magistrate and the function, the individual and the sceptre. But the partiality of the friend may possibly bias the pen of the historian; his public principles will be best ascertained by tracing the undeviating line of his public conduct.

“ The career of this extraordinary man yet remains unfinished. But though he has not survived himself, he has survived his country, he has lived to view the demolition of that noble fabric raised by the exertion of his own virtue and perseverance, and the catastrophe of that constitution, which, ‘ as he watched over it in its cradle, so he attended it to its grave.’

“ It is in vain to expect, from the cool temperature of approaching age, the brilliant animation of more youthful energy; though judgment may be increased, and wisdom may remain stationary, years irresistibly diminish the fire of eloquence, and contract the wandering beauties of imagination; the stability of his attachment to Ireland has been proved rather by his inflexible integrity than by his latter exertions, his spirit seemed to droop from the period of the annexation of his country; and his talent, overpowered and abashed, has let fall its keenest weapons. The humiliating

transmission of an illustrious Irishman to a foreign legislature, and repugnant in corporation, with a new and uncongenial people, pulls down the pride of natural superiority, checks the active exercise of decaying talent—and has seated Mr. Grattan in the British Parliament, as an honourable memento of his Irish greatness.”

The manner of Grattan—his elocution—his tones—his action are all peculiar. An observant critic, who heard his first speech on the Catholic Question, in the imperial parliament, May 12, 1805, has thus delineated these peculiarities.

“ Ungraceful in his action, harsh and monotonous in his tones; at times so rapid as to be followed with difficulty, and occasionally sinking his voice so low as to be scarcely audible; Mr. Grattan does not, at first, recommend himself to his audience. Novel in the arrangement of his matter, able in his arguments, his eloquence is of a new and peculiar stamp; it has no resemblance to the eloquence of any of our distinguished orators; it is not the roundness, the *ore rotundo* of Mr. Pitt; it is not the simple majesty of Mr. Fox; it is not the brilliancy of Mr. Sheridan. Occasionally, however, we caught a tint, a feature of resemblance to Mr. Burke, but he has not that commanding figure and manner, that volume of voice, that superabundant richness and fertility of fancy, that vast grasp and range of mind, which Mr. Burke possessed beyond all other created

beings. Mr. Grattan's is a distinct species of eloquence from that of any other man: '*he stands alone, and he is able to stand alone.*' "

Let us contemplate his portrait drawn by another hand.

"As a public speaker Mr. Grattan ranks in the highest class. In his speeches there is a grandeur which marks a mind of a superior order, and enforces at once reverence and admiration. On every subject which he treats he throws a radiance which enlightens without dazzling; and while it assists the judgment, delights the imagination. His style is always peculiar; it varies its character with the occasion. At one time close and energetic, it concentrates the force of his argument, and compels conviction; at another, diffuse, lofty, and magnificent, it plies itself to every faculty of the mind, charms our fancy, influences our will, and convinces our understanding. At all times his manner is animated with a pleasing warmth, which renders it impossible to hear him without interest;—but on some occasions he exerts a power which is irresistible. Prostitution, under its influence, forgets for a moment the voice of the minister; and place, and pension, and peerage, have but a feeble hold even of the most degenerate. To the excellence of style he does not add the graces of action; it is forcible, indeed, and sometimes expressive, but it is seldom elegant, and never pleasing. For invective, to which Mr. Grattan has sometimes deigned to

have recourse, his manner is better adapted than to the sedateness of cool disquisition; and yet invective is not that in which he principally excels; he is more fitted by nature, and happily the situation he has filled has more frequently called him to defend the rights of nations, and to pourtray the hopes, the fears, and the expectations of a magnanimous people, than to descend to a wordy contest with individuals; though when that contest has been instituted, the weapons of Mr. Grattan have been found sharp, if not polished, and capable of inflicting wounds which refuse to be healed."

The amusing tourist, Sir John Carr, has communicated some particulars of this celebrated personage.

"Upon quitting St. Valore," says he, "I paid a visit to that great man Grattan, whom I have with so much gratification mentioned, at his beautiful seat called Tinnahinch, or the Little Peninsula, the approach to which is very fine. Soon after my arrival the distinguished owner of Tinnahinch conducted me through his beautiful grounds. The surrounding objects corresponded with the mind of my guide. Before us a winding river, here fertilizing meadows, there foaming over rocks, the rich romantic foliage of the woods, and the lofty mountains that half enclose the Dargle, represented his eloquence, lucid, rich, copious, and sublime; whilst behind the cloud-capt Scalp, serrated with broken rock, resembled

the terrible force of his roused Philippic. I had the peculiar happiness of seeing this great man in the bosom of his amiable, elegant, and accomplished family; and in one of the greatest orators and politicians of the age, I saw the affectionate husband, the fond father, the luminous and profound scholar, the playful wit, and polite, well-bred, hospitable gentleman. Such is the man who, in his speeches upon the question of the paramount right of England to change the constitutional government of Ireland, displayed an eloquence before unknown to that, and never surpassed in any country. This question underwent several discussions, in 1780, 1781, and 1782: the speech which he delivered on the 19th April, 1782, was, as I was informed by a gentleman who had the good fortune to be present when it was delivered, most brilliant, energetic, and impressive: it effected the repeal of the 6th of George I. and for a period gave independence to his country: for *this speech alone* the parliament, by an almost unanimous vote, granted him the sum of *fifty thousand pounds!* His speech also on the propositions in 1785 is said to have teemed with the highest eloquence."

THE EARL OF CLARE.

"John Fitzgibbon, afterwards Earl of Clare, was attorney-general and lord high chancellor of Ireland. His ascertained pedigree was short, though

his family name bespoke an early respectability. His grandfather was obscure. His father, intended for the profession of a popish priest, but possessing a mind superior to the habits of monkish seclusion, procured himself to be called to the Irish bar, where his talents raised him to the highest estimation, and finally established him in fame and fortune.

“ John Fitzgibbon, the second son of this man, was called to the bar in 1772. Naturally dissipated, he for some time attended but little to the duties of his profession; but on the death of his elder brother and his father, he found himself in possession of all those advantages which led him rapidly forward to the extremity of his objects—considerable fortune, professional talents, extensive connexions, and undismayed confidence, elevated him to those stations on which he afterwards appeared so conspicuously seated; while the historic eye, as it follows his career, perceives him lightly bounding over every obstacle which checked his course to that goal where all the trophies and thorns of power were collected for his reception.

“ From his advancement, Ireland computed a new epocha. The period of his life comprised a series of transactions, in the importance of which the recollection of former events was merged and extinguished: to the character of Lord Clare may be traced the occult source of heretofore inexplicable measures: in his influence will be

found the secret spring which so often rendered the machine of Irish government rapid and irregular; and as we pass along through those interesting scenes which distinguished Ireland for twenty years, we often anticipate his councils, and as often mourn the result of our anticipation.

“ In the Earl of Clare we find a man eminently gifted with talents adapted either for a blessing or a curse to the nation he inhabited; but early enveloped in high and dazzling authority, he lost his way; and considering his power as a victory, he ruled his country as a conquest. Warm but indiscriminate in his friendships, equally indiscriminate and implacable in his animosities, he carried to the grave the passions of his childhood, and has bequeathed to the public a record*, which determines that trait of his varied character beyond the power of refutation.

“ He hated powerful talents because he feared them, and trampled on modest merit because it was incapable of resistance. Authoritative and peremptory in his address; commanding, able, and arrogant in his language; a daring contempt for public opinion seemed to be the fatal principle which misguided his conduct; and Ireland became divided between the friends of his patron-

* His lordship's last will, now a record in the prerogative office of Dublin, a most extraordinary composition of hatred and affection, piety and malice, &c.

age, the slaves of his power, and the enemies to his tyranny.

“ His character had no medium, his manners no mediocrity; the example of his extremes was adopted by his intimates, and excited in those who knew him feelings either of warm attachment or of rivetted aversion.

“ While he held the seals in Ireland he united a vigorous capacity with the most striking errors: as a judge, he collected facts with a rapid precision, and decided on them with a prompt asperity; depending too much on the strength of his own judgment, and the acuteness of his own intellect: he hated precedent, and despised the highest judicial authorities, because they were not his own.

“ Professing great controul over others, he assumed but little over himself; he gave too loose a rein to his impressions, consequently the neutrality of the judge occasionally yielded to the irritation of the moment; and equity at times became the victim of dispatch, or a sacrifice to pertinacity.

“ The calm dignity of a high and elevated mind, deriving weight from its own purity, and consequence from its own example, did not seem the characteristic of the tribunal where he presided, and decorum was preserved, less by a respect for his person than a dread of his observations; for he disliked presumption in every per-

son but himself, and discountenanced it in every body but those whom he patronized.

“ He investigated fraud with assiduity, and punished it with rigour; yet it was obvious, that in doing so he enjoyed the double satisfaction of detecting delinquency, and of gratifying the misanthropy of an habitual invective; for never did he poise the scale without also exercising the sword of justice.

“ Yet in many instances he was an able, and a most useful judge; and though his talents were generally over-rated, and many of his decisions condemned, it may be truly said, that, with all his failings, if he had not been a vicious statesman he might have been a virtuous chancellor.

