



950.3

.07

1823

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2007 with funding from
Microsoft Corporation

THE
ORANGE SYSTEM

EXPOSED,

AND THE

ORANGE SOCIETIES

PROVED TO BE

UNCONSTITUTIONAL, ILLEGAL AND SEDITIOUS,

In a Letter

TO THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY.

*“ Quæ finis erit discordiarum? Ecquando COMMUNEM hanc esse
Patriam licebit? ”*

“ Ορκον παραιτησαι, εἰ μὲν ὕϊόν τε εἰς ‘ἀπαν’ εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἐκ τῶν ἐνόητων. ”
EPICTET. ENDUR. 44.

Avoid an Oath, if possible; if not, as far as circumstances will suffer.

THIRD EDITION,

WITH AN APPENDIX, CONTAINING THEIR OATHS, OBLIGATIONS, &c.

DUBLIN :

RICHARD MILLIKEN, GRAFTON-STREET,

BOOKSELLER TO HIS MAJESTY,

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUKE OF CLARENCE,

HIS EXCELLENCY THE MOST NOBLE THE MARQUESS

WELLESLEY,

AND THE UNIVERSITY OF DUBLIN.

1823.



By Thomas Wallace Esq.



LETTER, &c. &c.



MY LORD,

YOUR Excellency will excuse the intrusion of a plain but honest man in addressing you on a subject of vital importance to the country which you so well govern. You will also, I am persuaded, afford a small portion of your time, already I admit fully occupied, to the perusal and consideration of suggestions, flowing only, as I solemnly assure you mine do, from a wish to render some service to this unhappy country, lacerated as it has been, and continues to be, by those factions which have left it at this moment scarcely habitable for men of peace, moderation, sobriety, or reason ! I take this mode of discharging a duty which I feel incumbent on me, because I have no confidential access to your Excellency which would warrant a personal communication ; and I address you anonymously, because it strikes me to be a mode most favourable to freedom, and truth ; for, communicating in this way neither the respectability nor the insignificancy of a name operates to add to or detract from the weight of whatever observations may be made. Arguments, in this way of reasoning, address the mind, like truth, naked, and their justness or fallacy receives from the unprejudiced mind

that judgment to which they are fairly entitled. Though my address to your Excellency, however, be anonymous, and though by its being so, I speak *to* your Excellency, and *of* others, in that safe irresponsibility which a nameless writer enjoys, trust me, my Lord, I shall not abuse it. I have no private object in view; I have no bad passion to gratify; I wish to speak the words of truth and soberness; “to extenuate nought, nor aught set down in malice;” but fairly and honorably, and with the same regard to truth and impartiality, as if I appeared before your Excellency or the public in my proper name and character, to lay before you thoughts which have long occupied my mind, but which recent extraordinary and most disgraceful events at length compel me to express.

Under such circumstances, unknown to your Excellency, and, most probably, for ever to remain so, it cannot be fairly thought flattery if I preface what I have to offer by an expression of the sentiment which, as an Irishman of no party, a good Protestant I *hope*, and a subject, I am *sure*, bearing TRUE allegiance to my king, I entertain toward your Excellency. It is a sentiment of *more* than respect, it is admiration—not for talents merely—for talents may be, and every day are abused; nor for your high name, or, to use the cant of the day, your illustrious family; for high birth is accidental, and rank, whether derived from ancestry or personally acquired, is often, much too often, the reward of what is *not* virtue. The object of *my* admiration,

my Lord, is the inestimable PRINCIPLE of your government—the equal and impartial administration of the power committed to your hands, aiming at, though unhappily it has not yet achieved, the establishment of peace, concord, and the general prosperity of the Island! You have hitherto, my Lord, been baffled, frustrated—almost opposed by open violence in the glorious effort to introduce amongst us, may I not say for the first time in our eventful and sad history, the blessings of a Constitution which governs by LAW, not only equal in its theory, but equally and justly administered. These, my Lord, are the true topics of praise of an Irish Viceroy! It is for *this* you are entitled to the attachment and love of Irishmen; for this they should, as they have done, rally round you—and give you the support not of a party but of the nation!

After so much of very *honest* prefatory matter, let me solicit, my Lord, your attention to the subject of this address; it is a subject which has produced much misery to Ireland already, and unless your Excellency shall interfere for the deliverance of the land with all the power and energy which you possess, both as a Viceroy and a Man, that misery is only now commencing—I speak of the ORANGE SYSTEM. That system, since its origin, has been the scourge of Ireland. We have been smarting under its inflictions, and the whole Island has been loud in its complaints; but those complaints have been more loud than distinct. We have clamoured against

it in speeches; we have *alluded* to it; we have *hinted* at it, we have *blamed* it—in addresses; and we have done this so long and so often, that the repetition and the recollection of what has been said about it is become nauseous. It is my object, my Lord, in thus troubling you, to give what appears to me a juster, because a more near and accurate view of it than, in my opinion, your Excellency has yet taken; and I say this, because I cannot bring myself to believe that had you seen this system in *all* its deformity—had you been apprized of the *illegality* of its constitution—its *seditions* and *most dangerous* tendencies—and its utter incompatibility with the tranquility of the country or the safety of the state, with your decisive mind, energetic habits, and honest principle, you would not have been so long even as one year in the seat of Chief Governor, before you had taken steps to crush this political hydra—and deliver yourself and the country from its frightful presence! A short time since, I was led fondly to hope that the sharp sighted and capable Attorney-General had got a glimpse at least, if not a full view of this portentous evil. I began to entertain this hope when I heard him talk of the late desperate sally of the faction against your Excellency as being TREASONABLE in its nature; and I began to flatter myself that, under his counsels, your Excellency would be quickly led to raise the legal and constitutional arm of the state against this public enemy. I was however soon taught that this hope was fallacious, when I found that the only

measure resorted to, or likely to be so, was that prosecution for conspiracy to murder or to riot, which by its extraordinary failure has demonstrated to the world the true and appalling nature of this most dangerous confederacy—a confederacy which, it now appears, is able to offer or to excite the grossest insult to the highest authority of the state, and then to secure impunity for the crime by poisoning the source, or obstructing the course of justice! Yet am I sanguine enough to expect that good will be extracted from this evil, and that the manly, sagacious, and honest mind of that able lawyer and statesman, will at last recur to his first views, and that not only he will persevere in trying successively every power with which his high office invests him, to drag the miscreants guilty of that offence to public, condign, and appropriate justice; but that, aided by his advice, you, my Lord, will apply the still higher powers of your office, and the energetic faculties you possess, to the more important and now indispensable duty of annihilating this political monster to which evil times have given birth, and that you will not quit the seat of government until you leave no power behind you in Ireland but the constitutional power of the state and the laws of the land!

WHAT IS THIS ORANGE SOCIETY, my Lord, which thus raises its front against the Power of the State, —which dominates in the jury box—which, contemptible in its comparative strength, assumes the power of dividing the people of Ireland into two

classes—constitutes *one* itself, and opposes in the OTHER the remaining millions of our population? Where is its CHARTER? What are its RIGHTS? What are its OBJECTS? It behoves you, my Lord, at last, insulted and overborne as you have been—it behoves you, my Lord, to make this inquiry; it is an inquiry involving questions of CONSTITUTION and of LAW. Consult your Law Officers. If any of those be, or if he has been an Orangeman, or if any of them has been a member of any other secret, sworn, political confederacy, exclude *him* from your councils on this important inquiry; for such a man, whatever may be his integrity, capacity, or intelligence on other subjects, must be unsound in this. His mind is tainted—he does not stand indifferent between the Crown and the People; the stamp of faction is on his forehead, and the poison of it in his heart. On such a subject he has an individual as well as a factious interest that *must* govern him. He will be Counsel for himself and his confederates, not for you, my Lord, and the Constitution. He cannot *unswear* himself, and though the oath he has taken be illegal, and, in point of law, not binding, and have no sacred sanction, yet, if there be any thing of honorable or conscientious feeling about him, the OATH will influence his counsel and his conduct, he will never surrender the defence of a cause to which he has once solemnly pledged himself, and in which not his own interest and character only, but those of the friends who have confided in him, and with whom he has

associated in secret council, and sworn to the common cause—are ALL involved !

But, my Lord, in my humble apprehension, tho' the question I shall suggest for your Excellency's consideration be important, it is not to the mind of a statesman like you a difficult one, when once fairly brought under your serious consideration ; in deciding it you will need but little of your law officer's aid. With an understanding far inferior to that of your Excellency, and of some with whom you will doubtless advise on this subject—even with my modicum of intellect, and a very moderate portion of law learning, it does appear to me most perfectly plain, that this ORANGE Society, with all its high names, and embracing, as it does, a great number of wealthy, and in other respects, reputable men, is yet UNCONSTITUTIONAL in its principle, ILLEGAL in its acts, and SEDITIOUS in its tendency ; and that being so, any act of violence or tumult, aiming at the accomplishment of its seditious purpose by intimidation of the Executive Government, or the overawing of the Legislature, would be an overt act of high treason. I shall offer some observations on this topic, my Lord, and am sanguine enough to think they will not be ineffectual. But though I should fail in impressing your Excellency's mind with the same notions which appear to me founded in truth as connected with this subject, I feel confident, at least, that I shall satisfy you, and every dispassionate and *unsworn* man, that the existence and influence of this society, in its present state,

is incompatible with the good government, peace, and tranquillity of Ireland. In doing this, my Lord, I mean not to throw any unnecessary obloquy on any individuals, or even on the body itself. I am perfectly free to say, not only that there are in the Orange Society many individuals of most respectable character, both as men, and as subjects; I will even admit, because I believe, that in the original intention of those societies, hostility to the State, violation of the laws in any respect, or sedition of any kind may not have entered; and that even *now*, after having produced so much political mischief, there are great numbers of those who have suffered themselves to be trepanned into the equivocal and unconstitutional Orange oath, and to become members of a body politically mischievous and legally unjustifiable, who are utterly ignorant that these societies, are treasonable, seditious, or illegal. I also acknowledge I should not despair that if once convinced of the real tendency, nature, and character of the association in which they have enrolled themselves, a large proportion of the body would instantly abandon it;—for my opinion is, that those societies arose not from a seditious,* but an intolerant and overbearing spirit; and that the consequences which this association and their oaths led to, were no more observed or attended to in the first instance, nor are even at this moment by many of the members, that it was foreseen or apprehend-

* They however appear very quickly to become so.—See *Appendix*.

ed in 1792, when it is certain, that several highly respectable men, now in high office, were members of the Society of United Irishmen, that that society would end as it did, in treason and rebellion.—But, my Lord, it is the natural course and tendency of sworn political societies to become from popular, seditious—from seditious to treasonable—from treasonable rebellious. They have, like empires, their origin, rise, decline and fall—and, like them, history has ascertained and recorded, for our information, the symptoms which distinguish their respective stages of existence. The United Irishmen sprung from a principle of patriotism (I refer to the Solicitor General Joy) it rose and passed through all the gradations of public meetings, select committees, *sworn* members, *secret* meetings, and seditious plots to control and embarrass the Executive—then followed treasonable attempts to overawe the Legislature—treasonable organization—treasonable Grand Masters—Directory or Executive Power—and finally, open, bold, and most dangerous rebellion—a rebellion by which our country was deluged in blood, and all but severed from the British connexion! Let a calm philosophic mind, or let a statesman, who like your Excellency can take a position above the region of party or faction, look down on the present state of Ireland, and compare it with its state from 1793 to 1798, and what substantial difference will he see in the origin, constitution, and progress of the two Associations, the United

Irish and the Orange? He will see, my Lord, these differences only, and they are differences in favour of the United Irishmen—that the latter were composed of men of all religions—that their objects in the outset were unquestionably constitutional, enlarged, tolerant, liberal (I refer again to the Solicitor General Joy) while the Orange Societies were originated by, and still are exclusively confined to the narrowest minds and hottest heads of ONE creed—that their objects, even in their best days, were confined, intollerant, and illiberal—no way differing in specie and character from those of Lord George Gordon in 1780, who having produced the riots of that disastrous year by the cry of NO POPERY, was acquitted of High Treason, only, on the charitable belief of the absence of guilty intention! But the observing statesman will find the passions of the Orange party as inflamed, as rancorous, as RESOLVED—and their real object as unconstitutional, dangerous, and seditious, as those of the Society of United Irishmen have ever been. This latter position, however, THEY will dispute. It is essential to my purpose to prove it to your Excellency. To do this, we must consider their ostensible declaration, their oaths, and that practicable and valuable comment upon them, which is afforded by their conduct, and above all, by their history for the last two or three years.

What is this DECLARATION? What is this OATH? the bond of Union, the self-granted charter—the

constitution and moral essence of the Orange Society? * I here copy them from a publication of 1820, edited by the then Deputy Grand Master—then distributed at his shop, now no longer to be had there by the profane vulgar. With the oaths and declarations there was united not a little of hypocritical cant, with which I shall not here trouble your Lordship; nor shall I offer any other observation on that cant save this—that if the Orange System be mischievous as a *political* confederacy, its mischiefs must, in *this* country, be infinitely aggravated by its assumption of a *religious* character. In Ireland, unhappily for us, my Lord, religion and discord are nearly synonymous terms; and if those societies, which have constituted themselves PROTECTORS OF THE PROTESTANT FAITH and PROTESTANT CONSTITUTION, and in that character formed themselves into an Army of Observation, to

* I have had a good deal of trouble in procuring a copy of those important documents; for, though formerly the oaths and declaration were to be had at the shop of the Deputy Grand Master, Alderman King, in the form of an Expose of the rules and regulations of the Orange Society, that publication was recently withdrawn from public notice, and to be had, I believe, only in the Lodges where the oaths were administered. I have just now learned that those rules, oaths, &c. have been within a day or two placed in public view by a well-conducted provincial paper, the Leinster Journal. I hope that they will be circulated from one end of the empire to the other, that they may call forth that general reprobation which, in my conscience, I am convinced they merit.

watch and control the Legislative and Executive Powers for the “good old cause,” and the “solemn League and Covenant ;”—If these, I say, shall not be put down by the law of the land, and a salutary exercise of the discretionary and constitutional powers of the Executive, we shall, at no remote time, see again acted in our unhappy land, those dreadful scenes which, in the middle of the seventeenth century, under the sacred name of the Religion, deluged both islands with blood, and ended in the total subversion of the Protestant constitution and of the British monarchy !—But to the documents.

Your Excellency will perceive that the “general declaration of the objects of the Orange Institution,” which precedes the oath, can itself be considered in no other light than as one binding on the Orangemen equally with the OATH as if a constituent part of it ; for it is an undertaking—an engagement, to which the men who take it mutually pledge themselves. And though they do not touch the Holy Gospels in making or signing that declaration, as men of honor, I apprehend, they will not deny it to be equally obligatory on them with the oath itself—an oath which has no superior sanction by which it can differ from a declaration, unless the added act of illegality in taking or administering that oath without authority of law gives such sanction. The Declaration and Oath, then, are as follow :

GENERAL DECLARATION OF THE OBJECTS OF
THE ORANGE INSTITUTION.

