

HISTORY
OF
I R E L A N D.

VOL. II.



DA910

A
HISTORY
OF
IRELAND,

FROM
THE EARLIEST ACCOUNTS

TO THE
ACCOMPLISHMENT OF THE UNION WITH
GREAT BRITAIN IN 1801.

BY THE REV. JAMES GORDON,
RECTOR OF KILLEGNY IN THE DIOCESE OF FERNS, AND OF CANNA-
WAY IN THE DIOCESE OF CORK.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

—
VOL. II.
—

Nobis in arto & inglorius labor.
Non tamen sine usu fuerit introspicere illa primo aspectu levia,
ex quis magnarum sæpe rerum motus oriuntur.

TACITUS.

—
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WHILE Ireton and Coote were completing their conquests, the former in the south, the latter in the north, the marquis of Ormond was deeply engaged, besides his military efforts, in contests with the Romish clergy, who, intent on a delusive object, the

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Contests of
Ormond
and the
clergy,

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establishment of the papal power in Ireland under their own administration, by the intervention of a foreign prince, counteracted the plans of the royalists, and thus unintentionally facilitated the progress of the English republicans on the subjugation of the whole. As all Connaught, with Limerick, still remained in the hands of the confederates, and as this town, together with those of Sligo and Galway, could be easily fortified beyond any danger from Ireton's force, and were commodious by their ports for the reception of succours from abroad, a successful opposition might long have been made to the republican arms, if unanimity and resolution had prevailed among the professed abettors of the royal cause. Proposing, by the advantage of the important post of Limerick, to prepare in the winter an army fit to face the enemy in the ensuing spring, but denied by the citizens, when he requested their admission of eighteen hundred men for a garrison, Ormond, by the advice of the commissioners of trust, summoned twenty-four prelates to this town to consult with him on the distracted state of affairs, and proposed to them that either obedience to his authority should be procured by their influence, or some other way should be recommended, by which it might be preserved, on his withdrawing from the kingdom.

Among the proposals of this assembly, mostly lax and indefinite, the most precise and important were, that the receiver-general should account for the sums levied since the peace; and that a privy council should be composed of native nobility, spiritual and
temporal,

temporal, to assist the chief governor with their advice. The former were calculated to sanction the suspicions, which themselves had excited, of a misapplication of the public money; the latter to establish their own power in the civil administration. The marquis consented that all, who had received the public money, should be brought to a strict account; and that, since the nomination of a privy council was not in his power, a prerogative belonging solely to the king, he would qualify unexceptionable persons with sufficient powers for such particular acts of a privy council as they should specify to be necessary. Affecting to be satisfied, they published a declaration favourable to the marquis, which was privately so counteracted, that a catholic lord in his army was committed to prison for presuming, by his order, to quarter a few soldiers in the liberties of Limerick. He retired in disgust, from this and other insults, to Loughrea, where the prelates, who followed him thither, displayed fresh instances of illiberal artifice and duplicity, which influenced him to declare his resolution of retiring from the kingdom. The nobility and commissioners of trust were alarmed, solicited the marquis to stay, and promised their interposition with the citizens of Limerick. These became so far compliant as to consent to the admission of a garrison under certain restrictions, and to reject the proposals of Ireton, who offered them the full enjoyment of their civil, religious, and commercial rights, with exemption from the imposition of a garrison. on condition of their leave to

CHAP. his army to march through their town into the
 XXVII. county of Clare.

Advancing near Limerick, with intention to enter it, by the invitation of its magistrates, Ormond received intelligence that Wolfe, a seditious friar, had raised a tumult in the city, and set a guard on the gates to prevent his entrance, while other lawless incendiaries rifled the magazines, disposing of the corn at their pleasure. As the bishops refused to excommunicate the authors of these outrages, and as the citizens of Galway followed the example of those of Limerick, refusing to admit any garrison, except one appointed and commanded by their own magistrates, the marquis, unable to retain an army on either side of the Shannon, and fearing for his personal safety, resumed his purpose of retreating from Ireland. The clergy who had formerly made him an insidious offer of placing him on the throne of Ireland, on condition of his uniting with the nuncio, and embracing the Romish religion, now pretended to attribute his intended abdication to a treacherous coalition with the republicans against the king, or the confederates. An assembly of Romish prelates at Jamestown required that his excellency should speedily repair to the king, leaving his authority "in the hands of some person faithful to his Majesty and trusty to the nation, and such as the affections and confidence of the people would follow." To express his contempt of their proceedings, he now declared that he would not quit the kingdom until forced by inevitable necessity. But the prelates published a declaration "against the continuance of his Majesty's

jesty's authority in the marquis of Ormond," accus-
 ing him, among other articles, of his aversion to the
 catholic religion; and enjoining the people to
 obey no orders but those of the congregation of
 clergy, until a general assembly should be convened.
 This edict was accompanied by a sentence of excom-
 munication against all who should adhere to the
 marquis, or pay him subsidy or obedience. With
 the utmost difficulty they were persuaded to suspend
 the sentence during the expedition of Clanricarde
 for the relief of Athlone. They proceeded to levy
 troops by their own authority, which added a new
 enemy against Ormond, but an enemy easily dis-
 comfited.

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The design of these prelates was assisted by a de-
 claration made by the king to please the Scottish
 covenanters, in whose hands he then was, expressing
 his abhorrence of popish idolatry, and pronouncing
 the treaty of peace void, which had been concluded
 with the idolatrous rebels of Ireland. Apprized by
 a private letter from the king, that this declaration,
 the effect of compulsion, had no force in this king-
 dom, Ormond assured the commissioners of trust,
 that he would by all means possible maintain the
 treaty, until some unconstrained declaration of the
 royal pleasure should be obtained; provided that the
 acts of the congregation of prelates should be revok-
 ed or punished, as usurpations on the king's prero-
 gative; that due obedience should be paid to himself
 as lord lieutenant; and that some honourable main-
 tenance should be secured to him, as he was now de-
 prived of his own estates. The commissioners were

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much displeas'd at the extravagance of the clergy, and hop'd that their insolence would be repress'd by a general assembly. But when this assembly, accepting an equivocal apology from the prelates, declined to take decisive measures, the marquis could no longer be persuas'd to remain; yet, in compliance with a respectful request for the delegation of the royal authority to some proper person, he nominat'd Clanricarde his deputy, with directions that he should accept or decline the office, according to the encouragement or discouragement which he might receive by the proceedings of the assembly.

Clanricarde's administration.

Ormond sail'd from Galway, and, after a dangerous voyage, arriv'd in France. That he had so long struggl'd to retain a command may seem surprizing, in such a state of things as might appear desperate for the royal cause, even in case of success against the republicans, when the influence of a fanatical clergy so powerfully predominated, that the soldiers of a whole regiment, sent on an expedition, threw down their arms, and dispers'd to their several homes, at the requisition of a seditious friar, who seiz'd the colours, and pronounc'd eternal perdition on those who should presume to march; but to protect as long as possible the remains of the king's faithful adherents in this kingdom, and to make a diversion in favour of the royalists in Britain by maintaining a war here under disadvantages howsoever great, was consider'd as an object of importance. On this principle Clanricarde assum'd the government, though, by the opposition of the clergy, he was unable to obtain from the general assembly so precise and explicit an engagement of obedience to

his

his authority as he required. The confederates had now a catholic chief governor, and an army wholly catholic, as the protestants, who had fought on the same side, had by repeated insults withdrawn either to the republicans or beyond sea: yet faction still prevented an effectual resistance to the arms of Ireton. By the movements of Clanricarde for the succour of Athlone, Coote had been disappointed in his attempt upon that post: yet when Ireton advanced to Limerick, and demanded admission for his troops, the citizens were in suspense until the arrival of Castlehaven, who prevailed on them to shut their gates against the enemy. Proposals made to the confederates, by the republican commander, to treat for terms of submission, were at first rejected, but afterward admitted, as a subject of negotiation, by the influence of the clergy, particularly Nicholas French, Romish bishop of Ferns, a distinguished partizan of the nuncio, who clamoured for a negotiation. Fired with indignation at this behaviour, Clanricarde, and several principal members of the general assembly, declared their determination to defend the royal cause to the last extremity, and to exclude, in case of submission to the republicans, the present opposers of the royal interests from the benefit of the treaty. The clergy were alarmed, concurred with these members, and even issued an excommunication against all who should resort to the enemy's quarters or pay them contribution; yet they secretly practised against Clanricarde for the establishment of their own power by foreign aids; and, for this purpose they dispatched the bishop of Ferns to Brussels, their ambassador to the duke of Lorrain.

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Negotiation
with the
duke of
Lorrain.

This prince who had married a second wife, while his former was living, hoping to prevail on the pope to legitimate the children of his second marriage, affected an extraordinary zeal for the catholics of Ireland. Previously to Ormond's departure, an offer had been made for the delivery of Duncannon fort into the duke's hands as a security for twenty-four thousand pounds. The treaty had failed, and the fortress had fallen into the power of the republicans: but the negotiation was renewed by lord Taafe, who presented letters of credence from the duke of York brother of the nominal king, and offered the security of any other place for the repayment of any sums which should be advanced. Taafe, who flattered the prince by the proposal of a match between a daughter of his second marriage and the duke of York, obtained five thousand pounds to purchase arms and ammunition, which arrived in the bay of Galway in time to influence the general assembly to reject the overtures of a treaty with Ireton. The prince even declared his willingness to come in person into Ireland with such aids as must soon recover the kingdom; but hinted that he must be quite uncontrolled, and without commission from any person whatsoever. Taafe, not authorized for such conditions, proposed that his highness should send an ambassador into Ireland to treat with men in authority; and Stephen de Hennin, Abbé de Saint-Catherine, chosen for this purpose, landed at Galway, while the bishop of Ferns was on his way to Brussels. Clauricarde appointed a committee, composed of prelates, nobility, and gentry, to receive and report the proposals

posals of this envoy, which were, that the duke of Lorrain, his heirs and successors, with a saving to his Majesty's rights, and those of his subjects, should be accepted as protectors of Ireland, with all the prerogatives of royalty, until all disbursements made by him for the defence or recovery of the island should be repaid.

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These proposals, which indicated a secret aim of the duke at the sovereignty of Ireland, were so resented by Clanricarde, that he refused to admit the envoy to an audience of leave, though he had consented to some qualification of his demands. The prelates insisted on the acceptance of the envoy's terms, but declined to subscribe this advice. The abbé consented to advance twenty thousand pounds on the security of Limerick and Galway, and to leave the adjustment of all articles concerning the protectorship for a treaty at Brussels. Nicholas Plunket and Geoffry Browne were commissioned to negociate this treaty, in conjunction with Taafe, with express orders to be guided in their proceedings by the directions of the queen, the duke of York, and the marquis of Ormond. But on their arrival at Brussels, in the absence of Taafe, who had gone to consult the queen at Paris, they disobeyed these orders, influenced by French, the seditious bishop of Ferns, who in a blasphemous cant inveighed against Clanricarde and his adherents, whom he declared to have been consigned to Satan by the nuncio's excommunication. Plunket and Browne, disclaiming the lord-deputy's commission, signed a treaty in the name of the Irish nation, by which the duke of Lorrain

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Lorrain was virtually declared invested with the entire sovereignty of Ireland under the title of protector royal. To a petition to the pope, signed by Plunket in the name of the people of Ireland, professing an entire submission to the holy see, and imploring absolution from the nuncio's censures, Browne had the spirit to refuse his subscription, but that of Taafe was affixed without his knowledge. The clergy, exulting in the success of their schemes, and hoping the speedy establishment of a glorious hierarchy protected by a catholic prince, proceeded to take measures for the constitution of a new supreme council entirely under their own direction, and thereby for a usurpation of the whole power of the kingdom. But they were soon awakened from their airy dream by the progress of the republicans, which rendered the state of affairs so desperate, that the duke of Lorrain could have no inducement to interfere, and he was furnished with a fair pretence to decline any farther treaty by a formal protest of the Lord-deputy against the unauthorized proceedings of his agents.

Progress of
the republicans.
1651.

To force an entrance into Connaught, as a preparatory step to the siege of Limerick, with which Ireton resolved to open the campaign of 1651, Coote advanced toward Sligo; and, on the approach of an Irish force to protect that post, he suddenly retired, and passing with some difficulty the Curlew mountains, laid siege to Athlone, of which he gained possession before Clanricarde could collect sufficient forces for its relief. Castlehaven, summoned to the assistance of the lord-deputy to oppose Coote, who seemed to threaten Galway, had marched only a few miles,

miles, when some troops, which he had left to guard a pass over the Shannon, were driven from the post, and so communicated their panic to the main body, consisting of four thousand, that the whole dispersed without attempting to impede the enemy. Another pass on this river at Killaloe was about the same time abandoned by an officer named Fennel, from treachery or cowardice; and Ireton, having thus gained a passage for his troops into the western province, was enabled to invest Limerick on every side.

Clanricarde, on his proposal to take on himself the defence of the place, and to share the fortune of the citizens, had been refused admittance by the magistrates, who at length, on the approach of danger, consented to receive a garrison under Hugh O'Neal, the defender of Clonmel, but subject to such restrictions, that the real command rested in themselves. Such distraction prevailed within the walls, while suggestions were made by those Irish, who had submitted to the republican general, of the tolerant spirit of the independants in matters of religion, that in three days the citizens were proposing to surrender; but the clergy, who dreaded lest themselves should be excepted from the benefit of the treaty, prevented the design by violent opposition. O'Neal continued to make an obstinate defence, notwithstanding his disappointment of relief by the defeat of lord Muskerry, who, on his march from Kerry to his assistance, was repelled with great loss, after a well supported battle, by lord Broghill. The destructive sallies of the garrison, skilfully conducted by O'Neal, the severity of the approaching winter, and

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and the sickness of his troops, must have obliged the republican general to raise the siege, if a surrendry had not been forced by internal sedition. A tumultuous assembly, who clamoured for that measure, despised even the sentence of excommunication, which was thundered against them by the prelates; and Fennel, who had fled from Killaloe, seizing two of the principal gates, turned the artillery against the town, and sent commissioners to Ireton. The soldiers and citizens were allowed to depart unmo-
lest; the former without arms; the latter with their effects. Twenty-four were excepted from mercy; and, in the execution of these and others, the punishment fell chiefly on the adherents of the nuncio, the most violent opposers of the royal authority, and consequently the greatest promoters of republican victory.

Executions.

Of the twenty-four excepted at Limerick the bishop alone of that see effected his escape. Among the executed were O'Brien, the Romish bishop of Emly; Wolfe, the friar, who had excluded the marquis of Ormond from Limerick; Fennel, who had committed so many murders as the service could not expiate which his cowardice had performed for the republicans; and Geoffry Browne, who was seized on his return from Brussels. This man pleaded that he had been engaged in the same cause as the republicans themselves, the defence of the liberty and religion of his country. Ireton told him in his reply that in respect of religion the difference was great, since the republicans contended only for their right in the freedom of their worship, *without attempting*

to

to impose their opinions on other men; while the romanists would not be contented unless they should have power to compel all others to submit to their imposition on pain of death; a charge indeed too clearly proved by experience wherever this religion has prevailed. The brave O'Neal, who pleaded that he had taken no part in the original conspiracy, had been invited from abroad by his countrymen, and had always acted as an honourable enemy, was yet condemned by Ireton and his pliant court; but the exostulations of some officers of a more generous spirit prevailed on the republican commander to permit a re-examination of the cause, and the sparing of O'Neal's life.

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Galway would have surrendered on a summons from Ireton, if the death of that general at Limerick, by a pestilence which then wasted Ireland, had not encouraged the citizens to resistance. Uniting under Preston, they summoned Clanricarde to their aid, who convened in this town an assembly of nobility, prelates, and gentry, to consult on measures of defence. Ludlow, to whom the command of the English troops devolved, acted with a severity which affected the whole body of the Irish with dismay, giving no quarter to those who had joined the enemy since the arrival of Cromwell, and treating all as foes who withdrew not immediately, on proclamation for that purpose, from the quarters of the confederates. A submission was offered in the name of the nation by an assembly held in Leinster, and also by that of Galway, as soon as Coote approached its walls; but such offers were now too late, as no general treaty would

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would be admitted, and individual submissions only at discretion accepted. Yet even in this desperate situation, the infatuated clergy and their adherents continued their seditious practices, clamoured against Clanricarde, and senselessly demanded the restoration of the original confederacy. From a scene of consternation, confusion, and uproar, Preston, the governor, fled by sea, leaving the citizens and garrison to their fate, who without the least regard to Clanricarde's authority, surrendered the town to the astonished republicans, who had expected a siege of tedious length.

Further
proceedings,
1652.

Vainly hoping still to cause a diversion in favour of the royalists in Britain, when their case was desperate, Clanricarde, flying from Galway and penetrating into Ulster, where he was joined by some reinforcements, reduced the castles of Ballyshannon and Donegal. But soon obliged to abandon these posts; and pursued till his forces were dispersed, and his life in danger, he capitulated with the republicans, who granted him leave to reside some time unmolested in their quarters, and afterwards to transport himself with three thousand Irish into the service of any potentate not hostile to the English commonwealth. Fleetwood, who had become a son-in-law of Cromwell by his marriage with the widow of Ireton, found, on his arrival, with the commission of chief commander of the forces in this kingdom, the country reduced, and the people every where submitting to the terms dictated by the victorious republicans. Murders committed in the beginning of the rebellion were avenged by death and the total confiscation

cation of property. Persons who had only assisted in the war, were punished with banishment and the confiscation of a third part of their lands. The marquis of Ormond, lord Inchiquin, the earl of Roscommon, and Bramhal, the protestant bishop of Derry, were distinctly named, as incapable of pardon for life or estate.

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High courts of justice were erected in the several provinces for the trial of men accused with massacres. So many of the original perpetrators of murder had, in a war of ten years, perished by the sword, famine, or pestilence, or had escaped from the kingdom, that only two hundred on the severest inquisition, were sentenced to death. In Connaught lord Mayo, in Munster colonel William Bagnal, were condemned on evidence not sufficiently clear. Lord Muskerry falsely accused, was honourably acquitted, and allowed to retire to Spain. In Ulster, where the most numerous and horrid murders had been perpetrated, none remained for legal punishment but Sir Phelim O'Neal. This chieftain, so infamous for deeds of religious massacre, had, from the arrival of Owen O'Neal, sunk into obscurity; but, near the conclusion of the war, had again arisen into notice by the removal of abler commanders, and given some assistance to Clanricarde. But finally defeated, and destitute by the dispersion of his followers, he concealed himself in a sequestered island, whence he was dragged by lord Caulfield, heir of that governor whom he had treacherously made a prisoner in the castle of Charlemont, and whom his barbarous retainers had afterwards murdered. Repeatedly offered

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offered life, liberty, and estate, on condition of his producing any *material proof* of his having received a commission from the king for his insurrection, he acknowledged the forgery which I have already related, and persevered to the last moment of his life in denying that he had ever been authorised by his Majesty. Declaring that he would not, by a calumny against the late king, augment the load which already oppressed his conscience, he displayed in his last moments a spirit worthy of a better character.

Forfeitures
1653.

Rebellion had no longer existence in Ireland, but its ghastly effects were too long visible. The sword, famine, and its concomitant pestilence, had reduced great part of the island to a state of dreary solitude, and scarcely a house had remained undemolished except within the walls of towns. Forfeited lands were assigned for the payment of adventurers and arrears of the army; and courts were established at Dublin and Athlone for the determining of claims within a limited time, under the direction of Edmond Ludlow, Miles Corbet, John Jones, and John Weaver, who were united with Fleetwood in the civil administration, with the title of commissioners of parliament. Connaught was reserved entirely for the Irish, within which they were to be confined by the Shannon and a chain of garrisons. The adventurers accepted as a full satisfaction the moiety of the forfeited lands in nine principal counties, and the other was reserved for the soldiery, who had served since the arrival of Cromwell in 1649. But for those troops, who had fought against the Irish before that period, though their condition

was

was much more distressful, no provision could be obtained, except some lands in Wicklow and the adjoining counties, not sufficient to discharge a fourth of their arrears, since they were considered as infected with a mixture of royalists, and consequently not immaculately loyal to the republican cause or the purity of religion. A revenue was also ordered to be raised for disabled soldiers, and for the widows and orphans of those who had fallen in the public service. Except a part of the lands of bishops, and of deans and chapters, granted to the university of Dublin, these, with the forfeited lands in the counties of Dublin, Kildare, Carlow, and Cork, remained unappropriated, and reserved by parliament for future disposal.

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In the forming of these arrangements a change took place in the administration in consequence of a revolution in England, where Oliver Cromwell had forcibly dissolved the Long Parliament, and seized the sovereign power under the title of lord protector. In Ireland, where the news created pleasure in the army, but horror in some others, a resolution was with difficulty procured, by a majority of one in the council of state, for the acknowledgement of his title by a proclamation. His second son, Henry, sent into this country to examine into the state of affairs, and to establish his authority, found the commissioners guilty of enormous frauds for their own emolument, the courts of judicature shamefully mismanaged, and the obstinate republicans unfit to be left entrusted with places of power. According to an instrument of government composed by the protector,

Miscellaneous transactions.
1654.

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which united the British islands into one commonwealth, thirty members of a new parliament were appointed to Ireland. By the advice of Ludlow, who had retired from the civil administration, but still retained his command in the army, sheriffs were so nominated, and matters in general so managed, that, under the appearance of a free election, the persons required by government were mostly chosen. The protector, displacing the commissioners, appointed Fleetwood lord-deputy for three years, and assigned him a new council. Among the instructions given to this new administration was that of dispensing with the order of the late parliament and council of state for the transportation of [the Irish, into Connaught. This indulgence to the Irish, so consistent with humanity, and necessary to prevent the depopulation of the greater part of the kingdom, was matter of complaint to his enemies, the most formidable of whom was Ludlow, whose regiment was disbanded to diminish his influence. To guard against the fomenters of disaffection, Cromwell, in a spirit of arbitrary power, perhaps necessary in the then existing state of affairs, commanded that the printer, the only one of the trade then subsisting in Dublin, should not suffer any publication to issue from his press without its previous inspection and approbation by the clerk of the council.

Henry
Cromwell's
administra-
tion.
1655.

Henry Cromwell, who had, after his inspection of Irish affairs, returned to England, was sent again into Ireland, first as a military officer, and afterwards as lord-deputy in Fleetwood's place; where he acted with such temper and ability, that his father declared that

that

that himself might receive instructions from his son. C H A P.
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 Though the military officers were discontented and refractory; though the nation was exhausted, oppressed, and unable to support so great an army, while no supplies were sent from England, and the revenue was drained by grants to particular creatures of the protector; and though Ireland was sometimes totally neglected by the English government amid more weighty concerns; yet this deputy so reconciled mens minds to the new government, that, while great discontents prevailed in England, addresses were transmitted from the army and every county in Ireland, expressing resolutions of adhering to the protector, against all who, from private animosity, should endeavour to throw the public again into combustion. On the death of Oliver Cromwell, and the accession of his eldest son Richard to the protectorship, who confirmed Henry in his government with the title of lord lieutenant, the same assurances were renewed: but in consequence of new revolutions in England, by which Richard was deposed, Henry was ordered to resign, and the civil government to be consigned to commissioners, while the command of the military forces in this kingdom was committed to Ludlow. Dreading lest the lord lieutenant should avail himself of his power and popularity to retain his place by force, the commissioners employed Sir Hardress Waller to surprize the castle of Dublin: but Henry, too generous to embroil the public for personal views, had determined to resign; and he retired to the Phœnix park, so

1658.

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Proceedings
of the royal-
ists
1659.

poor, from his disinterested administration, that he could not immediately procure money to defray the expences of his voyage to his own country.

Since, from the unsettled state of affairs in England, the restoration of monarchy was expected by men of reflexion, intrigues to second that design were put in motion among the royalists of Ireland, of which description were most of the old English, many of the aboriginal Irish and of the Scots of Ulster, beside a considerable number of protestant soldiery. The disaffection to the republic was increased among the last by the severe jealousy of Ludlow and the commissioners, who dismissed from the military service lord Broghill, Sir Charles Coote, some other suspected persons, and afterwards above two hundred officers, without trial or allegation of crime, and without recompence for their long and painful discharge of duty. Ludlow was recalled to London, colonel John Jones, one of those who had sitten in judgment on the late king, was sent commander in his place; the commissioners of parliament, following the tide of revolution in England, styled themselves commissioners of the commonwealth; and all seemed quietly to submit to their government, when, by the explosion of the plot formed by the royalists, the whole fabric of their policy was shivered to pieces. The deep and circumspect Broghill had early communicated his designs to Coote, who, with many other men of influence, had entered into the scheme. Lord Montgomery, Sir Theophilus Jones, Sir Oliver Saint-George, and others, seized the castle of Dublin by

by a sudden and desperate effort, imprisoned colonel John Jones with two of his colleagues, and declared for a free parliament; while Coote, securing Galway, and surprizing Athlone, marched thence to the capital, and impeached of high treason Ludlow and the commissioners. At the same time also other parties of royalists made themselves masters of Youghal, Clonmel, Carlow, Limerick, and Drogheda; so that in one week almost the whole kingdom fell into the hands of those who aimed at the restoration of the kingly power and title.

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A council of officers, assuming the temporary government, summoned a convention of the estates of Ireland at the requisition of the magistracy of Dublin. This convention, in defiance of the council of state in England, which pronounced its dissolution, proceeded to secure the army in its favour, and to declare its detestation of the late king's murder, and the necessity of a free parliament. Ludlow, who had sailed into the harbour of Dublin, but ventured not on shore, as the council of officers wished to seize his person, endeavoured by letters from Duncannon to enflame the several garrisons against the present plan of the leading men. This desperate republican was recalled to England; but in Dublin Sir Hardress Waller had formed a scheme, which was frustrated, to seize the council of officers: he however seized the castle, and declared his resolution to punish the officers. In this alarming

CHAP. crisis, Coote and Sir Theophilus Jones rode through

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the streets exclaiming for a free parliament, and were followed by multitudes who re-echoed the exclamation. The castle was reduced in a siege of five days, and Waller sent prisoner to England.

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English affairs and reflexions on revolution—Restoration of Charles the second—Violent dissentions—Declaration of settlement—Restoration of episcopacy—Discontents—A parliament—Debates in London on Irish affairs—Act of settlement—Discontents from the execution of the act of settlement—Conspiracies—Defeat of the conspiracies—Bill of explanation—Concessions of different parties—Detection of abuses—Defalcation from the claims of adventurers and soldiers—Nominees—Discontents of the catholics—Passing of the act of explanation—Difficulties attending it.

ENGLAND had for near eighteen years experienced the effects of popular revolution. As the end of government is to curb the violence and injustice of the people, the laws are wisely silent with respect to the right of resistance against undue or tyrannical stretches of power by established authority. Speculative reasoners ought in public disquisitions to observe the same caution, or to inculcate only the doctrine of obedience, since, when a case of exception to this doctrine occurs, it must be so forcibly felt as to leave no ambiguity. The occurrence of such a case is a great misfortune, as the means of reparation are attended with certain calamity, and their success

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doubtful. The great body of the people can seldom gain by even a successful revolution, since to maintain a new establishment, a greater expence, and a more jealous and severe administration, is required, than was necessary for the old. Charles the first had so far stretched the regal prerogative as to have threatened the total annihilation of the liberties and privileges of his subjects. This was prevented by the resistance of the presbyterians, who, by the profession of uncommon sanctity, and other arts, raised a successful war against the king and his adherents. In the moment when this party had acquired the supreme power, it was wrested from their hands by the independents, who, under the appearance of still greater sanctity, gained the command of the army. These, in their turn, when arrived at their object of dominion, were subverted by their own servants, the military officers, and reduced to subjection. Unfortunately by whatever grievancees the people are excited to rise against government, the progress of this unwieldy machine cannot be stopped by the redress of these, but is driven by new impulses, if not obstructed by force or art, far beyond the bounds intended by its original movers. Subjects, who had by open war most grievously offended a sovereign, on whose most solemn engagements they placed no reliance, thought themselves unsafe, until they should have him divested, not only of all power, but of all chance of ever again recovering any. The presbyterians would have been satisfied with such deprivation of his prerogative as would completely secure them against his resentment; but the military officers,

officers, who had usurped an uncontrolled dominion, could be satisfied only by the deprivation of his life.

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All government quite military, which had become the case in England, fluctuates perpetually, as is well observed by a philosophic historian, between a despotic monarchy, and a despotic aristocracy, according as the authority of the chief commander prevails, or that of the officers next him in dignity. Oliver Cromwell, who was as clear, prompt, and decisive in action, as embarrassed and obscure in speech, availed himself of circumstances to seize the monarchical despotism, a step seemingly expedient for the preservation of the public peace. The British islands had never been so completely in subjection to any legitimate monarch as to this usurper; for Scotland had been totally subdued, and Charles the second, who had hoped by the forces of that kingdom to recover the English throne, had with difficulty escaped in disguise to France. Richard Cromwell, eldest son of Oliver, who succeeded to his father's title of protector in 1658, was in less than eight months obliged to resign by a cabal of officers, who held their meetings at Wallingford house, the mansion of Fleetwood, and who afterwards attempted to govern the nation in the name of a council of twenty-one persons, whom they elected, and stiled a *committee of safety*. Harrassed by convulsions, disorders, and oppressions, men wished ardently in general for the restoration of quiet under their ancient government, a legitimate monarchy: and George Monk, who commanded

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commanded the English troops in Scotland, coinciding in this sentiment, marched to London in the beginning of the year 1660, and declared for a free parliament. A council of state was constituted, and the Long Parliament was re-assembled, which, pronouncing its own dissolution, issued writs for the election of a new parliamentary convention. The presbyterians, disgusted with revolution, coalesced with the royalists in the returning of members favourable to the restoration of monarchy; so that by the unanimous voice of this assembly Charles the second took possession of the throne on the twenty-ninth of May.

Charles the
second.
1660.

In Ireland, after the reduction of Sir Hardress Waller in the castle of Dublin, no farther obstacle remained to the king's restoration, except the unavailing opposition of a few fanatics, and of some of the old Irish with the Romish primate; but the ardour of Coote outran that of Broghill for a speedy and unconditional reinstatement of loyalty. Charles was proclaimed in all the great towns as soon as the declaration made by him at Breda in the Netherlands was received, by which, among other articles, he offered a general amnesty to all without any other exception than such as might be afterwards made by parliament; and assured the soldiers of all their arrears, and the same pay in future which they then enjoyed. The convention of estates voted a present of twenty thousand pounds to the king, four thousand to the duke of York, and two thousand to his younger brother the duke of Gloucester. Great were the agitations, on this event, of anxiety, hope, fear,

fear, and jealousy, of different parties with clashing interests and embittered animosities, catholics innocent or guilty of rebellion, soldiers, adventurers, and various factions religious or political, impatient to regain their ancient possessions, to be confirmed in their new, to be pardoned for misdeeds, rewarded for services, or to receive indulgence or exclusive privileges in modes of worship.

The most impatient, and, as usual, the most unwise, were the old Irish catholics. Some of those, who, notwithstanding their having been declared innocent by Cromwell, had been deprived of their lands, and obliged to except inferior portions in Connaught, repossessed their patrimonies by force, even before the king was proclaimed, and thus raised commotions pernicious to their party. These lawless proceedings, represented in England as overtures to a new rebellion, were subservient to the views of the new English colonists, who thereby prevailed, before the landing of the king in the English territories, to have the act of indemnity so prepared, as to exclude all those who had any concern in the plotting or abetting of the rebellion of Ireland, which amounted to the exclusion of the whole Romish party: and when a clause was inserted, forbidding the restitution of any estates, of which a disposal had already been made by authority of any parliament or convention, an exception was not without difficulty admitted in favour of "the marquis of Ormond and other the protestants of Ireland." Some other clauses, which were at first suspended, and afterwards defeated, by the influence of the marquis, would

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would have been enacted to the total ruin of all the old English families. In consequence of an address of the English parliament, the king, on his arrival in London, issued a proclamation, commanding the prosecution of all Irish rebels, and the undisturbed continuance of possession to adventurers and soldiers of such manors, houses, and lands, as they then held, until they should be legally evicted, or his Majesty, with the advice of parliament, should take further measures in these affairs. At the same time the Irish catholics were treated with severe strictness, prevented from assembling to represent their grievances, and even from passing, on their ordinary business, from one province to another. For the settlement of the kingdom his Majesty was petitioned to summon an Irish parliament; but some previous arrangements were necessary, and, as almost every party had either merits or positive stipulations to plead, the business was altogether arduous and perplexing. At length, on a calculation formed by Sir John Clotworthy, Sir Arthur Mervyn, and lord Broghill, now created earl of Orrery, that, beside the lands possessed by the soldiers, enough remained to compensate, or, as it was termed, to *reprise*, all the innocent or meritorious Irish, Charles published his famous declaration for the settlement of the kingdom.

Declara-
tion of set-
tlement.

By this declaration the adventurers were to be confirmed in the lands possessed by them on the seventh of May 1659, according to acts made in the former reign, which they were to hold in free and common soccage; and all their deficiencies were to be satisfied before

before the ensuing month of May. With the exception of ecclesiastical lands, and some other provisoes, the soldiers were confirmed in the lands allotted for their pay, which they were to hold by knight's service in capite. Officers, who had served before the June of 1649, were to receive immediate satisfaction of twelve shillings and six pence in the pound of their arrears by estates and other securities, and an equal dividend of whatever should afterward remain of these securities. Protestants, unless they had been in rebellion before the cessation, or had taken decrees for lands in Connaught or Clare, were to be restored to estates which had been given from them to soldiers or adventurers; and these adventurers or soldiers were to be reprised without being accountable for what were called the *mesne* profits. Innocent catholics were to be restored to their estates, although they had taken lands in Connaught; and the persons removed by their restoration were to be reprised. Catholics, who submitted, and adhered to the peace of sixteen hundred and forty-eight, were to remain bound by their own acts, if they staid at home, sued out decrees, and received lands in Connaught: but those, who had served abroad under the king's ensigns, and accepted no lands in Connaught, were to be restored to their ancient properties, after the reprisal of the soldiers and adventurers, then in possession, for their disbursements. Thirty-six of the Irish nobility and gentry were named as particularly restorable by royal favour, on the same terms with those who had served abroad. For Ormond and
Inchiquin,

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Inchiquin, restored to their estates by the English parliament, a provision was made, and for some others also, particularly Monk, now created duke of Albemarle, who received large grants of Irish forfeitures.

The persons ordered to be first restored were innocent protestants and catholics to whom no lands had been assigned in Connaught; next were the innocent who had taken decrees for such lands; next were the persons, dispossessed by the two former, to receive their reprisals: and next were those Irish to be restored, who claimed the benefit of the peace of sixteen hundred and forty-eight, or had served abroad under the king's banners. If any lands should remain after the necessary reprisals, they were assigned for the satisfaction of those who had furnished arms, ammunition, or provisions, for the support of the war in Ireland previously to the year 1649. From all the estates thus settled, restored, or reprised, a small rent was reserved for the crown. As a free gift from the adventurers and soldiers, his Majesty graciously accepted half a year's rent from each of the two first years, to be applied to his own use, and that of those who had eminently suffered in his service. From all benefit of this declaration were excluded the persons concerned in the plot for the surprisal of the castle of Dublin in 1641, the judges of the late king, the men who signed his sentence, and the guard of halberdiers who assisted at his execution. As the king felt himself particularly interested to have the corporate towns represented exclusively by persons favour-
able

able to monarchical government, exceptions were made for the reservation of lands and tenements belonging to such towns for the royal donation, and the reprisal of objectionable persons to whom they had been assigned. The declaration was transmitted to three new lords justices, Sir Maurice Eustace who was lord chancellor, the earl of Orrery, and Sir Charles Coote who was created earl of Mont-rath.

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This appointment of chief governors was immediately followed by the triumph of episcopacy. The king had assented to a request of the convention, that all impropriate and forfeited tythes and glebes, in his Majesty's disposal, should be granted to the clergy; and that all escheated lands, now exempt from the payment of ecclesiastical dues, should be rendered liable to the same. Ministers of the presbyterian worship, some of whom, beside the Scottish clergy of Ulster, had gained possession of churches in Dublin and its neighbourhood, had petitioned the king for the establishment of their own system; and a petition to the same purpose was promoted in the army. But Charles, by the advice of Ormond, the steady friend of the episcopal clergy, instead of trusting to the sense of a new parliament composed in great measure of puritans, filled immediately the four archbishoprics and twelve bishoprics with the most eminent of the clergy of Ireland. As their patents and consecration were delayed for some months, till a new great seal should be prepared, and as the delay was imputed by the enemies of episcopacy

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episcopacy to an irresolution or reluctance of the king, a second petition in favour of the presbyterians was drawn by the military officers, and signed by great numbers in various departments, civil and military. Coote and major Bury, who then administered the kingdom with the title of commissioners of government, agreed to suppress this petition, at the instance of Coote, who discovered in the style of the officers an aversion to monarchy: and in the administration of the new lords justices the consecration was performed with triumphal pomp to the great mortification of the many puritans, who had laboured with all their might against the episcopal establishment.

Discontents.

The declaration of settlement, however calculated for the advantage of all parties, was, except the soldiers and adventurers, little pleasing to any. The officers, termed at that time *forty-nine men*, who served before the year 1649, with the greatest hardship and danger against the greatest power of the Irish insurgents, and had, on account of their attachment to royalty, been ill treated by the republicans, were now allotted little more than half of their long due arrears, on securities deemed insufficient even for the portion assigned. Those Irish, who pleaded innocence or merit, complained, that to delay the restitution of their estates, till the present possessors should have been reprised, was unjust; that the commissioners, appointed to execute the declaration, were, by interest and habit of thinking, partial to the soldiers and adventurers; and that, in the instructions

structions to these commissioners, the qualifications required for the ascertaining of innocence were so severely stated, that hardly any of the Irish catholics could expect a sentence of acquittal. With exception of the inhabitants of Cork and Youghal, who had been driven into the quarters of the rebels by force, no catholic was to be accounted innocent who had enjoyed his property in these quarters at or before the cessation of 1643; who had entered into the Irish confederacy before the peace of 1648; who had at any time adhered to the nuncio or papal power, in opposition to the royal authority; who, after excommunication for his loyalty, had owned himself guilty and received absolution; who derived the title to his estate from any person guilty of these crimes; who had acknowledged his concurrence in the rebellion by claiming his estate on the articles of peace; who, residing in the English quarters, had held correspondence with the rebels; who before the peace of 1646, or of 1648, had sitten in any councils of the confederates; who had acted in any commission derived from them; who had employed agents to treat with any foreign papal power for the sending of troops into this kingdom; who had been employed in such negotiations; or who had harrassed the country, as a wood-kern, or tory, before the marquis of Clanricarde's departure from Ireland. The first of these cases was very severe, as the lords justices, in the beginning of the rebellion, had forced many from Dublin to the protection of the insurgents: but the place of residence was asserted to be the only criterion, after a lapse of so many years, to deter-

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mine the guilt or innocence of numbers, against whom particular acts could not be proved ; and the new English colonists detested all ideas of mitigation, extending their hatred of the old Irish even to the native protestants of the country.

A parlia-
ment.
1661.

A parliament, by which the declaration of settlement was to be canvassed, and formed into a law, was convened in the year 1661. As the soldiers and adventurers kept possession of their lands, and of their interests in the corporations, men of their party, with few of the most violent puritans, and no catholics, composed the lower house. Both houses concurred in a declaration in favour of the liturgy and established government of the church, and a censure of the covenant and of oaths of association. The upper house also, but not without some difficulty, was persuaded to join the lower in an address to the lords justices to order the courts of law to be for some time shut, to prevent the reversal of outlawries, and the ejection of adventurers or soldiers, before their present title should be adjusted by a statute. Disappointed in two attempts for a perpetual exclusion by law of catholics from their house, the commons raised alarms of conspiracies, said to be plotted among these religionists ; but, with their utmost industry, were unable to produce any material discoveries of that nature. The commons contended for an exact enforcement of the declaration of settlement, and the passing of it into a law without alteration ; but they were opposed by the lords, among whom were many of ancient Irish or English race, particularly the earl of Kildare, with the proxy of Ormond,

now

now created a duke. They discovered various malpractices in the court of claims; numbers of widows claiming their jointures on evidently legal grounds, without a single instance of restoration; orders from the king for the restitution of their estates to particular persons eluded by the commissioners, under pretence of their not being able to find reprisals for the present possessors; and the lands allotted for reprisals given clandestinely by the commissioners to their own friends under the notion of cautionary reprisals, or, as they were termed in law, *de bene esse*. The lords resolved to address the king for a revocation of these illicit grants, and for a defalcation from the claims of adventurers.

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The long parliament, engaged in civil war against Charles the first, had, for the raising of money, published what was termed the *doubling ordinance*, which imported that, whoever should advance one fourth part more than his original adventure, should have the whole doubled on account, and should receive lands in Ireland for the doubled sum, in the same manner as if the whole doubled sum had been really paid; and that, if the adventurer should refuse to advance this fourth, any other person, on the payment of it, should reap the same advantage, deducting only the original money, paid by the first adventurer. As this was only an ordinance of parliament, not confirmed by the royal assent; and as the money thus raised had not been applied to the service of Ireland, the king agreed to the propriety of satisfying the adventurers on this ordinance for no more money than they had really advanced. A

CHAP. clause for this purpose was inserted in the heads of
 XXVIII. a bill of settlement, which after many contests, modifications, and delays, was transmitted to England by three lords commissioned by the council, while agents from each house of parliament were sent to solicit the immediate passing of the bill by his Majesty.

Debates in
 London.
 1662.

To London repaired agents from the interested parties in Ireland. The adventurers raised considerable sums of money to procure supporters of their cause. The catholics had no money, no friends but the duke of Ormond, and so little prudence as to treat this nobleman as an enemy, and to plead their cause in so offensive a manner as to defeat their own purpose. They chose for their advocate colonel Richard Talbot, a man vain and violent, who in the Netherlands had acquired the favour of the duke of York. Instead of what Ormond would have recommended, a modest extenuation of their offences, an humble submission to the king's mercy, and a declaration of their wishes to live amicably in future with their fellow-subjects, they pleaded the justice of their cause, their merits, and superior right to the royal favour. Talbot, in an expostulation with Ormond, whom he suspected to be not favourable to the catholics, acted in so violent and indecent a manner, that he was committed to the tower, and not released without an humble submission.

The intemperance of the catholics, who reproached indiscriminately their opponents as rebels and regicides, provoked a severe scrutiny into their own conduct. The original paper of instructions

instructions given by the supreme council of the Irish confederates to the bishop of Ferns and Sir Nicholas Plunket, their agents to the papal court, a draft of instructions to their deputies in France and Spain, and a copy of the excommunication published at Jamestown, were all procured, by which was demonstrated that the agents had been commissioned to make a tender of the kingdom to the pope, and, if he should decline it, to any other catholic prince. Plunket, who had received his knighthood from the sovereign pontiff, and now pleaded as an agent for the Irish catholics, was obliged to acknowledge his own signature affixed to the instructions sent to the papal court, and his own writing in which the others were drawn. The king and council were enraged: an order was made that no farther petition or address should be received from the Roman catholics of Ireland, as they had been already fully heard; and that Sir Nicholas Plunket should forbear to come into his Majesty's presence or appear at court.

To Ormond, constituted lord lieutenant, a present of thirty thousand pounds was voted by the Irish parliament; and his son, lord Ossory, was called by writ to the house of peers. This new chief governor, soon after his arrival in Ireland, gave the royal assent, among other acts, to the bill of settlement, and to a bill for the abolition of the court of wards, the advantages lost by which abolition were compensated to the crown by a tax on chimnies and hearths. To prevent the execution of some provisos in the act of settlement, regarded as unjust by Ormond, a clause

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was inserted, empowering the lord lieutenant and council to give such farther instruction to the commissioners, appointed to execute this act, as they should judge expedient. To no party was this statute, so long and so laboriously debated, entirely satisfactory. A defalcation was made from the adventurers, some of whom and of the soldiers, the most obnoxious, as violent fanatics, had sold their interests for trifling sums, dreading that exceptions, which afterwards took not place, might be admitted in the bill of settlement to their exclusion. Contrary to the expectation originally formed, the lands were found quite insufficient for the satisfaction of all parties; and since some of the discordant interests must necessarily suffer, the loss was allotted to be sustained by the catholics. The officers called forty-nine men, whose loyalty was unquestionable, found their security diminished by some charges for which it was made responsible, particularly fifty thousand pounds alleged to be still due to the earl of Leicester as lord lieutenant and colonel, and an undetermined sum of debts due for the furnishing of the army in Ireland. Even the commons acknowledged the hardship of this case, and ordered a bill of explanation to be brought into their house principally for the relief of these officers.

Discontents. Discontents were augmented by the execution of the act, which was entrusted to English commissioners, totally disengaged from Irish interests, who sat in Dublin to hear claims and proofs of innocence. Notwithstanding the rigorous qualifications required for catholics, a great proportion of those, who first came

came forward, were pronounced innocent; in the first month of trials thirty-eight out of forty-five; in the second fifty-three out of sixty; in the third seventy-seven out of eighty-two. As these innocents were to be immediately restored to their lands, without provision for the reprisal of the present possessors, and as the fund for future reprisals was known to be small, the adventurers and soldiers were mightily alarmed at the numbers acquitted, without considering that those, who were most confident of being able to prove their innocence, would be the foremost to apply for trial. The house of commons, taking advantage of the clause in the act of settlement, which empowered the lord lieutenant and council to give farther directions to the commissioners, waited in a body on Ormond with a petition, recommending such directions as tended to involve the whole Irish party in condemnation inevitable; and their speaker, Sir Audley Mervyn, in a long speech, pronounced a solemn comment on every article of the address. As their application was received with only cold civility, the commons appealed to the public, and printed the speech of Mervyn. Finding their advice neglected, they voted a resolution, that they would use their utmost endeavours to prevent the great and manifold injuries arising to the protestants of Ireland by the proceedings of the commissioners for executing the act of settlement. The king was displeased with their violence, and prosecutions were commenced both in London and Dublin against the printers of Mervyn's speech. Or-

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mond, in a letter to the commons, represented the bad consequences of their proceedings, which had raised alarms, as if the protestant religion was in danger, and given encouragement to the forming of conspiracies against government. They retracted their vote, and declared their abhorrence of these conspiracies; yet they shrunk not from their dignity, and soon after voted an address, representing the danger of an increased influence of popery, and recommending the banishment of all popish ecclesiastics.

Conspiracies.
1663.

The soldiers and adventurers, imagining private instructions given to the commissioners by the king in favour of the catholics, and fearing the loss of their properties, expressed so general a disaffection, as to embolden the more violent, who were also encouraged by agents from the mal-contented in England, to enter into schemes to maintain their possessions by force. A plan of general insurrection, formed by some officers who had served in Cromwell's army, had been betrayed to Ormond by a member of the committee to whose management it had been entrusted; and a separate conspiracy for the seizure of the castle of Dublin had also been discovered and frustrated: yet the conspirators persevered, and plans for a general rising and seizure of the castle were renewed. Sir Theophilus Jones, to whom the conspirators, expecting to gain him to their party, communicated rashly the plot, gave immediate information to the lord lieutenant; so that on the eve of the day appointed for the surprizal of the

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the castle, and the publishing of their declaration, twenty-five of the principals were seized, and a reward advertised for the apprehension of the rest; while in Ulster Sir Arthur Forbes, by boldly seizing one of the chief conspirators in the midst of his friends, had so intimidated his accomplices, that they fled into Scotland. Pardons were granted to all, except a few who were executed, as their cause was popular, and the government weak; the king, from the discontents of the English parliament, and his own profusion, being unable to make such remittances to Ireland as the support of a military force, and the security of his government required.

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The bill of explanation for the act of settlement, prepared by the Irish commons, was rejected in England, whence orders came from the king to the lord lieutenant and council to frame a bill entirely new. Agents from the several parties attended the English council to plead their causes in the discussion of this bill, and Ormond was called from Ireland to assist in this perplexing business. To secure tranquility during his absence, money was remitted for the payment of the troops; a thousand of the most disaffected soldiery, replaced by others from England, were sent into the service of Portugal; and the earl of Ossory was vested in the mean time with the temporary government and the title of lord-deputy. Ormond, on his arrival in London, found all parties willing to relax in their pretensions, wearied by expense and the tedium of delay. The adventurers of London proposed to resign their lands

Bill of ex-
planation.
1665.

to

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to the king, and to account for the *mesne* profits, on condition of being reimbursed their principal, with interest upon interest, at the rate of three per cent. the soldiers and adventurers in Ireland to exclude all adventurers who had issued their money after the rupture between the late king and parliament; the forty-nine officers to accept ten shillings in the pound for their composition. Sir William Donville, attorney-general of Ireland, had by diligent scrutiny discovered, that one entire moiety of the adventurers' money had been subscribed and paid subsequently to the doubling ordinance, and that consequently one-half of the lands allotted to them ought to be retrenched. Great abuses were detected in the manner of distribution, in which the proceedings were irregular and confused, leaving such room for correction in admeasurements, returns of unprofitable lands, and other particulars, as to augment considerably the probable stock of reprisals, and to dispose the several parties to reasonable concessions.

By order of the English council, the lord lieutenant, assisted by such Irish privy counsellors as happened to be in London, the commissioners of claims, and the solicitor-general, Sir Heneage Finch, reviewed what had already been deliberated, and suggested farther expedients for the settlement of Ireland. After almost ten months of discussion, a proposal from the catholics was accepted, that, for the satisfaction of their interests, the adventurers and soldiers should resign one-third of the lands respectively

tively enjoyed by them on the seventh of May 1659. A third of the king's grants, with some exceptions, was retrenched; and, with consent of all the agents, the bill of explanation was at length presented to the privy council. Twenty catholics, left entirely to the choice of Ormond, were particularly mentioned in the bill as added to the list of *nominees*, persons nominated, as objects of royal favour, to be restored to their estates without a trial. Great were the discontents of the catholics, since the new bill declared that the protestants were in the first place, and especially, to be settled; that any ambiguity, which might occur, should be interpreted in the sense most favourable to their interests; and that no catholic, who, by the qualifications of the former act, had not been adjudged innocent, should at any future time be entitled to claim lands or settlements on a plea of innocence. The authority of the court of claims had expired, when hardly more than six hundred, out of four thousand claims of innocency, had been decided, and of the rest of the claimants, excluded from all chance of a fair trial of their conduct, only twenty were to be restored by especial grace. Such ruin, beside the unutterable calamities of so many years war, had been brought on the catholics of Ireland, by the bigotry of those, who first planned and excited the rebellion for the exclusive establishment of the Romish religion! The task of nomination, imposed on Ormond, was invidious. His twenty nominees were allowed to be innocent; but others,

equally

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equally worthy of favour, could impute their dis-
 appointment only to his partiality. Yet his con-
 duct was so disinterested, that he had relinquished
 his own rights to forward a general accommoda-
 tion, by paying the debts and mortgages on his
 estate, which had been contracted in the public
 service, and which, as forfeitures to the king, had
 been granted to the duke by the act of settle-
 ment.

Notwithstanding its partiality to the protestants,
 the bill of explanation was so far from being satisfac-
 tory to the Irish commons, that Ormond ventured
 not to lay it before their house, until, by filling the
 vacancies with members friendly to government,
 and alarming them with fears of a dissolution, he
 had rendered them more compliant. When, on the
 first day of their session, a letter from the king to
 the lord lieutenant was communicated to them,
 condemning their former proceedings and votes
 relative to the commissioners of claims, they made
 humble submission, retracted their votes, inveighed
 against the conspiracy, and suspended seven of their
 members, accused as accomplices, from sitting in
 their house. Though these members pleaded his
 Majesty's pardon, they were, after an examination
 of the evidence against them, expelled, and declar-
 ed incapable of sitting in the present or any future
 parliament; nor, in their present rage of loyalty,
 could the commons be satisfied, till they had pre-
 pared a bill to disqualify these obnoxious men for
 the holding of any office, military, civil, or eccle-
 siastical.

siastical. Having laid their doubts and objections before Ormond in a petition concerning the bill of settlement, and having received an assurance from him that every thing should be explained and amended according to their wishes, by the discretionary power entrusted to the chief governor and council, or by new acts if necessary, they at length, without one dissenting voice, passed this famous act, by which an invariable rule was finally fixed for the settlement of the kingdom, and the general regulation of the rights claimed by the several interests of its occupants.

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Great obstacles had arisen to the arrangements necessary for this general settlement from various causes, especially the diminution of the fund for reprisals by profuse grants of the king, particularly to his brother, the duke of York, on whom he had conferred all the estates of the regicides. Of a similar nature were some provisos in the act of explanation, particularly one by which the marquis of Antrim was reinstated in his property, by special favour of the king, through the interest of the queen mother, after a full conviction of his treasonable practices against his Majesty, and his own acknowledgment of his guilt, with a petition to the royal mercy. After the completion of the act, many evasions were attempted in its execution by the procuring of grants and letters from the king, which, with a multitude of perplexed cases, gave perpetual employment

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XXVIII. as lord lieutenant, assisted by the privy council,
the five commissioners, appointed to execute the
statute, were ordered to resort for advice in all
affairs of doubt and difficulty.

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Act prohibiting the importation of Irish cattle into England—Discontents—Subscription of becces—Commerical affairs—Intrigues against Ormond—Change of politics—Berkley—Theological question—Remonstrance—Anti-remonstrants—Alarms of the protestants—Catholic petition—Address of the English parliament—Administration of Essex—Conduct of Ormond—Attempt of Blood—Restoration of Ormond to the lord lieutenancy—Popish plot—Defective evidences—Oliver Plunket—Steadiness and caution of Ormond—Death of Ossory—Change of measures—Fluctuation—Death of Charles the second.

WHEN, by the acts of settlement and explanation, tranquility seemed established, and a firm foundation laid for prosperity in future, the new English colony of Ireland felt immediately the bad effects of national jealousy, narrow, impolitic, and absurd, so often displayed by the English parliament, and soon afterward the still more baleful consequences of plans formed by unprincipled statesmen for the establishment of despotism on the basis of popery. From several causes obviously observable, particularly

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Non-im-
portation
act.

1666.

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particularly religious persecution, which had driven thousands of industrious puritans to Holland and America, the rents of England had suffered a diminution to the annual amount of near two hundred thousand pounds. The views of some courtiers, who wished to distress the duke of Ormond in his government, and the vulgar inclination of many to display the superiority of the English over the Irish nation by oppressive exertions of authority, conspired to represent this decrease to have been occasioned by the importation of Irish cattle; though the whole annual value of the cattle imported fell far short of the deficiency of rents; and though far greater numbers had been imported, before the civil wars of England, without the appearance of any such deficiency. So early as the year 1663, a temporary act had been passed in England to prohibit the importation of any fat cattle after the first of July in every year; and in a parliament held at Oxford in 1665, a bill was prepared for the total prohibition of Irish cattle of every description from the English markets.

The bill was opposed by arguments drawn from natural justice; from the rights of Englishmen, to which the English colony in Ireland was entitled; the misery to which the people of Ireland must be reduced by its operation; the bad consequences of driving the Irish into the necessity of trading with other countries; the detriment to the trade of England, whose manufactures the Irish, deprived of their chief branch of commerce, would be no longer able to purchase; the failure of revenue in Ireland

by

by the poverty thus occasioned, and the consequent insecurity of the kingdom from the non-payment of the army. Reasoning was altogether vain. To some gentlemen of Ireland, who appeared for their country, a copy of the bill was denied. It passed the house of commons by a small majority, but the parliament was prorogued before it received the sanction of the lords. It was resumed however with still more violence in the next session, and debated among the peers with a scandalous indecorum. In the preamble to the bill the commons had declared the importation a *nuisance*; instead of which the words *detriment and mischief* were proposed in the upper house to be inserted as an amendment. Ashley, who afterwards became earl of Shaftesbury, with affected moderation recommended the terms *felony or premunire*; to which the chancellor, lord Clarendon, replied that the importation might as reasonably be pronounced *adultery*. At the moment when the English parliament was committing an outrage on reason as well as equity, the duke of Buckingham exclaimed that "none could oppose the bill but such as had Irish estates or Irish understandings." Receiving a challenge for this national insult from the gallant lord Ossory, Buckingham, instead of fighting, complained to the house; and Ossory was for a short time committed to the tower. As the king had involved himself in war with the Dutch and with France, and could obtain no supply without the passing of the bill, he found himself obliged to give it his sanction, though he had expressed his utmost abhorrence of it, and

CHAPTER. had passionately declared that it should never receive
 XXIX. his assent.

Discontents.
 1666.

Deprived of her usual commerce with England: disabled from trading with foreign countries by the want of shipping and by the war; exposed to the attempts of enemies open and concealed; and in danger of insurrections from the distresses of its people, Ireland was reduced to a lamentable situation. Ormond in this time of peril proceeded with vigilance and caution, detecting conspiracies, and taking the proper measures for security without farther provocation to the discontented. The danger of disorders in an unpaid army had appeared in a mutiny of the garrison at Carrickfergus, who had seized the town and castle with a desperate defiance of authority. The garrison, after some resistance, surrendered to Ormond, who had marched against them on the land side, while his son, the earl of Arran, had conducted an armament to attack them from the sea. Of a hundred and ten, tried by a court martial, nine were executed, and the companies disbanded to which they had belonged. A supply of fifteen thousand pounds from the English treasury, together with provisions, accepted in Ireland, in place of money, in the payment of taxes, enabled the lord lieutenant to give some content to the army, and to establish a militia, particularly in Munster, where a formidable invasion from France was apprehended. Notwithstanding the ungenerous treatment of Ireland by the English parliament, thirty thousand beeves, the only riches then afforded by the country, were cheerfully subscribed, at
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the motion of Ormond, by the Irish nobility and gentry, for the relief of the sufferers by a tremendous conflagration in London, which had destroyed four hundred streets and thirteen thousand houses. This act of disinterested benevolence was malignantly interpreted in England as a scheme to defeat the act of prohibition.

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To alleviate the distresses of Ireland, the king, by an act of state, with the reluctant consent of his privy council, allowed a free trade from this kingdom to all foreign countries, whether in peace or war with England. He also permitted the Irish to prohibit the importation of manufactures from Scotland, whose parliament, following the example of the English, had excluded from their markets the cattle and corn of Ireland. By this act of state the exportation of wool to foreign countries was allowed, though by law it was exportable only to England; but Ormond, who suspected a snare, consented not to the exportation of this article, either by proclamation, or particular licence, which the chief governor was empowered to grant. Urged by necessity however, the Irish entered into clandestine commerce, conveying their wool by stealth to foreign markets. To manufacture the productions of their country at home, they were earnestly encouraged by Ormond. On a memorial of Sir Peter Pett, a manufactory of Norwich stuffs was erected at Clonmel; and for the supply of workmen, Grant, a man remarkable for his observations on the bills of mortality, was employed to procure the removal of five hundred Walloon protestant families from Canterbury to Ireland. A manufactory of friezes was

Commer-
cial affairs.
1667.

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established at Carrick-on-Suir; and colonel Richard Lawrence, an ingenious projector, was encouraged to promote the combing and weaving of wool. But the most successful efforts of the chief governor were directed to the revival of the linen manufacture, which Wentworth had so laudably taken pains to establish. Men of skill were sent to the Netherlands to make observations and contracts with artists. Beside workmen procured from France, Sir William Temple was engaged to send five hundred families from Brabant. At Chapel-Izod, near Dublin, were commodious tenements prepared for the artificers, where cordage, sailcloth, ticken, plain linen, and diaper were manufactured with approbation.

Intrigues
against Or-
mond.
1668.

A junto of five courtiers in England, termed the *Cabal*, a word composed of the initial letters of their names, had resolved on the removal of Ormond from his government, as he could not be supposed capable of becoming an instrument in the schemes then in contemplation. His trial of the mutineers at Carrickfergus by martial law, in what his enemies called a time of peace, and his quartering of soldiers on the subjects, contrary, as they unfairly alleged, to an old Irish statute, were, with other charges still more frivolous, formed into twelve articles of impeachment, and vainly displayed in triumph by the duke of Buckingham, a member of the cabal. Though the king expressed some displeasure at this attempt, he declined to signify to Ormond his approbation of his conduct in the quartering of soldiers, leaving him in future to the hazard of any erroneous procedure; yet the chief governor, with
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an undaunted attention to the security of the kingdom, continued to issue and enforce his warrants for the accommodation of the soldiery. Among the numbers who, on this occasion, courted the prevailing interest, with apparently too little regard to principle, was the earl of Orrery, president of Munster, to guard against whose insinuations at court, Ormond repaired in person to the king, leaving the temporary administration in the hands of lord Ossory. After several repeated assurances from his Majesty of his continued favour, he was at length made acquainted in form that lord Robarts, lord privy-seal, was appointed lord lieutenant in his place.

Though the principal business of lord Robarts was to scrutinize the conduct of Ormond, he was unable to discover, and too candid to fabricate, any solid objections to his administration. Recalled, as unfit for the deep designs of the cabal, Robarts was succeeded by John lord Berkley of Stratton, a creature of Buckingham's, and attended by another creature of the same, Sir Ellis Leighton, secretary, who was to act as a spy on the chief governor, and to retain him in a steady adherence to the purposes of the ministry. These purposes, dark and atrocious, were to establish the Romish religion throughout the British dominions, as less repugnant than the protestant to despotic monarchy, and, by the assistance of the French king, to abolish all rights and privileges of the people, that no restraint might remain to the royal prerogative. In England a cautious and slow procedure was necessary to the accomplishment

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Change of
Politics.
1669.

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ment of this end ; but in Ireland the cabal, with a contemptuous indifference to the principles and passions of its English inhabitants, feared not to begin the business immediately. Accordingly the chief governor, acting conformably to his private, and contrary to his public instructions, gave encouragement to the most dangerous principles and partizans of the Romish church.

Remon-
strance.

From the time of Elizabeth a question had been debated among the Irish catholics how far obedience was due to the civil power ; and as a submission in temporals was professed and taught by some, many catholics served that queen in her wars with zeal and fidelity. To James, her successor, the most solemn declarations were occasionally tendered of unreserved obedience to his supreme temporal authority ; but in the disorders of the following reign, when the question was revived, most of the clergy adhered to Rinunccini, the nuncio, in the maintenance of the pope's temporal, as well as spiritual jurisdiction. On the restoration of Charles the second, some of the clergy, humbled by the chastisement suffered by their party from the republicans, and fearing some farther severities, commissioned Peter Walsh, a Franciscan friar, to present an address to the king in London, congratulating his accession, and imploring the benefits of the peace made with Ormond in 1648. To obviate the objection against the toleration of the Romish religion from its inconsistency with the security of a protestant government, Walsh framed what was termed the *remonstrance* of
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the Roman catholic clergy of Ireland. In this they acknowledged his Majesty to be supreme lord, and rightful sovereign of the realm of Ireland; that they were bound to pay him faithful obedience and loyalty in all temporal affairs, notwithstanding any power, sentence, or declaration of the pope or see of Rome; that they openly disclaimed "all foreign power, papal or princely, spiritual or temporal, in as much as it may seem able, or shall pretend, to free them from this obligation, or permit them to offer any violence to his Majesty's person or government." They protested against all authority contrary to the doctrine of obedience being due, in all civil affairs, according to the laws of each commonwealth or state, to all supreme governors, as God's lieutenants on earth, of what religion soever they may be. They declared their resolution to detect and oppose all traiterous attempts against the king; and pronounced the opinion impious, that any private subject might kill his prince though of a different religion.

On Ormond's objection to the remonstrance that it had been signed only by Walsh, it was immediately subscribed by one Irish bishop, and twenty-three of the inferior clergy, and soon after by more, together with a respectable number of lay nobility and gentry. Declarations so inconsistent with the maxims of the papal court were censured, at the instance of the sovereign pontiff, as containing propositions already condemned by the apostolic see, through the agency of cardinal Barberini, and the internuncio of Brussels, superintendant of the ecclesiastical affairs of Ireland. A powerful party was

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CHAP. soon formed against the remonstrance by those who
 XXIX. would not openly acknowledge the authority of these censures. A national synod was proposed for the discussion of the business; and application was made to Ormond by two prelates in exile, Reily of Armagh and French of Ferns, for permission to return, and to atone for past offences by sanctioning the remonstrance. In the synod, held on the eleventh of June 1666, in Dublin, Reily, contrary to his engagement, practised zealously against the loyal declaration of the clergy. After a tumultuous debate, in which the rebellion of 1641, and all the acts committed in it, were indirectly justified, the assembly dispersed without a decision, distinguished into two parties violently enflamed against each other, those who supported, and those who opposed, the remonstrance, or the remonstrants and anti-remonstrants.

Anti-re-
 monstrants.
 1670.

On the arrival of lord Berkley in Ireland with secret instructions to encourage popery, the anti-remonstrants, possessed of power by the interest of the pope, displayed a malignant triumph in ejecting the remonstrants every where from their cures and stations, and denouncing them excommunicated. These wretched men, condemned for the odious doctrine of allegiance to their temporal sovereign, and, unless protected by the English government, left without other alternative than to submit to the dictates of their persecutors, or to fly to foreign countries where they might be burned as heretics, applied for relief to the chief governor. Berkley refused to interfere: when they solicited permission to lay their
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case before him, he denied them an audience : when Margetson, the protestant primate, attempted to plead their cause, he was reprov'd : and when Ormond interfered in their favour, Berkley declared that he would consider any new orders from the council of England as the dictates of the duke, and would pass them quite unnoticed. This lord lieutenant was pointedly favourable to the maintainers of the pope's unlimited authority, a doctrine justly rejected as dangerous in France and other catholic countries. Peter Talbot, brother to Richard already mentioned, created archbishop of Dublin by the pope for the purpose of punishing the remonstrants, appeared before the chief governor and council in the habit of his order, in defiance of the laws, and retired unmolested, though he refused to join in any recognition of loyalty. Leighton, the secretary, lent to this prelate the furniture of the castle for the celebration of a mass with extraordinary splendour in Dublin ; and is said to have accompanied the loan with a complimentary wish that high mass might soon be celebrated at Christ-church. An order was issued for the granting of commissions of the peace to professed Roman catholics, and for their admission to dwell and trade in corporations. Partly by fraud and outrage were some Romish aldermen and a Romish common council established in Dublin, after a violent struggle, to the great alarm of the protestants, who from various causes were terrified with the apprehensions of a general massacre. Crosses, marked on the doors of the catholics from motives

CHAPTER XXIX. motives of superstition, were believed to be intended for distinction on the day of massacre between the victims and the favoured party.

Catholic petition. 1671. Aspiring to the total abolition of the acts of settlement and explanation, but affecting in their first proceedings moderate views, the catholics commissioned Talbot to present a petition to the king and council, in which they represented, that they had been dispossessed of their lands on account of their loyalty, by the usurpers; and prayed that some impartial persons should be appointed to hear and report their grievances, and that, in the interim, the king would suspend his grants of any lands of which no disposal had been yet made. Ormond, a member of a committee appointed to consider this petition, alarmed at the danger of a general confusion, earnestly pleaded against the admission of the petitioners to a hearing. When this was refused, he answered their allegations so fully, that the attorney general, Sir Heneage Finch, to whom all the papers were referred, made a report highly unfavourable to the claims of the petition. The cabal persevered; and another committee, from which Ormond was industriously excluded, was empowered to revise "all papers and orders for the settlement of Ireland, to report what alterations had been made of matters once settled, and to represent the defects of papers or warrants for justifying any clauses contrary to the king's declaration, the first ground of settlement." The report of this committee was erroneous; and, when a third commission was issued,

many

many months were spent in search of materials to form another. In the mean time from Ireland, ^{C H A P. XXIX.} which was in a state of general alarm, petitions were transmitted from the soldiers and adventurers, the forty-nine officers, and the Connaught purchasers, all agreeing in the same point, the maintenance of the present settlement.

Though the members of the cabal were indifferent to the clamours of the protestants of Ireland, ^{Essex's administration.} they were terrified by the alarm thence conveyed to the people of England; and, finding that they had made too early a discovery of their designs, they affected to blame the conduct of Berkley, who was in consequence recalled, and the earl of Essex was sent in his place. Far from satisfied with this, the English parliament petitioned his Majesty, among other requests, that he would recall his commission of inquiry with respect to Irish lands; that he would command that no papists should be admitted into any offices of magistracy; that all licences to papists to dwell within corporations should be recalled; and that the chief governors of Ireland should receive such directions as might tend to encourage the English planters and protestant interest, and suppress the disorders of the Irish papists. Some condescension was necessary to so powerful an interference; and the countenance, prematurely shewn to the Romish interest, was for a time withdrawn. The commission of inquiry was superseded; the king's resolution to maintain the acts of settlement declared; the obnoxious proceedings in the corporation of Dublin reversed;

CHAP. reversed; and the ejected protestants restored to
XXIX. their places.

On the temporary removal of this grand cause of disquietude, the administration of Essex was employed in business of no great importance. Empowered by the act of explanation, he prescribed new rules to regulate corporations, which being calculated to encrease the influence of the monarch and to admit strangers and aliens on easy terms to the freedom of the towns, were very displeasing to the inferior orders of citizens. When the proceedings relative to the protestant and Romish aldermen in Dublin were ordered to be erased from the books of the corporation, the commons refused obedience, and even questioned the authority of the lord lieutenant and council; nor were his attempts to suppress their turbulence commonly regarded as sufficiently spirited for the dignity of his office. He was so embarrassed by difficulties in the execution of the acts of settlement; by deficiencies in the discharge of the Irish establishment caused by private grants in letters of the king; and by mismanagement of the revenue; that he solicited, and with difficulty obtained licence, in the year 1675, to wait on the king with a statement of Irish affairs. Although he was allowed to return to his government, the king was not pleased with a servant whose integrity rendered him unfit for clandestine measures, so much pursued by this monarch. The lieutenancy of Ireland is said to have been on this occasion offered for sale to any nobleman who would stipulate to pay privately an annual

annual sum to the king; but after some time a different plan was judged expedient, and a chief governor appointed who had been least expected.

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By the influence of the cabal, the Duke of Ormond had not only been long in disgrace with the king, but even an atrocious attempt had been made in London on his life, by a desperate villain named Blood, who had formerly been engaged in the conspiracy for seizing the castle of Dublin. Blood and his accomplices, who dragged the duke from his coach in the night, might have easily performed the assassination, if they had not, in a refinement of cruelty, resolved to carry him to Tyburn, to hang him as a criminal, which gave time to his domestics to fly to his rescue. When afterwards this desperado was taken in an attempt to rob the tower of the royal crown and regalia, he freely acknowledged his attack on the duke, received a full pardon from the caprice or timidity of the monarch, with an estate of five hundred pounds a year, and became a kind of favourite at court. Ossory suspecting the design against his father's life to have originated from the instigation of Buckingham, told that duke in the king's presence, that if his father should fall by assassination, he would consider *him* as the assassin, and would pistol him though he should be standing behind his Majesty.

Conduct of
Ormond.

Charges against Ormond of misconduct in his government proved false and frivolous on solemn examinations before the privy council. Neither humbled nor provoked by the coldness of his sovereign,

he

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he attended the court, and took his place in the council, as if he were still in favour, neither concealing his opinions on public affairs, nor betraying any resentment. Such dignified behaviour provoked Buckingham to say to the king, "Sir, I wish to know whether it be the duke of Ormond that is out of favour with your Majesty, or your Majesty with the duke of Ormond; for, of the two, you seem most out of countenance." Yet Ormond was so sensible of his want of interest, that when colonel Cary Dillon solicited his interference, declaring that he had no friends but God and his grace, he replied, "Alas, poor Cary, thou couldest not have named two friends of less interest, or less respected at court." At length in April 1677 the king resolved to re-admit him into administrations. On seeing the duke advancing to pay his usual attendance, he said to the persons near him, "Yonder comes Ormond; I have done all in my power to disoblige him, and to make him as discontented as others; but he will be loyal in spite of me. I must even employ him again, and he is the fittest person to govern Ireland." The most probable mode of accounting for this alteration is, that Charles had been solicited to appoint his natural son, the duke of Monmouth, lord lieutenant; and that the duke of York, the legal heir of the crown, dreading the advancement of of this rival, had laboured to restore Ormond to the royal favour, as the only competitor fit in this case to be opposed to Monmouth.

When

When Ormond, restored in 1677 to the government of Ireland, was busied in arrangements for the improvement of the army, the revenue and other departments, he was suddenly interrupted, and involved in perplexity, by the news of a plot formed by the Roman catholics of England, in concert with foreign powers, for the murder of the king, the massacre of the protestants, and the exclusive establishment of the Romish religion. To the history of England belongs the narrative of this affair, one of the most extraordinary in the records of nations, a fiction uncountenanced by any real discoveries, so inconsistent in its parts as to betray its falsehood, yet so opportunely conspiring with the views of certain men and with popular notions, as to have been received with implicit belief. The plot was declared to extend to Ireland, Peter Talbot to be a conspirator, and the assassination of the lord lieutenant planned by hired ruffians. Since the least hesitation to believe the reality of the plot, or to act on informations against particular persons, would have been highly dangerous in the present popular phrensy, Talbot in a situation of pain and debility, afflicted for two years past with the stone and strangury, was made prisoner, and lodged in Dublin castle, but treated with humanity. Orders arrived soon after from England for the seizure of Lord Mountgarret and his son, colonel Peppard, and Richard Talbot. No colonel Peppard could be found, or had been known in Ireland: Mountgarret, eighty years of age, was bedridden and in a state of dotage; and,

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as nothing suspicious could be discovered concerning Richard Talbot, he was permitted, on security given for his quiet behaviour, to depart the kingdom.

Amid clamour and distraction, the chief governor proceeded calmly to secure the public peace by disarming the catholics, and making proper dispositions of the standing forces and militia. One of his measures on this occasion could be justified only by necessity. Since robbers, termed *tories*, who committed depredations and cruelties, were known to be concealed by their relatives, and sometimes by Romish priests, a proclamation was issued, directing that the near relatives of known *tories* should be committed to prison until such *tories* should be killed or brought to justice; and that any Romish priest of a parish, where murder or robbery was committed by these *tories*, should be imprisoned, and afterwards transported, unless within fourteen days the guilty persons were killed or taken, or such discovery made that they might be brought to punishment. More timid or designing protestants were displeased at the refusal of Ormond to adopt another measure unnecessary and dangerous, to imprison those of the Irish race, who still enjoying the rank of chieftains, and having lost their estates, might be supposed the most ready to join in desperate schemes. Instead of expelling, as was recommended, the Romish inhabitants from the corporate towns, and thereby desolating the corporations, and driving numbers to a vagrant life, the chief governor and council pursued a more moderate course. They issued

sued a proclamation forbidding persons of the Romish religion to enter the castle of Dublin, or any other fort or citadel, without special order from the lord lieutenant; but allowing them to resort unarmed to fairs and markets held outside the walls of some principal cities. Such of them as had been lately admitted into these cities, were removed; and from others, where Romish inhabitants chiefly abounded, the idle and useless were expelled.

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Enraged at the preservation of tranquility by Ormond in Ireland, where they wished for insurrection, the partizans of violent measures accused the duke of partiality to papists. Ashley, earl of Shaftesbury, who, from a member of the cabal, had changed sides, and become the leader of the popular party, severely arraigned his administration in the English house of lords, where he was spiritedly answered by the gallant Ossory. Unable to effect the removal of Ormond, yet endeavouring to embarrass his government, Shaftesbury and his followers procured orders to the chief governor and council, which were properly obeyed, to prepare bills for the exclusion of Romanists from both houses of parliament and all offices in Ireland, and to publish a proclamation encouraging all persons to make farther discoveries of the popish plot. A year had elapsed before one witness of such a plot could be found in Ireland, and those who came afterward brought little credit to the cause. The accusation of De la Poer, earl of Tyrone, by one Bourke of the county of Waterford, a man of flagitious character, who had been imprisoned by the earl, proved on the clearest

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evidence false and malicious. Fitzgerald, a protestant of the county of Limerick, tried for high treason and acquitted, gave a confused and inconsistent information against some persons of rank, who freely offered themselves for trial, where the facts and their characters could be best examined. But the informer was brought forcibly to London to give his evidence, where he fully confessed his own falsehood, and thereby saved the lives of the accused.

Oliver Plunket, the Romish archbishop of Ar-magh, met with different fortune. He had lived quiet, detached from political intrigues, recommending a peaceable submission to government, and had even exerted his spiritual authority to confine the turbulent Peter Talbot within the duties of his profession. Accused by some profligates of his inferior clergy, he was brought to London, where their story was found so inconsistent, that, even in those times of passionate credulity, the jury could not find a bill against him. But reinforced by some new accomplices, the informers framed again their accusation, charging him with having obtained his place on the express compact of raising seventy thousand men in Ireland by the contributions of the Romish clergy, whose whole revenues would be insufficient for the equipment of even one regiment. They swore that this army was to be joined by twenty thousand men from France, who were to land at Carlingford, a place impracticable for such a debarkation. The unfortunate prelate, whose witnesses were detained by contrary winds and other accidents, was executed for a conspiracy which he explicitly

explicitly denied at his death, with the most solemn disavowal of all equivocation ; and which no man acquainted with the circumstances of Ireland, as he remarked, could have believed, even if he had solemnly acknowledged it in his last moments.

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Neither discouraging informations, nor encouraging violence in the prosecution of them, Ormond steered so cautious and steady a course, that, after several acquittals on the clearest evidence, the credit of the plot declined ; and men, relieved from their terrors, applied their minds to pursuits of industry. The fortitude of the duke was severely tried by the death of the generous Ossory, of whose signal merit he retained so lively a sense, that he declared, “ he would not exchange his dead son for any living son in Christendom.” Repairing to court, at the instance of the duke of York, and leaving the administration two years in the hands of a deputy, the earl of Arran, he solicited in vain, when he prepared to return, for the convention of an Irish parliament. Dangerous measures appear to have been then concerted without awakening his suspicion. A *commission of grace* was issued for the remedy of defective titles in Ireland, planned by the duke of York ; and the protestants had good reason to conclude, that the purpose of it was to discover what advantages might be taken to deprive protestants of their possessions, and to restore them to the Irish. A scheme had been formed for putting the whole power in Ireland into the hands of the catholics ; and, when Ormond had returned to his government, he received a letter from the king, informing him of the expedi-

1682.

1684.

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diency of many and great alterations in both the civil and military departments, and of his resolution to appoint lord Rochester chief governor. This chief governor was to be totally excluded from the military department, the entire command of which was to be committed to a lieutenant-general, Richard Talbot, the known partizan of the Romanists. While Rochester delayed to take possession of his unenviable office, the king seemed again disposed to change his measures and counsellors, and all arrangements seemed for a time suspended, when suddenly, by the death of Charles, on the sixth of February 1685, a turn most decided was given to affairs, attended for some time with lamentable, and afterwards with happy and important consequences.

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English affairs—New administration in Ireland—Violences of the catholics—Tories and informers—Violent proceedings of the king—Violences of Tyrconnel—Tyrconnel lord-deputy—His arrangements—New model of corporations—Attempts on the University—State of the country—A quarrel among the catholics—Attempt against the acts of settlement—Rejoicings of the catholics—Imprisonment of the officers of Christ Church—Agitations on the news of the prince of Orange's preparations—Alarm of massacre.

CHARLES the second had ascended the throne with a cordial affection of his subjects almost universal; yet mutual jealousies began soon to operate; and the English commons appear to have been somewhat too frugal in the granting of supplies to the king's necessities in the beginning of his reign. In their bill of non-importation of Irish cattle, the injustice and impolicy of which his good sense would have prevented, they made an offensive and imprudent display of their power, by forcing his assent contrary to his declared resolution. Perhaps the most blameless conduct on their side might not have prevented a scheme for the establishment of popery

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English Affairs.

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and depostic monarchy, formed by the Duke of York who was a bigoted and zealous Romanist, and the king who was privately, but less violently, attacked to the same religion. For the attainment of this end, for which the cabal made strenuous, and even premature exertions, the assistance of Lewis the fourteenth, the most powerful monarch in Europe, was engaged by a secret treaty. A preparatory step, judged necessary by the two confederate monarchs, was the destruction of the Dutch commonwealth, from which alone, in case of civil war, the protestants of England could expect assistance against the forces of their own prince and his French auxiliars. So prodigious were the exertions of the Dutch, who were assailed by the united powers of England and France in 1672, that the kings were frustrated in this part of their plan, and Charles was necessitated to conclude a peace.

Before this pacification, the king, when affairs had come to a dangerous crisis between him and the commons, had prudently receded from another preparatory measure, an act of prerogative, by which he suspended the laws in religious matters. Concluding, from this want of resolution in Charles, that the scheme of despotism would prove abortive, and dreading impeachments from the commons when their power should prevail, the earl of Shaftsbury, the chief member of the cabal, resolved immediately to change sides, and to atone for all his violences in favour of monarchy by like violences in opposition to it. Against the Duke of York, who was the next heir to the crown, as Charles had no legitimate children,

children, this earl and his party pushed matters to extremity, endeavouring to pass a bill into a law for his exclusion, as a papist, from the succession. By the violence with which some of their measures were conducted, particularly the prosecution of the popish plot, the forgery of which was manifest to many, the popular party lost so much credit with the nation, that the king at length gained an uncontested superiority. The detection of a conspiracy for an insurrection against the government, to prevent the duke's succession, enabled the royal party to exercise their vengeance more fully on their opponents. The virulence of the two parties is marked by the opprobrious denominations given by each to the other. Instead of roundhead and cavalier, the terms *whig* and *tory* came into use; the former conferred on the favourers of opposition, the latter on the partizans of unshackled monarchy.