“ Though his conversation was sometimes licentious and immoral, and always devoid of refined wit and of genuine humour, yet in domestic life he had many meritorious and some amiable qualities—an indefatigable and active friend, a kind and affectionate master, an indulgent landlord. Liberal, hospitable, and munificent, he possessed the seed of qualities very superior to those which he cultivated, and in some instances evinced himself susceptible of those finer sensations which, if their growth had been permitted in his vigorous and fertile mind, might have placed him on the very summit of private character; but unfortunately, his temper, his ambition, and his power, seemed to unite in one common cause, to impede

and stunt the growth of almost every principle which would have become a virtue.

“ As a politician and a statesman the character of Lord Clare is too well known, and its effects too generally experienced, to be mistaken or misrepresented. The era of his reign was the downfall of his country; his councils accelerated what his policy might have suppressed, and have marked the annals of Ireland with stains and miseries unequalled and indelible.

“ In council Lord Clare, rapid, peremptory, and overbearing, regarded promptness of execution rather than discretion of arrangement, and piqued himself more on expertness of thought than sobriety of judgment. Through all the calamities of Ireland the mild voice of conciliation never escaped his lips; and when the torrent of civil war had subsided in his country, he held out no olive to shew that the deluge had receded.

“ Acting upon a conviction that his power was but co-existent with the order of public establishments, and the tenure of his office limited to the continuance of administration, he supported both with less prudence and more desperation than sound policy or an enlightened mind should permit or dictate. His extravagant doctrines of religious intolerance created the most mischievous pretexts for his intemperance in upholding them; and under colour of defending the principles of one revolution, he had nearly plunged the nation into all the miseries of another.

“ His political conduct has been accounted uniform, but in detail it will be found to have been miserably inconsistent. In 1781 he took up arms to obtain a declaration of Irish independence; in 1800 he recommended the introduction of a military force to assist in its extinguishment. He proclaimed Ireland a free nation in 1783, and argued that it should be a province in 1799; in 1782 he called the acts of British legislature towards Ireland ‘ a daring usurpation on the rights of a free people* ;’ and in 1800 he transferred Ireland to the usurper. On all occasions his ambition as despotically governed his politics as his reason invariably sunk before his prejudice.

“ Though he intrinsically hated a legislative union, his lust for power induced him to support it; the preservation of office overcame the impulse of conviction, and he strenuously supported that measure, after having openly avowed himself its enemy; its completion, however, blasted his hopes, and hastened his dissolution. The restlessness of his habit, and the obtrusiveness of his disposition became insupportably embarrassing to the British cabinet. The danger of his talents as a minister, and the inadequacy of his judgment as a statesman, had been proved in Ireland; he had been a useful instrument in that country, but the

* In his lordship’s answer to the address of the Dublin University, on the 14th of April, 1782, upon the declaration of rights, he used these words; and added, that “ he had uniformly expressed that opinion both in public and in private.”

same line of services which he performed in Ireland would have been ruinous to Great Britain, and Lord Clare was no longer consulted.

“ Thus the Union effected, through his friends, what Ireland could never accomplish through his enemies—his total overthrow. Unaccustomed to controul, and unable to submit, he returned to his country, weary, drooping, and disappointed; regretting what he had done, yet miserable that he could do no more. His importance had expired with the Irish parliament; his patronage ceased to supply food for his ambition, the mind and the body became too sympathetic for existence, and he sunk into the grave, a conspicuous example of human talent and human frailty.

“ Thus fell one of the most distinguished personages of the British empire. In his person he was about the middle size, slight, and not graceful; his eyes, large, dark, and penetrating, betrayed some of the boldest traits of his uncommon character; his countenance, though expressive and manly, yet discovered nothing which could deceive the physiognomist into an opinion of his magnanimity, or call forth an eulogium on his virtues.

“ During twenty momentous and eventful years, the life of Lord Clare is, in fact, the history of Ireland—as in romance, some puissant and doughty chieftain appears prominent in every feat of chivalry, the champion in every strife, the hero of every encounter, and, after a life of toil and

of battle, falls, surrounded by a host of foes, a victim to his own ambition and temerity.

“ Thus Earl Clare, throughout those eventful periods, will be seen bold, active, and desperate, engaging fiercely in every important conflict of the Irish nation, and at length, after having sacrificed his country to his passions and his ambition, endeavouring to atone for his errors by sacrificing himself.”

Having thus presented to the reader, and especially to the Irish reader, a gallery of portraits, which he will contemplate with various emotions of admiration, love, esteem, or hatred and contempt, according as each individual is contemplated through the medium of party feud and political devotion, or as the unbiassed judgment may pronounce upon the conduct of each, I shall now proceed to relate a series of events, important in themselves as affecting the welfare of Ireland, and some of them so singularly charactered that perhaps the annals of no nation can produce their parallel. An armed nation effecting a mighty revolution without bloodshed, liberty dawning with resplendent brightness, genius and eloquence accompanying every step of her career; a rebellion, fatal to its promoters, disgraceful to its subduers; a union, without connection, and without reciprocity of benefit!

CHAP. XVI.

Share which the ladies of Ireland had in laying the foundation of Irish independence—Appearance of the white-boys—Causes of that insurrection—Suspicion of French intrigue—Hearts of oak boys—Steel boys—Administration of the Earl of Northumberland—First symptoms, during it, in the house of commons, of a disposition to thwart the measures of government. Dr. Lucas and other patriots apply themselves vigorously to the correction of public abuses.

IN commencing the history of Lord Halifax's administration it would be unpardonable not to suspend for a moment its political transactions, to record one in which the ladies of Ireland were concerned, and to which some grave authorities have ascribed the foundation of the independence of that country.

When Lord Halifax was appointed to the lord-lieutenancy an event took place, which, though seemingly unimportant at first, involved, to a certain degree, the honour of Ireland. as the prerogatives of its nobility must always be connected with the national rank and character. The Princess Charlotte of Mecklenburgh had been happily chosen as the consort of his majesty, and was

daily expected in London. A number of the Irish peeresses were there just at that time, and as a matter of course they were prepared to walk in the procession at the royal nuptials; when a short time before the queen landed, the Duchess of Bedford received orders to acquaint them that they were not to walk or form any part of the ceremonial whatever. That they were most justly mortified at such an uncourtly and unexpected mandate even the most rugged philosopher must avow. To bid fair laides "lay their costly robes aside" on such an occasion, to exclude the noblewomen of Ireland from sharing in the honours of an august ceremony, which equally interested both nations, was exposing them to ridicule, and Ireland, whose peeresses they were, to contempt and degradation. They applied therefore to Lord Charlemont, who happened to be in London, to interest himself in their behalf, and vindicate the rights and privileges of the Irish peerage. Lord Charlemont was then too young, and at all times too gallant, not to obey the commands of ladies; but, had any motive been wanting to ensure such obedience, their bright eyes of course "rained influence," and decided him as to the business. So forth he issued their proclaimed and adventurous champion. To such of the nobility as were then in town he immediately addressed himself, but alas! his chivalrous ardour was most miserably, or rather not at all, seconded. That from long habitude depressed and neglected, they

should cease to feel as patriots, or even for their own body, was nothing extraordinary; but that, as Irish gentlemen, they should not feel when the rights of ladies, and their own countrywomen too, or the wives of their countrymen, were concerned, is passing strange. At last Lord Charlemont found one nobleman, Lord Middleton, whom this piteous stupor did not reach. He attended Lord Charlemont to Bushy-park, (the residence of the Earl of Halifax,) and stated the matter to his lordship. The viceroy met their wishes with a politeness equal to their own, and immediately waited on his majesty, to whom he humbly submitted the claims of the Irish ladies. His majesty's answer, as might be expected, was most gracious and condescending. But the note of Lord Halifax, which stated the king's benignity as it deserved, stated also, that a council was ordered to be summoned next day, before whom precedents to establish the claim should be laid; and Lord Charlemont was, to his great astonishment and distress, ordered to furnish such precedents. A young nobleman of fashion was not, as may easily be conceived, the most expert individual in the world to provide these documents. With the assistance of Lord Egmont, however, who was profoundly versed in all the minutiae of heraldic ceremonies and records, and who had written a book on the rights of the Irish peerage, he obtained them, and they were transmitted to Lord Halifax in order to be laid before the council.

The claim, however, was opposed, not only with pertinacity, but even with virulence. The old Lord Delawar was furious against it; Lords Halifax and Talbot were for it. The council broke up, and nothing was decided. His majesty at length put an end to the mighty discord by issuing an order, that at the ensuing ceremonial the Irish nobility should walk according to their respective ranks; that is, Irish marquisses or earls after British marquisses, and so on.

Upon this subject, the principal facts of which are derived from Mr. Hardy, that gentleman has made the following observations.

“ This contest, according to Lord Charlemont, clearly evinced the propensity of some English statesmen, in those days, to dispute the rights of Ireland in every instance, even in comparatively unimportant matters. The recollection of it was never effaced from his mind, and had some influence on his parliamentary conduct at a subsequent period. The unwise opposition to so slight but just a claim of the Irish peeresses was thus, in some measure, the foundation of the independence of Ireland. It is not the first time that the claims of ladies, whether ill or well founded, and their dissatisfaction at being excluded from honours and distinctions which others of their sex, or of birth more illustrious than their own, were in possession of, have caused no slight changes in the countries to which they belonged. When the young Fabia, as we learn from Livy,

accidentally discovered that, though married into a noble family, she was not permitted to enjoy distinctions and rank similar to those of her sister, her mortification was only terminated by a most considerable change in the Roman state, the admission of plebeians to the consulate: and thus have great alterations often arisen from events not the least likely, at first sight, or to a common observer, to be any way capable of producing them."