“ We associate, to the utmost of our power, to support and defend his Majesty King George the Fourth, the Constitution and Laws of this Country, and the Succession to the Throne in his Majesty’s Illustrious House, *being Protestants*, for the defence of our persons and properties, and to maintain the peace of the country ; and for these purposes we will be at all times ready to assist the civil and military powers, in the just and lawful discharge of their just duties. We also associate in honor of King William the Third, Prince of Orange, whose name we bear, as supporters of his Glorious Memory, and the true religion by him completely established in these kingdoms ; *and in order to prove our gratitude and affection for his name, we will annually celebrate his victory over James at the Boyne, on the first day of July, O. S. in every year, which day shall be our grand æra FOR EVER.*”

OBLIGATIONS OF AN ORANGEMAN.

“ I, A. B. do solemnly and voluntarily swear, that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to his Majesty King George the Fourth ; and that I will to the utmost of my power, support and maintain the Laws and Constitution of the United Kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, and the succession to the Throne in his Majesty’s Illustrious House—*being Protestant !*

“ And I do swear that I am not, nor ever was, a Roman Catholic or Papist. That I was not, nor ever will be, a Member of the Society called United Irishmen, nor any other Society or Body of Men, who are enemies to his Majesty, or the Glorious Constitution of these realms. And that I never took the Oath of Secrecy to that or any other Treasonable Society.

“ I swear that I will, as far as in my power lies, assist the Magistrates and Civil Authorities of these Kingdoms, in the lawful execution of their official duties, when called on. That I will be true and faithful to every BROTHER ORANGEMAN in all just actions. That I will not wrong, or know him to be wronged or injured, without giving due notice thereof, if in my power. And I solemnly swear, in the presence of Almighty God, that I will always CONCEAL, and NEVER will REVEAL, either part or parts of what is now to be PRIVATELY COMMUNICATED to me, unless to a Brother Orangeman, knowing him to be so by strict trial and due examination, or from the word of a Brother Orangeman ; or until I shall be authorised so to do by the Proper Authorities of the Orange Institution.— That I will not write it, indite it, cut, carve, stain, stamp, or engrave it, or cause it to be done, lest any part thereof might be known. And lastly, I do swear, that I have not, to my knowledge or belief, been proposed or rejected in, or expelled from any other Orange Society. So help me God, and keep me stedfast in this my Orangeman’s Obligation.

OBLIGATIONS OF A PURPLEMAN.

“ I do solemnly and voluntarily swear, that I will keep the signs, words and tokens of a Purpleman from an Orangeman, as well as from the ignorant, unless authorised to communicate them by the Proper Authorities of the Orange Institution.* And that I will not make, nor assist at, or sanction the making of any Member in any other order purporting to be part of the Orange System, than the ORANGE and PURPLE, which are the original Orders of the Orange Institution. So help me God, and keep me steadfast in this my Purpleman’s Obligation.”

On this declaration, and these oaths, I cannot compress into the compass of this address ALL that suggests itself—it is sufficient for my present purpose that I say, (and I refer upon this important question to the opinion of such of your law officers as are not themselves Orangemen), that they are unconstitutional, illegal, and form a code inconsistent with the spirit of the British Constitution—that they who are bound by them have, *ipso facto* become an unlawful association, exclusive mysterious secret-keeping, and most dangerous ; so dangerous that *they* must be put down, or the peace and happiness and Constitution of our country are placed in perilous jeopardy.

* The proper Authorities, for whom liberty to make such disclosure must be obtained, is the GRAND ORANGE LODGE OF IRELAND, signified under their Great Seal.

To begin with the Declaration. With respect to the prefatory part of it—the declaration of *supporting, &c. His Majesty and the Constitution, &c. &c.* and on which the Orangeman founds his claim to loyalty and impunity—it is only necessary to observe, that in all confederacies or conspiracies of a political nature, which have ever endangered the peace of the empire, or brought its Constitution into danger, there has always been found some declaration of the same imposing and deceitful import. In fact, the Ribbonmen, whom the Orange Societies will be indignant at being ranked with—but in whose company they must be at last handed over to the law, and transmitted with disgrace to posterity ;—even the Ribbonmen have put a pretext, and in fact they are more full, explicit, and unconditional in their oath on this subject than the LOYAL Orangemen ; for its first and fundamental clause is,* “ I declare and promise, without any dread or compulsion, allegiance to his present Majesty.” The Ribbonman in no part of his oath has any limitation, condition, restriction, or qualification to his allegiance—but the Orangeman, even in giving colour to his other objects, seems to find his conscience revolt against unconditional allegiance, and limits it to the sovereign and his successors, BEING PROTESTANT !—But of this more in its proper place. It is more apposite here to observe, that in this preliminary declaration, binding

* See the Ribbonman's Oath in the Appendix.

on the Orangeman FOR EVER, he binds himself to do that which *might* be by law and by circumstances made an offence at any time, and at this moment certainly *is so*, in the sense in which we know, the Orangeman swears it, and in that in which he has constantly acted, and is now acting against the law and peace of the country; I mean the obligation in the last clause of the declaration, by which he binds himself “annually to celebrate “the victory of William over James, at the “Boyne, on the first day of July in every year, “which shall be his grand ÆRA FOR EVER.” Here is a specific and particular instance in which it is clear, beyond denial, that the misguided Orangeman in adopting the declaration, binds himself on his honor and his conscience to do that *annually*, which either is, or may become, a direct violation of the laws of his country—THAT which, in fact, *has* become a dangerous and essential cause of outrage and tumult. Before we proceed further consider this well, my Lord!—It is no way dangerous to the public peace, that a body of perhaps 200,000 men* in Ireland (I do not mean to underrate their strength) shall be bound by a positive unconditional solemn obligation FOR EVER, ANNUALLY to do a particular act—*public* act, now proved *in practice* and admitted in *principle*, to have a direct tendency to excite angry passions, and produce disorder, riot,

* See Appendix for an extract from Sir Richard Musgrave's estimate of the numbers in four counties.

and bloodshed? Is it no way dangerous that such a body of men should be bound by a solemn engagement to act *uniformly* and *periodically*, in a particular and specific manner, though the law of the country, modifying itself according to the changing exigencies or circumstances of the times may direct, or enjoin the contrary? Is not such an engagement illegal? Is not this a *banding* against the spirit of the Constitution? Is not this an *unlawful* association, dangerous to the peace and good order of society? If it be said, that should the law of the land at any time make the oath illegal, by directing or enjoining a conduct inconsistent with it, the oath would no longer be binding and the Orangemen would be absolved; I answer, that ALL illegal oaths are destitute of binding force, and that the man who takes such an oath is *at the instant* absolved from it, because in law or in conscience it cannot bind him. But is that a reason why illegal oaths may be taken? Is that an answer to those who contend, that men who take illegal oaths ought to be punished on account of the mischief they may produce? to those who say, that the societies which prescribe and administer them ought to be put down, because by doing so, they are illegal and dangerous? Even the *lowest* Orange Lodge could not adopt such logic!!

But is there no other reply to be given to those who defend the unlawful obligation entered into by these mistaken and misguided men? Does not the melancholy experience of the last two years—of

the last few months particularly, prove to every reasonable man, that the obligation to celebrate those anniversaries is mischievous? What has induced such a number of individuals, otherwise respectable, contrary to the known wish of the Sovereign and of his constitutional advisers, to persevere so pertinaciously in these public celebrations of King William, to the disturbance of the public tranquillity, to the excitement of riot, to the perpetration of disgraceful outrage? What *can* it be but the spirit, the evil spirit created and kept in perpetual action by this illegal engagement? What can it be but that the ill-advised conscience of the Orangemen is misled by this engagement, by which he is pledged to his brethren to act in this particular way, at the peril of virtual perjury or treachery to his cause, his confederates, or his "SUPERIORS;" and that he finds his oath impels him one way while his Sovereign's will, the law of the land, the warning of the Magistrate, prudence, justice, the love of social order, and all the Christian and civic and social duties call him the other! But this is a minor topic. Let us consider this declaration and oath in another and much more interesting and important view—its relation to genuine loyalty—to constitutional principle, and to the statute law of the country.

Your Excellency will perceive not only that the declaration, but the Orange Oath itself, though less obviously, contains a specific limitation of the allegiance of those who subscribe and swear them.

In the declaration, the Orangist says, " We associate to support and defend his Majesty King George IV. the constitution and laws of this country, and the succession to the Throne in his Majesty's illustrious house, BEING PROTESTANTS." And in the Oath " I, A. B. do swear, that I will be " faithful and bear true allegiance to his Majesty " King George IV. &c. &c. and will support and " maintain, &c. the succession to the Throne of " his Majesty's illustrious house, BEING PROTES- " TANTS."* It is of the last moment, my Lord, to consider what is the import and object this restriction in the vow of allegiance of these persons. Let us exercise our understanding, aided by the experience which the practices of these societies has given us ; let us combine profession and practice, theory and fact. If we do so, I aver, fearless of contradiction that can be given to me by any constitutional lawyer, or by any man of sound unbiassed understanding or common sense upon the subject, that this restrictive clause imports what the lawyer calls a *negative pregnant*—and that the meaning is, that if the King or any of his successors shall cease to be Protestants, they will withdraw from or refuse their allegiance. If that be not the meaning, the restrictive clause is idle—it is the babble of children—not the well considered and deliberate declaration of a body of men intending

* In order to show the TRUE spirit of this oath and its treasonable tendency, I refer to the oath formerly sworn by the Orangemen, and the secret articles,—See *Appendix*.

to convey meaning in the most solemn way, and for the most important purpose, to bind the conscience, and govern the conduct of subjects to their Sovereign ; nay, it is worse, than idle ; it is a dangerous ambiguity, which may lead the imprudent person who subscribes, or swears and acts upon it, into the danger of incurring all the penalties of high treason !

For the further proof of this construction, and that this clause is meant to operate as a restriction of the general allegiance which every British subject owes to his Sovereign, I would refer to the avowed principle which those gentlemen boast of at this moment, as that which governs their conduct ; I refer to the CONSCIENCE of the Orangemen with equal confidence as I do to the GOOD COMMON SENSE of the rest of my countrymen who have observed the tone, temper, and conduct of those societies, since the moment of their origin ; and I would say that the meaning, the full and explicit meaning of this restrictive clause limiting the allegiance of the Orangemen, put into express words and truly detailed is this : ‘ The Orangeman sup-
 ‘ posing the Protestant religion to be in danger
 ‘ from the growing spirit of liberality to the Catho-
 ‘ lics, evinced by the Legislature having repealed
 ‘ many of the penal laws, from the demands of the
 ‘ Catholics for further repeal, and for complete
 ‘ emancipation, from the avowed willingness of
 ‘ several bodies of Protestants that such emancipa-
 ‘ tion should be conceded—and from the danger to

‘ which the Protestant Church and State are ex-
 ‘ posed from the tendency of the Catholic Creed
 ‘ to usurpation, and the alleged aptitude of the
 ‘ Catholics to rebellion, the Orangeman, influenced
 ‘ by those views and those apprehensions, resolves
 ‘ that the legislative and executive power of the
 ‘ state, are not safely to be trusted without the
 ‘ superintendance and aid of Protestant societies,
 ‘ with the maintenance and protection of the Pro-
 ‘ testant establishments—and therefore he binds
 ‘ himself by this oath and declaration to and with
 ‘ his brother Orangeman, that they will unite for
 ‘ the *protection of the Protestant religion*, and the
 ‘ **CONSTITUTION**, as it **NOW STANDS**, in
 ‘ relation to that religion ; and that as far as in him
 ‘ and them lies, he will endeavour to obviate the
 ‘ danger, and to **PREVENT** any such change in
 ‘ the **PRESENT STATE OF THE LAW**, as
 ‘ will restore the Catholic to equal rights and equal
 ‘ enjoyments of political and civil rights with the
 ‘ Protestant ; and that for these purposes they will
 ‘ pay allegiance to, and support a Protestant
 ‘ Sovereign and his successors, being **PROTESTANT**,
 ‘ **BUT NOT OTHERWISE.**’*

My Lord, if this *be* the nature of the oath, there
 can remain no doubt that all the epithets I have
 applied to it are appropriate and deserved, and that
 it is unconstitutional, illegal, and **SEDITIONOUS**—for

* The words in the oath of 1800 were “ I will bear true alle-
 “ giance, &c. so long as he or they maintain the Protestant As-
 “ cendancy,” &c. See also the first secret article. *Appendix.*

what does such an oath as this amount to?—First, it is a diminution of the unqualified allegiance which all good subjects owe to the monarch. It is more; it is an oath binding to a withdrawing of allegiance from the Sovereign, under certain circumstances—on an event, which, as a sincere Protestant, I hope, and as a rational man, I am confident, will never take place, *i. e.* the King of these islands becoming a *Catholic*; but which, if by an alteration of the law, or even without any alteration, it did take place, would still leave the Sovereign entitled to allegiance. It is, in the next place, an oath, by which, in substance, the swearer pledges himself to do every thing in his power to preserve the law and Protestant establishment in its present state; to resist Popish innovation; to preserve Protestant ascendancy; to prevent the Sovereign from becoming a Catholic, or a Catholic from succeeding to the throne. Such an object, my Lord, may be a fair one to pursue by local and constitutional means—but an oath binding the swearer to pursue it by all means and even without reference to any changes of law or circumstances, must be UNCONSTITUTIONAL—It must be so, because it is a principle of our Constitution, that the Legislature shall have uncontrolled and uncontrollable authority to enact or repeal—to abrogate or to alter any law on any subject, civil or religious. It is the principle of our Constitution, that even as to the regulation of the descent of the Crown itself, the Legislature shall have full power—a power

exercised in the very instance of their favourite William being placed on the British throne ! That oath, therefore, must be unconstitutional, which has a tendency directly or indirectly to impede the Legislature in the most full and free exercise of their legislative function ; and such a tendency any oath has, which binds the swearer to prevent, as far as in the swearer lies, the repealing of *any* law ! So much for its being unconstitutional—the oath is ILLEGAL, because all voluntary oaths, when administered by men not magistrates, or for an illegal purpose are so, and it is SEDITIOUS, because all acts are so that have a “ direct or indirect tendency to overawe the measures, or distract or disturb the course of the King’s government.”

But it may be urged that the Orange oath alludes only to a prevention, by *legal* means, of a change of the laws in favour of Catholics, or to preserve a Protestant government and monarch. What does *that* resolve itself into ? To this sophistry, certainly—that they will, through the medium of the association, use all means, short of a proveable and punishable violation of law, to effect their purpose ; that is, all safe means, without laying themselves open to prosecution for sedition or treason ; that they will not use open force, or any of those means for the use of which they would be immediately liable to criminal prosecution ; in other words, that they will use all *safe* and *legal* means to effect an *illegal* purpose—the overawing and influencing of the legislature ! Where is the lawyer who will

say that such an oath, even with this gloss, can be reconciled with the most obvious principles of the Constitution? But further, this argument leaves the main question untouched, for that question is, whether the *oath itself* and the association which it keeps together, be not unconstitutional, illegal, and seditious? The question is, whether a confederacy by oath, binding the persons who take it to avail themselves of all the various *legal* modes of impeding, influencing, or controlling the Executive or the Legislative be not itself illegal? The wonder is, my Lord, not that this reasoning should have in the first instance, imposed upon the credulous and unthinking, but that, after the question had once become a subject of discussion, any legal or constitutional mind could entertain a doubt upon the subject.