The uncontrolled power of the crown was exercised in the last years of Charles's reign with atrocious iniquity, under the forms of law, particularly in Scotland, where the examples of oppression were so various and so enormous, that a writer would be totally at a loss to reduce them to any class, or to make a selection. Unhappy, notwithstanding his enjoyment of unrestrained prerogative, he formed at length the design of changing his measures, and regaining the affections of his subjects, a design which caused the suspension in the business of Ireland mentioned at the end of the foregoing chapter; but at the critical moment he unfortunately died. This prince, adorned with uncommon brilliancy of wit and

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and gracefulness of manners, destitute of any one ingredient of principle or virtue, but fortunately not obstinately persevering in pernicious plans, was succeeded by his brother the duke of York, under the name of James the second, a bigoted, obstinate, and intolerant papist, whose ultimate object was despotic power, and the exclusive establishment of his own mode of worship throughout his dominions. By a *papist* I mean one devoted without reserve to the papal authority, while the term *Roman catholic* may be understood in a less confined signification, as possibly doubting, or not admitting, in some points, the sovereign pontiff's jurisdiction.

James had soon an opportunity of gratifying his inhuman spirit, and taking preliminary steps for the accomplishment of his main design. James, duke of Monmouth, his illegitimate nephew, finding himself persecuted abroad by the influence of the new king, sought safety by a desperate attempt at home, where he was greatly beloved by the people; and, landing in the west of England with a few followers, was joined by some thousands, and claimed the crown as next heir to his father, the late king. He was defeated, taken prisoner, and executed. Numerous and horrid cruelties were, after the suppression of this short-lived insurrection, committed through the country, first by military outrage, and afterwards under the forms of law; and the king was furnished early with an excuse to fill his armies with catholic officers and soldiers. He proceeded with such violence and precipitation in the forwarding of his plan, that the tory party of England, hitherto the

the openly professed advocates of unlimited prerogative in the sovereign, found themselves obliged, for the preservation of their liberty and religion, to act contrary to their own doctrine, and to unite with the whigs in an invitation of the Prince of Orange to assist them with his arms in the recovery of their trampled rights. James, who doubtless, if he had remained long enough unopposed, would have revived the horrors of the reign of Mary by religious persecution, fled to France on the revolt of his subjects, when the prince arrived with a small Dutch army in the year 1688; and that prince, the husband of Mary, the eldest daughter of James, was constituted king under the name of William the third.

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I have anticipated a little in the transactions of England, from which those of Ireland received their influence. Immediately, on the accession of James the second, Ormond was ordered, under pretence of his incapacity from age and infirmities, to resign the government to two lords justices, Forbes, earl of Grenard, and Byle, primate and chancellor. As these were protestants of approved fidelity, the former of the high-church party, the latter a protector of the puritans, no suspicion could with justice be entertained of their willing concurrence in destructive measures: Yet so intolerable was the menacing exultation and insolence of the catholics, and such the terrors of the protestants, that Grenard intimated his wish to resign. But James thinking his service necessary on the present occasion, sent him a letter written with his own hand, in
which

New adm-
nistration.
1685.

CHAP. which he assured him that nothing should be done in
 XXX. Ireland prejudicial to the protestant interest. Assurances of this nature were assiduously communicated by the justices; so that when attempts were made in England and Scotland, by Monmouth and his adherents, against the government of James, the protestants of Ireland universally declared their abhorrence of these attempts, and their resolution to support the reigning monarch. Conformably with these sentiments, the army of Ireland, composed of protestants, marched with alacrity to the north, ready to embark for Scotland, if necessary, to act against the earl of Argyle, who had raised there an insurrection in favour of Monmouth.

Violences
 of the ca-
 tholics.

Vexatiously disappointed by this loyalty of the protestants, designing men among the catholics, who had fondly expected some commotion, fabricated stories of plots formed for insurrection and nocturnal massacre. The catholics abandoned their habitations in the night from this imaginary danger. Except some of the vulgar, who were deceived by malignant reports, this terror was wholly feigned to load the objects of their enmity with odium, and to justify future severities against them. Yet to allay the ferment, thus artificially raised, the justices found themselves obliged to issue a proclamation against *night-meeting*, a species of offence unknown to the party accused. The king soon began to display gradually his project. By a letter to the lords justices and council he required the disarming of the militia of Ireland, who were all protestants, under pretence that the contagion of Monmouth's rebellion

rebellion was extensively diffused. The consternation of these men, dreading to be exposed defenceless to a barbarous enemy, was augmented by the intemperate triumph of their rivals, who threatened them with the vengeance of government, if they should in the least betray their rebellious designs, by retaining any arms, even of their own property. The justices, apprehensive of some commotion from despair, exerted themselves to persuade a cheerful compliance with the order, and were every where obeyed.

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The apprehensions of the protestants had been too well founded. They were immediately infested by the robberies and atrocious cruelties of the savage banditti called tories. The evil was so manifest, great, and urgent, that the earl of Clarendon, appointed lord lieutenant, was empowered to restore some arms to persons most exposed and most fit to be trusted; but his caution prevented him from so speedy and alert an exercise of this power as the urgency of the case required. The unfortunate protestants became also a prey to another set of miscreants more detestable still. Numbers of informers suddenly appeared in various quarters, who tortured their inventions for plausible fictions of treason, or words imagined to have been spoken, years before, against the king when he was duke of York. The lord lieutenant saw clearly through the falsehood of these multiplied informations, by which so many innocent men were cruelly harrassed; yet he could not venture openly to discourage them, as the king retained an unprincely resentment of offences committed

Tories and
informers.

CHAP. committed against him before his accession, and as
 XXX. he affected a particular jealousy of the protestants
 of Ireland.

Violent
 proceedings
 of the king.
 1685.

Clarendon had been commanded, on his assumption of the Irish government, to declare that his Majesty had no intention to alter the acts of settlement; but the catholics, without attempting as yet directly to subvert these acts, prepared a petition for the relief of those who had suffered by them, in which they requested a general reversal of the out-lawries occasioned by the rebellion of the year sixteen hundred and forty-one. This petition, if granted in its full extent, must have been considered as the previous step to the utter subversion of all establishments of property. Preparatory to such an end might seem the arrangements now made. In place of primate Boyle, Sir Charles Porter was suddenly appointed chancellor, a man from whom implicit submission was expected, on account of his distress in pecuniary matters. In the place of three protestant judges, removed without the least objection to their conduct, were three Irish catholics raised to the bench, in utter contempt of the existing laws, Nugent, Daly, and Rice; the last not unexceptionable in character. These new judges, and some catholic lawyers, were admitted into the privy council; an honour so unusual to men of their rank, that Rice hesitated, and Nagle, an active lawyer, declined it, as interfering with his professional business. The revenues of the see of Cashel and other vacant sees were reserved for the maintenance of Romish bishops;

bishops; and all prelates of this profession were directed to appear publicly in the habit of their order. The protestant clergy were interdicted from preaching on subjects of religious controversy; and in this particular their conduct was watched very strictly.

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Talbot had been created earl of Tyrconnel, and, immediately on the suppression of Monmouth's rebellion, the king had been petitioned by the Romish clergy of Ireland to establish this earl in such authority, as might secure them in the exercise of their functions. But even the violent James thought the measure too violent to raise this new earl at that time to the office of chief governor. In the following year, however, he was sent with a power independent of the lord lieutenant, to command and regulate the army, and with particular orders for the admission of catholics to the freedom of corporations, and the offices of sheriffs and justices of the peace. Tyrconnel's instructions implied no more with respect to the army, than that all the king's subjects indiscriminately, without regard to religious profession, should be admitted to serve; yet this lord gave strict orders, that none but catholics should be admitted. Protestant officers and soldiers were, with circumstances of contumely and cruelty, dismissed; and their places filled exclusively with real papists, those who entertained the highest notion of the papal authority. The vulgar, in their surprizing ignorance, when they had taken the oath of fidelity, imagined that they had sworn to be faithful only to the pope
and

CHAP. and their religion, and declared that they had been
XXX. forbidden by their priests to take any other oath.

On the remonstrance of Clarendon against these exclusive orders, Tyrconnel, with a meanness equal to his insolence, denied that he had issued them; but lord Roscommon convicted him to his face, declaring that he and other officers had received from him these commands in terms altogether explicit and peremptory.

Tyrconnel was however permitted to proceed unrestrained in his violences; and the king gave a positive refusal to Clarendon to repeat his former assurances for the maintenance of the acts of settlement by a proclamation. Many Romanists declared that in a few months not a protestant would be left in the army; and that the catholics, having obtained arms, would soon also obtain their lands. Some of the old proprietors cautioned the tenants against the payment of rent to English landlords, and some Romish clergy forbade the people to pay tythes to protestant incumbents. Tyrconnel, accompanied by Nagle, the ablest lawyer of the catholics, repaired to England to prevail on the king to invalidate at least, if not completely to annul, the acts of settlement: but the representations of some members of the privy council defeated the design for the present; and Nagle's abilities were chiefly employed in writing a treatise against these acts, styled a letter from Coventry. Clarendon, whose principle of absolute submission allowed him not to refuse the execution of any commands of the king, how much soever contrary to his conscience, but only to remonstrate,
and

and to give as little offence and alarm as he could in the execution, was accused, without regard to candour or veracity, of mal-administration. Though his defence was clear and satisfactory, he was judged not a fit instrument for the projects entertained, and his removal from the Irish government was consequently resolved.

By the recommendation of the earl of Sunderland, the king's prime minister, who thereby flattered his master's prejudices, the viceroyalty of Ireland was committed, with the title of lord-deputy, to Tyrconnel, who stipulated, for this favour, to pay Sunderland an annual pension out of the profits of his government. Every step of Tyrconnel's exaltation is truly said to have been gained by bribery and flattery, and enjoyed without temper, justice, or decency. Attached with violent zeal to the most slavish principles of submission to the pope, he was yet regardless of religion, profligate in manners, and profane in conversation. He was virulent in censure without the least attention to truth; precipitate in his councils; furious, implacable, and persevering in his resentments; vulgarly insolent to his superiors; to his inferiors brutally tyrannical. He had successively proposed to assassinate Oliver Cromwell and the duke of Ormond, but his want of spirit had proved a counterpoise to his want of principle. From such a governor, delegated by such a prince, oppression the most atrocious was naturally expected. Numbers of protestants who had before abandoned the kingdom, where their lives and properties were exposed

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XXX.

Tyrconnel
lord deputy.
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posed to the malice of the vilest of mankind; and now fifteen hundred families more, citizens of Dublin, accompanied lord Clarendon in his departure to England. The army was almost wholly formed of catholics; and the protestant officers, deprived, without the least compensation, of the commissions which they had purchased, withdrew to Holland to the prince of Orange, by whom they were protected and employed.

Tyrconnel's
arrange-
ments.

Instead of Sir Charles Porter, who, contrary to expectation, had refused to be an instrument in illegal schemes, Sir Alexander Fitton was appointed chancellor, a man of infamous character convicted of forgery, but a favourite of the king by his having turned catholic. In the place of Sir William Domville, a protestant, long distinguished by his loyalty and abilities, Nagle, the Romish lawyer, was invested with the office of attorney general. Nugent and Rice were advanced to the station of chief judges; Irish catholics succeeded to the places which they had occupied; and only three protestants were suffered to remain on the benches, Keating and Worth, who were supposed implicitly obedient, and Lyndon, a person mean and insignificant. To fill the corporations with Romanists a compendious method was quickly assumed. The lord-deputy demanded without ceremony the surrendry of their charter from the citizens of Dublin, and, on their hesitation, furiously threatened them with the vengeance of his master. Their petition to the king, presented by their recorder, who was introduced by Ormond;

was

was disgracefully rejected; and they were immediately deprived of their charter by a judgment hastily pronounced on a writ of quo warranto. Many other corporations were by the same procedure dissolved in the course of two terms; others were intimidated into a surrendry: in some the possession was given by a catholic sheriff to persons chosen for the purpose, in virtue of a new charter, and the former possessors were left to bring a fruitless action before catholic judges against the intruders; or were imprisoned for disobedience. The new corporations, in cities where the English interest had been predominant, were permitted to consist of one-third protestants, while the other two-thirds were catholics; but these nominal protestants were chosen from sectaries and the most contemptible classes. The most barbarous Irish were admitted among the catholics; and so little attention was paid to decorum, that, in a northern city, a man, who had been condemned to the gallows for his crimes, was appointed chief magistrate.

Before the removal of Clarendon, a royal mandate had been presented to the governors of the university of Dublin, directing them to admit a catholic, named Greene, to the professorship of the Irish language, with all its emoluments and arrears of salary. As no such professorship existed, Greene was disappointed; but the members, dreading every violence, resolved to convert most of their plate into money, for the erection of new buildings, or whatever purpose might be supposed safest. The plate, embarked for the purpose of being sold in

Attempts
on the uni-
versity

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England, with the licence of Clarendon, was seized in the port of Dublin by Tyrconnel, on his arrival, and lodged in the king's stores. Persuaded by the more moderate of his advisers to return it to the university, Tyrconnel, when the plate was sold, repenting of his lenity, ordered the purchaser to come before him. Nugent, the lord chief justice, accused him of having purchased stolen goods, and obliged him to give security to prosecute the governors of the college; but the good sense of Nagle interposed to protect them, for the present, from farther outrage. By another mandate from the king, one Doyle, wretchedly insufficient for the office, and scandalously profligate, but meritorious with the ruling party as a convert to Romanism, was ordered to be admitted to a fellowship, without being obliged to take any other oath than that of a fellow. This oath was found to include that of supremacy, which Doyle refused to take; and, when the judges directed him to procure a second mandate, his character appeared so infamous, that his patrons were ashamed to make any farther efforts in his favour. Tyrconnel took revenge for this disappointment by stopping the annual pension from the exchequer to the college, at that time the principal part of its support.

State of
the Country

By an ignorant, bigoted, and lawless government, consternation and terror were every where diffused. The sheriffs were mean and brutal; the courts of justice infamously partial; the military officers barbarous and insolent; robberies unrestrained and unpunished;

punished; murders wantonly committed with impunity; outlawries daily reversed; the sons of rebels and murderers raised highest in the favour of government: clowns and menial servants promoted to offices of trust, and insulting their former masters; indigent men, suddenly advanced, and supporting their new stations by rapine; the credit of traders destroyed, and artificers reduced to beggary, or forced to emigration. Though the ministry of Ireland regarded the public calamity with indifference, as if it were only the calamity of protestants, the ministers in England, alarmed at the prodigious decrease of Irish revenue, inveighed against the ruinous violence of Tyrconnel. Lord Bellasis, who was himself a catholic, declared with particular warmth, that his madness was sufficient to ruin ten kingdoms. But Tyrconnel, leaving his government in the hands of chancellor Fitton and lord Clanricarde, went, accompanied by Rice, chief baron of the exchequer, to wait on the king at Chester, to whom he easily justified his conduct.

At his departure from Dublin on this occasion, he reminded the Romish ministers of the power which their party had acquired in Ireland, and prayed God to damn them if ever they should part with it. Their power seemed indeed so incontestably established that they began to quarrel among themselves. One Sheridan, secretary of state and commissioner of the customs, restrained by the lord-deputy in his lucrative trade of selling employments, framed, in revenge, an accusation against him, with the assistance

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of the Romish primate. Tyrconnel in this contest, not without suffering much disgrace, was victorious; and Sheridan was deprived of his employments. To punish the primate, the king solicited the pope to appoint him a co-adjutor, which the pontiff contemptuously refused. On the other hand the friends of Sheridan, particularly father Peters, the king's confessor, painted in proper colours the destructive administration of Tyrconnel, and recommended the earl of Castlemain for the government of Ireland, in which recommendation the pope is said to have concurred. But the ministers of France were warmly in Tyrconnel's interest, and sent him intelligence of the intrigues against him. Effectually to overthrow all such cabals, the lord-deputy, with the advice of his friends, resolved, by a brilliant stroke, to convince his sovereign both of his abilities and zeal.

Attempt
against the
acts of set-
tlement.

Proposing to convene an Irish parliament, which from previous arrangements would be entirely in the Romish interest, he caused heads of a bill to be framed, which, under pretence of relieving the injured Irish, would overthrow the whole settlement of Ireland. Rice was commissioned to lay the scheme before the English council, and Nugent obtruded himself as his colleague. The king, who coincided with Tyrconnel in his views, fearing an opposition in the cabinet, introduced the business immediately to the privy council, and declaimed with warmth against the iniquity of the acts of settlement. The affair was of so alarming and dan-
gerous

generous a nature, that the members, however pliant in general to the royal pleasure, were here aroused to a freedom of sentiment. The agents were with difficulty admitted to be heard; and the futility of Nugent's pleading, notwithstanding the plausible arguments of Rice, countenanced so well the prejudices of the auditors, that the pleaders were insulted even in the royal presence, and dismissed with disgrace. Even the arbitrary and bigoted monarch feared to press the matter in the face of so universal a disapprobation. Sunderland afterwards declared that he had refused a bribe of forty thousand pounds for the forwarding of Tyrconnel's plan. The mob attended the agents on their return from the council with potatoes elevated on poles, vehemently vociferating, "room for the Irish ambassadors."

The mortification of this disappointment was in some degree alleviated by the birth of a male heir to the crown. As before this event, the princess Mary, wife to the prince of Orange, a protestant, stood next in the line of succession, the joy of the catholics of both Britain and Ireland was unbounded, when Providence had furnished them with an undisputed successor of their own religion. The fondest objects of men's wishes are often the causes of their grief or calamity. The protestants of England, who had comforted themselves with a distant prospect of relief by the succession of the princess of Orange, were on the total deprivation of that prospect, aroused to a sense of their situation, and to exertions which drove James from the throne, and the

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Rejoicings
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catholics from all power. In the mean time, however, the rejoicings in Ireland were accompanied with acts of insult on the protestants. Thus the Romish lord mayor of Dublin committed the officers of Christ Church to prison, because, as he said, "their bells did not ring merrily enough" for the prince's birth. But intelligence soon arrived of a less agreeable nature to these bigots. While the project of invasion by the prince of Orange was still a secret to the infatuated James, Tyrconnel, we are assured, was informed of the design, and conveyed the news to his master. On the first certain information, the lord-deputy was directed to send four thousand men to England: yet the catholics affected for some time to despise the efforts of the prince of Orange, who was coming, they said, to end his days on a scaffold like the duke of Monmouth; and the lord chief justice spoke with delight from the bench concerning English rebels, who would be hanged every where in clusters.

Agitations.

In the mean time the rumours of the prince's preparations were in Ireland received with agitation and astonishment. Protestants and catholics alike rushed in crowds to Dublin, ardently enquiring news. At length on the arrival of certain advice, that the prince had landed, was advancing without opposition to London, and was every day joined by numbers, who deserted the imperious and bigoted monarch, the catholics and their chief governor sunk at once from insolence to dejection. Tyrconnel descended to flatter the protestants, to boast of his impartial

impartial government, and to cajole them to make representations in his favour. The most spirited of the protestants proposed to seize the castle of Dublin, an enterprize which might have prevented much of the bloodshed and calamity of the following years; but they were prevented by the more timid, who had some hopes that the lord-deputy would spontaneously resign. Tyrconnel however, while hope remained, resolved to make some efforts. He issued new commissions, for the levying of troops, to all who would accept them, without paying even fees of office; and, excited by the preaching of the priests, an armed rabble arose in every quarter of the kingdom, who called themselves the king's soldiers. As these, neither paid nor restrained by government, supported themselves by depredation; and as the English colonists endeavoured to defend their properties against them, all order seemed dissolved, and the country relapsing into a state of barbarism.

In the midst of this anarchy a tremendous alarm was spread of a plot for the universal massacre of the protestants. A letter from an unknown hand, addressed to lord Mount-Alexander in the county of Down, in a style mean and vulgar, but plausible, confident, and circumstantial, warned him of a butchery of the protestants planned for execution on Sunday the ninth of December, in which no age, sex, or condition was to be spared. As priests had announced to their congregations what

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was called a "secret intention," enjoining them to stand ready armed to obey their orders; and as a friar had preached at Derry on the destruction of the Amalekites by Saul, emphatically depicting the iniquity of sparing those whom the divine vengeance had devoted to excision, this and other letters of the like import, conveyed to gentlemen of Ulster, whether they were the contrivance of artifice, or the effect of credulity, produced a great and surprising perturbation. In a moment the capital became a scene of uproar and distraction: the guards of the lord-deputy were struck with astonishment: the draw bridge of the castle was raised, while a tumultuous crowd of both sexes and all ages rushed precipitately to the shore, imploring to be conveyed away from the daggers of the Irish. In vain were two lords dispatched by Tyrconnel to assure them of protection: their remonstrances were drowned in shrieks and clamour. An unusual number of vessels, which happened then to lie in the harbour, were filled with fugitives, who crowded on board in an ecstasy of terror and impatience, leaving their less successful friends in a state of despair and stupefaction. A similar effect was produced elsewhere throughout Ireland, particularly in some places where the intelligence was not received till the very day stated to be the appointed time of massacre. Starting from their devotion, they fled in amazement, leaving all their property to the
mercy

mercy of the catholics. Some gained places of strength, others the coast, and an opportunity of escape by sea. In the northern counties they collected what arms they could, and resolved on defence.

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Description of Derry—Resistance of this town—Protestant associations—Treachery of Hamilton and Tyrconnel—Proceedings of the protestants—Conduct of Lundy—Proceedings of James—George Walker—Proceedings at Derry—Siege of Derry—Appearance of Kirk—Character of Kirk—Atrocious cruelty of Rosen—Relief of Derry—Operations of the Enniskilleners—Defeat of Lord Galmoy—His treachery—Three armies sent against Enniskillen—Defeat of Sarsfield—Retreat of Fitzjames—Defeat of Macarthy near Newtown-Butler.

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Description
of Derry.

IN the perturbation and flight of the protestants, occasioned by the letters mentioned in the foregoing chapter, the principal place of refuge in the northern province was the city of Derry, new named, in the time of James the first, Londonderry. This city stands on a singularly situate hill, insulated and of an oval form, which rises from the bottom of a valley, on the western side of the river Foyle, whose waters wash its foot through more than half its extent, and form with the bason, called logh Foyle, an excellent harbour. This beautiful town, conspicuous by its situation and the lofty spire of its church,

church, is hardly an English mile in circuit within the wall, in which are four gates, whence run the four main streets, meeting near the summit of the hill, in a square called the Diamond, where stands the exchange. The highest point of the ground is near Bishop's gate, where in latter times has been erected a triumphal arch with an equestrian statue of king William the third. The wall was firm, and strengthened by bastions, but totally insufficient to resist the attacks of a regular army, particularly since the town is commanded by hills. The communication of the city with the county of its name, formerly maintained by a ferry, has been rendered more commodious, in the latter part of the eighteenth century, by a wooden bridge, constructed by Lemuel Coxe, an American artist, eleven hundred and sixty-eight feet long, forty broad, supported by upright piers fifty-eight feet in length, and furnished with a draw-bridge, twenty-five feet wide, for the passage of vessels.

On the first alarm of an invasion of England by the prince of Orange, Tyrconnel had withdrawn the garrison of this town, a garrison agreeable to the citizens, as consisting of a well disciplined regiment, mostly protestant, commanded by lord Mountjoy, son of primate Boyle. Soon sensible of the oversight of leaving this post in the hands of the townsmen, the lord-deputy had sent thither the earl of Antrim's regiment, composed entirely of Romanists, Irish and Scottish Highlanders, twelve hundred in number. At the moment when the citizens had received intelligence of the intended massacre, and were deliberating

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liberating on measures for their safety, they were alarmed to the highest pitch by a letter from Limavady, a village twelve miles distant, giving them an account of the arrival there of the destined garrison on its march, a body of men of a terrible appearance, tall, ferocious in aspect, turbulent in demeanour, and followed by a disorderly crowd of women and children. In the midst of tumult, perturbation, and discordant counsels, when submission seemed to be the general design, when two officers had entered the city to provide quarters, and an advanced party appeared within three hundred yards of the ferry-gate, nine young men of the populace drew their swords in a paroxysm of ardour, snatched the keys of the city, raised the draw-bridge, locked the ferry-gate, were soon joined by numbers of their own rank, secured the other gates, and seized the magazine. The enthusiasm of the nine youths, communicated immediately to the populace, soon pervaded all ranks; and the citizens, reinforced by a conflux from the country, resolved on defence, choosing Philips for their governor, who had sent them the intelligence from Limavady. While Cairnes, the principal person among them, was commissioned to represent their situation in London, and to solicit succours from the prince of Orange, the magistrates and graver citizens addressed the lord-deputy, through the medium of Mountjoy, ascribing the exclusion of the king's troops to the ungovernable fury of the populace, frantic by the fears of massacre; and declaring their resolution to confine themselves to the defence of their lives against a lawless

lawless rabble, without violating their allegiance. On the arrival of Lord Mountjoy, and Lundy, his lieutenant colonel, with orders to reduce them, they agreed, after several conferences, to admit him on conditions. Stipulations were made that a free pardon should be granted in fifteen days; that, in the mean time, two companies only should be quartered in the city; that the troops, afterwards admitted, should be composed of at least one half protestants; and that all should be left at liberty who might wish to remove.

A spirit of resistance appeared to be diffused from Derry through other parts of Ulster, where associations were formed under the direction of Mount-Alexander, Blaney, Rawdon, Skeffington, and other leaders. County councils were nominated, and a general council, which was to meet at Hillsborough in the county of Down, for the appointment of officers, and the general direction of affairs. In their publications they declared, that they had united for self-defence, and for the preservation of their religion; that they resolved to act in subordination to the government of England, and to promote the convention of a free parliament. At present they were left to their own resources, as no assistance could be procured from England. As Ormond, the great patron of the Irish protestants, was now dead, their applications were made through Clarendon, a man disagreeable to the prince of Orange, and therefore not admitted to his presence till after various delays, nor otherwise received than with coldness: When the prince at length was obliged

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Protestant
associations.

to

CHAPTER. to receive a formal address from the protestants of
 XXXI. Ireland, unable in the midst of multiplied difficulties to afford them relief, he returned a concise and phlegmatic reply: "I thank you; I will take care of you."

Treachery
 of Hamil-
 ton and
 Tyrconnel.

Terrified, and admonished by his counsellors of the desperate state of James, Tyrconnel, through the medium of some protestants in Ireland, conveyed intimations to London of his willingness to resign. Richard Hamilton, a catholic general, who had been sent into England to oppose the prince, and had become his prisoner, proposed to repair to the lord-deputy and to engage him to abdicate his government; promising in case of failure to return. This general had served with reputation in France, whence he had been ordered to retire, on account of some bold addresses, in the style of love, to the princess of Conti, the king's daughter, and had been hitherto accounted a man of honour; but, on his arrival in Dublin, he assured the chief governor that affairs in England had assumed a very promising aspect for the restoration of James, advised him strenuously to maintain his post, and remained to assist him in his military operations. Determined on adherence to James, Tyrconnel yet declared with such warmth to the protestant lords his resolution to submit to the prince of Orange, that Mountjoy was persuaded to accompany Rice, the chief baron, on an embassy to James in France, to represent to him the expediency of surrendering Ireland to the power then ruling in England. On his arrival in Paris, Mountjoy was committed to the prison of the Bastile, while

while Rice solicited succours for the Jacobites, or partizans of James; and Tyrconnel, disavowing the stipulations which he had solemnly made, forced their few remaining arms from the protestants in the districts under his power, who were also plundered of their horses and other property, and insulted by the soldiery. A son of Sir William Temple, by whose advice the treacherous Hamilton had been sent by the prince into Ireland, was so violently grieved at the effects of his own mistake, that in a paroxysm of remorse he put an end to his existence.

In Munster lord Inchiquin, in Connaught lord Kingston, endeavoured, at the head of some considerable forces, to support the protestant interest in these provinces; while the northerns with greater numbers, but little arms, ammunition, or skill, besieged unsuccessfully Carrickfergus, and proclaimed king William and queen Mary in the north-eastern towns. Commanded to surrender their arms, and to dissolve their associations, by a proclamation signed by Lord Granard and some other protestant members of the council, as well as by catholics, and finding themselves threatened by general Hamilton, who marched against them with a formidable force, the northern protestants abandoned Newry, and retired gradually to Dromore, where they were overtaken by the enemy, and, flying from their superior arms and numbers, were pursued with slaughter. They gained Hillsborough; but quickly abandoning that post, and continuing their flight, they seemed totally broken, some escaping to Britain, others accepting protections from the Jacobite army.

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testants.
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About four thousand, however, remaining in a body, under Mount-Alexander, Rawdon, and other leaders, made a stand at Colerain, on the lower Bann, to prevent the passage of that river by the enemy. To this post lord Blaney conducted his party from Armagh. By his alertness he foiled an attempt made to intercept him in his march by the garrisons of Charlemount and Mountjoy at the pass of Artrea, where having seized the bridge at the moment of their approach, he defeated them with great slaughter. The garrison of Colerain repelled an assault, but abandoned the place, on finding themselves in danger of being surrounded by the hostile troops, who passed the river in boats. The protestants of the north-west had poured into Enniskillen, as their place of refuge; and now those of the north-east effected a retreat from Colerain, by various routes, to Derry.

Conduct of
Lundy.
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Since the unfortunate departure of Mountjoy by the treacherous conduct of Tyrconnel, the government of Derry, and the chief direction of the north-eastern associations, had devolved on Lundy, a man of warm professions of zeal for the protestants, but justly suspected of secret attachment to James, as by an inactive and apparently irresolute conduct, not attributed to real want of courage, he had injured the affairs of the associated northerns, and obliged them to abandon posts thought sufficiently tenable. To this man was William, in the midst of complicated embarrassments, obliged to send a commission to command in Derry; yet this governor declined to

to take publicly the oaths to the new king, under pretence that he had already sworn on board the ship of an officer named Hamilton, who, together with this commission, had brought a supply of arms, ammunition, and money. As the oaths were refused by some other officers, military and civil, distrust pervaded the people, and many were preparing to abandon a post which seemed destined to be betrayed, when Cairnes, their agent, arrived from London with assurances that troops and supplies were prepared for the service of Ireland. But when their resolution was formed for defence, they received the discouraging news of the landing of James with a hostile force in Munster.

This prince, on his flight from England, had thrown himself into the arms of the king of France, Louis the fourteenth, who entertained him with generosity, and ordered assistance to be furnished in his attempt to regain his dominions. After various obstacles, and mortifying delays by the intrigues of ministers, he at length embarked at Brest, with an army of twelve hundred of his native subjects and a hundred French officers, attended by ten ships of the line, six frigates, and three fireships. Louis, at parting, expressed in a friendly and sprightly tone his wish that he might never see him again. Louis is also said to have made an offer of a French army, and James to have replied, with affected heroism, that "he would recover his dominions by the assistance of his own subjects, or perish in the attempt." Landing at Kinsale, on the twelfth of March, after

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a voyage of five days, he was received at Cork by Tyrconnel, now created a duke, with a mark of congratulation well suited to the dispositions of both, the execution of a magistrate who had been imprisoned for having declared in favour of William. Entering Dublin, on the twenty-fourth of the same month, with a magnificent train, he was met by the whole body of Romish ecclesiastics in their proper habits, with the host borne in solemn procession, to which he paid the most devout adoration amid the acclamations of a vast concourse. Among his answers to the addresses, which were presented by all orders, he promised to the protestant clergy of the established church protection and redress, to the university the support and even enlargement of its privileges; promises soon egregiously violated. He instantly removed all the remaining protestant members of the privy council, and issued five proclamations; commanding, in the first, all his subjects of every persuasion to unite against the prince of Orange, and all protestants, under the severest penalties, who had lately abandoned the kingdom, to return and receive his protection; in the second, for the prevention of robberies, all catholics, not in actual military service, to deposit their arms in their several habitations; in the third, provisions to be brought to his troops; in the fourth, money to be received at a higher value; and in the fifth, a parliament to meet at Dublin on the seventh of the ensuing May.

Proceedings
of Henry.

Among the northern protestants, against whom their former monarch was now to direct his military operations,

operations, a most active and courageous partizan was George Walker, a clergyman of an English family from Yorkshire, rector of Donoghmore in the county of Tyrone. He was commander of a regiment which himself had raised ; and on the news of the march of James from Dublin, with a formidable army, to reduce Derry, he flew to that post, and entreated Lundy to meet and engage the enemy, before their whole force should be collected. This governor, with an affectation of strenuous exertion, posted his troops at the river called the Finn-water to prevent the passage of the enemy ; but in the moment of danger he abandoned the pass, and took refuge in Derry, shutting the gates against many of his party, who fled to the same asylum. Two English regiments had arrived in the harbour, whose colonels, Cunningham and Richards, advised Lundy by letter to re-occupy the abandoned passes, strengthened, as he might be, by their reinforcement. Though in his written answer the governor, whose orders they were to obey, directed them to land, by his verbal message he commanded that the colonels, leaving their men on board, should, with some other officers, come to the city to consult on expedient measures, when provisions, he said, for ten-days remained not in the town, even if all unnecessary persons should be removed. A council of war, composed of eleven officers from the fleet and five of the garrison, agreed in consequence of Lundy's representations, that the post was not tenable. and that the principal officers should privately

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The town council, to whom these resolutions were communicated, agreed to propose terms of capitulation to James, who was advancing toward the city: but when the people saw their leaders flying, and the English regiments, contrary to the assurances of Lundy, preparing to depart with all the provisions intended for their relief, enraged to phrensy they rose in a tumult; slew an officer who was running from the city; wounded another; received with acclamations captain Murray, who entered with a small reinforcement, in the critical moment, in spite of the governor's interdiction; and, while this brave man was expostulating with Lundy, they ran to the walls, and pointing their cannon, fired on James and his advanced party, who were approaching to take possession of the town, killing an officer near the royal presence. Electing George Walker and one major Baker for their governors, the troops were, by the direction of these commanders, formed into eight regiments, consisting of seven thousand three hundred and sixty-one combatants, of whom three hundred and forty-one were officers. While Lundy was permitted to escape to the ships in disguise under a load of match, the troops were regularly distributed to their several posts, and various arrangements made for defence. For this indeed they were extremely ill provided, not having even one well-mounted cannon, not one grenade, no engineer, no knowledge of tactics, no person

person of military skill, the fortifications mean, scanty stores for subsistence, thirty thousand persons useless in war to maintain, and among these some secret foes who conveyed intelligence to the enemy; while the besieging army, commanded by James, their late king, in person, consisted of twenty thousand men, well-furnished, and conducted by officers of experience.

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Having failed in his attempts to procure a surrender by persuasion, James began to assail the town on the seventeenth of April, and met with a most obstinate, though irregular, resistance. The sallies of the besieged were fierce and destructive. In such enterprizes any officer volunteered to be leader, and any soldiers, who at the moment were fired with the spirit of adventure, volunteered to follow him. When the besiegers were battering the walls, the garrison sent them advice, that the trouble and expence of this might be saved, since the gates were always open, and afforded a more commodious entrance than any breaches which could be made. Having continued his assaults for eleven days without the least prospect of success, and having gained no other advantage than the reduction of the little fort of Culmore, distant four miles from the town, an advantage suspected to have been procured by bribery, James left his forces with orders to them to continue the siege, and returned to Dublin, peevishly exclaiming, that if his army had been English, he would have taken the town by storm, in spite of all opposition. Baffled in their assaults, the besiegers hoped for success from famine, while the

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besieged were encouraged to bear their distresses till relief should arrive from England. Eighteen clergymen of the protestant establishment, and seven dissenting divines, shared cheerfully the labours and dangers of the siege; and, in their turns, every day, collected the people in the cathedral church, where they endeavoured, by such strains of eloquence as their circumstances inspired, to raise the devotional spirit to an enthusiasm of military ardour. Such, however, is the unfortunate propensity of mankind to religious discord, that, even in the hour of calamity and peril, animosities would have arisen between the two sects of protestants, if they had not been prevented by the endeavours of the discreet and truly pious on both sides.

When the affliction of the garrison had arisen to an almost intolerable pitch by hunger, and by disease, the consequence of deficient food, fatigue, and confinement, they descried thirty ships in Lough-Foyle, which they rightly concluded to have been sent from England for the purpose of their relief. This fleet contained arms, ammunition, provisions, and troops, under the command of Kirk, a man of infernal cruelty, who had signalized his loyalty to James, on the suppression of Monmouth's rebellion, by horrible atrocities committed on the defenceless people in the west of England, and had, like all others of such mock loyalty, immediately deserted that prince, when fortune turned against him. A man of such a temper would make no exertions from motives of humanity. Overrating the danger of

of

of the attempt of relieving the town, he hesitated, returned no cheerful signals in answer to those of the garrison, and, having thus encouraged the enemy, who had been terrified almost into a dereliction of the siege at his appearance, to fortify the passage against him, he at length sailed away on thirteenth of June. After some time the besieged received intelligence from him, that, unable to force his way to their city, he had sailed round to Lough-Swilly, to try whether he could make a diversion in their favour, and send supplies to the protestants posted at Enniskellen. He endeavoured to comfort them with assurances that he would still relieve them, that in Britain all went in favour of king William, that more forces from England were hourly expected, and that the enemy would not be able to continue the siege much longer; but he at the same time advised them “to be good husbands of their provisions,” a counsel of no very consolatory nature.

When, in the increasing distresses of the garrison, Baker, one of their governors, died, and an officer, Atrocity of Rosen. named Mitchelburne, was elected in his place, general Hamilton endeavoured to move them by persuasion to a surrendry; but, instead of yielding to his advice, they reproached him with his treachery; and, though many were scarcely able to support their arms, they threatened death to any who should mention a capitulation. Marshal Rosen, a German officer, who had accompanied James from France in the quality of lieutenant-general, and was conducting the siege with vigour and skill, enraged to

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fury at the obstinacy of the besieged, declared that, if the town should not be surrendered on or before the first of July, all of their faction through the whole country to Ballyshannon, Charlemount, Belfast, Innishowen, protected and unprotected indiscriminately, should be consigned to plunder, and driven under the city walls, there to perish by hunger, unless relieved by the surrendry of the town. As on the day appointed no symptoms of submission appeared, the threat was executed with all the circumstances of horror. All the protestants through a great extent of country, most of whom had protections from king James, were, without the least exception in favour of sex, age, weakness, or sickness, collected and driven under the walls, on the second of July, by soldiers, who goaded them forward with precipitation. On the first appearance of this confused and shrieking multitude, hurrying toward the town, the garrison fired on them, in a mistake, as enemies; but were transported into the extremity of resentment, when they discovered the reality, and confirmed in the resolution of perishing rather than they should submit to an enemy destitute of humanity and every generous principle. Many of the miserable people, thus doomed to suffer a hideous death of hunger beneath the walls, had the magnanimity to implore the garrison to persevere, without regard to their affliction, in an obstinate defence against an atrocious foe, whose object was the extermination of them all. A gallows was erected in view of the besiegers, and assurances sent them, that all the prisoners taken by the garrison should

should be immediately hanged, unless their friends were allowed to depart; and confessors were humanely admitted to prepare these prisoners for death; but the execution was prevented by the release of the people in consequence of orders from James, to whom in Dublin intelligence had been rapidly conveyed of the infamous transaction. Some of the ablest men of this devoted crowd, notwithstanding the enemy's vigilance, had stolen into the town, and with them about five hundred useless persons to increase the distress of the garrison. Those who, without the walls, had survived the miseries of three days, destitute of sustenance and shelter, were permitted to return to their empty habitations, where most of them perished; as the ravages of the enemy had left them no means of subsistence.

Reduced to the extremity of distress, and endeavouring to support the remains of life by such miserable food as the flesh of dogs and vermin, even tallow and hides, nor able to find more than two days' provisions of such substances, the garrison was still assured by the harangues of Walker, in a prophetic spirit, that God would relieve them; and men, reduced almost to shadows, made desperate sallies, but were unable to pursue their advantage. On the thirtieth of July, when their minds were yet warm with one of these harangues, they descried three ships in Logh-Foyle, steering directly towards them. Fearing a surrendry of the town, and consequent blame to himself, Kirk had at length resolved to make a hazardous attempt for their relief, which

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which he might have made at first with much less danger. The anxiety of the besieged was roused to the highest pitch, while the besiegers rushed ardently to their batteries on the shore to prevent the passage of the vessels, which consisted of two ships loaded with provisions, and the Dartmouth frigate, their guardship. Where the lake narrowed into the harbour of the city, the shore was lined with artillery; and a boom, formed of strong timber, joined by iron chains, and strengthened with thick cables, extended across the channel between two opposite batteries. While the besiegers poured a tremendous fire of cannon and musketry on the ships, which was answered with all their might by the crews, the foremost of the victuallers struck with velocity against the boom, and broke it, but, rebounding with violence ran aground. The besieged on the crowded walls were struck with dumb consternation, while the enemy, rending the air with shouts, were preparing to board the victualler; but, by the recoil of her own guns, as she fired at the assailants, she was again set afloat, and, passing the boom, was followed by the other vessels, to the relief of the famished garrison. The enemy retired in despair toward Strabane, having lost eight thousand men in the siege; and the miserably emaciated defenders of the city scarcely waited to taste food, till they exerted their small remain of strength to pursue them, and some lost their lives in adventuring rashly on the rear guard. Four thousand three hundred of the garrison had survived the hardships of this memorable siege of a hundred
and

and five days duration; but of these above a thousand were incapable of service.

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The flight of the besiegers was precipitated by the news of a great victory gained by the protestants collected at Enniskillen, who had from the first greatly embarrassed the adherents of James. This little town, situate in the county of Fermanagh, on an island in the narrow part of Logh Erne, or the connecting channel of the two lakes, was inhabited by some resolute protestants, who had refused admittance to two Romish companies of Tyrconnel's army, and afterwards afforded protection to the protestants of the north-western parts, who took refuge there. These protestants, electing Gustavus Hamilton for their commander, proclaimed William and Mary; and, happily free from the embarrassment of any such treacherous or cowardly officer as Lundy, they acted with a spirit formidable and destructive to their adversaries. Lord Galmoy marched to reduce them, and invested Crom Castle, their frontier fortress, situate on Logh Erne: but, unable to bring his cannon to the scene of action, he attempted to intimidate the garrison into a surrendry by counterfeit great guns. Having employed eight horses to draw two pieces formed of tin, and so coloured as to resemble cannon, he threatened to open a battery immediately on the fort; but a defiance was returned; a man with a long fowling piece shot one of the pretended engineers from the castle; and the garrison, reinforced from Enniskillen, sallied, drove the enemy from their trenches, and returned in triumph with much booty. The courage and
obstinacy

Operations
of the En-
niskilleners.

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obstinacy of the Enniskilleners were confirmed by the treachery of Galmoy, who, having taken two youths with commissions from William, proposed to exchange them for one of his own officers. The latter was returned to him, in confidence of his honourable performance of his part of the bargain; but the former were executed in a most flagrant breach of faith. The excursions of the Enniskilleners were so fierce and successful, that the terror of their name reached even to the capital; and, having procured arms and ammunition by a victory at Belturbet, and supplies from Kirk, they became such an object, that three armies were employed to attack them at once from three different quarters, under three generals of reputation and ability.

From Belturbet Macarthy, from Connaught Sarsfield, and from the north Fitzjames, duke of Berwick, advanced against Enniskillen. From the ignorance of their danger the protestants of this quarter found their safety. Informed only of the approach of Sarsfield's army, they rushed against it with a rapidity unexpected and astonishing, surprized the camp, and routed the whole body with great slaughter. To impede the progress of Berwick, whom they found advancing on the other side, some companies were sent to seize a post; but these, carried by their ardour beyond the bounds prescribed, were surprized and slaughtered; yet, on the approach of the main body, Berwick thought proper to avoid the shock of these impetuous troops by a retreat. Macarthy with a victorious army, which had suppressed lord Inchiquin in Munster, continued his progress,

progress, and invested the castle of Crom, on the thirtieth of July. An officer named Berry, detached to its relief, retired from a superior body of the foe, was pursued, was attacked, and was victorious; and, on the arrival of the main bodies on both sides, a general engagement took place near Newtown Butler and Lisnaskea, from each of which places this battle has taken its name. The troops of Macarthy were defeated and pursued with dreadful slaughter by the Enniskilleners, commanded by Wolsey, an officer of Kirk. No quarter in general was given except to officers. Two thousand fell by the sword, five hundred were drowned in the lake, and as many were made prisoners, among whom was the general, desperately wounded, and, in the anguish of grief, expressing a fear lest his wounds might not prove mortal,

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Irish parliament of James—Repeal of the acts of settlement—Enormous act of attainder—Iniquitous plan of coinage—Attack on the university—Persecution of the protestants—Delay of succour from England—Progress of Schomberg—He encamps at Dundalk—Calamitous condition of his troops—Military operations—Decampment of Schomberg—Discontents in England—Various operations—Victory of the Enniskilleners—Capture of James's vessels in the bay of Dublin—Surrendry of Charlemount—Landing of King William.

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Parliament
of James.
1689.

WHILE the jacobite forces were so fiercely and successfully resisted by the protestants collected at Derry and Enniskillen, James and the principal catholics were busy in Dublin in the framing of laws, and a general arrangement of affairs. In the Irish parliament, convened by this monarch, on the seventh of May, were only seven or eight protestant members in the upper house, of whom three were bishops; and six in the lower, of whom two were representatives of the university. In his speech from the throne the king declared his abhorrence of invading the rights of either conscience or property; and his readiness to assent to wholesome laws in general, and to the relieving

relieving of such persons as had been injured by the acts of settlement, “as far forth| as might be consistent with reason, justice, and the public good.”

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He published a declaration expressive of the favour shewn by him to protestant subjects, and his protection of their civil and religious rights, assuring all persons of a free pardon, who should return to their obedience in twenty-four days after his intended appearance in England. If he really intended, as true policy would dictate, to regulate his conduct by such rules, the violence of the factions, into whose hands he had fallen, deprived him of the ability. The catholics were determined to push matters to extremity in their own favour, without a decent regard to the interest of their monarch; and the French ambassador, d’Avaux, who had accompanied him into Ireland, affected to take the lead, and to dictate, in his council. By the influence of the latter all military preferments were given to Frenchmen; and the former consoled themselves, in the midst of their indignation at this partiality, by the opportunity afforded them of ruining the protestants.

Instead of provision for the relief of those who had suffered by the acts of settlement and explanation, a bill for the repeal of these acts was received in the lower house with a tumultuous shout of joy. Daly, the catholic judge, spoke against it with such severity, that the commons in a rage ordered him to beg pardon at the bar of their house; but were suddenly so delighted by false intelligence of the surrendry

Repeal of
the acts of
settlement.

CHAP. XXXII. } rendry of Derry, that, in an overflow of good humour, they remitted his punishment. In the upper house it was opposed, on principles of justice and policy, by the protestant bishop of Meath, who is said to have thus acted by the private advice of James. This monarch, how greatly soever hostile to the acts of settlement, could not be ignorant that the passing of such a bill must prove highly prejudicial to his interest, as being most highly offensive to the English of even his own party; yet, yielding to the combined wishes of the catholic Irish and the French ambassador, he gave his assent, rejecting every application against the bill of repeal. This bill contained a preamble, which pronounced the Irish clear from any guilt of rebellion, who had taken arms against the existing government in 1641, and a clause, by which were forfeited and vested in the king the real estates of all persons, dwelling in the British islands, who acknowledged not the king's power, or aided, or corresponded with, those who rebelled against him, since the first of August of the year sixteen hundred and eighty-eight.

Enormous
act of at-
tainer.

Not contented with an act calculated to deprive of his estate almost every protestant of Ireland capable of writing, this parliament proceeded to an act of attainder, which marked the extreme of intemperate conduct. A number of persons in the service of the prince of Orange, those who had retired from the kingdom and returned not in obedience to the king's proclamation, and numbers of persons resident in Britain, thence presumed to be adherents of

William,

William, were adjudged to death and forfeiture, as guilty of high treason, unless they should surrender within certain periods assigned. Even those who were detained abroad by sickness, or non-age, could not be restored to their estates until they should have proved their innocence. Two thousand four hundred and sixty-one persons, of all orders and conditions, were included in this sentence, many of whom, as Nagle told the king, when he presented to him the bill, “were attainted on such evidence as satisfied the house, and the rest on common fame.” The act was so framed as to preclude the king from all power of pardoning after the first of November 1689, and was carefully concealed, in the chancellor’s custody, from the persons whose lives and properties were thus devoted. When four months had elapsed from the day limited for pardoning, Sir Thomas Southwell obtained a view of it for instructions to his lawyer to draw a warrant for his pardon, which James had promised. When Nagle, enraged at this discovery, declared that the king was merely a trustee for the forfeitures, and had now no power to pardon in this case, the insulted monarch, enslaved by faction, could only impotently complain of the entrenchment on his prerogative by the framing of the bill. Thus this prince, who had imperiously governed the British islands, and might still have continued to rule them arbitrarily, fell by his bigotry into thralldom, into the hands of bigots of his own sect, the most despised of his former subjects.

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Acts of
prerogative.
1689.

Notwithstanding the compulsion which James, in cases violently interesting with the ruling faction, seems to have sustained, he asserted his prerogative in some others where his incomppliance was less meritorious. He assented, among many, to an act for the freedom of Ireland from the statutes enacted by the English parliament, and from appeals to England; and to one which conferred on the Romish clergy all tythes and ecclesiastical dues payable by persons of their own communion; but he defeated a bill for the repeal of Poyning's law; and would not consent to the establishment of inns of court in Ireland for the instruction of students in jurisprudence, an object of ardent wishes to the Irish catholics. The parliament had voted him a subsidy of twenty thousand pounds a month to be levied on lands; but, finding this insufficient, he imposed by proclamation a tax of the same rate on all chattles, by the sole virtue of prerogative, and resented the remonstrance made against it by his council, saying, "If I cannot do this, I can do nothing." As money was wanted still for the support of a large military force, when no remittance was made from France, the king had recourse to an infamous expedient, a most open outrage on justice and humanity.

Iniquitous
plan of
coinage.
1689.

The utensils of one Moore, who had obtained from the late king a patent for the coining of brass money in Ireland, were seized, and a mint was established in Dublin and Limerick, where base metal, such as that of old cannon, was coined into pieces, which were commanded by proclamation to be

be taken as legal payment, with some exceptions, at CHAP. XXXII. the rate of five pounds sterling for the pound weight, worth about four-pence in real value. The king gave his royal promise that, when this money should be coined, he would receive it in all payments, or make full satisfaction in gold and silver: but by subsequent proclamations the nominal value was raised still higher; the original restrictions were removed; the soldiers were paid in this money; it was poured by them and others on the protestants, who were compelled to take it in all payments, for their saleable goods and old debts, in such manner that the obligation of a thousand pounds was discharged by base coin hardly worth thirty shillings. To purchase gold or silver with this money was forbidden on pain of death: and when protestants attempted to exonerate themselves of this base metal by purchasing with it saleable goods, the king forced them to deliver these goods to his agents at a price fixed by himself in the same metal, and exported them to France for his own emolument. James appeared ultimately the only gainer by this infamous project, as in the course of circulation his own party had become finally possessed of the greatest part of the spurious money, at the very time when William had power to suppress it by proclamation.

The seminaries of learning could not be expected to escape the tyranny of this bigoted monarch. The protestant school of Kilkenny, erected by the duke of Ormond, was by a new charter converted into a Roman catholic establishment. Green, who had Attack on the university. 1689. been

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been formerly disappointed of an imaginary professorship in the university of Dublin, was now presented to the governors, with a mandamus to be admitted to the office of a senior fellow. Destitute of the means of subsistence, except the sale of their remaining plate, and exposed to the vengeance of ferocious troops, the governors yet with inflexible courage refused obedience, and pleaded their cause before Sir Richard Nagle, urging the incapacity of Green, the false allegations of his petition, and, above all, the sanctity of their oaths which must be violated by his admission. The fellows and scholars were forcibly ejected by the soldiery; all private and public property seized; the chapel converted into a magazine, the chambers into prisons; but by the intercession of the bishop of Meath, the members obtained their liberty on the express condition that three of them should not meet together on pain of death; and happily one Moor, a Romish ecclesiastic, a man of letters and liberal sentiments, nominated provost by the king, preserved, with the assistance of another of his order, named Macarthy, the library, books, and manuscripts from the ravages of a barbarous army.

Persecution
of the pro-
testants.

The protestant clergy were almost destitute of subsistence, as by late acts they were entitled to tythes from none but persons of their own communion, while the Romish incumbents exacted them from all parties. The protestants in this calamitous period, as is usual with mankind in times of oppression, crowded with unusual fervour to their places

places of worship, a fervour offensive, perhaps alarming, to the Romish government, who prohibited them by proclamation from attending any churches not situate within their respective parishes. Not content with a prohibition which precluded numbers from their worship, since in many places one church only served the purpose in common of two or three parishes, the Romish clergy, with the sanction of magisterial authority, seized protestant churches for their own use, not only in the country, but also in the capital, among which was Christ Church. As James had pledged his promise for the protection of the protestants, he issued, on their remonstrance, a proclamation, commanding the restitution of their churches. But the authority of a sovereign, attached with stupid zeal to a religion which exalts the sacerdotal above the regal power, was despised in this case by the priests of that religion; insomuch that, though he made earnest exertions to enforce his commands, he was completely foiled in the attempt. With the deprivation of churches were other most serious afflictions sustained by the protestants. When they attempted to purchase provisions with the base coin, these were instantly seized for the king's use, and themselves imprisoned, on a feigned supposition of their intending to send supplies to the enemy. That to starve half of them to death and hang the rest, was the plan of the catholics, was declared by some of this party, who at the same time asserted, that matters could never be right until this should have been accomplished.

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plished. Conformably to such a design, when an order was issued in the name of the governor of Dublin, that not more than five protestants should meet together, under pain of death, even in church, affairs were so arranged, that a person of this persuasion could not get a bit of bread, and hardly a drop of drink, in all this capital; for at the door of every bake-house was placed a party of soldiers, who suffered none of this description to approach. "Such representations," says the impartial Leland, "are sometimes derided as the fictions of an enflamed party: but, however improbable these instances of senseless tyranny may appear, they are confirmed by undoubted traditions, received from the sufferers, and transmitted with every circumstance of credibility." Of the truth of this I have had complete conviction from genuine traditions and original writings of persons who sustained hunger during two or three days together.

Delay of
succour.
1689.

An uninterrupted perseverance in the execution of this plan must have soon accomplished its object in places under the power of the catholics, but, beside their want of success against the men of Derry and Enniskillen, they were alarmed by the news of an invasion from England. This invasion had been long delayed, as William, surrounded by a multitude of embarrassments, occasioned by faction, treachery, domestic insurrection, and war with France, had been unable to take vigorous measures for the service of Ireland. A strong squadron from France under Chateau Renault, convoying transports with

arms,

arms, ammunition, and money to James, had arrived in the bay of Bantry, and obtained the advantage in a battle, in the beginning of May, over an inferior fleet of twelve English ships of the line commanded by admiral Herbert. The naval force of the enemy, thus rendered formidable, made the sending of troops to Ireland appear more difficult; and an insurrection in Scotland, conducted by Graham, Viscount Dundee, who defeated an English army, under general Mackay, with great slaughter, at Killycrankie, engaged for some time in that quarter the attention of the government and military force. At length new levies, consisting of eighteen regiments of infantry and five of horse, completed for the service of Ireland, were placed under the command of two foreign officers, duke Schomberg and count Solmes, of whom the latter was second in authority. Unacquainted with the crooked intrigues of cabinets, and impatient of delay, Schomberg, who had received no encouraging answer to his proposal for transporting the troops, by the shortest passage, from Port-Patrick in Scotland, arrived on the twentieth of July at Chester to hasten the embarkation from that port; but was unable, from the want of necessaries, to sail till the twelfth of August, and even then with only ten thousand of his troops and a part of his artillery.

Unopposed by the Irish garrisons, who might have much impeded his debarkation, Schomberg, arriving in the bay of Carrickfergus on the thirteenth of July, and landing at Bangor in the county of Down, sent detachments to take possession of

Progress of
Schomberg.

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Belfast and Antrim, abandoned by the enemy, and laid siege to Carrickfergus with the main body of his forces. A defence of some length might have been made by this town, environed with a wall and moat, but destitute of a covered way, strengthened with bastions, and defended by a castle with two round towers, built on a precipitous rock, which rises near forty feet from the sea, but on the land side not more than twenty. The garrison, having parleyed at the first approach of the besiegers, but meeting with a scornful refusal of the terms demanded, resisted for a few days the operations of a formal siege, and the fire of six vessels which battered the town; and were permitted in the end to march with their arms and some baggage to the next Irish post. Enraged at the cruelties committed by catholic troops, the Scots of Ulster, without regard to the faith of capitulation, rushed furiously on the garrison, wrested their arms from the men, plundered many of them, and were prevented from slaughter only by the vigorous interposition of the general. Schomberg, reinforced by the arrival of the rest of his forces, ordered his artillery to be carried to Carlingford by sea, as the horses belonging to it had not yet been brought, while he directed his march by Lisburne, Hillsborough, and Dromore to Loughbrickland, through a country desolated by the desertion of its inhabitants, since the protestants had fled on former alarms, and the catholics now with their cattle and effects from the English forces.

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The vanguard in this march was formed of the Enniskilleners, whose successes had been completed by the gaining of Sligo, evacuated in a fright by the Irish garrison commanded by Sarsfield. The mean appearance of these men, destitute of all the pomp of war, hardly furnished with its bare necessaries, and unacquainted with regular discipline, quite disappointed the English, prepossessed with a different idea from the well-earned fame of their exploits. Their dauntless and enterprising spirit, notwithstanding the despicable figure of their small horses and accoutrements, might have been signally serviceable on this occasion to the English army, if they had not been too scrupulously restrained by the general within the rules of regular warfare. By this restraint the enemy had leisure to burn, as they retired, the towns of Newry and Carlingford; but were obliged to desist from this course of devastation by a message from Schomberg, who threatened that he would otherwise give no quarter. Dundalk was abandoned without conflagration; and Schomberg, having advanced thus far, encamped about a mile to the north of this town, in low and moist ground, with the mountains of Newry to the east, and a tract composed of hills and bogs intermixed to the north. We find from authentic documents, particularly a letter of doctor Gorge, secretary of Schomberg, that many among the English were inclined to treat the protestants of Ulster as enemies; and that these poor people, though cruelly plundered by Schomberg's men, of the little left them by the Irish, adhered with fidelity to the English army, convinced

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vinced that extermination would be their lot on the final success of the catholics. Such has been generally the unfortunate situation of Irish protestants, doomed on one side to destruction by their catholic compatriots, and confounded with these compatriots by the ignorant part of the English nation.

Encamp-
ment at
Dundalk.
1689.

The advance of Schomberg had struck such terror into the adherents of James, that they would have retired from Drogheda, and even from Dublin, if they had not been prevented by the persuasions of Tyrconnel. The army at Drogheda was augmented to near thirty thousand by reinforcements from the south; and, when intelligence arrived that the English troops had halted, marshal Rosen, declaring that their commander must be in want of something, drew his army toward Dundalk, while Schomberg so fortified his camp that the enemy could not possibly force him to a battle, if they had with even the utmost earnestness attempted it. To halt had been judged necessary by the experienced leader of the English, as his fleet had not yet arrived at Carlingford; as, instead of a country unfit for cavalry by mountains and bogs, through which he had passed, plains now lay before him where his supplies might be intercepted by the numerous horse of the foe; and as his troops, consisting mostly of new levies, unused to hardship, and ill supplied, had, in a fatiguing march, through a dreary region, in rains and inclement weather, become so sickly, that detachments from all the regiments were employed in collecting and conveying to the camp their enfeebled associates, who had been left behind on
the

the roads. In a low and damp situation, in cold and rainy weather, the soldiery, without sufficient food, clothing, or fuel, and without any medicines provided by the surgeons except for wounds, became in their encampment every day more distempered, afflicted with dysenteries, and a burning fever, communicated by contagion from the garrison of Derry. The sick were at first removed to Carlingford; but their increasing numbers soon precluded that resource. Dejection of spirit, despondency, and superstitious terrors, prognosticating their own ruin from fancied omens of foul import, and a place conceived in their disturbed imaginations to be supernaturally inauspicious, prevented exertions for their own relief in the drooping soldiers, who, commanded by the general to build huts for their shelter, too long neglected his orders. So familiarized with death were they at length become, so listless and insensible, that the bodies of the dead were used for seats or shelter by the survivors, who murmured at being deprived of these conveniences by an interment which prevented a still more horrible contamination of the atmosphere.

While sickness was enfeebling the English army the enemy advanced against it, but without any attempt of a vigorous attack. A party, detached to seize the pass of Newry for the annoyance of Schomberg's rear, avoided the encounter, and fled to Sligo. Another, having approached the camp with a menacing aspect, retreated on the advance of some cavalry toward them. The main army next, commanded by James in person, displaying the royal standard,

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Military
operations.
1689.

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standard, marched in such array as seemed to indicate a resolution to storm the English entrenchments. Schomberg, while his officers were impatient for the combat, declared his disbelief of any serious design of assault; but at length, on the near approach of the enemy, the infantry were commanded to stand to their arms, and the cavalry to return from foraging on a signal appointed. These orders were obeyed with such alacrity, that even the sick, roused from their languor, seized their muskets, and were ardent for battle; but in the moment of highest expectation James retired, and led his army to Ardee. Some catholic writers affect to attribute this conduct of James to a mistaken tenderness for his countrymen, the English; and Rosen is said to have exclaimed, "Had your Majesty ten kingdoms you would lose them." But the storming of the entrenchments would have been extremely hazardous; and the English, who were confident of victory, suspected this motion of the Irish to have been made with a design to favour a conspiracy formed within the camp by some French catholics, whose machinations were on the following day discovered. The principal conspirators were executed, and a considerable number of catholic soldiers disarmed and sent to Holland.

Whether king James was blamed *seriously* or not for his abstaining from the hazard of an assault, the English were certainly in a high degree discontented with the caution of their skilful commander, who, in their opinion, ought to have led them to attack an enemy whom they were confident of defeating,
instead

instead of confining them to an insalubrious camp. Schomberg, however, had his reasons for acting on the defensive; but he permitted the Enniskilleners to make excursions in their usual mode of irregular warfare. A thousand of these, by a sudden onset, routed a superior body of Jacobites on their march to Sligo, slew their leader, and acquired much booty. But the enemy gained ground notwithstanding by the conquest of Sligo and Jamestown, whose garrisons were obliged to retreat from the forces of Sarsfield. At one fortress was an obstinate resistance made by a French officer in the service of William, and an honourable capitulation obtained from Sarsfield, who attempted, after the surrendry, to bribe the garrison to enlist with his master, but prevailed on one man only; and even this man deserted, on the following day, to his former associates at Dundalk, with the money, the horse, and accoutrements, with which he had been furnished. On the arrival of some reinforcements from Britain, Schomberg removed his army to a new encampment beyond the town, and ordered the sick to be conveyed on board the ships; but, as these could not contain their numbers, waggons were provided to carry them to Belfast. In the arrangement and execution of this melancholy business, the general, though eighty years of age, exerted a persevering activity, standing for hours at the bridge of Dundalk, in a tempestuous season, giving directions and exhortations. Of the sick some expired in the first efforts to remove them; others on the first shock of
the

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the waggons; and others in the progress of the journey, insomuch that the roads were strewed with their carcases. In the midst of their distresses the troops received intelligence that the enemy was advancing to attack them. Still confident of success, all who had any remains of strength seized their arms with eagerness, and cried aloud that the foe should now suffer for their long confinement to a pestilential spot. The alarm proved false. The catholic troops, who, encamped on high and firm ground, had ascribed the sickness of the heretical army to the vengeance of Heaven, found themselves also at length invaded by disease, and obliged to retire, with diminished and enfeebled numbers, into winter quarters. Retiring in like manner, unmolested by the foe, except in an abortive attempt to seize the pass of Newry, Schomberg distributed his men, reduced to half their complement, in the towns of Ulster, whither unhappily was conveyed the infection of his camp.

Discontents
in England.

In England, where high expectations had been entertained of the success of Schomberg's arms, violent discontents arose on the news of his misfortunes. The house of commons in that kingdom, from the first rise of the war in Ireland, had shewn attention to Irish affairs, and the relief of Irish protestants who had taken refuge among the English. Their artificers were allowed to trade in English corporations; their clergy to hold benefices in England, consistently with their Irish preferments, till the latter should be recovered; and their gentry recommended

recommended to receive subsistence out of the estates of those who were in arms against king William. When this prince declined to lay before the commons the minute books of that committee of the privy-council who managed the affairs of Ireland, they voted that his Majesty's advisers were enemies to the king and kingdom. When they were indulged with the inspection of these books, and found little for their purpose, they examined witnesses, and prayed his Majesty, that Lundy, who had been sent prisoner from Scotland to the tower of London, should be transmitted to Derry, where his misconduct had been flagrant, for trial by a court-martial. On the arrival of George Walker, the sacerdotal warrior, in London, in the November of 1689, with an address to the king from the people of Derry, he was presented with five thousand pounds, invited to an entertainment by the city of London, and received through their speaker, for himself and those who had served under him, the thanks of the commons, who, on his petition for the relief of the orphans and widows of the combatants killed in the defence of Derry, addressed the king to distribute for this purpose ten thousand pounds. Informed that the misfortunes of Schomberg had been caused by the misconduct of one Shales, purveyor to the army, who had failed to supply the troops with necessaries, the commons presented addresses repeatedly to his Majesty. Shales was committed to prison; but the king declined to inform them by whose advice he had been employed. They,

CHAP. on the other hand, declined his Majesty's gracious
 XXXII. offer, who proposed that themselves should nominate commissioners to take care of all preparations for the service of Ireland. Though pleased with the royal condescension in this instance, they renewed their addresses; and the king, who, mortified and distracted by contending factions, had once entertained thoughts of relinquishing the English crown, and retiring to Holland, formed at length the more fortunate resolution of committing to his queen the reins of the English government, and of leading in person his forces in Ireland.

Various
 operations,
 1690.

Restored gradually to health by wholesome food and warm quarters, the troops of Schomberg were inspired by the news of their sovereign's intention, and by the successes of the Enniskilleners. These fierce irregulars, having seized and fortified Belurbet, early in the February of 1690, proceeded thence, in the number of a thousand, under the command of the victorious Wolsey, to surprize the town of Cavan; but were unexpectedly intercepted by four thousand Jacobites, led by the duke of Berwick, detached from the main army at Ardee. The northerns, undaunted by this vast superiority, made a furious onset, drove the enemy from the field, and burst into the town. But here their irregularity might have caused their destruction; for, while they were occupied in plundering, the enemy rallied at the fort, and were proceeding to fall upon them in their disorder; when, forced from their
 booty

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allegiance, he had ridden hastily to the shore at the head of his guards. The fortress of Charlemount, which had been considered by Schomberg, in his progress toward the south, in the foregoing year, as too strong to be attempted, was in the following spring attacked by Caillemote, a gallant French officer in the service of William, who, taking post on the river Blackwater, streightened the garrison, which was afterwards invested with a closer siege. A vigorous defence was made by Sir Taig O'Regan, the governor, a good officer, though of rude manners, who returned no other answer to the summons than these words, "the old knave Schomberg shall not have this castle." Five hundred men, bringing a small supply of ammunition and provisions to the garrison, gained an entrance to the fortress with little opposition; but were, in their attempts to return, repeatedly driven back. Enraged at their want of success, and dreading a failure of provisions from so many mouths, the governor swore that they must either force their way through the enemy, or remain exposed outside of the castle; and they were obliged to make their lodging on the counterscarp and dry ditch within the palisades. Famine at length compelled a surrendry. O'Regan parleyed; and, by shewing to the English envoy a number of casks, apparently full of provisions, yet containing none, except a thin layer deceptiously placed at top, he imposed a belief of his being able to sustain a much longer siege, and was thereby permitted to march from the place with all the honours of war.

The

The army of Schomberg received fresh reinforcements of English and Dutch troops, of Brandenburgers from Germany, and was at last rejoiced by the arrival of king William himself, who landed at Carrickfergus on the fourteenth of June in the year 1690.

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C H A P. XXXIII.

Progress of king William—Proceedings of king James—Reconnoitering at the Boyne—William wounded—Battle of the Boyne—Flight of James—State of Dublin—Proceedings of William—Foreign transactions—Proceedings of the catholics—Progress of William—Reduction of the south eastern towns—Repulse of Douglas at Athlone—Description of Limerick—Attack of Limerick—Artillery destroyed by Sarsfield—Storming of Limerick—Repulse—Return of William from Ireland—His character.

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Progress of
William.
1690.

HAVING received by Walker an address from the northern clergy, and published a proclamation to suppress lawless violence, king William advanced without delay from Belfast, by Lisburne, to Hillsborough. Here a yearly pension of twelve hundred pounds, which was afterwards inserted in the civil list, and made payable from the exchequer, was granted, by his warrant, out of the customs of Belfast, to the dissenting clergy of Ulster, of whom not a few had exerted a zeal and courage against the jacobites, and all had suffered by the calamity of war.

war. "I came not to Ireland to let grass grow under my feet," was the reply of this wise and martial monarch to some officers who advised caution; and, sensible of the importance of dispatch, he reviewed his assembled forces at Loughbrickland, whence he advanced southward without loss of time. In this review, to the surprize of the officers and the delight of the soldiers, instead of contenting himself with a general survey from some convenient point, as had been expected, he rode through the midst of the troops, examining with eagerness and close attention the state of every regiment, notwithstanding a storm and clouds of dust with which he was incommoded. In his march he lived as a soldier, riding all the day with an advanced party, and taking his quarters in the camp at night, with less attention to his own accommodation than to that of his men, insomuch that, when he was requested to sign an order for wine for his own table, he exclaimed with emotion, "let *them* not want; I shall drink water." The forces of James retired before him from Dundalk and Ardee, and took post on the southern side of the Boyne, near Drogheda, to the northern side of which river the army of William arrived on the thirtieth of June, while his fleet coasted slowly in view, ready to supply him with provisions and other necessaries.

James, who had imagined William to be detained in England by violent factions, surprised at the news of his arrival, not until six days after his landing at Carrickfergus, marched with six thousand

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Proceedings
of James.
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sand French infantry to the main body of his troops at the Boyne, leaving Dublin under a guard of militia commanded by Lutterel, the governor. As the French monarch had promised to send, as soon as the squadron attending William should have returned, a fleet of frigates into the Irish channel, to destroy the transports of that prince, and thereby to detain him in Ireland, until domestic insurrection, aided by invasion, might operate in Britain to the restoration of its former sovereign, James was advised by his council of officers to decline an engagement, to retire to the Shannon with his cavalry and some foot, to strengthen his garrisons, to protract the war by a defensive plan, and thus to await the result of machinations in Britain, and the probable wasting of William's army in a country of experienced insalubrity to English constitutions. On the other hand the king declared his resolution of maintaining his post, and his satisfaction in the opportunity of a decisive battle; alledging that his abandoning of the capital would operate, as an acknowledgement of his inferiority, to the desertion of the Irish, who were apt to judge merely from appearances, and, which would be worse, to the discouragement of the schemes formed by his friends in Britain for his restoration. From the force of his expressions his officers conceived the expectation of his taking an active and determined part in the approaching battle: yet he betrayed his diffidence by his precaution in sending Sir Patrick Trant, one of his commissioners of revenue, to en-

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gage a ship at Waterford for his conveyance to France in case of his discomfiture.

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Reconnoitering at
the Boyne

William, intent on dispatch and decision, advanced toward the Boyne, at the dawn, on the thirtieth of June, with his army in three columns, and arrived at nine o'clock, at the head of his vanguard, within two miles of Drogheda, seated on both sides of that river. From a hill to the west of this town he reconnoitered the position of James's army; and, as the view was partly intercepted by some hills on the opposite side of the river, he proceeded with some officers, for more distinct observation, within musket shot of a ford opposite to the village of Oldbridge, thence to some distance westward, and, at length alighting for refreshment, seated himself on a rising ground with his attendants. As Berwick, Tyrconnel, and other leaders of the Jacobites, were reconnoitering on their side, they discovered the situation of William, and formed a plan for his destruction. About forty horsemen, appearing in a ploughed field opposite to his ground, in a short time retired, leaving two field-pieces, which they had concealed in their center, planted, and masked under a hedge. At the instant of his remounting, a man and two horses, on a line with the king, at some distance, were slain by one bullet; and another immediately succeeding, grazed the river's banks, rose, and slanted on his right shoulder with a superficial wound. As, from the appearance of his attendants, who crowded round him in confusion, a belief of his death was entertained by the enemy,

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a universal shout of joy pervaded the Irish camp, the news flew rapidly to Dublin, and thence was carried to Paris, where extravagant rejoicings, and the damp of disappointment on the receipt of the true intelligence, marked the high opinion malignantly entertained by Louis of the abilities of William.

While some squadrons of the jacobite cavalry descended to the river to take advantage of the supposed consternation among the Williamite forces from the imagined death of their king, the prince rode through his camp to prevent false alarms, his artillery fired on the hostile troops, and the cannonade continued on both sides till the close of the evening. Of deserters from the enemy one, who appeared of some note, so magnified their numbers, as seemed somewhat to alarm king William; but Cox, the under-secretary of Sir Robert Southwell, the secretary of state, leading the deserter through the English camp, and asking him to what number he computed the Williamite forces, received an answer indicating more than double the real amount. At nine o'clock in the evening William held a council of war, not to deliberate, but to receive his orders for passing the river on the next morning in face of the enemy. Duke Schömberg, unable to persuade him to relinquish his hazardous enterprize, or to seize the bridge of Slane, distant three miles to the west, so as to flank the enemy, and prevent their retreat through the pass of Duleek, retired in disgust, and received the order of battle in his tent, declaring that "it was the first ever sent to him."

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This bridge also in the camp of James was likewise an object of importance with the generals, and undervalued by the monarch. When, in a council of war, Hamilton recommended the sending of eight regiments to secure it, and James proposed the employing of fifty dragoons on that service, the former bowed in astonishment, and said no more on that subject. William once more rode through his camp at midnight with a blaze of torches, examined the several posts, issued his final orders, and both armies prepared for battle.

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In respect of numbers the armies of James and William were not widely unequal, the former consisting of thirty-three thousand, the latter of thirty-six thousand men; nor in point of discipline was the difference great, as the French troops of James were veterans, and the Irish a considerable time practised in military operations. The advantage of tactics may, on the whole amount, have been on the side of William, whose forces were composed of English, Enniskilleners, Dutch, Danes, Brandenburgers, and Hugonots, or French protestants, who had fled from their native country on account of religious persecution. The advantage of James lay in the strength of his position; that of William in his own mental abilities, which had long proved the bulwark of Europe against the otherwise irresistible power of France. The camp of the Jacobites extended in two lines, from the fortified town of Drogheda on their right, filled with Irish soldiers, to a morass, hardly passable, on their left, three miles eastward

Battle of the
Boyne.
1690.

eastward of the bridge of Slane. In their front was the Boyne, fordable in some places, but the fords were deep and dangerous, with rugged banks, defended by some breastworks, with huts and hedges convenient to be lined with infantry. James with his guards took his station in the rear, on an eminence where stood the church and village of Donore. Three miles farther to the south was the pass of Duleek, through which he was to retire in case of defeat. William arranged his army in three divisions with orders to pass the river in three different places; the right wing under count Schomberg, son of the duke, and general Douglas, the former commanding the cavalry, the latter the foot, at some fords discovered on the west near the bridge of Slane; the centre under duke Schomberg in front of the Irish army; and the left wing under the king in person, at a ford on the east between his camp and Drogheda.

The right wing, early in the morning, marching with rapidity up the river, crossed, before the troops, sent to oppose them, arrived, unresisted, except by a regiment of dragoons, who fled after the loss of seventy of their men. The Jacobite forces, who had come too late to dispute the passage of the river, formed in two lines to prevent the further progress of the enemy; while Douglas and count Schomberg advanced against them, at first with their squadrons of horse intermingled with the battalions of infantry, but afterwards with the cavalry drawn to the right, by which they considerably outflanked their

their antagonists. But the ground was unfavourable to the Williamites, intersected, next the fords, by deep ditches, hardly surmountable by the cavalry, and occupied beyond these by the bog which flanked the Jacobite camp on the west. Having forced their way through the intersected grounds, the infantry of Douglas plunged into the bog, while the cavalry found a firm passage to the right. Their opponents, astonished at the intrepidity and perseverance, with which they surmounted every obstacle, fled toward Duleek, and were pursued with some slaughter.

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In the centre the passage was not effected without opposition. Opposite to Oldbridge, the Dutch guards first on the right, and, next in order on the left, the Hugonots, Enniskilleners, Brandenburgers, and English, plunged into the river to the middle or the breast, supporting their muskets above their heads. The Dutch, having gained the opposite bank, in the midst of an ineffectual fire poured from the breastworks, hedges, and houses, drove the Irish from their posts; and, advancing, sustained the successive attacks of one body of infantry and two of cavalry, till the Hugonots and Enniskilleners, coming to their assistance, repulsed a third body of horse with considerable slaughter. General Hamilton, in the mean time, to oppose the passage of the English and Hugonots, had led the Irish infantry to the margin of the Boyne, as the post of honour, which their officers had insisted on holding, as natives, in preference to the French, whom James would

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would have appointed to that important station. The Irish infantry, however, were driven from their post, but their horse charged with such fury, that they broke a squadron of Danes, and pursued them across the river. On their return from this pursuit, they broke also the Hugonot infantry, who were unfortunately not furnished with pikes, the chief weapon against cavalry, before the bayonet came into general use. The bayonet, invented by the French, was used three years after with extraordinary success, by marshal Catinat, at the battle of Marsaglia in Italy. Here the brave Caillemote received his mortal wound, and cried with his last breath to his men in their own language, as he was carried away bleeding, “to glory, my boys! to glory!” A general shout of “horse! horse!” excited by the want of cavalry to oppose the Irish in this place, was mistaken for “halt! halt!” and caused some confusion, even in the right wing, whither it was rapidly conveyed, and whose pursuit it for some time retarded. Duke Schomberg, rushing through the river to rally the Hugonots, put himself at their head, and exclaimed in the French tongue, as he pointed to some French regiments in their front, “Come on, gentlemen, behold your persecutors!” At this moment sixteen of the Irish cavalry, escaping from the slaughter of their associates, who, in wheeling through Oldbridge to join their main body, after their successful charge on the Hugonots, had been cut to pieces by the Enniskilleners and Dutch, were at first mistaken for friends by the soldiers about Schomberg, and permitted to

pass,

pass, till, wounding that general in the head, and hurrying him away with them a prisoner, they received a fire from his men by which himself was killed. About the same time fell George Walker by a wound in the belly, the brave defender of Derry, whose military ardour had unnecessarily carried him into this battle. The troops at length on both sides, after an incessant firing for about an hour, began to recover from their disorder, and the Jacobites, retreating to Donore, formed in good order, and again advanced upon the enemy.

At this time William, who, at the head of Dutch, Danish, and English cavalry, had crossed the river through a dangerous ford, where his horse had floundered in the mud so as to oblige him to dismount, was approaching to assail the Jacobites in flank, which caused them again to retreat to Donore. But here, facing about, they charged with such vigour, that the English cavalry, under the immediate command of their king, were driven from their ground; and William, seeing the necessity of great personal exertions, galloped to the Enniskilleners, and asked "What they would do for him?" These brave irregulars immediately advanced with fierce resolution; and, correcting a mistake, which they made at first, in following the king to the left, while he hastened thither to bring forward some of his Dutch forces, they charged the foe with their usual impetuosity, and gave time to their disordered associates to rally. In the confusion of the field, where William was continually exposed to danger, one of his
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own troopers, mistaking him for an enemy, presented a pistol to his head, when the prince, putting aside this instrument of death without emotion, said, "What! do you not know your friends?" The Jacobite infantry gave way; and Hamilton, making a desperate charge with his cavalry for the recovery of the field, was routed and taken prisoner. When this man, who had betrayed the prince, was brought to his presence, and asked whether the Irish would continue the fight longer, he replied, "Upon my honour, I believe they will; for they have yet a good body of horse:" on which William, in a contemptuous tone, exclaimed, "Honour! *your* honour!" James, in the mean time, informed by Lauzun at Donore that he was in danger of being surrounded, as count Schomberg's men were forcing their way to Duleek, retreated at the head of Sarsfield's regiment, and gained the pass. The rest of his forces, following, poured through the defile, not without annoyance from a party of English dragoons, halted on the open grounds beyond Duleek, cannonaded their pursuers, and retreated in such order as indicated no defect of tactics or discipline. Fifteen hundred men is stated as the loss of the vanquished, five hundred of the victors, in a battle fought between the greatest numbers that had ever engaged in Ireland; a battle which most probably decided the fate of the British islands, whether they were to be involved in a gloom of superstition and ignorance, and depopulated by tyranny and poverty, like the great and fertile kingdom of Spain; or shine forth, to the admiration

ration of the world, the grand asylum of civil and religious freedom, the nursery of genius and industry, the centre of knowledge, wealth, and naval power.

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James continued his flight to Dublin, where he arrived the same night the first of July. On the next morning early he told the assembled magistrates and council of the city that, since his army in England had deserted him, and in Ireland had fled from the enemy, he must yield to his fortune, but would never cease to labour for their deliverance; charged them on their allegiance not to suffer the city to be fired, as had been advised by some, since such atrocity must be disgraceful to him and irritating to the conqueror; and advised them to set their prisoners at liberty, and submit to the prince of Orange, who was merciful. He thence renewed his flight by Bray and Gorey, ordering the bridges behind him to be broken, and, embarking without delay at Waterford, arrived in France. The abdication of Ireland by this monarch, who appears to have left no directions with his officers for the continuing of the war, and to have renounced the assistance of the Irish, may be the proper point of time, from which the resistance of the Irish catholics to the authority of king William should be styled *rebellion*. Before that, however unfortunate may have been their prejudices, or blameable their conduct, they had supported the authority of a king, who, though renounced by the parliaments of England and Scotland, had not been renounced in Ireland. except
by

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by the northern protestants, and these had been regarded as rebels by all who then ostensibly exercised the high functions of government in this kingdom.

State of
Dublin.
1690.