When a patriot like Lord Charlemont, and a grave historian like Mr. Hardy, concur in ascribing such effects to this event, it ought to receive the more of our attention and respect.

One of the first events that distinguished the administration of Lord Halifax was the appearance of the *white-boys* in several parts of Munster. These insurgents were so called because they commonly appeared in frocks or shirts; they committed their outrages at night; they seized arms and horses, houghed the cattle, levelled the enclosures of commons, turned up new-made roads, and perpetrated various other acts of outrage and violence. The causes of this insurrection were to be found in the increased price of provisions, the decay of trade and manufactures, and some other public events. An epidemic disorder had also spread from Holstein, through Holland, into England, where it raged for some years, and consequently raised the prices of beef, cheese, and butter to exorbitancy. Pasturage became hence more profitable

than tillage, and in the south of Ireland numerous families, which were fed by the labours of agriculture, were turned adrift without means of subsistence. This effect was further produced by the exemption of grazing-grounds from tythe, which operates as a bounty for the dereliction of agriculture. The catholic cotters, being tenants at will, were every where dispossessed of their little tenements, and large tracts of land let out to wealthy monopolizers for the purposes of pasturage. These persons were enabled to pay higher rents, because few hands were required in the feeding of cattle. Meanwhile the starving peasantry sought the large towns, in the miserable hope of begging that bread they could no longer earn; while the affluent bestowed upon them the only benefit they could, that of facilitating their emigration to other countries. Numbers, however, assembled at nightfall, and vented their fury on those objects which they conceived to be the cause of their misery*. They committed the most shocking atrocities upon persons whom they suspected. Sometimes they placed them naked on horseback, on saddles covered with skins of hedgehogs; at others, they left them standing many hours buried to the chin in holes in the ground, with branches of thorn trodden closely

* The absolute inability of the oppressed tenants to pay their tithes, besides their landlord's rent, made them feel the exaction and levying of them by the proctors as an insupportable grievance.

round their bodies. These insurrections became daily more alarming, and it was soon bruited abroad by the protestants, that the insurgents (being all catholics) were acting from political motives, and in secret concert with the courts of France and Spain. There seem to be some good reasons for believing that at least French intrigue assisted to foment the prevailing discontents; for Lord Charlemont, in his posthumous papers, mentions one fact, which strongly confirms this suspicion. During the course of these insurrections a *very* considerable number of French crowns were received at the custom-house, which could not well have been the result of trade, since little or no specie was imported from France in exchange for commodities; and more especially since they were, all of them, *new* crowns, of the same date, and coined after every possible importation could be made by the course of commerce.

If, however, the disaffected *did* receive aid from, or correspond with, France, they concealed their practices so as to elude the vigilance of government; for when a commission was sent into the disturbed districts to examine into the causes of the tumult, they reported "that the authors of those riots consisted indiscriminately of persons of different persuasions, and that no marks of disaffection to his majesty's person or government appeared in any of these people," which report was confirmed by the judges of the Munster cir-

cut, and by the dying protestations of the first five of the unhappy men who were executed at Waterford in 1762. These were only the precursors of many more wretched sufferers who fell victims to the law.

At length Lord Halifax*, towards the close of the session, 1762, congratulated parliament on the suppression of the *white boys*; but the spirit of insurrection was no longer local, for new insurgents sprung up in the north of Ireland, under the denomination of *heart of oak boys*, from wearing oaken boughs in their hats. They were chiefly protestants, and could not be suspected of disaffection to the crown; but they were wretched, oppressed, and impoverished; and men in that condition, no matter what their faith is, have no longer any interest in preserving the social compact unbroken. The immediate cause of this revolt was somewhat different from that in the south. In the making and repairing of roads formerly each housekeeper was obliged to furnish the labour at least of a man six days in the year, and also of a horse if he possessed one. Complaint-

* It may be mentioned, that, in this year, the house of commons voted an address to the lord-lieutenant, requesting that he would represent to his majesty the sense of that house, that his majesty would be pleased to augment his excellency's allowance to the annual sum of 16,000l. Lord Halifax obeyed these injunctions, but, according to Cumberland, (see his *Memoirs*,) he refused to accept the increase during his vice-royalty.

ing that by unfair management the burthen of this business was thrown exclusively on the poor, and that many of the roads were calculated for private, not public convenience, the peasants were, in general, ready to refuse compliance as soon as any number among them should commence an opposition. At length the inhabitants of a parish in the county of Armagh rose in tumult, and their example was soon followed through that whole county and those of Tyrone, Derry, and Fermanagh. They assembled only in the day, and marched openly in large bodies, forcing all whom they met to take an oath, that "they would be true to the king and the hearts of oak;" but they committed neither murder nor plunder, and very seldom used personal violence. According to the ancient practice of all insurgents in Ireland, however, they obliged such obnoxious persons, clergy or laity, as fell into their hands, to swear, that the former should not levy more than a certain proportion of tithe, and the latter that they would not assess the county at more than a stipulated rate. So different were they from the sanguinary proceedings of the southern insurgents*, however, that they manifested, on

* Lord Charlemont—a name frequently to be mentioned, and never to be mentioned without respect—ascribed this difference, not to any diversity of religion, but to the oppression under which the unfortunate natives in the south laboured; justly observing, that "a rebellion of slaves is always more bloody than an insurrection of freemen."

most occasions, a propensity to whim and jokes. Their jokes indeed had something rather too serious about them, and were not, in general, very acceptable to the castle; accordingly, a few troops were marched towards the north, and in a short time tranquillity was restored without much effusion of blood. Lord Charlemont, as lord-lieutenant of the county of Armagh, was greatly instrumental in producing quiet without coercive measures; and in the following session of parliament the original cause of the disturbances was removed by the repeal of the old act concerning roads, and the enactment of a new, which provided an equal cess on land, instead of personal labour, for the necessary purpose.

To the *oak-boys* succeeded the *steel-boys*, also in the north. But these latter were neither so numerous nor so violent. They were occasioned by an absentee nobleman, possessing one of the largest estates in the kingdom, not letting his land, when out of lease, for the highest rent, but taking large fines and small rents. The consequence was, that the occupier of the ground, though willing to pay the highest rent, was unable to pay the fines, and was bought out by the wealthy undertaker, who racked the rents to a pitch above the reach of the old tenants. These persons rose in opposition to their oppressors, destroyed their houses, and maimed their cattle; but they were soon quelled by a few troops.

It was shrewdly and truly observed by Sir John

Davies, that "the people of this land, (Ireland,) both English and Irish, did ever love and desire to be governed by great persons." This was said of them in the reign of James I. but was no less applicable in that of George III. Accordingly, a very general joy was diffused through the nation when, upon the recal of Lord Halifax, the Earl of Northumberland was appointed his successor. He was not one of the *novi homines*; his title was ancient and illustrious, and his name connected, in their imaginations, with the most romantic and chivalrous periods of our history. He arrived in Dublin in September, 1763, and opened the parliament in the October following. His speech, after congratulating them upon the peace and the birth of the Prince of Wales, referred chiefly to the late disturbances in Ulster, and a motion was made to inquire into the causes of those disturbances.

During this administration the Irish house of commons began to shew greater and greater signs of awakening from their torpor and insensibility. A few individuals (among whom Dr. Lucas deserves to be mentioned) applied themselves vigorously to the correction of public abuses, and great efforts were made to reduce and regulate the pension list. The pensions charged upon the civil establishment at this time amounted to 72,000*l.* per annum. The private revenue of the crown, which the law left at its discretionary disposal, did not at the same time exceed 7000*l.*

per ann. so that the pensions exceeded the fund which could alone be charged with them by 65,000l. per ann. It is said the Earl of Northumberland accepted his office of viceroy upon express stipulation with the king, that no pension should be granted for life during his lieutenancy.

The patriots continued their struggle in behalf of Ireland against the influence of government, though with little success; but their hopes were strengthened by the death of Primate Stone in 1764, who had maintained, to the last, a superiority of English interest in the parliament of Ireland, at the expense and to the prejudice of the kingdom.

CHAP. XVII.

Administration of Lord Townshend—His engaging qualities—System adopted by him of establishing the English interest—His mode of effecting that system—Objected to as unconstitutional—The octennial bill passes—Curious anecdote relative to this measure—Diffuses universal joy throughout Ireland—New parliament—Opposition—Mr. Ponsonby resigns the office of speaker—Management of parliament—Death of Lucas, and his character.