After showing the oath thus unconstitutional and seditious, on general and common law principles, perhaps it is unnecessary to add, that besides the reasoning which is suggested by general law and constitutional principles, already adverted to, the illegality of this oath is proved by reference to the positive enactments of the 50th of the late King, ch. 102—the very act under which the late prosecutions against Keenan and other Ribbonmen were instituted, and under which they were convicted and transported as FELONS! But let us see what does this statute enact, and how the Orangemen who take

the oath violate it? I give the words : it enacts, “ That any person or persons who at any time after the passing of this act, shall administer or cause to be administered, or cause, &c. or be present at the administering or tendering, &c. by any person or persons in Ireland upon a *book* or *otherwise, any oath* or *engagement* importing to bind the person or persons taking the same, to be of any association, brotherhood, committee, society, or confederacy whatsoever, in reality formed or to be formed for *sedition* purposes, or to *disturb the public peace*, &c. or to compel any person or persons *to do* or *omit to do*, any act or acts whatsoever, under whatever name, description, or *pretence*, such association, &c. shall assume, or pretend to be formed or constituted, or ANY oath or engagement importing to bind the person taking the same to *obey* the orders,* or rules, or commands of any committee or other body of men NOT LAWFULLY constituted, or of any captain, leader or commander not appointed by, or under, the authority of his Majesty, or of any person or persons not having lawful authority, OR not to inform or give evidence against any brother, associate, confederate or other person, or not to reveal or discover his or her having taken any illegal oath ; or not to discover any illegal act done or to be done, &c. shall be adjudged guilty of felony, and be trans-

* See Appendix, where some of the *Rules* for the government of Orange Lodges, and some of the *Secret Articles* are given, as printed in 1800, and adopted by the Grand Lodge on the 10th of January in that year.

ported for life ; and any person who shall TAKE any such oath, &c. shall be adjudged guilty of felony, and be transported for seven years.

Now if the Orange Society be in reality, (as I have shown it to be) formed for a purpose, which the law makes SEDITIOUS ; or if, under whatever name, description, or pretext, such association shall assume, or under whatever *pretence* to be formed---its object, or its effect be, to DISTURB THE PUBLIC PEACE---a fact of which those who have witnessed for the last three years, the *actual* disturbance of the public peace, which has been produced by the CELEBRATIONS of this society, will scarcely express a doubt. I say if it were conceded, either that the society was calculated for Sedition or for disturbance of the public peace, the application of the statute to this oath and to the society, would be, almost intuitively obvious ; and it would be indisputably certain, that every Orangeman who has administered, or been present at the administration of this oath, would be guilty of felony, and liable, upon conviction, to transportation for life---a punishment which, if strictly inflicted upon all the guilty, would quickly thin the overgrown population of the island by the whole amount of the Orange Societies in Ireland. If I am to be told that the OATH does not come within the description of the statute, because the Orangemen does not swear “ *to disturb* the public peace,” I shall only say, that the denial of my construction on that ground is little less than absurd---for it never could be the mean-

ing of the Legislature that the oath to be punished should be an *express* oath to *disturb the public peace* --- because no such oath ever was, or probably ever will be taken. The oath intended, therefore, must be an oath to do something *by which* the public peace must be, or probably would be, disturbed; and if the obligation or engagement now entered into by the Orangemen to celebrate the anniversary of the Victory at the Boyne---or the birth of King William, by public exhibition and parade (and it is parade that the Orangemen intend, for they are too zealous to be content with closet devotion on that head) be not an oath "to disturb the public peace," in that sense of the phrase, I really cannot imagine, nor, I believe, can your Excellency, what other oath would. I presume, therefore, that no rational doubt can be entertained that the Orangemen are, on that point, GUILTY of a violation of a positive Act of Parliament---as I have proved them guilty on the principles of constitution and common law. But if I am in error as to this clause, what are we to do with that which makes criminal an oath to "compel any person or persons *to do, or omit to do, any thing, &c.*"? Does not the Orange oath, or declaration, or engagement, compel the person who takes* it to do every thing (*legal if you will*) pre-

* The Secret Articles adopted in January 1800, before adverted to, are ten in number, and prescribe to the Orangeman various things to *do* and to *omit*. Among them is the following curious one: "We are not to carry away any money, goods, or any thing, from any person whatsoever, *except arms and ammu-*

scribed by the Rules of the Society---and to omit doing any thing that is prohibited by those rules, or that would bring the society or the members of it, as such, into disgrace or punishment? Does it not bind him to a frightful *concealment* of **WHATEVER** may be communicated to him when he takes that oath? Does it not oblige him not to endanger, or assent to any thing that would endanger, the Protestant Religion, Ascendancy, or Succession? Or has his oath or engagement no influence on his conduct or acts, positively or affirmatively? Again; if that clause do not reach them, what shall we say to that other clause, which makes any oath felony, that “binds the person taking the same to **OBEY** the orders, or **RULES**, or commands of any committee or other body of men not lawfully constituted, &c. or to **ASSEMBLE** at the desire or command of any person or persons not having lawful authority, &c.” Is the Orangeman, or is he not, bound by his oath, or his engagement, to obey the **RULES** or commands of his superiors in the Orange* Hierarchy? Is he, or is he not, bound to assemble at their, or any of their desire or command, and have they lawful power and authority, and if so, *where did they get it?* But again, and finally, does the “Orange engagement bind him” in effect, “not to *mention*, and those only from an *enemy!*” *Quere*—Who is to decide whether enemy or not?

* In the Sixth Secret Article of the Rules of January, 1800, the Orangeman is bound “To appear in ten hours warning, or whatever time is required, if possible, &c.”

“ give evidence or to inform against any brother, “ associate, confederate, or other person, &c.” by virtue of that clause of concealment which I have already adverted to ; or does it not bind him “ not to “ reveal or discover any illegal act done or to be “ done, &c.” Read the words again, my Lord, where, in express terms, he swears “ in the presence “ of Almighty God, that he WILL always CONCEAL, “ and never will reveal, either part or parts of what “ is now *privately* communicated to him, unless to a “ brother Orangeman, knowing him to be so by “ strict trial and due examination, or from the word “ of a brother Orangeman—or until he shall be “ authorized to do so by the PROPER AUTHORITY of “ the Orange Institution—that he will not write it, “ cut, cause, stain, stamp, or engross it, or cause it to “ be done, lest any part thereof might be known ;” and again, “ that he will be true and faithful to every “ brother Orangeman, and will not wrong or suffer “ him to be wronged, without giving due notice “ thereof!” If all this be not swearing to obey rules—or to do, or omit to do, any act, &c. &c. the Orangeman must prove it by some logic, taught only, or “ *privately communicated* to him” at the time of his initiation ! Ordinary understandings--- nay even a *Jesuit's*---cannot comprehend it !*

* The 8th of the Secret Articles of 1800, is the following : “ An Orangeman is to keep a brother’s secrets as his own—unless in cases of murder, treason, and perjury !” If this be so, then only in *three* of the black catalogue of crimes can justice hope the disclosure of the Orangeman.

But much it imports, my Lord, before we quit this part of the subject, to consider with increased attention, that part of this most formidable oath, which binds the swearer to EVERLASTING CONCEALMENT of what is communicated to him at the time of his initiation.---What can it be that is communicated? and why should it be for ever buried in the breast of the initiated?---It strikes me, my Lord, that by considering attentively this clause of the oath, and *all* its consequences, we shall attain a more accurate knowledge of the true nature of this confederacy, and of its dangerous tendency, than in any other way. For let us reflect a little what is communicated at the time of swearing? It must be either a *limitation*, *qualification*, or *explanation* of the oath---or it must be some *principle* of conduct, not disclosed in the oath itself---or it must be some *fact* or *facts*---it must be some of those, or all of them together. Now if it be an explanation---or qualification of the literal and obvious meaning of the oath, what a picture must this give us of the insincerity, and double dealing of this society? What was ever to be found in the evasion, equivocation, or mental reservation, attributed to Catholic insincerity, more odious or more dangerous than this? yet what can be more natural looking at the whole of these documents together, than to infer that this private communication, made in such 'dreadful secrecy,' is really some limitation or qualification of the literal oath? Is it not natural to suppose that the novice, when he ap-

proaches his 'superior' to be sworn and admitted, is *then* informed of the true import, extent, and real value of the clause which is to *restrict* that allegiance which most probably he had before sworn to in the usual and legal way without qualification or restriction? Would not the novice candidate naturally court such an explanation? Would he not, if he remembered his *constitutional* oath of allegiance, naturally ask "pray Sir, what is the reason that *this* oath, which professes to be an oath of allegiance, is so differently worded from that which I took when I was sworn to allegiance before the Judge or the Magistrate?—that oath had not the words '*being Protestant.*' I then knew that the King was a Protestant—that by law he must be so, so long as the law remains unaltered, and it never occurred to me then that there was the least danger of his Majesty becoming a Papist—or of the Legislature permitting him to do so. Why is it therefore, Sir, that this restrictive clause is now introduced, and what is to be the effect of it if I should swear it? for I am already bound by my former oath of allegiance to His Majesty, whether he be Protestant or Papist? I ask for information, Sir, as I know there must be some good reason for this alteration, or the Orange Gentlemen who framed it would not have introduced it." To this, in all human probability, the learned or loyal gentlemen who was to administer the oath would answer pretty much in this fashion, "My good Sir, read the oath again." * * *

"So—you now see you are to be bound by that

oath, never to disclose what I shall privately communicate to you, if you take this oath ; therefore make up your mind whether you are prepared to swear to this secrecy, whatever my communication may be.”

To this the candidate, who is perhaps his neighbour, or tenant, or dependant, would probably answer, “ Sir, I have great confidence in your honor, and that you would not ask me to do what is wrong, and I therefore do agree to swear to secrecy.” Then proceeds the Deputy Grand Master in something like what follows :—If I do not conjecture rightly I am sorry for it, but when a clandestine oath to secrecy of this kind, affecting the allegiance of the King’s subjects is imposed, we have nothing but conjecture to guide us ; we cannot ascertain with certainty what passes between the parties, and that is the great mischief. The Orangeman, however, who on his solemn oath conceals the truth, cannot consistently blame the error—it is to be presumed that secrecy was enjoined that we should not come at the truth, and therefore the Orangeman accomplishes his purpose when we mistake his mysteries. But he probably says—‘ Sir, you must know, then, that the oath you have taken enjoins secrecy as to what we communicate when we swear a member, because we should be liable to legal punishment if it were known, and proved either against the person who administers, or him who takes the oath. The fact is, that this society

‘ has been formed for the purpose of not only pre-
 ‘ serving and upholding the Protestant Establish-
 ‘ ment in Ireland—but also to prevent as far as we
 ‘ can the enacting of any laws, which shall go to
 ‘ place the Catholics in any better situation than
 ‘ they now are. We think that if the Penal Laws,
 ‘ such as remain of them, were repealed, we, the
 ‘ Protestants of Ireland, would be in danger, not
 ‘ of turning Papists, for that is in our own power,
 ‘ nor of the Papists taking by force the property of
 ‘ the Church, or subverting the Protestant hier-
 ‘ archy; for the whole power of England must
 ‘ always be at our back and must always be much
 ‘ more than sufficient to uphold and defend the Pro-
 ‘ testant Establishment in Ireland against any
 ‘ Popish force, *if* the King and the Parliament
 ‘ shall continue *really* Protestant. But we think,
 ‘ that the King favours his Catholic subjects more
 ‘ than he ought to do; he is sworn by his Corona-
 ‘ tion oath to support the Protestant Religion,
 ‘ which oath, we contend, if rightly construed,
 ‘ obliges him to secure to the Protestants all civil
 ‘ and political rights and privileges which they ever
 ‘ enjoyed, and to continue to exclude the Catho-
 ‘ lics from all they ever lost—that, not only all
 ‘ places in the Army and Navy should be filled by
 ‘ Protestants, but that all places of profit under the
 ‘ Crown, of every kind, great and small—all offices
 ‘ in Corporations, all seats in Parliament—all
 ‘ Sheriffs’ places—all Grand Juries and Petty Ju-
 ‘ ries, should be filled by Protestants only; and

‘ that the Catholics should be contented with
 ‘ having the liberty of labouring for their bread,
 ‘ and acquiring such property by their industry as
 ‘ would enable them to subsist, but give them no
 ‘ power ; that they should have liberty of consci-
 ‘ ence, so far as to have masses in private houses
 ‘ or chapels—but merely through connivance; and
 ‘ that there should be no open and public profession
 ‘ of Popery allowed. We think the good of the
 ‘ Protestant part of the community, and the safety
 ‘ of the Protestant Church, requires this arrange-
 ‘ ment. In this state things were in Ireland above
 ‘ fifty or sixty years back, and then all was well !
 ‘ The Catholics under that arrangement not only
 ‘ were humble, but they did not even *propagate* in
 ‘ the same ruinous degree that they have since
 ‘ done, and by which they have so overpeopled the
 ‘ country that we have now only innumerable beg-
 ‘ gars on our estates, instead of the less numerous,
 ‘ but hard-working industrious people that then
 ‘ farmed them. They have been lately encouraged
 ‘ to such a degree, that they beard us every where,
 ‘ appearing with all the confidence of men who
 ‘ have as good a right to freedom and equal rights
 ‘ as we have, and they even have the impudence
 ‘ to put forward this claim openly. This tendency
 ‘ to encourage Catholics appears to have reached
 ‘ the Throne and the Legislature. Act after Act
 ‘ is passed in their favour—and the King himself,
 ‘ forgetting his Coronation oath, not only gives the
 ‘ Royal assent to those bills, by which they become

‘ to our great mortification and injury, but in his
 ‘ general manner he appears to have the same pa-
 ‘ ternal affection for the Papist part of his subjects
 ‘ as he has for us. Things have come to that pass
 ‘ that the Papists, from what is called the liberal
 ‘ spirit of the times, are very likely, and that ere
 ‘ long, to obtain from the Legislature all that they
 ‘ claim, unless we the Protestants rouse ourselves
 ‘ and resist. We are in great danger! But you
 ‘ know that publicly to resist an Act of Parliament,
 ‘ or by open force to prevent the Papists from en-
 ‘ joying what the law allows them, would be, if not
 ‘ treasonable, certainly punishable very severely,
 ‘ and therefore the Protestants cannot do any thing
 ‘ openly in that way; but instead of that, a mode
 ‘ has been thought of, which, with perfect safety
 ‘ to ourselves, will enable us to keep down the
 ‘ Papists, and to secure to ourselves all that yet re-
 ‘ mains to us of monopoly as Protestants; and
 ‘ which, if unfortunately we shall be disappointed in
 ‘ our hopes on that head, will, at all events, leave
 ‘ us in sufficient strength to protect the Protestant
 ‘ faith by force of arms; and *that mode is*, by form-
 ‘ ing the Protestants into this Orange Society, and
 ‘ binding them together by oath to a common pur-
 ‘ pose, and that an oath of secrecy. With respect
 ‘ to the clause of restriction in the oath you are to
 ‘ take, “being Protestant,” the reason why those
 ‘ words have been inserted is this: Every thing, as
 ‘ I said, now leads to *Popery*. The King will vio-
 ‘ late, we apprehend, if he has not already violated,