Most of the Jacobite forces poured through Dublin in their retreat, directing their march to Athlone and Limerick, irritated at the charge of cowardice thrown on them by their pusillanimous monarch, and exclaiming with indignation, "Let the English change kings with us, and we will fight the battle over again!" The metropolis, abandoned by civil and military officers, was threatened with all the evils of anarchy. The protestants, released from imprisonment, and enraged by their sufferings, were on the point of storming the houses of the catholics, when they were dissuaded by one of their number, Fitzgerald, a military officer, the respectability of whose family, together with his character, commanded their obedience. Assuming the government of the town, with the aid of some gentry, he gained the keys of the castle, prevailed on the main guard, composed of thirty catholic militia, to surrender their arms to protestants, and sent expresses to William for immediate assistance. Alarmed by a conflagration in the suburbs, which he extinguished; by the violence of his followers, who broke into Sarsfield's house, and were with difficulty restrained from further excess; and by the reports of hostile parties returning to the city; he sent fresh expresses, and at length received nine troops of cavalry under Auverquerque and Sgravenmore, attended by the duke

duke of Ormond, and reinforced soon after by the Dutch guards.

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Proceedings
of William.

After his victory at the Boyne, the garrison of Drogheda had surrendered to William, on condition of being conducted unarmed to Athlone; and the prince, advancing slowly to the south, encamped at Finglass, two miles from the capital. That he had not closely pursued the flying enemy, and detached ten thousand men to secure Athlone and Limerick, was accounted matter of blame by his officers, who considered not the danger of pursuit through unknown grounds, and the apprehensions entertained by the king of an invasion in England, which might render hazardous the dividing of his army, or his departure to a great distance from the coast. William attended divine service in the cathedral of Saint Patrick, to give thanks for his victory, but returned immediately to his camp at Finglass, where he graciously received an address from the protestant clergy, whom he permitted to appoint a day of solemn thanksgiving, and to compose for the occasion a form of prayer. He issued a proclamation of pardon and protection to the lower orders of men, who had remained at home, or should return to their dwellings and surrender their arms; but declared his resolution to leave the desperate leaders of rebellion to the event of war. A more comprehensive offer of pardon, with correspondent performance, might have put an end to the Irish war, and saved a great effusion of blood and treasure. The avidity for confiscation, by which his

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English followers were actuated, doubtless prompted this conduct in the king, whose better judgment would have chosen a wiser plan. Without any courts of judicature open for legal and regular forms of procedure, commissioners were appointed for the seizing and securing of all forfeitures accruing to the crown from the rebellion of the Irish.

Foreign
events.
1690.

While William, the head of an extensive confederacy of European states, engaged in war for the support of their independence against the enormous ambition and power of France, was proceeding with success in the reduction of Ireland to his obedience, events had place abroad unfavourable to his views. Prince Waldeck, at the head of the confederate forces in the Netherlands, was defeated and slain, in the bloody battle of Fleurus, by the French army under the duke of Luxemburg. The navy of France, commanded by Tourville, consisting of a hundred vessels of war, including twenty-two fire-ships, gained a victory, on the thirtieth of June, near Beachy-head, over the combined squadrons of England and Holland, inferior in force, under lord Torrington, who retreated to the mouth of the Thames with his shattered fleet. Tourville, sailing westward with his squadron to Torbay, destroyed some coasting vessels, burned the village of Timmouth, and returned to Brest, without further advantage from his victory. But by his operations were great alarms raised in England, where the Jacobites were suspected of having formed conspiracies to act in concert with the foreign foe, in consequence

of

of which many persons of rank were put under an arrest.

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Proceedings
of the catho-
lics,

The news of these disasters, designedly magnified to a high degree by fiction, encouraged the Irish catholics to persevere with more vigour in opposition to William, the indecision of whose councils, influenced by the same causes, allowed their leaders more time to collect their forces, and fortify their posts. Deserted by their monarch, they yet considered the interests of their religion and property involved in his title. The leaders, rendered desperate by their exclusion from pardon in William's proclamation, laboured to attach the lower orders to their party; and their labours were too strongly seconded by the injustice and impolicy of agents in the service of the new government. While the commissioners for the securing of forfeitures harrassed the country, without making any considerable returns to the exchequer, and the great English subjects of Ireland endeavoured to prevent an accommodation with the catholics, a shameful disregard, and almost perpetual violation, of the new king's protections granted to the peasantry, drove this formidable class to take arms for safety under their old commanders. In a fierce continuation of the war in the following year, the Irish soldiers, taken prisoners, addressed the English officers in words of this import: "It is your fault that you have so many enemies. We are sensible of our unhappiness in depending on the French; but you have made it necessary for us: we must, and are preparing to fight it out."

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Proceedings
of William.
1690.

Eight days after his success at the Boyne, William resolved to divide his forces, and detached Douglas to Athlone with ten regiments of infantry and five of horse, while himself marched southward with a superior body. He became still more anxious on the news of Torrington's defeat, when he had advanced thirty miles from Dublin, to secure a safe harbour for his transports, and hastened to the reduction of Waterford and Duncannon. Wexford, which had declared in his favour, received his garrison: Clonmell was abandoned by the Irish: Waterford was surrendered on condition of its garrison being allowed to march away with arms and baggage; and, on the near approach of the army, and of a fleet under Sir Cloudesly Shovel, of sixteen frigates, Duncannon accepted the same terms of capitulation. Committing his army to the conduct of his generals, the king retired to Chapel-Izod, near the capital, with intention to embark for England; but, informed of the return of Tourville's navy to Brest, and of the measures adopted for domestic security, he resolved to prosecute in person the Irish war, and again took the command of his troops in the south.

Repulse at
Athlone.
1690.

The army of Douglas in the mean time marched to Athlone, plundering, and often murdering, in defiance of the formal orders of the general, the peasants, who successively appeared in large bodies to claim the benefit of the royal proclamation, and, under promises of protection, were miserably ensnared. Athlone, seated on both sides of the Shannon,

non, had been skilfully prepared for defence by its veteran governor, named Grace, whose garrison consisted of three regiments of infantry, and eleven of cavalry, beside a larger body encamped for their support at a little distance. The part called the English town, situate on the eastern side of the Shannon, he had abandoned and burned as indefensible; had broken the fair bridge of stone-work, built by Sir Henry Sidney in the reign of Elizabeth; and had fortified the Irish town on the western bank with breastworks, redoubts, and two batteries, besides those of the castle, which stood on an eminence and commanded the river. To the summons of Douglas Grace only answered, "These are my terms," firing a pistol at the messenger. The operations of the Williamite commander, who opened a battery of six guns against the castle, were sufficiently vigorous; but his train of artillery was quite inadequate; his best gunner was killed; his men grew languid from want of provisions, the supply of which from the country had been prevented by their own violent behaviour; and they were alarmed by a report that Sarsfield was on his march, with fifteen thousand men, to raise the siege and intercept their retreat. Decamping at midnight, without molestation, Douglas, by a devious and painful march, joined the army of the king. Deplorable on this occasion was the state of the protestants about Athlone, who had lived under Irish protection till the arrival of Douglas, when they declared in favour of William, and were consequently obliged to fly with the retreat-

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CHAP. ing troops, abandoning their harvests and other pro-
 XXXIII. perty, while the miserable pittance of provisions,
 carried with them for their support, became the prey
 of a merciless and famished soldiery.

Attack of
 Limerick.
 1690.

Douglas found the king on his march to attack Limerick, where lay the main strength of the Irish army. This city, the capital of the most fertile county of Ireland, situate advantageously on the Shannon, near fifty miles from the ocean, where the river admits vessels of five hundred tons to the quays, consisted of two towns, connected by a bridge, the English and the Irish; the former built on an island of the Shannon, close to the southern or eastern bank, the latter on the main land; both forming one great street cut at right angles by many lanes, so as to resemble a comb with two rows of teeth; fortified with strong walls, bastions, ramparts, a castle, and a citadel. The king was assured that count Lauzun, with other Frenchmen of distinction, had already abandoned the town, with intention of returning home; that all the French troops remaining in Limerick, amounting to three thousand, had declared their resolution of capitulating separately, and retiring from Ireland, but were diverted from this design by the clamour and importunities of the Irish; and that Boileau, one of their generals, had taken the command of the city, while the Irish forces lay encamped on the side of Connaught, having secured the passes of the Shannon, and prepared to supply him with reinforcements and provisions. Though to attempt the town on one side only was

deemed

deemed hazardous, his army reduced to twenty thousand, and the season advanced, yet William, probably relying on the retreat of the French, and surrendry of the Irish, began his approaches to this formidable post on the ninth of August.

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The Irish troops retired fighting, as the English advanced, through grounds intersected with hedges, until they came to a narrow pass between two bogs, terminated by an old fort built by Ireton, and communicating with the town by three different lanes, in which the cavalry were arranged in the middle, the infantry on both sides under cover of hedges. After some resistance they were driven from this ground; and field-pieces were mounted, to annoy the garrison, on Ireton's fort and another advantageous post adjacent. The success of the king was seconded by the exertions of his Dutch general, Ginckle, who secured a ford three miles from the town, whence he had driven the enemy: but the answer of Boileau to his summons was, that he was "determined to merit the good opinion of the prince of Orange by a vigorous defence." Informed by a French deserter of the state of William's encampment, who had taken post within cannon shot of the town, without the usual precautions, and of the approach of his battering artillery under a slight escort, the governor directed the fire from the fortress against the tent of the king, who was thence obliged to remove to another spot, and permitted Sarsfield to undertake an expedition, with a chosen body of cavalry, to intercept the convoy of cannon.

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field, crossing the Shannon at Kallaloe, twelve miles from Limerick, and marching by devious roads, surprised the escort, carelessly encamped seven miles from William's army, killed or dispersed the whole party, and fixing the cannon, filled with powder, with their mouths in the ground, fired them by a train which he left burning on his retreat. The tremendous explosion, by which the cannon were burst to pieces, announced the deed to Sir John Lanier, who had been sent with five hundred horse to prevent such a disaster, but had executed so slowly his orders, that he only arrived in sight of Sarsfield's party when the business was accomplished, and made a futile attempt to intercept its return.

While the besieged were aroused to a resolution of desperate resistance by the defeat of an escort, whose safe arrival would have ensured the reduction of their city; and while discontent pervaded the English army, murmurs, and suspicions of treachery entertained against Lanier and others; William alone, long accustomed to variety of fortune, magnanimous, and not easily elated by prosperous, nor dejected by adverse events, preserved a composure unaccountable to his soldiers. With two cannon of the convoy, which had escaped the general wreck, and some brought from Waterford, he furnished his batteries, and opened his trenches on the eighteenth of August. After an incessant hostility of attack and defence, maintained on both sides with the fiercest resolution, a breach was effected twelve yards in length, and an assault was ordered on the
twenty-

twenty-seventh, against the counterscarp and two towers on each side the breach. Five hundred grenadiers, leaping from the farthest angle of the trenches, ran toward the counterscarp, and, dislodging the enemy in the midst of a tremendous fire, pursued even to the breach, and many of them actually entered the town, while the Irish fled in confusion from the walls. But those, who had been thus too impetuously carried forward by their ardour within the city, were overwhelmed by the rallying foe, so that few could effect their retreat unwounded, while the regiments, destined to support them, had, according to orders, halted at the counterscarp. The Irish rushed with fury to the breach and elsewhere to the walls; the women mingling with the men and throwing stones at the assailants. A regiment of Brandenburgers drove the besieged from a battery, but were unfortunate in their success, for most of them were slain by an accidental explosion. After an incessant fire of great and small arms for three hours, when five hundred of William's men were killed, and above a thousand desperately wounded, he ordered a retreat. On the following day, demanding a truce for the interment of the dead, he was haughtily refused by the governor. The English were ardent for another assault; but the king, fearing farther loss and delay in an advanced season, in a country where the roads might soon be rendered impassable to artillery by rain, ordered the siege to be raised; and his troops retired slowly without molestation. Here too as at Athlone,

the

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the army was attended by a mournful train of protestants, abandoning their dwellings, destitute of shelter for themselves and children, and exposed to the indiscriminate ravages of the soldiery, but a soldiery restrained to rules of better conduct by the presence of their king, who was severely attentive to salutary discipline.

Character of
William.

Some catholic writers, in their zeal against heresy, have most shamefully traduced the conduct of William, by charging him with deeds of cruelty in his retreat from Limerick, as contrary to his well-known character as to facts the best authenticated. While his army lay at Clonmel, he proceeded to Waterford, and embarked for England at Duncannon, leaving the command of his forces to count Solmes and Ginckle, and the care of his civil government to two lords justices, lord Sidney and Thomas Coningsby, with a blank in their commission to be filled up by a third name. Thus ended in Ireland the personal command of this great prince, the main object of whose ambition was the independence of Europe, and who, as the friend of mankind, is known by indubitable records to have been favoured privately with the alliance of even the Pope against James, whose narrowness of soul would, in the indulgence of his bigotry for Roman forms of religion, have permitted France to enslave all the neighbouring nations. The character of William, which is justly revered by the protestants of Ireland, and ought to be revered even by such catholics as are sensible of the value of political freedom,

dom, is thus truly given by Somerville in his Political Transactions. “ In the character of William we turn our eyes to sterling merit, naked and undorned; to stern integrity, incorruptible patriotism, undaunted magnanimity, unshaken fidelity; but no splendid dress or gaudy trapping to arrest the attention of the superficial observer. A deliberate effort of the understanding is necessary to perceive and estimate its deserts..”

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Reduction of Cork and Kinsale by the earl of Marlborough—Departure of the French—Rapparees—Civil regulations—Battle of the moat of Grenoge—State of affairs of the Irish—Military operations—Attack of Athlone—Desperate passage of the ford—Flight of Saint-Ruth—Proceedings of Ginckle—Battle of Aghrim—Death of Saint-Ruth—Defeat of the Irish—Siege of Galway—Affairs of the Irish—Death of Tyrconnel—Siege of Limerick—False report concerning Luttrell—Capitulation—Condition of prisoners—Articles of Limerick—Emigration—Ennoblement of Ginckle and Rouvigny.

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Marlbo-
rough's ex-
pedition.
1690.

BEFORE William had relinquished his enterprize against Limerick, a proposal made by John Churchil, earl of Marlborough, afterwards so renowned, under the title of duke, in the reign of queen Anne, for the reduction of Cork and Kinsale, was accepted, by which the French would be excluded from intercourse with the Irish ports in the south, and the West-Indian traffic of England rendered more secure. The earl, sailing from Portsmouth with a body of five thousand men, effected his landing near Cork with little opposition, on the twenty-first of September,

ber, and was soon joined by nine hundred cavalry under Sgravenmore, and afterwards by four thousand foot under the prince of Wirtemberg, detached to his assistance by Ginckle, on whom had devolved the chief command by the departure of count Solmes. Cork stands at the bottom of an extensive hollow, or wide valley, on the river Lee, built on a cluster of low marshy islands in the river and on the sloping banks on both sides, ten miles from the ocean, near the inner end of a gulf, in great part occupied by islands, which forms one of the finest harbours in the world. At the time of this attack the city was far less in extent than at present, surrounded by marshes and branches of the Lee. The earl had made successful approaches before the arrival of Wirtemberg, who, by insisting on the chief command in virtue of his title, while the earl reminded him that he was only a leader of auxiliaries, raised a dispute which threatened to defeat the enterprise, till, by the mediation of La Mellionere, a prudent French officer, the two leaders agreed to hold alternately the chief place. By the politeness of the earl, who, commanding on the first day, gave "Wirtemberg" for the word, the prince was in some degree conciliated, who in his turn gave "Marlborough."

When, on the effecting of a breach, and preparations made for an assault, the governor parleyed, the earl insisted on the surrendry of the garrison as prisoners of war, the prince on the granting of more favourable terms. The dispute continued until the marsh,
through

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through which the assailants were to advance to the breach, became impassable by the return of the tide; when the governor, seeing the danger, for the present, elapsed, interrupted the conference. The fire was renewed, the breach enlarged, and the river crossed by the Dutch and English, who waded immersed to the shoulders, and took post under the bank of a marsh which served as a counterscarp to the wall of the city. Here fell the duke of Grafton, who had volunteered in the business, the most respected of the sons of Charles the second. A storm was prevented by the surrendry of the garrison, as prisoners of war, including the officers, of whom some were of considerable note; and a detachment was immediately sent to summon Kinsale.

The commander of this post gave a haughty answer, threatening to kill the messenger; and, abandoning the town, which he set in flames, placed his garrison in two fortresses, the old, or Castle-nyfort, and the new, or Charles-fort. The former was taken by storm after an obstinate resistance, in which half the garrison with the governor were slain. The governor of the latter, confident of its strength, made answer to the summons, that "it would be time enough to talk of that business a month hence." But after a vigorous attack for ten days, when the besiegers were preparing for a general assault, the garrison capitulated, on condition of being allowed to march with arms and baggage to Limerick. Marlborough returned to England, having completed

pleted his enterprize in twenty-three days, to the joy of the English loyalists, who, with a jealousy of the king's foreign officers, gloried in their native general.

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Immediately on the retreat of William from Limerick, Boileau with his French troops had marched thence to Galway, where he joined his compatriots, who had waited there for transports; and returned to France, recalled in consequence of the representations, made by James, of Irish cowardice. Jealousies and broils had taken place between the French and Irish soldiery. The former spoke with contempt of the meanness of their allies; the latter ridiculed the pageantry of the French, and cursed those insolent fellows who strutted in "leathern trunks," by which they meant their great boots. The Irish, left to the conduct of their native chief, the brave and popular Sarsfield, seemed not to regret the departure of their foreign friends, and prepared to exert with vigour their unaided force; while Ginckle, after the conquest of Cork and Kinsale, thinking the enemy's ardour abated, withdrew his troops into winter quarters, without such a disposition of his frontier line as to secure the passes and castles along the Shannon, an omission of which he had soon reason to repent.

Departure
of the
French.
1690.

Braving the asperity of the season, the hardy Irish made ruinous incursions, surprized and slaughtered small parties of the royal army, and set villages in flames. In the general confusion and misery, while the soldiers also of Ginckle, in spite of general orders,

Rapparees.

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ders, plundered the peasants and violated protections, a banditti, who had previously subsisted under the name of tories, became hideously numerous and formidable under the denomination of *rapparees*, an Irish denomination from the half pike, their usual weapon. In summer they hovered round the English camp, butchering every straggling soldier whom they found. In winter they appeared in the different quarters of the army with the humility of beggars, leaving their weapons concealed in convenient places. Assembling in troops in solitary spots in the night, they rushed on their prey, and vanished at the first appearance of danger, discoverable only by the conflagrations of houses and the cries of their murdered victims. Throughout the winter the English forces were every where harrassed in pursuit, mostly fruitless, of these miscreants, with whom were often associated soldiers of regular regiments in the Irish army. To repel these marauders the assistance was found necessary to the English of a class of the same description, called protestant *rapparees*, whose mode of hostility being similar rendered them fitter instruments in this kind of warfare. Deplorable beyond conception was the state of the country, particularly of the protestant inhabitants, objects of rapine and slaughter to the catholic enemy, and undistinguished from catholics by the foreign troops in William's service, who plundered indiscriminately, with exception of the Dutch, who were honourably conspicuous by an inoffensive and modest conduct, a noble proof of the excellence of the republican

republican government under which they had been educated.

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To check the complicated disorders of the country, so far as the state of affairs would admit, the lord's justices were labouring to give some form to the civil government. A privy-council was constituted of men esteemed attached to the new government. All indictments of high treason were removed to the superior courts, now furnished with judges. Lord lieutenants, and their deputies, were appointed in the several counties under English jurisdiction; commissions granted to officers of militia; the commissioners of forfeitures superseded; and various proclamations issued for the promotion of public regularity. To correct the licentiousness of the army was beyond their power; but, to restrain the catholics in places under English protection, an ordonnance was published, severe, perhaps necessary, by which the people of this religion in each county were made responsible for the ravages committed by men of the same communion, and no priest was allowed to reside where any number of rapparees were found to have assembled. But, as the extermination of rebels had been always supposed more conducive than their reconciliation to the private interest of officers of state and great settlers from England, the chief governors were prevented, by some members of the privy-council, from granting to the earnest solicitations of Ginckle a proclamation of pardon to repenting rebels.

Ginckle, having found that a magazine of forage for five thousand cavalry for ten days was formed

Battle of
Grenoge,
1691.

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by the enemy at Athlone, and that an attack was thence intended on his garrison at Molingar, visited that garrison, and marched thence with three thousand men against a considerable body encamped near Ballymore, between Molingar and Athlone. Here the Irish troops, embattled in good order, occupied a pass fortified with palisadoes, but so fortified, from precipitation and ignorance, the palisadoes pointing toward themselves, as to secure instead of repelling the assailants. Driven from this ground, they fled to a place called the moat of Grenoge, where they rallied, and again gave battle; but, vigorously assailed, they retreated into the town, and attempted to entrench and maintain the post. Finally dislodged, they fled in consternation to Athlone, where the terror was so great that the gates were shut against the fugitives, many of whom in consequence took refuge in the bogs, and many perished in the river. This action, in which the Irish lost three hundred men, five hundred horses, their baggage, and a quantity of arms, was of much greater consequence in reality than in appearance, by its influence on the course of the ensuing campaign, as it frustrated the plan of offensive operations against the English garrisons, damped the ardour of the Irish, and augmented confusion in their councils.

State of
Irish affairs.
1694.

Tyrconnel, who had been sent to solicit succours in France, returned with only some clothing, and the sum of eight thousand pounds, a sum insufficient to allay the discontents of the soldiery, though distributed among them as a donation. Tyrconnel himself

himself was most of all dissatisfied. He had served with a zeal, untempered by conscience, a bigoted master, and was justly requited with ingratitude. From him to Sir Richard Nagle and Sir Stephen Rice was the administration of civil affairs transferred by James; and, as experience had corrected the arrogance of this lord, who now prudently advised his associates to save the remains of the nation by submission to the new government, he was reviled as a traitor by those officers who declared for war. These were encouraged by vain expectations of rebellion in Britain and copious supplies from France. French officers arrived successively with such assurances, and at last came Saint-Ruth, a man of established character in bigotry by his persecution of the French protestants, bearing the commission of James as chief commander of his troops in Ireland, to the mortification of Sarsfield, who had the best right to expect that honour, and was little consoled by the title of earl of Lucan now conferred upon him. No great supplies however were brought by the French general, who, finding a defensive system necessary, strengthened the posts on the western side of the Shannon, and took his station with the main army behind Athlone.

The army of Ginckle, whose plan was offensive, was inferior in number to that of Saint-Ruth, but superior in the spirit of the soldiers, and experience of the officers, among whom were some of distinguished reputation. Supplied at length with provisions and other necessaries, by the want of which

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Military
Operations,
1691.

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he had been long delayed, Ginckle, having assembled his forces at Molingar, marched against the fort of Ballymore, which the Irish had fortified with great care, and furnished with a garrison of a thousand chosen men. The governor, relying on the natural and artificial strength of his post, situate in an insular tract washed by a lake, sustained the attack for a day, but surrendered with his garrison, as prisoners, on the sight of armed boats launched on the lake. Having secured this fortress by additional works and an English garrison, the general moved toward Athlone, and came within sight of the town on the eighteenth of June.

Attack of
Athlone.
1691.

The Irish had newly fortified the English district of Athlone, repaired the bridge, and seemed resolved to defend their station on both sides of the river. On the twenty-first the troops of Ginckle advanced toward the walls through lanes lined with Irish infantry, who gradually retired within the fortifications, acting as guides to their enemy. A breach was soon made, by a battery of ten guns, in the wall of the English town, and the place taken by storm, the discomfited troops rushing in such confusion over the bridge, that many were crushed to death, and many, falling from the battlements, perished in the river. But all further progress seemed impracticable for the assailants. The arch of the bridge next the Irish town, or district of Athlone on the western side of the Shannon, was again broken: the ford between the two towns, dangerous by its depth and stony bottom, was so narrow as
hardly

hardly to admit twenty men abreast: the enemy, who fired furiously from the opposite banks, were posted in great force behind entrenchments and fortresses: and where the stream, toward Lanesborough, might be crossed by a bridge of pontoons, the place was guarded effectually for prevention. The general, concluding that the only practicable passage was by the bridge of the town, raised a wooden work for the purpose of throwing planks over the broken arch. While the batteries from both sides played with the utmost fury, from the east to cover, from the west to destroy the workmen, a serjeant and ten private soldiers in armour, rushing from the Irish town to destroy the work, were all slain; but another party, repeating the desperate attack, succeeded, casting the beams and planks into the river; and two of them survived, returning in triumph. Ginckle renewed his efforts, and, having completed a close gallery over the broken arch, resolved to attempt the passage here and in two other places at once, and, to encourage the soldiers in so perilous an enterprize, he distributed moneey among them. But in the critical moment, when both parties were prepared for desperate combat, the attempt was prevented by the burning of the gallery, which was fired by the grenades of the Irish.

While the raising of the siege was regarded as inevitable by Saint-Ruth, who triumphantly gave an entertainment on the occasion, Ginckle held a council of war, in which he displayed the appearance of being inclined to retreat, though he secretly ap-

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proved of the resolution of the other officers, all of whom, except Mackay, the conqueror of the Jacobites of Scotland, were ardent for the passage of the ford, and were emulous each to conduct the enterprize. The ardour of the soldiers corresponded with that of their leaders, fired by resentment at the insults of the Irish, who all night exclaimed in derision from the opposite side of the river, that "they had ill-earned the money distributed yesterday by their officers." Talmash, appointed to command the passage, modestly resigned his place to Mackay, to whom it should have devolved in the rotation of duty, and attended as a volunteer. On the following morning, at the ordinary hour of relieving the guards, when a double garrison might appear without suspicion, the advanced guard of two thousand men, destined for this service, on a signal given by the tolling of the church bell, rushed into the river, amid the thundering shouts of their associates, of whom some ran to throw planks over the broken arch, others to attempt a passage by pontons. The detachment, encouraged by the presence of distinguished leaders, who participated the danger, advanced through the ford with cold intrepidity, amid a tremendous fire from the enemy's works, gained the opposite banks, mounted the breaches next the river, and were masters of the town in half an hour from their first entering into the stream, while the Irish fled to the camp in astonishment, not without considerable slaughter.

Saint-

Saint-Ruth on this occasion betrayed too great a confidence, unworthy of a great commander, but not unsuitable to that narrowness of soul which admits religious bigotry and persecution. When he was informed that the enemy were passing the ford, he exclaimed that they could not possibly have such presumption as to attempt the town while he with his army lay so near; to which Sarsfield calmly replied, that he well knew the enterprize to be not too great for English courage, and that a moment ought not to be lost in sending strong reinforcements. While the Frenchman, offended, expressed his disdain, and the Irishman scornfully retorted, a messenger in breathless consternation just found words to inform them that the enemy were in town. Saint-Ruth in a haughty tone, under which he covered his vexation, commanded that they should immediately be driven out; and his troops were put in motion for that purpose. But after this bravado, when his men received the fire of their own guns, pointed against them from the walls, a general retreat was made; the French officers exclaiming against the Irish; the Irish execrating the French general and his countrymen. The garrison of the castle consisting of five hundred men, surrendered as prisoners; and about twelve hundred more had been lost by the Irish in the siege. Saint-Ruth, who had hoisted the standards of France at Athlone, had issued all orders in the name of the French monarch, and had solicited the Irish to swear allegiance to Louis, intending to render Ireland a province of the

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French dominion, instead of recovering it for its former sovereign, retired southward with wounded pride, and violent resolution of exertions to retrieve his injured reputation, beyond the Suck, a great auxiliär stream of the Shannon ; while the whole Irish party, variously actuated with hope, despair, revenge and shame, concurred with the determination of their general to bring the contest to a speedy issue.

Proceedings
of Ginckle.
1691.

On the other hand Ginckle, desirous of ending the war without farther bloodshed, or at least of disuniting the enemy by tenders of pardon, issued on the fifth of July, notwithstanding the opposition of great English subjects in Ireland, a proclamation of that import, which the lords justices at first, influenced by members of the privy council, from motives already mentioned, seemed inclined to disavow ; but the propriety of the measure was so plainly demonstrated, that in two days afterwards a proclamation was formally signed and published by government, offering a free pardon, with a reasonable payment for their horses, arms, and furniture, to all soldiers and officers who should surrender within three weeks, and to all governors who should surrender their posts ; a free pardon and full possession of their estates to all officers who should bring with them the regiments, troops, or companies under their command ; liberal rewards to those who had no landed property ; and a free exercise of religion to all, with such security in this particular as a parliament of Ireland might devise, and which the king would endeavour to procure, so as to convince the Irish of the difference
between

between the blessings of English government and the tyranny of France. But, though many availed themselves of the opportunity to sue for protection, the liberality of these offers came too late for a decisive effect; and Ginckle was convinced that by the sword alone was peace procurable. Having repaired the fortifications of Athlone, he marched on the tenth of July toward the enemy, and encamped along the river Suck, three miles north eastward from the Irish forces, who occupied a post of great strength at the village of Aghrim.

The army of Saint-Ruth, consisting of twenty-five thousand men was encamped along the heights of Kilcommedeu, behind a bog, near a mile in breadth, which extending all along the front, left only two passes for the approach of an enemy; the one on the right, through a range of hills, opening into wider ground; the other on the left, occupied by the old castle of Aghrim, and entrenchments filled with soldiers, between the bog and a tract of hills and morasses. The whole slope of Kilcommedeu down to the edge of the bog, was intersected with hedges and ditches, which formed lines of communication, guarded by Irish infantry. With only eighteen thousand men, and even these not otherwise collected than by draining his garrisons to a degree of danger, Ginckle advanced, on the twelfth of July, at noon, after a foggy morning, to attack an army so superior in number, so strongly posted, but without sufficient artillery, encouraged by every argument of the general in his harangues, and

by

CHAP. by the priests who ran through the ranks, and are
 XXXIV. } said to have sworn the men on the sacrament not to
 desert their colours.

A part of Ginckle's army, consisting of Danes, supported afterwards by English dragoons, and these again by other detachments, began the battle by forcing the pass on the right of the enemy, which after a variety of fortune they accomplished in an hour, gaining a position beyond the bog. After a pause, in consequence of a consultation among Ginckle's officers, the entire left wing of the English army, according to a plan recommended by Mackay, advanced at five o'clock in the evening through the acquired pass, and furiously attacked the right of the Irish, who obstinately defended their ditches, not giving way till the muskets of the combatants mutually touched, when they retired by their lines of communication, flanked their assailants, and charged with double fury. When the engagement had thus continued on that side for an hour and a half, Saint-Ruth drew great part of his cavalry from his left wing to support his right. Mackay, who had waited for this incident, immediately ordered the cavalry in the right wing of the English to force their way through the pass of Aghrim castle on the left of the enemy; and some regiments of infantry in the centre were ordered to march through the bog, and to take post on the lowest ditches beyond it, until the cavalry should gain the pass by the castle, and wheel from the right to support their attack.

The

The infantry, plunging to the middle in the bog, made their way with great labour to the opposite side, where the enemy, after a furious fire poured on them from the hedges, designedly retired. Transported with ardour, forgetting their orders, and pursuing almost to the main body of the Irish, they were overpowered by a charge in front and flank, driven back to the bog, many of them slain, and many taken, of whom some were persons of distinction; while the French general, too easily elated, exclaimed in an extacy of joy, "Now will I drive the English to the very walls of Dublin!" But in the mean time the English cavalry, commanded by Talmash, rushed through the narrow and dangerous pass on the enemy's left, close by the walls of Aghrim castle, through a tremendous fire, to the amazement of Saint-Ruth, who asked some officers, "What do the English mean?" Receiving for answer, "To force their way to our right;" he had the generosity to say, "They are brave fellows! It is a pity they should be so exposed." While the cavalry were pressing forward with desperate impetuosity, and gave opportunity to the infantry in the centre to rally at the bog and recover their former ground, the French general, resolving to direct his main force against the cavalry, pointed a battery for that purpose, and led a formidable body of horse to attack them. In this critical moment, when fortune seemed to threaten discomfiture to the English, Saint-Ruth was slain by a cannon-ball; and as the order of battle had not been communicated to Sarsfield, who had

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had not lived on friendly terms with the deceased, this commander was unable to form dispositions till the battle was decided. When the Irish cavalry, destitute of orders, on the fall of their general, halted and returned to their former ground, confusion spread through all their troops, who violently pressed from every point of attack by the forces of Ginkle, were driven to their camp, and thence into total rout; the infantry flying to a bog, the cavalry to Loughrea. With all their cannon, ammunition, tents, and baggage, a great quantity of small arms, eleven standards, and thirty-two colours, the Irish lost in the battle and pursuit of three miles, seven thousand slain, four hundred and fifty taken prisoners; of the English were killed seven hundred, and a thousand wounded.

Siege of
Galway.
1691.

The victors, having lain all night on the field of battle on their arms, amid heaps of their slaughtered enemies, marched thence, after a few days of refreshment, to attack Galway, whose governor, lord Dillon, expecting succours from France and elsewhere, returned a defiance to the summons of Ginkle, and was resolved on an obstinate defence. But, after a resistance of some days, the citizens and garrison perceived that all attempts to send them assistance from Limerick were frustrated by the operations of the besiegers; and that the troops of a famous Irish partizan, named Balderog O'Donnel, who had promised to fly to their assistance from the north with six or seven thousand men, had fled in dismay since the defeat of Aghrim, except about six hundred

hundred who were prepared to sue for protections. C H A P.
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 When the magistrates were imprisoned for declaring in favour of a surrendry, and the garrison were adopting sentiments of the same nature, the commanders at length concurred, and entered into a parley, on the seizure of a fort by the besiegers, which stood south-eastward of the town, and commanded great part of the wall. Contrary to the opinion of Talmash and other officers, who were adverse to the granting of any conditions, Ginckle resolved to concede such terms as might convince the whole Irish party of their infatuation in an adherence to a desperate cause, and might dispose them to a speedy submission. The troops of the garrison were allowed to march to Limerick with all the honours of war, with liberty of remaining in the town, or of returning to their respective habitations, to all who might desire it. 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 catholics were allowed the private exercise of their religion, their lawyers to practice, and their men of estates to carry arms.

Encouraged by such favourable concessions, considerable numbers deserted the Jacobite cause, and according to their own option, were either dismissed peaceably to their homes, or admitted to serve in the Williamite army: but still greater numbers, influenced by delusive hopes of powerful succours from France, continued obstinately determined on
 the

Affairs of
the Irish.

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the prolonging the war. While the English cabinet, imagining the force of the Irish quite broken, ordered ten thousand men to be sent from Cork and Kinsale to the king then campaigning in the Netherlands; and the generals, employed in the service of Ireland, more sensible of the difficulty still remaining, prevailed in their application for the deferring of this measure; Sarsfield passed the Shannon with seven thousand men, to desolate the country, and storm the town of Cashel; but was obliged to retire on finding that the garrison was reinforced, and that the army of Ginckle was advancing to Limerick. In this town, the last great refuge of the Jacobites, an unanimity of opinion was far from having place. Tyrconnel, contumeliously treated on account of his advice in favour of submission, expired in the bitterness of vexation, the victim of that violent opposition to the protestantism and civil liberty of which himself had been the great fomentor. His sentiments with respect to submission were adopted by Fitton, Nagle, and Plowden, the three lords justices, who exercised the civil administration in the name of James. But the faction who favoured the French interest were enabled for the present to predominate by the influence of the French generals, and the intelligence of a squadron of twenty ships of war, commanded by Chateau Renault, ready to sail from France to their assistance.

Siege of
Limerick.
1691.

Having by a new proclamation prolonged the time for pardon to submitting rebels, Ginckle took measures for the attack of Limerick with such precaution,

tion, that the chief governors, less acquainted with the difficulty of the enterprize, were displeas'd at his slowness. He secur'd the passes of the Shannon, and his communication with Kerry, a country reserved for his winter-quarters; and, while the fleet of Sir Ralph Delaval cruised near cape Clear to intercept the French succours, he order'd captain Cole, who lay with some ships in the Shannon, to burn the forage in the districts of Clare, bordering that river, whence the enemy drew their subsistence. Ginckle approach'd Limerick on the twenty-fifth of August, on the south-eastern side, in the same manner as William in the foregoing year, driving the Irish from Ireton's fort and other posts, and pouring a fire from cannon and mortars for several days on the Irish town, whence the inhabitants fled from their burning houses, and form'd a sort of camp towards the north-east, on the opposite side of the river. Since to make breaches in walls defended by a garrison equal to the besieging army, and consequently of very dangerous assault, seem'd unavailing, the general resolv'd to gain, if possible, the ground on the opposite side of the Shannon, so as to preclude the besieged from the county of Clare, which furnish'd them with provisions, by the command of Thomond-bridge, the pass of communication between Limerick and this county. The Irish rais'd shouts of joy, when they beheld his batteries dismounted, a manœuvre to deceive them into a belief of an intended retreat; but, in the darkness of night was nearly complet'd a bridge of tin boats,

by

CHAP. by which a body of troops was conveyed into an
 XXXIV. island, whence to the main land of Clare the river was fordable. The English passed the ford, very feebly resisted by four regiments of Irish dragoons, who were posted near the passage, under the command of an officer named Clifford, who is supposed to have acted thus with design, that the garrison should be forced into a submission to the new government, a measure previously preferred by him to the sacrificing of Irish interests to the ambition of the French monarch. Colonel Henry Lutterel, at that time a prisoner in the castle of Limerick, after a trial, in which he had been acquitted, for an imagined correspondence with the English, was falsely reported by the vulgar Irish, and is believed by their posterity, to have commanded here, and to have betrayed the pass to Ginckle.

Astonished at the success of the English detachment, the Irish cavalry and inhabitants, who were encamped on the Clare side, fled, some to the mountains, others to the city, where they were denied admittance; but the English were restrained from pursuit, through apprehension of an ambuscade; and the retreating cavalry formed another encampment at a much greater distance. Notwithstanding the accomplishing of this lodgement on the opposite side of the Shannon, and the securing of their bridge of pontoons by a fort, the besiegers could have little ground for hopes of ultimate success in so advanced a season, without possession of Thomond-bridge, and King's Island, a tract low and marshy, north of the
 English

English town. To divide so small an army in the face of such a garrison was dangerous; yet Ginckle, Wirtemberg, and Sgravenmore, crossed the Shannon with a large body of troops on the pontoons, on the twenty-second of September; and, after a sharp contest, forced their way to the works protecting Thomond-bridge, which the grenadiers, supported by four regiments, were commanded to storm at four in the evening. The battle now raged with inexpressible fury; the grenadiers rushing desperately forward, even contrary to orders, through a tremendous fire of great and small arms, pushing the Irish from their ground, and, notwithstanding reinforcements from the town, and renewals of the combat, finally putting them to total rout. A French major, who commanded at this post, fearing lest the English might enter with the fugitives, commanded the raising of the draw-bridge, and thus abandoned his men to the fury of the enemy. Before the carnage could be stopped, so as to save the lives of a hundred and twenty-six, who were made prisoners, six hundred carcasses filled the bridge even to the battlements, and about a hundred and fifty men were forced into the river and drowned. The besiegers made a lodgement within ten yards of the bridge, astonished at the conduct of the garrison in not having hazarded a general engagement against the divided forces of the English, rather than suffer the town to be surrounded. But dissensions and discontents with their French allies had increased among the Irish, particularly from the behaviour of

CHAP. the officer at the bridge ; and such a weariness of
 XXXIV. the war prevailed, that, after an unusually furious
 fire from their batteries for several hours, the follow-
 ing day was closed with a parley ; and an agreement
 was made for a truce of three days, to give time to
 the Irish cavalry to take advantage of the capitula-
 tion.

Capitula-
 tion.

An exchange of prisoners was a consequence of the truce ; but the behaviour of the two parties to such as had fallen into their hands appeared on this occasion to have been extremely different. Those, who had been prisoners with the garrison, had been abandoned to famine, disease, and the fire of the besiegers, with wounds undressed, insomuch that the survivors, two hundred and forty, exhibited a hideous spectacle, and many of them died after exposure to the air : but the Irish, who had been prisoners with the besiegers, had been carefully treated with humane attention. On the third day of the truce the Irish offered the terms of capitulation, on which they had agreed among themselves, and under which were to be included all of their party who had not yet surrendered. As these articles, comprizing an establishment of the Roman catholic religion, were judged inadmissible by Ginkle, who in consequence prepared to renew the siege, he was requested by a second deputation to make proposals on his part. The garrison with secret pride accepted his liberal concessions as the ground of a treaty ; but Sir Theobald Butler, an acute lawyer, who was appointed to reduce the whole into
 form,

form, exceeded his instructions so as to insert many particulars in favour of the catholics, which had not been conceded. On the remonstrance of Ginckle, the honour of Sarsfield, conformable to his courage, corrected this obliquity, and reduced the articles to the original sense of the agreement. A proclamation had been prepared by the lords justices, offering terms more liberal still, but suppressed on intelligence of Ginckle's treaty, hence called jocosely the *secret proclamation*, as, though printed, it was never published. On the first of October these chief governors arrived in the camp at Limerick, and on the third the articles were finally adjusted and signed; the civil by the lords justices, Porter and Coningsby, the military by the general, and all afterwards ratified by their Majesties William and Mary. In a few days after the completion of the surrender, a formidable fleet arrived from France in the Shannon, with troops, arms, ammunition, and provisions, for the relief of Limerick, which, if the capitulation had been so long delayed, must have caused a raising of the siege and a dangerous prolongation of the war. Yet the protestants of Ireland were enraged at the concessions made to the catholics, concessions necessary for the state of William's affairs, and probably agreeable to his idea of justice; since, in the contest between the two kings, the catholics, if they had even been indifferent, must have taken a part, and that they should in such a case adhere to a prince of their own religion was altogether natural. These catholics, who had before

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submitted on less favourable terms, were mortified; and those who were so infatuated as to remain attached to the French interest, repented of their surrender, on intelligence of the French fleet's arrival, which returned home, when the object of its destination was discovered to have been lost.

Articles of
Limerick.

The chief substance of these articles, on which Limerick, and all the other posts in possession of the Irish Jacobites, were surrendered to the new government, were that the catholics of Ireland should enjoy such privileges in the exercise of their religion as were consistent with law, or such as they had enjoyed in the reign of Charles the second; and that their Majesties, as soon as their affairs would permit, should summon a parliament, and endeavour to procure from it such further security as might preserve them from disturbance in this particular: that all the Irish in this kingdom, in the service of James, should receive their pardon, and exemption from all such actions of debt as might arise from acts committed by them, in plunder or otherwise, in the course of the war; and should be reinstated in their properties, real and personal, and in all their rights, titles, and privileges, on their taking of the oath of allegiance enjoined by an act of the English parliament in the first year of William's reign: that every lord and gentleman, included in the capitulation, should be allowed to carry arms for the defence of his house or person, or amusement in hunting: that the garrison should march away with all the honours of war; and that those, who might choose to
remove

remove from Ireland, should be permitted to retire with their effects to any country except Great-Britain, in ships provided for that purpose at the expence of the English government. The civil articles amounted to thirteen, the military to twenty-nine. Fourteen thousand Irish, availing themselves of the permission to go beyond sea, bid a farewell for ever to their native country. Ginckle, whose services had been highly meritorious, and Rouvigny, another foreigner, by whom he had been powerfully seconded, were ennobled by William, the former under the titles of lord Aghrim and earl of Galway, the latter under that of lord Galway: but Mackay and Talmash, also of high merit, British officers, were invidiously observed to be neglected by their sovereign.

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*Authorities for Irish history—Leland—Reflexions—
Legislation of the English parliament for Ireland—
A parliament—Lords justices—A parliament—
William Molyneux—Ruin of the Irish woollen ma-
nufacture—The manufacture of linen not a compen-
sation—Impolicy of restrictions on Irish industry—
Resumption of the forfeitures—Proceedings of the
Irish parliament—Sacramental test—Penal statutes
—Violence of party—Tories and whigs—Dispute
about the lord mayor's election—Unconstitutional
interference of the English parliament.*

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Authorities
for Irish
history.

FROM the capitulation of Limerick I reluctantly part with Doctor Leland, my faithful guide from the first arrival of the Stronbownian English to that event, whose history, so impartial as to offend the shallow and violent of every party, is compiled from a great number of original historians and other documents. Through *his* period of Irish transactions I have chiefly followed his compilation, more in the matter than the arrangement, comparing it with his authorities, sometimes using his words, as I took not the least pains either to avoid or adopt his expressions,

pressions, but indifferently availed myself of whatever terms readily occurred, and seemed fit for the purpose. Notwithstanding the supplies afforded me by gentlemen of liberal spirit, a few of the less important materials, from which this respectable writer has compiled, have been beyond my reach, particularly some manuscripts. Some had been communicated to the doctor by the famous Edmund Burke, who, from partiality to catholics, and violence in favour of whatever party he espoused, was highly offended, when he found that the historian was not seduced by his documents from the medium of rectitude. Such has been my own case when I wrote an account of the local rebellion in 1798. I was obligingly supplied with information by men of opposite parties, who were much disappointed when they perceived that my history was not composed in favour of either, but written from a comparison of different narratives with one another and my own experience. To clog my pages with quotations at bottom I have considered as unnecessary in this compilation, but have mentioned in the body of the work my principal authorities before the commencement of Leland's period. The references to his materials may be seen in the margin of his book: and what tracts were extant relative to Irish history in the year 1723 are mostly registered in a treatise named Nicholson's Irish Historical Library. For the remaining part of this compilation, parliamentary records, and various undigested documents, must be ransacked.

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Reflexions.

Since, from the final submission of the Irish to William the third in 1691, this island remained above a century free from other than external war, the historian of this period has happily little else to record than parliamentary transactions; but unhappily these were sometimes of such a nature as, more permanently than war, to sink the nation in poverty and barbarism. The baleful neglect and impolicy of the English government, since the first plantation here of the Anglo-Norman colony, rendered this island, which with a different conduct might have become an exuberant source of wealth and power, such a drain of English blood and treasure, as led many, not without reason, into an opinion, that the non-existence of Ireland, or its total submersion under the waves of the Atlantic, would have been a considerable advantage to England. In the peaceful period, since the surrendry of Limerick, this country has been of important service to her sister kingdom, but of vastly less than she would have been; if the English parliament had acted towards her with a policy guided by common sense or common justice. The glorious revolution of 1688, which established in England an unparalleled system of civil freedom, was far from extending the benignity of its influence in the same degree to Ireland, where it only secured the administration of internal government exclusively to the protestant inhabitants, while these same protestants, the conquerors, or the offspring of the conquerors, of this country for the English crown, were, in common with the catholics, treated as a conquered people.

people by the English legislature, whose laws, with equal cruelty and impolicy, precluded them from availing themselves of the fruits of their own industry. The more democratical the government of a nation becomes, the more is it inclined to domineer over dependant nations; and, if its councils be swayed by the influence of mere mercantile persons, it ruins, by aiming at a monopoly, the commerce of its dependencies by restrictive laws, and thus, by natural consequence, injures essentially its own.

Immediately on the restoration of tranquillity in Ireland, in 1691, the English parliament proceeded to legislate for this country, at a period when its interference might seem least blameable, and yet was in appearance unnecessary, since the acts of the executive might have sufficed for temporary purposes till an Irish parliament could be assembled. Among the laws made for Ireland on this occasion was one for the abrogation of the oath of supremacy, and the substitution of other oaths, by which the catholics were virtually excluded from both houses of the legislature. At length, for the granting of money to the crown, a parliament was convened in Ireland, in 1692, by lord Sydney, the lord lieutenant, after twenty-six years intermission of such assemblies, with exception only of the parliamentary convention held by king James. The commons voted a sum not exceeding seventy thousand pounds; but soon quarrelled with the chief governor in defence of their privileges. Of the certified bills returned from England, on the principles of Poyning's law, two were bills of

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of supply, one of which was rejected, and the reason of rejection entered on the journals, "that it had not originated in the house of commons." The other, on account of the great urgency of the case, was passed, but with a recorded reservation of their privileges in a declaratory vote, "that it was and is the sole and undoubted right of the commons to prepare heads of bills for raising money." Sydney, in a few days after, on the third of November, prorogued the parliament, and, in his speech to the commons, accused them of having undutifully and ungratefully invaded the royal prerogative. When they requested permission to send commissioners to their Majesties, William and Mary, for the stating of their case, they were told in reply that "they might go to England to beg their Majesty's pardon for their seditious and riotous assemblies." He entered 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 farther prorogations the parliament was dissolved, to the great disappointment of the public, as bills of importance were thus frustrated, and grievances unredressed.

Lord's justices.
1699.

Three lords justices, appointed chief governors, on the recall of Sydney, Lord Capel, Sir Cyril Wyche, and Mr. Duncomb, disagreed in the administration; the two latter maintaining the observance, the former the evasion, of the articles of Limerick. As

these

these articles had been always regarded as grievous CH A P. XXXV. by the protestants, who, beside other grounds of discontent, were thereby precluded from reclaiming what had been plundered from them by the catholics, the complaint of the latter is doubtless not unfounded, that the former abused their power by infringing the capitulation in many instances. Such compacts, however extorted by pressing circumstances, and however severe in appearance to the conceding party, ought, for the sake of mutual confidence among mankind, even independently of divine justice, to be observed with religious scrupulosity; and such infringements could by no means have the approbation of so wise a monarch as William; but the agents of government often counteracted the intention of the sovereign. As the conduct of lord Henry Capel was adapted to the prejudices of the powerful, his interest prevailed to the removal of his two colleagues, and the appointment of himself as sole governor under the title of lord-deputy.

In a parliament convened by this governor in 1695, were annulled 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; and a few penal statutes were added to those which had been already enacted against catholics. Sir Charles Porter, the chancellor,

CHAP. lor, a strenuous advocate for the strict execution of
 XXXV. the capitulation with the Romanists, was assailed by a party, supposed to have been incited by the chief governor, who charged him with designs hostile to government, and made a motion in the house of commons for his impeachment; but he was honourably acquitted, when he was heard in his defence. The proceedings of this parliament, which was more obsequious than the former to the sovereign, or rather to the ruling party in England, were for some time of little importance; but its privileges were asserted in such a manner by one of its members, William Molyneux, a representative of the university, as to cause a violent clamour in the English houses of legislature.

Molyneux. This gentleman published a book in 1698, styled,
 1698. *The case of Ireland's being bound by acts of parliament in England stated*, for the purpose of proving, from the course of historical facts, that *the kingdom of Ireland was as independent of the kingdom of England as the latter was of the former*. Incensed at such pretensions, the English house of commons appointed a committee to examine the book, and the proceedings of Irish parliaments which might have countenanced such assertions. On the report of this committee, on the twenty-second of June, the commons resolved unanimously, "that the book published by Mr. Molyneux was of dangerous tendency to the crown and people of England, by denying the authority of the king and parliament of England to bind the kingdom and people of Ireland, and
 the

the subordination and dependence that Ireland had, and ought to have, upon England, as being united and annexed to the imperial crown of England." They also in a body presented an address to his Majesty, beseeching him to take care that the laws directing and restraining the Irish parliament should not be evaded; in answer to which they received a promise of his acting according to their request. To Molyneux two answers were attempted, by William Atwood, a barrister, and John Cary, a merchant of Bristol; of whom bishop Nicholson, in his historical library, has thus pronounced; "the merchant argues and pleads like a counsellor at law; and the barrister strings his small wares together like a shop-keeper." This work of Molyneux, notwithstanding some trifling errors, is a book of merit, and in consequence received the stamp of reputation by being burned by the common hangman by command of the English government. That England, Scotland, and Ireland, were three kingdoms, completely distinct, under one monarch, is evident: that the Scottish parliament was independent of the English was not denied: that the Irish parliament should not be as independent as the Scottish no proof could be shewn: yet that the predominant power of England should command an ascendancy in the two inferior kingdoms must appear necessary to prevent confusion; but how far that ascendancy should be carried was a question which would be determined by power not reason. The only remedy for so aukward a system was an incorporation of the three kingdoms

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doms into one, a measure against which mutual prejudices operated, violent in proportion to their inconsistency with reasonable positions.

Woollen
Manufac-
ture.
1698.

The English parliament exercised over Ireland a power which it might fear to assume over Scotland. In the latter the people were united in religion, and had given formidable proofs of an independent spirit. In the former the governing party was comparatively small, dependant on their connexion with England for their support against the great majority, who regarded them as English, and hated them for their religion, and for the lands confiscated from the old natives. Previously to the publication made by Molyneux, the Irish parliament had been required by the king to pass laws for the encouragement of the hempen and linen manufactures in their country, and the discouragement of the woollen, in consequence of representations made by English traders, who apprehended a competition of the Irish in the latter. In compliance with the royal requisition an act was made in January 1698, for the imposition of such additional duties on the exportation of woollen cloth, except frizes, as amounted very nearly to a prohibition. Not contented with this, the English parliament, in the following year, 1699, prohibited the exportation from Ireland of all cloths made of wool, or containing any mixture of it, to any country except South Britain, and even in that case under such duties and restrictions as to amount in reality to a total prohibition. The prohibitory laws of this class enacted in England were accompanied with

with enforcements, as inconsistent with the political distinctness of Ireland, as with the free principles of the English constitution. The accused were liable to the penalties of confiscation, imprisonment, and transportation, without the benefit of a fair trial; for, though they should have been fully acquitted under all the forms of law in Ireland, they might be carried still to England to be tried by a foreign jury, far from their friends and the witnesses in their favour, perhaps without money or resources.

That encouragement was to be given to the linen and hempen manufactures of Ireland, so as exclusively to supply the English trade in fabricks 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

CHAP. importation of the seed exhaustingly expensive to a
 XXXV. } poor country; the crops liable to failure from un-
 sound seed and other circumstances; and the culture
 so unprofitable, that, notwithstanding great sums
 given in premiums 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 in-
 jured the English, since from well known circum-
 stances, 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 establish-
 ment of the acts of settlement and explanation their
 country had rapidly increased in wealth and im-
 provement, to the admiration and envy of her neigh-
 bours, till it was again laid waste by the revoluti-
 onary wars under William the third; 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 thou-
 sand pounds. But the effects were permanent of re-
 stricting laws, insurmountable by the fertility of the
 soil, the ingenuity of the inhabitants, a situation
 very advantageous for commerce, navigable rivers,
 and

and a multitude of harbours. Human affairs, however, are so constituted 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 correspondences, 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.

The destruction of the woollen manufacturè was not the only evil of Ireland from the prohibitions imposed by the English legislature. Beside a variety of restrictions, embargoes have been frequently laid on the exportation of provisions, ruinous to the agriculture and other species of industry. Monopoly is the fallacious object of men merely commercial: and, if the parliament of England had been influenced to the full extent by the applications of such, Ireland must have been in great part depopulated. For instance, two petitions were presented in 1698,

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CHAP. XXXV. by the people of Folkstone in Kent, and Aldborough in Suffolk, stating a grievance which they sustained from Ireland, “ by the Irish catching herrings at *Waterford* and *Wexford*, and sending them to the Streights, and thereby *forestalling* and ruining petitioners’ markets.” To impute blame to William, who complied with the request of the English commons for the suppression of the woollen trade of Ireland, would be unjust. Charles the second, though an unprincipled man, had seen, and for some time ineffectually opposed, the injustice of the English parliament in the prohibition of Irish cattle. So wise and just a monarch as William must have perceived, and inwardly condemned, an impolicy far more deleterious: but he was obliged to give way to the caprices of the commons, whose factious and ungrateful demeanour proved irksome on several occasions. A remarkable case of this kind had place in the affairs of Ireland.

Resumption
of Irish for-
feitures.
1700.

To reward the services of his dependants, this monarch, who, from the insufficiency of parliamentary supplies, was not otherwise enabled, had made seventy-six grants of the forfeited estates in Ireland. Offended at this act of prerogative, the English commons unjustly charged the king with breach of promise in not having left the forfeitures to the disposal of parliament for the discharge of public debts, and passed a bill for the sending of seven commissioners to enquire into the value of the confiscated lands, and the reasons of their alienation from the public. Of these commissioners three were disposed

to

to act with moderation; the rest with a partiality pleasing to the commons; who accordingly voted that the report of them only was worthy of credit, and that the advising and conferring of these grants was highly derogatory to the king's honour. A bill for the resumption of the granted lands, as public property, passed the lower house; afterwards, not without much disputation, the upper; and at length received the royal assent, in the giving of which the king expressed extreme dissatisfaction. As the properties of great numbers, beside the grantees; were involved in these grants, trustees were vested with uncontrollable authority for the determining of claims, and disposal of lands to purchasers. Although, aware of the violence of the act of resumption, the commons had voted, contrary to the constitutional rights of the subjects, that no petition should be received against it, petitions were sent in multitudes against the act, and against the conduct of the trustees, who were charged with injustice and venality. These representations were pronounced false and scandalous by the lower house of English parliament, though the value of the granted lands, which had been estimated by the commissioners at fifteen hundred thousand pounds, proved in the hands of the trustees hardly more than a third of that sum.

In the reign of queen Anne, who succeeded on the death of William in 1701, we find little of importance beside the complaints of national poverty, the violence of party spirit, and a rigorous augmentation of penal statutes against catholics. By a parliament

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Proceedings
of parliament.
1703.

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liament convened in 1703, by the duke of Ormond, successor, as lord lieutenant, to Laurence Hyde, earl of Rochester, a supply not exceeding a hundred and fifty thousand pounds, was granted for this and the following year: an unavailing representation of grievances was made to her Majesty, among which were the invasion of their constitutional rights by a foreign judicature, the corrupt and oppressive conduct of the trustees of the forfeited estates, the misery arising from the restrictions of commerce, and, beside some other causes of complaint, the infrequency of a parliamentary convention, which had not been held since the year 1698: useless pensions to the annual amount of sixteen thousand pounds, were abolished, a laudable example seldom since followed: an act was passed for settling the succession to the crown in the same line in which it had already been settled by an act in England: and in a bill *to prevent the further growth of popery*, new severities were enacted against the catholics. As the queen, who was then in close alliance with the emperor of Germany, had requested some indulgence for the protestant subjects of that monarch, the English cabinet, wishing to prevent the passing of a persecuting law at such a time, and, on the other hand, fearing to disoblige the powerful party who favoured the measure, had recourse to a subterfuge. Hoping thereby to raise an effectual opposition from the interest of the dissenting protestants, they added to the bill a clause, by which all persons in Ireland were rendered incapable of any employment under the
crown,

crown, or of being magistrates in any city, who should not receive, agreeably to the English test act, the sacrament as prescribed by the established church. In this hope the queen's ministers were disappointed, for the dissenters, cajoled with the expectation of the speedy repeal of this clause, made no opposition, and the bill 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 council for the catholics, who regarded it as a breach of the articles of Limerick. The dissenters also were grievously disappointed, for the clause, so obnoxious to them, called the *sacramental test*, remained unrepealed, notwithstanding their repeated applications to government.

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Resentment against the bigotry, the intolerent spirit of the catholics, the dreadful abuse of power to which they had too forcibly shewn themselves inclined, was doubtless the chief cause of incitement to the Irish parliament in the reign of Anne, for the enactment in this and other sessions, of those penal statutes, which are so disgraceful to a protestant legislature. But those laws which seemed intended for its punishment or suppression, were most powerfully fitted for the strengthening and confirming of bigotry, since their immediate effects were hatred to the ruling party, and debasement of the intellect. William, though educated in the principles of the calvinists, a sect most adverse to the church of Rome, and though the only momentous opposition to the establishment of his government in the British islands

Penal sta-
tutes.

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had arisen from the Irish catholics, would yet, if his parliament had been similarly disposed, have treated this people with so ample a toleration as might in course of time have mollified their intolerance, rendered them worthy of being placed in the same political situation with protestants, and finally attached them as much as any to the English connexion. To particularize is unnecessary the articles of the penal code, by which the Romanists of Ireland were, for the greater part of a century, reduced to a political blank, and by which, if the generosity of protestants had not mostly frustrated the execution, they would have been degraded still more to a condition hardly conceivable. But how much soever we must condemn any system of oppression, we are not to consider all those laws as wantonly decreed without an object. To break the influence of catholics by 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 the prescribed oaths, and conform to protestantism: but the system was 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, beside 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.

restrictions. This law, though lamentably rigorous, was yet, if religious coercions are to be allowed, lamentably necessary from the enormous bigotry of the catholics, among whom, if any son should shew the least propensity to protestantism, he would be instantly rendered an outcast without means of subsistence. But the interdicting of catholics from education at home seemed most injudicious, as it promoted foreign attachments, and cherished ignorance, the shield of bigotry.

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One of the causes of severity against catholics was the violence of party, arising from the distinction of whig and tory, a distinction imported from England. As the catholics were not only tories, but also Jacobites, they were peculiarly the object of vengeance to the whigs, the party predominant during the greater part of the reign of queen Anne. Principles of toryism were however entertained by a considerable body of protestants in Ireland, in whom they were encouraged by the successive chief governors, Rochester and Ormond. Provoked at attempts made by men of those principles, to sow dissension, the house of commons in 1705 passed a resolution against such proceedings, declaring that to spread reports, by pamphlets or otherwise, of the church being in danger, was pernicious to her Majesty's government and the succession of the crown in the protestant line. The clergy of the established church, who were mostly regarded as tories, published from their convocation resolutions to wipe suspicion from themselves, particularly that the

CHAP. security of the church and nation depended, under
 XXXV. God, wholly on the succession of the protestant line
 as settled by law; and that if any clergyman of their
 order should utter any opinion of a contrary nature,
 he should be regarded as an enemy to the constitu-
 tion. Whatever might have been the sentiments of
 the main body of the clergy, those of the university
 were so attached to the principles of the revolution,
 that, for aspersions on the memory of king William,
 they degraded and expelled Edward Forbes, one of
 their members. In consequence of their loyalty, an
 application in their favour for five thousand pounds
 for the erection of a library, made by the parliament
 in 1709, through the viceroy, was favourably receiv-
 ed by the queen. This viceroy was the earl of
 Wharton, successor to the earl of Pembroke, a whig
 in profession, but deistical in opinion, and profligate
 in manners, deputed for the repairing of a shattered
 fortune to Ireland, where he was said by Dean Swift
 to have gained in two years forty-five thousand
 pounds, half in the regular way and half in the *pru-
 dential*.

The heat of faction increased in the latter part of
 the reign of Anne, and the clergy openly adopted
 the part of the tories, which was doubtless strength-
 ened by the imprudent violence of the whigs. Browne,
 bishop of Cork, published a pamphlet to prove the drinking
 of toasts impious, as the glorious memory of king
 William was perpetually given, frequently to annoy-
 ance in mixed company. When, in 1713, an address
 to her Majesty was voted by the
 commons.

commons for the removal of Sir Constantine Phipps, lord chancellor, an active tory; and contrary resolutions were voted by the lords, among whom toryism had gained the ascendancy; the clergy seconded strenuously the latter, and waited on the duke of Shrewsbury, the chief governor, at the castle, with their representation. Here Sir Robert Molesworth was heard to say, "They who have turned the world upside down are come hither also." The clergy made complaint to the lords, who in consequence requested a conference with the commons. The latter treated the matter lightly; but the English ministry, composed now of tories, ordered his removal from the privy-council. Previously to this the city of Dublin had been thrown into a ferment by disputes about the choice of a lord-mayor, and by a riot which had happened in the election of members for the house of commons. An enquiry concerning the latter at the meeting of parliament occasioned the address of the commons against Phipps the chancellor. The lord-mayor in office had been empowered by late regulations to nominate three aldermen, one of whom should be elected his successor, unless reasonable objections could be made to them all. In violation of this rule, in the absence of Sir Samuel Cook, the man then holding this authority, a violent tory, the aldermen chose for his successor a whig, named Pleasant. The privy-council annulled the election. Of the aldermen, when summoned to make a new choice, twenty objected to one of the three nominated
by

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Interference
of the Eng-
lish parlia-
ment.

by Cook; and, before the affair could be brought to a termination, the court was dismissed.

The violence of party added one to the many instances of unconstitutional interference of the English parliament in the affairs of Ireland. Some of these, which were frequent from the complete establishment of William's authority in this kingdom, have been already incidentally hinted or mentioned; and to notice two or three more may be here sufficient. The forfeiture, decreed in the reign of Charles the first, against the London society, of their lands in the county of Derry, had been reversed, and the proprietors repossessed, by the acts of settlement and explanation. In consequence of an act of the Irish parliament for a salvo in this case to the rights of the clergy, the bishop of Derry claimed the lands of his see, and obtained judgment in his favour on a trial before the Irish peers; but the society appealed to the English house of lords, in the January of 1708, who gave a contrary judgment. The dispute of property was terminated by the removal of the bishop, and a composition made by his successor with the society. Afterwards, in the recess of the Irish parliament, the earl and countess of Meath were, by an appeal to the English peers, dispossessed of some lands, which had been decreed to be their property by an Irish court of judicature. In February 1703, the Irish lords entered into resolutions, declaring the judgment of their house to be final, not reversable by any court whatsoever: and that if any subject within this kingdom should afterward appeal from their jurisdiction, or execute

an

an order from any other court contrary to their determination, he should be deemed a betrayer of her Majesty's prerogative, of the privileges of their house, and of the rights of the subjects of Ireland. The commons were also solicitous to maintain their privileges. A money bill, transmitted to England in 1709, and returned to them with alterations, was rejected in its present form by a large majority. But the privileges of both houses were indefensibly violated by an act of the English parliament, in 1714, to prevent the growth of schism, an act levelled by the queen's ministry against the presbyterians, as whigs, both in England and Ireland. This law was made to include Ireland as fully as any part of England, as the ministry knew that a bill to this purpose could not pass in the Irish house of commons, where the whigs had a small majority.

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*English affairs—Union of England and Scotland—
Accession of George the first—An Irish parliament
—Unconstitutional act of the British parliament—
Miscellaneous transactions—Party in opposition—
Wood's coinage—Swift's patriotism—Primate
Boulter's agency—Miscellaneous transactions—
Dearth of corn—Emigrations—Parliamentary
transactions—First administration of the duke of
Dorset—Question carried against the cabinet—
Tythe agistment—Devonshire's government—Great
frost—Chesterfield's government—Primate Stone—
Lucas—Jones-Nevil.*

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WILLIAM the third, vested by parliament with the English monarchy, had crushed his opponents among the Scots, had finally reduced Ireland, and had seen in 1692 the last attempt for the restoration of his rival, James the second, frustrated by the naval battle of La Hogue, where the French fleet of sixty-three ships of the line, under admiral Tourville, ready to convey a French army into England, was totally defeated by a considerably superior force of English and Dutch vessels under admiral Russel. Acting as the head of a great confederacy against France,

France, whose plans he repressed of inordinate ambition, he at length concluded a general peace with that power in 1697. Delicate in frame by nature, and vexatiously agitated by the factious proceedings of the English parliament, particularly in the resumption of the Irish forfeitures, he gradually declined in constitution, till his death was hastened by a fall from his horse. As Mary, his queen, the eldest daughter of James the second, had died before him, the crown, by an act of parliament made in 1689, devolved to Anne, the sister of Mary, in 1701.

This princess fulfilled the foreign engagements of her predecessor, in entering into a confederacy with the German emperor and the Dutch commonwealth for a war against France, to prevent the establishment of a grandson of the French monarch on the throne of Spain. She accomplished in 1706 a union of England and Scotland into one kingdom, styled, cognominally with the island of which they are parts, the kingdom of Great-Britain; a union plainly necessary for the independence of both in the growing magnitude of continental powers, yet not obtained without labour, largesses, and finesse. The war was prosecuted with a success quite glorious on the side of the Netherlands, where the famous John Churchill, duke of Marlborough, at the head of a confederate army, seemed to threaten the French monarchy with the lowest degradation. But the queen, whose councils at first were directed by whigs, was in the four last years of her reign guided by a tory ministry, who

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who concluded in 1712 a peace with the French king, on terms vastly less disadvantageous to him than those which he had before vainly solicited. On the decease of Anne, in 1714, without offspring, the crown devolved, by an act of parliament passed in 1700, on George, elector of Hanover, who was, by his mother Sophia, grandson of Elizabeth, the only daughter of king James the first, and wife of Frederic elector Palatine. This important event, accomplished by the vigilance and activity of the whigs, was very mortifying to the Jacobites, who had fondly hoped the restoration of the Stuart line. James had died in France in the year 1700, but his *pretensions* to the British crown were inherited by his son, thence denominated the pretender, styled also the Chevalier de Saint-George. Encouraged by a general disaffection of the tories, which was fomented by severities of the new government, seemingly pushed beyond the bounds of necessity and sound policy, the partizans of this prince raised a rebellion in North-Britain and the north-western counties of England, in the latter part of the year 1715. But, deprived of assistance from France by the death of his friend, Louis the fourteenth, at the critical juncture, and dreaded by all protestants of reflexion on account of his bigotry to the religion of his father, the chevalier, though he landed in Scotland to inspirit his adherents, was quite unsuccessful. The rebellion was suppressed; many of its leaders executed; and the new line of monarchs firmly seated on the British throne.

Although

Although the last ministry of Anne had seemingly taken measures to leave Ireland open to the attempts of the Chevalier de Saint-George, since the parliament of this kingdom had been prevented by a prorogation from the passing of a bill of attainder against that personage, and great part of the army on the Irish establishment had been disbanded, while partizans of the chevalier were openly recruiting in this country for his service. Yet to the accession of her successor, George the first, not the smallest shew of opposition was made among the Irish. A parliament, convened in the November of 1715, by the lords justices, the duke of Grafton and the earl of Galway, manifested a zealous loyalty. Beside the recognition of his Majesty's title, and other acts of the same import, a bill of attainder was passed against the chevalier, including a reward of fifty thousand pounds for the seizure of his person. An act of attainder, with confiscation of his estates, and a reward of ten thousand pounds for his caption, was also decreed 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. The commons granted supplies without hesitation; they obliged those gentlemen to beg pardon on their knees, who had addressed the late sovereign in favour of Sir Constantine Phipps; they entered into an association against the pretender and his adherents; and, in an address to the king, they requested the removal of Arthur, earl of Anglesey, from his councils.

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An Irish
parliament.
1715.

CHAP. **councils**, and from the office of vice-treasurer, as he
 XXXVI. was supposed to have advised or influenced the dangerous measures of the late ministry. They also voted resolutions of a dispensing nature, declaring any person an enemy to the king, who should commence a prosecution against any protestant dissenter, for his acceptance of a commission in the army or militia; and they resolved on an address to the lords justices to recommend the corporation of Dublin to his Majesty for a mark of his royal favour, to perpetuate the virtue and faithful services of the aldermen and sheriffs who had opposed the tory interest in the late election of a lord mayor.

From the accession of George the first the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland were administered exclusively by whigs, and so completely reduced in the latter was the force of Jacobitism supposed to be, that when the duke of Ormond, driven to desperate attempts by the violence of his enemies, took in 1718 the command of a Spanish fleet and army for an invasion of George's dominions in favour of the pretender, his voyage, which was frustrated by a storm, was directed not to Ireland, where the great body of catholics, including his own numerous tenantry, were too dispirited to afford hopes of strenuous aid, but to North Britain, where men of influence and resolution were strongly attached to the line of Stuart, and highly discontented with the new government. The zealous loyalty of the Irish parliament could not protect its privileges from the invasion of the British. In a suit for an estate between

Unconstitutional act of the British parliament. 1719.

Hester

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, Alexander Burrowes, in which he stated that, when he had 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 late 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 twelve hundred pounds. By the resolutions of the lords the sheriff's conduct was approved, his fines annulled, the barons of the Exchequer taken into custody, and a memorial presented to his Majesty in vindication of their own conduct and of the national rights. In

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the conclusion of their statement they inform the king, that his deputy-receiver had paid Hester Sherlock above eighteen hundred pounds, to prevent any farther applications from her to the Irish parliament, the repayment of which money was expected from government.

The last circumstance may serve to shew an influence unfriendly to the views of the Irish peers. When their memorial, which maintained, as far as reason could go, the independence of the Irish parliament, was read before the British peers, the latter voted resolutions, in which the barons of the Irish Exchequer were commended for their conduct, and his Majesty supplicated to confer on them some mark of his favour for their sufferings by unjust censure and imprisonment. The duke of Leeds, with a magnanimity and sense of justice most honourable to his memory, entered against these proceedings his protest, containing 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 practise injustice with impunity. Not satisfied with these resolutions, the British peers enacted a bill, which also passed the commons by a majority of a hundred and forty against eighty-three, and was confirmed into a law by the royal assent, styled "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,

appeals, and the legislative authority of the Irish parliament placed in a very problematical situation, since in this act the British parliament was declared 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."

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Notwithstanding the degrading state of subjection to which the Irish parliament and nation were reduced, such a spirit of opposition was raised among the people in 1724, against a measure favoured by the ruling party in Britain, that the British cabinet thought proper to relinquish the business. Until then, from the encroaching act of the British legislature, few matters worth notice occurred. Precluded from the benefits of industry by restricting laws, the people were so miserably poor, that the famous Jonathan Swift, dean of Saint-Patrick's, a zealous patriot for the Irish nation, and actuated with uncommonly great philanthropy, declared that he "rejoiced at a mortality as a blessing to individuals and the public." The same system of administration, which had been adopted in the reign of William, continued through this period and long after it. The catholics were reduced to a political non-existence by the Irish parliament, and the Irish nation to a very low state of permanent weakness by the parliament of Britain, and the plan of administration. The viceroy, nominally vested with the executive government, came commonly for a short time once in two years, leaving the real power to lords justices, chosen from the principal state-officers of the

Miscellaneous transactions.

CHAP. country, and principally occupied in the consolida-
 XXXVI. tion of an aristocratic influence for effectuating the
 plans of the British cabinet. The ascendancy in the
 house of commons was held by whigs, hostile to the
 catholics as Jacobites, and favourable to the presby-
 terians. Hence a law was enacted in 1719, when the
 duke of Bolton was lord-lieutenant "for exempting
 the protestant dissenters from certain penalties to
 which they were subject;" and in 1723, in the admi-
 nistration of the duke of Grafton, heads of a bill for
 additional severities against catholics passed the com-
 mons, but the farther progress of the business was
 prevented by its suppression in England. As in the
 councils, by which Ireland was governed, its prosper-
 ity was manifestly no object, a number of men, real
 friends to their country's welfare, formed, in conjunc-
 tion with the old Tories, who had been habituated to
 contend against the whigs from less laudable motives,
 a party, called the *patriots*, to oppose the ministry.
 The soul of this party was the admirable Swift, whose
 writings excited in many of his countrymen a sense
 of their situation and true interest, the first success of
 which was the defeating of a job favoured by the
 ministry.

Wood's
 coinage.
 1724.

To remedy the inconvenience arising from a scar-
 city of copper money in Ireland, instead of a coinage
 from a royal mint, which had been repeatedly
 solicited, a royal patent was granted to an English-
 man, William Wood, for the coining of halfpence
 and farthings to the value of a hundred and eight
 thousand pounds for circulation in this kingdom.

Men

Men of all ranks were alarmed at the apprehended consequences, represented as ruinous to the nation in the pamphlets of Swift, which were published under the fictitious title of the *Drapier's Letters*. The coin was represented as deficient in weight and quality of metal to such a degree, that the amount of a shilling, in nominal value, was intrinsically worth not more than a penny: Wood might pour clandestinely into the kingdom a greater quantity than his patent authorized: foreigners might counterfeit the stamp, and swell the inundation of base metal; and, when this medium should inevitably sink in exchange to its real value, the entire loss must fall on the people of Ireland. Addresses to his Majesty against the patent were voted by the Irish parliament, and most of the cities. The grand jury of the county of Dublin presented as enemies to government, all who should attempt to put this coin into circulation; and it was almost universally decried by the gentlemen at the quarter sessions throughout the country. On the other hand, the British privy-council published a report in approbation of the coin, and severe condemnation of the Irish parliament's address. But, as the Irish privy-council, and the partizans of the British ministry in Ireland, particularly primate Boulter, recommended to his Majesty to allay the general discontent, the patent was revoked in 1725.

Some English writers have considered the complaints of Swift and the Irish as in this case unfounded and factious; but why should the furnishing of coin

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to Ireland, and not to Britain, be committed by patent to individuals for private emolument? Deeply affected with the wretched poverty of his countrymen, occasioned by an absurdly cruel system of government, Swift had in other publications expressed ideas offensive to the ruling party. To alleviate the distress, he had in one of these, in 1720, strongly recommended to the people of Ireland to save the great national expence of purchasing English manufactures, by resolving to make use of none except those which were of Irish fabrication. This pamphlet was declared seditious: its printer, named Waters, was arrested and brought to trial: Whithed, the chief justice, laying his hand on his heart, and solemnly protesting that the author's design was to bring the pretender into the country, remanded the jury nine times, until he wearied them into what was called a special verdict, by which the matter was left to the mercy of the judges: but the invidious business was deferred from term to term; till the duke of Grafton, in his viceroyalty, prevented farther proceedings by granting what is termed by lawyers a *noli prosequi*. The letters under the signature of the draper, which for some unknown reason Swift thought proper to spell *drapier*, were also declared seditious, and a reward of three hundred pounds for the discovery of their author was offered by a proclamation of lord Carteret, the lord lieutenant. The great popularity of the cause frustrated both the proclamation, and the prosecution of Harding, the printer, the bill against whom

was

was rejected by the grand jury. Carteret, a noble-
 man of politeness and liberality, when afterwards
 the dean expostulated with him concerning the
 affair, answered pertinently in the words of Virgil,
Res dura, & regni novitas me talia cogunt moliri.

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Lord Carteret, who convened the parliament in
 1725, retained the viceroyalty till 1731; but the
 chief manager of the Irish government, from 1724
 to 1742, was Boulter, the primate of Ireland, whose
 primary object appears, from the publication of his
 letters, to have been to maintain the ascendancy of
 an *English Interest*, an interest for the effectuating of
 all the measures of the British cabinet, with little
 or no regard to the welfare of the country governed.
 Among the laws enacted in this period are two in
 favour of the quakers, one in 1723, another more
 explicit in 1727, admitting their mode of *affirmation*
 as a legal oath. The latter was passed by a new
 parliament after the accession of George the second,
 as the old, which had continued from 1715, was
 dissolved by the decease of George the first, who
 died in the June of 1727. By an amendment, in the
 same session, to an act for the regulation of parlia-
 mentary elections, the catholics, who had before
 been very narrowly restricted in it, were totally de-
 prived of the elective franchise. They had, for the
 first attempt to approach the throne since the revo-
 lution, voted an address of congratulation to the new
 sovereign, which was presented to the lords justices,
 with an humble request for its transmission to his
 Majesty; but whether it was transmitted or suppressed

Miscella-
neous tran-
sactions.

CHAP. XXXVI. is totally unknown, as no account of it was ever given. This address, by which the catholics might seem to be laying claim to political existence, is supposed by some to have been the cause of the act for their exclusion from voting at elections, as the partizans of the English interest would be afraid of any accession of weight, howsoever small, to the scale of the patriots. A scarcity of corn, generally prevalent from the discouragement of industry, amounted, in 1728 and the following year, almost to a famine, especially in Ulster, where agriculture has been always more confined in proportion to the number of people. To prevent the exportation of corn from the south for supply of the northerns, riots were committed by the people of several towns, who dreaded a dearth among themselves, particularly Cork and Limerick. Emigrations to America, which have since increased, were observed in Boulter's time to draw above three thousand people annually from Ulster alone. These emigrations, caused by distress from restricted commerce and exorbitant rents, were confined to protestants; nor till a later period, nor ever in equal numbers, was American colonization embraced by Irish catholics, as they were more resigned to hardship, more attached to their native soil, less enterprizing, and less connected with foreign establishments where predominated religious opinions widely different from their own.

The commons in their first session had voted resolutions against the interference of noblemen in parliamentary

liamentary elections, and against the reversal of outlawries for the rebellions of sixteen hundred and forty-one and sixteen hundred and eighty-eight. For the latter purpose they transmitted to his Majesty an address, by which was defeated a petition for the restoration of the estates of his family, presented to his sovereign by the earl of Clanricarde, who had conformed to the established religion in the reign of Anne, and had taken his seat in the house of peers. In their address to the chief governor, at their dismissal by prorogation, in May 1728, they notice as “*a happiness peculiar to this session,*” that all the public bills, which had passed the two houses of parliament, had been sanctioned into laws by the royal assent. Among these were several useful acts, particularly for the encouragement of agriculture and the manufacture of linen, and for the better maintenance of the clergy. In the second session also, which ended in the April of 1730, a law was enacted for the forwarding of tillage, and the better employment of the poor, which was highly assisted by his Majesty’s bounty, who remitted his hereditary duties on wool and yarn exported to England.

In the administration of the duke of Dorset, which commenced in the latter part of 1731, the strength of the patriots appeared to be in a state of increase. The supplies for the gradual payment of the principal, as well as the interest, of the national debt of Ireland, had been voted only from session to session, notwithstanding an attempt made in the late viceroyalty for the grant of them for ever to the crown,

CHAP. crown, under the condition of their being redeem-
 XXXVI. able by parliament. A motion was now made by the
 courtiers for the vesting of this revenue for twenty-
 one years in the crown; but on a division of the
 commons, the question was negatived by a majority
 of one. The casting voice on this occasion was
 given by colonel Charles Tottenham, member for
 Ross in the county of Wexford, who had ridden
 with his utmost speed to Dublin for the purpose,
 and arrived barely in time to determine the contest,
 on which account "Tottenham in boots" became a

toast. In 1735 the commons exerted their power
 Tythe agist- to the deprivation of ecclesiastical property. The
 ment, emigrations of protestants to America, the main
 cause of which was exorbitant rents, were artfully
 represented by owners of estates, of which class the
 house of commons consisted, as caused by the op-
 pression of tythes, particularly that of agistment for
 dry cattle, which 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 such resolutions voted
 by the house, as deterred all persons in future from
 engaging in suits for the recovery of other tythes
 than the produce of sheep and tillage, to the en-
 couragement of grazing, and the consequent dis-
 couragement of agriculture.

Devon-
 shire's go-
 vernment,
 1737-1745.