IN 1767 Lord Townshend was appointed viceroy, and his administration forms a peculiar epocha in the history of this country. A gallant soldier, the military associate of Wolfe, frank, convivial, abounding in wit and humour, sometimes, it is said, more than was strictly consonant to the viceregal dignity; capricious, uncertain, he not unfrequently offended the higher orders; but altogether, had his parliamentary measures been more agreeable, few lord-lieutenants would have been more acceptable to the Irish. A very novel system had, previously to his departure, been resolved on by the English cabinet. The lord-lieutenant was, in future, to continue for some years, (instead of remaining only

two *,) and all the patronage of the lords justices consigned to him:—a wise system for Ireland, had it been carried into execution as it should have been. Unfortunately, however, the development of every day's proceeding proved, that there was no plan whatever, unless to get rid of the aristocracy at any rate. In doing this Lord Townshend partly succeeded, but by means ruinous to the country. The subalterns were not to be detached from their chiefs, but by similar, though more powerful means than those by which they had been enlisted under their banners. The streams of favour became not only multiplied but enlarged, and consequently the source of remuneration was the sooner exhausted. The arduous task which Lord Townshend had undertaken was not to be effected by a *coup de main*; it required management and address, and both these he employed with admirable skill and dexterity. One part of his policy was, to countenance the general cry of the country for septennial parliaments; a privilege which Ireland thought she had a right to share with England, and by the possession of which she hoped to provide an effectual check against the gross venality of their representatives.

Irish parliaments, though originally annual, had become of such duration as to terminate only with the monarch's life, unless dissolved by royal prerogative. Dr. Lucas had ineffectually attempted

* Their office was biennial; their actual residence seldom more than six months.

(in 1761) to bring in a bill limiting the duration of parliament; but now, when granting this object was necessary for the furtherance of their own views, it was accomplished with the avowed support of government. The year 1768 will long be memorable for passing the octennial bill into a law*. Its success was partly owing to the intrigues of the different factions, playing against each other, and mortifying all parties by the adoption of a measure which none of them cordially approved. The following amusing and characteristic anecdote relating to this event will be read with pleasure.

Lord Charlemont happened at this time to dine with one of the great parliamentary leaders. A large company, and as Bubb Doddington says of some of his dinners with the Pelhams, much drink and much good humour. In the midst of this festivity the papers and letters of the last English packet, which had just come in, were brought into the room and given to the master of the house. Scarcely had he read one or two of them when it appeared that he was extremely agitated. The company was alarmed. "What's the matter? Nothing, we hope, has happened that ——" "Happened!" exclaimed their kind host, and

* The house of commons passed heads of a bill for holding septennial parliaments in Ireland; but the English council changed the septennial into octennial, thus giving four sessions to the Irish legislature, which at this time sat only every second year.

and swearing most piteously: "happened! the septennial bill is returned!" A burst of joy from Lord Charlemont and the very few real friends of the bill, who happened to be present! The majority of the company, confused, and indeed almost astounded, began, after the first involuntary dejection of their features, to recollect that they had, session after session, openly voted for this bill, with many an internal curse, Heaven knows! But still they had uniformly been its loudest advocates; and therefore it would be somewhat decorous not to appear too much cast down at their own unexpected triumph. In consequence of these politic reflections they endeavoured to adjust their looks to the joyous occasion as well as they could. But they were soon spared the awkwardness of assumed felicity. "The bill is not only returned," continued their chieftain, "but—but the parliament is dissolved!"—"Dissolved! dissolved! Why dissolved?" "My good friends, I can't tell you why or wherefore, but dissolved it is, or will be directly."

Hypocrisy far more disciplined than theirs could lend its aid no further. If the first intelligence which they heard was tolerably doleful, this was complete discomfiture. They sunk into taciturnity, and the leaders began to look *in fact* what they had been so often politically called, a company of undertakers. They had assisted at the parliamentary funeral of some opponents, and now, like Charles V. though without his satiety of

worldly vanities, they were to assist at their own. In the return of this fatal bill was their political existence completely inurned. Lord Chalmont took advantage of their silent mood, and quietly withdrew from this groupe of statesmen, than whom a more ridiculous rueful set of personages in his life, he said, he never beheld. The city, in consequence of the intelligence of the evening, was in a tumult of gratitude and applause, illuminations were everywhere diffused, and our unintentionally victorious senators were obliged on their return home, to stop at the end of almost every street, and huzza very dismally with a very merry, very patriotic, and very drunken populace. But public exultation was not confined to Dublin. In a few days all Ireland might have been said to be one continued blaze. The septennial bill was now, according to the mode of passing bills in those days, once more to appear before the house of commons, where, if it was not received with much interior joy and gladness, it met with great civility, and, in general, with the most perfect parliamentary decorum. Many unquestionably acted like true patriots, and assented to it from their hearts, as a great constitutional boon conceded to Ireland. Some connected with boroughs began now to look a dissolution in the face, and calculated on a temporary sale or entire lucrative transfer of this species of parliamentary property. Some members for counties, who had long flattered themselves with possession of their

seats, either for their own lives or the life of the sovereign, conscious that a retrospect of their political existence could afford little satisfaction to themselves or their electors, shuddered at the idea of meeting those beloved constituents once more. Altogether there was not a little patriotism, much dread of the people, and abundant selfishness.

The return of this octennial bill was followed by a grateful address to the throne, and when the royal assent was given, the people took the horses from the lord-lieutenant's coach, and drew him to the castle with enthusiastic exultation.

Sixteen months elapsed before the new parliament met, and when it did assemble in October, 1769, a warm dispute arose between the viceroy and the commons. A money-bill, planned by the British cabinet, certified into England by the lord-lieutenant and privy council, and returned under the king's great seal, was by the commons rejected after the first reading, because it had not originated in their house. On this occasion the patriots were aided by some placemen and pensioners, who had reserved to themselves a right of opposing the court in questions of great importance. The viceroy was incensed at this defeat, and a protest, which he in vain attempted to enter on the journals of the commons, was with difficulty entered by him on those of the lords, five of whom protested against his claim of protesting. Resolving still further to display a resolution

of supporting their privileges, the commons caused an English newspaper, Woodfall's Advertiser, in which reflections were thrown against their conduct with respect to the money-bill, to be publicly burned by the hands of the common hangman before the gate of the house. In another question concerning their privileges, a majority appeared against the court in the house of commons, and the parliament was prorogued on the 26th of December, after a session of little longer than two months. It continued prorogued by five successive proclamations till the 26th February, 1771.

This measure of depriving the nation of the benefit of their parliament, because among the representatives of the people a few had patriotism and firmness enough to resist encroachments upon their rights, threw the whole nation into a ferment, which was not confined to Ireland, but extended also to England; for in the commons there, a motion was made by the Hon. Boyle Walsingham on the late extraordinary prorogation of the Irish parliament, which had for its object "An address to his majesty to give directions to lay before that house a copy of all instructions to the lord-lieutenant relating to the late sudden prorogation of the Irish parliament at a time when affairs of the greatest national importance to that kingdom were depending, together with the papers on which the instructions were founded, and his answers; and likewise a copy of a message relative to the augmentation of the forces." The

motion was seconded by the Right Hon. George Grenville, who maintained, that the late prorogation was most unconstitutional; Lord North defended the measure, and the question was lost by a majority of 112.

This interval, however, thus displeasing to the nation, was suitably and opportunely employed by the lord-lieutenant in strengthening his plan of government, and securing a party favourable to his views. When, in their usual address to the king, the commons gave their humble thanks for his majesty's continuance of Lord Townshend in the government, their speaker, John Ponsonby, wrote a spirited letter, which was communicated to the house by the clerk, intimating that as the chief governor had, at the end of the last session, passed a censure on the commons, he could not perform the office of conveying such thanks as might imply a relinquishment of their proceedings; he therefore requested them to elect another speaker, who might not think such conduct inconsistent with his honour. They accordingly proceeded to elect Edmund Sexton Pery, Esq. who from a patriot had become a courtier, and who was accompanied to his new office by the indignation of the whole country. He was elected by a majority of four only.

The remainder of Lord Townshend's administration passed over without any further violent opposition. The national debt of Ireland had heavily accumulated during his viceroyalty. Strong

objections were made, both in and out of parliament, to its unconstitutional character. His new plan of keeping up the English interest he persevered in without much regard as to the means; and he had so completed his system of managing the house of commons that he could, on all occasions, secure a majority of one-third; and by such majority did he carry the question on seventeen different divisions on the first two days of the session. He abdicated the viceroyalty in 1772, and was succeeded by the Earl of Harcourt, a man of very different character and fitted to follow quietly the directions of the British ministry, and to leave to his secretary the whole active labour of administration.

Towards the close of Lord Townshend's government died Charles Lucas, member for Dublin, a person too much distinguished in the infant struggles of Irish liberty to be passed over without some notice.