‘ his *coronation oath*. The House of Commons also
 ‘ appear to us to act in a way quite inconsistent
 ‘ with the safety of the Protestant cause. Every
 ‘ act they pass, and every vote they come to in
 ‘ favour of the Papists, is so far Popery ! and such
 ‘ is their indifference about us Protestants, and our
 ‘ interests, that if his Majesty proposed to those
 ‘ Commons to pass an act repealing that on which
 ‘ the Protestant succession rests, it is very impro-
 ‘ bable they would resist it. We therefore have
 ‘ collected and sworn a great body of Protestants,
 ‘ closely united by the oath, and by the “ private
 ‘ communication ” which we hold together, and
 ‘ our main object is this : to resist by every means
 ‘ in our power—by influence—by intrigue—by the
 ‘ show of numbers and by intimidation* of the

* Whatever may become of the perpetrators of the late out-
 rage—and whether *that* were or were not treasonable—it may
 be prudent for the Orangeman from henceforth, before he en-
 gages in any other patriotic or religious act of aggression against
 the Executive or the Magistracy, to consider well how easily he
 may be led by intemperate party spirit into the commission of
 an overt act of HIGH TREASON, for which he may be made to
 atone to the peace of his offended country, by his blood on the
 scaffold ! For his government, I would suggest to him, in the
 words of a writer on Crown Law of the highest character—that
 “ on the trial of Lord George Gordon, the Court of King’s
 Bench declared their unanimous opinion, that an attempt by
 INTIMIDATION and violence, to force the repeal of a law (and
 of course to *prevent* the repeal of one, or to control Legislative
 authority) was a LEVYING WAR against the King,” *i. e.* “ HIGH
 TREASON.” This short extract from 1st East’s Crown Law, 72,
 I would strongly recommend to Orangemen to have placed up

‘ Legislature and the Government, so far as we can
 ‘ do it without danger of proof and punishment,
 ‘ to prevent any further relaxation of the laws
 ‘ against Catholics, and to keep to ourselves all we
 ‘ at present have; and we have resolved, that if
 ‘ things go much further in favour of Popery, *that*
 ‘ will be, so far, evidence of actual Popery in the
 ‘ King; and by swearing this new oath of allegi-
 ‘ ance, binding ourselves to allegiance to his Ma-
 ‘ jesty, “*being Protestant,*” we, in fact, revoke the
 ‘ former oath of allegiance—for the last oath is
 ‘ always the binding one; and while we give an
 ‘ appearance of loyalty and allegiance to our body,
 ‘ which must greatly aid us in promoting our grand

in every Orange Lodge—it is a necessary, and but a charitable
 caution to men whose *excessive* loyalty has so curiously placed
 them that they are in imminent danger of becoming TRAITORS
 to their KING—and sacrificing their lives to justice for the
 good of their COUNTRY!

It might not be useless also to impress upon their minds, that
 in point of FACT, there are men—and men high in character
 and in station, whose oath no jury, save an Orange one, could
 disbelieve—and whose opinion, on their oaths is, “that the
 “object of the conspiracy (to outrage his Excellency and the
 “law at the Theatre, &c. and which none will deny to have
 “arisen out of the Orange System) is to mark to the public and
 “to the Government, that there exists in this country *a power*
 “*too strong for the laws,* and with which it would be *dangerous*
 “*for the King’s Government to contend.*” What prudent Orange-
 man will risk his head on the question whether this be not
 TREASON? See the Attorney General’s affidavit to ground the
 application for a criminal information against J. Hamilton, an
 “Orangeman, and the son of an Orangeman.”

‘ object, we shall be really at liberty to frustrate or
 ‘ oppose all acts of his Majesty’s Government which
 ‘ shall not be, in our opinion, truly Protestant—
 ‘ for, the oath, you see, is to support him, *being*
 ‘ *Protestant*—that is, so far as he is IN OUR OPI-
 ‘ NION really *Protestant* in his conduct, and shall
 ‘ act for the true good of the Protestant cause ; but
 ‘ so far as WE shall FIND HIM act otherwise,
 ‘ by giving his sanction to laws which, in spirit,
 ‘ shall be contrary to his coronation oath, so far
 ‘ we shall not be bound—the King, in those acts,
 ‘ not “ *being Protestant.*” Thus, you see, the great
 ‘ principle of the Society is opposition to the *Pa-*
 ‘ *pists* ; and I therefore now communicate to you,
 ‘ that you must understand the whole of the oath
 ‘ with reference to that grand principle ; and you
 ‘ must, during the whole of your future life, in all
 ‘ your conduct, keep this main object in view ;
 ‘ and, as much as in you lies, oppose by all means
 ‘ in your power short of committing a crime which
 ‘ may be proved against you and bring you to pun-
 ‘ ishment and the Society to disgrace, any further
 ‘ concession to the Catholics. You must also, as
 ‘ far as in you lies, prevent the Legislature from
 ‘ passing any act inconsistent with its Protestant
 ‘ character in OUR sense of it ;—both publicly
 ‘ and privately you must express disapprobation
 ‘ and censure of every act of the Government
 ‘ which shall have a tendency to favour Papists ;
 ‘ and, for the sake of example, you must in all
 ‘ cases give public intimation of your opinion on

‘ this subject. Finally, if an Orangeman shall at
 ‘ any time be impleaded in any Court of Justice, for
 ‘ any thing done by him in discharge of his duty to
 ‘ *this Society*, and in support of the *Protestant cause*,
 ‘ you must consider that act as *not* criminal, and if
 ‘ on his Grand Jury ignore the bills---or on a Petty
 ‘ Jury, acquit him.’ See the happy illustration of
 this, in that event of the late prosecution, when,
 on a body of evidence the most full and cogent that
 ever was laid before a Jury, the Jury disagreed,
 and there was of course no verdict! I earnestly
 implore the impartial and unsworn reader to peruse
 the report of that trial, as affording the best com-
 ment on what I have been inculcating.

If I have come at all near the truth in guessing
 what the communication of the Master to the Stu-
 dent is in the supposed case, your Excellency need
 not be told how frightful to all good subjects, to
 all truly loyal men, to all the liberal, the peaceful,
 and the good, are the consequences that flow from
 such an oath and such a society. The only answer
 that can be given to me on this head is, that I have
 gratuitously supposed this guilty communication.
 Have I indeed? How can that be proved? Not
 by detailing what those communications are, for
 the Orangeman is by oath prevented from telling
 us. Not by the general tone of conduct which the
 Orangeman has held, for that has been almost a
 continued violation of the law. Not by his lan-
 guage, for that has been overbearing and insolent.
 But I have this powerful argument with me in sup-

port of the truth of my supposition, and that is, that "the communication must be guilty, otherwise it never could have been necessary or expedient to swear solemnly to its concealment?" Why is that communication made a sworn secret, and the holy name of Almighty God sacrilegiously used to give a sanction to the concealment? Is allegiance—is attachment to the Established Religion of the land afraid to show its face? If those men associate for none but fair and honest purposes, why should this impervious veil be thrown between this act of initiation and the public? It may be difficult, with precision, to divine *what* this "Communication" really is, but it is absurd to doubt that it is *something different*, from ought which we learn, from the avowal or disclosures of the society itself—*something* not fair, constitutional, safe! And at all events, it surely is enough to secure the condemnation of such a society in the estimation of any thinking man, and to induce any prudent and considerate government to put it down—that it *may* be a depository for TREASON, where it can be safely lodged, for ever secure from the possibility of detection or punishment.

Again, my Lord, what is there to distinguish this oath from that which the great mass of our peasantry have been seduced to take, and for which they are daily forfeiting their liberty, and expelled from the country of their birth? They differ, my Lord, chiefly in this, that the Ribbonman's oath contains a clause of unconditional loyalty—so does

not the oath of the Orangeman—the one expresses the *whole* of the obligation taken, and therefore the public see the whole guilt of the oath on the face of the paper it is written on. The Orangeman's oath, prepared with more address, dexterously evades detection, and shelters the swearer from punishment, by leaving part, perhaps---(for we know not)---the most important part of what passes between him who gives, and him who takes the oath to verbal communication, and in addition imposes on him who takes it, an obligation of eternal concealment !

My Lord ! my Lord ! it is not *equal* justice that the one oath should be held a felony, and the other be taken by two hundred thousand persons, not only with impunity but boastfully ! Compare both,* my Lord, that of the Ribbonman and the Orangeman, and then judge whether the latter *may* not be by much the more dangerous vehicle of Sedition or Treason ! If it may, surely the equivocal structure, the artful fabric of the one, should not secure to it impunity and favour, while the other is made a transportable Felony !

Is there any thing fanciful or contradicted by our experience in what has been said, as to the true nature and object of the Orange Society ? Look, my Lord, at what experience teaches on this subject. What has been the conduct of the Orange Societies, since their inauspicious birth In Ireland—or, at least, since they have become active as po-

* The Ribbonman's Oath is given in the Appendix.

litical bodies? What has been their fruits, for by these you shall know them? Have you never heard, my Lord, of their achievements in the North of Ireland, when by a grand *coup d'essai*, in guiding state affairs, and protecting the Protestant Religion, under their first *nom de guerre*, Peep of Day Boys, they assumed an executive authority, and expelled hundreds of the unfortunate Catholic peasantry from their wretched, but their *only* homes,* with the merciful option allowed to them of “to Connaught or to Hell!” All this, too, done under the very eye of an Orange Magistracy, whose oath to their Lodge, for that time, superseded their oath to the country, and paralysed the arm of justice. This, my Lord, is not *my* assertion—read the sentiments of Lord Gosford, on the 28th of December, 1795---very shortly after the Orange Societies got their name, and began to act in Ireland. At a meeting of the Magistrates of the county of Armagh, convened by his Lordship, as governor of the county, for the purpose of concerting measures the most likely to check the enormities that had disgraced the county of Armagh, his Lordship proposed among others, the following resolution, which was adopted. I presume the magistrates had become ashamed of the enormities which they had suffered to be committed.

* The name of ORANGE was, I believe, first given to these Societies by the late John Giffard, whose character as a public man is yet sufficiently within the recollection of the public, to render any observation on it here necessary.

“ Resolved, That it appears to this meeting that the County of Armagh is, at this moment, in a state of uncommon disorder ;—that the Roman Catholic inhabitants are grievously oppressed by lawless persons unknown, who attack and plunder their houses by night—and threaten them with instant destruction unless they abandon, immediately, their lands and habitations.”

This was the first of six resolutions proposed by Lord Gosford, whilst governor of the County, to a general meeting of Magistrates, for the purpose, as the third of those resolutions expresses, of stopping the progress of the persecution then carrying on by an ungovernable mob against the Roman Catholic inhabitants of that County. On that occasion the noble Lord spoke a written address to the meeting, in which he told them, that he was as true a Protestant as any in that place, and that from holding the situation which he did in the County, he was called upon, and would declare his sentiments without fear and without disguise. That meeting consisted of the whole body of the Magistracy of the County of Armagh, and being convened for the purpose I have mentioned—to concert measures to check the disgraceful enormities that were likely soon to reduce it to the deepest distress, his Lordship’s words to them on that occasion are the most unimpeachable evidence that can be resorted to of the nature, spirit, and extent of Orangism at that time; when only the first quarterly return

of the success of that dangerous society was made.—In part of his address his Lordship said, “It is no secret, that a persecution, accompanied
 “with all the circumstances of ferocious cruelty,
 “which have in all ages distinguished that calamity, is now raging in this County. Neither
 “age nor sex, nor even acknowledged innocence, as to any guilt in the late disturbances,
 “is sufficient to excite mercy or afford protection. The only crime, which the wretched
 “objects of this ruthless persecution are charged
 “with, is a crime indeed of easy proof: *It is*
 “*simply a profession of the Roman Catholic faith,*
 “or an intimate connection with a person professing that faith. A lawless banditti have constituted themselves judges of this new species
 “of delinquency, and the sentence they have
 “denounced is equally concise and terrible! It
 “is nothing less than a confiscation of all property, and an immediate banishment. It would
 “be extremely painful, and surely unnecessary
 “to detail the horrors that attend the execution
 “of so rude and tremendous a proscription. A
 “proscription that certainly exceeds, in the comparative number of those it consigns to ruin
 “and misery, every example that ancient and
 “modern history can supply: for where have we
 “heard, or in what story of human cruelties
 “have we read of more than half the inhabitants
 “of a populous country deprived at one blow of
 “the means, as well as of the fruits of their

“ industry, and driven, in the midst of an incle-
 “ ment season, to seek a shelter for themselves
 “ and their helpless families, where chance may
 “ guide them. This is no exaggerated picture of
 “ the horrid scenes now acting in this country.
 “ Yet surely it is sufficient to awaken sentiments
 “ of indignation and compassion in the coldest
 “ bosoms. These horrors are now acting with
 “ impunity. The spirit of impartial justice (with-
 “ out which law is nothing better than an instru-
 “ ment of tyranny) has for a time disappeared in
 “ the County, and the supineness of the Ma-
 “ gistracy of Armagh is become a common topic
 “ of conversation in every corner of the king-
 “ dom.” Such, my Lord, is the account given
 by a Peer of the Realm, the governor of a
 County, and a loyal Protestant of Orange cru-
 elty!!!