The duke of Devonshire, who succeeded Dorset
 in 1737, was the most magnificent of the viceroys
 of this kingdom since the time of the great Ormond,

expending

expending his private revenue, not only in a splendid style of living, but even in works of public utility, as the building of a wharf in the port of Dublin, which bears the name of his title. Among the few occurrences of his long administration, which passed with unusual tranquillity, was the alarm given to the possessors of confiscated lands, by an application of the earl of Clancarty to the king for the restoration of his estates, which had been forfeited by the rebellion of 1688, and were supposed to be worth sixty thousand pounds annually at the time when he applied. The earl had obtained the consent of the British cabinet, that a bill should be brought 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 consequence to his Majesty's person and government. Among the bills confirmed by royal sanction in this period was one in 1737, commanding, in conformity with a prior act of the British parliament, that all proceedings in the courts of justice should in future be in the English language, instead of the Latin; a bill so clearly expedient, that the lateness of its introduction may seem extraordinary. In the winter at the end of 1739, and the succeeding summer, this island was afflicted with a natural calamity. A frost of extraordinary violence,

CHAP. violence, felt in general in the north of Europe,
 XXXVI. and recorded in Ireland under the name of the *great frost*, was followed by such a scarcity of provisions, that the mortality, caused by scanty and improper food, very sensibly thinned the population.

Chester-
 field's Ad-
 ministration.
 1745.

The short administration of Philip Stanhope, earl of Chesterfield, was a kind of a phenomenon in Irish history. This highly accomplished, liberal, and judicious nobleman, to whose character such injustice accrues from the posthumous publication of his letters, intended for a peculiar purpose, by no means for general advice, was, with sound policy, contrary to the real inclination of the monarch, whose favourite errors in politics he had opposed, appointed lord lieutenant at a dangerous juncture, when in the midst of an unsuccessful war against France and Spain, an alarming rebellion had been raised in Scotland, in favour of Charles Edward Stuart, son of the pretender. Vested with ample powers, this viceroy acted from his own judgment, uninfluenced by the counsels of those who to prevent an imaginary, might have excited a real rebellion, by violent measures against catholics, the bulk of the nation: He discountenanced all party distinctions: he extended the full protection of the laws to catholics: he encouraged publications to convince this people of the absurdity of good expectations from a revolution in the pretender's favour, particularly a letter under the drapier's signature, in the style of Swift, who had fallen into a mental debility previously to his dissolution: he displayed a full confidence of
 their

their peaceable behaviour, and treated with ridicule all attempts to alarm him; as, for instance, when the vice-treasurer, Mr. Gardner, came one morning in a fright to assure him, that the people of Connaught were actually rising, he replied with perfect composure, looking on 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, supplying their place with additional companies to the regiments already on the establishment, and encouraging volunteer associations for defence, without augmenting the public expenditure, the influence of the crown, his own patronage, or his private emolument. Resting the support of his administration on its rectitude, he abstained from the pernicious custom of gaining partizans by reverſionary grants. The supply asked by him was very moderate, collected with ease, and managed with such œconomy, that a part remained from the intended uses, and this was applied to the improvement of Cork harbour. From his excellent conduct a profound tranquillity reigned in Ireland, where not a man espoused the pretender's cause, while in Scotland thousands were in arms under his banners, and seemed to threaten the restoration of a Romish line of kings to the British throne. The boon to Ireland of such a governor, as it had been extorted from the British cabinet by the necessity of circumstances, was recalled as soon as that necessity ceased. Nine

days

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 XXXVI. of Culloden, which was fought on the sixteenth
 of April 1746, the amiable Stanhope departed
 from this kingdom, deeply regretted by the na-
 tion, who, as a mark of gratitude, placed his bust,
 at the public expence, in the castle of Dublin.

Primate
 Stone.

Under Chesterfield's government the contest be-
 tween the English and Irish interest lay dormant ;
 but, after those halcyon days it revived in full
 force. The chief management of the former de-
 volved from primate Boulter to primate Hoadley,
 and from him in 1747 to his successor, George
 Stone, promoted from the see of Derry. Haughty,
 determined, and devoted to his party, this prelate
 scrupled at no means for the accomplishment of his
 purpose. Regardless of his pastoral duties, and
 solely intent on politics, he sacrificed religion and
 morality to the confirming and gaining of adherents,
 to whom, in the extreme of hospitality, he is said
 to have furnished gratifications, not only for the pa-
 late, but also for another appetite, the love of the
 most familiar intercourse with females. To de-
 preciate the protestant religion in a country of ca-
 tholics, by placing such a man at the head of the
 church, and employing him as the engine of in-
 trigue, was not consistent with sound policy. By
 the virulence of party his vices were exposed, and
 he was even accused of an abominable indulgence,
 in allusion to which his enemies gave as a toast,
 " may the importation of *Ganymedes* be disconti-
 nued in Ireland." His chief opponent, as leader of
 the

the patriots, or Irish interest, was Henry Boyle, speaker of the commons, afterwards created earl of Shannon. This party received also considerable aid from an individual originally obscure, whose activity, talents, and intrepid perseverance, raised him to eminence in the esteem of his countrymen.

From innovations made in the charters of corporate towns in the reign of Charles the second, the power of choosing their own magistrates had been taken from the commons of the city of Dublin, and placed in the board of aldermen, subject in its exercise on each election to the approbation of the chief governor and privy-council. Charles Lucas, an apothecary, anxious for the rights of the citizens, into whose common-council he had been admitted, but unable to oppose a positive law, discovered, by a laborious investigation of charters and other records, that encroachments, without legal sanction, had been made on their privileges in other respects. By publishing his discoveries in 1741, with suitable observations, he raised a furious contest, pursued with acrimony, between the commons and aldermen, which, though unavailing to the former, tended to excite in the nation a spirit of inquiry and opposition to the invasion of political rights. His publications in favour of the claims of the people, and of Ireland as a separate kingdom, among which was a memorial to the earl of Harrington, the lord lieutenant, gave at length such an alarm to the partizans of administration, that a resolution was taken
to

CHAP. to crush him at once by the hand of power. For this
 XXXVI. purpose the interest of the court was exerted with
 such success, that in the October of 1749, the house
 of commons in parliament voted Lucas an enemy to
 his country, and, by humble addresses to the vice-
 roy, requested the prosecution of the offender by
 the attorney-general, and the issuing of a proclama-
 tion for the seizure of his person. Unable to with-
 stand so formidable a force, he retired into exile,
 whence he was destined to return, some years after,
 with augmented honour, to be elected a representa-
 tive in parliament for the city of Dublin, in his
 pursuit of which office he had at this time been frus-
 trated by ministerial influence.

Notwithstanding this partial defeat, the popular
 party was gaining strength. Under the viceroyalty
 of the earl of Harrington, who succeeded Chester-
 field in 1746, a question was started concerning the
 disposal of national revenue in a particular case,
 which remained undetermined till the second admi-
 nistration of the duke of Dorset, who returned to
 Ireland as the successor of Harrington in 1751. Pre-
 viously to this determination an important point was
 gained in the punishment of one of those delin-
 quents of state, who had hitherto been protected
 from justice by the parliamentary influence of the
 cabinet. Arthur Jones-Nevil, a member for the
 county of Wexford, surveyor and engineer-general,
 was, in the March of 1752, on an examination by
 a committee of the house of commons, found guilty
 of scandalous embezzlement of the public money
 in

in a contract for the building and repairing of barracks; was ordered by a resolution of the commons to fulfil his contract without any additional charge to the public; and in the November of the following year, was expelled the house, on the report of a committee that he had not complied with this resolution.

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National debt of Ireland—Dispute about previous consent—Discontents—Kildare's memorial—Change of administration—Parliamentary transactions—National poverty and partial remedies—Violence of a mob—Threats of a French invasion—Thurot's descent—Whiteboys—Hearts of Oak—Parliamentary transactions—Ostential bill—New system of administration—News-papers—A parliament—Rejection of a money-bill—Second session of the Ostential parliament, &c.—Death of Lucas—Hearts of Steel—Emigration to America.

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National
debt.

THE national debt of Ireland, which had been principally occasioned by an unlimited vote of credit, given to government by the house of commons' in 1715, as an aid against the rebellion then excited in North-Britain, had, by the poverty of the nation, increased, in eighteen years, from sixteen thousand to three hundred and seventy-one thousand pounds. In the application of public money for the discharge of this debt, when, in some years afterwards, from the augmentation of the linen manufacture and some other

other favourable circumstances, the national poverty had become in some degree diminished, an occasion was taken for a trial of parliamentary strength between the two factions of patriots and courtiers.

By an act amounting to a perpetual money-bill, in the reign of Charles the second, a hereditary revenue was settled on the crown, which proved more than sufficient for the support of government till after the revolution, when an additional supply was granted by the commons. When, in 1749, of a surplus of two hundred and twenty thousand pounds, remaining in the treasury, after the discharge of all the expences of government, an act was passed for the application of a hundred and twenty-eight thousand five hundred pounds toward the payment of the national debt, a question arose, whether in the king or the commons resided the right of disposing of this surplus? If the redundancy had arisen from the hereditary revenue alone, the right of its disposal would have indisputably rested in the king; but it was of a compound nature, partly derived from the hereditary, partly from the additional duties.

The king was, however, assured by his judges and counsellors, that his previous consent was necessary for the application of this money. Therefore in 1751, when heads of a bill were certified into England for the discharge of a hundred and twenty thousand pounds of the national debt from a surplus of two hundred and forty-eight thousand in the treasury, the duke of Dorset, the lord lieutenant, informed the commons, in his speech from the throne,

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throne, that his Majesty would graciously *consent* to such a disposition, and that he recommended the same to their consideration. In the bill transmitted into England the term *consent* was omitted by the commons, but it was inserted by the British cabinet, and, thus altered, the bill was passed on its return by the Irish parliament without opposition. In 1753, the patriots were more fully prepared for resistance. To apply to national uses, particularly the discharge of a part still remaining of the public debt, a considerable portion of almost three hundred and sixteen thousand pounds unappropriated in the treasury, a bill was transmitted with the same omission, and returned with the same alteration, as before; but, on account of this alteration, was rejected by the commons with a majority of five voices. The money, thus left unapplied, was all, except the sum of seventy-seven thousand five hundred pounds, which was given to extinguish the national debt, by virtue of a king's letter withdrawn out of Ireland, to the great detriment of the kingdom, in which the circulation of it in public works would have been of considerable advantage. The contest perhaps might have been avoided by the commons by the insertion of the word *assent* instead of *consent*; but an aristocratic party aimed at a forcible acquisition of power by opposing the court, and had the address to render the people the instruments and dupes of their ambition.

Discontents.

To increase the discontent, occasioned by the withdrawing of the public money from Ireland, the favourers of the popular cause, who held employ-
ments

ments under government, were mostly displaced, and the primate was urgent with the lord-lieutenant to carry this plan to more extensive execution. The patriots or oppositionists were studiously represented to the king and British ministry as a Jacobite and popish party, aiming at the expulsion of his Majesty from the throne. To counteract such proceedings, James Fitzgerald, earl of Kildare, as the eldest peer of the realm, presented from his own hand a memorial to his sovereign, stating, among other particulars, that remonstrances, formerly made, were suspected, since they had remained unnoticed, to have been stopped in their progress to the royal ear: that he had come forward at the request of several thousands of his Majesty's loyal subjects: that the face of the loyal kingdom of Ireland wore discontent, "not coloured from caprice or faction, but purely founded on ministerial misapplication:" that the sad effects were felt of power monopolized by the primate and lord George Sackville, son of the chief governor; and that this duumvirate was as much dreaded by Ireland as that of Strafford and Laud had been by England. This procedure, which gave the highest offence to ministers, which they affected to consider as an act of extreme folly and rashness, appears to have had ultimately some influence on the king. The mob of Dublin, terrific in its tumults, alarmed the viceroy for his personal safety; and he retired from the kingdom, as if he were making his escape, under the protection of his guards, and of a mob hired, and cajoled with drink,

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Change of
administra-
tion.
1755.

for the purpose, by a man who was rewarded with a pension for this service.

In the administration of the marquis of Hartington, afterwards created duke of Devonshire, who succeeded as lord-lieutenant in 1755, a revolution had place in the system of Irish government. Primate Stone was removed from the privy-council by order of the king: Boyle, the great leader of opposition, was created earl of Shannon, with a pension of two thousand pounds a year; and John Ponsonby, son of the earl of Besborough, was appointed speaker in his room: several others of the patriot faction were advanced to lucrative employments: most of those, who had been displaced for favouring the popular cause, were with honour reinstated: and when, in 1756, the viceroy returned to England, the earls of Kildare and Besborough were constituted lords-justices in conjunction with lord-chancellor Jocelyn. The men of influence in the house of commons, having found that they could not avail themselves of a surplus in the treasury, took care to prevent in future the existence of such, depressing the hereditary revenue, and making various grants of the national money, ostensibly for public, but in reality for private uses; insomuch that the persons delegated for the disposition of these grants were nicknamed in common conversation the *scrambling* committee. In the perpetual struggle of the patriotic party, or rather of the aristocracy, against the court, independent men sometimes appeared, who, at least in their *first essays*, drew the sight by degrees, to the path

path of national interest; and the great owners of boroughs became sometimes unintentionally the instruments of diminishing the influence which they were at the same time labouring to monopolize; for, when any of those was discontented, he commonly brought an able speaker into parliament to support an opposition. The government of the kingdom was principally managed by domestic interest. As no viceroy was resident except one winter in two years, the reins of administration were committed for the remaining time to three lords justices, of whom one was always an Englishman, either the primate or lord-chancellor, and the other two were selected out of those great proprietors of boroughs, who bargained for the procuring of a majority in the house in favour of measures required by government. Stipulations were made by these grandees, who might be denominated *undertakers*, that certain proportions of regal favours should be left to their disposal, for the retaining of their followers in absolute dependance on themselves, by which means the influence of the crown was virtually in their hands.

Their unwillingness to suffer any diminution of this influence appeared in 1756, when heads of a bill to secure the freedom of parliament, by vacating the seats of such members of the house of commons as should accept any pensions or places of profit from the crown, were taken into consideration by a committee of the whole house. After some progress, all further proceeding in the business was rejected by

Parliamentary transactions.
1756.

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a majority of eighty-five against fifty-nine. A spirit more patriotic appeared in another question. On the report of a committee appointed to inspect the public accounts, in 1757, resolutions were voted in disapprobation of pensions improperly granted on the civil establishment, the amount of which exceeded forty-four thousand pounds annually, and of which a considerable part was given to persons not residing in Ireland. According to another vote, the commons with their speaker waited on the lord-lieutenant, the duke of Bedford, with a request that he would lay their resolutions before the king, and received for answer, that "the matter contained in these resolutions was of so high a nature, that he could not suddenly determine whether the transmitting of them to his Majesty would be proper." An adjournment, and consequent suspension of public business, till a satisfactory answer should be given by the viceroy, was demanded by the popular party, who, after a warm debate, out-voted the courtiers by twenty-one voices. On this determination of the controversy, which was virtually a question whether the people of Ireland should be deprived of parliamentary means of transmitting complaints of grievances to the throne, the lord-lieutenant sent a message to the house that its resolutions should be immediately forwarded to the king. Pleased with this concession, the commons unanimously voted a bill of supplies, and proceeded in other business; but, unfortunately for the kingdom, the resolutions concerning pensions were not effectually pursued.

The

The augmentation of the revenue, which left a surplus to extinguish the public debt, had not been more occasioned by the increase of national riches than by national extravagance, which drew an undue importation of luxuries from abroad, and a consequent rise in the aggregate of customs. This extravagance was carried to a still higher pitch in 1754, insomuch that the revenue exceeded by two hundred and eight thousand pounds that of 1748, when it had first began to rise in a considerable degree. The real poverty of the kingdom increased with this deceitful show of wealth. Even when the treasury was full, public credit was low. Three principal banks failed, and much trouble was taken by parliament to enquire into their affairs, and to relieve their creditors. The revenue decreased from 1754 through the three succeeding years; and in 1757, from the want of due encouragement to tillage, the kingdom was afflicted with famine, especially in Ulster. One of the first acts of the duke of Bedford's administration was the obtaining of a king's letter for twenty thousand pounds to be expended, according to his judgment, for the relief of the poorer classes. The grants of money by parliament for canals, harbours, and other public works, were necessary in a country where funds were wanting for the projects of individuals, and even of companies, and where profits could not be expected to arise from such projects sufficient to reimburse the expences of the undertakings. If the works, for
which

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National
poverty.
1755-1760.

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which these grants were made, had been faithfully executed, the benefit to the public, beside the useful circulation of the money, would have been very great. All grants, however, were not equally abused. The sums of twenty thousand and ten thousand pounds, conceded to the college of Dublin for buildings, in two successive sessions, the latter of which was in 1757, were expended for the purposes professed, by which the structure of that noble seminary was rendered a beautiful object, to the no small embellishment of the capital.

An erroneous opinion of the kingdom's wealth, caused by the surplus in the royal coffers and a temporary rise of revenue, continued, even after the decline of the revenue, to be entertained by the English government, and in some degree by the Irish parliament. The grants of the latter were bountiful beyond national ability. The former augmented the military expences and pensions on the civil establishment. A new national debt rose with rapidity, the origin of the funded stock of Ireland. In one year, 1759, votes of credit were given for four hundred and fifty thousand pounds. The supply of these loans, in a country so poor, inevitably drained the bankers of their cash. The three principal banks in Dublin stopped payment; and in the rest no paper was discounted, nor any business of moment transacted. To obviate the evil consequences of a total fall of credit both public and private, the house of commons, in 1760, pledged its faith for fifty thousand pounds in favour of each of the banks then

then subsisting in Dublin, till the first of May 1762; and bankers notes were ordered to be received as cash from the subscribers to the loan, and in all payments made into the treasury. A law, which essentially contributed to save the country from complete ruin, had been enacted in 1758, for promotion of agriculture by bounties on the land-carriage of corn and flour to the capital. The true principle of this law, which was afterwards amended, was to bring the market of Dublin to the door of the farmer, by paying for the carriage at the public expence; an expence amounting, on the completion of the plan some years after, to about seventy thousand pounds annually.

The public discontent, whose real source was national poverty, received from artful men a wrong direction. An address, expressive of their loyalty, from three hundred catholics of Dublin of the mercantile class, was transmitted through the medium of John Ponsonby, the speaker, in the December of 1759, to the lord lieutenant, who returned a most gracious answer, which might seem as a prelude to the re-admission of the catholics to the privileges of the political constitution. In consequence of this encouragement addresses of the same import were poured on the castle from the catholics in all parts of the kingdom, that a scheme of an union of Ireland with Great-Britain was entertained by ministers, and that a condescension to the catholics was intended as a part of the plan, seems to have been suspected by men of influence hostile to the measure,

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Violence of
a mob.
1759.

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measure, who resolved to stifle the business in its conception. Inflamed by reports dexterously propagated, that Ireland was to be deprived of its parliament, and subjected to the same taxes as England, a prodigious mob forced their way into the house of lords; seated an old woman on the throne; searched, fortunately in vain, for the journals, which they would have burned; forced the members of either house, whom they found, to swear that they would never consent to such a union, nor give a vote contrary to the interest of Ireland; destroyed the coaches, and killed the horses, of some obnoxious persons; and erected a gibbet for one gentleman, who providentially escaped their fury. The garrison was under arms to overawe the rioters, who dispersed spontaneously at night; and resolutions were passed next day by both houses with thanks to the chief governor for his exertions. A committee was also appointed for the discovery and punishment of the instigators and leaders of the tumult. As the gracious answer of the viceroy to the address of the catholics of Dublin was posterior to the riot, it was a virtual declaration of acquittal from him to that body of any guilt in this affair.

Threats of
invasion.
1759.

The warm professions of loyalty made by the catholics was seasonable at this time, when the kingdom was threatened with a formidable invasion from France, between whose monarch and the king of Great-Britain a war had commenced in 1755, on account of disputes between the French and English colonies in North America. In this plan of attack
three

three squadrons were to co-operate; the smallest from Dunkirk, under Thurot, to cause a diversion by alarming the northern coasts; a much greater, under De la Clue, from Toulon; and the grand armament from Brest, under Conflans, with eighteen thousand land forces. De la Clue, with twelve great ships of war and three frigates, was defeated, with the loss of four of the former, by admiral Boscawen, in August, near the coast of Portugal. The fleet from Brest, of twenty-one ships of the line and four frigates, was totally disabled by a defeat sustained from that of admiral Sir Edward Hawke, in November, near the coast of Bretagne, in a desperate conflict, where the horrors of a storm, amid rocks and shoals, were combined with those of war. The little squadron alone of Thurot reached the Irish coast: but its condition was feeble, and its fortune disastrous.

Superlatively enterprising, brave in combat, and dexterous in eluding his pursuers, this man had become truly formidable, as a captain of a privateer, to the commercial class in Britain; and, for his merit, was promoted by the French government to the command of a squadron of five frigates. Escaping from Dunkirk in the October of 1759, and pursued by the British squadron of commodore Boys, by which he had been blockaded, and, which, from a scarcity on board, was obliged to suspend the pursuit for the procurement of provisions at Leith in Scotland, Thurot effected a voyage to Gottenburg in Sweden, and thence to Bergen in Norway. He

Thurot's expedition.
1760.

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 his design of making a descent near Derry by tem-
 pestuous weather, by which also his fleet was reduced
 to three vessels, as the other two were driven into
 different courses. Pressed by famine, his officers
 urged him to return to France; but he declared
 his resolution to strike previously some blow; and,
 having procured some refreshments at the Hebride
 island of Ila, he landed with six hundred men at
 Carrickfergus on the twenty-first of February.

Transmitting speedily to Belfast a body of French
 prisoners, confined in Carrickfergus, lieutenant-co-
 lonel Jennings, with four new-raised companies, de-
 fended the entrances of the town, destitute of forti-
 fications, till, from a failure of ammunition, he re-
 tired into the castle. The conduct of an individual
 in this attack was extremely honourable to the na-
 tion to which he belonged. A French soldier ob-
 serving a child who had run playfully into one of
 the streets amid the fire of the contending parties,
 grounded his musket, carried the infant to a place
 of safety, and, returning to his comrades, resum-
 ed the combat. The Irish troops, destitute of ammu-
 nition, repulsed with stones and sticks an assault
 on the castle, even after the gates had been forced
 open; but this fortress, in a state of ruin, was un-
 tenable, and a capitulation necessary. The safety
 of the town, castle, and garrison, was granted by
 the French, on condition that their ships should be
 furnished with provisions, and that a number of
 French

French prisoners equal to that of the garrison should be sent home from the British islands. Of the Irish troops, on this occasion, only three were slain; of the French near a hundred, among whom were four officers; and among the wounded was brigadier-general Clobert, their commander.

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Informed of the defeat of Conflans, and of the approach of hostile troops, together with some thousands of peasants who flocked with ardour to Belfast to make a tender of their service, Thurot embarked his forces with some precipitation on the twenty-sixth of February; and prevented by adverse winds from taking a course round the north of Ireland through the Atlantic, he made the dangerous attempt of returning homeward through the Irish channel. His fleet of three frigates, of which the largest, the Belleisle, carried forty cannon, was overtaken, on the twenty-eighth near the Isle of Man, by three English frigates, inferior in number of men and guns, but superior in condition, commanded by commodore Elliot, who had weighed from Kinsale for this purpose. After a desperate conflict of an hour and a half, the three French vessels were captured, and brought into Ramsay bay in Man. Possessed of a generous humanity, which distinguishes the courage of the hero from the ferocity of the savage, Thurot, who fell in the action, was lamented by his enemies. In killed and wounded the loss of the English was forty; that of the French above three hundred. The destruction of the only armament, whence a hostile force, for a long series

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of years, had been debarked on the shores of Ireland, was a matter of joy. By the Irish house of commons thanks were voted to colonel Jennings; and the zeal of the inhabitants commended of the counties of Antrim, Armagh, Down, and the city of Derry. To Elliot, and the two captains under him, Clements and Logie, the freedom of the city of Cork was presented in silver boxes by the citizens.

Whiteboys.
1762.

These alarms from abroad were succeeded in two years after by local disturbances of a domestic nature. The distresses in the south, occasioned by the loss of the woollen manufacture, had been augmented beyond sufferance by the decline of tillage. The prices of beef, butter, and other products of pasturage, had considerably risen, in consequence partly of a murrain, which, above twenty years before, extending from Holstein through Germany to England, had much diminished the number of cattle. This, with the exemption of grazing grounds from tythe, which operates as a bounty for the dereliction of agriculture, caused the conversion of great quantities of land from arable to pasture, and the consequent expulsion of great numbers of labouring peasants, destitute of any regular means of subsistence by any species of industry; while those, who remained unexpelled, or procured small spots of ground, had no means of paying their exorbitant rents, even by labour, the pay of which was, from the smallness of the demand, beyond all due proportion low. The misery of these cottagers was completed, when they were, by inclosures, deprived of commonage,

commonage, which to many had at first been allowed. Numbers of these wretches, assembling in the night, vented their fury on objects ignorantly conceived to be causes of their misery. From demolishing the fences of commons, whence they were at first named *levellers*, they proceeded to hamstring cattle, and to commit acts of cruelty on persons considered as obnoxious, particularly the appraisers and managers of tythes; for peasants have mostly been deceived into the opinion that tythe was their greatest grievance; yet every landlord knows that the land, which he sets to a tenant, is as absolutely subject to the rent-charge of tythe, as it is to his own rent; and that, if he makes not a due allowance for the former, his bargain is unjust. When, in associations more regularly formed, they were bound one to another by mutual oaths, they wore, as a uniform, a shirt or white frock outside their other clothes, whence they acquired the name of *Whiteboys*.

Beside other atrocities, these misguided people placed men quite naked on horseback, on saddles covered with skins of hedgehogs, and drove them before them in excruciating pain; or left them standing many hours, buried to the chin, in holes in the ground, with branches of thorns trodden closely round their bodies. Their violences were alarming; and suspicions, without any proof, were entertained, that these insurgents, whose operations were merely nocturnal, were acting in consequence of a popish plot for the subversion of the British

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government in Ireland, and the massacre of all the protestants; and that they were leagued with the French and Spanish courts then at war with Great-Britain. Doubtless, if they had remained unchecked, and attained to formidable force, they would naturally have been led into such a plan by the artifices of men who would avail themselves of the opportunity; but the royal troops were employed effectually for their suppression, and many were executed by sentence of the law. Many more would have fallen victims to real or presumed participation in the guilt of these illegal and outrageous proceedings, if judges had not been very scrupulous in the weighing of evidence. Thus Sir Edward Aston, lord chief justice of the common pleas, behaved in such a manner at Clonmel, where he tried great numbers on a special commission, that he found the road lined on both sides, on his return, with multitudes of both sexes, who were supplicating Heaven in his favour for his impartiality. That a motion in parliament for a full report, after an inquiry into the cause of the commotions was negatived, and that no such report was ever made, is a lamentable circumstance, since an explanation of the *real* cause, might have tended to the remedy of these disorders, which, though repressed by force, were frequently renewed, and were never otherwise completely quelled than by the system of volunteering, which took place in Ireland some years after.

Hearts of
Oak.
1769.

Very different were the cause, duration, and conduct of an insurrection in Ulster, where the insurgents

gents were chiefly protestants, who could not be suspected of disaffection to the crown. In the making and repairing of roads each house-keeper was obliged to furnish the labour at least of a man, and also of a horse, if he possessed the latter, six days in the year. Complaining 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 in this case, as soon as any number among them should commence an opposition. At length the inhabitants of a parish in the country of Armagh rose in a tumult, and their example was soon followed through that whole county, and those of Tyrone, Derry, and Fermanagh. Styling themselves *Hearts of Oak*, and wearing oaken boughs in their hats, 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 committing no murders nor plunder, and very little personal violence. They confined not their views, however, to the redress of their original grievance, but administered oaths to the clergy that they would never demand more than a certain proportion of tythe, and were proceeding to dictate in like manner limitations to rents, particularly those of turf bogs, when they were prevented from these, and other intended regulations, by the arrival of several bodies of royal forces to reduce them to order. They had been

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early checked in the county of Derry by captain Rankin, a veteran officer and magistrate, who took post with a small body of troops at Castledawson, and, by extraordinary courage and conduct, stopped the insurgents in that quarter without the effusion of blood. In a few weeks the insurrection totally subsided with the loss of only three or four lives, and without any destruction of property; and, in the following session of parliament, the original cause 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.

Parliamentary transactions.
1761-1768.

By the death of George the second in 1760, the parliament had been dissolved, and a new one summoned in 1761, under the auspices of George the third, by the earl of Halifax, successor in the lord lieutenancy to the duke of Bedford. To give some assistance from their small ability in the war, in which Spain had combined her forces with those of France against Great-Britain, the commons, in the beginning of 1762, gave a vote of credit for five hundred thousand pounds at an interest of five per cent, and granted a supply for an addition to the troops. They also voted an address requesting his Majesty to augment the salary of the lord lieutenant to sixteen thousand pounds a year. The war against France and Spain terminated at the end of 1762, yet, from the system adopted of securing a majority in parliament by places and pensions, the expences of Irish government increased, so that the pensions in a few years

years amounted to eighty thousand pounds annually. Such an expenditure for an ascendancy, which was not exerted for national benefit, was to the patriots a ground of declamation, and a handle for their endeavours to effectuate a change in the political constitution. The most active agent in this transaction was Doctor Lucas, who, by the interest of his friends, had returned from exile, and been elected a representative of the capital in the new parliament. An obstacle to the attempts of the patriots was removed by the death of primate Stone in 1764, who maintained to the last a superiority of English interest in the parliament of Ireland, at the expence, and to the prejudice, of the kingdom.

Irish parliaments, originally annual, or of no longer than a year's existence, had become of such duration as to terminate only with the monarch's life, unless dissolved by royal prerogative. To place the parliament of Ireland on the same situation with that of Britain, which from triennial had, since an act passed in 1716, been of septennial continuance, was a primary object with the patriots. Immediately on the meeting of the legislative assembly, in October of 1761, heads of a bill for this purpose had been prepared by Lucas and others, the transmission of which to his Majesty, in such manner as might promise success, was, after a seeming approbation of the commons, rejected by a majority of a hundred and eight against forty-three. The public discontents, without the indecency of tumults, were loudly expressed, particularly in resolutions published by

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Octennial
bill.
1768.

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the citizens of Dublin; and the patriots, notwithstanding the great majorities against them in every question of importance, persisted, with a pertinacity annoying to the courtiers, to introduce motions for bills and addresses, which, though otherwise unsuccessful for the present, served to keep alive the popular attention. To Halifax in 1763 succeeded the earl of Northumberland; to him the earl of Hertford in 1765, after the nominal viceroyalty of lord Weymouth, who visited not the kingdom; and to Hertford in 1767, lord viscount Townshend, in whose administration commenced a new system of government, popular at first by the enactment of the favourite law. Heads of a bill for the limitation of parliaments to seven years were, in 1768, certified by the chief governor and privy-council, on the supposition that it would be suppressed in England. It was returned by the British privy-council with an alteration made in it of *eight*, instead of *seven* years, on supposition that, on account of this alteration, it would be rejected by the Irish commons: but the objection was overlooked in this instance; the tide of popularity carried the bill through both houses; the viceroy's coach was drawn by the populace from the castle to the parliament house, when he went to pronounce the royal assent; and great joy was expressed in all parts of the kingdom.

New system
of adminis-
tration.

Super-eminently endowed with convivial talents, which are highly appreciated by the Irish, and possessed besides of much vigour and activity of mind,

lord

lord Townshend had been chosen as the introducer of a new system of administration. Instead of making a visit to Ireland once in two years, and leaving the government for the rest of the time in the hands of lords justices, to the viceroy was now prescribed perpetual residence, with exertions to break the force of the Irish aristocracy. Previously to this epoch a majority in parliament could at any time be commanded by a coalition of three or four grantees, who, in return for their services, were allowed to dispose of the favours, and consequently to possess the influence of government. To be the immediate dispenser of places, pensions, and preferments, and thus to deprive the grantees of their power, was the great object of the chief-governor. The success was considerable, but far from complete, and attended with ruinous expence; since to draw the subalterns to the prime fountain of court favour a much more copious flow of munificence through a multitude of channels was necessary. The loss of influence was resented by the immediate sufferers, who artfully taught the people to regard it as a national grievance. More general became daily the discussion of political questions, agitated warmly in the newspapers, among which was the Freeman's Journal, instituted a few years before, and directed by Doctor Lucas; the Hibernian Journal of somewhat later commencement; and the Dublin Mercury patronized by government. Unfortunately political argumentation was accompanied with licentiousness, which rose to an intolerable pitch, and rendered

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dered necessary the interference of the legislature; whence the press has since been subjected to salutary restrictions.

A parlia-
ment.
1769.

In the first session of the new parliament, on the octennial plan, which met on the seventeenth of October 1769, sixteen months after the dissolution of the old, 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 Irish 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 by him with difficulty entered 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 twenty-sixth

sixth of December, after a session little longer than two months.

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On the re-assembling of the parliament, after an interval of fourteen months, on the twenty-sixth of February 1771, a majority for the court was found to have been secured by the strenuous exertions of the chief governor. When, in their address to the king, the commons gave their humble thanks for his Majesty's continuance of lord Townshend in the government, John Ponsonby, the speaker, resigned his place, declaring 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 privileges. Edmond Sexton Perry, who from a patriot had become a courtier, was elected speaker by a majority of four. The oppositionists, or patriots, so far as arguments and words could avail, maintained a vigorous contest in this and the following session, and caused on various questions divisions of the house, in which they were constantly out-numbered. In 1771 died Doctor Lucas, who had proved to the last an incorruptible patriot, when all opposition to the influence of the court proved fruitless. Lord Townshend, having established the preponderancy of an English interest in Ireland, at a vast expence of Irish revenue, abdicated the vicerealty in 1772, and was succeeded by Earl Harcourt, a man of a different character, fitted quietly to follow the directions of the British ministry,

Second, &c-
session of
the octennial
parliament-
1771.

CHAP. ministry, and to leave to his secretary the whole ac-
 XXXVII. tive labour of administration.

Hearts of
 Steel.
 1771-1773.

In the government of lord Townshend a part of Ulster began to be disturbed by an insurrection, which, originating from a local cause, yet a severe grievance, was much less extensive, but vastly more bloody, and of longer duration, than that of the Hearts of Oak. An estate in the county of Antrim, a part of the vast possessions of an absentee nobleman, the marquis of Donegal, was proposed, when its leases had expired, to be set only to those who could pay large fines; and the agent of the marquis was said to have exacted extravagant fees on his own account also. Numbers of the former tenants, neither able to pay the fines, nor the rents demanded by those who, on payment of fines and fees, took leases over them, were dispossessed of their tenements, and left without means of subsistence. Rendered thus desperate, they maimed the cattle of those who had taken their lands, committed other outrages, and, to express a firmness of resolution, styled themselves *Hearts of Steel*. To rescue one of the number, confined on a charge of felony in Belfast, some thousands of peasants, who neither before nor after took any part in the insurrection, marched with the Steelmen into the town, and received the prisoner from the military guard, the officers of which were fortunately persuaded, by a respectable physician, to his liberation, to prevent the ruinous consequences of a desperate battle.

The

The association of the Steelmen extended into the neighbouring counties, augmented by distressed or discontented peasants, who were not affected immediately by the original grievance. By the exertions of the military some were taken, and tried at Carrickfergus. As they were acquitted from the supposed partiality of the witnesses and jury, an act of parliament was passed in March 1772, ordering their trials to be held in counties different from those in which their offences were committed. Some in consequence were carried to Dublin, but were there acquitted from prejudices entertained against a law so unconstitutional. In the December of 1773, in the administration of Earl Harcourt, the obnoxious act was repealed. From a sense of the evil consequences of disorder, insurgents, tried in their respective counties, were now condemned and executed. The insurrection was totally quelled, but its effects were long baneful. So great and wide was the discontent that many thousand of protestants emigrated from those parts of Ulster to the American settlements, where they soon appeared in arms against the British government, and contributed powerfully, by their zeal and valour, to the separation of the American colonies from the empire of Great-Britain.

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Retrospect of British affairs—George the third—British colonies of North-America—American war—Parliamentary transactions—Troops transported from Ireland—National distress—Petitions against Irish trade—Indulgence to catholics—National poverty—Resolutions of non-importation—Volunteers—Parliamentary transactions—Relaxation of commercial restraints—Demands of an independent legislature—Proceedings of parliament—Proceedings of the volunteers—Resolutions of Dungannon—Parliamentary transactions—State of public affairs—Change of measures—Irish revolution—Dissention of Patriots—Consummation of the revolution.

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Retrospect
of Britain.

THE accession of a new family, the house of Hanover, to the British throne, to the perpetual exclusion of the pestilent race of Stuart, on the firmest principle of genuine liberty, the choice of parliament, recommended by the general wish of men of property throughout the nation, was an event most propitious to the prosperity of Britain, the independence of Europe, and the general melioration of the human species. More happy still would it have been, if the princes of this new dynasty had possessed exalted

exalted intellect, and cordial affection to the people of the British islands. George the first, whose reign commenced in 1714, attached to the electorate of Hanover, as his native principality, and confining his views to German politics, regarded, in his transactions with foreign potentates, the wealth and power of Britain as only subservient to the interests of the electorate. His son, George the second, who succeeded him in 1727, having been educated in Germany, pursued the same plan with such injudicious conduct, that, beside many other proofs, the princes, who received from him annually regular subsidies, in time of peace for the protection of his German dominions in time of war, arranged themselves on the side of his enemies when their assistance was required. By expenditures of the public money in useless foreign subsidies, ill-managed wars, and the securing of ministerial majorities in parliament, the national debt of Great-Britain, which had commenced in the reign of William the third, and amounted in his time to ten millions, increased before the death of George the first to fifty, and before that of George the second to a hundred.

In 1760, to George the second succeeded his grand-son, George the third, son of Frederick, prince of Wales, who had departed from life in 1751. Born and educated in England, this monarch entertained not for Hanover the impolitic predilection of his predecessors, a predilection injurious to Hanover itself, which was thus rendered an object of attack to the enemies of Britain; but he was soon perceived to have

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have imbibed a decided partiality for men of tory principles, in preference to the whigs, who, as the assertors of those national rights by which his family had been called to the throne, had hitherto, since the accession of George the first, with a partiality too strongly marked, been exclusively entrusted with the administration of government. Entering on his reign, however, at a time when Britain was in a career of success, by the councils of the great William Pitt, earl of Chatham, he was enabled to finish with honour the war against France and Spain, yet much less gloriously than he might have concluded it by availing himself of the wisdom of the former ministry. From a system pursued by the favourites, who were said to have formed an interior cabinet, and thence directed the acting ministers, the British empire was in a few years brought to the brink of dissolution.

British colonies of North-America.

In the seventeenth century several English colonies had been settled on the eastern coasts of the immense peninsula of North-America, as in Virginia in 1610, in New-Hampshire in 1623, in Massachusetts bay in 1628, in Connecticut in 1635, South-Carolina in 1669, and Pennsylvania in 1682. These and other colonies, rapidly augmented by emigrations from the British islands and elsewhere, from religious or civil discontents, formed a chain of settlements above a thousand miles in length, containing in the year 1765 near three millions of inhabitants. Governed internally by their several assemblies of elected representatives, in which presided governors nominated by his Britannic Majesty, these dependent states had

had never been taxed otherwise than by their own representative bodies, in like manner as Ireland by its own parliament. External taxation, on the system of commercial restrictions, the right of which was not disputed, had been exercised by the parliament of Britain, with respect to her dependencies in America, moderately till after the year 1762, when it was carried to a pitch impolitic and absurd, by destroying a contraband commerce with the Spanish colonies, a commerce which brought much wealth into the American settlements of Britain, and, mediately in course of traffick, into Britain itself.

A scheme of internal taxation, by authority of the British parliament, was next adopted, to draw a direct revenue from the American colonies into the British exchequer, and in 1765, an act to enforce the use of stamped paper in these colonies was passed, so ignorantly framed as to be scarcely practicable in countries so circumstanced. But its practicability remained untried, as the Americans denied the right of such taxation; and, combining universally to resist this infringement of their liberties, they destroyed the stamps as soon as landed from Europe, while the merchants entered into solemn engagements to import no more merchandize from Britain till the obnoxious act should have been repealed. Their joy at its repeal, which took place in the following year, was not of long duration, when to introduce taxes by indirect means was discovered to be a determined plan of the British government, in which a great part of the British

CHAP. XXXVIII. lish nation was persuaded to acquiesce, from the foolish hope that their taxes at home would be rendered less burthensome by a revenue derived from the American settlements. The attempts to establish this revenue, which could never have answered the ostensible purpose, were followed by events which brought an enormous load of additional taxes on the people of Britain.

American
war.

Determined to resist in its birth every measure introductory to taxation by a foreign legislature, which, once admitted, would probably be raised by degrees to a ruinously oppressive magnitude, the Americans combined against the reception of those articles of merchandize on which new taxes were imposed by the British parliament. When in 1770 the duties on imported goods were repealed, except three pence a pound on tea, the minds of the Americans had been so inflamed by political discussion, haughtiness of their governors, and innovations in the executive part of their government, that they could not otherwise be satisfied than by a total repeal of the several acts of the present reign by which they conceived themselves aggrieved, and which they regarded as the commencement of a plan for the complete extinction of their liberties. In 1773 great quantities of tea were sent from England, consigned to agents in the American ports, to be sold on account of the English East-India company; but an universal opposition was made to the landing of the cargoes, which in consequence were carried back to England, except at Charles-town,

where the tea was landed, but perished unsold in damp cellars; and at Boston, where a party of mob, in the disguise of Mohawk savages, boarded the India ship, and committed the tea to the waves of the ocean. An immoveable determination for coercive measures on the side of the British government, and of resistance on the side of the Americans, brought affairs to a crisis. A civil war commenced openly in 1775; and a congress of deputies from the thirteen united states of North America, which had been convened in 1774 at Philadelphia, published in 1776 a solemn declaration of the independence of these states, which was established by a treaty of peace in six years after.

By the contests of the British government with its dependencies in America were the affairs of Ireland so strongly influenced, as to give occasion, in the course of a few years, for a revolution, happily bloodless, in her political system. Pressed on one side by increasing indigence, and encouraged on the other by the resistance of the Americans, the nation raised its voice in complaint and remonstrance; while by the force of adverse fortune such changes were effected in the British cabinet, that the complaints of Ireland were heard with temper, and at length redressed to a considerable degree. Notwithstanding the preponderance of ministerial influence in the Irish house of commons, their speaker, in a speech to the lord lieutenant, at the bar of the house of lords at the close of the year 1773, declared "that they conceived the most sanguine hopes, that those

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Parliamentary transactions. 1773-1777.

VOL. II. S restrictions,

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restrictions, which the narrow and short-sighted policy of former times, equally injurious to Great-Britain and the Irish nation, imposed on the commerce and manufactures of this kingdom, would be remitted: that it aggravated the sense of their misfortunes to see the rivals, if not the enemies of Great-Britain, in the undisturbed possession of those advantages to which the Irish thought themselves entitled on every principle of policy and justice: and that it was the expectation of being restored to some, if not to all, of those rights, and that alone, which could justify to the people the conduct of their representatives in laying so many additional burdens upon them, in the course of this session." Notwithstanding this instance of patriotism in the commons they had rejected the proposal of a tax of two shillings in the pound on the estates of absentees, which tax was designed to alleviate the poverty occasioned by the drain of money from Ireland; and which, on this account, and for the raising of a revenue, was rather countenanced than opposed by administration.

In 1775 the British ministry procured some small relaxation of 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. Soon after, in the November of the same year, by a message from the lord-lieutenant,

tenant, the concurrence of the Irish commons with the king's intention was desired, to send abroad, for the American war, four thousand of the troops on the Irish establishment, on the royal promise that they should be replaced, if such should be the wish of the commons, by the same number of foreign protestant soldiery; and 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. Declining their replacement by foreigners, the commons consented to the transportation of the troops required, whose embarkation at Cork, under Sir Admiral Peter Parker, was delayed till the following February, by a scruple of the viceroy displeasing to the British cabinet. Doubtful of his authority to order their departure without the express consent of parliament, he had procured a clause for the purpose to be inserted in an act. This clause, as intrenching on the royal prerogative, was indignantly expunged by the British cabinet. But, as the royal promise had been solemnly pledged to the Irish parliament for the permanency of twelve thousand regular troops in the kingdom, 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 oppositionists 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

CHAP. XXXVIII. parliament; sums for an absurd bargain, the maintenance of eight thousand, on account of the service of only four thousand men; in which was also included an unconstitutional and dangerous measure, the introduction of foreign troops into Ireland.

The Irish commons displayed a spirit for the maintenance of their privileges, by the rejection of two money-bills, in which the British cabinet had interfered to make alterations, one for additional duties on beer and other articles, the other for taxes on stamps; and, as thence arose a suspension of the laws of revenue in some particulars, until new bills could be framed and receive the sanction of the royal assent, great exertions were made by traders to take advantage of the incident, for their private emolument, to the detriment of the public income. Displeased by this incomppliance, and by complaints of national grievance, vigorously urged by the patriots in the house of commons, and but feebly suppressed by the courtiers, the British cabinet resolved on the dissolution of this parliament, which accordingly had place after its prorogation in the April of 1776. When the new parliament had met on the eighteenth of the following June, and the commons had elected for their speaker Edmund Sexton Perry, who had filled that office in the late parliament, a prorogation was pronounced, and its second session commenced not before the fourteenth of October in 1777. That the plans of the ministry might be more firmly supported in this kingdom, an extraordinary

ordinary number of new members had been added to the peerage; and in the place of Earl Harcourt, not sufficiently energetic or obsequious, the earl of Buckinghamshire had been appointed lord-lieutenant.

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Ministerial majorities in parliament could not conceal the distress of the nation, perpetually augmented by decreasing trade and increasing expenditure. Excluded by war from America, where they had formerly found an extensive market, the manufacture of Irish linens sustained a severe decline; while, by an unconstitutional stretch of prerogative, under pretence of preventing the reception of supplies by the revolted colonies, but really for the purpose of enabling some British contractors to fulfil, with ease and profit, their engagements, an embargo had been laid in 1776, and thence continued, on the exportation of provisions from Ireland. When by such means, on one hand, the influx of money was precluded, its efflux on the other was accelerated by augmented remittances, for the pay of Irish troops employed abroad, and the interest of a rapidly increasing national debt, the creditors of which resided mostly in England, A part of this debt had been raised by a scheme begun in 1773, called *Tontine*, in which the principal, bearing an interest of six per cent, was divided into shares of a hundred pounds each, among the owners of which shares, arranged in classes, the survivors were to enjoy, under certain modifications, the aggregate interest. In a country drained of its money trade

National
distress.
1777-1779.

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became stagnant: the prices of internal products fell to a miserably low rate: the usual rents and taxes could not be paid: the revenue failed in all its branches, and the defect could be only supplied by new loans at an exorbitant interest, when the national debt had already amounted nearly to a million and a half, and an attempt proved fruitless to raise three hundred thousand pounds by another Tontine.

So forcibly evident were the distresses of Ireland that, on the motion of Earl Nugent, in the April of 1778, in a committee of the British house of commons, 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 produce of the British islands, and foreign goods legally imported and certified; to import directly, except tobacco, the products of these plantations; and to export glass to any place except Great-Britain. Alarmed by these resolutions, the mercantile people of Britain, with equal ignorance and illiberality, sent petitions to parliament, and instructions to their representatives, to oppose the extension of Irish trade, particularly the towns of Liverpool, Manchester, and Glasgow, whose petitions even seemed to menace disloyalty to government in case of such indulgence to Ireland. The ignorance of the petitioners appeared particularly in their declarations, that the permission to export wrought iron and sail-cloth from Ireland to Britain would

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, and so far from being able to avail herself of it, that she was in great part furnished with these articles from Britain. Yet such influence had these representations on the majority of the members, that they ultimately negatived the bills founded on their own previous resolutions, and made only some trivial concessions unworthy of notice, to this kingdom.

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When proposals were made in the British house of commons in favour of Irish commerce, a relaxation of the penal statutes against the catholics of Ireland was also proposed. The idea was approved, as a conciliatory measure, by the ministry, when the contagion of revolt might be apprehended to extend from America to this kingdom. A bill for the relief of British catholics passed through the British parliament without opposition; and a bill of a similar complexion, in favour of the catholics of Ireland, was in the May of the same year, 1778, introduced by Mr. Gardiner in the Irish house of commons. By a law enacted in 1774, in the viceroyalty of earl Harcourt, all his Majesty's subjects in Ireland, of whatever persuasion, had been declared entitled to testify their allegiance, which was considered as a formal acknowledgment that the catholics constituted a part of the body politic, and as a step introductory to the attainment of advantages more substantial. By the bill now introduced, which, after violent opposition, was confirmed into a law, catholics, on their taking

Indulgence
to catholics.
1778.

CHAPTER XXXVIII. and subscribing of an oath of allegiance and declaration prescribed, were enabled to acquire full property in land, so far as a lease of nine hundred and ninety-nine years; and were freed in future from a vexatious law, by which a son might force a settlement from his father by conforming to protestantism.

National
poverty.
1779.

The refusal of the British legislature to relax, to any effective purpose, the restrictions on Irish trade, increased the discontents of the people of this kingdom, the chief cause of whose poverty was evident, when the sums remitted hence to Great-Britain for rents, interest of money, pensions, salaries, and profits of offices, were found to amount, for a series of years, to twice as much as the total aggregate of the gains accruing to Ireland from all her commerce with all the countries with which she had any intercourse. From the failure of the public revenue the laws for the raising of a militia could not be executed, and his Majesty's ministers were obliged not only to pay the Irish troops, on service abroad, from the British exchequer, but also hence to remit fifty thousand pounds to Ireland to complete the sum necessary for the payment of the few troops who had been left in this kingdom. The national grievances were stated to the public in several treatises from the press, particularly in a volume of letters on the commercial restrictions of Ireland, in language at once most forcible and temperate, by the right honourable John Hely Hutchinson, provost of Dublin college, and afterwards secretary of state, a man of splendid abilities, and though a placeman
of

of government, a real friend to his country. Assemblies held in Dublin and Waterford entered into resolutions, which were afterwards generally adopted throughout the kingdom, not to import from Britain any articles of merchandize which could be produced by industry at home, until the unreasonable restrictions of Irish commerce should have been removed. Thus was employment given to manufacturers, of whom between twenty and thirty thousand had been, from a want of demand for the products of their workmanship, maintained by public charity; and some evidence was displayed to the British people of bad consequences which might result from their pertinacity in unjust conduct toward this kingdom. But an argument of a still more cogent nature was advanced by volunteer associations, which soon after assumed a formidable aspect.

As the coasts of Ireland had been insulted, and her trading vessels captured, within sight of her ports, by American privateers, an invasion was justly apprehended, when the formidable power of France became openly leagued with the American states in 1778, in a vigorously-conducted war against Great-Britain. The few forces left in this kingdom were utterly inadequate to its defence, and his Majesty's ministers avowed their inability to afford protection. To a memorial to the viceroy from the mayor of Belfast, requesting a garrison, the answer was, that half a troop of dismounted horse and half a company of invalids was all the force which could be allowed. Abandoned thus to their own resources,

some

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Volunteers.
1779.

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some townsmen of Belfast entered into armed associations for defence against the foreign enemy. A few small bands of volunteers had been formed in the county of Wexford to suppress the White-boys, whose nocturnal violences had in 1775 extended into this part of Leinster. On this model the spirit of volunteering was diffused when danger from abroad became alarming. In various places arose companies of this kind of soldiery, who elected their officers, purchased their arms and uniforms, and were assisted by subscriptions for extraordinary expences. From its manifest expediency, the measure was at first countenanced by government, by whose command sixteen thousand muskets were delivered to the volunteers for the defence of their country. When Spain in 1779 acceded to the hostile confederacy, and in the August of that year a combined fleet of sixty-five ships of the line, French and Spanish, with a multitude of smaller vessels, under the count d'Orvilliers, entered the British channel, insulted unopposed the English coasts, and might, if its condition had been known, have destroyed, without difficulty, the port of Plymouth, such additional activity was excited in the military system of spontaneous array, that the number of volunteers amounted in a short time to forty-two thousand. Great and incalculable were the benefits resulting from the diffusion of this warlike spirit, by which the short period, from their first formidable appearance to the end of the American war, was rendered far the most honourable of all in the annals of Ireland. Not only was prevented an
invasion

invasion of the foreign foe, and a consequent devastation of this kingdom, if not its total separation from, and the eventual ruin of, the British empire; but also was all internal disquietude so suppressed, that never at any other time were the laws so strictly enforced and obeyed.

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The general voice of the nation, supported by the volunteer companies, in which men were arrayed of all ranks in society, had a powerful influence on the proceedings of the Irish parliament, which met in 1779, on the twelfth of October. On the motion of the prime-serjeant, Hussey Burgh, the commons unanimously resolved, that in their address to the king these words should be inserted: “We beg leave, however, humbly to represent to your Majesty, that it is *not by temporary expedients, but by a free trade alone,* that this nation is now to be saved from impending ruin.” This address was carried by the speaker to the viceroy, amid the thundering acclamations of the populace, between two lines of Dublin volunteers, commanded by the duke of Leinster, in arms and uniforms, which extended the whole way from the parliament-house to the castle. Unanimously in the commons, and with only one dissenting voice, that of lord Lifford, the lord-chancellor, in the lords, the thanks of both houses of parliament were voted to the several volunteer companies, for their spirited exertions, at this time so necessary, in defence of their country. Determined on the redress of commercial grievances, the commons voted their bills of supply for the short term of only six months;

Parliamentary transactions.
1779.

CHAP. and unanimously resolved, that the exportation from
 XXXVIII. this kingdom of its woollen and other manufactures
 to all foreign places would materially tend to relieve
 its distresses, and thereby advance the common
 strength of the British empire; and that a liberty
 to trade with the British settlements abroad, in like
 manner as commerce was conducted between Great-
 Britain and these settlements, would be a most affec-
 tionate mark of the regard of Great-Britain for this
 country, and give new vigour to the zeal of the Irish
 to stand forward in support of his Majesty's person
 and government, and the interest and dignity of the
 British empire. In the same spirit also they passed a
 resolution, by a majority of a hundred and seventy
 against forty-seven, that the granting of new taxes
 would at that time be inexpedient.

Relaxation
 of commer-
 cial re-
 straints.
 1779.

Such an effect was produced on the government
 and people of Britain by the resolutions of the Irish
 parliament, the declarations of the armed bands,
 and the general agreement for the non-importation
 of British manufactures, that, in the November of
 1779, the prime minister, lord North, laid before
 the British commons, unopposed, three propositions
 for the freedom of Irish commerce. These were in
 substance the same with those which had been moved
 by earl Nugent in the spring of the foregoing year,
 except that those of lord North contained still great-
 er concessions, particularly the free exportation of
 woollens. Bills were introduced, founded on two
 of the propositions, which were, without difficulty,
 passed into laws. The final discussion of the third,

concerning a trade with the British plantations, was deferred, as more complex, till after the recess at Christmas.

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Though trade, where it has been so ruined as to leave little or no capital, cannot till after a lapse of years, be effectively revived, much joy was at first produced in Ireland by these concessions. But, since the wanton tyranny, exercised by the English parliament on Irish industry, could not be immediately forgotten; and since, to gain the acquiescence of British traders, lord North had represented the concessions as a *boon resumable at pleasure*; distrust pervaded the public, and an opinion daily gained ground, that without a legislature of its own, totally independent of the British parliament, the privileges of a free commerce, granted to this kingdom, would be quite precarious. Declarations to this purpose were published by the volunteer bands, whose detached companies coalesced into battalions, and assembled occasionally in larger bodies to be reviewed by general officers appointed by their suffrages. Among such declarations was that of the Dublin volunteers, who on the ninth of June 1780, with the duke of Leinster, the premier nobleman, in the chair, as president, resolved “That the king, lords, and commons of Ireland only were competent to make laws binding the subjects of this realm; and that they would not obey, or give operation to any laws, save only those enacted by the king, lords, and commons of Ireland, whose rights and privileges, jointly and severally, they were determined to support with their lives and fortunes.”

Demands of
an independ-
ent legisla-
ture.
1780.

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Proceedings
of parlia-
ment.
1780.

On the nineteenth of the preceding April, a motion had been made in the house of commons, by Henry Grattan, for their agreement to this resolution, “*that no power on earth, save the king, lords, and commons of Ireland, had a right to make laws for Ireland.*” This motion, after a most interesting debate, which lasted till six o’clock in the morning, was withdrawn by the mover, without entry on the journals, at the instigation of Henry Flood, who knew that a ministerial majority stood engaged to reject it. To shew their gratitude for commercial indulgences, the commons voted the supplies for eighteen months longer, and made provision for the borrowing of six hundred and ten thousand pounds, and for an increase of the revenue to the amount of a hundred and fifty thousand pounds a year. Two bills transmitted to England, were returned with alterations by the British cabinet, and passed into laws by the Irish parliament, much to the general dissatisfaction of the public; one for the punishment of mutiny and desertion in the army, which, instead of being limited to a year, as it had been originally framed, according to the mode always practised in Britain, was by the alteration rendered *perpetual*; the other for the imposition of a duty on refined sugars imported into Ireland, for the purpose of encouraging at home the refining business, which bill was so modified by the British cabinet as to reduce the duty. The discontents of the nation were expressed in the resolutions of several volunteer bodies, and other publications, against some of which, con-
tained

tained in newspapers, of a most libellous nature against the house of commons, a vote of censure was passed by that house, without any apparently direct application to the then formidable associations of armed citizens. By a prorogation, on the second of September, an end was put to the session, protracted to an extraordinary length, with augmented unpopularity, since, beside other proceedings of an unpleasing kind, two very popular bills had been rejected, one introduced by Barry Yelverton for a modification of Poyning's law; the other by John Forbes for the independence of the judges.

In the place of the earl of Buckinghamshire, who was imagined by the British cabinet to have too passively permitted the growth of the volunteer system to a dangerous force, the earl of Carlisle was appointed lord lieutenant at the end of the year 1780. This nobleman found not less difficulty than his predecessor in giving any effective check to the spirit of volunteering, by which the armed societies increased to fifty thousand men, regimented, and improved in tactics by reviews. In one of these exhibitions at Belfast, five thousand four hundred men in one body displayed their evolutions, with a train of thirteen pieces of artillery. Among the attempts made to weaken the associations was a scheme of disunion, the raising of companies by officers who were dependants of government. But this would have proved fallacious, if such a calamity should have happened as a war between the royal army and the volunteers, as in that case the soldiers of these companies

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Proceedings
of the vo-
lunteers.
1761-1789.

CHAP. XXXVIII. companies would have elected new officers, or have deserted to other leaders. A pleasing testimony, however, was given of the universal attachment of the volunteer bands to the British government, by the offers of their service to the new viceroy in 1781, when an invasion from France and Spain was apprehended. But, with not less determination, than on the defence of their country against the foreign foe, their original motive of arming, were they resolved on the attainment of objects which had afterward arisen successively to their view, a free commerce, and the security of it by a free legislature. At a meeting of the officers and delegates of the first regiment of Ulster, commanded by the earl of Charlemont, at Armagh, on the twenty-eighth of December 1781, resolutions were unanimously voted, and published in the newspapers, in which, after some severe animadversions on parliamentary corruption, an invitation was given to all the volunteer associations in Ulster to send their delegates to a central town of the province, to deliberate on the state of public affairs.

Resolutions
of Dungan-
non.
1782.

This meeting of delegates, dreaded by the best friends of Ireland, as a measure fraught with peril, particularly by the earl of Charlemont himself, took place, according to the invitation above-mentioned, at Dunganon, on the fifteenth of February 1782. This amiable and truly patriotic nobleman, unable to prevent, digested resolutions and proceedings for, this formidable assembly, with the help of some friends, particularly the two great orators of the
Irish

Irish commons, Flood and Grattan. The representatives of a hundred and forty-three companies, with colonel William Irvine in the chair, voted a number of resolutions, unanimously, except in a few cases, where one or two dissenting voices were heard, and one case where eleven were dissentient. Among these were the following resolutions, here abbreviated: "That a citizen abandons none of his civil rights by learning the use of arms; that a claim of any men, other than the king, lords, and commons of Ireland, to make laws to bind this kingdom, was a grievance unconstitutional: that the same was the case with the powers of the privy-councils of both kingdoms, exercised under colour of Poyning's law; with a mutiny-bill not limited in time from session to session; with the shutting of the Irish ports from foreign trade by any other authority than that of the Irish parliament; and with the refusal of the same independence to judges in Ireland as was enjoyed by those in England: that they were unalterably determined to seek a redress of these grievances: that four delegates should be nominated for each county in Ulster to form a committee, representative of all the volunteer troops in that province, of whom eleven should constitute a quorum: and that this committee should appoint nine of their members for a committee in Dublin, to communicate with other volunteer associations. In their address to the minority in both houses of parliament they declared, "That they knew their duty to their sovereign, and were loyal: that they knew their duty to themselves, and were re-

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CHAP. solved to be free." They expressed, however, in
 XXXVIII. } their resolutions, with only two dissenting voices,
 their approbation of the conduct of parliament in
 having relaxed the penal statutes against catholics,
 avowing that they rejoiced in the measure as christi-
 ans and protestants.

Parliament-
 ary transac-
 tions.
 1781-1782. The parliament had been convened on the ninth
 of October 1781, and had voted the thanks of both
 houses to the volunteer companies for the offers
 which they had made of their services to the vice-
 roy. Yet a ministerial majority continued to nega-
 tive the important questions, proposed by the pa-
 triotic members, and loudly supported by the voice
 of the volunteers and of the public in general, for
 the commercial and political emancipation of Ire-
 land. One of these questions was for a committee
 to enquire into the state of the trade between Por-
 tugal and Ireland, since manufactured goods, ex-
 ported from the latter to the former, had been,
 probably by British influence, detained, as illegal,
 in the custom-house of Lisbon, and precluded from
 sale. Others were on motions made for a limited
 mutiny-bill; for an examination into the pervert-
 ed law of Poyning; and for an address to the
 king, founded on the resolutions of Dungannon,
 in which, among other matters, declaration should
 be made, "That no means could be suggested, by
 which the connection of Ireland with Great-Britain
 could be so strengthened, as by a renunciation of
 the claim of the British parliament to make laws for
 Ireland." Two bills, however, in favour of catho-
 lics,

lics, passed into laws, without any apparent interference of the ministry; one for extending their privileges with respect to landed property, and for the removal of some penalties from such Romish clergy as should take the oath of allegiance and be registered; the other for allowing, under a few restrictions, catholics to educate youth, and to be guardians to children.

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The situation of Ireland was at this time critical. The taxes were deficient, and the national debt had been augmented to two millions and six hundred and seventy thousand pounds; while the people, irritated against government, and conceiving themselves betrayed by their parliamentary representatives, looked only to the volunteers for a redress of their complaints. These, by their union, had become more formidable than ever, as the resolutions of Dungannon had been adopted throughout the kingdom, committees of correspondence had been formed, and a national committee to regulate the whole system. What might have been the consequence, if government had persevered in its plan of incomppliance, which most probably would have been the case if the American war had proved less unsuccessful, is happily matter only of conjecture. Doubtless the catholics, in the melancholy case of a civil war in Ireland, would have joined the protestant volunteers against the royal army; but how such a coalition could have been maintained to any effective purpose is extremely problematical. Providentially for this kingdom, and for Great-Britain,

State of public affairs,
1782.

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XXXVIII.

the tory ministry, who had so long inauspiciously conducted the affairs of the British empire, unable any longer to stem the tide of public indignation and adverse events, when the American states had unequivocally established their independence by force of arms, resigned their places at the end of March 1782, after a sacrifice of a hundred thousand British lives, and the addition of above a hundred millions to the national debt of Britain, in their attempts to attain an object useless to the power, and ruinous to the liberty, of the British nation. A whig administration succeeded, in which the marquis of Rockingham was placed at the head of the treasury, the famous Charles Fox was nominated one of the secretaries of state, and the duke of Portland was appointed, in the place of lord Carlisle, lord-lieutenant of Ireland.

Irish revolution.
1782.

After this happy change messages were delivered to the British and Irish parliaments from his Majesty, to the former by Charles Fox on the ninth of April, to the latter by John Hely Hutchinson, on the sixteenth, "recommending to their most serious consideration the state of affairs in Ireland, in order to such a final adjustment as might give mutual satisfaction to both kingdoms." Henry Grattan made a motion for an address to the king, similar to that for which, founded on the resolutions of Dunganon, he had before made in vain, in an energetic speech, in which he pronounced a just eulogy on the volunteers, and strong assertions on the rights of Ireland, declaring that "allied by liberty still
more

more than by allegiance, Great-Britain and Ireland formed a constitutional confederacy: that the perpetual annexion to the crown was a powerful bond of union, but Magna Charta still more efficacious: that to find any where a king would be easy, but to England only could the Irish look for a constitution: that by charter, not by conquest, was the mutual connexion of the two countries originally established: that every true Irishman would say, liberty with England, if England is so disposed; but at all events liberty." Both houses unanimously agreed in this famous address, in which they affirmed that "the crown of Ireland was an imperial crown, inseparately annexed to the crown of Great-Britain: but that the kingdom of Ireland was a distinct kingdom, with a parliament of her own, the sole legislature thereof: that in this right they conceived the very essence of their liberty to exist: that in behalf of all the people of Ireland they claimed this as their birth-right, and could not relinquish it but with their lives: that they had a high veneration for the British character: and that their determination was, in sharing the freedom of England, to share also her fate, and to stand or fall with the British nation."

In a speech of the viceroy to both houses, on the twenty-seventh of May, he assured them that "the British legislature had concurred in a resolution to remove the causes of their discontents;" and that his Majesty was graciously disposed to give his royal assent to acts calculated for their satisfaction. A

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principal subject of complaint was the practice founded on the law of Poyning, by which the political constitution of Ireland was rendered materially different from that of England. Of this law, and its modification in the reign of Mary, I have spoken at the end of the thirteenth chapter. By the established practice, whence the Irish parliament had become little better than the register of royal edicts, the heads, or substance, of bills were, by the leave of either house, introduced; and, if admitted by a majority, laid before the viceroy and privy-council, who might totally suppress them, or certify them into England under the great seal of Ireland altered or unaltered. If they were sent back under the great seal of England without alteration, and approved by the majority of that house of the Irish parliament in which they had not originated, they passed into law by the royal assent delivered by the viceroy. When a bill was returned with alterations made in it by the British or Irish privy-council, it sometimes passed through the Irish parliament into law without further ceremony; but in general was either totally rejected, or new modelled according to the alterations, and sent on the same progress as at first. By a law now enacted all interference of privy-councils to alter Irish bills was abolished, and the parliament of Ireland put into the same state of independence, with respect to its legislation, as that of Britain. As acts were also passed for the limitation of the law against mutiny to two years, for the right of Habeas corpus, and for

for the independence of the judges; and as the British parliament had agreed to repeal the obnoxious bill enacted in the sixth year of George the first, by which the Irish house of peers had been deprived of their supreme judicial power in their own country, Ireland was almost universally conceived by its inhabitants to be completely emancipated, and dignified with a constitution equal to that of her great sister island.

As a token of gratitude, the commons, on the motion of Henry Grattan, voted a hundred thousand pounds for the raising of twenty thousand seamen for the British navy; and, at the motion of Beauchamp Bagenal, they voted fifty thousand pounds, as a present, to Grattan himself, for his services in this parliamentary revolution. A distrust, however, of the concessions of the British government, as insufficient, soon appeared. To the following words in an address to the throne an objection had been made, “ Gratified in those particulars, we do assure your Majesty, that *no constitutional question between the two nations will any longer exist, which can interrupt their harmony.*” But on a division of the house two hundred and eleven had appeared in favour of this paragraph, and only two against it, David Walshe and sir Samuel Bradstreet, the recorder of Dublin, a man of sound understanding, clear discernment, and cordial patriotism. Yet the opinion of the recorder was soon adopted by Henry Flood, who, on the nineteenth

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Dissent of
some patri-
ots.
1782.

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of July, exerted his superlative eloquence, in opposition to that of Henry Grattan, for a bill to declare “ the sole and exclusive right of the Irish parliament to make laws in all cases whatsoever, both internal and external, for the kingdom of Ireland.” On a division of the house only six voices were found in favour of Henry Flood’s motion; and addresses to the king from the volunteers of Leinster, Ulster, and Connaught, concurred with the sentiments of the majority in the house of commons. The opinion of the small minority, Flood’s adherents, was, that a simple repeal of the British act of the sixth of George the first gave not sufficient security to the independence of the Irish legislature: that, since that act had been *declaratory*, its repeal had only removed the *act* from the British book of statutes, and left the claim of *right* in the British parliament precisely as it had been before the sixth year of George the first; which *right* had been so exercised before that period, that some laws enacted under that assumption still remained in full force: and that consequently nothing less than an express renunciation by the British parliament of all right whatsoever to legislate for Ireland could give so far complete security as national compacts can bestow.

Consummation of the
revolution,
1783.

On the twenty-seventh of July 1782, was proposed this famous parliament, among whose laudable acts was the repeal of the sacramental test, by which presbyterians had been excluded from offices:

offices of trust under the crown. The opinion of Henry Flood, abetted at first by so few, gained ground with rapidity in the public mind, and seemed to receive confirmation from events. A cause, removed by a writ of error from the king's bench of Ireland to that of Great-Britain, was retained and adjudged by lord Mansfield, the chief justice of the latter, subsequently to the first of June 1782, a limit prescribed by the Irish parliament, beyond which no such causes were to be determined out of this kingdom. The increasing discontents became alarming to government; and earl Temple, who, on a change of the British ministry, by the death of the marquis of Rockingham, succeeded the duke of Portland in the viceroyalty, on the fifteenth of September 1782, was earnest for procuring satisfaction to the Irish. With a magnanimity becoming the great council of a great nation, all cause of complaint on the subject was removed, by a bill introduced, and unanimously passed, on the twenty-second of January 1783, in the British parliament, "for removing and preventing all doubts, which have arisen, or may arise, concerning the exclusive rights of the parliament and courts of Ireland in matters of legislation and judicature, and for preventing any writ of error, or appeal, from any of his Majesty's courts in that kingdom, from being received, heard, and adjudged, in any of his Majesty's courts in the kingdom, of Great-Britain." The pecuniary fortunes of the two great rival patriots

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CHAP. triots and orators, Flood and Grattan, in their ex-
XXXVIII. ertions in favour of Irish emancipation, were very
different. The latter, who carried the business to a
certain stage, and opposed its further progress, re-
ceived as a reward fifty thousand pounds: the
former, by whose exertions it was brought to a con-
summation, was deprived of a place under govern-
ment of three thousand five hundred pounds a year.

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Reflections on the American war—Miscellaneous transactions—Knights of Saint Patrick—Abortive scheme of a General settlement—Proceedings of the volunteers—Defects of the national representation—Meeting of a new parliament—National convention—Miscellaneous transactions—Outrages—Addresses—Congress—Commercial propositions—Miscellaneous transactions—Rightboys—Wretchedness of the peasantry—Death of the duke of Rutland—Change of manners by his example—Reflections on late hours—Enormous speculation detected by Buckingham—Offer of regency to the prince of Wales—Reinstatement of affairs—Fitzgibbon—Proceedings of the oppositionists—Parliamentary transactions.

THE councils, by which the British cabinet had been influenced to enter on a war with the British colonies in America, were hardly more impolitic than those by which that war was conducted. Re-

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Reflections
on the Ame-
rican war.

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while many of the instruments, employed to subdue the colonies, were more fitted to procure the hatred than the submission of the colonists to the British government. Tribes of savages, American Indians, useless in battle, butchered the unarmed in their transitory incursions. The German mercenaries, too slow for American warfare, and regarding spoil as their primary object, marked every where their progress with merciless rapine. Even the British, the only effective troops employed on this lamentable occasion, were not so observant of salutary discipline, but that in places, where they were at first received as friends by the inhabitants, they were afterwards opposed and detested as enemies. Of the acts of devastation and massacre in this war the most atrocious recorded was committed at Wyoming, a new and most delightfully flourishing settlement of about a thousand families on the river Susquehanna, which was reduced completely to a desert by a body of Indians and American royalists, denominated Tories, under two leaders named Butler and Brandt, who put to death all the inhabitants of every age and both sexes by various kinds of torture. The resentment of the Americans, fired by such atrocities, was so ably directed by the admirable George Washington, a leader not less cautious of affording advantages to the enemy than alert to seize opportunities in his own favour, that the independence of the revolted states was established by arms, and explicitly acknowledged by the British court in a final treaty of peace in the beginning of the year 1783. Conduct-

ed to its completion with a spirit of order glorious to the character of the Americans, this revolution, when we except the expences of the war, was ultimately advantageous even to Great-Britain; since, rapidly augmented in wealth and population by an admirable system of government, these colonies afford a more gainful market than ever to British traders, without expenditure of British revenue for their defence. Their subjugation might have involved the ruin of British liberty, together with their own impoverishment and decay.

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Of the American revolution the emancipation of the Irish legislature was a consequence, acquired by the exertions of the volunteer associations, exertions so far glorious, but like all human affairs, liable to be carried beyond the limit which true policy would prescribe. If, after the attainment of their great object, these patriot bands had resigned their arms, when, on the conclusion of a general peace, they were no longer necessary, they would for ever have stamped their past transactions with the seal of honour. But, misled by designing or mistaken men, and influenced by the example of some very eminent persons in England, who afterwards proved recreant, they turned their attention to a new object, a reform of parliament, or a more equal representation of the people in the house of commons, an object indeed desirable, in Britain, but of extremely difficult adjustment, and doubtless in Ireland of problematical utility. After the commencement of a discussion on this subject, two events occurred

of

Miscellaneous transactions in Ireland.
1783.

CHAP. of little importance, yet perhaps not omisable with
 XXXIX. propriety.

Knights of
 St. Patrick.

To gratify the Irish by a mark of national consequence, a new order of knighthood was instituted, *the illustrious order of Saint Patrick*, of which the king is always to be sovereign, the viceroy officiating grand master, and the archbishop of Dublin chancellor. Among the knights were prince Edward, the duke of Leinster, and the earl of Courtown. On the eleventh of March they were invested at the castle; and on the seventeenth, the festival of the tutelar Saint, the ceremony of installation was magnificently performed.

Genevans.
 1783.

From the preponderance of the aristocratic faction in the little republic of Geneva, through the interference of the neighbouring potentates in its favour, many of the popular party emigrated in discontent, and sent commissioners to negotiate for a settlement in Ireland. The commissioners of a people suffering in the cause of liberty were treated with the most respectful attention by the volunteers of Leinster; and the project of a protestant colony of industrious, wealthy, and highly civilized artizans, was eagerly embraced by the government, who ordered fifty thousand pounds from the treasury for the forwarding of the scheme, and a town to be built, called *New Geneva*, for the reception of the emigrants, in the county of Waterford, near the united stream of the Barrow, Nore, and Suir, where a tract of land was shortly to revert to the possession of the crown, and intended to be appropriated in fee to the new colonists. But as the emigrants in-

sisted

sisted not only on being represented in parliament, but also on being governed by their own laws, the treaty was interrupted, and the projected settlement never took place, except that some few came into Ireland, who liked so little their new situation that most of them in a short time left the kingdom.

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To earl Temple, whose too short administration had been of singular utility in the making of œconomical reforms in the different offices of the castle, succeeded the earl of Northington on the third of June 1783, when a ferment prevailed in the nation on account of an expected dissolution of parliament, which accordingly took place on the fifteenth of the following month. By an assembly of the delegates of forty-five volunteer companies of Ulster, convened at Lisburne, in the county of Antrim, on the first of July, to deliberate on measures for a parliamentary reform, a committee was appointed for corresponding with other societies, and a general meeting of the delegates of the province was requested at Dungannon on the eighth of the next September. This provincial assembly, convened as thus recommended, consisting of the delegates of two hundred and seventy-two companies, published resolutions concerning the representation of the people in parliament, and elected five persons to represent each county in a national convention, which they appointed to be held in Dublin on the tenth of the following November, to which they intreated the volunteers of the other provinces to send like-

Proceedings
of the vo-
lunteers.
1783.

wise

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wise their delegates. The defects of which they complained in the national representation were that of three hundred members, composing the house of commons, only seventy-two were returned by the free election of the people; since fifty-three peers nominated a hundred and twenty-four members, and influenced the choosing of ten; and fifty-two commoners nominated ninety-one, and influenced the choice of three.

Meeting of a
new parlia-
ment.
1738.

When the new parliament met on the fourteenth of October, Edmund Sexton Perry was unanimously elected speaker by the commons; and the thanks of both houses were voted to the several volunteer companies for their spirited exertions in the due execution of the laws. Likewise, in a spirit of national freedom, resolutions were passed, "That in the present state of the kingdom, it was expedient that there should be a session of parliament held every year." But a momentous question soon occurred, in which parliament acted with decision in a manner much less popular, yet not displeasing to many real friends of the country.

National
convention.
1783.

According to the invitation from Dungannon, the delegates of the four provinces assembled in a national convention, on the tenth of November, in the Rotunda in Dublin; and, electing the earl of Charlemont their president, they appointed a committee to digest a plan of parliamentary reform. Among the articles recommended in the report of this committee were these; that every protestant, possessed of a freehold of forty shillings value, should be en-

titled

titled to vote for the return of representatives of any city or borough where he should be resident: that every member of parliament, who should accept a pension for life, or place under the crown, should in consequence be deprived of his seat: that each member should subscribe an oath that he had neither directly nor indirectly given any consideration with a view of obtaining the suffrage of any elector: and that the duration of each parliament should not exceed the term of three years. When the report was finished, a motion was made, on the twenty-ninth of the same month, in the house of commons, by Henry Flood, for leave to introduce a bill for the more equal representation of the people in parliament. This was vehemently opposed by Barry Yelverton, the attorney general, who declared in his speech that "he admired the volunteers, so long as they confined themselves to their first line of conduct," but that to receive a bill, which originated with an armed body, was inconsistent with the dignity of the house, and the freedom of debate. After a very warm contest, which continued till near three o'clock on Sunday morning, the motion was rejected by a majority of a hundred and fifty-eight to forty-nine. A resolution was immediately after passed by the commons "that it was then necessary to declare that they would support the rights and privileges of parliament against all encroachments." They also voted an address to the king, in which the lords concurred, assuring his Majesty that they were determined to support the present constitution with their lives and fortunes.

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On the second of December the convention voted an indefinite adjournment, having passed a resolution “that they would carry on individually such investigations as might be necessary to complete the plan of parliamentary reform;” and having agreed to an address to the king in the name of the delegates of all the volunteers in Ireland, “expressive of their duty and loyalty, claiming the merits of their past exertions, and imploring his Majesty that their humble wish, to have certain manifest perversions of the parliamentary representation of this kingdom remedied by the legislature in some reasonable degree, might not be attributed to any spirit of innovation, but to a sober and laudable desire to uphold the constitution, to confirm the satisfaction of their fellow subjects, and to perpetuate the cordial union of both kingdoms.” The tame conclusion of a business, so formidable in its outset, had its causes in the well-grounded confidence of the government, and the diffidence of the democratic leaders, who probably had not expected so firm a determination to resist their demands. Men of reflexion among the volunteers were sensible that, when Great-Britain, fortunately disengaged from foreign wars, was enabled to direct all her force to one quarter, an attempt to obtain their object by compulsion must be hopeless without the co-operation of the catholics, and that in case of success by this assistance, the protestant interest in Ireland would be annihilated. The reformists besides were far from possessing universally the confidence of the Irish protestants, many of whom regarded the advantages of the

the constitution, under its present form, as of too great moment to admit the trying of experiments, whose consequences no human sagacity could pretend to fathom; since, without an influence of the monarch in the house of commons, the republican part of the body politic would predominate, the executive power become inefficacious, and the state be distracted by contending factions. Ministers had also made successful exertions to weaken the volunteer system by raising fencible regiments, and detaching from the common cause the commanders of volunteer companies by pecuniary inducements.

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In consequence of a change of the British ministry, by which William Pitt, son of the late great earl of Chatham, attained the office of premier minister, Charles Manners, duke of Rutland, succeeded the earl of Northington in the lord lieutenancy of Ireland, at the end of February 1784. As Pitt had been a strenuous advocate for parliamentary reform in Britain, a motion was made on the thirteenth of March, by Henry Flood in the Irish house of commons, for leave to introduce a bill for that purpose in Ireland. As the subject was now brought forward in a constitutional manner, grounded on petitions from towns and counties, it was treated with respect; but was opposed, beside other arguments, on the consideration that, a wide extension of the elective franchise to protestants exclusively, might cause the expulsion of catholics from their farms to make room for protestant freeholders; and, after a long debate, the bill was rejected, on the second reading,

Miscellaneous transactions.
1784.

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by a majority of a hundred and fifty-nine to eighty-five, on the twentieth of the same month. This mention of the catholics was artfully made to foment a disunion among the volunteers, some of whom loudly demanded the admission of that numerous body to the same rights with the protestants, while others dreaded the consequences of too sudden an emancipation. Thus the volunteer bands of Ulster, in an address to their general, the earl of Charlemont, expressed their "satisfaction at the decay of those prejudices which had so long involved the nation in feud and disunion; a disunion, which, by limiting *the rights of suffrage*, had in a great degree fostered the aristocratic tyranny, the source of every grievance." The earl, in his reply, professed himself "free from every illiberal prejudice against the catholics, but could not refrain from the most ardent entreaties to the armed associations to desist from a pursuit which would fatally impede the prosecution of their favourite purpose."

Outrages.