Lucas was a man of bold and ardent nature*. In the year 1743 he first distinguished himself in the corporation of Dublin, which at that time laboured under gross mismanagement. He particularly exclaimed against the board of aldermen; and in this opposition he met a coadjutor in Mr. Digges Latouche, a most intelligent and respectable merchant, but of a temper totally distinct from that of Lucas. During their opposition in

* See Hardy's Life of Charlemont.

the common council a vacancy happened in the representation of the city of Dublin by the death of Sir James Somerville. Latouche first, and Lucas afterwards, declared themselves candidates. This created a distinct interest between them. In fact, they had never been cordially united, and Lucas attacked Mr. Latouche with much intemperate abuse. In less than a year afterwards, the death of Alderman Pearson, the other representative of Dublin, closed their contests, and both would in all probability have been elected, although Sir Samuel Cooke and Mr. Charles Burton were opposed to them by the board of aldermen and the castle interest, had not the court thought proper to get rid of Lucas at all events. Accordingly, on the second day of the session, 1749, complaint was made to the house of commons of certain seditious writings by Lucas, which were, after some fruitless opposition, unanimously voted highly criminal, the attorney-general desired to prosecute him, and he himself ordered to Newgate. However, he withdrew to England, which was all that was wanted; and to prevent his return to Ireland he was voted an enemy to his country. The perfidy of the castle, the profligacy of the house of commons, and the spirit of the people, which was only hushed into silence, not subdued, deserve on this occasion to be recorded. Lucas had been induced, by some vague but flattering terms of support, to go to the castle, and was there so cordially listened to that he left with

the lord-lieutenant (the Earl of Harrington) in his own justification some pamphlets, which had been much censured by the dependents on government*. When he was brought before the house of commons he was merely asked whether he was the author of such and such papers? It would have been scarcely possible to have proved him so, for the printer was not to be found, and no other evidence was to be had, when Mr. Weston, the lord-lieutenant's secretary, had the astonishing and profligate impudence to produce the very papers which Lucas had left at the castle, and which, of course, could not be denied by him, had he been disposed to take refuge in that way. So much for the conduct of some courtiers in those days. As to the people, humiliated as they were at this time, yet Lucas having asserted, in various parts of his writings, the independency of Ireland, so far as related to its parliament, the managers against him were totally afraid to meet the people or Lucas on that ground, and selected such of his papers as, with much indiscreetness, perhaps coarseness of abuse, assailed particular departments of the government. But all was general. The heads of papers were mentioned, and no single detached paragraph attempted to be pointed out.

Mr. Latouche proceeded to the poll alone, and, after a dreadful contest with the castle in favour

* Of course this was prior to the attack on him in the house of commons.

of Mr. Burton, was, with Sir Samuel Cooke, declared duly elected. The indignation of the court knew no bounds. A petition was presented against his return, and on the sole accusation of being joined to and influenced by Lucas, which was notoriously false, and if true could not have vacated his seat, he was voted out of it, and Mr. Burton placed in his stead. A more infamous proceeding perhaps never disgraced any house of commons. To return to Lucas. He pursued his profession in London*, and having written an "Essay on Waters," was honored with the support of Dr. Johnson, who, in his review of that publication, recommends him to the notice of the people of England in the following spirited and energetic manner: "The Irish ministers drove him from his native country by a proclamation, in which they charged him with crimes which they never intended to be called to the proof, and oppressed him by methods equally irresistible by guilt and innocence. Let the man, thus driven into exile for having been the friend

* And pursued it with distinguished success. He was attentive to all the duties of his profession. One instance deserves to be mentioned. So sensible was he of the many fatal mistakes that happen in mixing up medicines, from the similarity of the figure in the marks of the *dram* and the *ounce*, that the very first bill he brought into parliament after he was returned for Dublin, was one to compel the physicians of Ireland to discontinue the using of characters in their prescriptions, and to write the words at full length, *Uncias tres, drachmæ duas, scrupulum unum cum semisse.*

of his country, be received in every place as a confessor of liberty, and let the tools of power be taught in time, that they may rob, but cannot impoverish." At length he was enabled, by the interposition of some powerful interests, to return to Ireland, when, on the death of George II. he was elected for the city of Dublin, and held that truly respectable situation at the time of his death.

As a politician he was, as the Duke de Beaufort was called during the time of the Fronde at Paris, *une roi des halles*—a sovereign of the corporations. In the house of commons his importance was withered and comparatively shrunk to nothing; for the most furious reformer must admit that, however the representation was, in too many instances, narrowed into private interests, it still embraced the most conspicuous and useful orders in the state; where if education and knowledge are not to be found, how are they to be sought after? Lucas had, in truth, little or no knowledge as a leader in parliament, and his efforts there were too often directed against men whose perfect disregard of him left them at full liberty to pursue their arguments as if nothing had disturbed them. Self-command, whether constitutional or arising from occasional contempt, is a most potent auxiliary. His opponents were sometimes, indeed, rendered indignant; but, whether calm or angry, the battle always left him worse than before. Yet, with all this precipitancy and too frequent want of knowledge, he annexed

a species of dignity to himself in the house of commons which was not without its effect. His infirmities, (for he was always carried into and out of the house, being so enfeebled by the gout that he could scarcely stand for a moment,) the gravity and uncommon neatness of his dress, his grey and venerable locks blending with a pale but interesting countenance, in which an air of beauty was still visible, altogether excited attention; and Mr. Hardy (from whom this account is borrowed) says, he never saw a stranger come into the house without asking who he was? The surest proof of his being in some way or other formidable to ministers was the constant abuse of him in their papers. The wits of Lord Townshend's administration (there were many employed in its service) assailed him in every way that their malign vivacity could suggest. Their efforts are forgotten; his services remain. He had certainly talents, but talents unaided by cultivation. Originality is much. He raised his voice when all around was desolation and silence. He began with a corporation, and he ended with a kingdom; for some of the topics which he suggested, now nearly seventy years ago, such as the octennial bill, and other measures, were of vital magnitude to Ireland. His remains were honoured with a public funeral, and his statue (as has been already mentioned) is placed in the Royal Exchange of Dublin.

CHAP. XVIII.

*Account of Lord Harcourt's administration—
Absentee tax—Opposed, and why—Influence of
the American revolt upon the people of Ireland
—Dawning spirit of liberty—The catholics re-
cognised as subjects—Distress of the manufac-
tures—Proposed relief of Irish trade meets
with opposition from the commercial towns of
England and Scotland—Lord Harcourt recalled
—Succeeded by the Earl of Buckinghamshire—
Four thousand troops sent from Ireland to
America—First great concession granted to
catholics.*

LORD Harcourt's administration was chiefly directed to the maintenance of those English measures which had been begun by his predecessor, and the effects of which now manifested themselves in another way to the nation; for, when the lord-lieutenant assembled the parliament on the 12th of October, 1773, he found it necessary to discharge an arrear of 265,000*l.* besides imposing an additional burden of 100,000*l.* a year. Thus expensive was it to secure parliamentary majorities! It was thought at first, however, that his lordship meant to promote the real interests of

Ireland, and many popular characters, in consequence, supported his measures at their outset; but it was soon found to be only a continuance of the Townshend system, and they accordingly withdrew their countenance from it.

One measure, however, exclusively originated with Lord Harcourt, and which was in great favour with the people. This was the absentee tax. The management of it was committed to Mr. Flood. Early in the session of 1773 he moved, "that a tax of two shillings in the pound should be laid on the net rents and annual profits of all landed property in Ireland, to be paid by all persons who should not actually reside in the kingdom for the space of six months in each year, from Christmas 1773 to 1774."

There was a specious character of justice and expediency in this plan, which, at its first suggestion, attracted many supporters. It seemed perfectly reasonable. That a country should transmit every year a considerable part of its rental, to be spent in another kingdom, without deriving any aid whatever to its establishment, or its most pressing exigencies, from those to whom such rent is transmitted, is apparently that species of political proposition which common sense and common justice revolt at. And yet, on the other hand, it may be opposed to this general proposition, that in a free country every man ought to be allowed the liberty of choosing the place of his residence; and no compulsion could

be perhaps more odious in its theory and practice than that which prescribed, under a legislative penalty, the spot where men were to abide. It is certainly true, that every man is bound to contribute his proportion towards the general good of the society to which he belongs; and he can have little right to complain, if, neglecting this original compact, he finds himself reduced to the necessity of observing it by the decision of his fellow citizens. Both these abstract views of the question were entertained at the time of the discussion, and considering the powerful interest made against the tax by the most considerable land-owners on both sides of the water*, the small majority by which it was rejected, there being 162 for and 122 against the measure, is rather to be wondered at.

About this period, (1773,) to use the emphatic words of Mr. Flood, "a voice from America shouted to liberty," and Ireland heard its cry with exultation. The effort made by our trans-atlantic colonies to maintain their rights was not unobserved by the Irish; and long before the issue of the contest they glowed with a generous enthusiasm to emulate their example. She was lamentably oppressed; she had many indignities to

* The following were the chief land-owners resident in England, who were hostile to the measure: the Duke of Devonshire, Lords Besborough, Ossory, Rockingham, and Milton. Their correspondence with Lord North upon the subject is highly curious.

