REPORT

FROM THE

Committee of Secrecy.

MR. SPEAKER,

THE Committee of Secrecy appointed to take into consideration the papers presented to the house on the 17th day of July last by the Right Hon. Lord Viscount Castlereagh, have directed me to report as follows:

YOUR Committee, in reporting upon the papers referred to them, find it necessary to recall the attention of the house to a report of a secret committee of the Lords in the year 1793, as also to the reports of secret committees of both houses of the late parliament, presented in the course of the year 1797. Appendix No. I. No. II. & III.

Your committee find that the allegations stated in those reports are fully confirmed by further evidence and by subsequent events; and the facts they contain, connected with the information arising out of the present enquiry, will enable the house to trace in all its parts the conspiracy

 carried

carried on by the party ſtiling themſelves United Iriſhmen, from its firſt appearance under the pretext of reform till it connected itſelf with the foreign enemy, and broke out into a wide and extended rebellion.

Before your committee proceed to trace the extenſion and progreſs of the ſyſtem of treaſon ſince the period of the laſt report, (the organization of which at that time appeared to have been in a great degree confined to the northern counties, but ſhortly after extended itſelf throughout other parts of the kingdom,) they are deſirous of adverting to the prominent facts eſtabliſhed by former enquiries, and to the meaſures adopted by the government to meet the dangers which then, and at the period immediately ſubſequent to the laſt report, exiſted in the province of Ulſter.

The ſociety under the name of United Iriſhmen, it appears, was eſtabliſhed in the year 1791; its founders held forth what they termed Catholic Emancipation and Parliamentary Reform, as the oſtenſible objects of their union: but it clearly appeared from the letter of Theobald Wolfe Tone, accompanying their original conſtitution, as tranſmitted to Belfaſt for adoption, that from its commencement the real purpoſe of thoſe who were at the head of the inſtitution, was to ſeparate Ireland from Great Britain, and to ſubvert the eſtabiſhed conſtitution of this kingdom: in corroboration of which your committee have annexed to this report ſeveral of their early publications, particularly a proſpectus of the ſociety which appeared in the beginning of the year 1791; as alſo the plan of reform which they recommended to the people.

Appendix No. II.

No. IV & V.

For the firſt three years their attention was entirely directed to the engaging in their ſociety perſons of activity and talents in every quarter of the kingdom; and in preparing the public mind for their future purpoſes by the circulation of the moſt ſeditious publications, particularly the works of Thomas Paine. At this time however the leaders were rather cautious of alarming minds not ſufficiently ripe for the adoption of their principles by the too

too open diſcloſure of the real objects they had in view. In 1795 the teſt of the ſociety underwent a ſtriking reviſion; the words in the amended teſt ſtand "a full repreſentation of all the people," omitting the words "in the Commons houſe of Parliament;" the reaſon for which has been admitted by three members of the executive examined before your committee to be the better to reconcile reformers and republicans in a common exertion to overthrow the ſtate. Appendix No. XXIV. No. XXXI.

In the ſummer of 1796 great numbers of perſons, principally in the province of Ulſter, had enrolled themſelves in this ſociety. About the ſame period, as will be more fully explained hereafter, a direct communication had been opened by the heads of the party with the enemy, and French aſſiſtance was ſolicited and promiſed to be ſpeedily ſent to aid the diſaffected in this kingdom. No. VI.

With a view of being prepared as much as poſſible to co-operate with the enemy then expected, and in order to counteract the effect of the armed aſſociations of yeomanry eſtabliſhed in October 1796, directions were iſſued by the leaders to the ſocieties to form themſelves into military bodies, and to be provided with arms and ammunition. Ib.

Theſe directions were ſpeedily obeyed; the ſocieties aſſumed a military form; and it appears by the original papers ſeized at Belfaſt in the month of April 1797, that their numbers at that period in the province of Ulſter alone were ſtated to amount to nearly 100,000 men. That they were very largely ſupplied with fire-arms and pikes; that they had ſome cannon and ammunition, and were diligently employed in the ſtudy of military tactics; in ſhort, that nothing was neglected by the party which could enable them to take the field on the arrival of the enemy, or whenever they might receive orders to that effect from their ſuperior officers, whom they were bound by oath to obey. No. II.