The expulsion of the Catholic peasantry, to
 which I have above alluded, was, I admit, one of
 their boldest essays; but has there been any sus-
 pension of that mischievous influence since? Have
 they not, up to the present hour, been in hostile
 and irritating array against their fellow subjects,
 sometimes insulting, sometimes assaulting, and
 sometimes shedding the blood of those fellow
 subjects? * I do not impute this to all the mem-
 bers of the body. Many of them, nay a large

* See the frequent and emphatic testimony borne against
 them by Grattan—by Ponsonby, and others, in Parliament.
 Some of it is given in the Appendix.

portion, I am persuaded, have not engaged in, nor approved of those gross outrages; but the outrages were nevertheless committed, and committed by Orangemen, and issued from, and grew out of the system, out of that spirit of hostility and rancour to Catholics, which constitutes the essence of the body, is one of the certain results of its existence, and which will unceasingly operate to the disturbance and disgrace of the country, until it shall be laid by the more powerful spirit of equal law. How, indeed, can it be otherwise? The Orange Societies have, in the same degree at least as other confederate bodies, the tendency to extend their limits (I might almost say their *jurisdiction*) and augment their numbers. They pervert and they seduce, to the utmost of their power, not the middle or the higher ranks of Society only; they have an appetite too voracious to be nice; they enroll the very dregs of the Protestant community when they can, and it needs no extraordinary sagacity or knowledge of mankind to estimate what the consequence *must* be of having such men arrayed against any class of their countrymen. Even the Orange Gentleman himself will tell you, that the great labour of the officers of the Society is to restrain their members of the lower order from committing the grossest excesses, and involving themselves and the Society by driftless outrages on the proscribed Papists. What may not be dreaded from sworn members of a *political*

and *religious* association—uneducated, prejudiced, turbulent, dissipated, and inflamed men, taught to look upon themselves, as necessary guardians of the Protestant Faith, of the Protestant Succession; and taught also that the Papist peasantry are the sworn enemies, not only of the Protestant Church and State, but ready at all times to embrue their hands in Protestant blood!—and to massacre and exterminate the race? What hope can we have of peace or good order while such notions are impressed on the minds of a population, embodied under the sacred sanction of an oath, influenced by the worst passions, and prepared to act under the banner of a religious creed? What can be expected when the corporation tradesman, and the under-tenant and dependant of the wealthy Orange Landlord, are both urged forward to insult and aggression, generally safe from legal punishment, against a race of men who are exhibited as “without religion,” without loyalty, without even the ordinary and instinctive compunctions of our nature, men who watch but the safe opportunity of extinguishing the Protestant name by the extermination of the race! It is here, my Lord, it is *thus* that the Orange Oath and the Orange Association disturbs the tranquillity of the land, arrests its prosperity, depraves its morals, enervates its magistracy, weakens its government, destroys mutual confidence between man and man, and checks every social feeling, so necessary to public prosperity and happiness, and instead, pro-

duces suspicion, jealousy, hatred, sedition, insurrection, and rebellion! For, let me appeal my Lord, to the cool judgment of any dispassionate man whether, in the nature of things, it is *possible*, that while the Orange system works in the manner I have described, upon and against the great mass of our population, the Catholic peasantry, that mass should remain inert and unmoved; that they should patiently and unresistingly suffer, without feeling their "spirit stir within them;" that there should not be a reaction; that where a considerable portion of the Protestant Gentlemen of Ireland are publicly, with their Protestant tenantry and tradesmen, formed into a sworn association against them, *they* should not betake themselves to a sworn confederacy for defence or for vengeance! My Lord, it is impossible! Such is not the nature of man so long as suspicion, or fear, or revenge, agitates his bosom. Hence it is, that the Papist confederacies arise. Hence came the several successive societies bound together by oath, which, under various names, have been the objects of legal punishment for the last thirty years, and particularly for the last quarter of a year. Hence that society, in which they seem all to have merged, the miserable Ribbonmen, who have lately occupied the attention of our criminal courts, and whose liberty has been so deservedly sacrificed to justice. All these associations are but results, the natural offspring of the Orange System. They are formed on its model,

and they are actuated by the same malignant spirit. What could be more natural for the Irish peasant, when he saw or felt that a sworn confederacy was formed and in full operation against him, than that he also should resort to a sworn confederacy for defence and protection? Why, he would ask, should we not have a Catholic confederacy, like the Orange one, under the government of sworn officers, and with its committees and its delegates, and its baronial, and county, and city meetings? The same law, he knew, governed the Protestant and the Catholic on this point, and from the instance of the Orange Lodges tolerated and countenanced, he could not but infer that the formation of sworn confederacies were lawful. Oh! but says the Orangeman—"Our association is for the defence of the Constitution and Protestantism; the Ribbon Association is for the subversion of both." The Ribbonman may very plausible reply, "it is true you pretend to associate for the defence of your religion and the Constitution; but I know by experience, and indeed you publicly avow, that your association is *against the Catholic*, : Am I not therefore warranted in associating to *defend them*? I think myself in as great danger from you as you from me, I may surely resort to the same mode of defence, without being for *that* reason a rebel or a traitor. You say your object is *only* a lawful defence of your Church and the Constitution; I say, that the form of your oath comprises other things which *I* know not, and *you* are sworn

not to disclose. How can I be safe from them? and am I not the more justified in strengthening myself against you, as I find that in your capacity of Orangeman you insult and injure me, both publicly and privately whenever you think proper, and that opportunity offers? With respect to *my* oath, it has not in it any secret article, and unlike yours it professes explicit and plain allegiance to our Protestant Sovereign.—If I shall be guilty of any aggression against you and the State, it clearly will not be in consequence of any thing expressed in my oath, or that may be involved in any of its clauses.—*You* may be guilty both of aggression against me and of sedition against the State, without any violation of your oath; nay, by acting in obedience to it, if your “private communication” shall enjoin it. How is it then, that my oath is punishable by law; your’s, though more objectionable in its form, and capable of so much mischief, is never made an object of criminal punishment?—Is not this another instance in which I have ground of complaint, that the law is not *equally* administered to both of us?” Yes, my Lord, believe me, sworn confederacies of a political kind, if they be tolerated to one class of subjects, will continue to disturb and disgrace us. So long as the Orange Society, as a sworn body, shall be suffered to subsist as a lawful one, Ireland will be overrun with dangerous, seditious, and treasonable conspiracies!

In other respects, how does this mischievous

body operate against the peace and good order of society? It cherishes amongst its own members a saucy spirit of insubordination—An organized body, with Grand Masters, Deputy Grand Masters, and all the pomp and circumstance of corporate existence and civil power, cannot easily be taught to look on themselves as ordinary subjects—as neither more nor better than their neighbours. They assume the port and tone of men in authority—more particularly, if they reckon men of rank or wealth, or high official characters among them—if they are permitted to assume a public state—to display power and pageantry—to go forth in processions in armed force—and putting forward an assumed connection with political purpose—as avowed and acknowledged protectors of Church and State—**SWORN** protectors! Such men will necessarily assert a political consequence in the State—they will claim privileges, and form particular opinions, as a body, on affairs of State and public concern—they will announce those opinions with authority—they will look for respect and attention to them. Like men who think they “do the State some service,” they will call for observance and consideration from the State—they will at last assume an air of direction and control—they will dare to differ from the Executive—nay, sometimes even from the Legislature itself. They will not indeed openly resist either, unless in cases where law may be doubtful or ambiguous—but the wishes—the requests—nay, the injunction of a particular ma-

gistrate—of the very Sovereign himself—they will disregard—they will treat with contumely and ridicule—they will poison the public ear with complaints and suspicions—by insinuated if not expressed charges—they will seek to overawe by their numbers, and control by their uncalled for advice and saucily declared opinions—they will even aim at sharing the Legislative and Executive authority of the State by indirect influence—and, when they are resisted or fail, they will become the open opponents and calumniators of the Government, which has resisted and foiled them ; the spirit of insubordination and discontent then rises to its height—and infests alike public life and private society ; the crisis arrives, and it becomes indispensable either to crush or to yield to this arrogant and presuming body ! Pray, my Lord, is it not plain that this crisis *has* arrived ? Have we not witnessed, in the progress of the Orange System, all that I have described ? Has not your Lordship and your Government *suffered* all ? If you doubt it, it is because your exalted rank and office prevents you from mixing with and observing what passes in general society. Alas, my Lord, you know little of the saucy tone, the haughty phrase, the insolent menace in which the Orangeman avows his disapprobation of you, and predicts the triumph which he anticipates from his persevering opposition to you and them. You *must go*, say they, my Lord—you must retire, or you will be recalled with digrace, from the Government of

Ireland, for daring, even in the apparently insignificant instance of dressing King William's Statue, to disregard and to disobey the mandate of the Orangemen of Ireland. To insult the Papists in that particular and emphatic manner had become their presumptive right—it had grown into prescription, and these rights and this law no Viceroy shall infringe with impunity. You must go, my Lord! What you met at the Theatre you deserved—it was a legitimate and authorised declaration of Orange disapprobation, and you ought to have submitted to the insult, and profited by the admonition. You should have amended your manners—given up the point, and thanked them for giving you this declaration of *Public Opinion!* But, above all, you have offended in prosecuting the alleged Rioters. Riot! There was no riot. Conspiracy! There was no such thing. The gentlemen were exercising their lawful privilege;* and your Attorney General has acted illegally, absurdly, and unconstitutionally, in preferring any bill of indictment against them. You BOTH must go, my Lord. ‘ Like master like man ;—the Orange

* Has the reader seen the Report of Mr. North's Speech in defence of the Traversers on the late Ex-Officio prosecution? If he has, he has been gratified by a beautiful composition—but he has been grieved at seeing talents abused in defending, *not* his clients, but the arrogant, assumptious, and mischievous principles of the body to which they belonged. Mr. North has ceased to be a young man, and never was giddy one—it is strange he should on such an occasion have taken such a cause.

Societies WILL it; and though neither your Excellency nor the Attorney General receive your authority from them, yet you hold it subject to their judgment, and they only are to determine, *quam diu tu te bene gesseris!* You, particularly, my Lord, have forfeited your claim to their confidence. You received the Sword of State to wield it for the Protestants of Ireland, *i. e.* for the Orange Societies; you have wielded it equally for the Catholics of Ireland; you have repressed Protestant *spirit*; you have excited Catholic *confidence*; you have thereby encouraged Catholic *hopes*; the country is thereby endangered; the Protestant Hierarchy totters; the Protestant Religion will be “without a Church;” the Protestant Judges are intimidated, if not corrupted; there is no safety but in your dismissal; the Government will be no longer Protestant if you remain; the King, if he continue you here, and disregard the call of his Protestant subjects, must be a *Papist at heart*, and the Orangemen of Ireland will be authorised BY THEIR OATHS, if not bound, to withdraw their allegiance; for *they* owe no allegiance but to a *Protestant King*, that is one *who they are satisfied is so*. Empty professions of faith are nothing. Merely going to Church neither makes a Christian nor a Protestant—it is a *truly Protestant King* to whom their allegiance is due—a King who protects and maintains his Protestant subjects in all the rights, privileges, immunities, and monopolies, which they at any time had or enjoyed from the Battle of the Boyne down-

wards—those rights and privileges are imprescriptible—indestructible—intransferrible and irrevocable—but above all, *incommunicable* to others. What the Catholics have already gotten is so much detracted from Protestant rights—the Protestants have already been so far injured as those concessions go—but they are determined, to a man, to suffer no farther infringement on their CONSTITUTIONAL rights—they are fearless and resolved—“TO YOUR TENTS O ISRAEL”!!!—Such is the language, the reasoning, the expectation of the men who now assume to rule the country; such are the fruits of suffering for so many years a sworn confederacy to grow and strengthen itself without check or control; nay, to spread itself through every establishment known to the State Church, Bar, Civil and Military Offices, the bench of the Magistrate, and even to approach the family of the Sovereign! Strong as they were, they have recently added hundreds to their numbers. Since the contest between your Excellency and them arose, they have with great industry and success filled their ranks; they are preparing for the event, and I do in my conscience believe them when they allege, as they boldly do, that the sooner comes the bloody conflict, which they look to, the better. This is indeed fatuity, but it is mischievous futuity; it is a folly that inflicts discord, distrust, and distraction on this suffering country. It is productive, however, of *one* good among so many

evils, it drags off the mask ; it shews to every thinking mind, and will, I hope, convince the *British* Cabinet of the nature, tendency, and danger of this Society ; and it tells the legislature, as well as the executive power of the country, in a voice which *must* be heard, that the existence of the Orange Association, as a sworn body, is incompatible with the safety and prosperity of Ireland.

Among the other proofs or illustrations of the evil, the pestiferous tendency of this society, I approach with delicacy and tenderness, but fearlessly, ONE, which to my understanding is more powerful than any, or than all the others which opinion or observation has yet afforded—I allude to the conduct of the Grand Jury to whom the bills of indictment against the rioters at the Theatre were lately submitted. No man who understands the nature and excellence of our legal constitution can avoid feeling most strongly the value, and regarding as most sacred the privileges of that grand inquest which the wisdom and caution of our law has placed, not so much between the Crown and the Subject as between a vexatious or vindictive prosecutor and the man whom he accuses. It is the best safeguard known to our criminal jurisprudence for innocence and character against a malicious and oppressive abuse of law. I respect and venerate it, and to infringe or abridge the rights or powers of Grand

Juries would, in my opinion, be an offence against the best interests of the community. In my observations, therefore, on the conduct of that Grand Jury, I neither mean to question their rights, nor impute to their motives any thing that can detract from their character as well intentioned men. I have not a personal knowledge of any of them, but I learn that they hold a respectable situation in society, and enjoy the reputation of *honesty* in their dealings with their fellow citizens.—But whatever may have been their motives, and though they are accountable to none but to God for the discharge of their duty in that instance, yet as public men discharging a public duty on a very extraordinary and important occasion, they and their conduct are, as ALL other men are, however high or sacred their station or function may be, subject to the law of PUBLIC OPINION. Their conduct deeply affects the public, and that public has a right to form and to pronounce a judgment upon it. It is of that right only I seek to avail myself; and let me not be met by the trite observation, that “we know not the evidence which was laid before that Grand Jury, and therefore are incompetent to form a judgment of their decision.” The objection or the defence is perfectly idle—the fact fails on which it rests. The OFFENCE was committed in a Theatre crowded to excess; hundreds therefore witnessed it. We may safely assume, therefore, that of facts so public, evi-

dence could neither be impossible nor difficult ; and we may as safely take for granted that such a man as the present Attorney General would be competent to select for, and would not omit to lay before a Grand Jury such evidence as the case required. But we have still a better answer to this argument.—The evidence actually given is at this moment public as the wind that blows—the witnesses who gave it are living, and have been under no obligation to secrecy, nor have they shown any inclination to conceal what they swore, or how and to what they were examined ; moreover the material part of that evidence has been disclosed to the public, by the trial of the Ex-Officio Information, a few days back—and in fact, so public has it become that it is now as well known in the British metropolis as in the City of Dublin. The conduct of the Grand Jury is therefore not only before an Irish public, but the Empire ; and it would neither be possible nor desirable that it should not be canvassed. In proceeding to observe upon it, I again admit that their truth and motive in the discharge of their solemn duty it is not for the public nor for me to impeach, but the *prejudices*, the *unconscious bias*, the *influence* arising from inveterate habits of thinking and acting on particular subjects, an influence which may be imperceptible even to themselves, and which in other recent instances appear to be so powerful as to induce men even to forego interest, honor, consistency, and

all that is valuable to man, in society ; these are fair topics for exposure and for comment—but knowing the evidence then, and knowing the duty of their office and the nature of the offence which was committed, the public are able to form, I hope, a just judgment of THAT act which has called forth an expression of “astonishment” even from the seat of justice—has excited it in the nation, and hereafter will enable posterity to estimate the character of the times we live in, and the true nature of the crisis to which we have been brought by this factious and most dangerous confederacy. In urging this act of that Jury as proof of the dangerous and depraving influence of the Orange System I admit, my Lord, that nothing done by that Jury can bear upon the subject, unless it be first established that the outrage at the Theatre had been produced by a pre-concert—and that Orangemen, and acting upon an Orange principle, were the authors of it. But is any of those facts doubtful, after what has happened? after the evidence given at the late trial? Is there a gentleman in the country incredulous enough now to doubt, or ridiculous enough to deny it? The publicity of the rumour in the morning of that day, of the disturbance that was to take place at the Theatre that evening—that the object of that disturbance was to convey to you, by a public insult, the disapprobation of your conduct felt by the Orangemen, who were prevented, under your authority, from dress-

ing the Statue ; the printed placards circulated at the Theatre in your presence, and for the manifest purpose of inflaming the public against you—these prove pre-concert—and the pre-concert of Orange-men only—for none others in the country are interested in perpetuating the orgies of the 4th of November, or have been ever found capable of giving utterance to the silly, but still more insolent than silly libels, which those placards contained. The actual outrage itself, connecting itself with those symptoms, and mixing amidst yells and hissings, very distinct, and *more* than audible avowals of well-known Orange sentiments—these, and the missiles flung by the fury of the rioters, if not at you, certainly near the seat you occupied—while, during the whole duration of the riot, Orange Magistrates, known men, looked on in dignified silence which bespoke assent, if not approbation,---THESE, surely, leave no doubt of the riots being Orange Labours, and flowing from an Orange Principle ! But if doubt remain, let the incredulous inquirer look to the events which followed---to the conduct of the leading members of the Orange faction *since* that time---to their conversation in private society---to their dinners and their toasts in public---to the taunting and shameless libels which fill newspapers, once the supporters of, and supported by the Government of the country---to the stupid and inflammatory lampoons which cover our streets---all---all---*extenuating*, I was about to say---but I correct myself and say, *justifying* what has been done, and almost

exciting to the repetition of it--let any man, I say, look at THESE, and doubt if he can !