avenge, many evils to redress, many privileges to obtain, and many securities for these privileges to provide. A growing spirit of resistance had been observable for many years. The parliament was not so supine, not so obsequious, as it had formerly been. It contained within its walls, especially in the house of commons, many men of vigorous minds, of comprehensive views, of undaunted perseverance, of patriotic characters. Government was sometimes openly opposed, and though the opposing few were beaten down by court majorities, yet the beneficial effect was visible. Every new contest beheld an accession of numbers; and out of doors it excited a spirit of freedom, a desire for liberty, which co-operated powerfully in the final production of it. When the public saw its legislators fighting the arduous battle, they roused themselves and rushed to their support; their progress, though slow, was constant and steady; still looking to America for an inspiring example, they marched with an equal pace in the career of glory. What they obtained, they obtained from the reluctant grasp of arbitrary power, surrendering a part to keep the rest; it was not bestowed with the free grace of a voluntary gift; and while the extorted benefit acquired more value in the estimation of those who won it, they could not but feel a spirit of hostility towards the individuals who surrendered only by force what they never had a right to retain. It has happened, by a singular fatality,

that Ireland has never been conciliated by what this country has restored to her. We have sometimes disarmed her as an enemy, but we have never converted her into a friend. And why? Because we have always treated her as a dependent, and because, in giving what we have, we never so timed our gifts as to leave the motive beyond suspicion. Can it be expected they should feel much gratitude for what they knew was bestowed from necessity rather than choice? What has Ireland ever received at the hands of England which she has not implored for again and again and at last obtained by pointing to her sword? And yet, with these facts meeting us at every turn, there are shallow politicians, who, even in the present day, exclaim, "if you grant them catholic emancipation they will not be contented: their whole history is a proof of this. They obtained a free trade, and they murmured; they obtained legislative independence, and they murmured; they obtained the elective franchise, and they murmured still. How then can you expect to satisfy them?" But what does this shew, except the multitude of their grievances? It only proves they were so oppressed with evils, so borne down with servitude, so surrounded with difficulties, that it was not removing one, or two, or three, that could make them a happy and contented people. You strike off one or two links of the huge chain that bows them to the earth, and bid them be merry while the rest clank at

every step. You find their body afflicted with many sores, and having cured a few, you ask them why they do not appear in all the smiling lustihood of youth? But it is a miserable, a selfish, and a voluntary delusion which we practise: we know they cannot rejoice in the bitterness of thralldom; we know they cannot be proud of comparative liberty; they demand, and they have a right to make the demand, full, entire, and complete freedom. Give them that, and you remove every just cause of complaint, and the pretext of seditious murmuring will be easily overthrown; but while they have substantial, effective, and real grievances to recount, it is vain to hope that you can stifle the indignant cries of a suffering people.

The sense of a man's own wrongs is commonly acute enough to make him strive for their removal; but when he sees another succeed in remedying the same, or nearly the same evils, he is doubly instigated to try the remedy which has been so successful. Such was precisely the situation of Ireland when the American revolt first broke forth. She watched its origin and progress, and arose in her strength to emulate it. Her endeavours were partly successful. The English ministry, somewhat intimidated by the lesson which America had taught them, and fearful of producing the same consequences in Ireland, began to relax a little from that rigid system which they had hitherto maintained. The first point

gained was in what concerned the catholics, and to Lord Harcourt's administration (whatever may have been the latent cause) belongs the merit of first opening the door to that oppressed body of people. A general relaxation of the penal code took place; leave was given to bring in the heads of a bill to secure the repayment of money lent by papists to protestants on mortgages; and, in order that it might be perfectly ascertained to originate with the government, Mr. Morton, Mr. Langrishe, and Sir Lucius O'Bryen, all of them devoted adherents to the cause, were entrusted with the charge of bringing it in. Leave was also given to bring in the heads of a bill to enable papists to take leases of lives on lands. Neither of those bills, however, made much progress in the house. They seemed likely to create discussion, if not opposition, and might perhaps disturb the current of that quiet majority which Lord Harcourt was so anxious to retain without much exertion on his part. He did not press the measure therefore; but as it was the settled object of the English minister (Lord North) to do something that should conciliate the catholic mind a little, a bill was brought in and passed, by which his majesty's subjects in Ireland, of whatever persuasion, were permitted to testify their allegiance upon oath. Trifling as this boon was, it gratified those for whom it was provided; it at least recognised the catholics as subjects, and upon that recognition it was easy to foresee

many important advantages might afterwards be founded.

The strong similarity of condition between Ireland and America has already been adverted to, and at this period (1774) a rash expression of Mr. Rigby (who had been Irish secretary under the Duke of Bedford's administration, and appears to little advantage in the pages of *Junius*,) served to strengthen the general impression of that similarity. In a debate in the English house of commons he affirmed, that "the parliament of Great Britain had a right to tax Ireland in all cases whatsoever *as well as America*." This improvident declaration was calculated to produce the worst effects. The question whether Great Britain *had* a right to tax America was then trying by the sword between the two countries, and Ireland, who watched the issue, could not but draw very significant conclusions.

In 1775 the British ministry permitted some small relaxation of the restrictions on Irish commerce, by permitting the exportation of a few articles of manufacture to a trifling amount, by granting bounties for the encouragement, and annulling certain duties on the imported products of a fishery, and by allowing a premium of five shillings a barrel on imported flax-seed. The benefits of this proceeding, however, were in some measure counteracted by an embargo which was laid on the exportation of provisions from Ireland. The alleged cause of this prohibition was

to prevent supplies being conveyed to the Americans; but while it impoverished Ireland, it served only to favour the adventures of British contractors. The most melancholy effects ensued. Wool and black cattle fell considerably in value, as did also land. In many places the tenants were unable to pay the rents, and public credit was almost extinct.

In November in the same year (1775) a message from the lord-lieutenant required the concurrence of the Irish commons with the king's intention of sending 4000 troops from Ireland to America, with a promise of supplying their place, if desired by the commons, by the same number of foreign protestant soldiers. It was communicated to them also, that neither the support of the former while abroad, nor of the latter while in Ireland, should be attended with any expence to the Irish nation. No objection was made to letting the 4000 men go to America, but to the surprize and embarrassment of government, the proposition for introducing 4000 protestant foreign troops into the kingdom to replace them was negatived by nearly as large a majority as that by which government questions were usually carried, namely, 106 against 68. Not satisfied with this triumph, however, the house followed it up with a strong address to his excellency, assuring him that they would render such aid unnecessary for the defence of the realm by their own exertions. Important results very often flow from apparently insignifi-

cant causes. This demand of 4000 troops, which left Ireland without a sufficient military force to defend it in a moment of exigency, was the motive for those volunteer associations a few years afterwards which effected that celebrated but bloodless revolution in favour of their liberties.

There arose, however, a temporary obstacle to the completion of the measure occasioned by somewhat more firmness on the part of the lord-lieutenant than was exactly expected from his character. The embarking of the troops at Cork, under Admiral Sir Peter Parker, was delayed till the following February, because Lord Harcourt, doubtful whether he could order their departure without the express consent of a parliament, procured a clause for that purpose to be inserted in an act. This clause was indignantly rejected by the British cabinet, who considered it as entrenching on the royal prerogative; but as the royal promise had been solemnly pledged to the maintenance of 12,000 regular troops in Ireland, the lord-lieutenant persisted in his scruple, so that a new clause was hastily inserted in another bill, transmitted to England, and suffered to pass. On the other hand, the conduct of the Irish viceroy was severely though unsuccessfully arraigned by the opposition in the British house of commons, as having infringed the privileges of that house by engaging for the payment of any specific sums by the British parliament; sums for an absurd bargain, the maintenance of 8000 on account of the

service of only 4000 men, in which was also included an unconstitutional and dangerous measure, the introduction of foreign troops into Ireland.

Before concluding the account of events which occurred in 1775 it would be unpardonable not to mention that on the 11th December, in that year, Henry Grattan took his seat in parliament for the first time. He was returned for the borough of Charlemont under the auspices of the nobleman of that name.

The first octennial parliament had scarcely lived four years when the British cabinet found it expedient that it should be dissolved, which accordingly took place in April 1776. The new parliament met in June following, *pro forma*, and Edmund Sexton Pery was again elected speaker; it was then prorogued, and continued so by several prorogations till the 17th October, 1777. Meanwhile Lord Harcourt, whose administration had not been very satisfactory to the British cabinet, was removed, and his place supplied by the Earl of Buckinghamshire. There was abundant room for alarm on the part of the ministers at home, who beheld the growing spirit of patriotism in the Irish commons with very uneasy sensations. To counteract the party which threatened to be so formidable there, a numerous promotion to the peerage took place; a promotion which exceeded even the memorable batch in the reign of Queen

Anne. Five viscounts were advanced to earldoms, seven barons to be viscounts, and eighteen new barons were created on the same day.

Ministerial majorities in parliament, however, could not conceal the distress of the nation, which was perpetually augmented by decreasing trade and increasing expenditure. In Dublin the manufacturers would have perished but for contributions and charity. Such was the poverty of the nation that the militia law could not be carried into effect. Ireland could not pay her forces abroad, and was obliged to borrow money from England to pay those at home. Excluded by war from America, where they had formerly found an extensive market, the manufacture of Irish linen sustained a severe decline. Thus, while the influx of money was precluded on the one hand, the efflux of it was accelerated by augmented remittances and the interest of a rapidly increasing national debt. One cause of this increasing debt was the decided part taken by France with America against England, in consequence of which, when it was communicated to the Irish commons by Lord Buckinghamshire, a motion was immediately made for an address of thanks, followed by a resolution and an order to raise 300,000*l.* by a tontine at 6*l.* per cent. The patriots contended that the country was too poor to raise this loan; the government was confident on the other side. The former were right, however, for the scheme failed.