Discontents on political and commercial subjects pervaded the nation, and riots became frequent, when the execution of the laws had ceased to be so great an object as formerly in the volunteer system. In consequence of quarrels between the mob of Dublin and the garrison, particularly one of a very serious nature at Island bridge, a savage custom, which had sometime before subsisted, of houghing soldiers who were found straggling, increased to so alarming a pitch, that an act was passed for the levying of a maintenance, on the citizens of Dublin, for

for every soldier, during life, thus disabled. Manufacturers in the metropolis, assembling in riotous bodies, insulted such merchants and shopkeepers as were suspected not to adhere to the agreement of non-importation of English cloths; and against some persons particularly obnoxious they proceeded to the barbarous outrage of tarring and feathering, an outrage practised by the Americans in the commencement of their revolution. Journeymen mechanics, combining for higher wages, to the injury of their country's trade, have sometimes committed this act of atrocity, to the disgrace of Irish government, on persons who consented to work for a reasonable hire.

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Consonantly with the general cry for a parliamentary reform, an assembly of the citizens of Dublin, on the seventh of June, convened by the sheriffs, voted a series of resolutions, in which they asserted the clear and imprescriptible right of the people of Ireland to a frequent election and a free representation; and “that to extend the rights of suffrage to their Roman catholic brethren, still *preserving in its fullest extent the present protestant government of this country*, would be a measure fraught with the happiest consequences, and highly conducive to civil liberty.” They also appointed a committee to prepare an address to the people of Ireland, and a petition to the king. In the former the people were invited to depute five persons from every county and large town to meet in Dublin, on the twenty-fifth day of the ensuing October, in a

Addresses.

CHAP.
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national *congress*, a term invidious from its signification in America. When their petition, grounded on their previous resolutions, was presented to the viceroy for transmission to the throne, he promised his compliance with their request, but declared his resolution of conveying at the same time his "entire disapprobation of it, as tending to weaken the authority of the laws and parliament of Ireland." Petitions on the same grounds were also elsewhere voted, particularly from Belfast, a town less prudent than zealous in pursuit of its object, whose request was, that his Majesty should dissolve the present parliament, and summon a new parliament, according to the plan which should be digested by the national congress. Pitt, the prime minister, to whom this petition was transmitted for presentation to the throne, made answer, that he still continued a zealous friend of reform, but considered this proposal as tending to produce still greater evils than any of those, which the advocates of a more equal representation of the people were desirous to remedy.

Congress.
1784.

To prevent the assembling of the intended congress vigorous exertions were made by the ministry. The sheriffs of Dublin, who had signed a summons for a meeting of the citizens, to choose their delegates, on the twentieth of September, were intimidated from any further interference by a letter from the attorney-general, Fitzgibbon, who threatened them with the vengeance of the law. The meeting took place without the sheriffs, the delegates were chosen,

chosen, and a resolution passed, declaring the conduct of the attorney-general a violation of Magna Charta. Regardless of such declarations, Fitzgibbon proceeded to file informations in the court of King's Bench against magistrates who had presided at similar meetings, particularly the high sheriff of the county of Dublin, who, for a mitigation of his fine and imprisonment, was obliged to make an apology. The printers also of newspapers, who had published the obnoxious resolutions of such assemblies, were punished in like manner by this court, the legality of whose proceedings in these cases was denied by many. Notwithstanding all impediments, the congress assembled on the twenty-fifth of October; but, finding their number not complete, the members adjourned to the twentieth of the following January, after a session of three days, in which they passed resolutions, importing that their assemblage, and its preparatory steps, were all strictly conformable to the constitution of their country. In its second meeting, on the day appointed, when it was found to consist of above two hundred members, the representatives of twenty-seven counties, and of most of the considerable towns, the proceedings were similar, but the proposed application to parliament was resolved to be confined to terms so general, as to leave the mode of redress as open as possible to the legislature.

Previously to the prorogation of the parliament on the fourteenth of May 1784, attempts had been made to procure the imposition of *protecting duties*,

Commercial
proposi-
tions.

1785.

CHAP. taxes on manufactured goods imported into Ireland
 XXXIX. for the protection or encouragement of manufac-
 turers at home ; but the attempts had been abortive,
 and the proposal ridiculed. To assuage, however,
 the public discontent, an address to the king had
 been unanimously voted by the commons, praying
 for the establishment of a more advantageous sys-
 tem of commerce between Great-Britain and Ire-
 land.. Eleven propositions for the adjustment of
 such a system, transmitted from the premier minis-
 ter of Britain, were laid on the seventh of February
 1785, before the Irish parliament, which had met
 on the twentieth of the preceding month. After
 some opposition, and even violent invective, they
 were, not only with approbation but even applause,
 ratified by both houses ; whence they were returned
 to England for the discussion of the British legisla-
 ture, whose concurrence would have established a
 commercial treaty, highly beneficial to Ireland with
 ultimately still greater advantage to Britain. But
 here, from the blind and malignant spirit of com-
 mercial jealousy, petitions against the system were
 from several parts of England poured upon the par-
 liament ; whence Pitt, who had been honourably
 anxious for so salutary a measure, was obliged to new-
 model the whole plan. From his alterations, and
 the amendments of the British lords and commons,
 the commercial propositions, founded originally on
 the basis of the mutual admission of the merchan-
 dize of the two kingdoms, were augmented in num-
 ber to twenty, and so changed in substance as ap-
 parently

parently to form quite a new system, when propounded to the Irish commons on the twelfth of August.

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Surprize and indignation pervaded the house on the developement of a scheme calculated to restrict for ever the Irish commerce, and to subject the kingdom to the legislative control of the British parliament. After a vehement contest, which continued till nine in the morning, the motion of the secretary, Orde, for leave to introduce a bill for the establishment of the commercial system contained in the new propositions, passed in the affirmative with a majority of only nineteen in a house consisting of two hundred and thirty-five members. Discouraged by the smallness of the majority in the first stage of the business, the secretary, on the fifteenth day ensuing, having moved the reading and printing of the bill, declared his resolution of proceeding no further with this subject in the present session, and of leaving it to be revived or neglected by the public. By illuminations was attested the popular joy at the failure of this plan, which was never afterwards renewed in the parliament of either kingdom. The experience of a few years, since the removal of the chief restrictions on Irish commerce, might have taught the English traders, that the commercial freedom of Ireland would be, instead of injurious, really advantageous, to the traffic of Britain. But men of this mode of life are seldom individually, never collectively, capable of deducing just conclusions from a comprehensive survey of a great system.

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tem. Hence erroneous petitions to parliament, supported, sometimes contrary to their private judgment, by the representatives of trading towns. Hence perseverance in the slave trade, which will assuredly draw after it the chastisement of Heaven: for, that national sins are followed by national punishments, is clearly deducible from the whole course of history.

Miscellaneous transactions.

Resolutions not to import manufactured goods from England were in general renewed, and attempts of the populace to enforce them occasioned some tumults, and some alarm to administration. Previously to the prorogation of parliament in the September of 1785, the speaker, Perry, resigned from the infirmities of age, and was succeeded in this office by the right honourable John Foster, by the unanimous vote of the house, the last speaker of the Irish commons. In the next session of parliament, which commenced in the January of 1786, the principal of the bills enacted was one for the establishment of a police in the city of Dublin, instead of its former watch. Great, but unavailing, opposition was given by the patriots to this bill, by which a heavy tax was imposed on the citizens for the maintenance of police officers nominable by the crown, whose influence in the corporation of Dublin, diminished by the efforts of Lucas, was thus augmented. In the beginning of the following year, 1787, the parliament, prorogued from the eighth of May to the eighteenth of January, was presented with a new object of discussion.

A species.

A species of insurrection, originating in the county of Kerry, extended in 1786 through that of Cork and other parts of Munster, so systematically conducted as to demonstrate the advice of persons legally informed, though the poorest class only of peasants were seen as actors in the plan. They marched in bodies of some hundreds, often of some thousands, without arms, quietly permitting any single magistrate to seize any among them charged with a crime, but administering oaths to the people, wherever they went, to obey the commands of an imaginary leader whom they styled *Captain Right*, whence they were termed *Right-boys*, to pay not more than a certain price for each acre for tythe, to permit no proctors, and not to suffer the minister to draw his tythe. So long as their plan was confined to the defalcation of the clerical revenue, they seem to have met with little opposition, although they had perpetrated on obnoxious persons the same atrocious cruelties as the *Whiteboys*: but when they proceeded to limit the rents of lands, to raise the price of labour, and to oppose the collection of hearth-money, the alarm of insurrection was loud on all sides. An act of parliament was passed in the beginning of the following year for the prevention of tumultuous assemblies and illegal combination. On this occasion the attorney-general, the right honourable John Fitzgibbon, declared that, from the best information, the clergy were found to be so far from the practice of extortion, that instead of the tenth, their legal demand, hardly one of them

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Right-boys.
1786.

1787.

CHAP. received the twentieth: that the peasants, ground to
 XXXIX. powder by enormous rents, were so far from being
 able to pay their dues to the clergy, that they possessed not food and raiment for themselves: that some landlords had incited their tenants to rob the clergy of their tythes, not for the alleviation of their own distresses, but with a view of adding these to the merciless rack-rents already imposed: and that the peasantry of Munster, bound to pay six pounds an acre in rent, and to work with their landlords for five pence a day, could no longer exist in the extreme wretchedness under which they then laboured.

Change of
 manners in
 Ireland.
 1787.

In the October of 1787, died the duke of Rutland, in the thirty-second year of his age, from the effects of an intemperate mode of living, a viceroy beloved by the Irish for his open, liberal, and convivial demeanour, the period of whose government is remarkable in our annals for an impression on the manners of the Irish nobility and gentry, an impression permanent in a principal point even to this day. Never was the poet's phrase, *Decipit exemplar vitis imitabile*, more fully verified than in the effects produced by the excessive gaiety of this nobleman and of his elegant and beautiful duchess. To assume an air of excessive sprightliness, or levity of deportment, not always unaccompanied with oaths, was for some time a fashion with ladies who affected a high style of manners. If the duchess indulged her natural flow of spirits to such a pitch as to give countenance to any fashions of this kind, her design

might

might have been to try how far might be carried the propensity of the Irish gentry to ape the manners of the viceroy and his consort; in like manner as a certain great personage is said to have exhibited the exercise of a child's plaything, called the *quiz*, in consequence of which the citizens of London and Dublin were for some time ridiculously employed in this puerile sport, whenever they appeared in the streets: whence to *quiz* a man came to signify to dupe him sportively into a ridiculous mistake. The most permanent effect of the duke's example was a change to immoderately late hours for conviviality or amusement. Gentlemen, whose time of dinner had before been from four to five o'clock, immediately adopted the custom of dining between six and seven, and some even at eight or nine o'clock, a custom still in force, notwithstanding that a different example was set of early hours, sober pleasures, and domestic virtues, by the duke's immediate successor, the marquis of Buckingham, and his consort. To appropriate the night to amusement, and the early part of the day to sleep, is an unfortunate choice for the votaries of gaiety, since, from the nature of the human frame, by this mode of living, health, spirits, and female beauty, are most materially injured, and finally destroyed. Why, for social enjoyment, late hours, with forced spirits, are preferred to early, with genuine cheerfulness, the result of health, and consciousness of living according to nature's dictates, appears no otherwise accountable than from an affectation of being as much as possible

CHAP. possible distinguished from the lower classes of the
XXXIX. community.

Buckingham's
administration.
1788.

The earl Temple, now created marquis of Buckingham, who met the Irish parliament in 1788, on the seventeenth of January, carried a severe and requisite scrutiny into the various fiscal departments, and offices of the castle, a duty so neglected by former viceroys, that the system of peculation was altogether enormous. Thus the military stores were openly embezzled; arms, condemned as useless, carried away through one gate of the castle, and brought back through another, as newly purchased. From a fraudulent plan, long established, clerks in subordinate offices, with salaries not exceeding a hundred pounds a year, were enabled to live in a splendid style. Struck with a violent panic at the viceroy's investigation of their accounts, and his demand of the immediate payment of the money due, some of the defaulters fled the kingdom, some by intreaties and promises eluded the blow, and some chose the horrible refuge of suicide. If the marquis had been enabled to extend his plan of reform and economy, on a great national scale, to pensions, places, and other main channels of expenditure, his administration would have formed a happy period in the annals of this country. But this would have been totally inconsistent with the plan of government adopted, perhaps necessarily, for Ireland by the British cabinet. To maintain such an influence in parliament, as always to command a majority in favour of the court, was the great business

ness of a chief governor, which could not be accomplished without profuse donations of the public money. The expences of Irish government had increased prodigiously in the duke of Rutland's administration, insomuch that the pensions now amounted to nearly a hundred thousand pounds a year, exclusively of those which were paid in the military department, charges under the head of incidents on the civil establishment, and additional salaries in sinecure offices, both of which were substantially pensions.

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Notwithstanding an enormous expenditure for the support of the viceroy's influence in parliament, a case occurred in which it was overpowered. An illness, which attacked the king in the summer of 1788, terminated in the beginning of November in a mental derangement, which rendered him totally incapable of performing the functions of sovereignty. Resolutions were taken in the British parliament, in the January of 1789, to constitute a regency during the monarch's indisposition, and to confer the office of regent, under humiliating restrictions, on the prince of Wales. Notwithstanding the dangerous limitations of the royal prerogative under which he was to act, where "to him were allotted all the invidious duties of the kingly station, without the means of softening them to the public by any one act of grace, favour, or benignity," the prince declared his resolution to accept the office, as "the evils, which might otherwise arise, outweighed in his mind every other consideration, and would determine

Offer of the
regency to
the prince
of Wales.
1789.

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termine him to undertake the painful trust imposed upon him by that melancholy necessity, which of all the king's subjects he deplored the most." That the regent, appointed by the British parliament for Britain, should by that very act be recognized, with the same limitations, as regent of Ireland by the Irish parliament, was the plan of the British cabinet, which the viceroy exerted his utmost power to accomplish. But, as the appointment of a new British ministry, involving that of a new chief governor for Ireland, was expected as a certain event, many placemen and pensioners considered a coalition with the party rising into power as more prudent than an adherence to those whose interest was expiring; whence they were ludicrously denominated *rats* by their opponents, as these animals are observed always to forsake a sinking vessel.

On the third of February 1789, two days before the meeting of the parliament, the members, in opposition to the lord-lieutenant's plan, assembled at the earl of Charlemont's house in Dublin, to concert their measures. On the eleventh of that month, after a most vigorous resistance made by Fitzgibbon, an address was voted by the commons to the prince of Wales, "requesting his royal highness to take upon him the government of this kingdom, during his Majesty's present indisposition, under the title of prince-regent of Ireland, with all regal prerogatives belonging to the crown thereof." On the nineteenth

nineteenth both houses, as the lords had concurred, waited on the viceroy with a request for the transmission of their address to the prince. As this was refused, the two houses appointed five commissioners, among whom were the duke of Leinster and the earl of Charlemont, to attend the prince with their application. The unexpected convalescence of the king, who was declared perfectly recovered on the tenth of March, superseded the object of this commission, but the prince, in his reply to the commissioners, expressed his "gratitude and affection to the loyal and generous people of Ireland, which he felt indelibly imprinted on his heart." How far the British parliament, at the instigation of the ministry, was justifiable in framing so restricted a scheme of regency, I cannot pretend to judge; but the experiment might have been dangerous. If the prince had refused the office under humiliating circumstances, the queen might have been constituted regent of Britain by the British parliament, and the prince by the Irish parliament regent of Ireland with the plenitude of royal prerogative. How then would be defined the connexion of the two kingdoms, or the dependence of Ireland on the executive government established in Britain?

On the re-establishment of affairs in Britain in their former state by the king's recovery, most of the placemen and pensioners, who had joined the opposition in the question of the regency, returned to their posts, on a promise of amnesty, and formed

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1789.

CHAP. a majority for the court in every division of the house.
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Some were deprived of their places, and some promoted for their services. A promotion in some respects fortunate for the public was that of John Fitzgibbon, the attorney-general, to the place of lord-chancellor, the first Irishman entrusted with that office by the English cabinet, and far superior, as a judge, to all his predecessors, insomuch that by his activity, attention, and discernment, his conduct in that department, though not exempt from partialities of a very blameable nature, was justly regarded as a national blessing. A multitude of law-suits, depending so many years as to seem interminable, were with indefatigable application brought to decision in his court, and none afterwards permitted to remain undecided longer than the time absolutely required from the necessity imposed by the forms of law. In the character of landlord, a character on which very materially depend the prosperity and peace of the kingdom, he was just and humane. As a statesman and senator he rested his merit on grounds more disputable; destitute of popularity, which he rather spurned than courted; an uniformly determined partizan of British influence; an adviser of all the strong measures adopted by government; a firm opposer of indulgence to catholics; and too apt to tarnish his powerful oratory by a mixture of sarcastic and arrogant expressions.

Proceedings
of the opposi-
tion.
1789.

As the marquis, whose administration had commenced under favourable expectations, pursued with perseverance the established system of governing by pecuniary

pecuniary influence; and, for that purpose, beside the creation of new places, added thirteen thousand pounds a year to the list of pensions: a most vigorous, but unavailing opposition was unremittingly maintained by the patriots, among whom the chief speaker, Henry Grattan, in one of his numerous orations against the ministry, alluded to the viceroy in the following words: "You remember his entry into the capital, trampling on the hearse of the duke of Rutland, and seated on a triumphal car drawn by public credulity; on one side fallacious hope, and on the other many-mouthed profession; a figure with two faces, one turned to the treasury, and the other presented to the people; and with a double tongue speaking contradictory languages." To support their parliamentary warfare systematically, in a manner most conducive to success, they formed an assembly termed the *whig-club*, similar to an institution of the same appellation in London. In their meetings were their plans arranged, and to each member was assigned his part in every successive attack on administration. By their publications also in the newspapers, calculated as well to enflame the passions, as to convince the judgments, of the people, they kept alive in the nation a spirit of discontent against the measures pursued by government. Among the declared objects of their endeavours for the public benefit, which they brought before parliament successively and repeatedly as subjects of strenuous debate, were bills for a limitation of pensions and

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places; a repeal of the police-bill of Dublin; a bill of responsibility, requiring the acts of the executive power to be signed by certain officers resident in Ireland, who should with their lives and fortunes be responsible to this kingdom in the measures and expences of government; a disqualification of the officers of revenue to vote in the election of members of parliament; and a total demolition of the new charges created by the marquis.

Parliamentary transactions.
1790.

Disgusted with his unpopular situation, the marquis retired from Ireland in the June of 1789, leaving the government in the hands of two lords justices, the lord-chancellor and the speaker of the commons, till the arrival of his successor, the earl of Westmoreland, who met the parliament on the twenty-first of January 1790. The same systems continued of influence on one side, and opposition on the other, with unabated violence. Of this violence the reader may be more enabled to conceive an idea from a specimen of the language used by the great and uniform oppositionist, Grattan. In a reply to some observations made on the subject of party he said: "I will state to you a description of a party which I conceive to be the public curse; if party it can be called which is worse than a faction, and nothing more than an impudent phalanx of political mercenaries, coming from their little respective offices to vote for their bribe and vapour for their character, who have neither the principles of patriotism, nor ambition, nor party, nor honour: who are governed

vernal not by deliberation, but discipline; and licking the hands that feed, and worshipping the patron that bribes them. Degraded men! disgraceful tribe! when they vote for measures, they are venal; when such men talk against party, they are impudent." On the occasion of a motion made for an inquiry into the sale of peerages, as ministers were accused of having set titles of nobility to sale, and of having applied the money thence arising to the purchasing of seats for their adherents in the house of commons, he thus proceeded: "We dare them to go into an enquiry. We do not affect to treat them as other than public malefactors. We speak to them in a style of the most mortifying and humiliating defiance. We pronounce them to be public criminals. Will they dare to deny the charge? I call upon, and dare the ostensible member to rise in his place, and say on his honour, that he does not believe such corrupt agreements to have taken place. I wait for a specific answer." Except an avowal, which would have been humiliating, no direct answer could be returned. The commanding of a majority in parliament by emoluments was well known; but how the government of this kingdom could be otherwise conducted might be another question; since every majority in parliament against the king's vice-gerent had a tendency to a political separation of Ireland from Great-Britain. The parliament was dissolved in the April of 1790, and on the meeting of the new, in the following June, Foster, the former speaker, was re-elected.

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Prorogued after a session of only fourteen days, it was re-assembled in the January of 1791, when the oppositionists were found somewhat diminished in number, but not in the vigour and pertinacity of their warfare, which they renewed on the same subjects; while discontent increased in the public mind, and political affairs took a new complexion from a surprising revolution in the most powerful kingdom on the European continent.

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Revolution of France—Its influence on Britain—And on Ireland—Fiats—Anniversary of the revolution celebrated at Belfast—United Irishmen—National guards—Rowan—Catholic convention—Catholic deputation—Catholic declaration—Opposition to catholics—Parliamentary transactions—Catholic bill—Other popular bills—Gunpowder bill, &c.—Peep-of-day boys and Defenders—Attack of Wexford—Reports of the catholic committees.

THE government of the mighty nation of the French had, under the latter sovereigns of the long race of Hugh Capet, settled into an absolute monarchy, combined with a subservient feudal aristocracy, and supported by a vast military force. Long might it have so continued without interruption, if the monarchs had acted with prudence: but, by the mad ambition of Louis the fourteenth, who, in extending the surface, exhausted the strength of his kingdom; by the wars waged by his successors, with similar views, but inferior fortune; and by the inordinate expences of a profligate court, the debt of the crown became so enormous, that the prodigious taxes,

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of France.

CHAP. ^{XL.} taxes, imposed with the most unjust and impolitic inequality, scarcely felt by nobles or clergy, but pressing with intolerable weight on the poor peasants, were at length insufficient to pay the interest of the debt, and other demands of the state and royal household. From a vast complication of grievances, partly inherent in the political system, still more occasioned by misgovernment, discontentment with their governors pervaded the people, and, when the genuine liberty of the English, displayed in their neighbourhood, was contemplated, and the revolt of the British colonies afforded an ample field of discussion, a hatred of the constitution itself, under which they felt oppression, was diffused at first in silence, and afterwards more openly. Thus a republican faction, small in its commencement, but active and sanguine, gained gradually many proselytes; and, as men, who run into any one extreme, are always capable of running into the opposite, the nation, who had paid a kind of idolatrous adoration to their sovereigns, were in a short time led to act with atrocious licence, on the principles of a levelling democracy, to the abolition of monarchy and even murder of the monarch.

The clouds, which had been collecting in the reigns of his predecessors, were destined to discharge their thunder on Louis the sixteenth, who acceded to the throne in 1774, a prince mild and pacific, worthy of better fortune than to suffer for the crimes of his ancestors, but not endued with a sufficient capacity and firmness of resolution to repress on one side the arbitrary

arbitrary schemes of a court faction headed by the queen, and on the other the projects of popular leaders, some of which were of a dangerous tendency. In the perplexed situation to which the kingdom had been reduced, when to impose new taxes appeared impossible, to continue the mode of borrowing was to run swiftly into ruin, and to have recourse to æconomical reforms alone seemed altogether insufficient to remedy the evil, Calonne, the comptroller-general of the finances, conceived the patriotic and sublime scheme of augmenting the revenue by a new modification of the taxes, particularly by an equalization of the land-tax, extended to all denominations, nobility and clergy as well as commons. For this purpose was convened, in the February of 1787, an assembly of *notables*, men of distinction, convoked from all parts of the kingdom, but selected chiefly from the higher orders, and nominated by the king. Of this assembly, considered as in some degree representative of the nation, and intended to sanction by its authority the new financial scheme, the members, more anxious for their several privileges than for the public prosperity, objected with acrimony against the minister's views, whom they hated for his attack on their privileges, and at length separated on the twenty-fifth of May, leaving the government still more embarrassed than it had been before.

Calonne was disgraced, and succeeded by the archbishop of Toulouse, much inferior in understanding, perhaps also in honesty, and utterly unable to maintain a contest with the parliaments, which in France

were

CHAP. were courts of judicature, where, to receive the
 {^{XL.} formal stamp of law, the edicts of the king were
 registered. So determinate and strenuous was the
 opposition of these courts, seconded by the general
 spirit of the nation, which was falling fast into a state
 of anarchy and insurrection, that the king at length
 found himself necessitated to declare in favour of a
 convocation of the *states general*, a measure suggested
 by the notables, and demanded by the parliaments.
 On the fifth of May 1789, was convened, at Ver-
 sailles, amid a tumult of joy and anxiety, this famous
 assembly, which had not been held since the year
 1614. In the election of members from the nobility,
 clergy, and commons, the deputies of the third had
 been made equal in number to those of the two for-
 mer orders taken together; but whether the deputies
 of the three orders were to form indiscriminately one
 assembly, or three separate chambers, each of which
 should have a negative on the resolutions of the other
 two, was a question undecided. As the former
 mode alone could give preponderance to the com-
 mons, that body determined to admit no other, and,
 styling themselves the *National Assembly*, accomplish-
 ed their purpose through the misconduct of the regal
 faction, who irritated them by wanton insult into
 desperate resolution, and afterwards yielded to the
 fury of a torrent which they had so unwisely aug-
 mented.

Alarmed by indications of a design to dissolve the
 assembly and coerce the nation by military force, the
 citizens of Paris rose in a tumult, and, joined by
 2 deserters

deserters from the royal guards, drove the foreign troops from the city, and stormed the formidable fortress and state prison termed the *Bastille*. These dreadfully decisive operations, in the July of 1789, caused the flight of the queen's party, and established the power of the national assembly beyond the danger of any force which its enemies could raise within the French territories. In the following October, to allay the discontents occasioned by rumours of his intended flight for purposes hostile to the nascent liberties of his people, the king, whose life was endangered by a numerous mob from Paris, transferred his residence from Versailles to the capital, where also the national assembly thenceforth fixed their session. Under the same impression of mind he gave his formal assent to the new constitution, a limited monarchy, in which, like the British monarch, he was allowed a negative on all resolutions which should be decreed by the national representatives. But all confidence between the king and his subjects was finally destroyed by his abortive attempt, in the June of 1791, to escape with his family to the Netherlands, where waited for him a formidable force of Austrian troops and French fugitives, ready to enter France in hostile array for the abolition of the new political system. On the thirtieth of the next September the first national assembly, denominated, on account of its having framed the new constitution, the constituent assembly, was dissolved by its own decree, to make room for a newly constituted body, in which no members

of

CHAP. of the former were admitted. The rule of exclusion
 XL. was unfortunate, as the second assembly, composed,
 in a considerable proportion, of democrats, was
 much inferior in wisdom and dignity to the first.

A levelling principle was carried to an extreme by this legislative body, while the flame of democracy and disaffection to the sovereign was diffused on all sides by the jacobin club, so called from their place of meeting, a building which had been a convent of jacobin monks. The disaffection was greatly augmented by the king's refusal to sanction the decrees against refractory priests, who, by preaching, and emigrants who, by intrigues, were fomenting resistance to the new government. Notwithstanding all this, a powerful majority of the French, attached to the plan of limited monarchy, and anxious for the preservation of order, adhered to the monarch, and would have maintained him on the throne, if the operations of foreign potentates had not completed his destruction. At Pilnitz in Saxony, in the August of 1791, was formed a private league by the emperor of Germany and the king of Prussia, with the concurrence of other courts, for a formidable invasion, and at least partial conquest, of the French territories, and probably, beside other objects, for the extinction of all republicanism, and of all limitation of regal power, in every part of Europe. According to this convention, the duke of Brunswick, at the head of a vast army of Austrians, Prussians, and French emigrants, entered France with a design of penetrating directly to Paris, having, on the twenty-fifth of
 July

July 1792, issued a proclamation, which might seem calculated for the ruin of the king of France, as it clearly intimated a league between him and the invading force for the overwhelming of all his opponents, and left no middle course to the French nation between unlimited subjection and desperate resistance to the king and his foreign associates. The unfortunate sovereign, foreseeing the consequence of such proceedings, had in vain besought the allied monarchs to adopt a different plan. In the perturbed state, to which the kingdom was thus reduced, the constitutionalists, the friends of limited monarchy, the wisest and most powerful party in the nation, found themselves obliged, rather than concur with foreign troops for the extinction of liberty, to accede to the republicans, who thus at length obtained a decided preponderance.

Power in such hands remained not unexerted. By the national assembly was decreed, on the tenth of August, its own dissolution, the suspension of regal authority, and the convocation of a new assembly, which, elected in the same manner, should, under the title of *convention*, be vested with the whole collective authority of the French nation. This new sovereign body, which met on the twentieth of September, immediately proceeded to the total abolition of monarchy, to declare the state a commonwealth, and to institute an accusation of treason to his people against the unfortunate monarch, who, on the twenty-first of the following January 1793, was beheaded by the guillotine. The prime insti-

gators

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gators of this atrocious deed regarded it as a step in their ascent to the monopoly of sovereign power through thousands of merciless murders. Since by the perverse pride of the court faction the establishment of any moderate reform of government in the hands of intelligent men was prevented, the leaders of revolution had recourse to the populace, a dangerous instrument in all countries, especially, as was the case in France, where the mind is debased by despotism. The power of the Gironde, or Brissotine party, the most eminent in rank and talents among the republicans, was, quickly after the king's destruction, subverted, and its leaders guillotined, by the jacobin or mountain faction, whose usurpation was effected by exciting to tumult, and gaining to their interest, the lowest of the rabble. Thus the French revolution, which, like that of England in 1688, and that of the British colonies in America in 1775, ought to have been conducted and moderated, instead of contemptuously, and by dangerous foreign aid, opposed by men of rank and established influence, degenerated so fatally at length, after successive subversions of each class in power by the one immediately below it, that all ranks were totally confounded, and the absolute government of the nation was forcibly seized by the dregs of the populace armed and rallied in the name of equality.

While France was threatened with extinction, as a state, by the most formidable coalition of potentates recorded in history, its inhabitants, for the immediate preservation of their country's political existence,

istence, submitted to the tyranny, otherwise intolerable, of Robespierre, the leader of the jacobins, who, by means of a Parisian mob, had rendered himself master of the national convention, and despot of the commonwealth. But when, by the immense internal strength of the nation, compressed by the common danger, and energised by a spirit of liberty, the independence of France was secured, a tremendous insurrection repressed at home of the furiously bigoted peasants of Poictou and Bretagne, and the foreign armies of invaders repelled with dreadful slaughter by hosts of republicans precipitated on them with vengeful enthusiasm, a plan was formed and put in execution for the overthrow of the mountain faction, whose chief, the terrific Robespierre, suffered death by the guillotine. To the system of terror, maintained by the jacobins, whose energetic tyranny, successful against the enemies of the new commonwealth, had stained the land with butcheries in cold blood to a degree hardly credible, succeeded a more moderate system, in which men of property began to assume their due places in the body politic. In 1795 the executive authority, with the sovereign rank, was committed to five men, who constituted a body termed the *directory*; and the legislative or two councils, elected by the people, faintly resembling the two houses of the British parliament.

On the affairs of Britain the influence of the French revolution was truly momentous. The British court appears from the beginning to have regarded with unfavourable eyes the presumptuous attempts

CHAP. ^{XL.} tempts for the abridgement of regal power in the
 neighbouring kingdom ; and to have been much of-
 fended by the galdness of British subjects, gene-
 rously felt, perhaps indiscreetly expressed, for the
 emancipation of a rival people. Also from appre-
 hensions of a dangerous prevalence of republican
 and revolutionary notions, alarms were propagated
 among men of wealth and rank, many of whom
 became jealous of the liberty enjoyed by their fellow-
 subjects, and wished earnestly for a state of polity
 approximating to despotism, under the indefinite
 name of a *strong government*. Doubtless a vigilant,
 active, and firm conduct, of administration was ne-
 cessary to prevent revolution, which can no where
 be unattended with calamity, and which was totally
 irrequisite in a country already blessed with a poli-
 tical constitution the best ever known in the old con-
 tinent: but unhappily mankind are prone to ex-
 tremes, to imbibe a spirit of faction ; and, in a col-
 lective capacity, never stop at the just limit in po-
 litical transactions. When a class of any persons of
 predominant power in a nation is once observed to
 be decidedly actuated by a spirit of party, men in-
 tent solely on their own private interest, regardless
 of the public welfare, seize the opportunity of emo-
 lument by the violence of acts and expressions in
 favour of the prejudices of the commanding fac-
 tion. An Irishman, Edmund Burke, a member of
 the British house of commons, whose transcendently
 splendid talents had hitherto been exerted in favour
 of liberty, suddenly changed sides, pronounced an
 invective

inveſtive in parliament in the February of 1790, and, eight months after, published a pamphlet of extraordinary ſize and fury of declamation, againſt the late reſtrictions of monarchy in France.

In the composing of this treatiſe, calculated to draw odium on thoſe Britiſh people who had rejoiced at French emancipation, and to arm the powers of Europe againſt France in a war in which no law of nations ſhould be obſerved, Burke may have been partly inſtigated by reſentment againſt thoſe Frenchmen, who had ſubverted the excluſive eſtabliſhment of the Roman catholic religion in their country, a religion to which the writer ſeems to have been cordially attached, though a proteſtant by profeſſion. Like the fabulous torch of the furies, his book excited a ſtrange combuſtion. By the acrimony of his wild inveſtive were the moderate friends of conſtitutional freedom exaſperated againſt the principles of the tory faction; while the fire of a republican and revolutionary ſpirit was rapidly diſſeminated by pamphlets in answer, called into exiſtence by this aggressive act, chiefly by one ſtyled *Rights of Man*, written by Thomas Paine, who with unhallowed hand levelled his darts at even the vital principles of the conſtitution. On the other ſide the miniſters of his Maſteſty's cabinet, ſecure of ſupport from a powerful tory faction, whoſe number was vaſtly augmented by a dread of revolution, proceeded, when they had alarmed the nation with rumours of plots, of which no evidence ever appeared, to adopt a ſyſtem of arbitrary government,

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astonishing to those who had conceived an inviolability of British freedom.

Associations were formed under the sanction of ministers for the forcible suppression of republicanism and of writings inimical to monarchy. To mention liberty with approbation, to speak of the expediency of limits to the royal prerogative, was reprobated as a species of treason, as a proof of disaffection to the existing government, and of a wish to promote the levelling system of democratic revolution. The act of Habeas Corpus was suspended, and prisons were filled with men not destined to be tried for overt acts, but to be punished by confinement for opinions; and this punishment is said to have been dreadful in the prison of Cold-bath Fields near London. To be enabled to carry more fully into effect a plan of coercion at home, and to extinguish in the blood of the French revolutionists a spirit of democracy abroad, the British cabinet, instead of the dignified and advantageous part, then offered by fortune, of commanding the peace of Europe, drew their country as a principal into a war against France in the spring of 1793, and completed that immense confederacy, which could not fail, in the opinion of shallow politicians, of in a short time overwhelming the French nation. Unfortunately statesmen are as little exempt from human frailty and error as any other class of their fellow-creatures, and often effectually promote by their schemes the very purposes which they labour to prevent. This tremendous coalition of potentates, this war unexampled

ampled for greatness in the annals of Europe, served chiefly to throw the absolute government of France into the hands of a democratic junto, and, as had been foreseen by the most enlightened men, to exalt the French power to a pitch truly alarming to the independence of all the neighbouring countries. The subjugation of France, with the extirpation of its democrats, must in all probability have involved the extinction of British freedom, an event which a wise and patriotic prince could never wish; for, as, on one hand the wildness of unbridled democracy leaves neither safety of person, stability of government, nor permanent strength of union for national independence; so, on the other, unlimited submission to the will of a master so enervates the mental faculties, that a nation in such a predicament can neither preserve itself from the thralldom of superstition, nor maintain its independence against powerful neighbours. Only in a just medium between these extremes can consist that political excellence which gives individual protection inviolate, and stability of national power.

Still much more violently than in Britain was felt the influence of the French revolution, of the inflammatory writings of Burke and Paine, in Ireland, where popular discontents had been more prevalent, where notions of revolution were in consequence more extensively and seriously adopted, and where a system of coercion was gradually strained to a pitch truly horrible. So early as the year 1789, some severities beyond the due limits of the law were exercised

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Its influence on Ireland.

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exercised by men in power for the punishment of clamour against government or its ministers. Thus John Magee, publisher of the Dublin Evening Post, a popular newspaper, was arrested by *fiats*, warrants issued by judges, on charges of libels, and long confined in prison from the impossibility of his procuring sponsors for the excessive bail demanded, bail for sums twenty-fold the damages which could be awarded by a conscientious jury when the matter came to trial. By a great majority in parliament on the side of ministers was lord Clonmel, chief justice of the court of King's Bench, who had ordered these warrants, screened from censure. By such acts the popular discontents were augmented on one side, while, on the other, government was alarmed by apparent symptoms of revolutionary disorder in the general mass of the people. Of this nature was the anniversary celebration of the French revolution, performed on the fourteenth of July in 1791, and the following year by the volunteers of Belfast, who displayed emblematical figures expressive of disaffection, and transmitted on the former occasion a most sympathetic address to the society of friends of the revolution at Bourdeaux, whence was returned a correspondent answer. But the two great questions by which the public mind was agitated, and the apprehensions of administration excited, were those of parliamentary reform and catholic emancipation.

United
Irishmen.
1791.

A plan of an association, under the name of *United Irishmen*, for the attainment of these ends,

was

was printed in Belfast in the June of 1791; and in the following November was accordingly instituted in Dublin this new society, with the immediate view of combining into one political phalanx as many as possible of their countrymen for the effectuating of a change in the government of Ireland, or, in the words of their own declaration, “for the purpose of forwarding a brotherhood of affection, a communion of rights, and a union of power, among Irishmen of every religious persuasion, and thereby to obtain a complete reform in the legislature founded on the principles of civil, political, and religious liberty.” Conformably to this idea every person on his admission, as a member, pronounced and subscribed a test, solemnly promising in the awful presence of God to use his exertions for the promotion of that scheme. Whatever may have been the sentiments generally prevalent among the persons thus associated, projects of a most dangerous nature appear to have been entertained by some, not communicated to the rest, the total subversion of the existing government, and the erection of a democratical commonwealth in its place. To provide an armed force for this design an institution was formed in Dublin of *national guards*, whose uniform was distinguished with *green*, thus adopted as the national colour, and buttons engraved with a harp under a cap of liberty instead of a crown. Probably with a view of displaying their force, inspiring confidence into their friends, and gaining proselytes to their cause, the leaders of these bands appointed the

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National
guards.
1792.

CHAPTER XL. ninth of December 1792, for a day of their general muster, and invited all the volunteer companies in Dublin to attend on the occasion, to celebrate the triumph of liberty in France.

The government, affecting to apprehend an immediate attack on the city and commencement of rebellion, wisely determined to suppress in their commencement all armed associations unauthorized by the supreme authority of the state. On the day immediately preceding that of the intended muster, a proclamation was issued by the lord lieutenant and council, peremptorily interdicting all seditious assemblies, and commanding the magistrates to disperse them by military force, if admonition should prove ineffectual. Intimidated by this menace and the array of the garrison, the national guards deferred their meeting, and the long-proposed muster never took place. But on the following fourteenth, a kind of manifesto, or counter-proclamation, was framed by the heads of the society, and afterwards published, exhorting the volunteers to resume their arms for the maintenance, as before, of tranquility against foreign and internal enemies, and advising the protestants of Ireland to choose deputies for provincial assemblies, preparatively to a general convention, which they declared necessary for the forming of a common cause with the catholics. For this publication Archibald Hamilton Rowan, the secretary on that occasion, of the United Irish Society, was prosecuted some time afterwards, a gentleman of a respectable family and fortune, of a most

most amiable character and warm philanthropy, but without sufficient clearness of judgment *always* to discern the proper objects of his benevolence.

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That the catholics should take measures to ameliorate their condition, while the minds of the people throughout the kingdom were strongly agitated by a spirit of political reform, might naturally be expected. A secret committee, instituted for the management of the political concerns of the Irish catholics by Charles O'Connor, an antiquarian, Doctor Curry, a physician, and a Mr. Wyse of Waterford, had subsisted in Dublin since the year 1757, elected from the several dioceses of the kingdom and parishes of the metropolis. In meetings of this body in the February of 1791, a petition to parliament was prepared; but from fears of revolutionary designs on democratic principles, or from apprehension of being suspected of such by government, some respectable catholics declined to concur with the rest; and at length, sixty-four in number, including the lords Kenmare and Fingal, they formally seceded, and on the twenty-seventh of December presented an address to the lord lieutenant, expressive of the respectful submission of themselves and the catholic body to government, and of their resignation to its wisdom and humanity. The rest of the members persevered in their pursuit; and, that they might be enabled to lay before government the sense collectively of the whole catholic body, they devised the plan of a convention, composed of delegates from the several towns and counties, who

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were elected by persons deputed, two from each parish. Assembling on the third of December 1792, in Dublin, and holding its session in Taylor's Hall in Back-lane, whence it was called in derision the *Back-lane parliament*, the convention voted a petition to the king, and afterwards adjourned, having appointed a permanent committee of nine for the management of catholic affairs during its recess.

Catholic
deputation.

A petition, representing the grievances of the penal statutes, the meritorious patience and long tried loyalty of the Irish catholics, was committed to five deputies elected by the convention, at whose head was Edward Byrne, a wealthy merchant. In their way though Belfast these gentlemen were gratified by the cordial attention of the protestant inhabitants, of whom the lower sort expressed in shouts their wishes for the success of the petition, and, unharnessing the horses, drew the carriages of the deputies through the town, at their departure. Proceeding to London though Scotland, they were introduced, on the second of January 1793, by secretary Dundas, to the king, who received their petition in a very gracious manner, and at the ensuing meeting of the Irish parliament, he recommended to that body, through the lord lieutenant, a serious attention to the condition of his catholic subjects.

Catholic
declaration.
1792.

To weaken the force of opposition in parliament against their claims, and to conciliate the protestants, the catholics had published a solemn disavowal of some dangerous tenets commonly supposed to be entertained by them, and added the declarations of
some

some catholic universities abroad, which had been given in answer to queries proposed from England, when indulgence to catholics in that country had been a subject of consideration. Such doctrines had been actually reduced to practice by catholics, as appears from indubitable records, but had been reprobated by others of the same communion, and probably those of Ireland were at this time sincere in their disavowal. They abjured as detestable and impious the opinions that princes excommunicated by the Pope, or any ecclesiastical authority whatsoever, may be murdered or deposed; that men may be lawfully murdered on account of their being heretics; that actions immoral in their own nature can be justified under pretence of their being committed for the good of the church, or in obedience to any ecclesiastical power; and that no faith is to be kept with heretics, or that oaths made to persons not belonging to the catholic communion are less binding than those made to catholics. They also declared their disbelief of the competency of any power to absolve them from their oaths of allegiance, or from any just oaths or contracts; of any right of temporal jurisdiction within this realm directly or indirectly, belonging to the Pope or any other foreign power; of the infallibility of the Pope; and of any power on earth to forgive sins without sincere and complete repentance. They finally made a solemn renunciation of all claims of lands forfeited from their ancestors, and all designs of subvert-

ing

CHAP. XL. ing the present ecclesiastical establishment in Ire-
land.

Opposition
to catholics.
1792.

While the catholic leaders, encouraged and aided by many protestants, especially those of the presbyterian communion, and those who had entered into the society of United Irishmen, were labouring to influence the legislature in their favour, measures to produce a contrary influence were actively taken by other protestants, who apprehended the loss of a monopoly of power, or feared that, from the unparalleled spirit of intolerance assiduously nourished in the Romish religion, the catholics, if once admitted into a participation of political authority, would, with the peculiar zeal of their sect, avail themselves of their superiority of number, and every other possible advantage, to gain the exclusive possession of the state, and ultimately to persecute and exterminate the heretics. Resolutions hostile to the claims of the catholics, and to their plan of a convention, as of a seditious nature, were voted by grand juries, conventions of the freeholders in counties, and the corporation of Dublin. Observations on these were published in return, and the press teemed with controversial writings of the catholics and their protestant friends on one side, and of their opponents on the other, to the unhappy revival of religious animosity, which every true christian would wish to be buried in oblivion.

Parliamentary transactions.
1792.

In the session of parliament which commenced on the nineteenth of January 1792, some new indulgences, on a motion made by Sir Hercules Langrishe

grise on the twenty-fifth of that month, had been granted to the catholics, such as their admission to the practice of the law, intermarriage with protestants, and an unrestrained education: but a mass of disabilities still remained, as was clearly shewn in a digest of the popery laws, made by the honourable Simon Butler, chairman of the United Irish, and published by order of that society. Among the subjects of debate brought into parliament by the oppositionists was the demand for permission to the merchants of Ireland to open a direct unrestricted commerce with India and other countries eastward of the Cape of Good-Hope. As this trade would have materially interfered with the chartered monopoly of the East-India company of British merchants, the motions for its permission were negatived by the influence of the crown. In the session of 1793, which began on the tenth of January, and ended on the sixteenth of August, the transactions of parliament were much more important.

As Edmund Burke had assumed the office of literary champion for monarchy, with a violence much more calculated for his private advantage than for that of the cause which he espoused, the catholics of Ireland, to obviate the imputation of revolutionary designs on the principles of the French republicans, had chosen for their agent, and brought to Dublin for the purpose of negotiation with parliament, in 1792, a son of this furious declaimer. This plan was not successful; but to the influence of Burke in the British cabinet might in great measure
be

CHAP. be attributed the favourable disposition of the king
 XL. to the Irish catholics, signified to the parliament by
 his chief-governor. In consequence of this interference an act was passed in 1793, much against the inclination of many even of those members who voted for it, by which the catholics were brought nearly into the same political situation with the protestants, except that they still remained excluded from sitting in parliament, from being members of the privy-council, from holding the office of sheriff, and some other offices under the crown, about thirty in number, specified in the act; and that their voluntary contributions constituted the sole maintenance of their clergy. Some other bills of a popular and conciliatory nature, for which oppositionists had before in vain contended, were with the concurrence of administration, much to its honour, passed into laws. By one of these, all who should hold newly-created places under government, after the date of the bill, or other places specified, particularly those of officers of the revenue whose duty required their absence from the metropolis; and all who should hold pensions for years, or during the king's pleasure, should be excluded from sitting in the commons' house of parliament; and the annual sum of the pensions, which then amounted nearly to a hundred and twenty thousand pounds, was reduced to eighty thousand: and by another, the bill of responsibility, no warrant from the king, for the disposal of public money, was legal without the signature, and consequent responsibility to parliament, of the
 proper

proper officers in the Irish administration. By this act the hereditary revenue became confounded with the additional supplies which were voted annually by parliament.

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Some other popular bills also received the sanction of laws, by which a trade to India was permitted under specified restrictions, encouragement was given for the improvement of barren land, and an explanation was offered for the removal of doubts in injuries in cases of libel. The sum of two hundred thousand pounds was also voted for the security of a loan to that amount, engaged by the bank, at five per cent interest, to some mercantile houses, for the restoration of commercial credit, which had received a rude shock in both the British kingdoms, since the commencement of the war against the French commonwealth, particularly in Dublin, where the streets were crowded with starving weavers. The ministry, whose conciliatory conduct appears to have mollified in some degree the force of opposition, procured without difficulty the enactment of two bills of a coercive nature; one "To prevent the importation of arms, gunpowder and ammunition into this kingdom, and the removing and keeping of gunpowder, arms, and ammunition, without licence;" that those who might entertain rebellious designs should be barred from supplies of warlike stores: the other "To prevent the election, or other appointment, of conventions or other unlawful assemblies, under pretence of preparing or presenting public petitions, or other addresses, as to

his Majesty or parliament." By this was defeated
 CHAP. XL. the dangerous project formed by the leaders of the
 United Irish of a national convention to be held at
 Athlone in the following September, or some other
 time. To enquire into the causes of the disturbances
 which had some time prevailed in several parts of
 the kingdom, a secret committee of the house of lords
 had been appointed early in the session, whose report
 related chiefly to a description of insurgents called
Defenders, and to the proceedings of United Irish-
 men in Belfast and Dublin.

Defenders. To a private quarrel between two peasants is at-
 tributed the origin of a feud, which so early as the
 year 1785 distracted a part of the county of Ar-
 magh, and thence, in succeeding years, having as-
 sumed a religious complexion, extended into several
 of the neighbouring counties. Bands of presbyte-
 rians, denominated *Peep-of-day boys*, disarmed, and
 otherwise maltreated, the catholics in the night,
 and dispersed at the dawn. Numbers of catholics,
 assuming the title of *Defenders*, as acting in self-
 defence, associated against their adversaries, and
 seem to have been regularly organized in the year
 1789. Some affrays with bloodshed took place be-
 tween parties of these mutually hostile religionists,
 and some murders were committed with preme-
 ditated design, particularly one of a most atrocious
 nature at Forkhill, in the county of Armagh, where,
 in 1791, a protestant schoolmaster, named Barclay,
 with his wife and brother-in-law, was mutilated
 in a manner absolutely horrible. Though repeat-
 edly

edly checked, the Defenders, who had long become aggressors, forcing into the houses of protestants, and despoiling them, at first only of their arms, afterwards of their valuable effects, had extended their associations through the counties of Louth, Meath, Cavan, Monaghan, and the adjacent territories, at the time when the secret committee of lords made its report concerning them. Also in the same year, 1793, disturbances arose of unorganized mobs, quickly suppressed, in some parts of the south, particularly about the collieries in the county of Kilkenny, and in some districts of the county of Wexford. These belonged rather to the class of Right Boys than Defenders. Oaths were administered by the leading rioters at catholic chapels, and other places of public assembly, for the enforcement of certain regulations, particularly the curtailing of tythes; and violence was used for compulsion to the reluctant. A body of about two thousand insurgents attacked the town of Wexford with the ostensible design of liberating some prisoners; but were repulsed with the loss of about a hundred of their number by the fire of thirty-five soldiers, on whose side fell the brave major Vallotton, hideously wounded with a blade of a scythe affixed to a pole.

Since by authority of the catholic committee great sums were levied on persons of that communion, apprehensions were entertained that at least a part of this money might be applied to the encouragement of defenderism, and to this idea the report

Sums levied
from catho-
lics.

CHAP. report made by the secret committee of the lords
XL. appeared calculated to give countenance. In defence against such aspersions, a committee of six was appointed to examine the accounts, and to publish a report of the receipts and disbursements of this money. The sum of five thousand two hundred pounds was acknowledged to have been received, and nearly five thousand five hundred disbursed, of which above two thousand three hundred had been paid for his agency to a son of Edmund Burke. By another committee of twenty-two, appointed to examine into the honourable engagements of the catholic body to individuals, report was made that fifteen hundred pounds, with a gold medal of thirty guineas value, should be presented to Theobald Wolfe Tone, agent of the catholic committee; five hundred pounds to the honourable Simon Butler; five hundred to William Todd Jones, beside a sum of the same amount already paid to him, and five hundred more unless the funds should prove insufficient; and that two thousand pounds should be expended in the erection of a statue to the king. The sum acknowledged to have been collected from the catholic body appeared extremely small to those who had observed the collections in some parts of the country. Tone declared to some gentlemen who are still in Dublin, that he never received more than five hundred pounds, yet the assertion is positively made that the whole sum of fifteen hundred was given him.

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Bill for the raising of a militia—Attempts for parliamentary reform—Prosecutions and flights—Fitzwilliam's viceroyalty—Camden's administration—Disturbances—New system of United Irishmen—Coercive acts—Disorders of soldiery—Violences of Orange-men—Armed yeomanry—French expedition to Bantry—Violence of United Irish—Severities of administration—Organization of United Irishmen—Their military organization—Extension of the Union—Declaration of Orange-men—Hussey's pastoral epistle—Parliamentary transactions—Anti-ministerial attempt.

THE discontents of the lower classes in Ireland were much augmented by an act of parliament for the raising of a militia on the English plan, an army of sixteen thousand for internal defence, enlisted only for four years. This mode of recruiting, the compulsion of every man of the military age, on whom the lot fell, of whatsoever circumstances, to enlist, to find a substitute at great expence, or to pay a heavy fine, was not only very unjust, but also quite unnecessary, in a country which abounds in a

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Militia bill.

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class of men fit for voluntary enlistment, without loss to the national industry. Some individuals, unable to pay, sustained the seizure and sale of their goods; and some for expressions of discontent were committed to prison. To alleviate, by dividing the burthen, subscriptions of money for the raising of soldiers were generally adopted, which were for a time a heavy tax on peasants, citizens, and men with large families. The recruiting for this defensive army would have been far easier if the common people had relied on the faith of government. A regiment, nick-named the *Green-linnets*, enlisted, in the American war, under a promise that they should not be sent on any service out of Ireland, had been in breach of compact forcibly transported to America; and now apprehensions were entertained of a like dishonourable treatment of the militia. By the grievance of the act, rendered more grievous by misconception, and in some places by abuses in its execution, some riots were occasioned, particularly at Athboy in the county of Meath, where some lives were lost, both of the soldiers who attacked, and of the insurgents, who dispersed without having been defeated.

Schemes of
parliamentary reform.
1794.

In the parliamentary session of 1794, an attempt, which had been made in the preceding year, to procure a more equal representation of the people in the house of commons, was renewed on the fourth of March. The bill, presented to the house by William Brabazon Ponsonby, and ably supported by Grattan and Sir Lawrence Parsons, was rejected by a

great

great majority. The efforts lately made by the minority in parliament, for the promotion of this plan, had not been seconded by the nation, in petitions or addresses, as formerly. Of this change of the public sentiment, from ardour to indifference, on the subject of reform, three principal causes seem assignable. The admission of the catholics to the elective franchise had alarmed the adherents of protestant ascendancy, who regarded the boroughs as a barrier against the encroachment of these religionists. The dread of revolutionary principles, emanating from France, had damped the zeal of many for political innovation, and excited others to resist, as dangerous, all attempts of this nature. The scheme of national representation, formed by the society of united Irishmen, evidently on principles of democratic revolution, rendered the idea of reform unpalatable to many friends of genuine liberty. Grattan pronounced in parliament a just invective against this plan, a plan of annual dissolution of the house of commons, and extension of the privilege of voting in the election of its members to all males of the legal age without the least regard to property.

Arrests and trials caused at this time some agitation in the public mind. Archibald Hamilton Rowan was in 1794, on the twenty-ninth of January, brought to trial, in consequence of an information filed against him in the preceding June by the attorney general, on a charge of a seditious libel, a manifesto of the united society of Irishmen men-

Prose-
cutions.
1794.

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tioned in the foregoing chapter. He was condemned to a fine of five hundred pounds, imprisonment for two years, and the giving of security in four thousand pounds for his good behaviour during seven years after his enlargement. Though his trial seems not to have been fair or strictly legal, he afterward gave a proof of self-condemnation. On the arrest of an English clergyman of the established church, named William Jackson, for a treasonable correspondence with agents of the French government, Rowan, who appears to have been implicated in this business, escaped from prison on the first of May, and fled to the continent. Thither also had retired from prosecution James Napper Tandy, a citizen of Dublin, a violent agitator of democracy, forfeiting his recognizance for his appearance at Dundalk, when informed of the weight of evidence against him. A third fugitive in like manner was Theobald Wolf Tone, a lawyer of uncommon abilities, the principal framer and agent of the united Irish society. Jackson, brought to trial on the twenty-third of April in the following year, and condemned on evidence not unexceptionable, yet probably true, expired in the bar of the court by a dose of poison, which he had swallowed to avoid the ignominy of a public execution.

Fitzwilliam
viceroy.
1798.

Previously to Jackson's trial a measure had been adopted by a British cabinet, from which a general conciliation of the people of Ireland, particularly the catholics, was expected by many. In the furious war, into which the British kingdoms had been drawn

drawn by ministry, against the French republicans, many members of that great and respectable body of whigs which was called the Rockingham party, having lost by death their leader, the marquis of Rockingham, had seceded to the tories. Earl Fitzwilliam, who had succeeded to the estates of the marquis, was one of the seceders. Among the arrangements consequential to this coalition, was the appointment of this nobleman to the lord-lieutenancy of Ireland. In a letter, which he afterwards published in his own vindication, addressed to lord Carlisle, he positively averred, that in his acceptance of this government no restrictions had been imposed upon him, but that he had been left fully at liberty to take measures for the tranquillizing of this kingdom, and the attachment of the mass of its inhabitants to the British government; and that ministry had determined on catholic emancipation.

Arriving in Ireland on the fourth of January, he commenced his exercise of authority by displacing, with compensation in pensions for their loss of office, such servants of government as he judged unwilling or unfit to co-operate in his plan. The alarm thence excited rose to a decisive pitch on the removal of the right honourable John Beresford from his place at the board of revenue. In his speech to parliament, at its meeting on the twenty-second of January, the viceroy alluded to the expediency of liberal supplies for the war, and of the united zeal of his Majesty's subjects of every description in the present dangerous condition of European states,

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assuring them of his sovereign's most cheerful concurrence in every measure adopted for this purpose, and his own cordial inclination to promote it. In moving for an address to the monarch, Henry Grattan in his florid style applauded this recommendation of conciliatory acts. "The king," said he, "recommends national harmony: he bids perpetual peace to all your animosities: he touches with the sceptre those troubled waters which have long shattered the weary bark of your country, under her various and false pilots, for ages of insane persecution and impious theology. He spreads his paternal wings over all his children—discerning with parental affection and a father's eye, in the variety of their features, the fidelity of their resemblance."

Two days after its meeting, petitions were presented to parliament, from the catholics of Dublin and Clare, by Grattan and Vandeleur, for the repeal of all remaining disqualifications; and others of like import followed from almost every part of the kingdom. On the twelfth of February leave was given, with only three dissentient voices, at the motion of Grattan, to introduce a bill conformable to these petitions; but, before the affair could be brought to a decision, a determination of the British cabinet to recall Fitzwilliam, was rumoured and accomplished. This determination is believed to have been effected by the interest of Beresford. Alarmed at the news of the intended recall, the catholics of the metropolis, assembling at their chapel in Francis-street, on the twenty-seventh of February, deputed

deputed three of their body with a petition to the king to deprecate the measure. The deputies were graciously received, on the thirteenth of March, by their sovereign, but obtained no answer. Fitzwilliam embarked for England on the twenty-fifth of March. The city displayed a mournful aspect, and his carriage was drawn to the place of embarkation by men of respectability. From the popularity of this nobleman, the owner of a great estate in Ireland, no opposition had been made to the granting of an extraordinary supply, which amounted to seventeen hundred thousand pounds. He complained of having been deceived by ministers. They denied the charge, but permitted not a parliamentary investigation.

In the administration of earl Camden, his successor, who arrived in Dublin at the end of March, the bill now mentioned, in favour of the catholics, was rejected, on its second reading, on the fifth of May, after a most violent debate, protracted from the evening of the fourth till half after ten o'clock in the next morning. A bill, however, passed for the establishment of a catholic college, a seminary to educate, within the kingdom, for the Romish priesthood, such young men of Ireland as had been before obliged to resort for this object to foreign universities. A memorial had been presented in the February of 1794, by the Romish prelates to the earl of Westmoreland, soliciting his Majesty's licence to found academies for this purpose. Licences were granted; permission was given to

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Camden's
administra-
tion.
1795.

CHAP. catholics to study in the protestant university of
 XLI. Dublin; and a college, which has been since very
 liberally endowed by government, was founded at
 Maynooth, exclusively appropriated to the Romish
 communion,

Disturban- Indulgence in this point was far from satisfactory
 ces. 1795. to the catholics. From the recall of the popular
 viceroy, the public discontent was manifested in the
 strong language of addresses, the violence of speeches
 and overt acts. On the thirty-first of March, when
 the new chief governor had been sworn into office,
 the lord chancellor, Fitzgibbon, was pursued, in
 his return from the Castle to his house in Ely-Place,
 by a mob with vollies of stones, by one of which
 he was wounded, but not dangerously, in the head.
 Defenderism assumed a more menacing aspect, aug-
 mented its numbers, and extended even to the ca-
 pital. Men only of low rank were engaged in these
 associations; but the society of United Irishmen
 began at this time to form a new system, dark and
 deeply planned, for the combining of these, and
 all other mal-contents of every religion, in a grand
 conspiracy, which would have ultimately overturned
 the existing government, if its projects had not been
 frustrated by fortunate accidents.

New system of United Irish 1795. Probably from the first formation of this society,
 which for brevity is called the *Irish Union*, some of
 its members had entertained the most treasonable
 designs. These, however, were only their private
 sentiments, foreign to the original plan, and un-
 known to the better members, whose chief object
 was

was a parliamentary reform. But their scheme of reform was immoderate, condemned by the members of the whig club, and others, who wished to amend, without endangering, the constitution. Concluding, after Fitzwilliam's recall, that this object would be of more difficult attainment than even the separation of Ireland from the British government by a democratic revolution, since the French might assist in the latter, not the former, the determined partizans of the Irish Union, while its more moderate members relinquished the society, proceeded to form, instead of a public, which had hitherto been pursued, a secret plan of association. As coercion was exercised by government, secrecy was expedient, and each member gave a solemn test on admission, in these words: "I do further declare that neither hopes, fears, rewards, or punishments, shall ever induce me, directly or indirectly, to inform on, or give evidence against, any member or members of this or similar societies, for any act or expression of theirs, done or made, collectively or individually, in or out of this society, in pursuance of the spirit of this obligation." Still a reform of parliament was the avowable object, that reformers might by this disguise be induced to unite with republicans. For this purpose the new test was framed with ambiguity, as after the following words no mention was made of parliament: "that I will also persevere in my endeavours to obtain an equal, full, and adequate representation of all the people of Ireland."

As

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XII.

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Coercive
acts.

1795.

As the existing laws were supposed insufficient to suppress the wide-spreading evil of defenderism, an expedient was adopted, of which very different judgements were formed, and for which no other plea than that of necessity could be admitted, the opposing of one kind of lawless force by another. In the western counties, where lord Carhampton commanded in a military station, the magistrates, assembling occasionally at this requisition, relying doubtless on the future protection of parliament, seized, and sent to serve him in the royal navy, such men as they pronounced dangerous to the public peace. Effectually to screen the actors in such business from legal molestation, a bill of indemnity was passed in parliament in the February of the following year; and, by a new bill, the insurrection act, the chief governor in council was authorized to proclaim, on the requisition of seven of its magistrates assembled at the session of the peace, any county, or district thereof, as in a state of disturbance, and thereby to invest the magistrates with a power under authority of law, which the assistants of lord Carhampton had already exerted without law. They were authorized to search houses for arms, and, after previous notice, to treat as culprits all who should be discovered absent from their homes, without satisfactory excuse, at unseasonable hours. In the October of the same year, 1796, the legislature suspended the act of habeas corpus, and thereby gave authority to imprison suspected or obnoxious persons, without cause assigned, or definite period

1796.

period of trial. After this the parliament, which had been assembled on the twenty-seventh of January, and prorogued on the fifteenth of April to the thirteenth of October, adjourned on the twenty-sixth of that month till the sixth of the following January.

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By coercion, judiciously tempered with conciliatory measures, and executed steadily with full protection to the innocent, the troubles of this ill-fated kingdom might doubtless have been appeased: but from various causes was disaffection to government so heightened and extended, as to enable the agents of the Irish union to gain great numbers to their party. Among these causes was a disorderly conduct of the soldiery, unwisely overlooked since the commencement of the French war. In the marches of troops, on change of quarters, the horses of peasants and farmers, pressed for the carrying of baggage, were brought an unreasonable length of way, overloaded, and severely abused, unless money was given by the owners to procure better treatment. Among a variety of inconveniences the cars were sometimes broken or lost. Where they halted in their march, the soldiers dispersed themselves over the neighbourhood, seizing horses merely for the purpose of extorting money. To persons exposed by their situation to frequent billeting, the accommodation of such troops, and the women who accompanied them, was felt as a burthen; beside that some acts of plunder and other violences were committed.

Disorders
of Soldiery.

Disaffection

CHAP.
XLI.

Violences
of Orange-
men.

Disaffection was augmented among the catholics by the proceedings of Orange-men in the county of Armagh, whose violences were supposed, I should hope, on no just grounds, to have been privately encouraged by persons of superior rank connected with government. To oppose the religious confederacy of defenders, the lower classes of protestants of the established church, in that country, coalesced with the presbyterian Peep-of-day Boys, and began in the December of 1795 to form associations under the name of *Orange-men*, a name assumed from king William the third, prince of Orange, who had rescued the protestants of Ireland by his arms, and given them a political superiority. Notwithstanding their inferiority of number, they were soon decidedly victorious: but they shamefully abused their victory by the forcible expulsion of some hundreds of catholic families, fourteen hundred according to the most probable account, most of whom took refuge in Connaught. This exterminating system was totally repugnant to the principles of the great king William, whose magnanimity inclined him to the most liberal toleration. I here speak only of the original confederation, composed of low people, not of the improved and extensive plan of Orange societies afterwards adopted by men of respectability.

Armed yeo-
manry.
1796.

To be more fully enabled at once to repress the increasing force of the Irish union, and to repel a threatened French invasion, the government began, in the October of 1796, to embody an armed yeomanry,

in addition to the troops of the line and militia. CHAP.
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 The yeomen were arranged in a kind of independent companies, each commonly composed of about fifty men, mostly cavalry, and each generally commanded by a captain and two lieutenants. The few infantry were armed like those of the regular army; but the cavalry were furnished with only one pistol and a sword each; except some who had carabines. This predilection for cavalry was erroneous, as was afterwards plainly proved by their inefficacy in the field, and as had been clearly foreseen by men who considered the condition of their arms, and the face of the country, uneven in general with hills, and every where intersected with ditches. This error seems to have arisen from the jealousy of administration, who may have suspected a general disaffection of the people, and have feared to give sanction to such a military establishment as, like the old volunteers, might become a dangerous engine of popular demands, under the influence of designing men. But if the real sentiments of the Irish protestants, who, with a very small exception, could never coalesce with the catholics in an armed opposition to government, had been fully known, the hardship of supplying horses at their own expence might have been spared to the poorer yeomen, the difference of pay to cavalry and foot soldiers saved to the public, and a force far more efficacious established for the immediate stifling, or speedy overthrow, of rebellion.

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XLI.

Attempt of
French in-
vasion.
1796.

The force of the royal army in Ireland was in danger of being put to trial, at the end of the same year, by an attempt of a French invasion at the bay of Bantry. In consequence of a representation of the state of affairs from an Irish emigrant, supposed to be counsellor Tone, to the French directory, a proposal was made of an armament from France for the political disruption of this island from the British government. After a consultation in the summer of 1796, the leaders of the Irish union notified by an agent, supposed to be Lord Edward Fitzgerald, their acceptance of the offer, on condition that the invading army should act as auxiliaries under the direction and pay of the society, which, on becoming possessed of the dominion, should be bound to reimburse the whole expences of the armament. Preparations were made for an expedition from Brest, but the exertions of the society to second the invasion were prevented by the receipt of two contrary pieces of intelligence from the French government; the one a message in November, promising the immediate sailing of the fleet; the other a letter, received a few days after the messenger's departure, and considered as authentic, representing the proposed expedition as deferred until the ensuing spring.

Beside fifteen frigates, with sloops and transports, the whole designed to carry an army of twenty-five thousand men, the squadron destined for Ireland is stated as consisting of twenty-five ships of the line, including seven under admiral Richery, who had orders to form a junction as soon as possible. Hoche,

the commander of the land forces, was one of the ablest officers in the French service. Long delayed by various causes, the fleet at length set sail on the sixteenth of December. From the foggy state of the air some of the ships were disabled, and some destroyed, by striking against the rocks at the harbour's mouth; and on the next day the armament was dispersed by a tempest, which continued to blow, with more or less violence, during the whole time of the expedition. The chief admiral Bouvet, on the twenty-fourth, anchored in the bay of Bantry, with seventeen vessels, ten of which were ships of the line, and sent a boat to the shore with a reconnoitering party, who were immediately made prisoners by the peasants. The French officers were eager to land with what troops had arrived; but the admiral deterred by the hostile aspect of the country, would not consent until the general should come, who had been separated by a gale from this part of the fleet. After a delay of some days, the admiral, despairing of the general's arrival, returned to Brest; and all the divisions of the scattered navy regained that port, with the loss of two ships of the line and three frigates, one of which was captured, one run on shore in France, and three foundered. The fortune of this armament, frustrated only by troubled elements, while the Irish coast lay sixteen days exposed defenceless to its force, is a proof that the irresistible fleet of Britain is not an infallible guard against invasion. The time was truly critical. If the troops had been

landed,

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landed, the consequence might have been fatal. The opponent army was in a disorderly state, in part disaffected, and said to have been ill-provided, particularly with respect to cannon, in a most extraordinary manner. The people in the south, abandoned to their own choice of conduct by the heads of the union, from the mistake already noticed, were loyal at the critical juncture; but, on an advance of the French forces into the country, pernicious arts on one side, and military disorders on the other, might soon have changed the scene.

Violences
of United
Irish.
1797.

With the increase of coercive operations disaffection had increased in Ulster, where, beside other acts which appeared to menace a design of insurrection, ten barrels of gunpowder had been stolen out of the royal stores in Belfast in the beginning of November 1796. The state of the country was very unquiet in that quarter at the end of this, and through great part of the following year. Roaming parties in the night seized the arms of those whom they regarded as adherents of government. To save the produce of the soil to their friends in prison, or to testify their esteem for men supposed not hostile to liberty, large bodies of men assembled in the day to dig out the potatoes and reap the corn of several individuals. Their marching sometimes with music, as if in military array, and the greatness of the numbers drawn together on these and other occasions, such as funerals and matches of foot-ball, gave cause to suspect that the real object of these meetings was to train men to a promptness

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in repairing to places of convention, to give confidence to their own party, and to intimidate their opponents. Terror was employed to frustrate the operations of the law. Various modes of persecution were put in practice, and in a few instances assassination, against magistrates who exerted themselves to arrest members of the society, witnesses who appeared against them, and jurors who found them guilty; while pecuniary subscriptions were applied to the relief of the families of imprisoned members, the bribing of witnesses in trials, and the feeing of eminent lawyers.

On the other side a plan of subjugation was pursued by the agents of government. Many persons in respectable circumstances were imprisoned, on secret information or suspicion, without benefit of trial. Many districts in the north were proclaimed, and numbers of the lower sort sent on board the royal navy. General Lake, chief in military command in the northern province, was, by a letter from the right honourable Thomas Pelham, secretary to the lord lieutenant, dated the third of March, 1797, authorized to use the troops for the prevention of disturbance according to his discretion. The general on the thirteenth issued a proclamation, commanding a surrendry of arms, and promising inviolable secrecy and rewards to informers. The troops were so disposed as to search all suspected places, and to prevent unlawful assemblies, especially after a certain hour in the night, when all persons found abroad without authority were liable to punishment.

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Severities
of adminis-
tration.
1797.

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ishment. As this measure seemed not adequate to the end proposed, a proclamation from the chief governor was issued on the seventeenth of May, declaring the civil power inefficacious; the most effectual orders to have been sent to the military officers to use their utmost exertions for the suppression of treason: and the king's most gracious pardon to be tendered to all such as, on or before the twenty-fourth of June, should surrender to the magistrates, take the oath of allegiance, and if bail should be required, enter into recognizance for their future good behaviour. From pardon were excepted men guilty of some specified crimes. The proclamation was followed by orders from earl Carhampton, the chief commander, to the military officers to act without waiting for any authority from the civil power.

The houses and effects of those, who produced not the arms supposed to be in their possession, were consumed with fire by the troops, or plundered; and many persons to force a discovery were tortured by the picket or other instruments of pain. If the guilty alone had been sufferers, less might be regretted the suspension of civil government. But from undisciplined troops, with inexperienced officers, many of them fencibles and of low education, could accuracy of conduct be expected, when restraint was removed? Can we suppose informers to be always honest, malice to be never a spring of action, and military men to be never actuated by unfounded prejudice or caprice? When homicide

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was unpunished, the instances were too numerous. A colonel Sparrow, found guilty, by a jury, of a remarkable murder, produced the king's pardon. The destruction of property, particularly in the commercial and wealthy town of Belfast, where military licence was rudely exercised, was prodigious, and the distress of ruined families, afforded a subject of melancholy reflexion. I have been assured by respectable men of undoubted loyalty, that the behaviour of some troops in Ulster, particularly a fencible regiment of Welch cavalry, called the Ancient Britons, seemed calculated to excite a rebellion, if none had been intended. That still more disorders were not committed is honourable to the officers of some regiments. Government acted doubtless on a conviction of a plan of revolt in that quarter, being so firmly consolidated, as to be capable of being broken by no other means than military execution; and on the maxim, that we should not scruple at partial evil for the attainment of a general good. The idea may have been just, but the dilemma was lamentable.

By private informations a plan of general insurrection had been discovered, intended to have taken place in Ulster before the end of June. But so many efficient members of the union were by acts of rigour forced into prison, exile, or inaction, that the system was disorganized, and except a trifling commotion near the mountains in the county of Down, rebellion was prevented. The term of surrendry and pardon was by proclamation prolonged to the

CHAP. ^{XLI.} twenty-fourth of July. The inferior societies of the United Irish in that quarter discontinued in general their meetings, and their provincial committee became incomplete. Order was so far restored that the administration of justice was again committed to the civil power, and after August the interference of the military was in general discontinued. A smothered resentment was retained, however, by numbers, which on a future opportunity would have exploded with rueful force, if preventive circumstances had not fortunately intervened. Not discouraged by their present failure in the northern province, the leaders of the union were extending their system with zeal and assiduity in the southern and western parts. Their organization had assumed a military form, and was new-modelled in the August of this year. To particularize the several changes in the system is unnecessary, and to give briefly the general outline sufficient.

Organiza-
tion of the
Irish Union.
1797.

The association consisted of a multitude of societies, linked closely together, and ascending in gradation, like the component parts of a pyramid or cone, to a common apex or point of union. The lowest or simple societies consisted at most of twelve men each, as nearly as possible of the same neighbourhood, subject to the inspection one of another. An assembly of five secretaries, severally elected by five simple societies, formed a lower baronial committee, which had the immediate superintendence of these five societies. Ten delegates, elected one from each of ten lower baronial, composed an upper baronial

rational committee, which in like manner directed the business of these ten lower committees. With the same superintendence over their constituent assemblies, delegates from the upper baronial, one deputed from each, formed in the counties country committees, and in populous towns district committees. The provincial committees, one for each of the four provinces, were composed of delegates from the district, and county committees, two from each, in some cases three. The supreme command was committed to an executive directory, composed of five persons unknown to all except the four secretaries of the provincial committees; for they were elected by ballot in these committees; the secretaries of which alone examined the ballots, and notified the election to none beside the persons themselves on whom it fell. The orders of this hidden directing power were conveyed through the whole organized body by not easily discoverable channels of communication. By one member only of the directory were carried the mandates to one member of each provincial committee, by the latter severally to the secretaries of the district and county committees in the province, by these secretaries to those of the upper baronials, and thus downward through the lower baronial to the simple societies,

The military organization was grafted on the civil. The secretary of each of the simple societies was its non-commissioned officer, serjeant, or corporal. The delegate of five simple societies to a lower baronial committee was commonly captain over

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these five, that is, of a company of sixty men; and the delegate of ten lower baronial to an upper, or district committee, was generally colonel of a battalion of six hundred men, composed of the fifty simple societies under the superintendance of this upper committee. Out of three persons, whose names were transmitted from the colonels of each county to the directory, one was appointed by that body to act as adjutant-general of the county. To complete the scheme, a military committee was appointed by the directory, but not before the beginning of the following year, to contrive plans for the direction of the national force, in unaided rebellion or co-operation with an invading army. All the members of the union were ordered to furnish themselves with guns or pikes according to their ability. To form a pecuniary fund for the expences of this revolutionary plan, monthly subscriptions, according to the zeal and circumstances of the members, were collected in the several societies, and treasurers appointed by suffrage for their collection and disbursement.

Extension
of the asso-
ciation.
1797.

In the May of 1797, the number of men in Ulster enrolled as members of the society amounted to nearly a hundred thousand. The main strength of the union lay then in that province and in the metropolis, with the neighbouring counties of Kildare, Meath, Westmeath, and King's county. To other parts of the kingdom, where little progress had as yet been made, more emissaries were dispatched, instructed to work on the passions and prejudices
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of the people, The amelioration of their state by universal suffrage and equality of rights was less intelligible to the peasantry than an exemption from tythe, of which they were assured in case of revolution. To rouse by terror and resentment the numerous catholics into a preparation for hostility, which the chiefs of the union might hope to turn in due time to their own purposes, dreadful accounts were invented, and industriously propagated concerning the views of the Orange association, the members of which were asserted to have entered into engagements to wade knee-deep, or even, if opportunity should be given, to ride saddle-deep, in the blood of catholics. To impress the idea of this horrible falsehood, fabricated oaths of Orange-men were printed and dispersed. Reports from time to time were circulated of intended nocturnal massacres of catholics by troops of protestants; in consequence of which the people of some districts, abandoning their houses in the evening, lay concealed during night in the fields.

Some pains were taken to refute such calumnies by the Orange association. This protestant confederacy had spread from the county of Armagh through other parts of the north, and into Leinster in 1797, particularly the metropolis, where it was generally adopted in the following year. Men of considerable rank had become members. These in a printed publication declared the object of the institution to be the preservation of public order,
and

CHAP. and of the existing system of government, and the
 XLI. protection of all persons who behaved with loyalty,
 without any regard to differences of religion. They
 made the most solemn protestation that to injure
 any person on account of his religious opinions
 never entered their hearts. I firmly believe that
 their declaration was true, and that the improved
 system, as it then stood, and afterwards continued,
 was purely defensive. But from the outrages of
 the original Orange-men in the north, the behavi-
 our of the vulgar sort elsewhere, and the decep-
 tions practised by the propagators of disaffection,
 these pacific protestations gained not the least credit
 with the lower classes of catholics.

Pastoral
 letter of
 Hussey.
 1797.

The bigotry of the catholics was sanctioned and
 encouraged by the publication of a pastoral let-
 ter to the clergy of his diocese from Doctor Hus-
 sey, Romish bishop of Waterford. In this the
 protestants were treated with great insolence, as a
 contemptible sect, which must soon have an end.
 He charged them with practices, of which they
 were and are quite innocent; and exhorted the
 Romish clergy to interdict, under pain of excom-
 munication, the children of their parishioners from
 mixing with protestants in places of education. As
 the religious instruction of children of the different
 sects at all protestant schools had been as com-
 pletely distinct as if they had been taught in dis-
 tinct seminaries, this prohibition was useless for
 its ostensible end, and must have had a more mo-

mentous

mentous aim. The immediate effect was an augmented display of religious prejudice among the Romanists, the withdrawing of their children from protestant schools to avoid the contamination of heresy, and a general separation of the two sects. The clergy of this communion appear to have acted, at least since that time, unremittingly on a plan, by which they might hope for the ultimate attainment of the exclusive establishment of their system of worship in this island. From the letters of Edmund Burke to Doctor Hussey on this occasion, two of which are given in Mr. Plowden's historical view of Ireland, the ardent wish of that orator for the establishment of the Roman catholic religion in this country is evident, with his exhortation to its prelates to be firmly united in its support against the protestant administration.

The parliament, which had assembled this year on the sixth of January, was, after several sittings and adjournments, prorogued on the third of July, and dissolved by proclamation on the eleventh. On the nineteenth of April a secret committee of the commons was ordered to examine the papers of United Irishmen, of whom two committees had been arrested in Belfast. The report of this examination was made to the house on the tenth of May, and ordered to be published for the undeceiving of those members, of the Irish union, who, though really loyal, had been seduced into the contederacy

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Parliamentary proceedings.
1797.

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confederacy by the idea of its ultimate object being a parliamentary reform. A motion for a temperate reform, including a political equalization of catholics with protestants, was made on the fifteenth of the same month by William Brabazon Ponsonby, which was negatived by a majority of nearly six to one. Concession in these two points was recommended by the minority, as a measure efficacious for the overthrow of the Irish union, since the two subjects of discontent would thus be removed by which the conductors of that system had been enabled to work so successfully on the minds of the people. Henry Grattan, despairing of any success in his efforts, determined on a total secession from parliament, and ended his speech in the following words. "We have offered you our measure: you will reject it. We deprecate yours: you will persevere. Having no hopes left to persuade or dissuade, and having discharged our duty, we shall trouble you no more, and after this day shall not attend the house of commons."

Attempts had been made elsewhere against the system of coercion. Sheriffs and other legal officers had been requested to hold assemblies of the people in counties, towns, and districts, that addresses to the king might be prepared for the removal of his present ministers from his councils for ever. The meetings were prevented by the refusal of the officers, or by threats of military violence, or, where the inhabitants actually assembled, were dispersed

dispersed by the army. The plotters of democratic revolution and political separation secretly rejoiced at the growing discontents, when men of more loyal sentiments were heard to declare, that “the minister who determines to enslave the people, must renounce his project, or wade through their blood.”

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C H A P. XLII.

Motion of Earl Moira—Newspapers—Seditious instructions by hand-bills—Negociation with France—Members of the Irish directory—O'Connor—Lord Edward Fitzgerald—Information of Reynolds—Arrest of the Leinster delegates—Armstrong's information—Henry and John Sheares—Violences of the United Irish—General proclamation—Abcrombie—Military execution—Irregular violences—The term Croppy—Miserable consequences of espionage—Arrest of Lord Edward Fitzgerald—Arrest of Sheares—Plan of the insurrection—Proceedings of administration—Proceedings of parliament.

C H A P.
XLII.
Earl Moira's Motion.
1798.

THE coercive system, maintained by a numerous army, and seconded by great numbers from various motives of interest, fear, or fashion, was condemned as cruel, unjust, and dangerous, by many reflecting men substantially loyal, too timid or too weak to attempt opposition to the torrent. With a nobility of mind, suitable to his rank, but rare in every station, Francis-Rawdon Hastings, earl of Moira, made repeated exertions in favour of his suffering country.

country. In the March and November of 1797, he had moved in the British house of lords, as Charles Fox in that of the commons, “ that an humble address should be presented to the king, praying him to interpose his paternal interference for the allaying of the alarming discontents then subsisting in Ireland.” “ Before God and my country, ” said this nobleman, “ I speak of what I myself have seen. I have seen in Ireland the most absurd, as well as the most disgusting tyranny that any nation ever groaned under. I have seen troops sent full of this prejudice, that every inhabitant of that kingdom is a rebel to the British government; the most wanton insults, the most grievous oppression, practiced upon men of all ranks and conditions in a part of the country as free from disturbance as the city of London. Thirty houses are sometimes burned in a single night; but from prudential motives, I wish to draw a veil over more aggravated facts, which I am willing to attest before the privy council, or at your lordship’s bar.” These motions were negatived, as was a third which he made in the succeeding year, on the nineteenth of February, in the Irish house of lords, where he offered to produce full proof of many and various acts of barbarous violence.