The outrage, then, was Orange ; but let me not be understood to say that it was *officially* Orange--for on this the friends of the Society depend for their character !. I am not so absurd as to mean, when I say this outrage was of Orange origin, that the Orange Societies of Ireland sent deputations to meet for the purpose, either of arranging or agreeing to it—or that any Orange Lodge or its officers planned the outrage *officially*—No, surely !—I mean only that the feeling, the spirit, the principle, which actuates the Orange Association, led to it—that it was the work of *some* of their members, and do I say too much when I add, with the approbation of the *majority* ? Alas, my Lord--we have at last discovered that even stronger language than this would be too well warranted ; it is lately, indeed, that this light has broken in upon us. My Lord, when the outrage was committed, it was the consolation of every honest man, that there were Courts of Justice, with impartial, independent, and able Judges presiding, to which the King, your Royal Master, might resort to vindicate his honour, insulted in the person of you, his Representative--and to punish this atrocious violation of his peace. It was known and felt, that the Orange Societies were malignant and overbearing, but it was not then apprehended by any class of men, or, I believe, by a single individual in the community, that however the public mind might be heated by politi-

cal feeling, there could be found even *one* person so blinded by passion, or besotted by prejudice, by attachment to an Orange faction, or hatred of Papists and Popery, as not to see, that here was an offence committed, which no creed, either political or religious, could justify---and which, as it produced no positive good to any party, good citizens of all parties must wish to see punished. It was not then felt, that the subtle poison of faction had spread so far, or penetrated so deeply, as that any man fit, from his station in society, to fill the office of a Grand or Petty Juror, would be found to disgrace that situation, by shutting his eyes and ears to law and fact! This consolation, and confidence, we have to lament, was unfounded! We now find that though culprits are arrested, on the moment, for a crime committed in an assemblage of hundreds---a crime, the commission of which, in point of fact, no man doubts---and in proof of which a great body of evidence is regularly sent up at the proper time by the King's Attorney General---and though the duty of that Grand Jury be, and they are so instructed by a Court of Justice, *not to try* the guilt or innocence of the culprits, but merely to determine whether there be ground *for putting them upon trial*, in order to have their guilt or innocence established upon evidence ;* yet, such may be the

* The conduct of the Jury on the Ex-Officio Trial, extraordinary as it was, convicts the Grand Jury, who ignored the Bills. The Petty Jury could not agree to an acquittal, yet the Grand Jury said there was no ground for sending the case to trial!!!

state of the understanding of this Grand Jury--so tainted by an overpowering influence of bad passions, malignant party feeling, illegal oaths, and the mischievous bias of a faction--to that degree are they infatuated--so blind and deaf to proof on a subject, the publicity of which renders any proof merely a form, that they will decide, upon their solemn oath, that what twenty-six credible and unimpeached persons, swear they have seen as eye-witnesses in a public Theatre, *did not at all occur*--or that if the facts did occur, they find them perfectly INNOCENT, though a Court of Justice should inform them that such facts, if they did take place, constitute a conspiracy *to murder and to riot*--crimes punishable by the law of the land, and that they were bound by their oath to present them, and send the accused to be tried by their country! Why is it that a Grand Jury by their conduct have given truth and substance to these observations? Why is it that with such evidence as they had before them against the accused, they should refuse to send them to a Petty Jury of their countrymen, that their guilt or their innocence might be established by proof on both sides? Is it that they disbelieved *all* the witnesses who were sent up. Is it that they disbelieved Mr. Farrel, who proved the cardinal fact in the charge? Impossible! They have not, nor has any one of their advocates impeached the veracity of those witnesses.--What, then, could have been the cause that the bills were not found? THIS ALONE! They believed that the

FACTS did not constitute an OFFENCE!—They refused the law at the hand of the Judge—they made a law of themselves. With the facts sworn before them by credible witnesses, they decided that those men were *innocent!!!* I charge not this on any want of *integrity* in those gentlemen. They are respectable and honest men in their ordinary dealings with mankind—I charge it on that total prostration of intellect, which strong party prejudices, cherished and confirmed by factious oaths, always produces—I attribute it to that bias of the understanding, which is created by long confirmed habits of thinking and acting in, and with a confederacy which looks at every subject with a view to a favourite and perverting principle. I charge it to faction—I arraign for this great public offence and mischief, the principles, and the feelings, and the prejudices, and the passions which this faction has created and cherished. I say it has paralysed the arm of law—it has stricken the sword and the balance from the hands of justice, and for the present, at least, has rendered her impotent as well as blind! If I err, let me be shown the error---I challenge any fair man in the empire---any impartial and unbiassed understanding, not affected by the Orange taint, to assign any other cause under Heaven, to which this portentous and calamitous event can be reasonably attributed? Why do I call it calamitous? because, unless it compels your Excellency to adopt means by which this Society can be suddenly and constitutionally crushed, it is now plain that Justice will

henceforth furnish no defence in this unhappy land against even the *lowest* of those who belong to, or who serve this sworn and banded body! What hope is there that an Orange insult or aggression, though it end in murder itself, shall be punished, if there stand an Orange Grand Jury in the vestibule of the Temple, to turn from its gate the injured and appealing sufferer? Will the peasant's wrong be avenged when the first power of the State applies in vain, not for *conviction* or *punishment*, but merely for a *trial* of the accused taken in the very fact? Compared with this evil, sedition, insurrection, and treason itself, dwindle into insignificance—for against treason and sedition and insurrection, if the sources of justice were not poisoned, the law of the land, and the power of the State afford protection to the nation and its Sovereign—but here faction places itself on the judgment seat, and overrules or baffles law—while by wrapping itself in the constitutional character and office of a *judge of fact*, it evades all legal and moral force, and holds its place secure, not only from trial or punishment, but even from scrutiny or impeachment!—There is no remedy, my Lord, for this frightful evil, but the utter annihilation of the cause which produced it—Yes! the Orange Societies must be disbanded. If the existing law, contrary to the opinion which I humbly presume to entertain, do not reach them, let a new law be enacted which shall; the peace, the safety, the justice of the country call for it—

A statute of twenty lines--a few drops of ink shed on half a skin of parchment, would give a remedy against this monstrous mischief.

Hi motus animorum et hæc certamina tanta
Pulveris exiqui jactu compressa quiescent !

Until such a law shall be enacted, let me take the liberty of saying, there is another duty which is incumbent on the Executive, and which, if well discharged, would mitigate, at least, the mischief! Why should those men receive countenance?—why should any forbearance be used towards them?—why should professed and avowed Orange leaders hold places of profit and trust? why should they who have led to this monstrous abuse of law be suffered to administer it, even in its lowest departments? Dismiss them, my Lord, to a man! Let not one of them nestle himself in any official or magisterial station. If this shall not prove a *sufficient* remedy, I pledge myself it will go far, very far indeed in that way; for those gentlemen, though they may be violent when unresisted, will never be martyrs to such a cause. It will at least give confidence to the country in the wisdom and energy of the government, and encourage us to hope for the time when we shall be delivered from faction in every department of our people. Is it not time, my Lord, that we should be so delivered? If it come not *now*, with YOUR PRINCIPLES presiding over our country---with such a man as Plunket labouring for the state both as a law officer and a

legislator---after such an awful warning as this outrage and its consequences have given---and when there is a British Cabinet concurring with a gracious and benevolent Monarch in promoting the peace and tranquillity of our Island, and exerting all of a parent's love, and a parent's authority to effect that sacred purpose ; if, I say, we shall not *now*, at last, at this eleventh hour, be delivered from this inveterate and deadly mischief, hope for deliverance hereafter will be in vain. Instead of hope for constitutional and lawful redress against these assailants of our peace, we have only to look forward with fear and trembling to the approach of that awful hour when the country shall be goaded to a convulsive effort to expel the poison by which, if it be not expelled, it must be destroyed.

My Lord, I now draw to a close ; I have not mixed up in this discussion any of the popular topics of the day. I have been silent on Catholic Emancipation, on Parliamentary Reform, and on all the other items in the long list of popular heads of complaint and discussion. I have been so, because whatever opinions the honest and moderate men of this country may entertain on those subjects, however they may doubt, and however they may differ, I do most firmly believe that, upon the question in which I have troubled your Excellency, namely, "Whether the Orange faction should be put down"—or to use the more eloquent phrase of Sir James Mackintosh on this subject on a late occasion,

whether the “power of the State should not limit the tyranny of that oppressive cast”—I say on *this* question, which is not only of permanent importance, but touches us more immediately, more nearly, and in a greater variety of points, I firmly believe that except among the members of that body itself, there is no difference of opinion—no doubt. All the wise, all the good, all who love peace, who revere law, who desire equal justice and public tranquillity—ALL pant for the time when this anomalous and mischievous body shall be made to bow its unholy banner before the spirit of the Constitution! When that auspicious period shall arrive, when the foreigner speaking of our wretched country shall no longer be justified in asking, either in reproach or in pity to us, “Can the Catholic subjects of Ireland obtain justice? Can the laws be executed against Irish Protestants?” then, and not until then, can the public mind enjoy that ease, security and freedom which is necessary to enable it rightly to discuss or to decide on those other momentous questions so deeply involving the interests of Ireland and of the Empire!—Delivered from the oppressive weight of this hideous incubus which creates so many frightful phantasms in the public mind, our Government will be free to act—our representatives free to deliberate on the great concerns of the country, and to decide without a perverting bias the best means of deliverance from the many

calamities with which it has pleased Providence to afflict us. The Executive and the Legislature will then have leisure to apply their wisdom to something better—more productive of positive good than repressing or guarding against the saucy and causeless “Rebellion” of this maddening and maddened confederacy—this frantic and insolent, and yet insignificant association;—for, insignificant, my Lord, after all, it is—it has acquired its power of mischief *only* from the misplaced indulgence of the weak and timid administration of some of your predecessors—it is the spoiled child of a petting parent—and as usual in such cases the fruits, the bitter fruits of this parental folly have been disobedience and ingratitude—insolence and wickedness! Thank God, however, it is not yet too late for their country to assert, with success, its paternal power over these perverse children.—But surely there is not a moment to be lost! Instantly must they be reduced by the strong but tempered and regulated authority of law and public justice!—a little, a very little longer indulgence, and their disobedience will end in paracide—or be atoned for with their blood!

Confining myself, as I hope I have done within the strict limits, which a temperate discussion of this important question prescribed, I have abstained from all extrinsic, and avoided not a little of irritating matter, which, if introduced and amplified on, might have given an imposing appearance of

strength and interest to much of this address, which I am conscious must now appear both dull and feeble. I submit, however, patiently to the charge—for my consolation is, that I have erred, if erred I have, at the safe side—my object is TRUTH, not INVECTIVE. I have also abstained from any elaborate citation of legal authorities, which might have been with great ease multiplied in support of the legal and constitutional propositions, which I have submitted to your Excellency in the course of this address. I have done so, my Lord, because I conceived that if what I have been endeavouring to impress on your Excellency against the Orange System, be not supported upon the *plainest* and most *admitted* principles of CONSTITUTION and of LAW, and with which your Excellency as a Statesman and hereditary Counsellor of your Sovereign must be acquainted, I fail in my purpose—for it is not on an arguable point, or a legal quibble, that I call on the Executive to act against this body. If their illegality or their mischief be yet DOUBTFUL, let them still subsist—let the arm of Law and of the State be yet staid—let them have still a longer time to fill up the measure of their guilt—let them be tolerated until further forbearance shall be itself GUILT in those whose duty it is to watch over the safety of the public! In my opinion, that time has already arrived—but with that firm conviction on my mind, I shall yet feel the most unqualified confidence in that wisdom, which may, perhaps, guide you and your advisers to a

different judgment. I shall feel this confidence, my Lord, because I know that whatever judgment you and they shall form, will be the result neither of that contemptible weakness which courts popularity—nor that dishonorable fear which turns aside from an unpopular course, though sanctioned by the Constitution and required by the country. Evil are the times we live in, my Lord, and evil are the tongues which will be loud in censure of whatever measure you may adopt to repress faction and to counteract folly. Much has been said, and much will be said about precedents taken from arbitrary reigns—about straining the law—and reviving exploded and unconstitutional doctrines. But you, my Lord, well know that much of the merit and demerit of public measures must depend on the end and object at which they aim. *He* deserves to be classed with a Scrogs, a Jeffries, or a Strafford, who strains, though he does not violate a principle of Law or Constitution, to oppress an individual or encroach on public rights—but *he* will ever be ranked among the most honored benefactors of his country, who fearlessly exerts the **UTMOST ENERGY** of the Constitution or of the Law, to extinguish the oppressive and abused power of a faction, and to secure to the land of his nativity the innumerable blessings of a Government by equal Law.

I have the honor to be,

My Lord, &c.

A PROTESTANT.

APPENDIX.

Extracts from the Rules and Regulations for the use of all Orange Societies, revised, corrected, and adopted, by the Grand Orange Lodge of Ireland, assembled at Dublin, in January, 1820.

[A WOOD CUT—THE STATUE OF KING WILLIAM.]

Dublin, Printed (gratis) by Abraham Bradley King, Jan. 1820.

GRAND OFFICERS OF THE GRAND ORANGE LODGE OF IRELAND.