So forcibly evident were the distresses of Ireland, that, on the motion of Earl Nugent in April, 1778, in a committee of the British house of commons, to take into consideration the acts of parliament relative to the Irish trade, resolutions were passed, that, with the exception only of wool and woollen manufactures, the Irish might be permitted to export directly to the foreign plantations of Great Britain all sorts of merchandize the property of the British islands, and foreign goods legally imported and certified; to import directly, except tobacco, the products of those plantations; and to export glass to any place except Great Britain. Alarmed at these resolutions, the mercantile people of Britain, with all the illiberality and ignorance characteristic of trade, sent petitions to parliament, and instructions to their representatives to oppose the extension of Irish trade. The towns of Liverpool, Manchester, and Glasgow were foremost in this sordid hostility to the just claims of Ireland; and so zealous were they in the dishonourable warfare, that the tone and language of their petitions seemed almost to threaten disloyalty if government conceded the proposed indulgence to Ireland. The illiberality of these petitioners is exhibited by their proceedings, and requires no comment; their *ignorance* the following will testify. Mr. Burke had moved, that sailcloth might be imported into this kingdom duty free. The motion passed *nem. con.* But the petitioners declared that the permission to export

wrought iron and sailcloth from Ireland to Britain would be *ruinous to the trade of the latter*, when Ireland was well known to be, by positive law, in actual possession of this very privilege, but so far from being able to avail herself of it, she was in great part furnished with these articles from Britain. Such influence, however, had these representations on parliament that they ultimately negatived the bill founded on their own resolutions, and only a few trivial privileges were conceded.

At the time the English house of commons was occupied with considering the distressed condition of the Irish trade, a relaxation of the penal statutes against the catholics was also proposed. The policy of relaxing this penal code was acknowledged on all hands, and not one voice was raised in the cabinet or the senate against the emphatic declaration of Burke, on Lord Nugent's first motion for a committee, " that Ireland was now the chief dependence of the British crown, and that it particularly behoved this country to admit the Irish nation to the privileges of British citizens." A bill for the relief of the British catholics had passed through parliament without opposition, and eleven days after, on the 25th March, 1778, leave was moved by Mr. Gardiner in the Irish house of commons for heads of a bill for the relief of his majesty's Roman catholic subjects of Ireland; and it was carried in the affirmative,

The preamble of Mr. Gardiner's act asserted, that the severities of the act of Anne ought to be relaxed; that the catholics of Ireland were excluded from, and ought to be admitted to, the blessings of our free constitution; and that it would promote the prosperity and strength of all his majesty's dominions that the catholics should be bounden to the protestants by mutual interest and affection. The purport of the act was, that any catholic, subscribing the oath of allegiance and declaration prescribed by the 13th and 14th Geo. III. c. 35, might take, enjoy, and dispose of a lease of 999 years certain, or determinable on the dropping of five lives; that the lands then possessed by catholics should in future be descendible, deviseable, or alienable, as fully as if they were in the possession of any other subject of his majesty; and that it should no longer be in the power of a child to fly in the face of his parent by demanding a present maintenance out of the father's personal estate, or by depriving him totally of the inheritance of his real estate, as he before had been enabled to do by the 2d Anne. After a very severe contest of eight divisions it was carried through the commons by a majority of nine. In the lords it was carried by a majority of two-thirds. The session closed in August (1778), and thus was achieved the first important concession to the persecuted catholic. May we, before we conclude this history, have

to record the final act by which they will become incorporated with the British constitution*.

* This was written in May, 1812. Mr. Grattan's Catholic Relief Bill is now in progress through the legislature.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

ACCOUNT OF THE FAMILY OF STRONGBOW.

(See page 37.)

THE first of this noble family was Richard, the eldest son of Gislebert, Earl of Brion in Normandy, and was called Richard Fitz-Gilbert. He came over with William, Duke of Normandy, and by his personal bravery contributed very essentially to the success which attended the Conqueror in the memorable battle of Hastings. In the survey called *Domesday* he is styled Ricardus de Tonebrugge, from his seat at Tunbridge in Kent, which town and castle he had obtained in exchange for his castle at Brion in Normandy; from his extensive lordship in Suffolk he also procured the title of Ricardus de Clare. He married Rohese, daughter of Walter Giffard, Esq. Earl of Buckingham, and was murdered by Torwerth, brother of Morgan of Caerleon, in the pass of Coed Grono, Monmouthshire.

72 He was succeeded by his eldest son Gilbert, who was also surnamed de Tonebrugge. By his marriage with Adeliza, daughter to the Earl of Clermont, he had issue four sons; the eldest of whom, named Richard, succeeded him in his titles and honours. His second son, Gilbert, received considerable grants of lands in Wales, and was afterwards

created Earl of Pembroke by King Stephen, A. D. 1135. He died in the year 1148, leaving issue Richard, surnamed Strongbow, his son and heir.

Such is the genealogical account of our hero given by Dugdale, who adds, that before he undertook the Irish expedition he had been stripped of his paternal inheritance by King Henry II. from which circumstance he might probably have been induced to risk such an adventure.

The genealogy of this illustrious chieftain seems to be involved in some degree of mystery and obscurity; but to those who are conversant with the Irish history, and particularly with its *earliest* annals, it will be no matter of surprize if they discover doubt, contradiction, and even fiction.

The most esteemed English writers, at the head of whom I must with justice place Sir William Dugdale, agree in giving to Richard Strongbow only *one* wife, who was Eva, daughter and heir to Dermid Mac Morogh, King of Leinster, and only *one* daughter, (the issue of that marriage) named Isabel, who was married to William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke. But the Irish historians add most *liberally* a first wife, a son, and another daughter to Strongbow's family; they do not, however, tell us the lady's name. They say, that the son, a youth of 17 years, being present at the battle fought between Strongbow and O'Bryan at Odrone, was so alarmed at the savage howlings and furious onset of the Irish that he took to flight; upon which, his father, having reproached him for his cowardice, caused him to be put to death, by ordering, most barbarously, his body to be cut off in the middle. Giraldus, in giving an account of this engagement, makes use of a very singular and doubtful expression, which may or may not be applied to the death of this unfortunate young man. He says, "Ubi (in passu Odrone) commissio gravi conflictu interfectis tandem hostium multis, præter juvenis unius casum, cum suis omnibus ad campana comes indemnis evasit."

Maurice Regan does not mention this battle, and his silence, as well as the equivocal expression of Giraldus, (which appears to allude to this event,) might be accounted for by the connection between each of them and Strongbow. Sir James Ware does not allude to the circumstance, but Sir Richard Coxe quotes it from another Irish historian, and recites the epitaph that formerly existed on the tomb of this *supposed* son of Earl Strongbow, in Christ Church, Dublin, and which will be given in my Journal.

I have lately seen a drawing of this youth, representing his effigy cut off in the middle *, taken by one Dinely, who accompanied the first Duke of Beaufort in his progress through Wales into Ireland, about the year 1684, and whose book is preserved in the library of the same noble family at Badminton. The effigy of the *supposed* father of Earl Strongbow is represented by the side of his son. I make use of the word *supposed*, because from the armorial bearings that are sculptured upon the shield of this cross-legged

* *Richard Stanehurst*, a native of Dublin, who wrote an account of Irish transactions in Latin, in the year 1584, gives, at page 171, a very circumstantial account of the death of Earl *Strongbow's* son, and states, that in his time the effigy and tomb, both of the father and son were visible in the church of the Holy Trinity (now Christ Church) at Dublin. He moreover wonders that this event, so generally known, should have escaped the notice of *Giraldus*.

“Hoc a *Giraldo Cambrense* obscuratum miror, cum tamen omnium sermone celebratissimum, sit, et *Strangboi* monumentum, quod in sacrâ Trinitatis æde etiam usque ad hoc tempus extat, hujus facti memoriam significantiùs repræsentat. Etenim

ibi videre licit lapidum sepulchrum,
Strangboi statua, è marmore sulptâ,
Coopertum; cui è sinistro latere
adhærescit secti filii tumulus,
ejusque simulachrum in marmore
incisum, ubi utrâque manu ilia
supportat.”

The historian *Hanmer*, in his *Irish Chronicle*, p. 147, records the same story, and adds the epitaph beforementioned.

knight, it is *certain* that they never belonged to the Clare family. Their arms were, *or, three chevrons gules: such* they are stated to be by the old Welsh historian Enderbie; and I have seen a manuscript by George Owen, a celebrated Welsh antiquary, in which he says, that he *saw* the seal of Richard Strongbow, bearing the above arms. I have not been fortunate enough in my heraldic enquiries to find out the owner of the arms that are sculptured on the shield of this knight in Christ Church, which are, "*argent, on a chief azure, three crosses pattie fiché of the field.*" It appears therefore probable, that the heralds attributed this *last coat* to Strongbow from the authority of the tomb and effigy in question, which were ascribed to him by Sir Henry Sidney in the year 1570, but which certainly never belonged to him. It is clear, I think, that the earl *died* and was buried at Dublin, but still his body might have been afterwards removed to Gloucester, where Leland records an inscription to his memory. See *Journal*, p. 141.

The existence of a *daughter* seems to rest chiefly on the evidence of Maurice Regan *, who says, "A. D. 1173, the king being departed, the earl Richard returned into Fernes, and there gave his *daughter* in marriage to Robert de Quiney †, and with her the inheritance of the Duffren, and the constablership of Leinster, with the banner and the ensign of the same."

In order to reconcile these contradictions in history, we may suppose that Strongbow had both a *son* and a *daughter*; but we cannot allow them to have been *legitimate*,

* *Maurice Regan* was secretary and interpreter to *Dermot Mac Morogh*, King of Leinster, who wrote an account of the invasion of Ireland in antiquated French verse, and which (with other tracts relating to that country) have been published in English prose by *Mr. Harris*, in a volume entitled *Hibernia*.