To deter the well-affected from joining the yeomanry corps, and to render the adminiſtration of juſtice altogether ineffectual,

ineffectual, the moſt active ſyſtem of terror was put in operation; perſons enrolled in the yeomanry, magiſtrates, witneſſes, jurors, in a word every claſs and deſcription of people who ventured to ſupport the laws, became objects of the moſt cruel perſecution in their perſons, property, and even in the line of their buſineſs; and multitudes were compelled to take their illegal oaths, and profeſs an adherence to the party, as a means of ſecurity.

In the latter end of 1796, and beginning of 1797, the loyal inhabitants of Ulſter ſuffered moſt ſeverely from the depredations of the United Iriſhmen; throughout the province they were ſtript of their arms; the moſt horrid murders were perpetrated by large bodies of men in open day, and it became nearly impoſſible to bring the offenders to juſtice from the inevitable deſtruction that awaited the witneſſes or jurors who dared to perform their duty.

Your committee will now ſhortly trace the meaſures reſorted to for ſuppreſſing theſe diſturbances, and for extending protection to the well affected.

In the ſummer of 1796, the outrages committed by a banditti, calling themſelves Defenders, in the counties of Roſcommon, Leitrim, Longford, Meath, Weſtmeath and Kildare, together with a religious feud prevailing in the county of Armagh, induced the legiſlature to paſs a temporary act of parliament, generally called the Inſurrection act, by which the Lord Lieutenant and Council were enabled, upon the requiſition of ſeven magiſtrates of any county aſſembled at a ſeſſions of the peace, to proclaim the whole or any part thereof to be in a ſtate of diſturbance; within which limits this law, giving increaſed power to the magiſtracy, was to have operation.

36 Geo. 3. C. 20.

Many diſtricts in Ulſter in which outrages prevailed, occaſioned by the active and perſecuting ſpirit of the United Iriſhmen, were in the courſe of the winter of 1796, and ſpring of 1797, put under the proviſions of the act above mentioned; and your committee have to obſerve that although where the law was put in force with activity by the magiſtrates,

trates very beneficial consequences were found to result from it, yet the treason was then too deeply rooted to yield to this remedy.

The parliament being assembled in October 1796, the dangerous progress of the treason, and the active preparations of the enemy for the invasion of this kingdom, were announced in the speech from the throne. Bills were immediately brought in and passed without delay for suspending the habeas corpus act, as also for the establishment of the yeomanry;—measures to which your committee feel themselves justified in attributing the salvation of the country, and which being taken immediately subsequent to the formal alliance, concluded between the Executive of the Union and the French Directory, at once prove the vigilance of government, as also their well-founded confidence in thus entrusting the defence of the kingdom and its constitution, to the loyalty of its inhabitants. 37 Geo. 3. C. 37.

Your committee have to observe with great satisfaction, that the estimate for the yeomanry as first laid before Parliament was for a number not exceeding 20,000 men—that in the course of six months above 37,000 were arrayed; and that the zeal of the country had so risen with its difficulties, that during the late rebellion, the yeomanry force exceeded 50,000 men, and might have been encreased to a much greater extent. It is unnecessary to recal to the recollection and gratitude of parliament and of the country, the services they have performed during the unhappy struggle in which we have been engaged; sharing all the hardships and dangers, and performing all the duties in common with the King's regular and militia forces.

The next measure to which your committee beg leave to point the attention of the house is, the proclamation of the Lord Lieutenant and council, bearing date the 6th of November, 1796, issued in consequence of the disaffected having adopted a practice of marching in military array, and assembling in large bodies, in some instances to the number of several thousands, under pretence of saving corn, and digging potatoes; but in fact to terrify the Appendix No. VII.

peaceable and well-disposed, and to compel them to enter into their treasonable associations.

The same system has since frequently been had recourse to by the United Irishmen in other parts of the kingdom under various pretences, such as funerals, foot-ball meetings, &c. with a view of displaying their strength, giving the people the habit of assembling from great distances upon an order being issued, and making them more accustomed to shew themselves openly in support of the cause.