General Archdall, M. P. Grand Master.
 Alderman A. B. King, Deputy Grand Master.
 Captain Cottingham, Grand Treasurer.
 Captain Norton, Grand Secretary.
 Captain Fitzsimons, Deputy Grand Secretary.
 William Stoker, Esq. Deputy Grand Treasurer.
 Reverend I. Graham, A. M. Grand Chaplain;

Who, with the Grand Officers and Proxies of Counties and Cities, together with twenty-one brethren of known zeal, talents, and respectability, of the Purple Order, to be chosen annually by ballot, shall hereafter constitute the Grand Lodge of Ireland.

The G. O. L. having assembled pursuant to notice, on Monday the 10th January, 1820, and having heard the detail of sundry proceedings, which took place in the Counties of Cavan and Westmeath, read, came to the following Resolutions:—That a change in the Orange System had been rendered necessary, and that a Committee should be appointed to

carry the same into effect; the Committee thus appointed, consisted of the following Gentlemen:—

Alderman A. B. King, D. G. M.
 Captain Cottingham, G. T. and G. M. Cavan.
 Captain Norton, G. S.
 Captain Fitzsimons, D. G. S.
 Colonel Blacker, G. M. Armagh.
 J. Greer, Esq. G. M. Tyrone.
 Hon. R. Westenrea, D. G. M. Monaghan.
 Mathew F. Johnson, Esq. Proxy, County Antrim.
 Counsellor Fitzsimons, Master, 1638.
 Joseph Thetford, Esq. G. S. County Monaghan.
 Robert Duncan, Esq. Proxy, County Down.
 Lord Viscount Mountmores De Montmorency, 1638.
 William Stoker, Esq. Master, 1640.

Who having met on Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday following, proceeded, on the evening of the day last mentioned, to lay before the Grand Lodge the following report of their proceedings:—[Then follow some passages of the report, explanatory of the motives and objects of the reporters—and some pious effusions. The following passages then occur, viz.]

“ The Committee, from several circumstances arising out of the present inquiry, are led to observe, that various and jarring forms of admission and initiation have found their way into different Lodges, together with ceremonies, &c. not only unknown to the original simplicity of the Institution, *but in many cases repugnant to common sense, to the religious feelings of many most worthy Brethren, and even to common decency.* In order to guard against the *future* recurrence of this crying evil, the Committee have thought fit to institute a form of admission and initiation, which they consider fully adequate to the end in view, and which will be to combine, with due brevity, a proper degree of the solemnity, so necessary to be observed at the important moment of a man’s dedicating himself, by a voluntary obligation, taken in the face of his Brethren, to the zealous discharge of his duties as a loyal Protestant. And they

trust that the enjoiment of strict and undeviating attention to this form alone, throughout all the ramifications of the Institution, will form the safeguard of the Association from future injury, not only from enemies without, but from the indiscreet zeal of over anxious, though doubtless well meaning Brethren, within the pale of the Orange Association.

“ And here the Committee might be supposed to have performed their duty to the extent of the powers specially vested in them, and might therefore consider themselves as exempt from further labour ; but they feel that they cannot conclude without pointing out some further improvements in the general system of the Association, which have grown out of the present investigation, and which they recommend to the adoption of the Society ; and though they may at first sight appear but of minor interest and consequence, they will be found, upon due examination, to be highly essential—and, like the out-works of a great citadel, though small in comparison with the main edifice itself, are nevertheless most materially conducive to its strength and security. These consist in sundry alterations in the obligations, governing system, general management, and interior economy.

“ In making these alterations, should the Committee appear to have gone beyond the limits seemingly prescribed to them, it is to be attributed to the heartfelt interest they take in the real welfare of our glorious Institution. Further emboldened by their proceedings to this effect, having the material sanction of the *great Orange Counties of Antrim, Armagh, Cavan, Down, Monaghan and Tyrone*, as expressed by their respective Grand Master, either personally or by due proxy, and also of the Most Worshipful the Grand Master of Ireland, as expressed by him through the Deputy Grand Master.”

GENERAL DECLARATION OF THE OBJECTS OF THE ORANGE INSTITUTION.

We associate, to the utmost of our power, to support and defend his Majesty King George the Fourth, the Constitution

and Laws of this Country, and the succession to the Throne in his Majesty's Illustrious House, being Protestants, for the defence of our persons and properties, and to maintain the peace of the Country; and for these purposes we will be at all times ready to assist the civil and military powers in the just and lawful discharge of their just duties. We also associate in honor of King William the Third, Prince of Orange, whose name we bear, as supporters of his Glorious Memory, and the true Religion by him completely established in these Kingdoms; *and, in order to prove our gratitude and affection for his name, we will annually celebrate his victory over James at the Boyne on the first day of July, O. S. in every year, which day shall be our grand æra FOR EVER.*

OBLIGATIONS OF AN ORANGEMAN.

I, A. B. do solemnly and voluntarily swear, that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to his Majesty King George the Fourth; and that I will, to the utmost of my power, support and maintain the Laws and Constitution of the United Kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, and the succession to the Throne in his Majesty's Illustrious House—*being Protestant!*

And I do swear that I am not, nor ever was a Roman Catholic or Papist. That I was not, nor ever will be, a Member of the Society called United Irishmen, nor any other Society or Body of Men who are enemies to his Majesty, or the Glorious Constitution of these realms. And that I never took the Oath of Secrecy to that or any other Treasonable Society.

I swear that I will, as far as in my power lies, assist the Magistrates and Civil Authorities of these Kingdoms in the lawful execution of their official duties, when called on. That I will be true and faithful to every BROTHER ORANGEMAN in all just actions. That I will not wrong, or know him to be wronged or injured, without giving due notice thereof, if in my power. *And I solemnly swear, in the presence of Almighty God, that I will always conceal, and never will reveal, either part or parts of*

what is now to be privately communicated to me, unless to a Brother Orangeman, knowing him to be so by strict trial and due examination, or from the word of a Brother Orangeman; or until I shall be authorised so to do by the proper Authorities of the Orange Institution. That I will not write it, indite it, cut, carve, stain, stamp, or engrave it, or cause it to be done, lest any part thereof might be known. And lastly, I do swear, that I have not, to my knowledge or belief, been proposed and rejected in, or expelled from any other Orange Society. So help me God, and keep me stedfast in this my Orangeman's obligation.*

OBLIGATION OF A PURPLEMAN.

I do solemnly and voluntarily swear, that I will keep the signs, words and tokens of a Purpleman from an Orangeman, as well as from the ignorant, unless authorised to communicate them by the proper Authorities of the Orange Institution.† And that I will not make, nor assist at, or sanction the making of any Member in any other order purporting to be part of the Orange System, than the ORANGE and PURPLE, which are the original Orders of the Orange Institution. So help me God, and keep me stedfast in this my Purpleman's obligation.

RULES FOR THE FORMATION OF DISTRICTS, &c.

I. The Masters of Counties and Cities to divide their respective Counties and Cities into Districts, according to local circumstances: not more than 15 or less than 5 Lodges to constitute a District, unless they may see reason to extend the number.

The Masters of Lodges so forming a District, to elect a Master for that District, the Master, a Deputy Master,

* The proper Authorities, from whom liberty to make such disclosure must be obtained, is the GRAND ORANGE LODGE OF IRELAND, signified under their Great Seal.

† The proper Authorities, for whom liberty to make such disclosure must be obtained, is the GRAND ORANGE LODGE OF IRELAND, signified under their Great Seal.

Secretary, and *Treasurer*, all subject to the approval of the Grand Lodge of the County or City. Should the choice of a District Master, Secretary, or Treasurer, fall on any private Member of a Lodge within the District, that then such person shall cease to be a private Member of that Lodge, so long as he shall continue in such office.

2. That during the absence, suspension, or non-election of a District Master, the senior Master in the District shall act for the time; the seniority to be determined by the number of the Lodge to which the Master may belong.

3. That the election to the office of District Master shall take place in the first week of May, for one year, from the 1st day of July.

4. That each District Lodge shall meet four times in each year.

5. That District Masters shall make returns of the *names*, and *places of abode*, of the *Members of the different Lodges* within their respective districts, to the *Grand Master* of their County or City, once a year; and that they do hand over to the County Grand Treasurer, at the County Meeting to be held in the first week in June, the *yearly subscriptions* due by such Lodges to the Grand Lodge of Ireland; and the District Officers shall visit their respective Lodges of their District within the year.

REGULATIONS FOR THE APPOINTMENT OF GRAND ORANGE LODGES OF COUNTIES AND CITIES.

1. That the Grand Lodge shall be formed in each County, to be composed of the County Officers and District Masters, with seven Brethren of known zeal, talents, and respectability, to be chosen annually by the Grand Master, with the approbation of the County Grand Lodge, all of whom must be of the Purple Order.

2. That a Grand Master for each County and City shall be chosen by the District Masters of such County or City, and a Deputy Grand Master, Secretary, Treasurer, and Chaplain, by

the Grand Master ; all subject to the approval of the Grand Lodge of Ireland. Should the choice of a Grand Master, Deputy Grand Master, Secretary, or Treasurer to a County or City fall on a private member of any Lodge (except the Grand Master's Lodge in Dublin), that then such person shall cease to be a private Member of that Lodge, so long as he shall continue in such office.

3. That the Grand Masters, Deputy Grand Masters, Secretaries, and Treasurers of Counties and Cities, shall be elected in the first week of June for one year, from the first day of July.

4. That in any County or City in which there shall be less than three Districts, the senior District Master shall, with the approbation of the Grand Lodge, act as Grand Master for that County or City.

5. That during the absence, suspension, or non-election of a Grand Master of a County or City, the Deputy Grand Master or any of the County or City Grand Officers shall act : and that no County or City Grand Lodge shall be held without the presence of one Grand Officer, except for the purpose of electing the County or City Grand Master.

6. That the Grand Masters of Counties and Cities do forward to the Secretary of the Grand Lodge every 12 months, such returns as shall be made to them by their District Masters, of the number, names, and places of abode of the Members of the different Lodges within their respective Counties and Cities ; and that they do forthwith remit to the Grand Treasurer of Ireland the yearly subscription from such Lodges as soon as possible after the County Meeting, to be held for the election of Officers in the first week of June.

7. That each County Grand Master shall have an appropriate seal, with the HEAD OF KING WILLIAM, and the name of the County engraved thereon.



RULES FOR THE FORMATION OF THE GRAND LODGE.

1. That the Grand Orange Lodge of Ireland shall consist of the Grand Officers of the different County and City Grand

Lodges, viz. the County Grand Master, his Deputy, Grand Treasurer, Grand Secretary, Grand Chaplain, and Proxy, and 21 Brethren of known zeal, talents, and respectability, to be chosen annually by the Grand Lodge by ballot from the Purple Order, one negative to exclude; by these shall be chosen a Grand Master, a Deputy Grand Master, a Grand Treasurer, a Grand Secretary, a Grand Chaplain, and Deputy Grand Secretary; and further, a Deputy Grand Treasurer shall be nominated by the Grand Treasurer to be approved of by the Grand Lodge.

2. That all authority necessary for the advancement and welfare of the Orange Institution shall be vested in the Grand Lodge.

3. That the Grand Lodge shall meet in the metropolis twice in every year for the *government of* the Orange Institution, to wit, on the first Monday in August, and the first Monday in February, at the hour of one in the afternoon; and that a Committee of eleven shall be appointed at each half-yearly Meeting, to *regulate such proceedings as may be necessary during the time intervening before the next Meeting*, such Committee, in no case, to continue longer than from one Meeting to the following, unless elected anew; and that all Elections in the Grand Lodge shall take place on the first Monday in August in every year.

4. That every County Grand Master shall have the power, with the approbation of the County Grand Lodge, of appointing a Proxy or Correspondent in Dublin to transact the business of the County, and to have a vote in the Grand Lodge of Ireland, such appointment to be certified under the seal of the county.

5. That, in order to insure regularity in attending the Grand Lodge of Ireland, every County Master shall be fined one guinea, if there shall not be present at any regular Meeting of the Grand Lodge either one of the Grand Officers, or the Proxy of that County.

6. That no Meeting of the Grand Lodge can be held without the presence of at least one Grand Officer of Ireland to preside, and thirteen Members.

7. That *five of the Committee of the Grand Lodge shall be a quorum*, and that no business shall be transacted by the Committee without the presence of a Grand Officer. The Committee shall have the power of calling an extraordinary Meeting of the Grand Lodge, giving one month's notice thereof.

That the Grand Officers of the Grand Lodge in England are Members of the Grand Lodge in Ireland, being properly certified.

8. That in cases of resignation, decease, or removal of any of the Grand Officers, notice thereof, and of a new election, shall be, as soon as possible, transmitted to all the County or City Grand Lodges in Ireland, and such new election shall take place at the next General half-yearly Meeting.

9. That the Grand Officers shall have the power of introducing as VISITORS, at any Meeting of the Grand Lodge, such Brethren of respectability and talents of the Purple Order, as they may think desirable.

10. That the Deputy Grand Treasurer, and Deputy Grand Secretary shall, at every half-yearly Meeting, lay their accounts and papers before the Grand Lodge.

11. That the Grand Lodge of Ireland shall communicate yearly, or half-yearly, with all the Lodges in Ireland, but that no communication shall be made to any Private Lodge, unless through the medium of the County Grand Lodge in which such Private Lodge shall be situated where there is a County Grand Lodge.



Extracts from the Rules and Regulations for the use of all Orange Societies; revised and corrected by a Committee of the Grand Orange Lodge of Ireland, and adopted by the Grand Orange Lodge, January 10, 1800.—Dublin, printed by an Orangeman, 1800.



The general declaration of the objects of the Orange Institution, is similar to that of 1820.

OBLIGATION OF AN ORANGEMAN.

I, A. B. do solemnly and sincerely swear, of my own free will and accord, that I will, to the utmost of my power, support and defend the present King, George the Third, his Heirs and Successors, *so long as he or they support the Protestant Ascendancy, the Constitutions and Laws of these Kingdoms*; and that I will ever hold sacred the name of our Glorious Deliverer, William the Third, Prince of Orange: and I do further swear, that I am not, nor ever was a Roman Catholic or Papist; that I was not, am not, nor ever will be an United Irishman; and that I never took the oath of secrecy to that, or any other Treasonable Society: and I do further swear in the presence of Almighty God, that I will always *conceal*, and never will *reveal*, either part or parts of what is now to be *privately communicated* to me, until I shall be authorised so to do by the proper authorities of the Orange Institution; that I will neither write it, nor indite it, stamp, stain, or engrave it, nor cause it so to be done, on paper, parchment, leaf, bark, stick, stone, or any thing, so that it may be known; and I do further swear, that I have not, to my knowledge or belief, been proposed and rejected in, or expelled from any other Orange Lodge; and that I now become an Orangeman without fear, bribery, or corruption. So help me God.

 SECRET ARTICLES.

1st. That we will bear true allegiance to his Majesty, King George the Third, his Heirs and Successors, *so long as he or they support the Protestant Ascendancy*; and that we will faithfully support and maintain the Laws and Constitution of these kingdoms.