† *Sir James Ware* also mentions this marriage, but to *Robert de Quiney*, not *Quiney*. This family is mentioned by *Dugdale*, in his *Baronage*, as honoured with the title of Earls of Winchester.

nor have we sufficient authority to give the earl *any other wife* than Eva beforementioned.

“ The earl was somewhat ruddy and of sanguine complexion, and freckled face; his eyes grey, his face feminine, his voice small, and his neck little, but somewhat of a high stature; he was very liberal, courteous, and gentle; what he could not compass and bring to pass in deed, he would win by good words and gentle speeches. In the time of peace he was more ready to yield and obey than to rule and bear sway. Out of the camp he was more like to a soldier's companion than a captain or ruler; but in the camp and in the wars he carried with him the state and countenance of a valiant captain. Of himself he would not adventure any thing, but being advised and set on, he refused no attempts; for of himself he would not rashly adventure or presumptuously take any thing in hand. In the fight and battle he was a most assured token and sign to the whole company either to stand valiantly to the fight, or for policy to retire. In all chances of war he was still one and the same manner of man, being neither dismayed with adversity nor puffed by prosperity.”

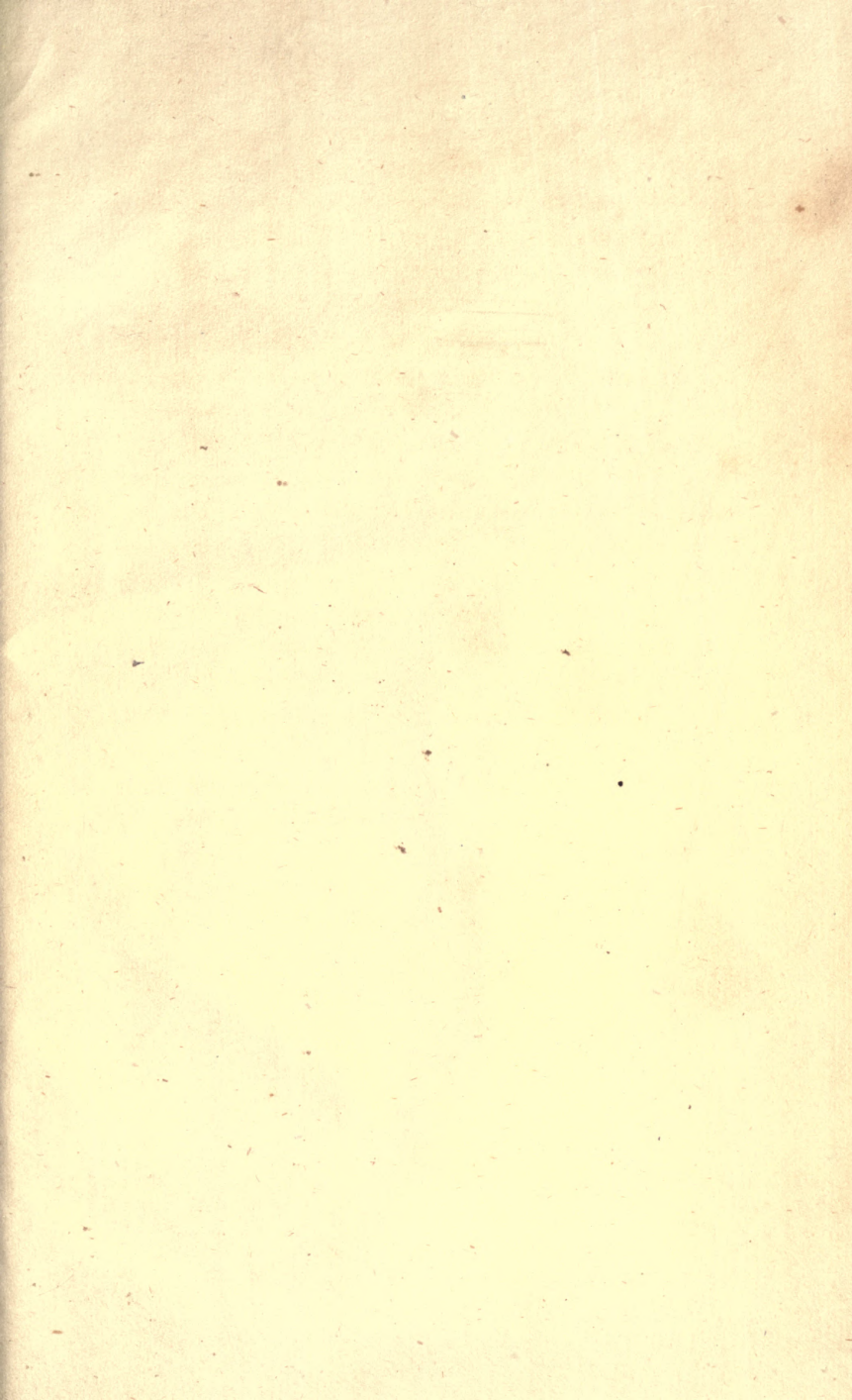
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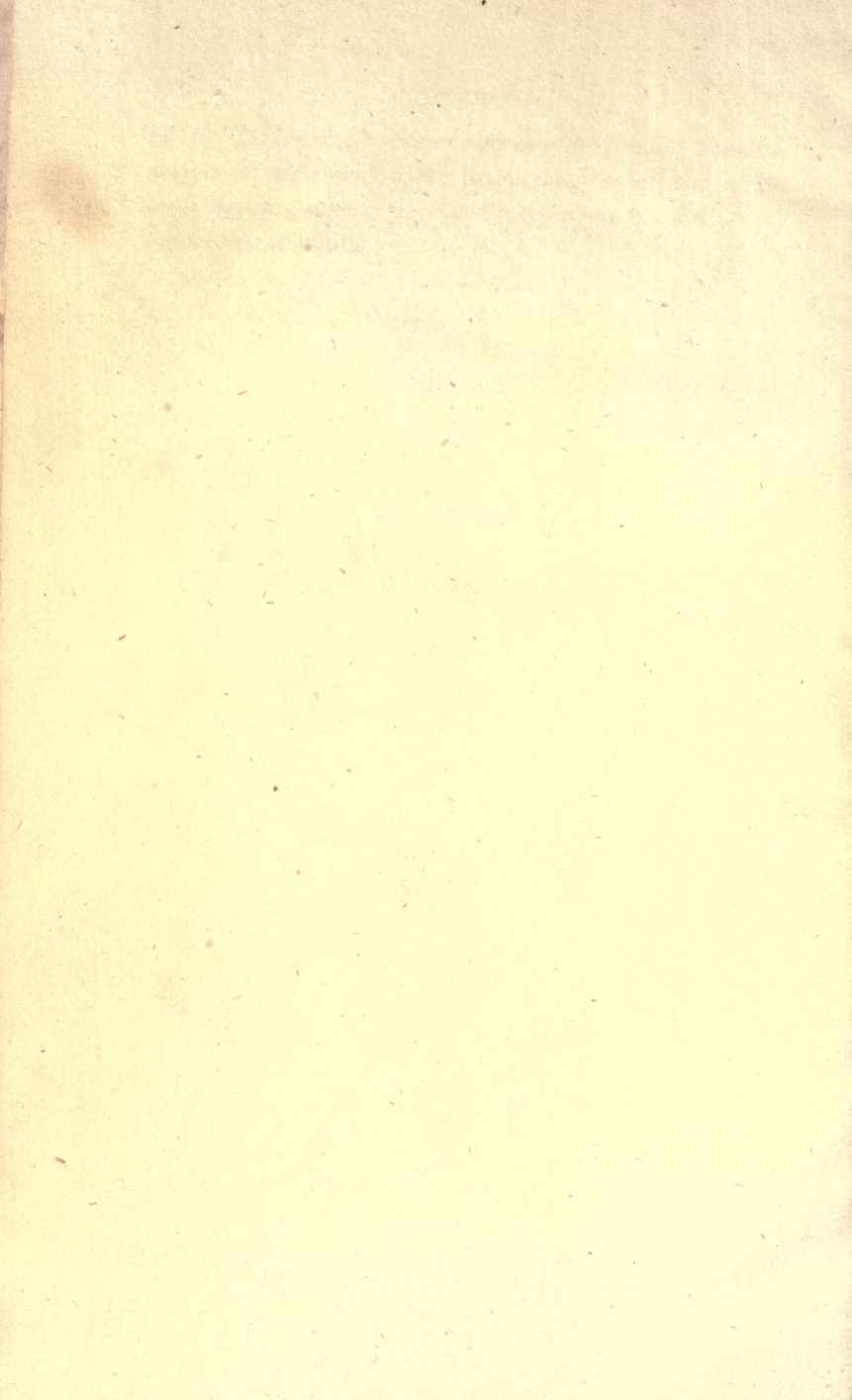
(P. 49.)

IT was intended to have given here a brief description of this monastery, accompanied with a plate; but after a very minute research into various works upon the antiquities of Ireland, we have not been able to find any account

of it. Under these circumstances our readers must be sharers of our own disappointment, and contentedly submit to be ignorant upon a point not very important, after all, to knowledge or utility.

END OF VOL. I.





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