Deeds of this kind, performed on the side of loyalty, were not generally known beyond the parts of the country in which they severally had place, since the conductors of established newspapers dared not to publish any such, and newly instituted prints were soon suppressed in which this caution was not observed.

CHAP. XLII. observed. These prints were indeed licentious, not confined, more than ministerial publications, to impartial fact, but calculated to raise odium against the existing government, at least the existing administration. The proprietors of the *Northern Star*, a paper published in Belfast, were, by suspension of the act of habeas corpus, imprisoned in Newgate; but as the publication was continued notwithstanding, the printing office and all its contents were destroyed by a detachment of soldiers under the sanction of their general. A paper of superior style and less virulence, called the *Press*, instituted in Dublin in the latter part of 1797, was yet so intemperate that its publisher was imprisoned, when Arthur O'Connor avowed himself, according to a new law, to be the proprietor, or person responsible for its contents. By another law in the beginning of 1798, authority was given to grand juries to present as nuisances newspapers containing seditious matter, and to magistrates to destroy the printing materials after such presentation. This paper was in consequence suppressed, and another, called the *Harp of Erin*, prevented. The liberty of publication was sufficiently circumscribed. If it should be destroyed, the liberty of the nation would inevitably expire with it.

Instructions
by hand-
bills.

In place of newspapers, hand-bills were privately printed and dispersed by the agents of the Irish Union. By these, and oral modes of communication, instructions on various subjects were conveyed from the directory through the whole body of the association. Abstinence from spirituous liquors was recommended,

mended, that by diminishing the consumption of this great object of excise, the royal revenue might sustain a diminution. Another motive may have been the advantage of sobriety, without which neither secrets could be secure, nor, on a summons to arms, co-operation regular. So well was this injunction obeyed, that a change, which benevolence would wish permanent, without motives of disloyalty, from drunken to sober habits, was quickly observed among the generality of the common people. To prevent the raising of supplies to government from the sale of quit rents of the crown, the public was cautioned against purchasing, as the bargains would not be valid under a new legislature in case of a revolution. From the alledged insecurity of the existing government a caution was also promulgated against the accepting of bank notes as a medium of exchange; but the draining of the national bank by the return of bills was prevented by a forced circulation. Its governors and company had been ordered by the privy council to discontinue payments in specie: the tender of its notes was a legal discharge of debt: and those who refused to sell goods for this paper money, were liable to heavy amercement by soldiers quartered on them. Emissaries, employed to corrupt the army, distributed hand-bills, calculated to excite compassion for the sufferings of the people and hatred to their present rulers.

While various engines were employed for internal opposition, the Irish directory maintained an inter-Negotiation with France. course with the French. After the failure of the expedition

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expedition to the bay of Bantry, the assistance of another armament was solicited by a messenger named Lewins, who, by way of Hamburgh, arrived about the end of May, 1797, at Paris, where he remained as ambassador. From a fear that a premature insurrection in Ulster, unaided from abroad, the suppression of which might ruin their scheme, should be forced by the violent measures adopted by government, Doctor William James Mac-Nevin, the secretary of the directory, was deputed at the end of June in the same year, to press with redoubled earnestness for immediate aid. Finding some difficulty at Hamburgh in the procuring of a passport to France, Mac-Nevin transmitted, by an agent of the French republic, a memoir to Paris, where he afterwards in person delivered a second, having obtained permission to proceed in his journey. In the former, which, though presented to the French directory, was, by means as yet unknown to the public, procured by the Irish ministry, a statement was made of Ireland; a promise of reimbursement to France of all its expences in Irish emancipation; and a demand of troops not exceeding ten thousand men, nor falling short of five thousand, with artillery, ammunition, and small arms. In the latter was employed every argument for the hastening of invasion. A request, which entirely failed, was also made of a loan of half a million, or at least three hundred thousand pounds, from France and Spain successively, on the security of ecclesiastical and other lands destined for confiscation.

To

To stipulate that the invading army should not exceed ten thousand men was the wish of the Irish directory, apprehensive of French ambition, which would aim at the conquest, not the liberation, of Ireland. Preparations were made at Brest, and the port of Texel in Holland, for the transportation of a much greater force. At the latter fifteen thousand men were embarked under general Daendells, but, from fear of the British navy, were again put on shore: and when, contrary to the judgment of its commander, admiral de Winter, the fleet was obliged to sail, at the instance of the French government, it was totally defeated, on the eleventh of October, 1797, by a superior squadron of sixteen British ships of the line under lord viscount Duncan, near Camperdown on the Dutch coast. Neither cordiality to the Irish conspirators, confidence in their fidelity, nor judgment in its plans of invasion, appears in the conduct of the French directory. Wearied by disappointments, yet not despairing of their transmarine allies, and alarmed at the declining state of their affairs by the vigorous measures of government, the leaders of the conspiracy resolved on a desperate effort of insurrection, and in the February of 1798 appointed a military committee, sent instructions in detail to the adjutant-generals, and prepared a most pressing dispatch to the French government, for which they could find no mode of conveyance; but they received some time afterwards a letter containing a promise of the long-expected succours in April. Why this was not performed no

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CHAPTER XLII. information was given them. Arthur O'Connor, a member of the Irish directory, had attempted to pass through England to France at the end of February, but was arrested on suspicion at Margate, together with James Coigly, an Irish priest, and John Binns, a member of a political club in London, called the Corresponding Society. Tried at Maidstone on the twenty-second of May, Coigly was executed; O'Connor and Binns, against whom no proof could be found, were acquitted, but detained on another charge of treason.

Arthur O'Connor. Arthur O'Connor, a supposed lineal descendant of Roderick, the last Irish monarch of Ireland, had made in 1795, on the fourth of May, a most brilliant, but intemperate, speech in favour of the claims of catholics, in the house of commons. At the requisition of his offended uncle, lord Longueville, who had brought him into parliament, he resigned his seat in that assembly. He became a bold and active disseminator of republicanism. A flagrant instance was a circular letter, addressed to his countrymen in the January of 1797, calculated to inflame disaffection, and promote the designs of the Irish union, on account of which he was some time confined as a prisoner of state. From his abilities and zeal he was chosen a member of the Irish directory, together with Lord Edward Fitzgerald, Oliver Bond a respectable merchant, Doctor Mac-Nevin a catholic gentleman, and Thomas Addis Emmett, a lawyer of great abilities, and amiable in his private character. Lord Edward, who was brother to the duke of Leinster,

Lord Edward Fitzgerald.

Leinster, the head of the illustrious Geraldine race, had served in his Majesty's army, where he had been highly esteemed for his courage and military conduct, his honour, humanity, and candour: but, because he had avowed his approbation of a revolution in France, his name was expunged from the military list, as if he were unworthy to bear a commission in the British army. Perhaps his expressions were improperly forcible; but to conciliate is wiser than to exasperate men of spirit and candour. Such may be far more safely trusted than the unqualified applauders of the ruling party. Men of base minds will be sycophants to every party in its turn, while it possesses predominant power. Lord Wentworth, in the reign of Charles the first, conciliated the great Ormond, who ever after continued an immoveably firm friend to the crown. Lord Edward, the husband of a French lady of the royal blood of the Capets, could be little cordial to the Jacobin faction, who had murdered his father-in-law, the duke of Orleans; yet he became a determined enemy of the British government, and might have succeeded if Providence had not interfered by some fortunate accidents, as he was eminently qualified for the excitement and direction of revolutionary commotions, a man of a most active spirit, most daring courage, great mental abilities, and of a family most highly respected, for its ancient grandeur, by the lower classes of the Irish.

How much soever the Irish union was on one side weakened by coercive measures, it was perhaps on

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Informa-
tion of Rey-
nolds.

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the other in reality more strengthened by the intemperance pursued in the execution of these, since numbers, who might have been at least neutral, were exasperated into disloyalty, and numbers, who might have been reclaimed, were confirmed in treason. The surviving members of the Irish directory have, since the overthrow of their system, declared that the number of men sworn into the conspiracy amounted at least ultimately to five hundred thousand. These, rising at once, if obedient to their leaders, and ably conducted, might have procured large quantities of arms; and what might have been the event, when the army was licentious, I leave to every man's conjecture. But their plans of insurrection were totally deranged by an occurrence no way connected with the coercive system. A silk-mercer, of Dublin, named Thomas Reynolds, a catholic, had purchased an estate at Kilkea-castle, in the county of Kildare, and had accepted the places of colonel of United Irishmen, of treasurer and representative of that county in the united system, and of a provincial delegate for Leinster. This gentleman was induced by the arguments of William Cope, a respectable merchant, with whom he went a journey in the same carriage on pecuniary business, to disclose the proceedings of the conspirators, but in the most cautious manner, as if the information came to him from another person. He afterwards avowed himself the immediate source of information; and, for his highly important services, has been since rewarded with a sum of five thousand pounds, and

and a yearly pension during life of fifteen hundred. A pension also of a thousand pounds a year was deservedly conferred on Mr. Cope. CHAP. XLII.

From the information of Reynolds, the thirteen members, of whom the provincial committee of Leinster was composed, were arrested on the twelfth of March, in the house of Oliver Bond, in Bridge-street, by William Bellingham Swan, an active magistrate, at the head of twelve serjeants disguised in unmilitary clothes. Arrests were also made of other chief conspirators, particularly Emmett, Mac-Nevin, and Bond, members of the directory. The vacancies made by these arrests in the councils of the union were soon filled by election; and, to prevent a despondency, a hand-bill was industriously circulated, in which were announced the safety of the arrested, a tenfold activity in the leaders, a *perfect organization of the capital*, and, in the following words, a caution against precipitate measures: "Again and again we warn you against doing the work of your tyrants by *premature, by partial, or divided* exertion. If Ireland shall be forced to throw away the scabbard, let it be *at her own time, not at theirs.*" But the seizure of papers had disclosed to government the plans of the conspiracy, and the new members of the directory were so inferior to the old in revolutionary talents, that they acted with rashness, and suffered their schemes to lie open to detection.

Captain Armstrong, of the King's county militia, feigning to enter into the conspiracy, procured, by

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Patrick Byrne, a bookseller, an introduction to Henry and John Sheares, newly raised to the fatal eminence of directors. These gentlemen were brothers, natives of Cork, amiable in private life, and endowed with high abilities in the profession of the law. They had visited Paris in 1792, had there very deeply imbibed revolutionary ideas, and, on their return to Ireland, been active in the united conspiracy. Such was the address of Armstrong, and such their credulity, that they confided to him their plans, information of which was thus regularly conveyed to government. Reynolds had been a real conspirator, and, on reflexion, had rightly judged, that to betray was a less crime than to persevere in a scheme, which at best must be the cause of extensive calamity. After his information, that of Armstrong completed the developement of the revolutionary projects; but, that some other than a military officer had been, if possible, employed in such a business, might have been desirable; since to cherish in the army, on which the national defence must ultimately depend, a delicate sense of honour, is of the utmost importance.

Violences of
the United
Irish.

The former members of the directory, or executive, as it was called, are said to have intended to restrain their adherents from insurrection, until they should perceive a strong probability of success, and even from such acts of local or individual violence as would give disturbance to the country, and alarm to government. Their efforts for a political coalition

coalition of all sects had for some time been attended with considerable effect, insomuch that the feud of Orange-men and Defenders had nearly subsided in Armagh. But the lower members of the union, especially in the south and west, could never be so managed as to continue with uniformity to act on such a plan. Religious jealousies were revived with augmented force by the false reports concerning Orange associations. Some houses of obnoxious persons were burned, and some acts of assassination were perpetrated, particularly on men who were to appear as witnesses against united Irishmen in judicial trials. On this account the written testimony of a witness, who should be murdered before the time of trial, had been made by act of parliament equal in efficacy to his oral deposition before a jury. Chiefly in the night were bands collected, who traversed the country in search of arms, which they forced the inhabitants to deliver at the houses where they stopped. Even in the day were such acts committed, of which the most remarkable had place at Cahir in the county of Tipperary, where about eight hundred men, mostly on horseback, deliberately collected, and carried away, all the arms and ammunition which, in a regular search, they could find.

Determined to suppress the conspiracy by disarming its members, and disorganizing their system, the government, after the proclaiming of counties and districts, with partial effects, had at length recourse to a general proclamation and military execution,

CHAP. **In** the former, dated March the thirtieth, 1798, was
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General pro- a declaration, “ that a traitèrous conspiracy, ex-
clamation.
1798. isting within the kingdom, for the destruction of the
 established government, had been considerably ex-
 tended, and had manifested itself in acts of open
 rebellion ; and that in consequence thereof the most
 direct and positive orders had been issued to the of-
 ficers commanding his Majesty’s forces, to employ
 them with the utmost vigour and decision, for the
 immediate suppression of this conspiracy, and for
 the disarming of the rebels, and all disaffected per-
 sons, by the most summary and effectual measures.”
 To Sir Ralph Abercrombie, then chief commander
 of the forces, orders were issued from the lord
 lieutenant, to proceed with his army into the dis-
 turbed counties, vested with full powers to act, ac-
 cording to his discretion, for the attainment of the
 proposed object.

Abercrom-
bie.

This excellent leader, a genuine soldier, who
 has since concluded a life of honour by a glorious
 death in Egypt, had, by a judicious choice of the
 British cabinet, been appointed chief general of the
 troops in Ireland. Convinced, after an accurate
 inspection of every post, of the miserable discipline
 of the forces committed to his charge, he had en-
 deavoured in vain, counteracted by the plans of
 the Irish administration, to correct the abuse ; and
 had on the twenty-sixth of February, issued his
 general orders for that purpose, in which he de-
 clared the army to be “ in a state of licentiousness,
 which must render it formidable to every one but
 the

the enemy," In obedience to the chief governor's directions, a manifesto, dated from his head quarters at Kildare, the third of April, was addressed to the inhabitants of the county, requiring them to surrender their arms within ten days; threatening, in case of non-compliance, that large bodies of troops should be distributed among them to live at free quarter; promising rewards to such as would give information of concealed arms or ammunition; and denouncing a resolution of recurring to other severities, if the country should still continue in a state of disturbance.

On the advance of the military into each county the same notice was given, and, at the expiration of the term prescribed, the troops were quartered on the houses of the disaffected or suspected, in numbers proportioned to the supposed guilt and ability of the owners, whose pecuniary circumstances were often deeply, sometimes irretrievably, injured by the maintenance of the soldiery, and the wanton waste of their effects. Great numbers of houses, with their furniture, were burned, where concealed arms were found, where meetings of the united had been held, or whose occupants had been guilty, or accused, of the fabrication of pikes, or of other practices for the promotion of the conspiracy. Many of the common people, and some superior in rank to that class, particularly in the city of Dublin, were scourged, or otherwise tortured, to force a confession of concealed arms or plots. Acts of outrage were committed by private soldiers

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Military
execution.

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soldiers without authority, and by persons not belonging to the regular troops, from affected zeal, private malice, or mere malignity of temper. These various vexations amounted on the whole to such a mass of distress, that the exhortations of their chiefs to bear their evils with steady patience, until an opportunity of successful insurrection should occur, proved vain with the lower classes.

To authorize the burning of houses, furniture, and provisions, seems an unfortunate step in administration. These burnings doubtless caused terror and consternation to the disaffected; but the loss to the public was prodigious beyond all proportion to any possible benefit: men deprived of their all became desperate, and created or enflamed a hatred against government in those among whom they took refuge: and dearth and famine were felt in the two following years from the destruction of corn. Certainly the lower actors far exceeded the limits within which the wisdom of administration would have confined the execution of coercive measures: but when violence is once permitted, to regulate it by the rules of justice is impossible, where the army is in disorder, and men of evil disposition have power to gratify malice, or conceal their disloyalty by an affected rage against republicans. Reflecting loyalists were much concerned at the permission or impunity of acts, which tended so strongly to confirm the prejudices already so laboriously excited by the emissaries of sedition. From lord Camden, the chief governor, who appears to have been a man
of

of humanity, the lord chancellor declared in parliament, that recourse to military violence had been extorted. Mr. Pelham, the secretary, is asserted also to have been humanely reluctant. Strong measures were dictated by the lord chancellor, and such I believe to have been necessary, but carried vastly too far by inferior agents.

Various were the violent acts of these men. Prisoners arrested on suspicion were frequently strangled almost to death, or, as the action was termed, half-hanged, by such men as serjeants in the militia, in some instances only for amusement. On the heads of many, who were selected as objects of outrage, were fixed caps of linen, or strong brown paper, smeared with pitch on the inside, which often adhered so firmly as not to be disengaged without a laceration of the hair, and even skin. To crop the hair of prisoners as closely to the head as possible was a common practice, and to cut away a piece of the ear was not unusual. From insults, which might be represented as the effects of excessive zeal, an established character of loyalty could not always be a safeguard. On the arrival of a detachment of troops in any part of the country where, as often happened, the inhabitants were unknown to the officers and soldiers, private malice was apt to convey in whispers false intelligence, marking individuals, sometimes the best members of society, as proper objects of military outrage. Also, since green had been adopted from the shamrock, as a national colour, by republicans, and must be de-

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Irregular
violences.
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bound

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nounced as a mark of revolutionary sentiments, any who happened, howsoever innocently, to bear a symbol of either kind, were liable to insult. Striped handkerchiefs, and other articles of female attire, with a mixture of green, had been in use before these unfortunate inquietudes, and had been retained inadvertently afterwards by many loyal subjects. Short unpowdered hair had been affected in Britain by persons considered as republicans; yet the same was also worn by many royalists for convenience; and so convenient has it been found, that it has been generally adopted since the rebellion, even by those who had made it a pretence for the commission or instigation of barbarous outrage. The term *croppy*, however, in Ireland came suddenly into general use to signify an enemy to the established government, without regard to the length or form of the hair. To avoid this imaginary badge of disaffection was not always in men's power, as a practice had been introduced by some malevolent persons of seizing and forcibly cropping, particularly in Dublin, those whom they thought proper to be so treated, when they found opportunity.

Espionage.

The system of secret accusation and espionage, necessarily adopted, but not sufficiently limited, by government, made ample room for the exertions of private malice and malignancy of disposition. Magistrates and military officers were empowered to receive informations, to keep the names of the
informers

informers profoundly secret, and to proceed against the accused according to their own discretion. To suppose that any magistrate should so abuse a sacred trust as to feign informations for the indulgence of private spite would be invidious; but some gentlemen, vested with this dangerous power, were led into most grievous errors by false informers, whose names, notwithstanding, have never been divulged. Among numerous instances one was remarkable, or became by accident more public. Thomas Fitzgerald, high sheriff of Tipperary, seized at Clonmel, a gentleman named Wright, caused five hundred lashes to be inflicted on him in the severest manner, and confined him so long without permitting his wounds to be dressed, that his recovery from a hideous state of laceration was almost miraculous. No cause of suspicion against this gentleman's loyalty could be conjectured by his neighbours; and, in a trial at law, after the rebellion, an action of damages brought by Wright against this magistrate, the innocence of the plaintiff appeared so manifest, even at a time when prejudices against persons accused of disloyalty ran high to a degree scarcely credible to men unacquainted with such a state of affairs, that the defendant was condemned to pay five hundred pounds to his prosecutor. Many other actions of damage on similar grounds would have been commenced, if the parliament had not put a total stop to such proceedings by an act of indemnity for all er-

rors

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CHAPTERS committed from supposed zeal for the public
 XLII. service.

Caption of
 Lord Ed-
 ward Fitz-
 gerald.

As the time for insurrection fixed by the conspirators, of which the government was fully informed, at length approached, the arresting of Lord Edward Fitzgerald was an object of great importance, since the military skill, capacity, and courage of this gentleman, who had contrived the whole plan of attack, were truly formidable. He had escaped the arrest at Bond's, on the twelfth of the preceding March, and a proclamation had been issued with an offer of a thousand pounds reward for his apprehension. On the nineteenth of May he was seized in Dublin, in the house of Nicholas Murphy, a dealer in feathers, in Thomas-street, by justice Swan, town-major Sirr, and captain Ryan, a yeoman; but his lordship made so desperate a resistance with only a dagger, that Swan was dangerously wounded, and Ryan mortally. As the guard accompanying the captors was small, a rescue would have been effected, if a body of troops had not come to their assistance. Such rescue, however, might have been of little consequence, as lord Edward had been disabled by a pistol shot in the shoulder from major Sirr, of which he died in the castle of Dublin a fortnight after.

Arrest of
 Sheares.
 1798.

On the nineteenth and twenty-first of the same month, other arrests of conspirators were made, particularly of Henry and John Sheares. In the house of Henry, in Baggot-street, in the hand-writing of
 John,

John, was found a proclamation, intended to be published after the capital should have been in the possession of the insurgents. In this manifesto, which had not been quite finished, very sanguinary sentiments were expressed, incongruous, as I have reason to believe, with the natural disposition of these gentlemen: but to sacrifice the feelings of humanity to expedience may be a maxim with revolutionists: and, in fact, the severe measures, to which government, for the preservation of its existence, had been obliged to have recourse, and which had been carried by ignorant or designing actors far beyond the original design, must have naturally excited a cruel spirit of revenge in the mal-content faction. Yet the former members of the directory had intended to avoid bloodshed as much as possible; to seize as hostages men of property; and, on the accomplishment of a revolution, to banish those who should prove disaffected to the new government, allowing to their wives and children a maintenance out of their properties.

The night of the twenty-third of May had been fixed for the time of insurrection. The plan was to commence with an attack on the camp of Lehaunstown or Laughlinstown, seven miles to the south of Dublin. Another party was to seize the artillery stationed at Chapelizod, two miles to the west of the same, in an hour after. Later by an hour and a half was to be the simultaneous entrance of the two parties into the metropolis to co-operate

CHAP. XLII. co-operate with a third, by whom the castle was to

be surprised. The stoppage of the mail coaches, on the northern, western, and southern roads, was to be the signal to the members of the union in other parts of the kingdom to rise in arms. As the whole was known to government, the plot was announced on the twenty-first by a letter to Thomas Fleming, lord mayor of Dublin, from lord Castlereagh the secretary; and on the twenty-second to both houses of parliament, by a message from the chief governor. To prevent its execution, the troops of the line, militia, and yeomanry, were disposed under arms in what were supposed to be the most advantageous positions. But the brave and accomplished Abercrombie had resigned the command, disgusted with an army, which the plans of administration permitted him not to reduce under salutary discipline, and whose licentiousness was completed by living at free quarter.

Proceedings
of parlia-
ment.
1799.

The new parliament had been assembled this year on the ninth of January, and the commons had re-elected Foster, their former speaker. Grattan had, according to his declaration, declined the acceptance of a seat, and the oppositionists had dwindled to a quite inconsiderable number. Yet some unavailing efforts had been made to repress or moderate the system of coercion, and to persuade the adoption of conciliatory measures. To this purpose the earl of Beotivie had spoken on the fifteenth of January; and on the fifth of March, Sir Laurence Parsons, seconded by lord Caulfield, had made a motion

motion that a committee should be appointed “ to enquire into the state of the country, and to suggest such measures as were likely to conciliate the popular mind.” But when the chief governor’s message was received on the twenty-second of May, an address was voted without opposition “ to assure his excellency, that the intelligence filled them with horror and indignation, while it raised in them a spirit of determined resolution and energy; that they relied on the vigilance and vigour of his excellency’s government, which, they trusted, would continue unabated, until the conspiracy, which so fatally existed, should be utterly dissolved.” To present this address in a manner the most solemn, the commons went on foot in procession to the castle, in two files, attended by all the officers of their house, and preceded by the speaker.

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Commencement of the rebellion—Surprize of Prosperous—Engagement at Naas and Kildcullen—Proclamations—Attack of Carlow—Death of Sir Edward Crosbie—Various operations—Surrendry at the Curragh—State of the county of Wexford—Insurrection—Actions at Kiltomas and Oulart—Attack of Enniscorthy—Capture of Wexford—Proceedings at Gorey—Attack of Bunclody—Proceedings at Gorey—Battle of Clough—Attack of Ross—Massacre of Scullabogue—Proceedings of the rebels at Slyceve-Kelter and Lacken—Their proceedings at Gorey—Conduēt at Arklow—Retreat of the garrison—Battle of Arklow—Conduct of Sherratt.

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 Commencement of the rebellion. 1798.

THE prime conductors of the conspiracy were in prison; the metropolis proclaimed as in a state of insurrection, and so guarded at every post as to prevent a possibility of surprize; the troops throughout the country stationed for like purpose; the companies of yeomen strengthened by the addition of new levies without uniform, called supplementaries; and the system of the Irish union so disorganized, that rebellion seemed to be stifled in its birth. Yet

so deeply laid had been the plan of insurrection, that its fires, though generally extinguished or smothered, could not easily be prevented from partial explosion. The peasants in the districts around the city of Dublin, without leaders, with scarcely any ammunition, or other arms than clumsy pikes and a few guns in bad order, rose at the time appointed, the night of the twenty-third of May, and so far acted on the original scheme as to attempt, by simultaneous onsets, the surprisal of the military posts, and the preclusion of the capital from external succour. The mail coaches were destroyed in their progress from Dublin, at a few miles distance, to give notice to their confederates of hostilities commenced; and in that night and the following day several skirmishes had place with small parties of the royal troops, and several towns were attacked near the seat of government. That assassination had not been a part of the original system of the Irish union has been observed in Mr. Plowden's historical view of Ireland. Otherwise murders in families by servants and labourers, previously to the departure of these to their places of assembly, would have been the first acts of the long intended rebellion. Acts enough of this kind were afterwards committed by the ferocity of a mob, or individual malignity.

In all the skirmishes the insurgents were defeated, except at Dunboyne and Barretstown, where small escorts were surprized, of the Reay fencibles at the former, of the Suffolk fencibles at the latter. They were also repulsed in their attempts on the several

CHAP. towns except Prosperous, a lately improved village
 XLIII. in the county of Kildare, intended for a seat of
 cotton manufactory, seventeen miles from Dublin. Here, on the night of the twenty-third, or morning of the twenty-fourth, about an hour after midnight, the garrison was surprised, the barrack fired, thirty-seven soldiers perished in the flames or by the pikes of the assailants, together with their commander, captain Swayne of the North Cork militia, who is said to have been killed in revenge by one of those men whose houses he had burned. In the severity indeed of military execution this officer is affirmed to have been exceeded by few. Found guilty by a court martial of having conducted this attack, John Esmond, a doctor of physic, a catholic gentleman of large property, first lieutenant in the yeoman troop of Richard Griffith, esquire, was some days after executed. Of an uncommon polish of address, and of an ancient family dignified with the title of baronet, Esmond had been highly respected, but he had been so misled by the prevailing ideas of revolution, as to accept the rank of colonel in the system of united Irishmen. But as if the deprivation of life were not sufficient, a story was invented to blacken his memory, that he had dined with Swayne, and made him drunk, to favour the surprize. That the story is destitute of all foundation I am fully convinced by proofs, and is admitted by Mr. Griffith his captain and prosecutor. Between Swayne and Esmond mutual hatred had subsisted, and not the least intercourse of conviviality.

At

At Naas and Kilcullen engagements had place in the same morning. On the garrison of the former, where lord Gosford commanded, with three hundred of the Armagh militia and some detachments of cavalry, a surprize was attempted before day, by about a thousand rebels led by one Michael Reynolds: but the commander had been apprised by anonymous letters; his troops were under arms; the assailants were quickly repulsed, and pursued with someslaughter; many were taken prisoners and immediately hanged. With much probability many are asserted to have, on this occasion, lost their lives, who had not taken any part in the business. The action at Kilcullen, at seven o'clock, was remarkable only for an early proof of the total unfitness of cavalry for combat with embattled pikemen. Three hundred of the latter were three times furiously charged, without the least impression, by a body of cavalry, consisting of light dragoons and Romney fencibles, who lost two captains and thirty privates by the pikes of the enemy. Yet these victorious pikemen were, a few minutes after, totally routed by twenty-two fencible infantry, led against them by general Dundas. The town was however abandoned, as untenable, by the troops; and the fugitive loyalists, from this and other parts of the country, filled Naas with such a crowd, that the majority of them, from want of house-room, were obliged to remain all night in the street.

As hostilities were now openly commenced against the king's government, proclamations were issued,

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tions.
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on the twenty-fourth of May, by general Lake, the successor of Abercrombie, by the lord mayor of Dublin, and by the lord lieutenant. In the first, was notified that the general was determined to exert, in the most summary and vigorous manner, the powers with which he was entrusted, to suppress the rebellion; and that all persons not in military uniform, with exception of magisterial and legislative men, were commanded to remain within their houses from nine o'clock at night till five in the morning. In the second all persons in Dublin, possessing registered arms, were required immediately to furnish exact lists of these; all, who had not registered, to surrender whatever arms and ammunition they possessed; and every house-keeper to fix on the outside of his door a list of the names of all persons resident in his house, distinguishing strangers from those who made actually a part of his family. The third gave notice, that orders were conveyed to all his Majesty's general officers in Ireland to punish according to martial law, by death, or otherwise, as their judgment should approve, all persons acting, or in any manner assisting, in the rebellion. When, by a message from the chief governor, his proclamation was, on the same day, communicated to the house of commons, a member submitted a question to the wisdom of the house, whether the execution of martial law on the great fomenters of rebellion, then in prison, would not be expedient, that the rebels might no longer derive encouragement from a hope of finding means to effect their rescue.

rescue. In reply, lord Castlereagh, with dignified humanity, besought the members, in pathetic terms, not to suffer their zeal so far to outrun their judgment, as to press on his excellency, the lord-lieutenant, a measure of unnecessary vengeance, which would brand his administration with cruelty, and close the door of mercy against repentant rebels. Having voted an address of thanks, and full approbation of his decisive measure, to the chief governor, the house adjourned for a week, on the motion of lord Castlereagh.

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If a sense of humanity and justice, similar to that of this able senator, had actuated the military officers, to whom a discretionary power was thus dangerously, perhaps unavoidably, delegated, the calamities of the rebellion, at this time in Ireland, would have been far less lamentable. Of the abuse of this power instances were innumerable. One of the earliest, and most atrocious occurred after the attack of Carlow, which took place on the twenty-fifth of May, at two o'clock in the morning. The garrison, consisting of four hundred and fifty men, under colonel Mahon of the ninth dragoons, was fully prepared for the enemy's reception, as intelligence had arrived of the hostile design. Different parties of rebels had been directed to assail the town from different quarters at once; but the plan was not executed in concert, so that only one column, which had assembled in front of Sir Edward Crosbie's house, a mile and a half distant, attempted an entrance. Rushing in confusion, with vain confidence

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confidence and tumultuous noise, into Tullow-street, the assailants received so destructive a fire, that they recoiled and attempted a retreat; but, finding their flight intercepted, they attempted to take refuge in the houses, where numbers miserably perished, as these were immediately fired by the soldiery. Eighty houses were consumed, and the number of rebels burned and slaughtered, probably fell not short of four hundred, while not a man was even wounded on the side of the loyalists. Other parties, whose approach was too late for co-operation, dispersed without attempting an attack on the town.

Death of Sir
Edward
Crosbie.

After the defeat, executions commenced, as elsewhere in this calamitous period, and about two hundred were in a short time put to death by martial law. Among the earliest victims was Sir Edward Crosbie, a gentleman highly accomplished, and sincerely beloved and esteemed by men of cultivated minds for his humanity and other amiable qualities; but offensive to some by frequently expressing his pity for the poor peasantry of Ireland oppressed by enormous rents. As his sentiments were in favour of a reform in parliament, he had been, on no other grounds, denounced by his enemies as a republican. His misfortune, in the present case, consisted in his having been surrounded by the rebels, before he had notice of the insurrection, and thereby prevented from escaping to Carlow. Yet even such escape might not have served him in this perturbed state of things, as he might have been denounced to a licentious soldiery and assassinated, or have undergone
the

the same kind of trial and execution which he afterwards suffered.

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In the trial of this baronet, protestant loyalists, witnesses in favour of the accused, were forcibly prevented by the bayonets of the military from entering the court. Catholic prisoners had been tortured by repeated floggings to force them to give evidence against him, and appear to have been promised their lives upon no other condition than that of his condemnation. Notwithstanding these, and other violent measures, no charge was proved, of which the members of the court-martial, who sentenced him to death, were so sensible, that, in defiance of an act of parliament, the register of the proceedings was withheld, as a secret, from his wife and family. The court was irregularly constituted and illegal, destitute of a judge-advocate. The execution of the sentence was precipitate, at an unusual hour, and attended with atrocious circumstances not warranted even by the sentence. After he was hanged, his body was abused, his head severed from it, and exposed on a spike. These proceedings, which reflect indelible disgrace on the persons concerned, are detailed in a pamphlet styled, "A Narrative of the Apprehension, Trial, and Execution of Sir Edward-William Crosbie, Baronet." The president of the court was an illiterate man, unable to write the most common words of English without mis-spelling. But what numbers have fallen victims to ignorance in power, whose wrongs have been unnoticed and are unknown!

The

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Various
operations,
1798.

The progress of rebellion toward the south-west was checked by this bloody repulse, and by discomfitures elsewhere of insurgent parties, particularly of one at Hackets-town in the same morning. On the northern side of Dublin, where it was less formidable, the only large assembly found in arms, was completely routed in the evening of the twenty-sixth, on the hill of Tarah, by a body of four hundred Reay fencibles and yeomen. On the western quarter Sir James Duffe, making a rapid march, with six hundred men from Limerick, and arriving on the twenty-ninth of May at Kildare, completed the plan of laying open the communication of the country with the metropolis, which had sustained for some days a species of blockade. But the army of this general, who appears to have been personally brave and enterprising, committed, through indiscipline or misconduct, an act which tended strongly to confirm a spirit of rebellion among the unfortunate peasantry. General Dundas had routed the rebels at Kilcullen, had recovered that little town, and had, with the consent of the lord-lieutenant, accepted the surrendry of two thousand insurgents, posted under one Perkins, on an eminence called Knockawlin-hill, on the borders of the great race-course called the Curragh of Kildare. Permitted, by previous compact, to retire unmolested, on the delivery of their arms, they had, on the general's approach, with shouts of joy returned to their homes, leaving thirteen cart-loads of pikes on the ground. From this a disposition to surrender was becoming general, and a large body had

had assembled for that purpose, by stipulation with Dundas, at a place called Gibbet-rath on the Curragh, when the troops of Sir James Duffe, were marching onward from Kildare, on the twenty-ninth. On the most futile pretence they attacked this unresisting multitude, who fled in consternation, and were pursued, with the slaughter of two or three hundred, by a company of fencible cavalry, denominated lord Jocelyn's fox-hunters. As the place was totally unfit for either defence or escape, the carnage would have been far greater, if a retreat had not been immediately sounded, according to peremptory orders, by express, from general Dundas, who had been apprehensive of such an accident. From the ardour of the soldiery for the slaughter of unresisting men, a protestant clergyman, named Williamson, who had been a prisoner among the rebels, would have been hanged by these troops, if he had not in the critical moment been rescued by colonel Sankey, his brother-in-law.

While the capital was relieved from apprehensions of blockade, an insurrection had burst with fury in a part where it was least expected. The county of Wexford had not been otherwise than very imperfectly organized, and many of its catholic inhabitants had addressed the lord-lieutenant through earl Mountnorris, protesting their loyalty, and pledging themselves to arm, if permitted, in defence of government, when occasion should occur. With exception of its yeomen and their supplementaries, about five hundred only of the royal army had been stationed in this large and populous county.

These

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These were ill-commanded, disorderly, and insolent, more fitted to excite than to suppress the spirit of rebellion. Less obedient than formidable to their officers, many of the yeomen acted in like manner; while some petty men, who could only by violence raise themselves into notice, took advantage of unhappy times, in the suspension of civil government, to treat with cruel indignity objects incapable of resistance or redress. The rumours of the pitched cap, of the miseries of imprisonment, of the house-burnings, the stranglings, and the lash, had excited horrible apprehensions in the people; and when these began to be exercised on themselves, their consternation was inconceivable. Whether the resolution to rebel had not been so determinately fixed, as to be preventable by no other means than force, I pretend not to judge: but my opinion is fully decided, that no insurrection would have been attempted, if the military command, with a sufficient force, had been held by an officer, who would have enforced a salutary discipline among his troops, and exercised martial law with strict impartiality. The floggings were comparatively neither numerous nor severe, and had not become universal. None had been inflicted in the town of Wexford, nor in the neighbouring baronies of Forth and Bargy; and in these baronies no atrocities were committed when insurrection took place. But other outrages, whose extension was dreaded, were exercised by men unauthorized, yet not restrained; as the well-inclined feared, each, by interference,

terference, to draw insult on himself. Wanton cruelties were committed on the prisoners in Gorey, quite contrary to the wishes of the humane officer, lieutenant Swayne, who commanded there, and of a nobleman in the neighbourhood, remarkable for lenity and other amiable qualities, to whom the facts were palliated, or not made known,

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Whatever may have been the immediate cause, the standard of rebellion was hoisted in the night of the twenty-sixth of May, by John Murphy, coadjutor or curate to the parish priest of Boulavogue, a man of shallow intellect, fanatical, and ferocious. Instantly, on intelligence of a nocturnal assembly, Thomas Bookey, first lieutenant of the Camolin cavalry, proceeded against it with a part of his troop. To his summons for surrendry, he received from Murphy this answer of defiance, "Come on, you heretic dog;" and, unsupported by his men, he fell a victim to his courage, slain on the spot with one of his associates. The conflagration of his house, distant seven miles from Gorey, served to heighten the alarm, which on every side spread with rapidity. The commotion was sudden, violent, and extensive. In the morning of the following day, Whit-sunday, the twenty-seventh, two bodies of armed men appeared on the hills of Oulart and Kiltomas, the former ten miles to the north of Wexford, the latter nine to the west of Gorey, an inferior ridge of Slyceve-Byce mountain. Their numbers were fast increasing from reports, too well founded, of men shot in the roads, at work in the fields, and even in their

CHAP. their houses, unarmed and unoffending, by strag-
 XLIII } gling parties of yeomen. To dislodge, as soon
 as possible, and disperse the two armed mobs,
 each of which was a confused multitude of both
 sexes, two bodies of royal troops advanced from
 different quarters with very different success.

Action at
 Kiltomas.

The insurgents on Kiltomas hill fled in a panic,
 after some distant volleys of musketry, from between
 two and three hundred yeomen from Carnew, whom
 they might have surrounded and put to slaughter.
 The yeomen killed about a hundred and fifty in the
 pursuit, and in a march of seven miles, burned a
 hundred cabins and two Roman catholic chapels.

At Oulart.

The event was different at Oulart, where Murphy
 commanded. Here, from a chosen detachment,
 from Wexford, of the North-Cork militia under
 lieutenant colonel Foote, the rebels at first fled with
 precipitation, and were pursued at full speed up the
 hill. But, when their pursuers had arrived near the
 summit, in confusion and almost breathless, about
 three hundred, rallied by their sacerdotal com-
 mander, made so furious, close, and sudden, an
 onset with their pikes, that, with the loss of only
 three killed and six wounded on their side, they slew
 the whole detachment except the lieutenant colonel,
 a serjeant, and three privates.

Attack of
 Enniscor-
 thy.
 1798.

While the country exhibited a miserable scene of
 commotion, houses in flames, and families flying on
 all sides for asylum, the loyalists to the towns, others
 to the hills, the bands of Murphy, flushed with suc-
 cess, marched from Oulart, in the morning of the
 twenty-

twenty-eighth, with perpetually increasing numbers, to Camolin. Here they found a quantity of fire-arms, which had, at an unlucky moment, been sent by earl Mountnorris for his yeomen's use. Proceeding to Ferns, and following the fugitive loyalists thence to Enniscorthy, they appeared before the latter at one o'clock in the afternoon, in number about seven thousand, of whom about eight hundred were armed with guns. After a brave, but fruitless, attempt to defeat the rebels in the field, the garrison, consisting of near three hundred, mostly yeomen and volunteers, retreated into the town, as they would have otherwise been surrounded. The town, situate on both sides of the Slaney, was in the course of a fierce, but irregular, combat, almost encompassed by the assailants, numbers of whom crossed the river, wading to the neck; and was at length rendered untenable by a conflagration of houses, which is said to have begun by disaffected inhabitants, who fired their own dwellings. From this and other circumstances the garrison abandoned the post at four o'clock in the afternoon, and, accompanied by most of the loyal people in the place, retreated to Wexford. They were favoured by tranquil weather and the indecision of the enemy. In a strong wind they could not have made their way through the burning streets; and in their confused retreat they would have been overwhelmed by a pursuing multitude. Of the loyal inhabitants between eighty and ninety fell: of the assailants probably two or three hundred, as they had been frequently repelled with great valour by the yeomen, and had

sustained

CHAP. sustained a galling fire from the North-Cork militia
XLIII. stationed on the bridge.

Proceedings
at Wexford.

Wexford, whence had been discerned the smoke of Enniscorthy, was found by the distressed and dejected fugitives a scene of terror and confusion. At once were made preparations for defence, and an attempt to prevent, or retard by persuasion, the approach of the rebels. Three gentlemen of the county were then in the jail, arrested on private information, Beachamp Bagenal Harvey, John Henry Colclough, and Edward Fitzgerald. The two latter, at the instance of some officers, undertook to address in person the insurgents at Enniscorthy, for the purpose of persuading them unconditionally to disperse, and return in peace to their several homes. The rebels had taken post on Vinegar-hill, an eminence at whose foot stands the town of Enniscorthy; and were found by the two gentlemen, in the afternoon of the twenty-ninth, in a state of confusion, distracted in their councils, without leaders of general influence, and without a plan. Different objects of attack had been proposed by different persons, unsupported by general concurrence; and the greater part were dispersing to defend their houses, as they said, from Orange-men. But when shouts, repeated from group to group, announced the arrival of the *gentlemen prisoners*, as they were styled, from Wexford, the straggling bands collected from all sides into one body; and, retaining Fitzgerald as a leader, formed immediately the resolution of marching to Wexford. Colclough was dismissed with this intelligence, and the insurgents took post that

that night on the eminence of Three-rocks, the termination of a long, but not high, ridge, called the mountain of Forth, the northern limit of the Bargy and Forth baronies.

As general Fawcet was expected from Duncannon with a considerable force, in the way of whose march this post, distant from Wexford two miles and a half, was situate, the garrison took a position outside the town, on the morning of the thirtieth, at the dawn, ready to co-operate with the general in a double attack. This officer had advanced to Tagmon the preceding night; but informed, next morning, that his vanguard of eighty-eight men had been surprized and destroyed, under Three-rocks, by the rebels, he retreated with the rest of his forces precipitately to Duncannon. Colonel Maxwell of the Donegal militia, commander of the garrison, receiving advice of this disaster, made a motion toward the enemy, hoping to retake two howitzers captured from the slaughtered troops, and still expecting the arrival of general Fawcet: but, seeing no probability of success, he returned into Wexford, having lost by a shot from the outposts of the rebels, colonel Watson, a brave and skilful officer. In a council of war a resolution was formed to evacuate the town: Harvey, at the request of the officers, wrote a letter of intreaty to the rebels to act with humanity: and two gentlemen of the name of Richards, members of a yeomen company, undertook the dangerous task of delivering this letter, and announcing to the insurgents the surrendry of the place. The retreat was in shameful disorder.

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Some companies abandoned their posts and fled; and their example was followed by others, insomuch that almost the whole garrison was gone before their design was known to the inhabitants. Thus numbers were left to the mercy of the rebels, even some of the armed yeomanry, who had expected a retreat in a military way, and would have accompanied the troops in their march to Duncannon.

Capture
of Wex-
ford.

These disorderly troops might have been put to total rout and slaughter, if they had been pursued, as was strenuously recommended by one of the rebel chiefs. Their course through a country, which had as yet remained perfectly quiet, was marked with devastation, the burning of houses, and shooting of unarmed peasants. Though the rebel army at Three-rocks may have amounted to fifteen thousand, yet with orderly soldiers, the town might have been safely defended, as its old walls were entire, and its garrison little less than twelve hundred men. The chiefs of the insurgents had, on the arrival of the two deputies with Harvey's letter, consented that the lives and properties of the townsmen should be protected, in case of a stipulation that all the arms and ammunition should be delivered into their hands; but Fitzgerald, who went with this proposal, found the town abandoned by the troops, and no stores of this sort left behind. Enraged at this disappointment, and the violences of the soldiery, the ungovernable multitude, when they poured into Wexford, could with difficulty be restrained.

restrained from the committing of general massacre and conflagration. Horrible beyond conception would have been the effects. Great numbers of both higher and lower classes would have been victims. Ships in the harbour crowded with fugitives, who had hoped an escape to England, all returned except two, when summoned by boats from the rebels, and relanded their passengers.

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The insurrection in the county of Wexford, which had at first arisen in the middle parts, in a line extending from east to west, had now, by the capture of the capital town, involved the southern. In the northern, about Gorey, no rebels appeared in arms, but the loyalists were so terrified, that they fled in a body, men, women, and children, to Arklow, in the morning of the twenty-eighth of May. Gorey was for some time in a singular condition. Abandoned by the protestants, while the catholics remained close within their houses, it seemed a solitude; and, filled with great quantities of goods, brought thither by fugitives, who had expected a kind of siege, it presented a tempting object of depredation. An army of women assembled for this purpose, but suddenly dispersed, on false information that a Welch regiment of cavalry was approaching. As their part of the country remained still unmolested, most of the protestants returned to Gorey within three days, where they were in danger of being surprized, as a body of about a thousand rebels was approaching within four miles on the first of June: but these were defeated the same day by a

Proceed-
ings about
Gorey.
1798.

CHAP. small band of yeomen and militia, under lieutenant
 NLIH. Elliot of the Antrim regiment, and a respite gained
 of two or three days more.

Attack of Bunclody. On the first of June also, about four thousand insurgents, led by several chiefs, among whom was a priest named Kern, a man of extraordinary stature, strength and ferocity, proceeded in two columns, from Vinegar-hill, along both the banks of the Slaney, on the western of which lies the beautiful village of Bunclody, lately called Newtownbarry, the object of attack. They entered the town without opposition, as the garrison, consisting of five hundred, under colonel Lestrange of the King's county regiment, immediately retreated. Engaged in plunder and intoxication this confused and unruly rabble was unexpectedly assailed, and routed with slaughter, by the garrison, which, after a mile's retreat, had been led back to the charge, at the instance of lieutenant colonel Westenra, who regarded flight as inglorious, when a few brave loyalists had still remained, posted in some houses, with a desperate resolution of defence.

Proceedings at Gorey. 1798. A victory at Bunclody might have opened for the rebels a way into the county of Carlow, and might there have excited a dangerous insurrection: but the two main bodies of their force were directed to two other points, Ross and Gorey. Success at the former would lay open to their arms the counties of Kilkenny and Waterford, where thousands were expected to join them: by the latter they might force a passage even to the capital. While a vast

number was assembling under a priest named Philip Roche, on the hill of Corrigrua, seven miles from Gorey, the loyalists of this town were filled with joy at the anxiously expected arrival of an army under general Loftus and colonel Walpole, on the third of June. These leaders marched, on the following day, with fifteen hundred men in two divisions, by different roads, with a design to attack, in co-operation with troops from other quarters, the post of Corrigrua. But Roche had received intelligence of their scheme; and, quitting his post, proceeded with his whole force, perhaps between ten and twenty thousand in number, directly toward Gorey, meeting half-way Walpole's division alone. The conduct of Roche, in this instance, resembles that of a man incomparably superior, the great Frederick of Prussia, who, when his camp was to be attacked by several armies at once from different quarters, at Lignitz in 1760, abandoned silently his station in the night, met and defeated one of the armies, and thus was completely extricated from circumstances of extreme peril. The motions at Corrigrua could not be so silent. A zealous protestant, Thomas Dowling, a farmer, had got intelligence, and had galloped full speed to Gorey to apprise the royal party, but not only was his account rejected with scorn: he even found himself in danger of imprisonment, if not of death, and was obliged to withdraw in silence from the town.

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Battle
of
Clough,
June 4.

Walpole, less attentive to tactics than the decorations of his person, marched with vain confidence, without scouts or flanking parties, and knew nothing of the enemy till they appeared advancing upon him within a few yards distance, at a place called Tubberneering, near the church and hamlet of Clough. His troops were instantly thrown into confusion by a tremendous fire; and, while with personal bravery he attempted to arrange them, he received a ball through the brain. They fled in the utmost disorder, leaving their artillery, which consisted of three pieces, in the hands of the foe, and stopped not till they arrived at Arklow, thirteen miles distant. Their loss appears to have been about forty, besides that a detachment of seventy grenadiers from the army of Loftus, sent to their assistance, were surrounded at Clough, and all killed or taken prisoners. Loftus proceeding in a road nearly parallel, unable to bring his artillery across the fields, and imagining Walpole victorious, made a circuitous march, and knew not the event until he arrived at the place of action. Following thence the rebels toward Gorey, he found them posted on the hill at whose foot the town lies. They fired on his troops with the captured artillery which they had drawn to the top; and as he could neither attack their post, nor attempt to pass by it to Arklow, with probability of success, he retreated to Carnew, and thence to Tullow in the county of Carlow.

On the same day, the fourth of June, the chief division of the rebel forces, changed its position from Carrickburn mountain, distant six miles from Ross, to Corbet-hill, a mile from that town, which was the object of attack for the next morning. On Carrickburn, these forces had been reviewed and organized under the inspection of Beachamp Bagenal Harvey, whom they had liberated from the jail of Wexford and chosen for their generalissimo. The seizure of Ross, when it might have been effected without opposition, on the twenty-ninth of the preceding month, had been vehemently urged by a chief named Hay, and a great number had agreed to accompany him for that purpose; but the scheme was postponed, on the arrival, already related, of Colclough and Fitzgerald. Harvey, neither deficient in courage nor intellect, possessed not that calm intrepidity which is necessary in the composition of a military leader, nor those rare talents by which an undisciplined multitude may be directed and controled. He formed a plan of an attack on three separate parts of the town at once, which in all probability would have succeeded, if it had been put in execution.

Acting as if engaged in regular warfare, Harvey sent a summons, with a flag of truce, to the commander of the garrison, requiring a surrendry for the prevention of bloodshed; but the bearer, named Furlong, was shot by the troops. While this general of the rebel army was arranging his men in three columns for the triple assault, they complained that

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they were galled by a fire from the outposts of the garrison, and demanded the removal of this annoyance. To dislodge the out-posts, five hundred men were assigned to a brave young man, named Kelly, who quickly performed this service, but was utterly unable to restrain his irregular band. These, followed by a multitude in defiance of orders, fierce and ungovernable, many of them intoxicated, rushed headlong forward, forced back the cavalry with slaughter on the foot, seized the artillery, and drove the troops posted in that quarter to the bridge, and the opposite side of the river. From a full persuasion of a decided victory in favour of the assailants, some officers fled, without stopping, twelve miles, to Waterford, with this alarming intelligence. But, as if plunder were their only object, these victorious rebels pursued no farther their advantage, while the royal troops, posted in other parts, maintained their stations, unassailed by the columns destined to attack their quarters. These columns had not been completely formed when a premature onset was made by the third; and, by the premature flight of some of their leaders afterwards, with unaccountable timidity, they were totally deranged and ineffective. While in Waterford, the fugitives of the royal army announced the undoubted conquest of Ross by the rebels, in Wexford the fugitives of the latter asserted, before it happened, the total defeat of their forces by the garrison.

The

The advantage offered was with ardour seized by general Johnson, who to rally the discomfited troops, made the utmost exertions, aided with equal ardour by two townsmen of Ross, Devereux a catholic, and Mac-Cormick a protestant, who had formerly been in military service. The latter, rushing from post to post, conspicuous with a brazen helmet and lofty stature, might strike with the semblance of the Grecian Ajax, a man of classic reading. Led back from the bridge, the troops of Johnson assailed and drove the confused rabble from the town, the outskirts of which were now in flames. Tumultuous distraction prevailed in the rebel host, regardless of commands or plans; and exertions arose only from individual spirit, which prompted men to volunteer for the fight, and to stimulate others by exhortation. By a column thus formed, the combat was renewed, and the royal troops twice driven from their ground: but the latter were a third time rallied; and the insurgents, dispirited by the mishap of Kelly, who was disabled by a wound, left to their opponents, by a final retreat, an indubitable victory.

In this irregularly fought battle, which ended at two o'clock in the afternoon, and had, with the intervention of long pauses, a duration of ten hours, the loss of the garrison, whose number was twelve hundred, has been supposed by some to have been greater than it appeared in the official account, where it was stated at two hundred and thirty

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thirty in killed, wounded, and missing, of whom ninety were found dead on the scene of action. To ascertain the loss of the adverse party is impossible. Their force on Corbet-hill is supposed to have consisted of twenty thousand men, mostly unprovided with instruments of war, even serviceable pikes. Of these not more than half, or perhaps a fourth, descended to the combat. Doubtless the slaughter was prodigious, as they repeatedly withstood, with undaunted resolution, the discharges of musketry and cannon; and probably not less than a thousand, perhaps fifteen hundred, fell: but I fear, as is asserted, that not a few, inhabitants of the town and refugees from the country, neither engaged in battle, nor bearing arms, were numbered with the dead; since the soldiers treated as enemies alike all whom they found without military uniform. From a foresight of this, all the protestant loyalists, unfurnished with military dress, had been commanded to surrender their arms and quit the town. Those who, by disobedience to this order, avoided the danger of being massacred by the rebels abroad, took post in some houses, and poured such a fire on the insurgents, that one of the lanes was almost filled with dead bodies.

Massacre of
Scullabogue
June 5,
1798.

As by cowards on both sides had false reports been propagated of a total defeat sustained by their own party; so men of this description on both sides were eager to massacre defenceless people in cold blood. The guard-house in Ross had been filled

filled with prisoners, among whom were many loyal-
 ist refugees, confined through mistake and malice. C H A P.
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 The whole would have been massacred by the run-
 away soldiers, if they had not been prevented by
 the undaunted spirit, and dignified reproof, of one
 Cullimer, a quaker. Unfortunately the runaway
 rebels had more leisure than the soldiery of this
 description to perpetrate a deed of horror. In the
 dwelling-house and barn of Mr. King of Sculla-
 bogue, at the foot of Carrickburn mountain, a
 number of loyalists of both sexes, among whom
 were at least seven catholics, were confined, col-
 lected from the neighbouring country as hostages
 for the safety of such rebels as should become pri-
 soners to the royalists. Urging that the bearer
 of their flag of truce had been shot, that the pri-
 soners of their party had been massacred at Dun-
 lavin and Carnew by the royal troops, and that a
 similar scene was now acted in Ross, a body of fu-
 gitives from the battle forced the guard, shot
 thirty-seven confined in the dwelling-house, and,
 setting fire to the barn, caused all who were within
 it to perish in the flames. The number of the
 burned, stated by some at a hundred and eighty-
 four, is reduced by others to eighty. The prime
 actor in this tragedy is said to have hitherto re-
 mained unaccused and unsuspected, while some have
 been hanged for the deed, who were at too great a
 distance to take any part in its instigation or ex-
 ecution.

Struck

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Proceed-
ings of the
rebels.

Struck with horror at such atrocity, and disgusted by the insolent insubordination of his troops, Harvey resigned his command, and retired to Wexford. From their post on Carrickburn, which they had re-occupied on the sixth of June, these troops, after a rest of two days, removed to Slyeeve Keelter, a hill which rises over the united streams of the Nore and Barrow, below Ross, probably with design to intercept the navigation between this town, Duncannon, and Waterford. They failed in their engagements with gun-boats, but captured some small vessels, in one of which was a packet. Here by a tumultuous election, they chose for chief general Philip Roche, the priest, who had returned from Gorey, after his victory at Clough; a man of great stature and boisterous manners, not ill adapted to govern by influence the disorderly bands among whom he acted. Remaining three days only in this station, Roche took post on the hill of Lacken, within two miles of Ross, where his army formed a less irregular encampment than usual, many tents being erected for the lodgement of the officers. Except a fruitless attempt of a detachment sent to Borris to procure arms and ammunition, the insurgents, lay here inactive, regaling themselves on the liquors and cattle procured from the neighbouring parts; and so negligent of their safety, that, in any night, after the two first, they might have been easily surprised and routed by a detachment from the adjacent garrison.

Their

Their associates at Gorey had also remained some days without enterprise, after the defeat of Walpole's troops, and the retreat of Loftus, wasting their time in the burning of Carnew, the trials of prisoners for orangism, and the plundering of houses. At length, assembling at Gorey on the ninth of June, they advanced northward to form a junction with a body of insurgents in the county of Wicklow, for the attack of Arklow, a post which they might have seized without opposition at any time before the very day of the attempt. Here the loyalists, who had retreated from the county of Wexford, had been ordered to surrender their arms at the barrack with promise of restoration; but these arms, on the news of the defeat at Clough, were formed into a pile and burned, to prevent, as was alledged, their becoming a prey to the rebels. But the disarming of their owners tended to weaken the royal cause; and pistols of high value, supposed to have perished in this conflagration, were seen afterwards in the possession of military gentlemen. While the garrison was preparing for flight, to escape from the victorious rebels, whose onset was expected, a guard was placed on the bridge to prevent any people from leaving the town until it should have been previously evacuated by the troops. By this management the whole multitude of fugitive women, disarmed men and children of the loyalist party was destined to fall into the hands of the enemy, if they had arrived. What could be the motive? To expect that thus would be prevented the intelligence

of

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 Battle of
 Arklow,
 June 9,
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of defeat, which was carried by various roads, from being propagated northward, would be absolutely childish. To leave a helpless people a prey for the foe, to impede pursuit, would be as useless as cruel. On the retreat of the garrison, before day, in the morning of the fifth of June, the rebel force at Gorey might have seized Arklow, pursued the fugitive troops to Wicklow, which must in that case have been abandoned to their increasing multitude, continued their course to Bray, and thence to the immediate vicinity of the capital, in which and the neighbouring counties many thousands awaited such a signal to rise in arms.

The dreadful state of things, to which misconduct on one side had left the kingdom exposed, was fortunately prevented by misconduct on the other. The opportunity was neglected: Arklow remained unmolested, though defenceless: the fugitive garrison was remanded to its post: some other troops followed; and, at the critical moment, the day of attack, arrived the fencible regiment of Durham, commanded by colonel Skerrett, a brave and accomplished officer, to whom Ireland is indebted for the defence of this then most important station. The royal force consisted of sixteen hundred men, arranged in lines, with artillery in front, so as to cover three sides of the town, the fourth of which was guarded by the Ovoca river. The army of the assailants amounted to above twenty thousand, of whom four or five thousand carried guns, but were very scantily furnished with ammunition, the want
of

of which is assigned as the cause of their four days' delay at Gorey. The approach of a column, which advanced by the sea-shore, was so rapid, that a part of it entered, and fired what is called the Fishery, composed of thatched cabins inhabited by fishermen. A guard of yeomen cavalry, stationed in that quarter, had no other means of escape than galloping through the flames; and most of them were so terrified that they stopped not their flight till they had crossed, by swimming their horses, at the extreme peril of drowning, the broad stream of the Ovoca. This body of assailants was easily repulsed; but, if a great force had been directed to that point, the town very probably would have been taken.

Happily, to the rebel force, where the main attack was directed, the most efficient part of the royal army was opposed, the Durham regiment, whose line extended across the fields, in front of the barrack, to the road leading from Gorey. General Needham, the first in command, had with laudable attention to the object of defence, given discretionary orders to colonel Skerrett to exert his abilities and skill to the best of his judgment. As the rebels at first poured their fire from the shelter of ditches, where they could be little affected by the opposite fire of the soldiery, Skerrett commanded his men to stand with ordered arms, their left wing covered by a breast-work, their right by a natural rising of the ground, until the enemy, leaving their cover, should advance to an open attack. Thrice was made this attack with such impetuosity, that the assailants

rushed.

CHAP. rushed within a few yards of the cannons' mouths :
 XLIII. but they were received with so close and effective a
 fire as to be repulsed with great slaughter in every
 attempt. During the whole engagement, which
 lasted four hours, from about four o'clock in the
 afternoon, this regiment maintained as perfectly un-
 broken ranks as at parade, though sometimes obliged
 to shift its ground, to avoid being enfiladed by a
 cannon, which was so well directed by Esmond
 Kyan, a chief among the insurgents, that by a shot
 from it the carriage of one of the battalion-guns was
 broken. At length general Needham, who had dis-
 played all the personal courage which could be use-
 ful in his place, perhaps apprehensive that the pike-
 men of the assailants, none of whom had hitherto come
 into action, might, under the shadow of the near ap-
 proaching night, make, as was far from impossible,
 an irresistible onset; sent to notify to Skerrett the
 expediency of arranging matters for a retreat. The
 latter returned a determinate answer in the negative,
 declaring that in that case all would be lost. Fortu-
 nately nocturnal fighting was not in the plan of these
 insurgents, who, exhausted of ammunition, and dis-
 couraged by the fall of Michael Murphy, a priest,
 their principal commander, ceased from combat as
 soon as darkness came, and retired unpursued toward
 Gorey.

As the rebels could not without fruitless danger
 be molested in their retreat by the garrison, they had
 sufficient leisure to carry away their wounded. Con-
 sequently their loss is unknown, but may have
 amounted

amounted to three or four hundred. Of the royal troops also the number of killed and wounded is unknown to me, except of the Durham regiment, which out of three hundred and sixty lost twenty men. The importance of this repulse can be fully appreciated only by those who know in what state the country then was, the general indiscipline then prevalent in the royal army here, and the danger to which the capital would have been exposed, if the insurgents had gained Arklow and followed the blow.

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Insurrection at Antrim—Battles of Saintfield and Ballynahinch—Proceedings of the rebels in the county of Wexford—Proceedings of the royal army—Massacres at Vinegar-hill—Exception of Killeghny—Attack of Vinegar-hill—Battle of Hore-town—Massacres at Wexford—Surrendry of Wexford—Bloody Friday—Progress of Father John—Attack of Hackets-town—Slaughter at Ballyellis—Further proceedings of the Wexfordian insurgents—Their final dispersion—Modes of warfare of the rebels—Remarks on the rebellion.

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Insurrec-
tion at An-
trim.

1798.

IN Ulster first had the system of United Irishmen been dangerously rooted; and there, from the spirit, the intelligence, and the habits of order of its inhabitants, insurrection would have been far the most formidable to government. The scheme had been disorganized, as I have already related; but numbers were exasperated, ready to rise and be organized anew, as soon as they should be ascertained of the success of the conspiracy in the capital and the neighbouring counties. As in these, by the imprisonment of the chiefs, all success was prevented,
the

the disaffected remained quiet in the north till news arrived of a seditious commotion in the county of Wexford, with three victories in succession over the royal army. Expecting that their example would be followed throughout the province, a considerable number assembled in the vicinity of Antrim, on the seventh of June, with design to seize the magistrates, who had appointed on that day a meeting there; and, making their attack at two o'clock in the afternoon, rendered themselves very nearly masters of the town. But they were dislodged by a body of troops, with artillery, under general Nugent, and pursued with the slaughter of perhaps near two hundred; not without the loss of about thirty of the royalists, among whom was lord O'Neal, a descendant of the ancient dynasts of Ulster, so formidable to English government till the end of Elizabeth's reign. Unsuccessful attempts were also made by small parties at Larne, Ballymena, and Ballycastle. Assembling on Donnegar-hill, the insurgents were assured that the rest of the northerns would not second their efforts, in consequence of intelligence received that the war in the county of Wexford was completely of a religious complexion, and that successful opposition in Ulster to the royal authority would tend to enable the catholics of the south to effect their great object, the extermination of protestants. In despair and disgust, these malcontents, who were mostly protestants, relinquished all thoughts of further warfare; and, breaking, throwing away, or surrendering their weapons, dispersed to their several homes.

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Action at
Saintfield,
June 9,
1798.

Actuated in like manner as those of Antrim, a number of insurgents assembled near Saintfield, in the county of Down, on the eighth of June, under a leader named Jackson; and with furious resentment set fire to the house of one Mackee, an informer, where eleven persons are said to have perished in the flames. This was the only act of atrocity, except in battle, committed by the armed malcontents in Ulster, where the people are better educated than in the south, and possess more the principles of pure religion. Electing for their general Henry Munroe, a shop-keeper of Lisburn, they placed themselves on the ninth in ambuscade, awaiting the approach of colonel Stapleton with a body of York fencibles and yeomen cavalry. Here the royal troops would have been totally routed, if the infantry, on whom the cavalry were driven back with slaughter, had not, with a cool intrepidity, extremely uncommon, if not altogether singular, at this time in Ireland, rallied and dislodged the foe. Stapleton, having remained master of the ground, retreated to Belfast, having lost about sixty men, including three officers, beside Mr. Mortimer, a clergyman, vicar of Porta-ferry, who had volunteered on this occasion.

At Ballynahinch, June 13, 1798.

Little discouraged by this repulse, in which the loss of the rebels was perhaps not greater than that of the royalists, the bands of Munroe, re-assembled, and took post at Ballynahinch, on the Windmill-hill, and at the house and in the demesne of lord Moira, in number about four thousand. To the troops of general Nugent, who arrived on the twelfth with

with fifteen hundred men, they abandoned this hill, and the town, which lies in a valley between the hill and the high grounds of lord Moira. On the latter they took post, and, in the next morning, cannonaded the royal army with six small cannons tied on cars, while shells were thrown against them from the opposite artillery. The cannonade continued three hours without execution on either side, while the town was in flames, which had been wantonly fired by the soldiery of Nugent. At length a close combat was commenced. The Monaghan militia, posted with two field-pieces at lord Moira's great gate, were driven by an impetuous charge of pikemen back on the Hillsborough cavalry, and both together forced in disorder from their ground. But what their valour had gained was lost to the insurgents by their want of tactics. Assailed in flank by other troops, which gave time for rallying to the discomfited, they were thrown into confusion, and retreated up the high ground to the summit. After a defence of this post for some time, they fled in all directions, and again assembled on the mountains of Slyeeve-Croob. Here, after consultation, influenced by the same arguments which had been successfully urged to the insurgents of Antrim, they finally dispersed. Their loss at Ballynahinch was about a hundred and fifty: that of the royal forces seems to be stated too low at forty. The execution followed of the insurgent leaders to complete the termination of this very local and short, but active and vigorous commotion, which must have been attended with

CHAP. consequences incalculable, if it had spread to extent
 XLIV. through the northern counties.

Proceedings
 of the Wex-
 fordian re-
 bels.

1798.

The abandonment of rebellion in the northern province, while the rest of the kingdom, with a small exception, remained in a state of quiet, left the insurgents in the county of Wexford to contend almost alone against the royal troops. Since their repulses at Ross and Arklow, they were reduced to defensive warfare, and could only hope to maintain some posts, until forces should arrive to their assistance from France. Some in the mean time among them seemed resolved to annoy their opponents where opportunities occurred. Their chief force about Gorey, marching to Mountpleasant, in the county of Wicklow, burned the little town of Tinnehely on the seventeenth of June, and put to death some protestants as Orange-men. Many more would have suffered on that imputation, if they had not been saved by the humane interposition of Mrs. Maher, a catholic lady. The surprizal of Hackets-town, their next object of attack on the eighteenth, was prevented by the arrival of general Dundas with an army, who, leaving as a garrison in this town the yeomen of Tinnehely, styled the True-Blues, pursued the rebels to Tinnehely, and thence to Kileavanhill. Here a junction was formed with the troops of Loftus, from Tullow, and an attack seemed to be intended against this post: but after a cannonade, with little execution on either side, and tremendous shouts of defiance from the rebels, with their hats raised on pikes according to their constant practice,

the royal army retired. In the same night, the twentieth of June, the insurgents abandoned the post, and under Garret Byrne, of Ballymanus, a catholic gentleman of the county of Wicklow, retreated to Vinegar-hill, which was become the prime station of the rebel force.

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To surround this post on all sides at once was the plan of Lake, the chief commander, and several armies moved from different quarters for this purpose. Dundas, Duffe, and Loftus from the vicinity of Kilcavan, followed the march of Garret Byrne: Eustace and Johnson advanced from Ross; and Needham from Arklow and Gorey. After its victorious defence of Arklow, the royal army there had continued some time closely in its quarters, sending patrols with great caution on the road toward Gorey. The country about the latter was in a few days evacuated by the rebels, to the no small joy of many loyalist families, who, by the sudden and unexpected defeat of Walpole, had been prevented from escaping, and on whom the enemy had been living at free quarter. Needham's forces marched from Arklow on the nineteenth of June, and from Gorey on the twentieth toward Vinegar-hill. The movement of the army from Ross was a kind of surprize to the bands of Philip Roche on Lacken, who fled in the utmost confusion, leaving their tents behind with great quantities of plunder. They might have been pursued with slaughter, if Roche had not practised stratagems. He distributed a number of horsemen with banners displayed, as it

Proceedings
of the army.

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were in defiance, which gave the appearance of a force prepared for battle, and intimidated the royal troops from sudden onset, while his infantry were retreating at full speed. Himself was the hindmost in flight from the hill. He overtook his infantry, and marched to the post of Three-rocks, without loss of a man.

Massacres at
Vinegar-
hill.

Vinegar-hill, the great object of attack, had, with the town of Enniscorthy at its foot, and the country far around, been now above three weeks in possession of the rebels since the twenty-eighth of May. During all that time the face of affairs had been hideous beyond description. From the first moment of disturbance, the common people on both sides, in this country, had rendered the commotion a religious quarrel. But at Enniscorthy, where men of rancorous bigotry and murderous dispositions had gained influence, or acted unrestrained, the spirit of intolerance was chiefly manifested, and was felt on all sides through a space of several miles. Horrors and incessant apprehensions of death attended the hapless protestants, who had not escaped from the devoted ground. They were every where seized. A few were assassinated on the spot where they were caught, but most of them dragged to Vinegar-hill, where, after a sham trial, often without any form of trial, they were shot, or transfixed with pikes; many lashed, or otherwise barbarously treated, before the final execution. To state with indubitable accuracy the number butchered in this fatal spot, I cannot pretend. It is believed

lieved on good grounds to have fallen little, if at all, short of four hundred. Much greater still would it have been, if individual humanity or friendship had not, in many instances, interposed to arrest the hand of murder. Philip Roche saved the lives of many. Even in his distant post at Lacken he rescued some, by sending for them under pretence of accusation and trial, and then dismissing them with proteétions.

The exception of the protestants of Killegny, a parish five miles to the south-west of Enniscorthy, of which I am at present the incumbent, is considerably remarkable. Here not a protestant was killed, nor a house burned. Surrounded on all sides before they heard of danger, the protestants of this parish had found escape impossible. They were admitted as converts to the Roman catholic worship by the rev. Thomas Rogers, the parish priest, a man of comparatively superior education, who gave them privately to understand, that he expected no more than an apparent conformity to please the multitude, and seems to have exerted his influence for their proteétion. Philip Roche interposed in their favour whenever opportunity occurred. Much may be attributable also to the respect of the lower catholics for Mr. Fitzhenry, a gentleman of their own religion, resident among them, whose disapprobation they might not, even in such lawless times, entirely contemn. Nor ought I to omit that the peasantry here had not been previously irritated by floggings or other violences: nor that Robert Shapland



CHAP. land Carew, esquire, their landlord, had immedi-
 XLIV. ately before the insurrection, made an impressive
 speech to the assembled people, describing the evil
 consequences which rebellion and acts of atrocity
 would draw upon themselves. The reverend Sa-
 muel Francis, my predecessor, was, with his family,
 once forced to attend service in the catholic chapel,
 and remained afterwards unmolested; but would
 have been in danger of starving, if he had not been
 supplied with provisions by the priest and Mr. Fitz-
 henry. To the forbearance of the catholics in this,
 was contrasted their behaviour in the bordering
 parishes, above all in Killan, where a spirit more
 atrocious was displayed than even at Enniscorthy.
 Here a ruthless mob was employed in collecting the
 protestants of both sexes with intention to burn them
 alive in the parish church, or, in their own phrase,
 to make an *orange pye* of them, when their design
 was prevented by a body of brave yeomen from
 Kiledmond in the county of Carlow.

Attack of
 Vinegar-
 hill, June
 21, 1798.

On the twenty-first of June, at seven in the morning,
 a royal force of at least thirteen thousand effective
 men, with a formidable train of artillery, was to com-
 mence an attack, from all quarters at once, on the
 great station of Vinegar-hill, where probably were
 posted twenty thousand of the rebels; but these
 were almost destitute of ammunition. An onset
 with pikes, in the night, on one of the surround-
 ing armies, had been strenuously, but in vain, ad-
 vised by some chiefs in this multitude, who chose
 rather to await without a plan the fortune of the
 day.

day. The town of Enniscorthy was attacked, at the stated time, by the army from Ross, while showers of bullets and shells were poured against the hill from the artillery. After the expenditure of their scanty ammunition, in a contest of an hour and a half, the insurgents fled toward Wexford, through the space which had been destined for the station of Needham's army. This general, from causes not satisfactorily explained, arrived not at his post till above two hours after the appointed time, when the routed bands had effected their escape. The commonly entertained opinion is, that the chief commander had designedly so managed as to leave this gap for the enemy's retreat. The full execution of the original or ostensible plan might have urged their despair to a dangerous effort. They might have forced their way on some side with slaughter, or sustained a tremendous havoc in the attempt. To oblige the whole multitude to surrender, and thus put an end to the rebellion, was supposed to have been Lake's design; and this would have been certainly far the wisest measure, if it had been practicable: but the general might have been with reason apprehensive, that his disorderly troops could not be restrained from the massacre of the unfortunate people, when they should once have thrown down their arms. Except in Johnson's army, in which by the attack of Enniscorthy, the number of killed, wounded, and missing, amounted to ninety-three, the loss of the royal forces was quite inconsiderable; nor was that of the rebels much greater;

for,

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for, though some hundreds were killed, who were found straggling from the main body after the battle; these were mostly men who had been reluctantly compelled to follow the rebel host, and had now taken the opportunity of escape: among them were many protestants who had been detained in captivity.

Battle of
Horetown.
June 20,
1798.

On the same day as Enniscorthy, was possession also of Wexford obtained by the royal troops. General Moore, at the head of about twelve hundred men, had, in the evening of the twentieth, in his march toward the former, been intercepted by an army of five or six thousand, led from Three-rocks by Philip Roche, at Goff's bridge near the church of Horetown. The forces of Moore, in loose array, or disposed in small parties over a wide extent of ground, and the gunmen of the rebels, only five hundred and sixty in number, maintained a contest, with considerable slaughter, during four hours. From the nature of the ground, the manœuvres of the soldiery, and their own inattention to the commands of their leaders, the pikemen came not into action; and as their store of powder was at length exhausted, the whole body of insurgents retreated in good order to Three-rocks. Except at Arklow, the royal troops fought better here than in any other engagement in this rebellion; yet, such military skill and resolution had an undisciplined and unorganized mob acquired in the short space of three weeks, that the combat was long doubtful. Joined by two regiments under lord Dalhousie, the
army

army took post on the field of battle, and on the morning of the twenty-first was proceeding to Taghmon, when two gentlemen arrived with proposals from the inhabitants of Wexford to surrender the town, on condition that their lives and properties should be guaranteed by his Majesty's generals. To these proposals, which he immediately forwarded to the chief commander, Moore could return no answer on his own authority; but from a change of circumstances he changed his plan, and, marching directly to Wexford, took post on the Windmill-hill, within a mile of the town. From humane and wise motives he permitted none of his troops to enter the place, as otherwise its destruction would have been inevitable.

In Wexford, which had been now three weeks in the hands of the insurgents, a great number of protestants were confined, inhabitants of the town, and refugees, and prisoners brought from several parts of the country. Of these two hundred and sixty were imprisoned in the jail and some other public places of confinement: the rest were immured in private houses: and all were under perpetual apprehensions of being shot, piked, or starved to death. To save them, exertions were constantly made by gentlemen among the rebels: but these gentlemen themselves, particularly such as were protestants, were in perpetual danger from the caprices of an ungovernable multitude which they had unwisely hoped to command. Some of low education, bearing the rank of officers in this multitude,

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Massacre at
Wexford.

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titude, were more inclined to incite than control a sanguinary temper in their followers. Such was Thomas Dixon, who from a master of a trading vessel had become a self-commissioned captain of the rebels; a man who, like Robespierre and other unfeeling monsters in the French revolution, would be ready, in case of success on the side of the insurgents, to raise himself to eminence by instigating the lowest of the rabble, under the mask of zeal for their cause, to the murder not only of all who had not acceded to their party, but also of the then existing chiefs of the insurrection. A general slaughter of the prisoners, to which the townsmen of Wexford were quite adverse, was twice in vain attempted by Dixon at the head of bands of peasants. He was magnanimously opposed, first by one Hore, a butcher, and next by one Scallion, a nautical trader, the former with a sword, the latter with a pistol, defying him to single combat, and insisting that he should *shew himself a man* before he should dare to put to death defenceless people.

At length, on the twentieth of June, when the greater part of the garrison had been drawn to Three-rocks to reinforce the army preparing to march against general Moore, Dixon with a multitude of peasants, to whom he distributed whiskey, took possession of the town, and proceeded to the work of butchery. A mob absurdly credulous, ferocious, and previously irritated by severities, he was enabled to inflame beyond all opposition by the assistance
of

of two protestant prisoners, who, to save themselves, pretended to be orange-men, and to turn informers against others of that fraternity. One of these was Charles Jackson, who afterwards published in England a narrative of the cruelties committed in Wexford, a most sycophantic performance, such as might be expected from one who had sacrificed the lives of innocent men to his own safety. The massacre would probably have been committed immediately at the places of confinement, if the wife of Dixon, a disgrace to her sex, a worthy associate of a murderous coward, had not requested that the prisoners should be conducted to the bridge, to afford to the people the pleasure of seeing the execution. The persons denounced were brought in successive parcels to this fabric, which from the beauty and gaiety of its appearance, was ill fitted for such a scene. The execution was deliberately performed. Concerning each victim successively a question was asked aloud, whether any one could particularize a good action which might entitle him to mercy? On silence of the crowd, or an unfavourable answer, he was put to death. A few were shot, but most were transfixed with pikes, in a manner much more painful than the mere extinction of life required. The executioners immediately threw the bodies into the river, without allowing themselves time to strip them of their clothes, or even to rifle their pockets. At length, about seven o'clock in the evening, a stop was put to the massacre by a concurrence of circumstances. Mr. Corrin, a priest of Wexford, after a failure

CHAP. failure of intreaty, commanded the people to pray,
 XLIV. and, having thus caused them to kneel, dictated a prayer, *that God would shew the same mercy to them which they should shew to the surviving prisoners.* Esmond Kyan and Edward Roche, two chiefs, by great exertion snatched some from death; and even many of the common people interfered for individuals. The approach also of the royal armies to Vinegar-hill was announced, and a reinforcement demanded under Edward Roche. The catholic clergy of Wexford are blamed for not having interposed more early or effectually; but in proportion to my examination of the subject I am less inclined to favour the charge. The number massacred on this occasion has been commonly believed to be ninety-seven, but is positively asserted by others to have been not more than thirty-six.

Surrendry
 of Wexford.

When Wexford was cleared of the multitude of peasants, who, about eight o'clock in the evening of the massacre, were led away by Edward Roche to reinforce the post of Vinegar-hill, a design was conceived of a peaceable surrendry to his Majesty's generals, to save the town and its inhabitants from destruction. On one side were approaching ships of war and gun-boats, and several armies were near, whose arrival might soon be expected. The place with all its people had been abandoned by an irregular surrendry to the rebels by the royal troops, and a compulsory defection could hardly be an unpardonable crime. Lord Kingsborough, colonel of the
 North

North-Cork militia, was a prisoner in the town, preserved from all violence by the efforts of some gentlemen, notwithstanding the character which he had acquired by the infliction of lashings of the cruelest kind: but these had been inflicted elsewhere, and were in general not known to the Wexfordian peasantry. He had been absent from his regiment at the commencement of the rebellion; had sailed from Arklow to Wexford, not imagining that this post could have fallen into the hands of the insurgents; and had been taken at the harbour's mouth on the second of June. To this officer was committed the command of the town by a resolution of the inhabitants assembled very early in the morning of the twenty-first; and three deputations were sent, of two gentlemen each, to the approaching armies. By these lord Kingsborough wrote to the generals that, on the surrendry of the place to him, he had most solemnly pledged his honour for the safety of all those, in persons and property, who had been in the town during the rebellion, with exception of the perpetrators and instigators of murder, and hoped the ratification of his contract, as the men of Wexford had not been concerned in massacre. Proposals were also carried in the name of the inhabitants of all religious persuasions, that, on condition of security to their persons and properties, they were ready to surrender their arms, return to their allegiance, and use their utmost influence with the people of the country in general to follow their example.