The next measure to which the government was driven by the traitorous excesses of the United Irishmen, and to which your committee beg leave to advert, is the proclamation of Lieut. General Lake, then commanding in Ulster, issued on the 13th of March, in consequence of a letter addressed to him by the Lord Lieutenant's secretary, Mr. Pelham.

Appendix No. VIII. & IX.

The disorders which called for this interposition of military authority are sufficiently set forth in the body of the letter; and your committee have only to observe, that in carrying Lieut. General Lake's proclamation into effect no acts of severity whatever were used by the military towards persons concealing or refusing to give up their arms; but that on the contrary, the search for the arms of the disaffected was conducted with all possible mildness; and that where persons voluntarily brought in their arms, certificates were granted by the magistrates and assurances given to the people that their arms would be returned as soon as the country was restored to tranquillity.—It must however be observed, that in June following, when a general insurrection was decided on by the party, and upon the point of breaking out in the province of Ulster, more vigorous means of compelling the surrender of arms were had recourse to, under the authority of the proclamation of the 17th of May;—a measure absolutely indispensable to the public security, and under the circumstances of the case, strictly defensive.

No. X.

Of

Of the quantity of arms which appeared by their own reports to be in the hands of the disaffected, comparatively few were obtained by the search then made in Ulster by General Lake's orders; and it is also to observed, that previously to, and during the circuit which took place in the month of April 1797, acts of violence of every description became more frequent, and were at the same time so systematically directed, with a view to stop the course of criminal justice against the United Irishmen, that the crown prosecutions in the disturbed counties proved from their failure an encouragement rather than a restraint upon the treasonable projects of the party.

The report of the Secret Committee was followed by the proclamation of the 17th of May 1797, which after reciting many acts of outrage and rebellion that had been committed, and offering pardon, with certain exceptions to all persons guilty of the said offences who should surrender within the period of a month and give security for their future good behaviour, declared that the civil power had proved ineffectual, and that it became necessary to employ the military force for the immediate suppression of such rebellious attempts. Appendix No. X. XI. XII.

It appears to your committee, that notwithstanding this measure of mercy and warning to the disaffected, in the latter end of the same month, as will be more fully explained hereafter, a general insurrection in Ulster was decided on, and the plan of attack for each county arranged. No. XIII.

The intention transpired, and was defeated by the active exertions of the army; notwithstanding which a partial rising did take place near the mountains in the county of Down, where the insurgents, finding themselves unsupported, soon dispersed. The effect of the measures then adopted was immediately felt; the arms of the disaffected by necessary acts of coercion were collected throughout the province in great numbers:—the loyal were encouraged to declare themselves—such as had been misled, came in in crowds to take the benefit of the proclamation

Appendix No. XIII. clamation of pardon, which was extended for another month; outrage ceased, and public confidence was so far restored throughout Ulster in the course of the months of July and August, that the laws were administered with effect in the different counties during the autumn circuit, and the manufacturing industry of the country was restored to its usual vigour during the remainder of that year. Your committee think it peculiarly incumbent on them to state, that during and subsequent to the assizes of the said circuit, the civil authority was found throughout Ulster fully adequate to the preservation of the public peace, and that all military interference was generally discontinued from that period.

It appears to your committee, that the inferior societies of United Irishmen, in general, discontinued their meetings; that the people applied themselves to their ordinary occupations; and though some of the higher committees No. XIV. were kept alive by the active leaders in the treason, yet it will appear from an inspection of the authentic reports of their proceedings, that for several months only a proportion of the counties of Ulster were represented in the provincial committee; that the others refused to send Delegates; that little money was collected; that they could not succeed in reviving the inferior societies; and that although they encouraged each other in the hopes of bringing the lower orders of the people again into action in case the enemy should land, they were not able to make any impression of consequence, 'till the insurrection in Leinster was on the point of breaking forth; and your committee feel themselves warranted in stating, that the beneficial consequences arising from the measures adopted in the year 1797, in the north, were strongly exemplified in the feebleness of the late insurrection in that quarter, and in the spirit displayed on that occasion by the yeomanry and loyal inhabitants of the province of Ulster.