2d. That we will be true to all Orangemen in all just actions, neither wronging one, nor seeing him wronged to our knowledge, without acquainting him thereof.

3d. That we are not to see a brother offended for six-pence, or one shilling, or more, if convenient, which must be returned next meeting, if possible.

4th. We must not give the first assault to any person whatever, that may bring a Brother into trouble.

5th. We are not to carry away money, goods, or any thing from any person whatever, *except* arms and ammunition, *and those only from an enemy.*

6th. *We are to appear in ten hours warning, or whatever time is required, if possible, (provided it is not hurtful to ourselves or families, and that we are served with a lawful summons from the Master,) otherwise we are fined as the company think proper.*

7th. No man can be made an Orangeman without the unanimous approbation of the body.

8th. An Orangeman is to keep a Brother's secret as his own, unless in case of *Murder, Treason, and Perjury*; and that of his own free will.

9th. No Roman Catholic can be admitted on any account.

10th. Any Orangeman who acts contrary to these Rules, shall be expelled, and the same reported to all the Lodges in the kingdom and elsewhere.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

MARKSMAN'S OBLIGATION.

I, A. B. of my own free will and accord, in the Presence of Almighty God, do hereby most solemnly and sincerely swear, that I *will always conceal, and never will reveal either part or parts of what is now to be privately communicated to me, until I shall be duly authorised so to do by the proper authority of the Orange Institution; and that I will bear true allegiance to his Majesty, King George the Third, his Heirs and Successors, so long as he or they maintain the Protestant Ascendancy, the Constitution and Laws of these Kingdoms; and that I will keep this part of a Marksman from an Orangeman as well as from the ignorant; and that I will not make a Man, until I become, and only whilst I shall be Master of an Orange Lodge; and that I will*

not make a Man, or be present at the making of a Man on the Road, or behind hedges ; and that *I will be aiding and assisting to all true honest Orange Marksmen, as far as in my power lies, knowing him or them to be such ;* and that I will not wrong a Brother Marksman, or know him to be wronged of any thing of value, worth apprehending, but I will warn or apprise him thereof, if in my power it lies. All this I swear, with a firm resolution ; So help me God, and keep me stedfast in this my Marksman's obligation.

[Then follow General Rules for the Government of Orange Lodges, not necessary to be given here.]

[The 13th, which relates to the finances of the Society, and the 14th particularly discloses how the ARMY are enrolled, viz.]

13th, That in order to establish a fund to defray the various and necessary expenses of the Grand Lodge, in all Lodges one-fifth of the sum be paid by members on their first admission, shall be continued to be paid annually, by half yearly payments, that is, on every first day of May, and every first day of November, to the Treasurer of their respective Lodges ; who shall hand over the amount to the District Master, to be by him remitted, through the Grand Master of the County or City, to the Grand Treasurer of Ireland : the Treasurer of each Lodge to be accountable according to the return made previous to the days above specified.

14th. That as *Regiments* are considered as *Districts*, the Masters of all *Regimental Lodges* do make half-yearly return of the number, names and rank of the Members of their Lodges to the Secretary of the Grand Lodge, but that they shall not make an Orangeman, except the Officers, non-commissioned Officers and *Privates* of their respective Regiments ; and that they do remit to the Grand Treasurer of Ireland, the half-yearly subscription as well as that which is immediately to take place.

17th. All Members to be subordinate to the Master, or Person presiding for him, who shall have full power of fining all disorderly persons to an amount not exceeding—

18th. Any dispute arising, not provided for by the rules, is to be decided by the Officers of the Lodge ; and the parties must abide by their decision, on pain of expulsion, saving the right of appeal in all such cases to the Grand Lodge.

21st. That nobusiness be done in any Lodge after dinner, supper, or drink have been brought in ; but every motion shall be previously decided.

22d. No person attending intoxicated can be initiated at that Meeting : any old Member so attending shall be fined.

The 24th shows how carefully secrecy is observed.

24th. A person is to attend on the outside of the door while business is going on ; that person to be nominated by the Master or whoever may preside at the time.



RULES FOR THE FORMATION OF DISTRICTS, &c.

1st. That Masters of Counties and Cities do divide their respective Counties and Cities into Districts, according to local circumstances : not more than five Lodges to constitute a District, unless they may see reason to extend the number. The Masters of Lodges, so forming a District, to elect a Master for that District. Should the choice of a District Master fall on any private Member of a Lodge within the District, that then such person shall cease to be a private Member of that Lodge, so long as he shall continue in such office.

2d. That during the absence, suspension, or non-election of a District Master, the senior Master in the District shall act for the time ; the seniority to be determined by the number of the Lodge to which the Master may belong.

3d. That the Election to the Office of District Master shall take place on the first day of June, for one year to the first day of July.

4th. That District Masters shall make returns of the number of names and places of abode of the Members of the different

Lodges within their respective Districts to the Grand Master of their County or City, every six months.

Among the Rules for the formation of the Grand Lodge, are the following :

1st. That the Grand Lodge shall be formed anew.

2d. That the Grand Lodge shall consist of Grand Masters of Counties and Cities, their Deputies, District Masters, Masters of Lodges, and in their absence, Deputy Masters of Lodges: from amongst whom shall be chosen a Grand Master for Ireland, a Grand Secretary, and a Grand Treasurer: the Election to each of these offices to take place on the first day of July O. S. in every year.

3d. That all authority necessary for the advancement and welfare of the Orange Institution, shall be vested in the Grand Lodge.

4th. That the Grand Lodge do meet in the Metropolis four times in each year, for the general Government of the Orange Societies; to wit, on the seventh day of February, the seventh day of May, the seventh day of August, and the seventh day of November; and that the Committee do lay before them, at such Quarterly Meetings, a Report of their proceedings, for the approbation of the Grand Lodge.

5th. That the ordinary business of the Orange System be transacted by a Standing Committee, to consist of such Members of the Grand Lodge as may be in Dublin; and to which the Grand Lodge shall have the power of calling in the aid of men of known zeal and talents, not to exceed twenty-one, to be selected by them from the Purple Order: such persons, from the time of their being so chosen, to be considered as Members of the Grand Lodge. Provided always that such Committee shall only exist until the 7th day of August next ensuing the day of their being appointed, or chosen.

RIBBONMAN'S OATH, &c.

OBLIGATIONS FOR THE FRATERNAL SOCIETY.

I, A. B. with the sign of the Cross, do declare and promise, in the name and through the assistance of the blessed Trinity, that I will endeavour to keep inviolate all the secrets of this BOARD or FRATERNAL SOCIETY, from all but those whom I believe to be the regular Members, and bound in the same fraternal ties.

1st. I declare and promise, without any dread or compulsion, allegiance to his present Majesty.

2d. That I will be true and stedfast to my Brethren of this Society, dedicated to *St. Patrick*, the holy Patron of *Ireland*, in all things lawful and not otherwise; and that I will duly and regularly attend, where any lawful superior shall think proper, and conform to the regulations made by them, so long as those who are or may be in trust, think proper.

3d. That I will not knowingly or willingly provoke, challenge, or fight any of my Brethren; if a Brother should be ill spoken of or otherwise treated unjustly, I will according to circumstances espouse the cause, and give him the earliest information, aiding them with my sincere friendship when in distress.

4th. I also declare and promise, that I will not admit or propose a person of a bad or suspicious character into our Honorable Board, knowing him to be such, and that I shall endeavour to propagat brotherly love and friendship among such of my acquaintance as may be thought worthy.

5th. That I will not at any of our Meetings drink to intoxication, so as to endanger a disclosure of names, regulations, or members thereof.

6th. That in Towns and Counties I will give the preference in dealings to those attached to our national interest, according as circumstances may answer me.

7th. Resolved, that I will not withdraw myself from this Honorable Society, or join in society where persons of other denominations are under the censure of God's judgment in his compassionate mercy, (not meaning trade, society, or soldiers.)

I, A. B. having made the above promise of my own free will and accord, may God assist me in my endeavours to fulfil the same, and may God protect our friendship, and grant us to live in a state of grace. Amen.

RIBBON REGULATIONS.

GENERAL REGULATIONS FOR THE PATRIOTIC ASSOCIATION; OR, SONS OF THE SHAMROCK.

Resolved, That as far as our system has extended throughout each parish in the kingdom, they shall be divided into 36 in number, who are to elect 3 Committee-men, a Treasurer, and a Master, and to present them at the Parish Meeting; and a book is to be kept by the Master, and another by one of the Committee-men, and by that means no defraud can be committed.

2. That a Meeting of each Body shall be held at a regular period, where differences between Members may be tried by four men of the same; and if they cannot agree, or either parties consider themselves not justified, it may then be lawful to bring it forward to the Parish Meeting, where the Masters assembled shall appoint a select Committee to decide upon it.

3. That the different Bodies, before each Parish Meeting, do hold a Meeting in order to represent the state of their Body to Parish Masters; in like manner, before the County or District Meeting, where they are to divide each County into two or more Districts, who are to send Delegates to the Provincial Meeting, in order to make or repeal laws, for the benefit of the Institution: and those delegates shall, in four days after their return, hand down the returns for the ensuing quarter.

RIBBON DELEGATION.

TO THE DELEGATES ASSEMBLED AT THE COUNTY MEETING.

General Restrictions.—1. That no Delegate shall be received from any of the two Districts of any County without an accredited Certificate from the Constituents.

2. That no Delegate shall issue or communicate any regulations that shall come to him through the provincial authority of this Institution, to any other than the Masters or Committee-men of the Society in his parish.

3. That no Committee-man shall communicate any such regulations to any other than the Members of his Society; and it shall also be enacted, that all persons in office, at stated periods, lay down their office, as once a Quarter; and they shall or may stand Candidates for the same, if they please, and their re-election will prove their merit.

4. That no Member shall be admitted or retained who will not yearly receive their Sacrament, and perform their Christian duties in a regular manner.

5. That Members shall not be restrained from forming side laws for the internal regulation and benefit of their own bodies, and they at the same time shall conform with respect to the general laws.

6. That each Member shall pay quarterly *5d.* or any sum that may be thought necessary by the Parish Masters to defray their quarterly expense; and any Member refusing so to do shall be expelled and reported.

Fines for Non-attendance.—Resolved, That the attendance of persons in office shall be indispensable, but when they send a person in their absence, bearing the necessary Credentials, or pay the following fines promptly: Provincial Delegates the sum of *1l.* for absence from the Provincial meeting; for absence from the County meeting *5s.*; for absence from the District meeting *2s. 6d.* Masters absent from the Parish meeting *1s.* Committee-men from a Body meeting *10d.* Members *5d.*

Fines for violation.—Any Member that knowingly strikes another is to pay for the first offence, *2s. 6d.*; for the next, exclusion of friendship;—that provokes, *1s. 3d.*, for the next *5s.*

Any Master that strikes a Member, &c. *5s.*; for the next, exclusion of friendship;—that provokes, *2s. 6d.*, and *5s.* for the next.

Any Delegate that strikes to pay 5s. 8d. for the first, and for the next exclusion of friendship—that provokes, 4s. 4d. for the first, and 5s. for the next; and for wronging or speaking ill of each other, to be decided by a Select Committee.

That each Delegate for any County shall return yearly the number of Members in his District, and the same shall be entered in the Provincial Registry.



The following are Extracts from the opinions delivered in Parliament on the Orange System.

Mr. Grattan, in a debate in the year 1796, described the system “as a persecution conceived in the bitterness of bigotry, carried on with the most ferocious barbarity by a banditti, who, being of the religion of the State, had committed, with the greater audacity and confidence, the most horrid murders, and had proceeded from robbery and massacre to extermination.” “Those insurgents,” said he, “call themselves Orangemen, or Protestant Boys; that is, a banditti of murderers, committing massacre in the name of God, and exercising despotic power in the name of Liberty.”

Also, “These insurgents have organized their rebellion, and formed themselves into a Committee, who sit and try the Catholic weavers and inhabitants, when apprehended falsely and illegally, as deserters. That rebellious Committee they call the Committee of Elders, who, when the unfortunate Catholic is torn from his family and his loom, and brought before them in judgment, if he give them liquor or money, they sometimes discharge him, otherwise they send him to a recruiting officer as a deserter. They generally give the Catholics notice to quit their farms and dwellings, which notice they plaister on the house, conceived in these short but plain words, *Go to hell, Connaught won't receive you. Fire and*

*Faggot, Wm. Thresham and John Thrustout.** They followed these notices with faithful and punctual execution of the horrid threat. In many instances they threw down the houses of the tenantry, or what they called racked the house, so that the family must fly, or be buried in the grave of their own cabin. The extent of the murders that had been committed by that atrocious and rebellious banditti he had heard, but not so ascertained as to state them to the House; but from all the inquiries he could make, he collected, that the Catholic inhabitants of Armagh were actually put out of the protection of the Law; that the Magistrates had been supine and partial, and that the horrid banditti had met with complete success, and from the Magistracy with very little discouragement." General inculcation seldom produces the effect of specific proof.

Mr. George Ponsonby, in urging an amendment proposed by Mr. Grattan, said, that "the enormities which the governor of that County had declared, exceeded any that ever disgraced any Country, were such as the existing Laws were not calculated fully to reach: they were of that kind, that a fair and impartial Government should be glad to catch at every opportunity to prevent. If Administration were sincere in wishing to protect the unfortunate sufferers in that County, as they were to punish offenders in other parts, they would not hesitate for one moment to adopt the amendment."

In debating the Insurrection Bill, † Sir Laurence Parsons grievously lamented the discontent which it must necessarily create in the county of Armagh, by enabling the Magistrate to send out of the kingdom any man he might think guilty.

* These exterminating notices varied in form, though they generally concurred in substance, and were equally acted upon. Some were conceived in the laconic words, *Hell or Connaught*. An eye-witness to many of these horrible scenes has furnished us with another reading of this terrific text, "To Hell or Connaught immediately, or we, Captain Rackall and Captain Firebrand will come and destroy you, and send your souls to Hell and damnation."

† Vid. Parliamentary Debates of these times.

“ In that County it had been frequently proved on oath, that several Magistrates refused to take the examinations of the injured Catholics. By some of those Magistrates they had been most cruelly persecuted : others would hear them only out of the window, and some actually turned them from the doors with threats. If such men were to be entrusted with a power of transporting men at pleasure, what was there to be expected, but the most gross and flagrant violation of justice ?”

The impression upon the public mind was faithfully represented by Mr. Grattan in the House of Commons, when that *new, bloody code*, as the Attorney General called it, was debated.* “ It had been said by the mover of the resolutions, that of the Defenders multitudes had been hanged, multitudes had been put to death on the field, and though suppressed, they were not extinguished. But with regard to the outrages of the Orange Boys he would make no such boast ; on the contrary, they had met with impunity, and success, and triumph. They had triumphed over the Law, they had triumphed over the Magistrates, and they had triumphed over the People. — There persecution, rebellion, inquisition, murder, robbery, devastation, and extermination, had been entirely victorious.”

* Parliamentary Debates, ubi supra.



R. MILLIKEN,
Printer in Ordinary to his
Majesty.