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The insurgent peasantry, who, after the departure of their messengers, had poured into Wexford from Vinegar-hill and Three-rocks, were, on full assurance given them that the terms procured by lord Kingsborough for the townsmen should be extended to them, persuaded with great difficulty to evacuate the town: otherwise a massacre of all who were deemed hostages could not have been prevented. But, instead of taking post on Three-rocks, according to the advice of this nobleman, till the terms should be ratified, they separated into two bodies, under full confidence of the ratification; one of which, under Philip Roche, took station at Sledagh, in the barony of Forth; the other, under Edward Roche, Fitzgerald, and Perry, at Peppard's castle. Of lord Kingsborough's dispatch, Lake, the chief general of the royal forces, deigned not to take any notice. To that of the townsmen he replied, that he could pay no attention to the proposals of rebels in arms; but to the deluded multitude he promised "pardon on the delivery of their leaders into his hands, the surrendry of their arms, and their returning with sincerity to their allegiance." On his arrival at Wexford, on the twenty-second, he found that general Moore had taken possession of the town, which was a fortunate circumstance, since Moore, actuated by humanity, and the honourable spirit of a true military officer, had used his utmost exertions to restrain his licentious troops. Thus the place, little damaged by either party, displayed a contrast to other towns in the county, which had felt the de-

vastating

vastating violence of both. As the surrendry had taken place, in reliance on lord Kingsborough's engagements, before the return of the messengers with the answer of Lake, those chiefs of the rebels, who were conscious of having acted with humanity, returned to their homes, or remained in the town, secure, as they imagined, under the faith of capitulation. Thus these all fell into the hands of the army and suffered death; while the murderers, among whom was Dixon, escaped the vengeance due. By different management the rebellion might now have been for ever suppressed, if such was the object of the chief commander, the real criminals brought to justice, and vast mischief prevented which afterwards had place. Philip Roche, coming alone to Wexford to settle with his Majesty's generals the manner in which his troops were to surrender and disperse, was seized, maltreated in a manner quite shocking to human feelings, and committed to prison. As soon as they were made acquainted with their leader's fate, his followers, regarding their case as desperate, marched away to the county of Carlow, under the conduct of John Murphy, the priest who had first raised the flag of insurrection in the county of Wexford, commonly called Father John, as the title of *father* is generally prefixed to the names of priests in the south of Ireland.

Those insurgents, who had withdrawn to Peppard's castle, had resolved, on hearing that no capitulation would be admitted, to march to the Wicklow mountains; but, receiving intelligence that a number of

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Bloody Fri-
day, June
22, 1798.

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yeomen were slaughtering the people about Gorey, who were returning to their homes, they directed their course at full speed thither. General Needham had, by express, on the twentieth, commanded a few cavalry left in Arklow to march immediately to Gorey, where they should find, he informed them, a large force, with an officer under whose orders they should act. Hearing that their town was protected by a large force, the refugee loyalists of Gorey could not be restrained from returning home from Arklow; but, contrary to the general's promise, no force was there; and they were alarmed on the twenty-second by the rapid approach of a rebel column. They fled back toward Arklow, whither the small body of yeomen, after a vain attempt to obstruct the progress of the enemy, effected their escape with little loss. Some horsemen of the insurgents, pursued six miles; and, beside the wounding of others, put thirty-seven men of the refugees to death, in revenge for about fifty of their own denomination previously slain by the yeomen and supplementaries. Having finished the massacre, from which the denomination of *Bloody Friday* was given to that day by the people of that neighbourhood, the rebels, after a short repast, resumed their march to the Wicklow mountains.

Progress of
Father John.

The main body at Sledagh, about fifteen thousand, among whom were no longer men of education and property, directed its course to Scollagh-gap, an opening in the great ridge of Mount Leinster, which separates the counties of Wexford and Carlow. Their design was to raise an insurrection in the latter county

county and in that of Kilkenny, particularly among the colliers about Castlecomer, who had been in a state of disturbance in 1793. Driving before them the few troops who attempted to oppose their progress, they passed the gap, burned the little town of Kiledmond, forced in like manner the pass of Gore's bridge on the river Barrow, and took post on a long mountainous elevation, called the ridge of Leinster, five miles from Castlecomer. To this town they descended early the next morning, and gained an entrance with the slaughter of about fifty of their opponents. But while a defence was still attempted from some houses, and a number of others were in flames, an army, under Sir Charles Asgill, arrived to the townsmen's aid. To avoid the fire of his artillery, which was levelled at the streets, to the danger of the loyal combatants in the houses as well as of the rebels, the latter retired to a small distance from the town. This afforded an opportunity to the numerous protestants, who had taken refuge here, to retire with the army to Kilkenny: but they were obliged to leave their effects a prey to the enemy, who took possession of the place. Having plundered Castlecomer, the insurgents, whose loss in this action may have been about seventy, again took their station on the heights. Disappointed in their hopes of raising an insurrection, the spirit of which had now evaporated in these parts; diminished by desertion to between four and five thousand; and, which was far the worst, exhausted of ammunition; they resolved to return through Scollagh to their own

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county. In the execution of this plan they were assailed on three sides at once by seventeen hundred men under Asgill and major Mathews, on the twenty-sixth of June, in the morning, at a place called Kilcomny. They fled with such celerity, that they regained the gap with little loss, except their plunder and cannon, which consisted of ten light pieces. They forced their passage with the defeat of some opposing troops, and directed their march north-eastward by the Dwarf-woods near Ferns, to the mountains of Wicklow, reduced by desertion to a much less number, and deprived of their leader, Father John, who was taken after the battle, and hanged at Tullow.

Repulse at
Hackets-
town.

On their arrival in these mountains, they found that their associates, under Perry and Fitzgerald, had been foiled, on the twenty-fifth, in an attack on Hackets-town. These, after the massacre of Bloody Friday, had united with the insurgents of Wicklow, under Garret Byrne, for the storming of this post. As they were destitute of artillery, and suffered a galling fire from the barrack, and from a fortified house in which Mr. Mac-Ghee, a protestant clergyman, had placed himself at the head of a few determined loyalists, they desisted at length, and retired to Blessington, with a loss of perhaps two hundred of their number. The loyalists also, as the town had been burned, abandoned the place, and retreated to Tullow. On their side were ten killed and twenty wounded.

Slaughter at
Ballyellis.

These associated bands were, on the thirtieth of June descried on their march to surprise Carnew; and

and against them were dispatched by general Needham, from his post at Gorey, above two hundred cavalry, supported by an excellent body of infantry. The rebels, after their utmost efforts to avoid a battle, finding escape impossible from the ardour of the cavalry, abandoned the highway at the moment when they were overtaken, and poured a fire from behind the hedges on their antagonists. Unsupported by the infantry, whom general Needham had unaccountably recalled, the royal troops could neither, from the nature of the ground, annoy their adversaries, nor find other means of escape than galloping directly onward to Carnew. Their flight was impeded by cars accidentally left in the road, abandoned by their drivers. Without even wounding any of their enemies, fifty-five of this detachment were slain. The slaughter would have been still more lamentable, as the rear was surrounded, if a body of yeomen infantry, who happened casually to be near them, had not spontaneously come to their relief. A preconcerted ambushade by the rebels at this place of bloodshed, called Ballyellis, is related by Mr. Edward Hay in his "History of the insurrection of the county of Wexford," but he has been certainly misinformed. The garrison of Carnew, who would otherwise have been surprized and put to death, were alarmed by the fugitives, and had barely time to take post in a malt-house, whence they repelled the assailants.

Pursued by a body of yeomen, on the second of July, these insurgents took post on Ballyraheen hill,

Proceedings
of the insur-
gents,

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between Tinnehely and Carnew, where they were unadvisedly attacked. Rushing from the upper ground, they in an instant routed the assailants, killing two officers and ten privates. Sixty of the fugitive yeomen took refuge in the house of captain Chamney, one of the slain officers, at the foot of the hill, where they sustained, during fourteen hours, the assaults of the enemy. Perhaps among the rebels, who were finally repulsed, near a hundred were slain. Of their wild unsystematic mode of warfare they gave here a strong instance. They set fire to the neighbouring house of Mr. Henry Morton, by the illumination of which their adversaries were enabled to aim at them in the night. After this victory and repulse, they divided into two bodies, one of which took its course to the county of Kildare, the other in an oblique march, apparently without plan, approached the borders of the county of Wexford. The latter, who were observed on the fourth of July, at a place called, from some piles of stones at the foot of Croghan mountain, the White Heaps, were surrounded, in their motion thence, in the morning of the fifth, by three armies at once from Gorey, Carnew, and Arklow, but in a thick fog, which casually facilitated, though in other circumstances it might have precluded, their escape, as it concealed from their view the motions of their enemies. Coming to an engagement with Sir James Duffe's forces, at a place named Ballygullin, they fled with their usual celerity, in various directions, with the loss of hardly more than twenty, on the arrival of
hostile

hostile reinforcements, and re-assembled on the hill of Corrigrua. They were annoyed in their retreat by a fourth body of troops from Ferns; and, as they found themselves hunted on all sides, without a possibility of maintaining any post, they agreed to disperse to their several places of abode. As no opposition to the royal army was afterwards made within its boundaries, the rebellion in the county of Wexford may be considered as terminated here. Yet hostility still was elsewhere maintained by those Wexfordians who had directed their march to the county of Kildare.

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In the last named county a body of insurgents had still remained in arms, and under some chiefs, particularly William Aylmer, had eluded the king's troops by rapid movements reciprocally from the Wicklow mountains to the bog of Allen. Uniting with these, the Wexfordians attempted, on the eleventh of July, to pass the river Boyne at Clonard, to penetrate into the western parts, and to raise an insurrection there; but were delayed so long by the defence of Tyrrel, a yeoman lieutenant, in a fortified house, that time was given for the arrival of troops from Kinnegad and Mullingar to frustrate their design. After this repulse, the fierce Wexfordians pursued unaided their plan of desperate adventure, finally separating from their less enterprising associates, against whom before, in consequence of some disputes, they had with difficulty been prevented from turning their arms. Reduced in their numbers

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numbers to fifteen hundred, and hunted in every quarter by various bodies of the royal troops, who were stationed every where around, they made a flying march in the counties of Kildare, Meath, Louth, and Dublin, skirmishing with such parties of the king's forces as overtook or intercepted them, and bearing the various hardships of their peculiar warfare with an amazing strength of body, and a vigour of mind well worthy of a better cause. Totally disappointed of their expected reinforcements in the county of Meath, which had been lately disturbed, they passed the Boyne, near Duleek, by a rapid motion into the county of Louth. Assailed, on the fourteenth, by two divisions of troops between this river and Ardee, they made a desperate stand; but, overpowered on the arrival of more force with artillery, they broke, and fled into a bog. Hence a part of them took the road to Ardee and dispersed; but the main body repassed the Boyne, and were advancing directly toward Dublin with their usual swiftness, when they were overtaken, in a hot pursuit, by captain Gordon of the Dumfries light dragoons, at Ballyboghil, within seven miles of the capital. As they would soon have been surrounded by detachments from different quarters, they fled, and finally dispersed, severally endeavouring by devious ways to reach their homes or places of concealment.

Warfare of
the rebels.
1798.

The continuance of these men so long in arms was caused only by despair. Since the rejection of
lord

lord Kingsborough's capitulation, death was regarded as the consequence of surrendry. After this were the chief devastations committed, apparently in revenge, in the county of Wicklow, by the peasants, and in their incursion into the counties of Carlow and Kilkenny. The calamities, occasioned by this incursion, were much augmented by the royal troops, who deprived of life or property numbers no way guilty of rebellion. From the battle of Kilcomny the rebels were destitute of cannon; nor had such engines been used by any insurgents except the Wexfordians and those of Ulster. Their great deficiency was the want of ammunition, a main cause to the insurgents of Wexford, of a failure in their enterprizes. This they had in vain attempted to remedy. Small round stones and hardened balls of clay were sometimes the substitutes of leaden bullets; and, by the mixing and pounding of the materials in small mortars, they fabricated a species of gunpowder, which exploded not, except when immediately recent, and even then with little force. They found means to manage instantly, doubtless in an aukward manner, the cannon taken from the army, sometimes applying wisps of hay or straw instead of matches. In battle they mostly availed themselves of hedges, and other such kind of shelter, to screen themselves from the shot of their adversaries; and they generally arranged their lines in such order as to suffer very little from the fire of the artillery, which they sometimes also seized

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seized by a furious and rapid onset. In the beginning of their insurrection they aimed so high as mostly to miss their opponents; but before the end of it they learned to level their guns with fatal effect. Their onsets with the pike might have been truly formidable, if well executed, particularly in the darkness of night; but the Wexfordians fought only in the light of day. As they acted spontaneously in battle without regular command, each feared the desertion of his associates, and his capture by an enemy who never gave quarter. They, therefore, would not confide one in another for a nocturnal attack, where complete opportunity was afforded for such desertion.

Conformably to their plan of open warfare, hills of a commanding prospect were always chosen for their stations. These posts they stiled camps, though destitute of tents, except a few for their chiefs. The multitude remained in the open air, both sexes promiscuously, some covered at night with blankets, some only with their ordinary clothes. This mode of campaigning was favoured by such a continuance of dry and warm weather as is very unusual in Ireland, a boon of Providence, regarded by each of the contending parties as conferred on itself. The irregularity of these encampments, where, among a licentious rabble, all commanded and none obeyed, is not easily described. This may be instanced in their cookery. They cut to pieces their carcasses of cattle at random, without flaying, and generally left

the head, sometimes parts of the body, to rot on the surface of the ground. Contagion must have followed a longer continuance of such practice.

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That, except three towns on its outline, Bunclody, Ross, and Duncannon, the county of Wexford should have so long remained in the hands of a disorderly mob, unofficered, and miserably armed, in defiance of the royal power, must appear not a little strange, especially when we consider that this mob was composed of none other than the inhabitants of this county alone. In every successful attempt within its limits they were totally unaided from abroad. Either their numbers must have been mistaken by several calculators, or they amounted to at least forty thousand men. Hence we must infer a numerous population, if we add a few thousand who joined not their hosts. In a populace unrestrained by human law, too little acquainted with the purity of the divine to be guided by its precepts, and ill-directed by the law of reputation where deeds of violence might be most applauded, observations might be made on the nature of man, perhaps not to its honour, yet not totally useless.

Remarks
on the re-
bellion.
1798.

That, when once insurrection took place, it should be attended with devastation and massacre, might be naturally expected in a peasantry ungoverned, and previously exasperated. Yet to suppose that the insurgents were all alike sanguinary, would be far

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far from the truth. Many of even the lowest were men of humanity; but amid so wild a commotion, the modest and feeble voice of pity was drowned by the arrogant and loud clamour of *revenge on the bloody Orange dogs!* The greatest cowards, and those who were the most scrupulously observant of the bare ceremonial of religion, were the most addicted to acts of cruelty. Superstition, cowardice, and inhumanity are all congenial with littleness of soul. For another fact we cannot so easily account. Those who had been the boldest in fighting with the cudgel at fairs and other popular assemblies, were uncommonly backward in battle with fire-arms or pikes; and in general were comparatively not mischievous or cruel. The men who had been most quiet and industrious in times of peace, were generally found the most resolute and steady under arms in war. Such in particular were the people of Bargy and Forth baronies. Those habits of order, the concomitants of industry, on which the civil prosperity of a state so much depends, are the best preparatives to form an efficient soldiery for its defence.

That some massacres were committed, particularly on Vinegar-hill, from religious rancour, and that others arose from a spirit of revenge, seems hardly to admit a doubt. By the royal troops were great numbers put to death without any apparent act of rebellion. Men imprisoned from private information, suspicion, malice, affectation of loyalty, or caprice, were sometimes indiscriminately slaughtered

tered, without the least form of trial or inquiry, by licentious dastards of the military denomination, who dared never to face the rebels in battle. Many more such massacres would have had place, if they had not been prevented by men of bravery. Atrocities were perpetrated on both sides, but the chastity of the fair sex was respected by the rebels. I have not been able to ascertain one instance to the contrary in the county of Wexford, though many beautiful young women were long absolutely in their power. One consideration may diminish the wonder, but not annihilate the merit of this conduct. They were every where accompanied by numbers of women of their own party, who, in the general dissolution of regular government, and the joy of imagined victory, were perhaps less scrupulous than at other times of their favours. The want of such an accompaniment to the royal troops may in some degree account for an opposite behaviour. Whenever they gained possession, the female peasantry of both parties, without distinction, suffered with respect to chastity, many in respect of health. The Irish peasantry, howsoever great may be their bigoted superstition, and other defects, are possessed of some amiable qualities, a simple politeness, or civility of manners, perhaps not exceeded by gentlemen of some other countries, and a spirit of gallantry, or respectful attention to the fair sex, not every where common to people of their class. Of superstitious credulity they afford in this rebellion a powerful instance.

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XLIV. instance. They believed Father John, and another priest, Michael Murphy, to be invulnerable, when leaden bullets were shewn them by these leaders, which they affirmed to have been shot against them by the enemy, and to have struck them without hurt.

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State of Dublin—Cornwallis viceroy—Executions at Wexford—Grogan, Harvey, &c.—Fate of Perry—Bill of amnesty—Capitulation of leaders—O'Connor's pamphlet—Prosecutions—Banditti—Devastations of the rebellion—Compensations to suffering loyalists—Estimate of loss to the kingdom—Depravation of morals—Frauds in claims of compensation—Embarrassment of clergymen—Neglect of the French government—Arrangement of Cornwallis—Killala's narrative.

WITH the final dispersion of the Wexfordian insurgents the rebellion was terminated, and this had been but local. The whole kingdom had remained quiet, except the counties mentioned, and a small part of the county of Cork. In the last the few insurgents had been quickly suppressed, defeated at Ballynascarty, on the nineteenth of June, by colonel Sir Hugh O'Reily. All this time the capital, vigilantly guarded by a large military force, had enjoyed a peace not otherwise interrupted than by alarms of plots within and hostilities without. The chief part of this force

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State of
Dublin
1798.

CHAP. XLV. consisted of its own citizens, formed into yeomen companies, whose conduct on this occasion merits much applause. The grand and royal canals, fifty feet broad and twelve deep, formed a defence round the city, in the nature of a wet ditch, the numerous bridges of which, fortified with palisades, were constantly guarded by yeomen. Trials and executions had early commenced. Among the executed were Henry and John Sheares, John Mac-Cann, who had been secretary to the provincial committee of Leinster, and Michael William Byrne, delegate from the county committee of Wicklow. Oliver Bond was condemned, but reprieved, as a judicious and necessary system of mercy was adopted after the arrival of a new chief governor.

Cornwallis
viceroy.
1798.

That a viceroy of military talents, of political knowledge and activity, vested with strong powers, had not been sent sooner into this kingdom, where a widely extended insurrection had been so long known to have been planned, seems an unaccountable conduct in the British cabinet. The consequence might have been fatal if the insurgents had been well conducted, and supplied with arms and ammunition from France. As if to make atonement for past inattention, one of the fittest persons was at length appointed to this most important office, the marquis Cornwallis, who had eminently displayed talents of a general and statesman; not less when inevitably overcome in America, than when victorious in the East. His earlier appointment might have saved the loss of some thousand lives, and of immense property. His activity

activity and wisdom, his easiness of access and attention to business, displayed a new phenomenon, where the vicerealty had been generally a sinecure, and the viceroy a pageant of state. His administration commenced on the twentieth of June, when he entered the metropolis in a very modest manner, from which lord Camden departed in a kind of triumphal parade.

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His arrival could not immediately change the system. Trials, by court-martial, and executions in the usual manner, proceeded at Wexford, immediately after its surrendry, and several men suffered as leaders of rebellion. The bridge was the scene of execution, as it had been of massacre. The bodies after death by hanging, were commonly stripped, treated with indignity, and thrown into the river, and their heads placed aloft on spikes on the court-house. Philip Roche, a man of rough and boisterous demeanour, but humane, courageous, and seemingly of a military genius by nature, might with more regular troops and better arms have performed much. He seemed to have latterly despaired of success, and thence to have indulged almost perpetual intoxication. As his character has been foully misrepresented, I suspect that the actions of another priest, named Roche, who is said to have preached unchristian doctrines, have been through mistake attributed to him. Since many surviving protestants owed their lives to his exertions, his fate was secretly regretted; and that he had been treated with more decency previously to his execution, might

Executions
at Wexford.
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be wished for the honour of the military character. Captain Mathew Keugh, a protestant, who had been formerly an officer in the royal service, made an excellent defence, which was then of no avail. He had been in great danger among the rebels, from whom he had unfortunately for himself accepted a commission, and had been signally serviceable in prevailing on them to evacuate the town.

Beauchamp Bagenal Harvey and Cornelius Grogan, protestants also, suffered together. The latter, possessed of an estate of eight thousands pounds a year, and of much accumulated wealth, had unfortunately been made a prisoner by the insurgents, who nominated him a commissary. Enfeebled with age, the gout, and a timid spirit, he had been as unable to execute a commission as to reject the title. He was seized at his house by the soldiery, which, with all his effects, was consigned to plunder. His great wealth might have been a strong temptation, and I am decidedly of opinion that of rebellion he was perfectly innocent. Such is the consistency of human nature, that this timid man met his fate with heroic fortitude, while Harvey, who in duels had displayed an intrepid spirit, shewed symptoms of fear at his execution. Harvey, not fortunate in his private connexions, had in some respects borne an amiable character, particularly that of a most humane landlord; a character every where valuable, in Ireland scarce. He had been carried by the tide of theoretic politics into the system of United Irishmen; but I have good reason to believe that he was determined

determined to renounce it previously to the insurrection. This was prevented by unfortunate circumstances. He was imprisoned in Wexford; and, at the evacuation of that town by the royal army, would have been massacred in the jail by some cowardly soldiers, if their design had not been frustrated by the courage and conduct of the jailor, Joseph Gladwin, a man of generous fortitude and humanity, who advised him to attempt, in conjunction with himself, an escape to Duncannon, to the protection of the general commanding that post. The fear of assassination by disorderly troops operated, with other incidents, unhappily to frustrate this salutary counsel. On the surrendry of Wexford, he retired to his mansion of Bargy Castle, under confidence of lord Kingsborough's capitulation; but, on intelligence of its failure, he fled to a cave in the Saltee islands, where John Henry Colclough, from similar motives, had in vain taken refuge before. The estates of Grogan and Harvey were afterwards confiscated by an act of the Irish parliament, though the court-martial, which condemned them, was irregular, as its members were unsworn.

Many protestants lamented the fate of Colclough, a catholic of the most liberal sentiments and active benevolence. Conspicuous for courage and humanity were two other catholics, Esmond Kyan and John Kelly. The head of the latter, who had led the rebel column into Ross, was treated after execution with an indignity highly dishonorable to the actors. As these had been leaders, their humane

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activity in the saving of lives to loyalists could only be pleaded in their favour; but no such plea would then, or long after be admitted. Innocence itself was no competent protection. False witnesses were not unattainable. To be accused was to be presumed guilty. The man selected as a victim was, like a hunted roe, from a system of terror, forsaken by all; nor was time always allowed for witnesses to come forward in his defence, if they dared to appear. Such seems to have been the case with John Redmond, a priest who was hanged at Gorey. He is said to have given three hundred guineas in charge to an officer of rank, bequeathed verbally to his brother in case of his death. If he had been acquitted, the money might have been reclaimed. If any innocent person thus fell a victim, sycophants would afterwards torture their invention to justify the sentence; and in this they were supported by terrorism. In some places such proceedings were checked by officers of true military spirit, as at Wexford by general Hunter, at Enniscorthy by general Grose, and Ross by general Gascoyne. The troops of the last, chiefly the first and Coldstream regiments of guards, displayed a conduct very uncommon in those times, and highly honourable to the character of soldiers.

Fate of
Perry.

Of the Gentlemen implicated in the united conspiracy some found means to extricate themselves by fortunate circumstances, or by becoming informers, or by the affectation of a flaming zeal for loyalty, which they too frequently displayed by outrages on

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men genuinely loyal, the lovers of the existing constitution and of equal justice. Others found extrication utterly impossible. This may be instanced in the fate of Anthony Perry, a protestant of a good estate, a well-informed understanding, agreeable manners, and an excellent private character. When he was renouncing his engagements, he was arrested and imprisoned at Gorey. To atone for his error he gave all the information in his power useful to government, yet was treated with the utmost harshness and indignity. Among other acts of cruelty, Thomas Honam, a serjeant of the North Cork militia, nick-named *Tom the Devil* from his habitual violence, cut away all his hair quite close to the head, and then burned all the roots of it with a candle. He was in the utmost danger, together with sixty other prisoners, of being massacred in the market-house, on the twenty-eighth of May, when ten were shot in the street; but was liberated by captain Hawtrey White, a brave yeoman officer, and a humane and active magistrate. Pursued to his house, whither he had retired to live in peace, by some yeomen, who plundered his effects and sought his life, he fled in the disguise of a beggar to the rebel host, the only refuge. To prevent acts of cruelty his exertions were perpetual. Separating at length from his associates, after their repulse at Hacketstown, he attempted an escape to the north, but was taken and hanged at Edenderry in the King's county.

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Bill of
amnesty.
1798.

To prevent, as far as in his power, the further effusion of blood, the new viceroy issued a proclamation dated the twenty-ninth of June, and inserted in the Dublin Gazette on the third of July, authorizing his Majesty's generals to give protection to such insurgents, as being simply guilty of rebellion, should surrender their arms, abjure all unlawful engagements, and take the oath of allegiance to the king. To give the full sanction of law to a measure dictated by justice and policy, a message was delivered to the house of commons on the seventeenth of July, signifying his Majesty's pleasure to that effect; and an act of amnesty was accordingly passed in favour of all engaged in the rebellion, who had not been leaders; who had not committed manslaughter except in the heat of battle; and who should comply with the conditions mentioned above: but from the benefit of this were excluded James Napper Tandy, and about thirty more, mostly fugitives in France.

Capitulation of
leaders.
1798.

Partly through counsellor Dobbs, a member of parliament, the surviving chief leaders were admitted to a capitulation by government. The contract, signed by seventy-three persons, purported that, they should give all the information in their power of the transactions of United Irishmen both internal and with foreign states, without implicating any person whatsoever by name or description; that they should emigrate to some country particularized by mutual agreement; and that they should give security for their not passing into the territories of any state

state at war with Great Britain, and for their not returning to Ireland without the permission of government. Oliver Bond, though under sentence of death, was included in this capitulation; but he died of an apoplexy in prison. Several principals of the Union, particularly O'Connor, Emmett, Nac-Nevin, and Samuel Nelson, gave details on oath, in their examinations before the secret committees of both houses of parliament, in whose reports, published by authority of government, is contained a mass of information concerning the conspiracy. Whatever were the original terms of the contract, or by whatever subsequent events the contractors were influenced or affected, fifteen principal conspirators were detained in prison during the continuance of the war with France.

In a pamphlet, styled a letter from Arthur O'Connor to lord Castlereagh, dated from prison, January the fourth, 1799, that minister is directly charged with a violation of the contract. One of the articles of accusation is, that the information, given by the prisoners of state, was garbled to serve the purposes of the ministry; and particularly, that of a hundred pages, delivered by O'Connor himself, only one was published in the reports of the secret committees. This publication, not otherwise than clandestinely sold and circulated, was considered as suppressed by government. Though the charges are strong, no reply has appeared; but from the humanity of this lord I am inclined to suppose some justifiable motives of expediency in his favour. The

O'Connor's
pamphlet.

CHAP. honour, however, of the marquis Cornwallis was

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expressly declared unimpeached by the writer.

Prosecuti-
ons.

1798.

This viceroy, vested with powers much beyond those of his predecessor, the supremacy of the military, as well as civil administration, and invigorated with a spirit superior to the influence of faction, made exertions in various ways to mitigate the effects of sanguinary persecution. He had commanded military licence to cease, and the sentence of each court-martial to remain suspended until, by an inspection of its minutes, he could form an opinion of its justice. By this a multitude of lives were saved; for, by necessary exceptions, an ample field lay open still, not only for the merited punishment of the guilty, but also for the indulgence of revenge, avarice, and sycophancy, in the involving of the innocent. No means of conviction were neglected. Strange as it may seem, acts of humanity were considered as proofs of guilt. Whoever could be proved to have saved a loyalist from assassination, his house from burning, or his property from plunder, was pronounced to have had influence among the rebels, consequently a rebel commander. Thus men of active compassion suffered, while others were shielded by a different conduct. "I thank my God that no person can prove me guilty of saving any one's life or property!" was the sudden exclamation of a catholic gentleman in a company where the notoriety of the practice was the subject of conversation. At Wexford the spirit of prosecution was carried to its height. Here for the purpose

purpose was formed a committee of six, at whose head was the right honourable George Ogle. Of their proceedings, a dreadful account is given by Edward Hay in his history of the insurrection of the county of Wexford. A refutation by these gentlemen, for the honour of themselves, the Irish protestants, and of human nature, ought, if practicable, to be exhibited.

The summary punishment of real or imagined rebels, by killing without trial, could not at once be completely stopped. The practice had for a time augmented the rebel hosts. Its continuance must have tended to depopulate the country. It would have doubtless come sooner to an end, if a desperate remnant of insurgents, reinforced by deserters from some Irish regiments of militia, had not continued in arms in the mountains of Wicklow, and the dwarf woods of Killaughrim, near Enniscorthy. The latter, scoured by the army, were after some time cleared of their predatory inhabitants, who had ludicrously styled themselves *Babes of the Wood*, and caused much terror in the neighbouring country. The party in the mountains, whose range was much more extensive, and haunts less accessible, were, under two chiefs named Holt and Hacket, enabled longer to defy the laws. Their manner was to issue suddenly from their fastnesses, and to retire, after the perpetration of burnings and massacres, before troops could arrive to intercept them. Holt was a protestant, who, like too many others, had been forced into rebellion by the violence of men named

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Banditti.
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loyalists. But his followers were catholics, and their outrages were committed on protestants. Their deeds of murder were retaliated, not on themselves, as that was impracticable, but on the catholics of the neighbourhood, where these deeds had been perpetrated. Harrassed by incessant pursuits, while the dreary mountains afforded no shelter in the winter season, these banditti diminished every day, and at length quite disappeared, when Hacket was killed by Thomas Atkins, a brave young gentleman, who had been a yeoman officer, and Holt surrendered to the earl of Powerscourt for transportation.

Devastations of the rebellion.

The ravages of these desperadoes added to the desolation already caused by the rebellion in the counties of Wexford, Wicklow, and the neighbouring parts. Beside the destruction of houses of various description in the open country, the towns of Carnew, Tinnehely, Hacketstown, Donard, Blessington, and Killedmond, were ruined by fire. Partial devastation affected other towns, particularly Ross and Enniscorthy, in the former of which above three hundred houses, mostly cabins, were consumed. Great part of the damage was committed by the soldiery, who plundered without distinction of loyalist or insurgent. In this the Hessians of baron Hompesch were notoriously eminent; and many loyalists, who had effected their escape from the rebels were put to death by these foreigners. The employing of such troops argued either an ignorance of the country, or a disregard for the lives

of its loyal people. Diametrically opposite in conduct to these, were the Scottish Highlanders in the marquis of Huntley's regiment, who would not accept of even so small a trifle as a drink of butter-milk, without payment of its full value. Before the arrival of this regiment at the post of Gorey, the country in that quarter had been miserably ravaged by the troops under general Needham. The absence of its respectable gentry, particularly the earl of Courtown, an honest and judicious man, left room for sycophants to operate on that commander, or his dependants. Such men, affecting a mighty zeal, a cover of disloyalty or cowardice, were the advocates of cruelty, and would gladly draw suspicion on genuine loyalists. That he was not still more misled by such base personages, when he condescended to admit them under the system of espionage, may argue, perhaps, much merit in this commander.

General Skerrett, whose conduct at Arklow, as colonel of the Durham fencibles, had been so highly meritorious, succeeded the marquis of Huntley in the post of Gorey, where he maintained so strict a discipline, that nothing more of military excesses was heard. He exerted himself also with great success in the restoration of the country to its former state of industry and order. For this purpose he commanded that the horses, which had been seized by the yeomen and soldiery, should be returned to the owners. This rule became general for the reinstatement of agriculture. But though,
by

CHAP. XLV. by change of system, the royal troops were become the protectors, instead of pillagers, of the people, the country was afflicted all the ensuing winter by nocturnal marauders; all, at first, of the denomination of loyalists, afterwards partly composed of others. The catholics, however, were alone the objects of pillage, as being unarmed. The wretched sufferers were not even allowed the sad consolation of complaint; menaced with death and house-burning if they should dare to give information. Many houses were fired in the course of this melancholy winter, the inhabitants hardly escaping from the flames, and the cattle sometimes consumed alive. How some survived the hardships of a season uncommonly severe, deprived of provisions and covering, seems hardly accountable. The magnitude of the evil produced at length its remedy, by rousing the exertions of some gentlemen, particularly captain Hawtrey White already mentioned. One species of mischief was more puerile than cruel, extremely dishonourable to the lower classes of protestants, the burning of Romish chapels, a practice not entirely discontinued for some time after.

Estimate of
detriment.
1798.

To form a probable estimate of the detriment sustained by the country, in consequence of the united conspiracy, would not be an easy task. Some idea of it may be conceived from the claims of compensation for their losses, made to government by suffering loyalists, according to an act of parliament which marks very strongly the amiable nature of our political constitution. Soon after the
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commencement of the insurrection, the sum of an hundred thousand pounds was voted, by the house of commons, for the immediate relief of such refugees as should appear destitute of the means of subsistence; and for its distribution a most respectable body of commissioners was appointed, who gave, according to circumstances, sums not exceeding fifty pounds to each. After their temporary relief, government extended its views to the compensation of loyalists. The estimates of their losses were authenticated by their own affidavits, together with those of the clergy and landlords. The two latter were required to swear that they sincerely believed the estimates to be true, and the claimants loyal. The sum total of the claims amounted to a million and twenty-three thousand pounds; of which five hundred and fifteen thousand belonged to the county of Wexford. The estimates, in some instances far above, in some much below, the truth, were on the whole amount, in my opinion, so moderate as not to exceed two-thirds of the reality. A million may be moderate for the losses of people, who, barred from compensation, sent no estimates. Thus the whole detriment may not have fallen far short of even three millions.

The destruction of property was not the only species of damage resulting to the community from this ill-fated combination. To this may be added the loss of lives, the suspension of industry, the obstruction of commerce, the interruption of credit in pecuniary transactions, and, above all, the depravation of morals.

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Depravation
of morals.
1798.

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pravation of morals in the seats of civil violence. The mind of man seemed brutalized in many instances. The worst of the species had room to display a malignity of nature, whose existence might be doubted without the evidence of facts. To some, the tortures of their fellow-creatures were manifestly an amusement. Numbers were flogged without even a pretence of information given against them. To raise the pain to extremity, pepper and salt were sometimes thrown into the cuts during the operation. Prisoners, without trial, were strangled to death by suspension from the shoulders of tall men, who were thence denominated *walking gallows*. To the debasement of the military character, a commissioned officer was distinguished by this title. By such exhibitions the sense of moral turpitude was blunted. To dwell on the sad propensity to extortion, cheating, pilfering, and robbing, encouraged by a temporary dissolution of civil government; on the practice of perjury and subornation in trials; and of perjury in claims of losses, even by persons who might well be supposed superior to such meanness, without consideration of religious obligations, would be attended with more pain than utility. It was a harvest for the wicked, some of whom made fortunes in various ways, while men of principle sustained heavy losses. Some acquired more by plunder than they had ever been worth, made afterwards exorbitant claims for losses, and where the receipts for money, which had been formerly paid to them

in

in their private dealings were lost, payment was exacted a second time.

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XLV.

As the affidavits of the clergy, authenticating those of claimants, were indispensably required to be all in their own hand-writing, the labour of some parish ministers was, from various causes, enormous. The pleasure of procuring aid for the deserving, compensated the toil: but when cases occurred, happily few in comparison, where a clergyman was required to swear, that he sincerely believed an affidavit to be true, which appeared to him suspicious, the business was perplexing. To know the real state of the claimant's property and losses he could not pretend: to refuse his sanction, without being able to assign any reason, would be regarded as totally indefensible: and to commit perjury would be intolerable. How far the consciences of some clergymen might be quieted by a practice pursued, I cannot pretend to say. The clergyman signed his affidavit without swearing, and the magistrate certified it as sworn before him. I believe that very few were capable of signing, in this manner, what they would not swear; hardly any at all, doubtless, in the diocese of Ferns. But a clergyman might have written and signed affidavits, to have them ready for the sanction of his oath after due consideration and enquiry; and these, mean time, might be brought by the claimants to a magistrate, who would certify them without suspicion, whence they might be transmitted to the commissioners without farther enquiry. I hope that such frauds were very

CHAP. rare. The commissioners acted their part through-
 XLV. out, with dignified integrity; though they could
 not always escape deception.

Neglect of
 the French
 govern-
 ment.
 1798.

I have somewhat anticipated in marking the evil consequences of rebellion in the south of Ireland. A small part of the claims of compensation came from the west, where commotion had been excited by a small invading force. That the government of France was at this time very feebly administered, appears from the neglect of attempting to send assistance to the Irish rebels, while they were in strength. If, according to the advice of lord Edward Fitzgerald, a number of swift vessels had been sent to different parts of the coast, with officers, troops, arms, and ammunition, some of them might have eluded the vigilance of the British cruisers. Such supplies, what they most of all wanted, might have inspirited the insurgents to dangerous enterprises. What effects might thus have been produced, we may in some degree conjecture from the impression made on the kingdom by a contemptibly small body of French troops, landed after the complete suppression of the rebels, in a part quite remote from the scene of rebellion, among a people who had not exhibited signs of disaffection, and at a time when, by the unremitting attention of Cornwallis, the minds of the disaffected had been every where conciliated in a considerable measure, and the royal troops, who had before too much resembled an armed mob, were reduced into the form of a regular army.

This

This viceroy had completely planned, and, after unavoidable delays from the situation in which he had found affairs, was on the point of putting into execution, such an arrangement of the troops, as to enable him to assemble, with great expedition, a respectable force in any part of the kingdom where expediency should require, when intelligence arrived of a French invasion. The chief account of the transactions consequent to that enterprize is a narrative given by Doctor Stock, bishop of Killala, who, with his family, was thirty-two days in the hands of the invaders and their auxiliars. This narrative is valuable and interesting, calculated for the prevention of those errors which, from the want of such authentic and impartial documents, are apt to creep into history, and become established by time. It is extremely honourable to the learned prelate, since it evinces a genuine goodness of heart, and a mind so cultivated, so candid, so elevated above mean prejudices and the servile fear of party, as to discern and publicly acknowledge the virtues of an enemy. Its accuracy is confirmed, if it could require such confirmation, by the testimony of the French officers employed in this expedition, with whom some gentlemen from Ireland have since conversed in France.

C H A P.
XLV.
} Arrangements for
defence.

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French invasion at Killala—Character of Humbert—Battle of Castlebar—Motions of Cornwallis—Motions of the French—Plan of Cornwallis—Battle of Coloony—Proceedings of the French—Surrendry at Ballynamuck—Insurrection at Granard—Proceedings in the west—Storming of Killala—Prior transactions at Killala—Plans for saving lives and properties—Forbearance of the rebels in the west—Treatment of the French officers—Executions—Macguire—Teeling and Tone—Tandy—Second French expedition—Death of Theobald Wolfe Tone—Exertions of Cornwallis.

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French in-
vasion at
Killala
1798.

A FRENCH squadron of three frigates, two of forty-four guns each, and one of thirty-eight, which had sailed from Rochelle on the fourth of August, arrived on the twenty-second of the same month in the bay of Killala, in the county of Mayo, prevented by contrary winds from reaching the coast of Donegal, their place of destination. The troops were immediately debarked, consisting of eleven hundred men, of whom seventy were officers. Humbert, their chief

chief commander, had, according to the military institutions of the French republicans, risen from the ranks to the dignity of a general officer, had rendered himself conspicuous in fighting against the insurgents of La Vendée, and had been second in command to general Hoche in the abortive expedition to the bay of Bantry. So illiterate as to be scarcely able to write his own name, he was yet an excellent officer; of a fierce demeanour, the effect of art, to extort quick obedience by terror; in the full vigour of life, prompt in decision, and quick in execution. The garrison of Killala, only fifty in number, yeomen and fencibles of the Prince of Wales's regiment, fled, after a vain attempt to oppose the entrance of the French vanguard, leaving two of their party dead, and twenty-one prisoners, among whom were their officers. To compensate as far as possible, by the vigour of his operations for the smallness of his force, appears to have been an object with the French commander. A detachment, advancing on the following day toward Ballina, seven miles to the south of Killala, defeated the picket-guards, and took possession of that town on the night of the twenty-fourth, the garrison of which retired to Foxford, ten miles farther to the south. In the defeat of the pickets, the Reverend George Fortescue, nephew to lord Clermont, and rector of Ballina, who had volunteered, was slain.

Though the military arrangements of the viceroy could not yet be completed, a force more than sufficient

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XLVI.
Battle of
Castlebar.
August 27,
1798.

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ficient in appearance was quickly assembled to the point of attack. With great expedition general Hutchinson arrived from Galway on the twenty-fifth at Castlebar, where he was joined in the following night by general Lake, the chief commander in the west. The habits of disorder, inveterate in the troops, could not possibly in two months have been eradicated by Cornwallis. Of this the army here assembled furnished full proof in the whole of their conduct. The gun of a soldier, by accident or design, exploded from a window. A cry was raised that a shot had been fired at the Longford militia, and a tumult was excited which threatened the town with conflagration and massacre, with great difficulty prevented by the extraordinary exertions of Hutchinson and other officers. Intelligence soon after arrived of the enemy's approach, and the army was drawn to an advantageous position between the town and the advancing French, who appeared at the distance of two miles from Castlebar, at seven o'clock in the morning of the twenty-seventh.

With design to attack this post as soon as possible, before the assemblage of more troops at that point, Humbert had moved from Ballina, in the morning of the twenty-sixth, with the greater part of his army, resolved to atchieve his utmost for the excitement of rebellion by an early and deep impression. Instead of the road through Foxford, where general Taylor was posted to observe his motions, he chose a way through the mountains, deemed impracticable to an army, and thence unsuspected. He could bring no other

other artillery than two small curriole-guns. The carriage of one was broken by the asperity of the road, and the repairing of it caused much delay in the march. His force consisted of eight hundred French, fatigued and sleepless, and about a thousand Irish peasants, who had joined his standard, useless in battle. To him was opposed an army, fresh and vigorous, advantageously posted, with a well-served train of fourteen cannons. The number of this army has been variously stated, from six thousand to eleven hundred: the lowest computation, consistent at all with probability, amounts to two thousand three hundred; but I believe it to have exceeded at least three thousand.

At a sight so formidable, the French leaders concluded that immediate surrendry must be their fate, especially when they perceived the destructive effects of the artillery, managed by captain Shortall, which caused their troops to recoil. Determined, however, on exertion while hope remained, they ordered their men to file to the right and left, to advance in small bodies, under cover of the smoke, and to assail the foe in flank. Seized with a strange panic, the royal army shrank from the assault, broke on all sides, and fled through the town, in extreme confusion, on the road to Tuam, leaving their artillery and ammunition to the enemy. To rally them all attempts were fruitless. Their flight was continued to Tuam, which they reached on the night of that day, thirty-eight English miles from the field of battle, and was renewed, after a short refreshment,

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toward Athlone, where an officer of carbineers, with sixty of his men, arrived at one o'clock on Tuesday the twenty-eighth, having performed a march of eighty English miles in twenty-seven hours. Where their course would have terminated we are left to conjecture, if it had not been stopped by the arrival of the viceroy at the latter town. Such was the behaviour of troops, enervated by the licence of tyrannizing over defenceless people, when once brought to face a regular and determined foe. Yet even with these would Hutchinson, I am assured, have conquered, as he was fully possessed of the confidence of them and of the people, knew the nature of the ground, and had formed an effective plan, if he had not been superseded by the arrival of Lake. The latter had accepted a command in Ireland which the excellent Abercrombie had before resigned as unworthy of a soldier: the former has since been the worthy successor of the same Abercrombie in Egypt, in the command of an army gloriously triumphant; and has, as an acknowledgement of his merit, been honoured by his sovereign with the title of lord Hutchinson of Alexandria. In the disgraceful engagement at Castlebar, the loss of the French in killed and wounded, though not satisfactorily stated, is said to have been greater than that of our troops, of whom fifty-three were returned as killed, thirty-four wounded, and two hundred and seventy-nine prisoners or missing. Of the privates missing, the greater part were afterwards found to have deserted to the enemy. Among the lost of the French were
seventeen,

seventeen, who in too eager a pursuit were slaughtered by lord Roden's cavalry. These are said to have been previously made prisoners, and retaliation was threatened by the French commander.

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The marquis Cornwallis had, notwithstanding the smallness of the invading force, been so sensible of the danger, as to have instantly determined to march in person against the foe. On the twenty-sixth of August he arrived with his army at Philips-town, and on the succeeding day at Kilbeggan, having advanced fifty-six English miles, in two days, by the grand canal. Receiving here, very early in the next morning, intelligence of the defeat at Castlebar, he hastened to Athlone, where he was positively informed by many who had fled from the field of battle, that the French had pursued the army of general Lake to Tuam, driven it thence, and seized that post. If such a pursuit had been practicable to the French, after their exhausting march to Castlebar, even this extraordinary report might have been true, since Lake had judged his disorderly troops unsafe at Tuam, and a retreat expedient nearer to Athlone. Even on this town, eighty English miles from the French army, which never moved farther in that line than Castlebar, an attack was apprehended, and pickets and patrols were advanced far on the roads to Tuam and Ballinasloe. From these facts a judicious reader, acquainted with the state in which Ireland then was, where multitudes were prepared to rise in rebellion as soon as they should see any force in a probable condition to support them, may doubtless be

Motions of
Cornwallis.

of

CHAP. of opinion, that, if such a man as Cornwallis had
 XLVI. not been at the head of the Irish administration, with full power to act according to his judgement, the consequences of this petty invasion might have speedily become ruinous. The viceroy saw the necessity of both vigour and caution. His operations were planned on this idea. On the fourth of September he arrived at Hollymount, whence he was preparing to march to the attack of the French at Castlebar, fourteen miles distant; but received information in the evening that the enemy had abandoned that post, and had directed their course to Foxford.

Motions of
 the French.
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After their victory at Castlebar the French received great additional accessions of Irish peasantry to their standard, chiefly from the western and mountainous parts of Mayo. To furnish these with arms, the stores brought from France were quite insufficient, though five thousand five hundred muskets had been distributed in Killala. These mountaineers were mostly very awkward in the use of guns, and of little use in combat to the French, who had expected far more powerful assistance from the Irish. They had hoped also to be immediately followed by additional troops and stores from France. Totally disappointed in the former expectation, and seeing little ground for hope in the other, they began to suspect that they had been sent on a desperate errand, to annoy, not to conquer, the enemies of their country. Like brave and faithful soldiers, they resolved, even in this case, to perform their duty, and to exert every power

power against the British government, until irresistible necessity should compel them to surrender. CHAP. XLVI.
 Humbert accordingly, having ordered the troops left at Killala to repair to the main body, commenced a rapid march, early in the morning of the fourth of September, from Castlebar, through Foxford, towards Sligo, perhaps with a design of attempting to approach the county of Donegal, where the additional forces from France were expected to make a landing.

The motions of the main army, immediately under the personal command of the viceroy, were calculated to cover the country, to intimidate the abettors of rebellion, and to afford an opportunity of rallying to any smaller bodies of troops which might be defeated; while these bodies were ordered to harrass the enemy as much as possible, without risking a battle, except where success would be nearly certain. Colonel Crawford, with a body of troops, supported by another under general Lake, hung upon the rear of the French: and general Moore, with a third, observed their motions at a greater distance; while Cornwallis, with the chief army, moved nearly in a parallel direction from Hollymount, through Clare and Ballyhaunis, toward Carrick-on-Shannon, intending to regulate his subsequent motions by those of the enemy.

Pursued by such forces from behind, the French leader found himself also opposed in front by another army. Colonel Verreker of the city of Limerick militia had marched from Sligo for that purpose Battle of Colony, September 5, 1798.

CHAP. XLVI. purpose with three hundred and thirty men and two curricule guns. He met and fought the hostile troops when they had passed the town of Coloony on the fifth of September. A mutual mistake had place. The colonel, supposing himself engaged with the van-guard only of the French, pressed with eagerness for the victory before the main body should arrive to its relief. Humbert, conceiving the colonel's force to be the vanguard of a great army, attempted only to repulse, not to surround it. Verreker displayed a true military spirit, which was afterwards highly applauded by the French commander; but, after a battle of about an hour, he was obliged to retreat, with the loss of his artillery, to Sligo, whence he withdrew his little army to Ballyshannon.

Proceedings
of the
French.

This opposition, though attended with defeat to the opposers, is supposed to have caused Humbert to relinquish his design on Sligo. He directed his march by Drummahair toward Manorhamilton in the county of Leitrim, leaving on the road, for the sake of expedition, three six-pounders dismounted, and throwing five other pieces of artillery over the bridge at Drummahair. In approaching Manorhamilton he suddenly wheeled to the right, taking his way by Drumkerin, perhaps with the design of an attempt to reach Granard in the county of Longford, where an insurrection had taken place. His rear-guard skirmished successfully on the seventh with the advanced guard of Crawford, between Drumshambo and Ballynamore. Crossing
the

the Shannon at Ballintra, and halting some hours in the night at Cloone, he arrived at Ballynamuck on the eighth of September, so closely pursued, that his rear-guard had been unable to break the bridge at Ballintra to impede the pursuit; while the vice-roy, with the grand army, crossing the same river at Carrick-on-Shannon, marched by Mohill to Saint-Johnstown in the county of Longford, to intercept him in front, in the way to Granard. This movement reduced him to such a situation that, if he should proceed, he must inevitably be surrounded by near thirty thousand British forces, commanded by an accomplished leader.

In this desperate situation Humbert arranged his forces, doubtless for no other purpose than to maintain the honour of the French arms. The rear-guard was attacked by Crawford, and about two hundred laid down their arms. The rest continued a defence for above half an hour; but, on the appearance of the main body of Lake's army, surrendered also. They had previously made lord Roden a prisoner, who, with a body of dragoons, had advanced into their lines to obtain their surrendry. This nobleman now, by ordering the troops of his party to halt, fortunately prevented some effusion of blood. Excluded from quarter, the rebel auxiliars, fifteen hundred in number, who had accompanied the French to this fatal field, fled in all directions, and were pursued with the slaughter perhaps of five hundred. The troops of Humbert were found, after surrendry, to consist of seven hundred and forty-

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Surrendry
at Ballyna-
muck, Sept.
8, 1798.

CHAPTER XLVI. forty-eight privates, and ninety-six officers. Thus his loss appears, from his first landing in Ireland, to have been two hundred and fifty-six. He had augmented, by promotions, his number of officers.

Insurrec-
tion at
Granard.

The wisdom of the viceroy, in the plan of his movements, in a line between the invading force and the interior country, is evinced, beside other circumstances, from the failure of an insurrection in the neighbourhood of Granard, which took place while the French were marching from Castlebar, and had been designed to make a powerful diversion in their favour, or even to afford them a commodious post, whence they might direct their operations against the metropolis. The united conspiracy had been embraced by multitudes in the neighbouring counties, particularly Longford, where men of property had espoused the cause. Their plan is said to have been to rise around Granard, to seize that post, and thence with augmented hosts to attack the town of Cavan, where lay deposited stores of arms and ammunition. They would have surprized the former on the fifth of September, if captain Cottingham, a yeoman officer, had not arrived for its defence, by a rapid march from Cavan. With two hundred yeomen, advantageously posted, he defeated the ill-armed multitude of two or three thousand, with considerable slaughter. The principal body of these, consisting of people from Westmeath, marched, after this repulse, to Wilson's hospital, which had been already seized and plundered by a party of their associates. They

proceeded hence on the sixth, to attack a body of yeomen and Argyle fencibles, posted under lord Longford, near the village of Bunbrusna, where with their defeat an end was put to this insurrection.

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So speedy a suppression of the insurgents in the neighbourhood of Granard might, with the surrendry of the French army, be supposed sufficient to intimidate the rest of the rebels in the western parts into a total abandonment of resistance. Yet in those territories of the county of Mayo, where they had first risen to assist the invaders, they still persevered in rebellion. Intelligence indeed of Humbert's surrendry arrived not in these parts for some days; and, before its arrival, the spirits of the disaffected were so little depressed, that Castlebar, occupied by the royal troops, was attacked on the twelfth of September by a large body, who were, not without danger, repulsed by captain Urquart of the Frazer fencibles. On his march from Castlebar, Humbert had left no part of his army at Killala or Balina, except three officers at the former, and one at the latter, to command the insurgents who formed the garrisons. Intelligence was received by these officers, on the twelfth, of the fate of their army at Ballynamuck, which was for good reasons concealed from the rebels, until they were informed by some of their own party, who had escaped the slaughter. No part of the royal forces arrived in the neighbourhood of Killala till the twenty-second of September, when, after some discharges

CHAP. charges of cannon and musketry, the rebel garrison
 XLVI. of Ballina, with Truc, a French officer, its commander, fled to the former town, the only post remaining. Thither they were followed on the succeeding day by the army of general Trench, who, in consequence of a message from the bishop, had hastened his motion from Castlebar.

Storming of
 Killala, Sep-
 tember 23,
 1798.

The royal troops, amounting to twelve hundred, with five pieces of artillery, advanced to assail Killala in two columns by different roads. The one, consisting chiefly of the Kerry militia, a catholic regiment, under colonel Crosbie and Maurice Fitzgerald, the knight of Kerry, performed its march, though three miles longer, in the same time as the other, appearing on the south side of the town in the same moment with their fellows on the opposite; such was their alacrity. The rebels, about eight or nine hundred, took post on a rising ground, on the road to Ballina, under low stone walls on both sides, close to the town, in such manner as to enable them with great advantage to take aim at the assailants. They levelled their guns, and fired with deliberation, yet only killed one man, and wounded another, as their shot flew over the heads of their adversaries. So little had they profited in the art of aiming from the drilling of French officers; though this art had, with fatal effect, in a few days, been acquired by the Wexfordian insurgents, without instruction. Soon driven from their ill-defended post by a flanking fire, they fled in various directions, and met death on every side; furiously

riously pursued through the town by the cavalry, intercepted at the opposite end by the Kerry militia, and exposed to the range of a cannon when they ran to the shore. Thus about four hundred were slain. The charge of the cavalry on the retreating foe in front of the foot had been ordered from motives of humanity by the general. It prevented the rebels from forcing their way into houses, and thereby drawing pillage and massacre on the inhabitants indiscriminately. But no precautions could more than partially protect the innocent from the ferocity of troops inveterably licentious. Loyalists were plundered, some killed, by this army. Another body, under lord Portarlington, marching to the same point from Sligo, put to death the protestants of a village called Carrowcarden, whom they found prisoners with a party of insurgents.

The town of Killala, thus recovered, had been thirty-two days in possession of the French and rebels. The bishop of that see and his family, with the rest of the loyal inhabitants, had fallen into their hands; but had the great consolation of finding the French in the highest degree polite and generous. The bishop, in his valuable narrative, mentioned at the end of the preceding chapter, has described this band of invaders as distinguished, to a surprizing pitch, by intelligence, activity, temperance, patience, and obedience to discipline. The strictness of their honesty was not less remarkable. But, though private property was religiously respected by the soldiers, their necessitous condition,

Prior's 26-
actions at
Killala.

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as they had come destitute of money, obliged their leaders to adopt a system of regulated public pillage. Money, they said, was to come in the ships expected from France; and whatever in the mean time should be taken through necessity, should be punctually paid in drafts on the future directory of Ireland, of which the owners of the goods demanded were courteously invited to accept. These drafts on a bank in prospect, which had at first been received, were in a few days totally discontinued, both parties smiling at the unfounded security. To the manners of the French were every way contrasted those of the Irish auxiliars, who, regarding the terms protestant and loyalists as synonymous, plundered the people of this description throughout the country. In matters of religion their ideas were widely different. These republicans, who had subverted the papal power and Roman catholic establishment at home, were astonished, when the Irish peasants, who offered their service, declared that they came to take arms for France and *the Blessed Virgin*.

Plans for
safety of
loyalists.

Of great, though not always effectual, service was a temporary system of police. The country was thrown into departments, in each of which was elected an officer, and a guard appointed, under the express stipulation that none should be marched out of his district, nor bear arms against his sovereign, nor be otherwise employed than in the preservation of the peace. These were all catholics, as the common people of this persuasion would not consent that protestants should have arms, notwithstanding

standing the commands of the French officers to the contrary. This very salutary expedient, imperiously dictated by the situation of affairs, was blamed by some as countenancing a tame submission to invaders. The lives and properties of the protestants would have been coolly sacrificed by such censurers, when themselves were in safety, men the most prompt to fly from danger, to insult the defenceless, and, if captured, to conciliate their enemies by obsequiousness. After the abandonment of Killala by the French troops, their protectors, on the first of September, great fears of massacre were entertained by the protestants. To imprison them as hostages, and to retaliate on them the deaths of prisoners hanged by the king's troops, was the plan of the rebels. This was prevented by the great exertions of the three generous Frenchmen left in Killala, officers named Charost, Boudet, and Ponson. Their efforts were seconded by a generous Irishman named O'Donnel, and by the veneration entertained for the bishop by people of every description. The danger increased every day, especially when intelligence arrived of the surrendry at Ballynamuck, which on this account, had been concealed as long as possible by the three Frenchmen.

For imprisonment the clamour became on the nineteenth so furious, that the fatal measure was prevented only by a stratagem of the bishop. He proposed that a loyalist, Dean Thompson, and Roger Macguire, a rebel chieftain, should go to Castlebar with a flag of truce, and a letter from himself to the

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royal commander there, expressing a hope of the protestants that nothing would be done to the prisoners at Castlebar which might provoke reprisals. These ambassadors returned from their perilous journey on the evening of the twenty-first. The dean had found an opportunity of private conversation with general Trench, the result of which was a very polite letter to the bishop, "assuring him that his prisoners were, and should be, treated with all possible tenderness and humanity." This, publickly read to the multitude, and left in their hands, caused an irresolution, which fortunately continued till the arrival of the royal army on the twenty-third. "That during the whole time of this civil commotion *not a drop of blood was shed by the Connaught rebels except in the field of war,*" is worthy of notice. The example and exertions of the French had great influence; but a wide range of country lay at the mercy of the insurgent peasants for several days after the French power was known to be completely at an end. Here the minds of the people had not been exasperated by the tortures of the scourge, the conflagrations, and the various cruelties of malignant and affected zealots, practised in the south-eastern parts.

Treatment
of the
French offi-
cers,

The three generous Frenchmen, who had been left by Humbert at Killala, were in danger of being massacred, after the storming of that post, from the shameful irregularity of the royal troops; but were afterwards treated in a manner honourable to the officers of these troops, to the Irish administration, and

and to the British government. By the first, leave was given them to retain their swords, their effects, and their bed-chamber in the bishop's house. By the second they were forwarded immediately to London, and furnished with what money they wanted for their draft on Niou, the commissary of French prisoners. By the third they were ordered to be set at liberty, and sent home without exchange. Niou replied, that his government could not avail itself of so polite an offer, since these officers had done no more than what any Frenchman would have done in the same situation. This was a laudable declaration in favour of the humanity and politeness of the French military; and to emulate them in this respect would be honourable to the soldiery of any nation.

Trials and executions proceeded as usual on the overthrow of rebellion. Roger Macguire, with difficulty saved from death, was, after long imprisonment, transported to Botany-bay. Yet had the protestants of Killala been preserved from massacre by this man's embassy, with great personal danger, to Castlebar, where some gentlemen, if they had been permitted, would have hanged him, though they knew that by this would destruction have been brought on these protestants. So courageously prodigal of other men's lives are those who are most fearful for their own! Among numbers of chiefs and inferior insurgents put to death, particular compassion is due to two men, who, Irishmen by birth, had been in the military service of France before

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the invasion, had come into Ireland in the French fleet, and had, as well as the best French officers, used the most active exertions to save the lives and properties of loyalists. These were Bartholomew Teeling and Matthew Tone, whose generous humanity, made evident at their trials, and steady fortitude under sentence and execution, command our esteem as well as pity. The saving of these men's lives would have given additional honour to the administration of Cornwallis.

Tandy.

The little army of Humbert had been intended only as a van-guard of a much more formidable force, which was soon to follow. Happily the French government was as tardy in seconding his operations, as it had been those of the southern Irish rebels. The delay in the equipment of the second fleet is ascribed to the want of money. In the interim a brig from France arrived at the little isle of Rutland, near the north-west coast of Donegal, on the sixteenth of September, and landed its crew. Among these was James Napper Tandy, already mentioned in this work, now bearing the title of general of brigade in the French service. Informed of the surrendry of Humbert's troops, and unable to excite, by their manifestoes, an insurrection in that quarter, they reimbarcked and abandoned the shores of Ireland. Tandy was afterwards arrested at Hamburgh by some British agents. In this action neutrality was violated; and the influence of the emperor of Russia was obtained to intimidate the Hamburghers into an acquiescence in this violation, which
exposed

exposed at the same time these citizens to the resentment of the French. So mighty a bustle about an object so unimportant confirmed many in an opinion of a puerile weakness in the British ministry. Tandy was tried at Lifford, at the spring assizes for 1801: he pleaded guilty, was condemned, was pardoned as to life, emigrated to France, and died there soon after.

The principal French armament at length appeared on the eleventh of October, near the coast of Donegal, consisting of one ship of the line, named the Hoche, and eight frigates, with four or five thousand soldiers. Prevented from landing, pursued, and, on the next day, overtaken, by the British fleet of Sir John Borlase Warren, the Gallic officers came reluctantly, but with desperate valour, to an engagement. The Hoche was captured, the frigates made sail to escape, but six were taken in the chase. Another squadron of three frigates, with two thousand men for land service, destined to co-operate with the former, anchored in the bay of Killala on the twenty-seventh of the same month; but, on the appearance of some hostile ships, set sail with precipitation homeward, and escaped pursuit. The leaders of this force had orders to send the bishop of Killala and his family prisoners to France, and, if they should meet with opposition in landing, to lay the town in ashes. The cause of this unmerited severity was an unfounded and absurd opinion entertained by the French administrators, that this prelate had betrayed the town to the royal troops, together

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Death of
Theobald
Tone.

with a deposit of two hundred and eighty barrels of gun-powder buried near this palace by the invaders.

Matthew Tone already mentioned was brother to Theobald Wolfe Tone, who had rendered himself so remarkable by his activity and talents in the united system. The latter was found aboard the *Hoche* by admiral Warren, and tried by court-martial in the capital. He rested his defence on his being a denizen of France, an officer in the service of that country, and pretended not to deny the charge against him, nor even to excuse his political conduct. Condemned, he requested the indulgence of being shot as a soldier, instead of being hanged as a felon; and, on the refusal of this request, cut his own throat in the prison. The operation being incompletely performed, hopes were entertained of his recovery. A motion was ably supported for a writ of habeas-corpus in his favour by John Philpot Curran, the famous barrister; and the plea was admitted on the ground that "courts-martial have no jurisdiction over subjects not in military service while the court of King's Bench is sitting." But from the condition of Tone, his removal from prison was deemed unsafe, and he died of his wound on the nineteenth of November.

Exertions of
Cornwallis,
1798.

From the mal-administration of the French commonwealth, and some other fortunate circumstances, Cornwallis had found means to complete the overthrow of rebellion in a state of the country extremely perilous, a wide-spread disaffection, which men of the loyalist denomination were ready to exasperate into desperate efforts, and an army, with some honourable

nourable exceptions, so licentious as to be terrible only to its friends or the defenceless, and unfit to encounter a disciplined foe. The flight from Castlebar, the commotion excited by a handful of Frenchmen, are proofs of weakness, their so long continuance in hostile array, and their march a hundred and fifty-five English miles through the kingdom, in defiance of a hundred thousand regimented soldiers commanded by a viceroy of prime abilities. Sensible how dangerously situate was the country, the chief governor, on the surrendry of the French, thought an immediate return to the capital necessary to prevent insurrection in that quarter, which may account for the slowness of the troops left in the west in bringing relief to the loyalists of Killala. On the suppression at home of all armed opposition to government, the activity of his mind found employment enough in reducing the army under salutary discipline; in protecting the people from the violence of those, who abused, as far as in their power, the victory of the royal cause to the indulgence of every bad passion; in the re-establishment of general order throughout the kingdom; and in forwarding a new and important measure, wisely adopted by the British administration, when opportunity was given by the distractions of this country.

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Thoughts of legislative union—Public discussion of the question—Parliamentary discussion—Last session of the Irish parliament—Arguments against a union—Arguments for a union—Address from Galway—Articles of Union—Enactment of the bill of union—Consequences expected from the union—Resignation of Cornwallis—Accession of Hardwicke—Reflexions—Retrospect—History of a history—A base writer—Conclusion.

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Thoughts of
a legislative
union.

AN object of wish with several persons of reflexion, who preferred the substantial interests of their country to private or local advantages, had long been, a legislative union of Great Britain and Ireland, or a political incorporation of the two kingdoms into one, an incorporation which might remove the baneful jealousies of national distinctness, the danger of a disruption in the political connection of the two islands, and the inconvenience of a system in which were two distinct legislatures mutually independent in appearance, and retained in connection by the preponderance

ponderance of one. Obstacles insurmountable to the attainment of this object had hitherto been on one side commercial jealousy, the disgrace of England; on the other, national pride and prejudice, party spirit, local and personal interests. Perhaps in earlier times, when the importance of this country was unknown or disregarded in the English cabinet, a union might not have been attended with utility to Ireland. Such would have been the case in the reign of Edward the third, who in the year 1376, commanded representatives, two from each diocese, county, and town, to repair to him into England, to treat with his council. Representatives were sent, but not with full powers, the lords and commons at home reserving the right of granting or withholding subsidies, and protesting that their compliance in this instance should not in future be drawn into precedent to the prejudice of their privileges. Of this crude plan of union, which proved abortive, nothing further is known. In later times the cruel impolicy of the English parliament, which regarded the weakness of this country as the security of her dependence, was adverse to an arrangement favourable to her prosperity. Hence, when the Irish peers, in their addresses to queen Anne, in 1703 and 1707, expressed their wishes for a union, they were answered coldly, and no further notice was taken. Afterwards, when the nation, in spite of its great artificial disadvantages, was perceived to be gradually rising into importance, particularly when, by the exertions of the volunteers, its parliament

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ment was declared independent in 1782, incorporation was earnestly wished by the British cabinet : but no gleam of hope appeared for the accomplishment of a measure, which had long' ceased to be relished by the peers, and had always been odious to the commons and to the mass of the people.

The nation became gradually disgusted with a parliament nominally independent, but totally subservient to the British cabinet, by the influence of money levied for that purpose from the nation itself. To render it really independent, great efforts were made for a reform of the representation of the people in the house of commons. This would have either augmented the evil by raising still higher the purchase of compliance, or would have tended to a total separation of this kingdom from Great Britain, a separation which the enemies of both would have eagerly promoted for the subjugation of both under a foreign yoke. By the delusive prospect of reform were numbers drawn into the system of United Irishmen, and many of these finally involved in a rebellion, of which they had originally no idea. Separation was the original object with the chief framers of this system, offended at the awkward situation of their country, exposed to all the inconvenience, and excluded from the benefits, of British government. Their schemes were desperate, since the completion of them would have thrown their country into the arms of France; and subjection to a foreign republic is the worst species of political slavery. Amid surrounding difficulties a

road

road of safety to the unprejudiced was obvious, the renouncing of a paradoxical independence by the incorporation of our government with that of Britain. For the attainment of this end an opportunity, wisely seized by the British minister, occurred on the overthrow of the rebellion, when the public mind was too much alarmed and distracted for effective opposition; while some feared to forfeit the favour which they conceived themselves to have acquired with government by their real or ostentive exertions in the cause of loyalty; others were reduced to a state of weakness; others were eager to take refuge under the parental protection of Britain from the tyranny of a faction, which might proceed to the execution of the most dreadful and dangerous measures on removal of the present viceroy; while the terrors of martial law still subsisted; and while all hopes were precluded of armed resistance by the numbers of British troops still remaining in the kingdom.

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Previously to its proposal in parliament, the question was fairly introduced to public discussion by a pamphlet, published under the auspices of government, by Edward Cooke, the under-secretary for the civil department, styled, "Arguments for and against a Union between Great-Britain and Ireland considered." Since by this were regarded as announced the sentiments of administration in favour of the measure, such a flame of controversy was kindled, that before the end of December, in 1798, not less than thirty pamphlets were published on this subject.

Discussion
of the ques-
tion.
1798.

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subject in this country, beside a vehement contest in the newspapers incessantly maintained until the final decision. The nation became divided anew into two parties, the unionists and anti-unionists, in each of which were indiscriminately arranged royalists, croppies, orange-men, and catholics. Counties, corporations, and other aggregate bodies, were summoned to declare their opinions. The lawyers were mostly anti-unionists, as their practice at the Irish bar would exclude them from sitting in parliament in England, by the impossibility of their attendance in both. In an assembly of these held in Dublin, on the ninth of December, a resolution was voted by a majority of a hundred and sixty-six against forty-two, "That the measure of a legislative union was an innovation of highly dangerous and improper proposal at the present juncture." To the citizens of Dublin the subject was not less interesting. That their city would be degraded from the dignity of a metropolis, when Ireland should have ceased to be a kingdom, and impoverished by the removal of the expenditure made every year in it by members of parliament and their followers, was matter of serious alarm. Resolutions of similar import to that of the lawyers were voted, on the seventeenth of December, by a post-assembly of the lord-mayor, sheriffs, commons, and citizens; and on the following day by the bankers and merchants. To gain proselytes throughout the kingdom no exertions were omitted by either party, but the general tenor of public declarations was adverse to a union, and
 language

language was used on some occasions expressive nearly of defiance and sedition.

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A spirit not less violent pervaded the parliament, which assembled in 1799, on the twenty-second of January. The viceroy recommended to their particular consideration the most effectual means of consolidating into one lasting fabric the strength, power, and resources, of the two kingdoms. In the house of lords an address was voted, by a large majority, favourable to the thus introduced principle of a union. In the commons it was combated with vigour, acrimony, and even menaces of armed resistance. The debate lasted twenty-two hours; and, at its conclusion, late in the day of the twenty-third, a majority of only one appeared in favour of the recommended measure. In their next meeting, on the twenty-fourth, when the address was read, which was to be presented to the viceroy in answer to his speech, Sir Lawrence Parsons objected to the paragraph which had been before contested, as pledging the house to the principle of a union. This excited a new debate on the same subject, in which the anti-unionists were victorious by a majority of five. The discussion of the question was afterwards renewed, and a bill of regency proposed to obviate the necessity of a union for the permanent maintenance of a connection between the two kingdoms. In the rejection of this bill, on the eighteenth of April, the unionists had the superiority; but the final examination and developement of the new system was postponed till the following session; and, at the termination

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Last Irish
parliament,
1800.

On the re-assembling of the last Irish parliament, in the year 1800, on the fifteenth of January, Sir Lawrence Parsons took notice that the speech of the lord-lieutenant contained no mention of what had been the great subject of debate in the preceding year; and he then made a motion hostile to that measure. But the exertions of administration in the interim had been so successful in the procuring of proselytes, that, after a contest which continued till ten o'clock in the following day, his motion was negatived by a majority of forty-two in a house of only two hundred and thirty-four members. On the fifth of the following month lord Castlereagh, the secretary, read a message to the commons from the lord-lieutenant, informing them of the wishes of their sovereign in favour of incorporation, and solemnly recommending the subject to their discussion. He proceeded to develop, with confidence of success, the plan of a union, and the principles on which the several parts of it were grounded. On a division of the house a majority of a hundred and
fifty-

fifty-eight against a hundred and fifteen appeared in favour of his motion for taking into consideration his Majesty's message. The vote of the peers was on the same side of the question. Debates were renewed with vehemence in both houses on the several articles of the plan; and petitions were received from all parts of the kingdom in condemnation or approbation of the measure. At the head of the unionists was the lord chancellor, John Fitzgibbon, earl of Clare; of the anti-unionists the right honourable John Foster, speaker of the commons. Between Mr. Corry, chancellor of the Irish exchequer, and Mr. Grattan, who, to oppose this momentous question, had again taken a seat in parliament, such violent language passed on the seventeenth of February, that the dispute terminated in a duel, in which the former was wounded slightly in the arm.

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The arguments against a union were in general more specious than solid, addressed to the pride and prejudices, rather than the reason, of the public. The opponents of the measure insisted, that the representatives of the nation were not vested with a power of abolishing its independence by the transfer of its sovereignty, or right of legislation, to any foreign country; that such a transfer, without the general consent of the people, ought to be resisted, as a dissolution of the existing government, and introductive of anarchy; that a local parliament, best acquainted with the habits, prejudices, and dispositions of their fellow-subjects, ever present on the

Arguments
against a
union.
1800.

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spot to administer immediately relief to their wants, or guard against their excesses, was preferable to a foreign legislature, unacquainted with the state of the people, and too distant to receive information, or apply the proper remedies in due time; that the Irish members in the imperial parliament would become, as the Scottish in that of Great Britain had become already, the tools of administration to the increase of the undue influence of the crown; that the evil of absences would be nearly doubled to the intolerable augmentation of the exhausting drain of money, and the abandonment of the tenantry to the tyranny of agents, who would abuse their delegated power to the gratification of their pride and avarice; that by the absence of Irish bishops from their dioceses, in consequence of their attendance in the imperial parliament, the inferior clergy would be neglected, to the *growth of irreligion and the discouragement of literature*; that the national importance of the Irish would be annihilated by the degradation of their country from the rank of a kingdom; and that whatever concessions should, in return for her sacrifices, be made to Ireland in the compact of union, might at any time afterwards be cancelled by the imperial parliament from its vast majority of English members. Other arguments were advanced in and out of parliament, mostly futile, some absurd.

Arguments
for a union.
1800.

The advocates of the incorporating system contended, that in every government is inherent a despotic power for the maintenance of order, the
enacting

enacting of laws, and for the making of alterations occasionally in its own constitution for its adaption to successive changes of circumstances, which in the course of human affairs inevitably take place; that this power is lodged, according to the British system, conjointly in the king, the lords, and the representatives of the people; that the modification now proposed was no surrendry of independence, but an intimate conjunction with the sister island on honourable terms; no subversion, but a change, of the constitution; that to deny the competence of parliament for the effecting of this change would be to deny the validity of the act by which England and Scotland had been incorporated, and consequently to deny the right of his present Majesty to the crown of the united kingdom, which was founded on the second article of that act; that otherwise than through their representatives in parliament, the consent of the people could only be collected from the opinions of the well-informed, the reflecting, and disinterested part of the nation; that to these the measure proposed was an object of desire; that whatever might be the advantages to Ireland from her local parliament, the disadvantages were far greater; that the feeble bond, by which the two kingdoms were connected, was in danger of being broken by a disagreement of the two legislatures, of which an alarming instance, in the appointment of a regent, had already occurred; that by the distinctness of her legislature, Ireland was excluded from commercial advantages, as had appeared in

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CHAP. the case of the commercial propositions, which had
 XLVII. been rejected from political jealousy arising from
 this distinctness; that this boasted national parliament was founded on no national basis, but on the pretensions of a few to a monopoly of the government and resources of the whole; a puny and rapacious oligarchy, who considered the nation as their political inheritance, and were ready to sacrifice the public peace and happiness, to their insatiate love of patronage and power; that for the demolition of this oligarchical tyranny, and the curbing of violent factions by which the nation was distracted and oppressed, recourse should be had to a legislature superior to local prejudices, and remote from the baneful influence of party; that the Irish members in the imperial parliament could not be tools of the minister in a higher degree, nor with more expence to the nation, than the local parliament had already been, in which were a hundred and sixteen place-men and pensioners; that the augmentation of the evil arising from absentees would be more than counterbalanced by new advantages, particularly those of commerce; that the persons who now made the increase of absentees an argument against the union, had not long before opposed the design of a remedy for this evil, the proposal of a tax on absentees, which administration had offered to support; that the necessary absence of bishops from the clergy under their care by their attendance in the imperial parliament would occur so seldom, as not in the slightest degree to prevent them from performing their
 their

their duty in rewarding merit, if such should be their inclination; that the political amalgamation of the Irish with the people of Great Britain could not be a declension from national dignity; and that the infraction of the compact with Ireland could not with more reason be apprehended from the imperial parliament than the disfranchisement of Scotland, of Wales, or of Yorkshire.

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With the unprejudiced and reflecting, who prized the safety of the British empire above all local considerations, the weakness of disunion was an argument of conclusive cogency. If, instead of two distinct legislatures, this empire had been governed by ten, to the slightest discernment must be manifest the anomaly of such a system, distracted by so many different wills, which would be influenced by local interests mutually clashing, in contradistinction to a state uniformly governed by one pervading will, that of a collective body representative of the whole. The experience of history, which recorded the effects of disunion in the loss of liberty to so many countries, of which some instances had recently occurred, coincided with abstract reasoning in this point. Though the anomaly of *two* was much less than of *ten* legislatures, yet the enfeebling principle of division still remained. Strong hopes were entertained that a union also in loyalty, or attachment to the British government, would be established among the people of Ireland in consequence of her legislative union with great Britain. The Irish catholics, whose complete emancipation was by many

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regarded as dangerous, while their country continued to be governed by its local parliament, in which, by their numbers and zeal, they might gain a predominance, could on no fair grounds be excluded from a full participation of political rights after the establishment of the incorporating scheme, since to acquire a preponderant influence in the imperial parliament would be to them utterly impossible. Hence, by the subsidence of religious rancour, the bitter source to this island of degradation and calamity, might the whole Irish people be consolidated into the firmest bulwark of British independence; while, by the interweaving of their interests obviously and inextricable with those of Britain, all jealousy in the inhabitants of the latter country against the prosperous advancement of Ireland must have an end.

Address
from Gal-
way.
1800.

Conformable to these arguments was the address from the town of Galway. “ In the constitution of the empire as it at present stands, we discover the seeds of *party animosity*, and *national jealousy*: a protestant parliament and a catholic people. Hence religious dissention and civil discord. Two legislatures in the same empire; hence local prejudices and commercial rivalry. By the settlement of 1782, the Irish parliament acquired the right of independent legislation—a right equally unsafe to exercise or not to exercise. To exercise it would have been to endanger the unanimity, and thereby to hazard the division of the empire; while, by declining to exercise this right, the Irish parliament brought

upon

upon itself the imputation of abject submission to the British legislature. This imputation begat contempt, that contempt discontent, and that discontent rebellion. For this radical defect in the polity of the empire we can see but one remedy; and that remedy is a union." Other anomalies were stated in parliamentary speeches and publications from the press, which to particularize would be tedious.

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The articles of the incorporating compact, detailed and defended in the commons by lord Castlereagh, can best be seen in the act of union, of which a copy is subjoined in the appendix. From a comparison of the aggregate exports and imports of the two kingdoms, and their consumption of certain kinds of merchandize, the proportion of revenue to be levied was fixed at fifteen for Great-Britain and two for Ireland, during the twenty years next ensuing, at the termination of which period the imperial parliament should be at liberty to modify the proportion anew on the same principles. The regulations of commerce between the two kingdoms differed not materially from the propositions of 1785. In like manner as the legislatures of Great-Britain and Ireland, so also was the church of the latter incorporated with that of South-Britain. From the compound proportion of the population and wealth of Ireland to those of Britain, one hundred commoners was adjudged an adequate representation of the people of the former in the imperial parliament, two for each county, two for each of the cities of Dublin and Cork, one for the university, and one

Articles of
union.

CHAP. for each of the thirty-one most considerable cities
 XLVII. and towns. As a compensation to the owners of dis-
 franchised boroughs the sum of fifteen thousand
 pounds was allotted to each, the aggregate of which
 amounted to twelve hundred and sixty thousand
 pounds. To represent the Irish peerage, twenty-
 eight lords temporal, elected for life, was the num-
 ber decreed, and four prelates, taking their places
 in rotation, to represent the clergy. The first of
 January in the year 1801, the first day of the nine-
 teenth century, was fixed as the time on which the
 two kingdoms should coalesce into one under the act
 of union.

Erastian of
 the bill of
 union.
 1800. Among the opposers of the union were men of
 most honest principles, particularly Sir Lawrence
 Parsons, the duke of Leinster, lords Charlemont
 and Moira; but in general their motive was a desire
 to retain or to possess a monopoly of power. In
 the course of the contest their strength declined.
 On the twenty-first of May, when a motion was
 made that the bill of union should be read in the
 house of commons, permission was given by a ma-
 jority of a hundred and sixty against a hundred. On
 the twenty-sixth, when it was again read, a motion
 of Henry Grattan for the deferring of the business
 till the first of August, that time might be given
 for a more full examination, was negatived by a
 hundred and twenty-four against eighty-seven. On
 the fifth of June the bill passed the committee. An
 address to the king, supposed to have been com-
 posed by Grattan, as a protest to posterity against
 the

the union, was negatived by a majority of a hundred and thirty-five against seventy-seven. Carried to the peers by lord Castlereagh, the bill passed their committee without alteration, and was read the third time on the thirteenth of June. Sanctioned by both houses of the Irish legislature, it was introduced to the British commons by William Pitt, sent to the British peers on the twenty-fourth, received the royal assent on the second of July in the British parliament, and on the first of August in the Irish. The representatives of disfranchised boroughs necessarily resigned; and where the representation was reduced from two members to one, the question of resignation was decided by lot. On the thirty-first of December the British parliament was prorogued; and on the twenty-second of January of the year 1801, the imperial parliament for the first time met. Opportunity was wisely taken, in the change of the regal title, to omit the absurd claim to the kingdom of France. The monarch was now styled in Latin *Britanniarum Rex, Fidei Defensor*; and in English *of the United Kingdom of Great-Britain and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith*.

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1801.

Among the regulations expected from the imperial parliament for national prosperity were a commutation of tythes, and the abolition of all political disabilities in catholics. By the former would agriculture be encouraged, violent discontents against the maintenance of the protestant clergy banished, and the clerical character rendered more respectable. The last consequence of commutation must be evident

Consequences expected from the union.
1801.