It appears to your committee, that the leaders of the treason, apprehensive lest the enemy might be discouraged from any further plan of invasion, by the loyal disposition manifested throughout Munster and Connaught on their former

former attempt, determined to direct all their exertions to the propagation of the ſyſtem in thoſe provinces, which had hitherto been but partially infected. With this view emiſſaries were ſent into the ſouth and weſt in great numbers, of whoſe ſucceſs, in forming new ſocieties, and adminiſtering the oaths of the Union, there were, in the courſe of a few months, but too evident proofs in the introduction of the ſame diſturbances and enormities into Munſter with which the northern province had been ſo ſeverely viſited.

In May 1797, although numbers had been ſworn both in Munſter and Leinſter, the ſtrength of the organization, excluſively of Ulſter, lay chiefly in the metropolis and in a few neighbouring counties, namely, Dublin, Kildare, Meath, Weſtmeath, and the King's County.

It is obſervable, that the counties in which Defenderiſm had prevailed eaſily became converts to the new doctrines; and in the ſummer of 1797 the uſual concomitants of the treaſon, namely, the plundering houſes of arms, the fabrication of pikes, and the murder of thoſe who did not join their party, began to appear in the midland counties.

In order to engage the peaſantry in the ſouthern counties, particularly in the counties of Waterford and Cork, the more eagerly in their cauſe, the United Iriſhmen found it expedient in urging their general principles, to dwell with peculiar energy on the ſuppoſed oppreſſiveneſs of tythes, (which had been the pretext for the old White-boy inſurrections.) And it is obſervable, that in addition to the acts of violence uſually reſorted to by the party, for the furtherance of their purpoſes, the ancient practice of burning the corn and houghing the cattle of thoſe againſt whom their reſentment was directed was revived, and very generally practiſed in thoſe counties.

With a view to excite the reſentment of the catholics, and to turn that reſentment to the purpoſes of the party, fabricated and falſe teſts were repreſented as having been

Appendix No. XXVI. taken to exterminate catholics, and were induſtriouſly diſſeminated by the emiſſaries of the treaſon throughout the provinces of Leinſter, Munſter, and Connaught. Reports were frequently circulated amongſt the ignorant of the catholic perſuaſion, that large bodies of men were coming to put them to death. This fabrication, however extravagant and abſurd, was one among the many wicked means, by which the deluded peaſantry were engaged the more rapidly in the treaſon.

In addition to the above arts practiſed to excite the people, and to turn local prejudices to the furtherance of their purpoſe, the party did not fail to avail themſelves, to the fulleſt extent, of the moſt wicked and licentious abuſe of the Preſs. In the ſummer of 1797, an infamous paper, called the Union Star, was privately printed and circulated, inculcating the principles of inſurrection and aſſaſſination in direct terms, and containing a deſcription of thoſe perſons by name, (particularly magiſtrates and ſuch as had ſerved on juries) who were to be held out to the party as objects of aſſaſſination, on account of their active loyalty, or a conſcientious diſcharge of their duty.

No. XXVII.

Towards the end of the ſame year, a newſpaper called the Preſs was eſtabliſhed, latterly publiſhed in the name of Mr. A. O'Connor as proprietor thereof, who has admitted before your committee, that he was for more than a year a member of the Executive Directory of the Iriſh Union, and who as it appears to your committee from various channels of information was a moſt active and confidential leader of their treaſon in its principal departments both at home and abroad, which conveyed periodical exhortations to all manner of outrage and inſubordination. Every ſpecies of miſrepreſentation and ſophiſtry was made uſe of to viliſy the government, to extend the union, to ſhake the connexion with Great Britain, to induce the people to look to French aſſiſtance, to exaggerate the force and numbers of the diſaffected, and ſyſtematically to degrade the adminiſtration of juſtice in all its departments. This paper, conducted on principles ſtill more licentious than the Northern Star (which had contributed ſo largely to the extenſion

No. XXVII.

tenſion of treaſon in the North) was diſtributed throughout all parts of the kingdom, and from the activity of its partizans, had immediately a more extenſive circulation than any paper long eſtabliſhed.