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vident to all persons acquainted with the degrading circumstance of wrangling for tythes, and enforcing their payment on miserable peasants, to which the clergy are compelled by the present system. By catholic enfranchisement would the union of British people throughout the united kingdom, be completed, and protestant ascendancy secured in the safety of the empire. — That measures of such prime advantage should be so long prevented by a spirit of narrow policy must be matter of deep regret; for, when powers on the continent of Europe are, by the natural course of events, growing into enormous magnitude by the absorption of the weaker states, what have the British islands for the preservation of their independence but their aqueous barriers, firm union at home, and a wholesome system of government, promotive particularly of agriculture, the great source, and only solid foundation, of national wealth for the maintenance of fleets and armies? To the Roman-catholic religion I am far from being a friend. It endungeons human reason, the only light with which we are furnished by our Creator, for discriminating between real and fictitious revelation. Its intolerant spirit has far surpassed that of all others, even the Mohammedan. For under what other system of worship can we find in history such courts of inquisition, such national massacres, and such numbers with solemn formality burned alive for a mere difference of opinion? By a mental thraldom it has degraded the human species and paralysed their industry. Thus the kingdom of

Spain,

Spain, which, from its extent, fertility, and situation for commerce between the ocean, the Mediterranean, and Straits of Gibraltar, might be the first in Europe, is sunk to insignificance. But the spirit of papal intolerance is broken. The revolution of France has inflicted a mortal wound. Commixed with protestants, and vested with no predominant power, the catholics are as good members of society as any other description of men whatsoever. A more kind-hearted and obliging people than the catholics of Ireland, I am persuaded, can no where be found, and I must confess that I feel for them a strong affection; nor can I entertain a doubt of their inviolable attachment to British government, if they were once fully admitted to an unqualified participation of its benefits.

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The enfranchisement of the catholics, a matter of much more importance than seems to be generally understood, appears to have been an object with the leading ministers by whose exertions the union was accomplished, designed for the discussion and decree of the imperial parliament. Finding obstacles insurmountable in their attempts for its attainment, supposed to have arisen from the head of the empire, they resigned their places, and addressed written declarations to the leading catholics, informing them of the impossibility of success at present; of their having resigned in consequence; of their hopes of succeeding ultimately with full advantage by this line of conduct; of their determination not to embark again in the service of government otherwise than

Resignation
of Corn-
wallis.
1801.

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on condition of this point being conceded ; and of their advice to the catholics to act with loyalty and patience, as the only means of obtaining the end proposed. On the resignation of Cornwallis, in the May of 1801, who, by a most humane and judicious administration, had curbed, with admirable firmness, the violence of party, dreadful apprehensions were entertained. If to those factionists, who, under the abused name of loyalists, were eager for the exercise of outrage over the defenceless, permission should be allowed for the indulgence of their malevolence, despair might excite a resistance of which the consequences were incalculable. But Philip Yorke, earl of Hardwicke, his worthy successor, who was sworn into the office of lord-lieutenant on the twenty-fifth of May, 1801, soon dispelled the gloom. By a most impartial, humane, vigilant, and steady administration, conformable to an understanding enlarged and elevated above narrow prejudices, by the cultivation of literature by which he is eminently distinguished, the innocent were protected, tranquillity maintained, notwithstanding one mad attempt of rebellion, and industry so encouraged, that the rents of houses in Dublin, notwithstanding the loss of a great concourse by removal of the parliament, became higher by a third. The rectitude of his government was brought to the test by an attempt of insurrection in 1803, on the twenty-third of July, conducted by a youth of ardent and determined spirit, and extraordinary powers of mind, a brother of Thomas Addis Emmett,

Emmett. Concerning this event, the date of which lies not within the period of my history, I shall only remark, that, except the assemblage of a feeble mob in the metropolis, all efforts failed of the emissaries of rebellion to excite the people to arms: so much had popular discontent subsided by the dispensation of equal justice. Not only as a member of the public weal, but as an individual, I feel gratitude to this amiable viceroy, who admitted me to the honour of an audience, and behaved with that dignified urbanity which proceeds at once from great goodness of heart and the highest polish of education.

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Notwithstanding her incorporation, Ireland still retains a viceroy and a separate exchequer. Her public revenue has increased to above five millions; and, in a war against France, which, except a short and insidious peace, has continued since 1793, her national debt to almost fifty-four. With a growing population of five millions, and, beside other great advantages of nature, a soil susceptible of prodigious improvement, what an accession of strength might Britain hence derive by a course of sound policy? The wealth of Ireland has augmented with rapidity since the relaxation of her commercial restrictions. To prevent a still more rapid advancement, since the removal of these restrictions by the union, some causes operate, particularly the remittance of money to England to pay the interest of her public debt contracted there. This inconvenience may hereafter be so far removed or balanced,

CHAP. ed, when the British and Irish Exchequer shall have
 XLVII. been blended into one, as not to affect this island more than a remote English county in proportion to its distance from the British metropolis. By the union we may hope that national jealousy in the people of England toward the Irish has already subsided, and internal dissention among the latter, the bane of their country, will through the wisdom of parliament be in time extinguished.

Retrospect. The great leading characteristic of Irish history, from its commencement throughout, is the weakness of intestine discord. By the disunion and discordance of the ancient natives were small bands of Danish pirates enabled to conquer great part of the country, and to establish in it permanent settlements. From the operation of the same causes among these and the former, both were so overthrown by a few English adventurers as to give a strong colour to Voltaire's assertion, that Ireland was conquered by an English baron. By the neglect of the English monarchs the country was abandoned to a state of anarchy, the feuds of Irish chieftains and English barons acting as independent princes, and the factions of English birth and English blood. When the whole island was at length subdued by the arms of Elizabeth, and reduced under a wholesome and uniform plan of civil government by the arrangements of James, her immediate successor, the unchristian rage of religious hatred, mutual in catholics and protestants, continued to maintain a most enfeebling and melancholy division. In civil commotions the effects of this fell spirit are horribly displayed ;

played; as even recently in the late rebellion, though this had been originally planned on principles widely different. The projectors of this business, howsoever they might reconcile their consciences to the scheme, were as members of society highly criminal. Success at the best must have severed their country from Britain, consequently subjected it to France, and destroyed the finest constitution of government, the British, which could no longer be maintained. This lamentable success could not be achieved without lamentable sufferings of their country in the struggle. Such were too forcibly experienced in their unsuccessful attempt.

For the preservation of its own existence government was driven to the necessity of coercive measures. Its authority was abused by men, who, regardless of private distress and public calamity, sought their personal emolument under the mask of zeal. By the cruelty of these was excited a vengeful spirit in the sufferers and their friends, which caused insurrection in some places, at least greatly heightened the cruelty of insurgents. But the vengeance of the insurgents fell mostly on the innocent. The guilty had fled, as the defenceless alone were the objects of their fury; and if any of them were intercepted, to affect a zeal for one party might be as easy as for another. These gentlemen might have thus addressed the rebels with great plausibility. "Dear friends, you have totally mistaken the motives, of our conduct. We saw that to excite you to arms against your tyrants, to the vindication of your liberty, and
 assuming

CHAP. XLVII. } assuming of your proper place as an independent people, affiliated on honourable terms with the great nation of the French, was an object no otherwise attainable than by forcing you into insurrection by deeds of intolerable outrage. Having therefore, under pretence of zeal for your oppressors, acted in such manner as to rouse you to action, we will now co-operate with you to the utmost of our power to the final accomplishment of our great design." On the overthrow of the rebellion these men were ardent for prosecutions; and, as if they wished to monopolize the rewards of loyalty, they laboured to throw the stigma of disaffection on as many as possible, even on those who had been known to display the greatest courage in combat against the rebels, and genuine zeal for the established government. Their violence and intrigues filled the country with disquiet, and loyalty came to assume a new signification. This was attachment, neither to the sovereign, nor to the constitution, of which the sovereign is so great and essential a part, but to a party in the state. To favour the equal distribution of justice, without partiality to sect or faction, was to be disloyal. Thus Cornwallis was denominated a crotchy, by some explicitly a rebel; and some doubts were hinted concerning even the loyalty of the king.

History of
a history.

In writing a history of the late rebellion to guard against deception was extremely difficult. A gentleman very fit for the task, as not being a factionist, nor in any *dependent* profession, had conceived the design, and was collecting materials, but found so strong

strong a desire to mislead him in men of different parties, that he relinquished the business in despair, protesting that he could not believe a sentence from either orangemen or croppy. From motives of a cogent nature I also undertook the design, though aware of the danger, and less fit than this gentleman from my situation in life. By the difficulties of investigating truth, to which I had been long accustomed, I was not deterred; and I had ample opportunities of enquiry, especially from loyalists who resorted to Dublin for claims of subsistence or compensation. In fact my whole employment for near three months in the metropolis was the assisting of this kind of people in the procuring of their claims; and, as my design of writing was unknown to them, their answers to my enquiries were less apt to be fictitious. A history of this history would really be curious; but to give it here would be improper, and to give it ever I wish to avoid, for the sake of men, who may I hope, be convinced of their errors by time and reflexion. A few words on that subject may at present suffice. When I had written a considerable part, I suddenly relinquished the design altogether for a great length of time, and again suddenly resumed and brought it to completion. It was deformed in its publication, and its second edition long delayed. I have been persecuted on its account by factionists in a manner which in another country, or at another period of time, might appear very strange. I thank God that I have as yet escaped with life, without material in-

CHAP. jury, and even without much fear or disquietude.
 XLVII. } Though my nerves are remarkably weak, I have a
 mental courage which defies every danger, when
 conscience is sound.

To serve the public with impunity by displaying the errors of statesmen, or the crimes of partizans, is well known to be impracticable. The victorious party give what colour they think fit to causes and events, and force others to silence. The exposure of faults for the instruction of mankind would escape the records of history, if stout minds expected not some recompence from the estimable suffrages of impartial men, the judgment of posterity, and, above all, the divine favour in a future state for their uprightness of intention. To knaves and sycophants truth is as offensive as light to sore eyes. I am condemned for having exposed, in my history of the late rebellion, some faults in the military system and conduct of the troops. But flattery cannot save a nation. These faults have been mostly since corrected, which shews that either I or others have, by drawing attention to defects, been instrumental in procuring remedies. By publishing the crimes of protestants, as well as of catholics, I am said to have injured the protestant religion. This to me is a paradox. If the support of a religion depends on the reputation of its professors, will that reputation be preserved by vain attempts to conceal, and real encouragement given to their vices? Is a true religion to be supported by connivance and falsehood? More doubts have been raised against the

truth of revelation, by pious frauds invented in its favour, than by all the arguments of deists the most specious and acute. The atrocities mentioned were matter of boast with the perpetrators, and far greater were boasted, which as yet are not published by any. That men should be enraged at the publication of deeds, of which themselves had vaunted as glorious exploits, may seem a little strange, but is easily accountable. They find that in factions they can by no iniquities lose the applause of their party; but they know that flagitious and brutal acts will be reprobated by the general voice, and bring disgrace on their party, when divulged beyond its narrow circle. By the correction of abuses in the administration of its church, and the conduct of its members, not by mean arts, is the protestant establishment, the most enlightened and liberal, to be supported. By the exposure of abuses, which might lead to their correction, a man of diligence, and of abilities superior to mine, who has nothing to hope and little to fear, might be signally serviceable.

An anonymous writer, uncandid in the extreme, ^{A base writer.} the author of "Strictures on Plowden's Historical Review of Ireland," has asserted, that resolutions in condemnation of my history of the rebellion were, at the summer assizes of 1801, signed by twenty-seven magistrates of the county of Wexford, and *published in the newspapers.* When a man writes in favour of a party possessed of predominant power, what motive can he have for the concealment of his name except the consciousness of a base conduct,

CHAP. the exposure of which would bring infamy upon
 XLVII. him? Here no man appears to maintain his assertion, or to answer the question, "in what newspapers were these resolutions published?" I believe the true answer would be, "in none." And what would their publication have proved? that my history was false? No. That history is established by the mere force of truth, without those proofs which I had intended to produce, if absolutely necessary. But it would have proved that twenty-seven magistrates were found in one county capable of prostituting the sacred office of magistracy to a mean intrigue of a despicable man. I hope that such cannot be the case in any county in the British empire. I was told of an intrigue and a *secret publication*; but it appeared so miserably contemptible, that I never made the smallest enquiry concerning it, nor learned the names of more than three or four persons engaged in the business. I have reason to think that some worthy men were grossly duped into a signature by knaves and sycophants. The county was indeed reduced into a miserable state by the rebellion; but it is gradually emerging, since a few men of rank have begun to re-appear on grand juries. In its worst condition it was never destitute of *some* worthy magistrates, notwithstanding what Mr. Edward Hay has said of them in his history of the insurrection. I would not attribute any wilful misrepresentation to this author, but he has been certainly misinformed in what he has related of Captain Hawtrey White, whom he has represented

as carrying a false alarm to General Hunter in Wexford. I should not here take notice of this mistake, as the affair is not proportioned to the scale of this history, if I were not concerned at any unfavourable misconception of a magistrate, who procured the earliest information of an intended insurrection in this county, was extremely active in attempts to prevent and suppress it without any deed of unnecessary rigour, and was the first in restoring the peace of the country, after the rebellion, by suppressing the robbers, who, under the abused name of loyalists, were committing devastation.

I believe that, with scarcely more than one exception, the magistrates in this county of the clerical order are men of propriety. Though the county abounds with sycophants, the clergy of the diocese of Ferns, which is co-extended with it, maintain such a character, that, in my opinion, so respectable a body is not to be found in any other diocese in the united kingdom. The exception of a very few must doubtless be admitted, particularly one, whose mean practices in opposite parties, according to expected or real preponderance, are too well known. How this diocese acquired some degree of eminence in the character of its clergy, before the accession of the present bishop, Doctor Euseby Cleaver, I know not; but certainly by his attention to disinterested promotion it has risen to its present respectability. That I mean not to become a flatterer of this prelate will hereafter appear. If even I were inclined to adopt that line of conduct in the latter

part

CHAP. part of my life, my well-known situation, with re-
 XLVII. gard to his lordship would preclude every motive.
 But the same regard to truth which has exposed me
 to a hostility really formidable, obliges me to ac-
 knowledge, that this prelate, notwithstanding some
 exceptions, has, in this respect, on the whole amount,
 acted in a manner highly meritorious, and honour-
 able to his character.

Conclusion. The real state of facts in a civil war can seldom be
 known to the public till after a long interval, when
 the power of faction can no longer suppress the truth,
 and documents come to light which had before lain
 dormant. A mass of affidavits may be published,
 with perfect safety and great emolument, proving
 the victorious party every way innocent, the van-
 quished every way guilty. A mass of the like docu-
 ments would also be published, if it could with safety,
 proving the vanquished every way innocent and the
 victors every way guilty. That both were guilty
 might naturally be inferred from a comparison of
 the two by unprejudiced men. If government,
 which ought to be of no party, should wish, as is
 said, to be indubitably informed, commissioners
 might be appointed, empowered to summon wit-
 nesses, who should, by the cross-examination of law-
 yers employed by opposite factions, be obliged to de-
 clare the *whole truth*. The report of such would be
 a standard by which could be known what accounts
 had been written with truth for honest purposes, or
 with falsehood for mercenary and sycophantic
 ends.

ends. The cowardice, versatility, avarice, cruelty, ^{CHAP.} and duplicity of many factionists, denominated loy- ^{XLVII.} alists, would be rendered indubitable to the public. I mention no names, but the consciousness of their guilt will betray itself in their hatred and hostility to me.

APPENDIX.

No. I.



SOME Notices of ancient WRITERS concerning IRELAND.

ARGONAUTICS OF ORPHEUS.

Αἰκαῖος δ' οἰακάς ἐπίσαμηνὺς ἐπιταίνῃ line 1178.

Παρ' δ' ἀρα νησον ἀμείβεν ἸΕΡΝΙΔΑ. καὶ οἱ οπισθῆεν

Ἰκτο καταϊγδὴν ὄνοφερη τρομεύσα θυελλα,

Ἐν δ' ὄθανας κολπῶσε θῆεν δ' ἀφαρ ὕγρον ἐπ' οἰδμα

Νηυς. ἔδη τις ἐσαυιδς ἀναπλευσεσθαι ολιθρε

Ἡλπετο, δώδεκατη γαρ ἐπήϊεν ηριγενεια.

Ουδὲ τις ἐγνω σιν ἐνι φρεσιν ὄπωδ' ἀρ' ἐσμεν,

Εἰ μὴ ἐσχατικαῖς ἀκαλαρρον ὠκεανοιο

Λυκίεις εἰσενοησαν. ὁ γαρ τηλωπον ὀπώπε

Νησον πευκηεσσαν, ἰδ' εὐρεα δώματ' ἀνασσης

Δημητρος· περὶ δ' αὐτε μέγα νεφος ἐξεφανῶται.

Ορφεως Ἀργοναυτικά.

ARISTOTLE.

Ἐν τῷ τῷ [ὠκεανῷ] γέμην νησοὶ μέγισται τε τυγχάνουσιν εἶσαι
δυο, Βρετανικαὶ λεγομεναι, Ἀλβιοὶ καὶ Ἰερνη.

Arist. de Mundo. p. 604.

Festus Avienus from the voyage of Himilco the Carthaginian.

Ast hinc duobus, in *sacram*,* sic insulam
 Dixere prisci, solibus cursus rati est.
 Hæc inter undas multum cespitem jacit ;
 Eamque late gens *Hibernarum* colit.
 Propinque rursus insula *Albionum* patet.

* *Iere*, the ancient name of Ireland, is supposed to have been mistaken by the poet for a Greek word, and translated *Sacra*.

DIODORUS.

Ferocissimi Gallorum sunt qui sub septentrionibus habitant. Dicunt ex iis nonnullos anthropophagos esse, sicut Britannos qui Irim incolunt. Lib. 5.

POMPONIUS MELA.

Cultores ejus inconditi sunt & omnium virtutum ignari magis quam aliæ gentes, aliquatenus tamen gnari, pietatis admodum expertes. Lib. III.

OROSIUS.

Hibernia insula, inter Hispaniam & Britanniam sita,—hæc prior Britannia, spatio terrarum angustior, sed cæli Solique temperiæ magis utilis, a Scotorum gentibus colitur.

APPENDIX.

No II.

IN a play of Plautus, called the Pœnulus, Hanno, a Carthaginian, is introduced, speaking in his own language. In the second volume of the Collectanea de rebus Hibernicis, General Valancey has collated these sentences with the Irish, and translated them into English according to his idea. From a supposed misplacing of the letters by transcribers, he has placed them differently. Sir Lawrence Parsons, in his Defence of the Ancient History of Ireland, has quoted in a judicious manner from the general. To give a short specimen may here be sufficient.

A Carthaginian sentence as in Plautus.

Nythalonim ualon uth si corathissima comsyth.

The same with the letters differently placed or with proper intervals, according to Valancey's idea.

Nyth al o nim ua lonuth sicorathissi ma com syth.

An Irish sentence collated with this.

O all nimh n'íath, uath! lúnaith so cruidhse me com síth.

Translation of this into English.

O mighty Deity of this country, powerful, terrible! quiet me with rest.

A Carthaginian sentence as in Plautus.

Chim lach chunyth mumys tyal myethibarii imischi.

The same with Valancey's intervals.

Chim lach chunyth num ys tyal micthii barii imi schi.

An Irish sentence collated with this.

Chuinigh lach chimithe; is toil muini beiridh míoich liar moschith.

In English.

Support of weak captives; be thy will to instruct me, to obtain my children after my fatigue.

A Carthaginian sentence as in Plautus.

Meipsi & en este dum & a lam na cestin um.

An Irish Sentence.

Meisi & an eiste dam & alaim na cestin um.

The last in English.

Hear me, and judge, and do not too hastily question me.

APPENDIX.

No. III.

The **CIVIL 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, Angliæ, Scotiæ, Franciæ & Hiberniæ, rex & regina, fidei defensores, &c. Omnibus ad quos præsentis literæ nostræ pervenerint salutem: inspeximus irrotulament. quarund. literarum patentium de confirmatione geren. dat. apud Westmonasterium vicesimo quarto die Februarii, ultimi præteriti in cancellar. nostr. irrotulat. ac ibidem de recordo remanen. 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 Conningsby, Esq. Lords Justices of Ireland; and his Excellency the Baron de Ginckle, Lientenant General and Commander in Chief of the English Army; on the one Part.

AND the Right Honourable Patrick Earl of Lucan, Piercy Vicount Gallmoy, Colonel Nicholas Purcel, Colonel Nicholas Cusack,

Cusack, Sir Toby Butler, Colonel Garrett Dillon, and Colonel John Brown ; on the other Part :

IN the 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 Governour of the City of Limerick, and the Generals of the Irish Army, bearing Date with these Presents, for the Surrender of the said City, and submission of the said Army : it is agreed, That,

I. **T**HE 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 farther 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 who are not prisoners of war, or have taken protection, and who shall return and submit to their majesties' obedience ; and they 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 interests, privileges and immunities, which they, and every or any one of them held, enjoyed, or were rightfully and lawfully intitled 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

from all arrears of crown rents, quit-rents, and other public charges, incurred and become due since Michæmas 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 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, and calling soever they be, shall and may use, exercise, and practice their several and respective 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 Lime-
rick, or of any other garrison now possessed by the Irish, or of any town or place in the counties of Clare or Kerry, who are absent beyond the seas, that have not borne arms since their Majesty's 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, Chievers 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 submit to their Majesties' government, and take the above-mentioned oath.

V. That all and singular the said persons comprised in the second and third articles, shall have a general pardon of all attainders, outlawries, treasons,

treasons, misprisions of treason, premunires, felonies, trespasses, and other crimes and misdemeanours whatsoever, by them, or 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-clerks' 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, comprised 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 comprised, shall be sued, impleaded, or made accountable for the 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 article, shall have liberty to ride with a sword, and 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 other garrisons, shall be permitted to remove their goods, chattels, and provisions, out of the same, without being viewed and searched, or paying any manner of duties, and shall not be compelled to leave their houses or lodgings they now have, for the space of six weeks next ensuing the date hereof.

IX. The

IX. The oath to be administered to such Roman catholics as submit to their majesties' government, shall be the oath abovesaid, 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 judgments 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 engagements, 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 seised 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 accompts with the said John Brown, shall certify under his hand, that the effects taken from the said Brown amount unto; which account is to be stated, and the balance certified by the said lord Lucan in one and twenty days after the date hereof:

For

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

Present,
SCRAVEMORE.
H. MACCAY.
T. TALMASII.

CHAR. PORTER.
THO. CONINGSBY.
BAR. 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 having 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 found 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 are 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, and 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 & reginæ Gulielmi & Mariæ quarto per breve de privato sigillo. Nos autem tenorem premissor, predict. Ad requisitionem attornat.

general. domini regis & dominia reginae pro regno Hiberniae. Duximus exemplificand. per presentes. In cujus rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes Testimus nobis ipsis apud Westmon. quinto die Aprilis annoq. regni eorum quarto.

BRIDGES.

Examinat. { S. KECK. } In Cancel.
per nos. { LACON. WM. CHILDE. } Magistros.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

No. IV.

An Act for the Union of GREAT BRITAIN and IRELAND.

WHEREAS in pursuance of his Majesty's most gracious recommendation to the two houses of parliament in Great Britain and Ireland respectively, to consider of such measures as might best tend to strengthen and consolidate the connexion between the two kingdoms, the two houses of parliament of Great Britain and the two houses of parliament of Ireland have severally agreed and resolved, that in order to promote and secure the essential interest of Great Britain and Ireland, and to consolidate the strength, power, and resources of the British empire, it will be advisable to concur in such measures as may best tend to unite the two kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland into one kingdom, in such manner, and on such terms and conditions, as may be established by the acts of the respective parliaments of Great Britain and Ireland.

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

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

Art. II. That it be the second article of Union that the succession to the imperial crown of the said united kingdom, and of the dominions thereunto belonging, shall continue limited and settled in the same manner as the succession to the imperial crown of the said kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland now stands limited

and settled, according to the existing laws, and to the terms of Unions between England and Scotland.

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

Art. IV. That it be the fourth article of Union, that four lords spiritual of Ireland by rotation of sessions, and twenty-eight lords temporal of Ireland elected for life by the peers of Ireland, shall be the number to sit and vote on the part of Ireland, in the House of Lords of the parliament of the united kingdom; and one hundred commoners (two for each county of Ireland, two for the city of Dublin, two for the city of Cork, one for the University of Trinity College, and one for each of the thirty-one most considerable cities, towns, and boroughs), be the number to sit and vote on the part of Ireland in the House of Commons of the parliament of the united kingdom:

That such act as shall be passed in the parliament of Ireland previous to the Union, to regulate the mode by which the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons to serve in the parliament of the united kingdom on the part of Ireland, shall be summoned and returned to the said parliament, shall be considered as forming part of the treaty of Union, and shall be incorporated in the acts of the respective parliaments by which the said Union shall be ratified and established:

That all questions touching the rotation or election of lords spiritual or temporal of Ireland to sit in the parliament of the united kingdom, shall be decided by the House of Lords thereof; and whenever, by reason of an equality of votes in the election of any such lords temporal, a complete election shall not be made according to the true intent of this article, the names of those peers for whom such equality of votes shall be so given, shall be written on pieces of paper of a similar form, and shall be put into a glass, by the clerk of the parliaments at the table of the House of Lords whilst the house is sitting; and the peer or peers whose name or names shall be first drawn out by the clerk of the parliaments, shall be deemed the peer or peers elected as the case may be:

That any person holding any peerage of Ireland now subsisting or hereafter to be created, shall not thereby be disqualified from being elected to serve, if he shall so think fit, or from serving or continuing to serve, if he shall so think fit, for any county, city, or borough of Great Britain, in the house of Commons of the
united

united kingdom, unless he shall have been previously elected as above, to sit in the house of Lords of the united kingdom ; but that so long as such peer of Ireland shall so continue to be a member of the House of Commons, he shall not be entitled to the privilege of peerage, nor be capable of being elected to serve as a peer on the part of Ireland, or of voting at any such election ; and that he shall be liable to be sued, indicted, proceeded against, and tried as a commoner, for any offence with which he may be charged.

That it shall be lawful for his Majesty, his heirs and successors, to create peers of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland, and to make promotions in the peerage thereof, after the Union ; provided that no new creation of any such peers shall take place after the Union until three of the peerages of Ireland, which shall have been existing at the time of the Union, shall have become extinct ; and upon such extinction of three peerages, that it shall be lawful for his Majesty, his heirs and successors, to create one peer of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland ; and in like manner so often as three peerages of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland shall become extinct, it shall be lawful for his Majesty, his heirs and successors, to create one other peer of the said part of the united kingdom ; and if it shall happen that the peers of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland shall, by extinction of peerages or otherwise, be reduced to the number of one hundred, exclusive of all such peers of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland, as shall hold any peerage of Great Britain subsisting at the time of the Union, or of the united kingdom created since the Union, by which such peers shall be entitled to an hereditary seat in the House of Lords of the united kingdom, then and in that case it shall and may be lawful for his Majesty, his heirs and successors, to create one peer of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland as often as any one of such one hundred peerages shall fail by extinction, or as often as any one peer of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland shall become entitled, by descent or creation, to an hereditary seat in the House of Lords of the united kingdom ; it being the true intent and meaning of this article, that at all times after the Union it shall and may be lawful for his Majesty, his heirs and successors, to keep up the peerage of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland to the number of one hundred, over and above the number of such of the said peers as shall be entitled by descent or creation to an hereditary seat in the House of Lords of the united kingdom.

That if any peerage shall at any time be in abeyance, such peerage shall be deemed and taken as an existing peerage; and no peerage shall be deemed extinct, unless on default of claimants to the inheritance of such peerage for the space of one year from the death of the person who shall have been last possessed thereof: and if no claim shall be made to the inheritance of such peerage, in such form and manner as may from time to time be prescribed by the House of Lords of the united kingdom, before the expiration of the said period of a year, then and in that case such peerage shall be deemed extinct; provided that nothing herein shall exclude any person from afterwards putting in a claim to the peerage so deemed extinct; and if such claim shall be allowed as valid, by judgment of the House of Lords of the united kingdom, reported to his Majesty, such peerage shall be considered as revived; and in case any new creation of a peerage of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland shall have taken place in the interval, in consequence of the supposed extinction of such peerage, then no new right of creation shall accrue to his Majesty, his heirs or successors, in consequence of the next extinction which shall take place of any peerage of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland:

That all questions touching the election of members to sit on the part of Ireland in the House of Commons of the united kingdom shall be heard and decided in the same manner as questions touching such elections in Great Britain now are or at any time hereafter shall by law be heard and decided; subject nevertheless to such particular regulations in respect to Ireland as, from local circumstances, the parliament of the united kingdom may from time deem expedient:

That the qualifications in respect of property of the members elected on the part of Ireland to sit in the House of Commons of the united kingdom, shall be respectively the same as are now provided by law in cases of elections for counties and cities and boroughs respectively in that part of Great Britain called England, unless any other provision shall hereafter be made in that respect by act of parliament of the united kingdom:

That when his Majesty, his heirs or successors, shall declare his, her, or their pleasure for holding the first or any subsequent parliament of the united kingdom, a proclamation shall issue, under the great seal of the united kingdom, to cause the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, who are to serve in the parliament thereof on the part of Ireland, to be returned in such manner as by any act of this present session of the parliament of Ireland

Ireland shall be provided; and that the lords spiritual and temporal and commons of Great Britain shall, together with the lords spiritual and temporal and commons so returned as aforesaid on the part of Ireland, constitute the two houses of the parliament of the united kingdom:

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

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

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

Art. V. That it be the fifth article of Union, that the churches of England and Ireland, as now by law established, be united into one Protestant Episcopal church, to be called, *The United Church of England and Ireland*; and that the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government of the said united church shall be and shall remain in full force for ever, as the same are now by law established for the church of England; and that the continuance and preservation of the said united church, as the established church of England and Ireland, shall be deemed and taken to be an essential

sential and fundamental part of the Union; and that in like manner the doctrine, worship, discipline and government of the church of Scotland, shall remain and be preserved as the same are now established by law, and by the acts for the Union of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland :

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

That, from the first day of January one thousand eight hundred and one, all prohibitions and bounties on the export of articles, the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country, to the other, shall cease and determine: and that the said articles shall thenceforth be exported from one country to the other without duty or bounty on such export:

That all articles, the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country, (not herein after enumerated as subject to specific duties), shall from henceforth be imported into each country from the other free from duty, other than such countervailing duties on the several articles enumerated in the schedule number One **A.** and **B.** hereunto annexed, as are therein specified, or to such other countervailing duties as shall hereafter be imposed by the parliament of the united kingdom, in the manner herein after provided; and that, for the period of twenty years from the Union, the articles enumerated in the schedule number Two hereunto annexed, shall be subject on importation into each country from the other, to the duties specified in the said schedule number two; and the woollen manufacturers, known by the names of *Old and New Drapery*, shall pay, on importation into each country from the other, the duties now payable on importation into Ireland: Salt and hops on importation into Ireland from Great Britain, duties not exceeding those which are now paid on importation into Ireland from Great Britain, duties not exceeding those which are now paid on importation into Ireland; and coals on importation

importation into Ireland from Great Britain, shall be subject to burthens not exceeding those to which they are now subject :

That callicoes and muslins shall, on their importation into either country from the other, be subject and liable to the duties now payable on the same on the importation thereof from Great Britain into Ireland, until the fifth day of January one thousand eight hundred and eight; and from and after the said day, the said duties shall be annually reduced, by equal proportions as near as may be in each year, so as that the said duties shall stand at ten *per centum* from and after the fifth day of January one thousand eight hundred and sixteen, until the fifth day of January one thousand eight hundred and twenty-one: and that cotton yarn and cotton twist shall, on their importation into either country from the other, be subject and liable to the duties now payable upon the same on the importation thereof from Great Britain into Ireland, until the fifth day of January one thousand eight hundred and eight, and from and after the said day, the said duties shall be annually reduced by equal proportions as near as may be in each year, so as that all duties shall cease on the said articles from and after the fifth day of January one thousand eight hundred and sixteen :

That any articles of the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country, which are or may be subject to internal duty, or to duty on the materials of which they are composed, may be made subject, on their importation into each country respectively from the other, to such countervailing duty as shall appear to be just and reasonable in respect of such internal duty or duties on the materials; and that for the said purposes the articles specified in the said schedule number one, A. and B. shall be subject to the duties set forth therein, liable to be taken off, diminished, or increased, in the manner herein specified: and that upon the export of the said articles from each country to the other respectively, a drawback shall be given equal in amount to the countervailing duty payable on such articles on the import thereof into the same country from the other; and that in like manner in future it shall be competent to the united parliament to impose any new or additional countervailing duties, or to take off, or diminish such existing countervailing duties as may appear, on like principles, to be just and reasonable in respect of any future or additional internal duty on any article of the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country, or of any new or additional duty on any materials of which such article may be composed, or of any abatement of duty on the same; and that

that when any such new or additional countervailing duty shall be so imposed on the import of any article into either country from the other, a drawback, equal in amount to such countervailing duty, shall be given in like manner on the export of every such article respectively from the same country to the other :

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

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

SCHEDULE. No. I.

Of the articles to be charged with countervailing duties upon importation from Ireland into Great Britain, and from Great Britain into Ireland, respectively, according to the sixth article of Union.

(A.) *On Importation into Great Britain from Ireland.*

Beer.—For every barrel consisting of thirty-six gallons, English beer measure, of Irish beer, ale or mum, which shall be imported into Great Britain directly from Ireland, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity, to be paid by the importer thereof, 8s. excise.

Bricks and Tiles.—For every thousand of Irish bricks, 5s. excise.

For every thousand of Irish plain tiles, 4s. 10d. excise.

For every thousand of Irish pan or ridge tiles, 12s. 10d. excise.

For every hundred of Irish paving tiles, not exceeding ten inches square, 2s. 5d. excise.

For

- For every hundred of Irish paving tiles, exceeding ten inches square, 4s. 10d. excise.
- For every thousand of Irish tiles, other than such as are herein before enumerated and described, by whatsoever name or names such tiles are or may be called or known, 4s. 10d. excise.
- Candles.*—For every pound weight avoirdupoise of Irish candles of tallow, and other candles whatsoever (except wax and spermaceti) 1d. excise.
- For every pound weight avoirdupoise of Irish candles, which may be made of wax or spermaceti, or which are usually called or sold either for wax or spermaceti, notwithstanding the mixture of any other ingredient therewith, 3½d. excise.
- Chocolate, &c.*—For every pound weight avoirdupoise of Irish cocoa, cocoa paste, or chocolate, 2s. excise.
- Cordage; videlicet.*—To be used as standing rigging, or other cordage made from topt hemp, the ton, containing twenty hundred weight, 4l. 10s. 3d. customs.
- Of any other sort, cable yarn, packthread, and twine, the ton, containing twenty hundred weight, 4l. 4s. 4d. customs.
- Cyder and Perry.*—For every hogshead, consisting of sixty-three gallons English wine measure, of Irish cyder and perry, which shall be imported as merchandize or for sale, and which shall be sent or consigned to any factor or agent to sell or dispose of, 19s. 2d. excise.
- Glass.*—For every square foot superficial measure of Irish plate glass, 2s. 2¼d. excise.
- For every hundred weight of Irish flint, enamel, stained, paste, or phial glass, 2l. 3s. 6d. excise.
- For every hundred weight of Irish spread window glass, commonly called broad glass, 8s. 2d. excise.
- For every hundred weight of Irish window glass (not being spread glass) whether flashed or otherwise manufactured, and commonly called or known by the name of *crown glass*, or *German sheet glass*, 1l. 9s. 9d. excise,
- For every hundred weight of vessels made use of in chemical laboratories, and of garden glasses, and of all other vessels or utensils of common bottle metal, manufactured in Ireland, common bottles excepted, 4s. 0½d. excise.
- For every hundred weight of any sort or species of Irish glass not herein-before enumerated or described, 2l. 2s. excise.
- Bottles of common green glass, the dozen quarts, 9d. customs.
- Hops.*—For every pound weight avoirdupoise of Irish hops 1½d. excise.

Leather

- Leather, unmanufactured.* — For every pound weight avoirdupoise of hides, of what kind soever, and of calf-skins, kips, hog skins, dog skins, and seal skins, tanned in Ireland, and of sheep skins and lamb skins so tanned for gloves and bazils, which shall be imported in the whole hide or skin, and neither cut nor diminished in any respect whatsoever, *1d.* excise.
- For every dozen of goat skins tanned in Ireland to resemble Spanish leather, *4s.* excise.
- For every dozen of sheep skins tanned in Ireland for roans, being after the nature of Spanish leather, *2s. 3d.* excise.
- For every pound weight avoirdupoise of all other hides or skins not herein before enumerated and described, and of all pieces and parts of hides or skins which shall be tanned in Ireland, *6d.* excise.
- For all hides of horses, mares, and geldings, which shall be dressed in allum and salt, or meal, or otherwise tawed in Ireland, for each and every such hide, *1s. 6d.*
- For all hides of steers, cows, or any other hides of what kind soever (tho-e of horses, mares, and geldings excepted) which shall be dressed in allum and salt, or meal, or otherwise tawed in Ireland, for each and every such hide, *3s.* excise.
- For every pound weight avoirdupoise of all calf skins, kips, and seal skins, which shall be so dressed in allum and salt, or meal, or otherwise tawed in Ireland, and imported into Great Britain, in the whole skin, neither cut nor diminished in any respect whatever, *1½d.* excise.
- For every dozen of slink calf skins which shall be so dressed in allum and salt, or meal, or otherwise tawed with the hair on, in Ireland, *3s.* excise.
- For every dozen of sink calf skins which shall be so dressed in allum and salt, or meal, or otherwise tawed without hair, in Ireland, and for every dozen of dog skins and kid skins, which shall be dressed in allum and salt, or meal, or otherwise tawed in Ireland, *1s.* excise.
- For every pound weight avoirdupoise of buck and doe skins, which shall be dressed in allum and salt, or meal, or otherwise tawed in Ireland, and which shall be imported in the whole skin, and neither cut nor diminished in any respect whatever, *6d.* excise.
- For every dozen of goat skins and beaver skins, which shall be dressed in allum and salt, or meal, or otherwise tawed in Ireland, *2s.* excise.
- For every pound weight avoirdupoise of sheep skins and lamb skins which shall be dressed in allum and salt, or meal, or otherwise tawed

tawed in Ireland, and which shall be imported in the whole skin, neither cut nor diminished in any respect whatever, $1\frac{1}{4}d.$ excise.

For every pound weight avoirdupoise of all other hides and skins, not herein before enumerated and described, and of all pieces or parts of hides or skins, which shall be dressed in allum and salt, or meal, or otherwise tawed in Ireland, $6d.$ excise.

For every pound weight avoirdupoise of all buck, deer, and elk skins, which shall be dressed in oil in Ireland, and imported in the whole skin, and neither cut nor diminished in any respect whatever, $1s.$ excise.

For every pound weight avoirdupoise of all sheep and lamb skins, which shall be dressed in oil in Ireland, $3d.$ excise.

For every pound weight avoirdupoise of all other hides and skins, and parts and pieces of hides and skins, which shall be dressed in oil in Ireland, $6d.$ excise.

For every dozen of Irish vellum, $3s. 5\frac{1}{2}d.$ excise.

For every dozen of Irish parchment, $1s. 8\frac{1}{2}d.$ excise.

Leather, manufactured into goods and wares :

For every pound weight avoirdupoise of tanned leather, manufactured and actually made into goods or wares in Ireland, $1\frac{1}{2}d.$ excise.

For every pound weight avoirdupoise of Irish made boots and shoes, and gloves, and other manufactures made of tawed or dressed leather, $1d.$ excise.

For every pound weight avoirdupoise of all buck and deer skins, and elk skins, dressed in oil and manufactured into goods and wares in Ireland, $1s.$ excise.

For every pound weight avoirdupoise of all sheep and lamb skins, dressed in oil and manufactured into goods or wares in Ireland, $3d.$ excise.

For every pound weight avoirdupoise of all other hides and skins, not herein-before enumerated or described, dressed in oil and manufactured into goods or wares in Ireland, $6d.$ excise.

Mead or Metheglin.—For every gallon, English wine measure, of Irish mead or metheglin, $1s. 0\frac{1}{2}d.$ excise.

Paper. — For every pound weight avoirdupoise of Irish paper, fit, or proper, or that may be used for or applied to the use or purposes of writing, drawing, and printing, or either of them, and of all Irish elephant papers and cartridge papers, $2\frac{1}{2}d.$ excise.

For

- For every pound weight avoirdupoise of Irish coloured papers and whited brown papers (other than and except elephant and cartridge papers) fit and proper for the use and purpose of wrapping up goods, and not fit or proper or capable of being used for or applied to the purposes of writing, drawing, or printing, or either of them, 1*d.* excise.
- For every pound weight avoirdupoise of Irish brown paper, fit and proper for the use and purpose of wrapping up goods, and not fit or proper or capable of being used for or applied to the uses and purposes of writing, drawing, and printing, or either of them, 0½*d.* excise.
- For every pound weight avoirdupoise of every sort or kind of Irish paper, not herein-before enumerated or described, sheathing, or button paper and button board excepted, 2½*d.* excise.
- For every one hundred weight of Irish pasteboard, millboard, and scaleboard 10*s.* 6*d.* excise.
- For every one hundred weight of Irish glazed papers for clothiers and hot pressers, 6*s.* excise.
- For every pound weight avoirdupoise of books, bound or unbound, and of maps or prints, which shall be imported into Great Britain directly from Ireland, 2*d.* excise.
- Printed Goods.*—For every yard square of Irish printed, painted or stained papers, to serve for hangings, or other uses, 1¾*d.* excise.
- For every yard in length, reckoning yard-wide, of foreign calicoes and foreign muslins, which shall be printed, painted, stained, or dyed in Ireland, (except such as shall be dyed throughout of one colour), over and above any duty of customs payable on the importation of foreign calicoes and muslins, 7*d.* excise.
- For every yard in length, reckoning yard-wide, of all Irish printed, painted, stained, or dyed Irish-made calicoes, muslins, linens, and stuffs, made either of cotton or linen, mixed with other materials, fustians, velvets, velverets, dimities, and other figured stuffs, made of cotton and other materials, mixed or wholly made of cotton wool (except such as shall be dyed throughout of one colour only), 3½*d.* excise.
- For every yard in length, reckoning yard-wide, of all Irish printed, stained, painted, or dyed Irish made stuffs not before enumerated or described (except such as shall be dyed throughout of one colour only and except stuffs made of woollen,

or whereof the greatest part in value shall be woollen), $3\frac{1}{2}d.$ excise.

For every yard in length, reckoning half yard wide, of all Irish printed, stained, painted, or dyed silks, (silk handkerchiefs excepted) over and above any duty of customs payable on the importation of silk, $1s. 1\frac{3}{4}d.$ excise.

For every yard square of Irish printed, stained, painted, or dyed silk handkerchiefs, and so in proportion for wide or narrow silk handkerchiefs, over and above every duty of customs payable on silk, $4\frac{1}{2}d.$ excise.

Salt.—For every bushel, consisting of fifty-six pounds weight avoirdupoise, of Irish salt, or Irish Glauber, or Irish Epsom salt, $10s.$ excise.

For every bushel consisting of sixty-five pounds weight avoirdupoise of Irish rock salt, $10s.$ excise

Silk.—Manufacturers of ribbons and stuffs of silk only, the pound, containing sixteen ounces, $5s.$ customs.

Note, two-thirds of the weight of gauze and one-third of the weight of crape, is to be deducted for gum and dress.

Silk and ribbons of silk, mixed with gold or silver, the pound containing sixteen ounces, $6s. 8d.$ customs.

Silk stockings, silk gloves, silk fringe, silk laces, stitching or sewing silk, the pound containing sixteen ounces, $3s.$ customs.

Silk, manufactures of, not otherwise enumerated or described, the pound containing sixteen ounces, $4s.$ customs.

Stuffs of silk and gogram yarn, the pound, containing sixteen ounces, $1s. 2d.$ customs.

Stuffs of silk mixed with incl or cotton, the pound, containing sixteen ounces, $1s. 8d.$ customs.

Stuffs of silk and worsted, the pound, containing sixteen ounces, $10d.$ customs.

Stuffs of silk mixed with any other material, the pound containing sixteen ounces, $1s. 3d.$ customs.

Soap.—For every pound weight avoirdupoise of Irish hard, cake, or ball soap, $2\frac{1}{4}d.$ excise.

For every pound weight of Irish soft soap, $1\frac{3}{4}d.$ excise.

Spirits British.—For every gallon, English wine measure, of spirits, Aqua Vitæ, or strong waters, which shall be distilled or made in Ireland, and imported at a strength not exceeding one to ten over hydrometer proof, $5s. 1\frac{3}{4}d.$ excise.

Note—Spirits above the strength of one to ten will be charged in proportion; and on sweetened or compounded spirits, the duty

duty will be computed upon the highest degree of strength at which such spirits can be made.

Starch.—For every pound weight of Irish starch or hair powder of what kind soever, $3\frac{1}{2}d.$ excise.

Sugars.—Refined; *videlicet*, called *Bastards*, whole or ground, the hundred weight, $18s. 2d.$ customs.

Lumps the hundred weight, $1l. 14s. 0\frac{1}{2}d.$ customs.

Single loaf, the hundred weight, $1l. 16s. 4d.$ customs.

Powder loaf and double loaf, the hundred weight, $1l. 19s. 1d.$ customs.

Sugar candy, brown, the hundred weight, $1l. 14s. 0\frac{1}{2}d.$ customs.

Sugar candy, white, the hundred weight, $1l. 19s. 1d.$ customs.

Sugar, refined, of any other sort, the hundred weight, $1l. 19s. 1d.$ customs.

Sweets.—For every barrel, consisting of thirty-one gallons and a half, English wine measure, of Irish sweets, or other Irish liquor made by infusion, fermentation, or otherwise, from fruit or sugar, or from fruit or sugar mixed with any other materials or ingredients whatsoever, commonly called *sweets*, or called or distinguished by the name of *made wines*, $2l. 2s.$ excise.

Tobacco and Snuff.—For every pound weight avoirdupoise of unmanufactured tobacco, of the growth or produce of Ireland over and above any duty of customs, $1s. 1d.$ excise.

For every pound weight avoirdupoise of Irish manufactured short cut tobacco, or tobacco manufactured into what is commonly called or known by the name of Spanish, $1s. 7d.$ excise.

For every pound weight avoirdupoise of Irish manufactured shag tobacco, $1s. 5\frac{3}{4}d.$ excise.

For every pound weight avoirdupoise of Irish manufactured roll tobacco, $1s. 7d.$ excise.

For every pound weight avoirdupoise of Irish manufactured carrot tobacco, $1s. 5\frac{1}{2}d.$ excise.

For every pound weight avoirdupoise of every other sort of Irish manufactured tobacco, not herein before enumerated or described, $1s. 7d.$ excise.

For every pound weight avoirdupoise of Irish manufactured rappee snuff, $1s. 4\frac{1}{4}d.$ excise.

For every pound weight avoirdupoise of Irish manufactured Scotch snuff, $1s. 10\frac{1}{2}d.$ excise.

- For every pound weight avoirdupoise of Irish manufactured brown Scotch snuff, 1s. 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. excise.
- For every pound weight avoirdupoise of Irish manufactured tobacco stalk flour, 1s. 9d. excise.
- For every pound weight avoirdupoise of every other sort or kind of Irish manufactured snuff, or snuff-work, not herein-before enumerated or described, 1s. 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. excise.
- Tobacco unmanufactured, the pound, 6 $\frac{6}{12}$ d. customs.
- Verjuice.*—For every hogshead consisting of sixty-three gallons English wine measure, of Irish verjuice, 7s. 8d. excise.
- Vinegar.*—For every barrel consisting of thirty-four gallons, English beer measure, of Irish vinegar, 12s 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. excise.
- Wire.*—For every ounce troy weight of Irish gilt wire, 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. excise.
- For every ounce troy weight of Irish silver wire, 7d. excise.
- For every pound weight avoirdupoise of Irish gold thread, gold lace, or gold fringe, made of plate wire spun upon silk, 7s. 8d. excise.
- For every pound weight avoirdupoise of Irish silver thread, silver lace, or silver fringe, made of plate wire spun upon silk, 5s. 9d. excise.

(B.) *On Importation into Ireland from Great Britain.*

- Beer.*—For and upon every barrel containing thirty-two gallons, imported from Great-Britain, 4s. 6d.
- Glass Bottles.*—For and upon each reputed quart, 0 $\frac{1}{4}$ d.
- Leather,* unmanufactured. — For and upon each pound in every hide or skin, or piece of any such hide or skin of what kind or denomination soever, other than such as herein-after mentioned and described, 1d.
- For and upon each hide of horses, mares, or geldings, 1s.
- For and upon all skins, called veal skins, and all skins of hogs for every dozen skins thereof, and after the same rate for any greater or less quantity, 3s.
- For and upon all skins for shoes and other like purposes, and all seal skins, for every dozen thereof, and after the same rate for any greater or less quantity, 2s. 6d.
- For and upon all skins for book-binders use, for every dozen thereof, and after the same rate for any greater or less quantity, 1s.

For

For and upon all goat skins tanned with shumack, or otherwise to resemble Spanish leather, and all sheep skins tanned for roans, being after the nature of Spanish leather, for every pound weight avoirdupoise, 1*d.*

For and upon all sheep and lamb skins tanned for gloves and bazils, for every pound weight avoirdupoise and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity, 0½*d.*

Leather, dressed in oil.—For and upon every hide and skin, and piece of such hide and skin other than such as are hereinafter mentioned or described, for every pound weight avoirdupoise, 2*d.*

For and upon all deer skins, goat-skins, and beaver skins, for every pound weight thereof avoirdupoise, 3*d.*

For and upon all calf skins, for every pound weight thereof avoirdupoise, 2*d.*

For and upon all sheep and lamb skins, for every pound weight avoirdupoise, 0½*d.*

Vellum and Parchment.—For and upon every dozen skins of vellum, 6*d.*

For and upon every dozen skins of parchment, 3*d.*

Leather, manufactured into goods and wares. — For and upon all tanned leather, manufactured into goods and wares whereof leather is the most valuable part, the following duties; *videlicet*.

For and upon every pound weight avoirdupoise of tanned leather, manufactured and actually made into goods and wares in Great Britain of leather only, or of which leather makes the most valuable part, 1*d.*

For and upon every pound weight avoirdupoise of tawed or dressed leather, manufactured and actually made in Great Britain, of leather only, or of which leather makes the most valuable part, 1*d.*

For and upon every pound weight avoirdupoise of all buck, and deer skins, and elk skins, dressed in oil and manufactured into goods and wares in Great Britain, of leather only, or of which leather makes the most valuable part, 3*d.*

For and upon every pound weight avoirdupoise of all sheep and lamb skins, dressed in oil and manufactured into goods and wares in Great Britain, of leather only, or of which leather makes the most valuable part, 0½*d.*

For and upon every pound weight avoirdupoise of all other hides and skins, not herein before enumerated or described, dressed in oil and manufactured into goods or wares in Great Britain,

of leather only, or of which leather makes the most valuable part, 2*d.*

Paper.—For and upon every pound weight avoirdupoise of paper, fit or proper for, or that may be used for or applied to the uses or purposes of writing, drawing, or printing, or either of them, and all elephant paper and cartridge paper, 2½*d.*

For every pound weight avoirdupoise of all coloured paper and whited brown papers other than and except elephant and cartridge paper fit or proper for the uses or purposes of wrapping up goods, and not fit or proper or capable of being used for or applied to the uses or purposes of writing, drawing, or printing, or either of them, and also except paper hangings, 1*d.*

For every pound weight avoirdupoise of brown paper, fit and proper for the use or purpose of wrapping up goods, and not fit or proper or capable of being used for or applied to the uses or purposes of writing, drawing, or printing, or either of them, 0½*d.*

For and upon every one hundred weight of glazed paper for clothiers and hotpressers, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity, 5*s.*

For and upon every hundred weight of pasteboard, millboard, and scaleboard, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity, 10*s.*

For and upon every pound weight of every sort or kind of paper, not herein-before particularly enumerated or described, other than and except papers commonly called or known by the names of sheathing paper, and button paper or button board and paper hangings, 2½*d.*

Stained Paper.—For and upon every square yard of printed, painted, or stained paper, for hangings or other uses, and so in proportion for any greater or less quantity, 1*d.*

For and upon every pound weight avoirdupoise of books, bound or unbound, and of maps or prints, which shall be imported into Ireland from Great Britain, 2*d.*

Cards.—For and upon every pack of printed, painted, or playing cards, made or manufactured in Great Britain, 1*s.* 5*d.*

And a further duty of 2½*d.* per pound weight.

Dice.—For and upon every pair of dice made or manufactured in Great Britain, 10*s.*

Wrought

Wrought Plate.—For and upon every ounce troy weight of gold or silver plate, which shall be wrought, made, or manufactured in Great Britain, and imported into Ireland.

Silk Manufacture.—For and upon all silks being of the manufacture of Great Britain, and imported directly from thence, the following duties; *videlicet.*

For and upon all ribbons and stuffs of silks only, for every pound weight thereof containing sixteen ounces, 2s. 1d.

For and upon all silks and ribbons of silk, mixed with gold or silver, for every pound weight thereof, containing sixteen ounces, 2s. 9d.

For and upon all silk stockings, silk gloves, silk fringe, silk laces, stitching and sewing silk, for every pound weight thereof containing sixteen ounces, 1s. 3d.

For and upon all manufactures of silk, not otherwise enumerated or described, for every pound weight thereof containing sixteen ounces, 1s. 8d.

For and upon all stuffs of silk and program yarn, the pound weight containing sixteen ounces, 6d.

For and upon all stuffs of silk mixed with inle or cotton, the pound weight containing sixteen ounces, 9d.

For and upon all stuffs of silk and worsted mixed, the pound weight containing sixteen ounces, 4d.

For and upon all stuffs of silk mixed with any other material, the pound weight containing sixteen ounces, 6½d.

Spirits.—For and upon every gallon of spirits, being of the manufacture of Great Britain, and imported from thence, a duty of 3s. 7d.

Sugar, refined.—of the manufacture of Great Britain, and imported directly from thence, the following duties, *videlicet.*

For and upon all sugar called bastards, white or ground, the hundred weight containing 112 pounds, 19s. 8d.

For and upon all sugar called lumps, the hundred weight containing 112 pounds, 1l. 16s. 10¾d.

For and upon all sugar called single loaf sugar, the hundred weight containing 112 pounds, 1l. 19s. 4d.

For and upon all sugar called powder loaf and double loaf, the hundred weight containing 112 pounds, 2l. 2s. 4d.

For and upon all sugar called sugar candy, brown, the hundred weight containing 112 pounds, 1l. 16s. 10d.

For and upon all sugar called sugar candy, white, the hundred weight containing 112 pounds, 2l. 2s. 4d.

For and upon all sugar refined of any other sort, the hundred weight containing 112 pounds, *2l. 2s. 4d.*

Sweets.—For and upon every barrel, containing thirty-two gallons wine measure, of British sweets, or other British liquor made by infusion, fermentation, or otherwise, from fruit or sugar or from fruit or sugar mixed with any other material or ingredients whatsoever commonly called sweets, or called or distinguished by the name of made wines, *10s.*

For and upon every gallon of mead or metheglin, *4d.*

For and upon every barrel, containing thirty-two gallons of vinegar, *3s.*

Tobacco and Snuff.—For and upon every pound weight avoirdupoise of unmanufactured tobacco, of the growth or produce of Great Britain, over and above any duty of customs now payable, *5d.*

For and upon every pound weight of British manufactured short cut tobacco, or tobacco manufactured into what is commonly called or known by the name of Spanish, *1s. 0 $\frac{7}{10}$ d.*

For and upon every pound weight of British manufactured shag tobacco cut, *11d.*

For and upon every pound weight of British manufactured roll tobacco, *1s. 7 $\frac{7}{10}$ d.*

For and upon every pound weight of British manufactured carrot tobacco, *11d.*

For and upon every pound weight of every other sort of British manufactured tobacco not herein-before enumerated or described, *1s. 0 $\frac{7}{10}$ d.*

For and upon every pound weight avoirdupoise of British manufactured rappee snuff, *10 $\frac{1}{4}$ d.*

For and upon every pound weight of British manufactured snuff called Scotch snuff, *1s. 4d.*

For and upon every pound weight of British manufactured snuff called brown Scotch snuff, *9 $\frac{3}{4}$ d.*

For and upon every pound weight of British manufactured stalk flour, *1s. 3d.*

For and upon every pound weight of every other sort or kind of British manufactured snuff, or snuff work, not herein-before enumerated or described, *1s. 4d.*

SCHEDULE.

SCHEDULE. No. II.

Of the articles charged with the duties specified upon importation into Great Britain, and Ireland, respectively, according to the sixth article of Union.

Apparel	-	-	-	-	-	} Ten pounds <i>per cent.</i> on the true value.
Brass, wrought	-	-	-	-	-	
Cabinet ware	-	-	-	-	-	
Coaches and other carriages	-	-	-	-	-	
Copper, wrought	-	-	-	-	-	
Cottons, other than callicoed and muslins	-	-	-	-	-	
Glass	-	-	-	-	-	
Haberdashery	-	-	-	-	-	
Hats	-	-	-	-	-	
Tin plates, wrought Iron and hard ware	-	-	-	-	-	
Gold and silver lace, gold and silver thread, bullion for lace, pearl, and spangles	-	-	-	-	-	
Millinery	-	-	-	-	-	
Paper stained	-	-	-	-	-	
Pottery	-	-	-	-	-	
Saddlery and other manufactured leather	-	-	-	-	-	
Silk manufacture	-	-	-	-	-	
Stockings	-	-	-	-	-	

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

That for the space of twenty years after the Union shall take place, the contribution of Great Britain and Ireland respectively, towards the expenditure of the united kingdom in each year, shall be defrayed in the proportion of fifteen parts for Great Britain and two parts for Ireland; and that at the expiration of the said twenty years, the future expenditure of the united kingdom (other than the interest and charges of the debt to which either country shall be separately liable) shall be defrayed in such proportion as

the parliament of the united kingdom shall deem just and reasonable upon a comparison of the real value of the exports and imports of the respective countries upon an average of the three years next preceding the period of revision; or on a comparison of the value of the quantities of the following articles consumed within the respective countries, on a similar average; viz. beer, spirits, sugar, wine, tea, tobacco, and malt; or according to the aggregate proportion resulting from both these considerations combined; or on a comparison of the amount of income in each country, estimated from the produce for the same period of a general tax, if such shall have been imposed on the same descriptions of income in both countries; and that the parliament of the united kingdom shall afterwards proceed in like manner to revise and fix the said proportions according to the same rules or any of them, at periods not more distant than twenty years, nor less than seven years from each other; unless, previous to any such period, the parliament of the united kingdom shall have declared, as herein-after provided, that the expenditure of the united kingdom shall be defrayed indiscriminately, by equal taxes imposed on the like articles in both countries: that, for the defraying the said expenditure according to the rules above laid down, the revenues of Ireland shall hereafter constitute a consolidated fund, which shall be charged, in the first instance, with the interest of the debt of Ireland, and with the sinking fund applicable to the reduction of the said debt, and the remainder shall be applied towards defraying the proportion of the expenditure of the united kingdom, to which Ireland may be liable in each year: that the proportion of contribution to which Great Britain and Ireland will be liable, shall be raised by such taxes in each country respectively, as the parliament of the united kingdom shall from time to time deem fit: provided always, that in regulating the taxes in each country, by which their respective proportions shall be levied, no article in Ireland shall be made liable to any new or additional duty, by which the whole amount of duty payable thereon would exceed the amount which will be thereafter payable in England on the like article: that if at the end of any year any surplus shall accrue from the revenues of Ireland after defraying the interest, sinking fund, and proportional contribution and separate charges to which the said country shall then be liable, taxes shall be taken off to the amount of such surplus, or the surplus shall be applied by the parliament of the united kingdom to local purposes in Ireland, or to make good any deficiency which may arise in the revenues of Ireland in time of peace, or be invested
by

by the commissioners of the national debt of Ireland in the funds, to accumulate for the benefit of Ireland at compound interest, in case of the contribution of Ireland in time of war; provided that the surplus so to accumulate shall at no future period be suffered to exceed the sum of five millions; that all monies to be raised after the Union, by loan, in peace or war, for the service of the united kingdom by the parliament thereof, shall be considered to be a joint debt, and the charges thereof shall be borne by the respective countries in the proportion of their respective contributions, provided that, if at any time in raising their respective contributions hereby fixed for each country, the parliament of the united kingdom shall judge it fit to raise a greater proportion of such respective contributions in one country within the year than in the other, or to set apart a greater proportion of sinking fund for the liquidation of the whole or any part of the loan raised on account of the one country than that raised on the account of the other country, then such part of the said loan, for the liquidation of which different provisions shall have been made for their respective countries, shall be kept distinct, and shall be borne by each separately, and only that part of the said loan be deemed joint and common, for the reduction of which the respective countries shall have made provision in the proportion of their respective contributions: that, if at any future day the separate debt of each country respectively shall have been liquidated, or, if the values of their respective debts (estimated according to the amount of the interest and annuities attending the same, and of the sinking fund applicable to the reduction thereof, and to the period within which the whole capital of such debt shall appear to be redeemable by such sinking fund) shall be to each other in the same proportion with the respective contributions of each country respectively; or if the amount by which the value of the larger of such debts shall vary from such proportion, shall not exceed one hundredth part of the said value; and if it shall appear to the parliament of the united kingdom, that the respective circumstances of the two countries will thenceforth admit of their contributing indiscriminately, by equal taxes imposed on the same articles in each, to the future expenditure of the united kingdom, it shall be competent to the parliament of the united kingdom to declare, that all future expence thenceforth to be incurred, together with the interest and charges of all joint debts contracted previous to such declaration, shall be so defrayed indiscriminately by equal taxes imposed on the same articles in each country, and thenceforth from time to time, as circumstances may require, to impose and apply such taxes accordingly

ingly, subject only to such particular exemptions or abatements in Ireland, and in that part of Great Britain called Scotland, as circumstances may appear from time to time to demand: that, from the period of such declaration, it shall no longer be necessary to regulate the contribution of the two countries towards the future expenditure of the united kingdom, according to any specific proportion, or according to any of the rules herein before prescribed; provided nevertheless, that the interest or charges which may remain on account of any part of the separate debt with which either country shall be chargeable, and which shall not be liquidated or consolidated proportionably as above, shall, until extinguished, continue to be defrayed by separate taxes in each country: that a sum, not less than the sum which has been granted by the parliament of Ireland on the average of six years immediately preceding the first day of January, in the year one thousand eight hundred, in premiums for the internal encouragement of agriculture or manufactures, or for the maintaining institutions for pious and charitable purposes, shall be applied, for the period of twenty years after the Union, to such local purposes in Ireland, in such manner as the parliament of the united kingdom shall direct: that from and after the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and one, all public revenue arising to the united kingdom from the territorial dependencies thereof, and applied to general expenditure of the united kingdom, shall be so applied in the proportions of the respective contributions of the two countries.

Art. VIII. That it be the eighth article of the Union, that all laws in force at the time of the union, and all the courts of civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction within the respective kingdoms, shall remain as now by law established within the same, subject only to such alterations and regulations from time to time as circumstances may appear to the parliament of the united kingdom to require; provided that all writs of error and appeals, depending at the time of the Union, or hereafter to be brought, and which might now be finally decided by the House of Lords of either kingdom, shall, from and after the Union, be finally decided by the House of Lords of the united kingdom; and provided that, from and after the Union, there shall remain in Ireland an instance court of admiralty, for the determination of causes, civil and maritime only, and that the appeal from sentences of the said court shall be to his Majesty's delegates his court of chancery in that part of the united kingdom called Ireland:
and

and that all laws at present in force in either kingdom, which shall be contrary to any of the provisions which may be enacted by any act for carrying these articles into effect, be from and after the Union repealed.

And whereas the said articles having, by address of the respective houses of parliament in Great Britain and Ireland, been humbly laid before his Majesty, his Majesty has been graciously pleased to approve the same; and to recommend it to his two houses of parliament in Great Britain and Ireland to consider of such measures as may be necessary for giving effect to the said articles. in order, therefore, to give full effect and validity to the same, be it enacted by the king's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that the said foregoing recited articles, each and every one of them, according to the true import and tenor thereof, be ratified, confirmed, and approved, and be and they are hereby declared to be the articles of the Union of Great Britain and Ireland, and the same shall be in force and have effect for ever, from the first day of January, which shall be in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and one; provided that, before that period an act shall have been passed by the parliament of Ireland, for carrying into effect in the like manner, the said foregoing recited articles.

II. And whereas an act, intituled, "An Act to regulate the Mode by which the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons, to serve in the parliament of the United Kingdom on the part of Ireland, shall be summoned and returned to the said Parliament," has been passed by the parliament of Ireland; the tenor whereof is as follows: an act to regulate the mode by which the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons to serve in the parliament of the united kingdom on the part of Ireland, shall be summoned and returned to the said parliament. Whereas it is agreed by the fourth article of Union, that four lords spiritual of Ireland, by rotation of sessions, and twenty-eight lords temporal of Ireland, elected for life by the peers of Ireland, shall be the number to sit and vote on the part of Ireland in the House of Lords of the parliament of the united kingdom; and one hundred commoners (two for each county of Ireland, two for the city of Dublin, two for the city of Cork, one for the College of the Holy Trinity of Dublin, and one for each of the thirty-one most considerable cities, towns, and boroughs) be the number to sit

sit and vote on the part of Ireland in the House of Commons of the parliament of the united kingdom; be it enacted by the king's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, in this parliament assembled, and by authority of the same, that the said four lords spiritual shall be taken from among the lords spiritual of Ireland in the manner following; that is to say, that one of the four archbishops of Ireland, and three of the eighteen bishops of Ireland, shall sit in the House of Lords of the united parliament in each session thereof, the said right of sitting being regulated as between the said archbishops respectively by a rotation among the archiepiscopal sees from session to session, and in like manner that of the bishops by a like rotation among the episcopal sees: that the primate of all Ireland for the time being, shall set in the first session of parliament of the united kingdom, the archbishop of Dublin, for the time being, in the second, the archbishop of Cashel for the time being, in the third, and the archbishop of Tuam for the time being, in the fourth, and so by rotation of sessions for ever, such rotation to proceed regularly and without interruption from session to session, notwithstanding any dissolution or expiration of parliament: that three suffragan bishops shall in like manner sit according to rotation of their sees, from session to session, in the following order; the Lord Bishop of Meath, the Lord Bishop of Kildare, the Lord Bishop of Derry, in the first session of the parliament of the united kingdom; the Lord Bishop of Raphoe, the Lord Bishop of Limerick, Ardfert and Aghadoe, the Lord Bishop of Dromore, in the second session of the parliament of the united kingdom; the Lord Bishop of Elphin, the Lord Bishop of Down and Connor, the Lord Bishop of Waterford and Lismore, in the third session of the parliament of the united kingdom; the Lord Bishop of Leighlin and Ferns, the Lord Bishop of Cloyne, the Lord Bishop of Cork and Ross, in the fourth session of the parliament of the united kingdom; the Lord Bishop of Killaloe and Kilfenora, the Lord Bishop of Kilmore, the Lord Bishop of Clogher, in the fifth session of the parliament of the united kingdom; the Lord Bishop of Ossory, the Lord Bishop of Killala and Achonry, the Lord Bishop of Clonfert and Kilmacduagh, in the sixth session of the parliament of the united kingdom; the said rotation to be nevertheless subject to such variation therefrom from time to time as is herein-after provided: that the said twenty-eight lords temporal shall be chosen by all the temporal peers of Ireland in the manner herein-after provided; that each of the said lords temporal so cho-

sen shall be entitled to sit in the House of Lords of the parliament of the united kingdom during his life; and in case of his death, or forfeiture of any of the said lords temporal, the temporal peers of Ireland shall, in the manner herein-after provided, choose another peer out of their own number to supply the place so vacant. And be it enacted, that of the one hundred commoners to sit on the part of Ireland in the united parliament, sixty-four shall be chosen for the counties, and thirty-six for the following cities and boroughs, viz. for each county of Ireland two; for the city of Dublin two; for the city of Cork two; for the College of the Holy Trinity of Dublin one; for the city of Waterford one; for the city of Limerick one; for the borough of Belfast one; for the county and town of Drogheda one; for the county and town of Carrickfergus one: for the borough of Newry one; for the city of Kilkenny one; for the city of Londonderry one; for the town of Galway one; for the borough of Clonmell one; for the town of Wexford one; for the town of Youghall one; for the town of Bandon-Bridge one; for the borough of Armagh one; for the borough of Dundalk one; for the town of Kinsale one; for the borough of Lisburne one; for the borough of Sligo one; for the borough of Catherlough one; for the borough of Ennis one; for the borough of Dungarvon one; for the borough of Downpatrick one; for the borough of Colrairie one; for the town of Mallow one; for the borough of Athlone one; for the town of New Ross one; for the borough of Tralee one; for the city of Cashel one; for the borough of Dungannon one; for the borough of Portarlington one; for the borough of Enniskillen one. And be it enacted, that in case of the summoning of a new parliament, or if the seat of any of the said commoners shall become vacant by death or otherwise, then the said counties, cities or boroughs, or any of them, as the case may be, shall proceed to a new election; and that all the other towns, cities, corporations, or boroughs, other than the aforesaid, shall cease to elect representatives to serve in parliament; and no meeting shall at any time hereafter be summoned, called, convened, or held, for the purpose of electing any person or persons to serve or act, or be considered as representative or representatives of any other place, town, city, corporation, or borough, other than the aforesaid, or as representative or representatives of the freemen, freeholders, householders, or inhabitants thereof, either in the parliament of the united kingdom or elsewhere, (unless it shall hereafter be otherwise provided by the parliament of the united kingdom;) and every person summoning, calling, or holding any such meeting or assembly, or taking any part in such election or pretended

pretended election, shall, being thereof duly convicted, incur and suffer the pains and penalties ordained and provided by the statute of provision and præmunire, made in the sixteenth year of the reign of Richard the Second. For the due election of the persons to be chosen to sit in the respective houses of parliament of the united kingdom on the part of Ireland, be it enacted, that on the day following that on which the act for establishing the Union shall have received the royal assent, the primate of all Ireland, the Lord Bishop of Meath, the Lord Bishop of Kildare, and the Lord Bishop of Derry, shall be, and they are hereby declared to be the representatives of the lords spiritual of Ireland in the Parliament of the united kingdom, for the first session thereof; and that the temporal peers of Ireland shall assemble at twelve of the clock on the same day as aforesaid, in the now accustomed place of meeting of the house of Lords of Ireland, and shall then and there proceed to elect twenty-eight lords temporal to represent the peerage of Ireland in the parliament of the united kingdom, in the following manner; that is to say, the names of the peers shall be called over according to their rank, by the clerk of the crown, or his deputy, who shall then and there attend for that purpose; and each of the said peers, who, previous to the said day, and in the present parliament shall have actually taken his seat in the House of Lords of Ireland, and who shall there have taken the oaths, and signed the declaration which are or shall be by law required to be taken and signed by the lords of the parliament of Ireland before they can sit and vote in the parliament hereof, shall, when his name is called, deliver, either by himself, or by his proxy (the name of such proxy having been previously entered in the books of the House of Lords of Ireland, according to the present forms and usages thereof) to the clerk of the crown or his deputy (who shall then and there attend for that purpose), a list of twenty-eight of the temporal peers of Ireland; and the clerk of the crown or his deputy shall then and there publicly read the said lists, and shall then and there cast up the said lists, and publicly declare the names of the twenty-eight lords who shall be chosen by the majority of votes in the said lists, and shall make a return of the same names to the House of Lords of the first parliament of the united kingdom: and the twenty-eight lords so chosen by the majority of votes in the said lists shall, during their respective lives, sit as representatives of the peers of Ireland in the House of Lords of the united kingdom, and be entitled to receive writs of summons to that and every succeeding parliament; and in case a complete election shall not be made of the whole number of twenty-eight peers, by reason of an equality of votes, the clerk of the crown shall return such number in favour of whom a complete election shall have been made in one list; and in the second list shall return the names of those peers who shall have

have an equality of votes, but in favour of whom, by reason of such equality, a complete election shall not have been made, and the names of the peers in the second list, for whom an equal number of votes shall have been so given, shall be written on pieces of paper, of a similar form, and shall be put into a glass by the clerk of the parliament of the united kingdom, at the table of the House of Lords thereof, whilst the house is sitting, and the peer whose name shall be first drawn out by the clerk of the parliament, shall be deemed the peer elected; and so successively as often as the case may require; and whenever the seat of any of the twenty-eight lords temporal so elected shall be vacated by decease or forfeiture, the chancellor, the keeper, or commissioners of the great seal of the united kingdom for the time being, upon receiving a certificate under the hand and seal of any two lords temporal of the parliament of the united kingdom, certifying the decease of such peer, or on view of the record of attainder of such peer, shall direct a writ to be issued under the great seal of the united kingdom, to the chancellor, the keeper or commissioners of the great seal of Ireland for the time being, directing him or them to cause writs to be issued, by the clerk of the crown in Ireland, to every temporal peer of Ireland, who shall have sat and voted in the House of Lords of Ireland before the Union, or whose right to sit and vote therein, or to vote at such elections, shall, on claim made on his behalf, have been admitted by the House of Lords of Ireland before the Union, or after the Union by the House of Lords of the united kingdom; and notice shall forthwith be published by the said clerk of the crown, in the London and Dublin Gazettes, of the issuing of such writs, and of the names and titles of all the peers to whom the same are directed; and to the said writs there shall be annexed a form of return thereof, in which a blank shall be left for the name of the peer to be elected, and the said writs shall enjoin each peer, within fifty-two days from the date of the writ, to return the same into the crown-office of Ireland with the blank filled up, by inserting the name of the peer for whom he shall vote, as the peer to succeed to the vacancy made by demise or forfeiture as aforesaid; and the said writs and returns shall be bipartite, so as that the name of the peer to be chosen shall be written twice, that is, once on each part of such writ and return, and so as that each part may also be subscribed by the peer to whom the same shall be directed, and likewise be sealed with his seal of arms; and one part of the said writs and returns so filled up, subscribed and sealed as above, shall remain of record in the crown-office of Ireland; and the other part shall be certified by the clerk of the crown to the clerk of the parliament of the united kingdom, and no peer of Ireland, except such as shall have been elected as representative peers on the part of Ireland in the
House

House of Lords of the united kingdom, and shall there have taken the oaths, and signed the declaration prescribed by law, shall, under pain of suffering such punishment as the House of Lords of the united kingdom may award and adjudge, make a return to such writ, unless he shall, after the issuing thereof, and before the day on which the writ is returnable, have taken the oaths and signed the declaration which are or shall be by law required to be taken and signed by the lords of the united kingdom before they can sit and vote in the parliament thereof; which oaths and declaration shall be either taken and subscribed in the court of chancery of Ireland, or before one of his Majesty's justices of the peace of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland, a certificate whereof, signed by such justices of the peace, or by the register of the said court of chancery, shall be transmitted by such peer with the return, and shall be annexed to that part thereof remaining of record in the crown office of Ireland; and the clerk of the crown shall forthwith after the return day of the writs, cause to be published in the London and Dublin Gazettes, a notice of the name of the person chosen by the majority of votes; and the peer so chosen shall during his life, be one of the peers to sit and vote on the part of Ireland in the House of Lords of the united kingdom; and in case the votes shall be equal, the names of such persons who have an equal number of votes in their favour, shall be written on pieces of paper of a similar form, and shall be put into a glass by the clerk of the parliament of the united kingdom, at the table of the House of Lords, whilst the House is sitting, and the peer whose name shall be first drawn out by the clerk of the parliament shall be deemed the peer elected. And be it enacted, that in case any lord spiritual, being a temporal peer of the united kingdom, or being a temporal peer of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland, shall be chosen by the lords temporal to be one of the representatives of the lords temporal, in every such case, during the life of such spiritual peer being a temporal peer of the united kingdom, or being a temporal peer of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland, so chosen to represent the lords temporal, the rotation of representation of the spiritual lords shall proceed to the next spiritual lord, without regard to such spiritual lord so chosen a temporal peer, that is to say, if such spiritual lord shall be an archbishop, then the rotation shall proceed to the archbishop whose see is next in rotation, and if such spiritual lord shall be a suffragan bishop, then the rotation shall proceed to the suffragan bishop whose see is next in rotation. And whereas by the said fourth article of union it is agreed, that if his Majesty shall, on or before the first day of January next, declare, under the great seal of Great Britain, that it is expedient that the lords and commons of the present parliament of Great Britain should be the members of the respective houses of the first
parliament

parliament of the united kingdom, on the part of Great Britain, then the lords and commons of the present parliament of Great Britain shall accordingly be the members of the respective houses of the first parliament of the united kingdom of the part of Great Britain; be it enacted, for and in that case only, that the present members of the thirty-two counties of Ireland, and the two members for the city of Dublin, and the two members for the city of Cork, shall be, and they are hereby declared to be, by virtue of this act, members for the said counties and cities in the first parliament of the united kingdom; and that, on a day and hour to be appointed by his Majesty under the great seal of Ireland, previous to the first day of January one thousand eight hundred and one, the members then serving for the college of the Holy Trinity of Dublin, and for each of the following cities, or boroughs, that is to say, the city of Waterford, city of Limerick, borough of Belfast, county and town of Drogheda, county and town of Carrickfergus, borough of Newry, city of Kilkenny, city of Londonderry, town of Galway, borough of Clonmell town of Wexford, town of Youghall, town of Bandon-Bridge, borough of Armagh, borough of Dundalk, town of Kinsale, borough of Lisburne, borough of Sligo, borough of Catherlough, borough of Ennis, borough of Dungarvan, borough of Downpatrick, borough of Coleraine, town of Mallow, borough of Athlone, town of New Ross, borough of Tralee, city of Cashel, borough of Dungannon, borough of Portarlington, and borough of Eniskillen, or any five or more of them, shall meet in the now usual place of meeting of the House of Commons of Ireland, and the names of the members then serving for the said places and boroughs, shall be written on separate pieces of paper, and the said papers being folded up, shall be placed in a glass or glasses, and shall successively be drawn thereout by the clerk of the crown, or his deputy, who shall then and there attend for that purpose: and the first drawn name of a member of each of the aforesaid places or boroughs shall be taken as the name of the member to serve for the said place or borough in the first parliament of the united kingdom; and a return of the said names shall be made by the clerk of the Crown, or his deputy, to the House of Commons of the first parliament of the united kingdom; and a certificate thereof shall be given respectively by the said clerk of the crown, or his deputy, to each of the members whose names shall have been so drawn: Provided always, that it may be allowed to any member of any of the said places or boroughs, by personal application, to be then and there made by him to the clerk of the crown, or his deputy, or by declaration in writing under his hand, to be transmitted by him to the clerk of the crown previous to the said day so appointed as above, to withdraw his name previous to the drawing of the names by lot; in which case, or in that of a vacancy by death or otherwise of one of the members of any of the said

places or boroughs, at the time of so drawing the names, the name of the other member shall be returned as aforesaid as the name of the member to serve for such place in the first parliament of the united kingdom; or if both members for any such place or borough shall so withdraw their names, or if there shall be a vacancy of both members at the time aforesaid, the clerk of the crown shall certify the same to the House of Commons of the first parliament of the united kingdom, and shall also express, in such return, whether any writ shall then have issued for the election of a member or members to supply such vacancy; and if a writ shall so have issued for the election of one member only, such writ shall be superseded, and any election to be thereafter made thereupon shall be null and of no effect; and if such writ shall have issued for the election of two members, the said two members shall be chosen accordingly, and their names being returned by the clerk of the crown to the House of Commons of the parliament of the united kingdom, one of the said names shall then be drawn, by lot, in such manner and time as the said House of Commons shall direct; and the person whose name shall be so drawn, shall be deemed to be the member to sit for such place in the first parliament of the united kingdom; but if at the time aforesaid, no writ shall have issued to supply such vacancy, none shall thereafter issue until the same be ordered by resolution of the House of Commons of the parliament of the united kingdom, as in the case of any other vacancy of a seat in the House of Commons of the parliament of the united kingdom. And be it enacted, that whenever his Majesty, his heirs and successors, shall, by proclamation under the great seal of the united kingdom, summon a new parliament of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the chancellor, keeper, or commissioners of the great seal of Ireland, shall cause writs to be issued to the several counties, cities, the college of the Holy Trinity of Dublin, and boroughs in that part of the united kingdom called Ireland, specified in this act for the election of members to serve in the parliament of the united kingdom, according to the numbers hereinbefore set forth; and whenever any vacancy of a seat in the House of Commons or the parliament of the united kingdom, for any of the said counties, cities, or boroughs, or of the said college of the Holy Trinity of Dublin, shall arise, by death, or otherwise, the chancellor, keeper, or commissioners of the great seal, upon such vacancy being certified by them respectively, by the proper warrant shall forthwith cause a writ to issue for the election of a person to fill up such vacancy; and such writ, and the returns thereon, respectively being returned into the crown-office in that part of the united kingdom called Ireland, shall from thence be transmitted to the crown office in that part of the united kingdom called England, and be certified to the House of Commons in the same manner as the like returns have been usually or shall hereafter be certified; and copies of the said

said writs and returns, attested by the chancellor, keeper, or commissioners of the great seal of Ireland, for the time being, shall be preserved in the crown-office of Ireland, and shall be evidence of such writs and returns in case the original writs and returns shall be lost; be it enacted, that the said act, so herein recited, be taken as a part of this act, and be deemed to all intents and purposes incorporated within the same.

III. And be it enacted, that the great seal of Ireland, may, if his Majesty shall so think fit, after the Union, be used in like manner as before the Union, except where it is otherwise provided by the foregoing articles, within that part of the united kingdom called Ireland; and that his Majesty may, so long as he shall think fit, continue the privy-council of Ireland to be his privy council for that part of the united kingdom called Ireland.

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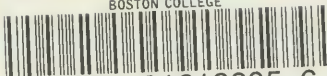
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