The meaſures thus adopted by the party completely ſucceeded in detaching the minds of the lower claſſes from their uſual habits and purſuits, inſomuch, that in the courſe of the autumn and winter of 1797, the peaſantry in the midland and ſouthern counties were ſworn and ripe for inſurrection. Pikes were fabricated in ſuch numbers, that in the ſingle county of Kildare, in conſequence of the meaſures adopted by government, twelve thouſand have been ſurrendered; and your committee have every reaſon to believe that a ſtill greater proportion was retained, and that the preparation of arms in other counties by the diſaffected was nearly as extenſive as the organization itſelf, will appear as well from the numbers ſeized in different parts of the kingdom, amounting in the whole to above 129,000 of different deſcriptions, as from the fact, that wherever the inſurrection broke out, the maſs of the people were univerſally armed either with muſkets or pikes.

Appendix No. XXXIX.

No. XXXIX.

While they were thus maturing their deſign and ſecretly acquiring the ſtrength and conſiſtency of a revolutionary army, they omitted no artifice by which they could hope either to weaken or embarraſs the government of the country. So early as the year 1792 the ſeduction of the ſoldiery made a part of their ſyſtem. They imagined that the ſeaſon was now arrived for its accompliſhment, and no means which wicked ſubtilty could ſuggeſt were left unemployed. Printed papers were induſtriouſly circulated amongſt the privates and non-commiſſioned officers, urging them to inſubordination and revolt, and holding out the moſt tempting offers of preferment to ſuch as ſhould deſert their colours. The atrocious crimes to which they were incited will beſt appear by reference to the proceedings of the general courts martial hereunto annexed, before whom the culprits were tried, prior to the breaking out

No. XXX.

No. XXIX. XXX.

Appendix No. XX. out of the rebellion, and to the trial of Henry and John Shcares before a ſpecial commiſſion lately held.

Their attempts to fruſtrate the adminiſtration of juſtice have already been mentioned. It will be proper to ſtate
No. XIV. ſome farther particulars. From ſeveral authentic reports of their own proceedings, it appears that conſiderable ſums of money were ſubſcribed for the purpoſe of defending ſuch of their aſſociates as ſhould be brought to trial. That they had itinerant committees who went circuit as regularly as the judges. That a bar of lawyers were retained to undertake the cauſe of all perſons in the groſs committed for ſtate offences. Entries of money appear in their proceedings as paid to procure, as well as to buy off witneſſes. In many caſes to gaolers for being guilty of breaches of truſt, and even to under ſheriffs for returning partial pannels; hand-bills to intimidate jurors were circulated, and every ſpecies of indecent management practiſed in the courts, to exclude from the jury box perſons unconnected with their party.

No. XXV. In the hope of diminiſhing the reſources of the State inſtructions were given to the people to abſtain from the conſumption of exciſeable articles, which are productive to the Revenue, and every endeavour made to depreciate the va-
No. XXVIII. lue of Government Securities in the eſtimation of the public, to ſtop the raiſing of the ſupplies of the year by the ſale of the quit rents, and to prevent the circulation of Bank paper.

Before your Committee proceed to ſtate the traitorous correſpondence carried on by the leading members of the con-
No. XXIV. ſpiracy with the enemy, they think it neceſſary to advert to a new organization of the Society which took place in Auguſt 1797, the reaſons for which change will beſt appear by an inſpection of the printed paper at that time circulated as an inſtruction to the body, and your Committee beg leave
No. XXXI. to refer to the examination *upon oath* before the Secret Committee of the Houſe of Lords of Doctor M'Nevin, who ſtates himſelf to have been a member of their Executive Directory

Directory for the detailed application of this new ſyſtem to military purpoſes.

The evidence of the ſame perſon together with that of two other members of the executive, namely Mr. Emmet and Mr. Arthur O'Connor, delivered upon oath before the ſaid Secret Committee of the Lords, and who as well as the ſaid Dr. M'Nevin have been examined ſince before your Committee, has completely developed the connexion of the party with the French Directory. From their teſtimony it appears that ſo early as the year 1796, the party deſpairing of carrying their plans into execution through the medium of a democratic reform, avowedly directed their efforts to revolution, and having received an intimation from one of their ſociety, and whom your Committe have very good reaſon to know to be Mr. Theobald Wolfe Tone already mentioned, (a fugitive from this country on account of his treaſonable conduct) then at Paris, that the ſtate of the country had been repreſented to the government of France in ſuch a light as to induce them to reſolve on ſending a force to Ireland for the purpoſe of enabling it to ſeparate itſelf from Great Britain, an extraordinary meeting of the Executive of the Union was convened to take the propoſal into conſideration. Appendix No XXXI.

This meeting was held in the Summer of 1796, and the reſult of their deliberations was to accept of the aſſiſtance thus held out to them by the French Directory. Ibid.

In conſequence of this determination an agent was diſpatched to the Directory to acquaint them with it. He was inſtructed to ſtate the diſpoſitions of the people, and the arrangements of the union for their reception, and received freſh aſſurances from the French Government that the armament ſhould be ſent as ſpeedily as it could be prepared. The agent above alluded to appears to your Committee from various channels of information to have been the late Lord Edward Fitzgerald, who accompanied by the ſaid Mr. Arthur O'Connor, proceeded by Hamburgh to Switzerland, and had an interview near the French frontier with General Hoche, who afterwards had the command of the expedition Ibid.

 againſt

againſt Ireland, on which occaſion every thing was ſettled between the parties with a view to the deſcent. The reaſon the perſons employed on this miſſion did not paſs into France was, leſt the Iriſh government ſhould gain intelligence of the fact, and cauſe them to be apprehended on their return.

Appendix No. XXXI. About October, 1796, an accredited meſſenger from the French Republic arrived, who ſaid he came to be informed of the ſtate of the country, and to communicate to the leaders of the United Iriſhmen the intention of the French to invade Ireland ſpeedily with fifteen thouſand men and a great quantity of arms and ammunition, which attempt ſo announced was accordingly made in the month of December following, when the French fleet with a large body of troops on board arrived in Bantry-bay.

Your Committee do not think it neceſſary to advert to the early and frequent communications of a treaſonable nature that took place between the diſaffected who had fled from this country to France, and the leaders of the party here, it is ſufficient to ſet forth the leading attempts of the union to prevail upon the French Directory to ſend a force to their aſſiſtance. It is neceſſary however to obſerve that although previous to the ſummer of 1796 no formal and authoriſed communication appears to have taken place between the Iriſh Executive, and the French government, yet the trial of Dr. Jackſon convicted of High Treaſon in the year 1795, proves that even then the enemy had agents in this kingdom who were addreſſed to the moſt active members of the Iriſh Union for information and aſſiſtance, and the treaſonable ſtatement reſpecting the interior ſituation of Ireland then drawn up, to be tranſmitted to France, appeared on the trial to have been the joint production of Theobald Wolfe Tone heretofore mentioned as the framer of the original conſtitution of United Iriſhmen, aſſiſted by Archibald Hamilton Rowan, Eſq. who frequently appeared in their publications as the chairman of the Society, to which treaſon, Lewins whom your Committee from various channels of information are enabled to ſtate to be now their reſident agent at Paris, appears to have been privy.

No. XXII.]

From

From the period of the failure of this expedition, the disaffected either actually did expect, or with a view of keeping up the spirits of their party, pretended to expect the immediate return of the enemy, and assurances to this effect were industriously circulated in all their Societies. However in the Spring of 1797, the Executive of the Union thinking the French dilatory in their preparations, did then dispatch Mr. Lewins above mentioned as a confidential person to press for assistance. This agent left London in March, and proceeded to Hamburgh, but did not reach Paris until the end of May or beginning of June, from which time he has continued to be the accredited Minister of the Irish Union to the French Directory. Appendix No. XXXI.

It appears to your Committee, that in the Summer of 1797, the Executive of the Union apprehensive lest a premature insurrection in the North before the promised succours from France could arrive might disappoint their prospects, thought it necessary to send a second agent to Paris, to urge with increased earnestness that the promised assistance should be immediately sent; accordingly a most confidential member of their body, whom your Committee have grounds to state to have been Doctor M'Nevin who had hitherto acted as Secretary to the Executive, was dispatched on this mission—He left Dublin in the end of June, and presented himself with the necessary letters of credence to the French Minister at Hamburgh.—Meeting with some difficulty in obtaining a passport to proceed to Paris, he delivered to the Minister of the Republic a memoir to be forwarded to the Directory, the substance of which appears in Doctor M'Nevin's examination as taken on oath before the Secret Committee of the Lords. It is unnecessary to make any observation upon this most curious statement—it is in itself a complete picture of the desperate purposes of the party, and the House will observe that the statement of their own resources is studiously exaggerated in proportion to the anxiety felt by them that the succours might be sent before the vigorous measures adopted by government in the North should disconcert their projects. Ibid.

This

Appendix No. XXXI. This agent was authorized to give France aſſurances of being repaid the full expenſes of any future armament ſhe might ſend to Ireland, as well as of the laſt which had miſcarried, the ſame to be raiſed by the confiſcation of the lands of the church, of the property of all thoſe who ſhould oppoſe the meaſures of the party. He was alſo particularly charged to negotiate if poſſible a loan on the above ſecurity to the amount of half a million, or at leaſt three hundred thouſand pounds for the immediate purpoſes of the Union, and directions were given to him that in caſe France could not be prevailed on to advance ſo large a ſum, he ſhould addreſs himſelf to the court of Spain for that purpoſe.

Ibid. It appears to your Committee that the Executive of the Union, though deſirous of obtaining aſſiſtance in men, arms and money, yet were averſe to a greater force being ſent than might enable them to ſubvert the government, and retain the power of the country in their own hands; but that the French ſhewed a decided diſinclination at all times to ſend any force to Ireland except ſuch as from its magnitude might not only give them the hopes of conquering the kingdom, but of retaining it afterwards as a French conqueſt, and of ſubjecting it to all the plunder and oppreſſions which other countries, ſubdued or deceived by that nation, have experienced. A remarkable illuſtration of which ſentiment in the Directory of France occurs in No. XXXII. the ſubſtance of a letter ſaid to be received from Lewines, the Iriſh agent at Paris, and ſhewn by Lord Edward Fitzgerald to John Cormick a Colonel in the rebel army, who fled from juſtice on the breaking out of the rebellion, and whoſe voluntary confeſſion upon his apprehenſion in Guernſey before Sir Hugh Dalrymple, is given in the appendix. This letter, although written apparently on money buſineſs which is the cloak generally made uſe of by the party to conceal their real views, is perfectly intelligible when connected with and explained by the memoir preſented by Doctor M'Nevin the Iriſh agent to the French Directory. The letter ſtates, that the truſtees, that is, the Directory, would not advance the five thouſand pounds, that is, the ſmaller number of troops aſked for in M'Nevin's memoir; ſaying they would make

make no payment ſhort of the entire ſum, that is the larger force, which they always declared their intention of ſending, and that this payment could not be made in leſs than four months from that time.

The demands of the party by their firſt agent, went to a force not exceeding ten thouſand nor leſs than five thouſand men, with forty thouſand ſtand of arms, and a proportionate ſupply of artillery, ammunition, engineers, experienced officers, &c. Appendix No. XXXI.

A ſtill larger ſupply of arms was ſolicited by the ſecond meſſenger, on account as he ſtated it, of the growing number of their adherents, and of the diſarming of the North, in which province above ten thouſand ſtand of arms and as many pikes had been ſurrendered to the King's troops. Ib.

It appears that an attempt was made about the ſame time, to procure the aſſiſtance of ſuch Iriſh officers then in foreign ſervice, as might be prevailed upon, by receiving high rank, to engage in the ſervice of the Union, and that a negotiation was actually ſet on foot for this purpoſe, but it has been ſtated, that from the over-caution of the agent who was employed in conducting this tranſaction, nothing in conſequence of it was effected. Ib.

A ſecond memoir was preſented by this confidential agent upon his arrival at Paris, in which he urged ſuch arguments, as he conceived moſt likely to induce the Directory not to poſtpone the invaſion. He endeavoured to demonſtrate, that ſo favourable a diſpoſition as then exiſted in the Iriſh mind, was in no future contingency to be expected; and he artfully repreſented, that the deluſions held out by reform might ceaſe from delay, and thus render more difficult to France and the true republicans of this country, their endeavours to ſeparate the two kingdoms, and to eſtabliſh a republic in Ireland. Ib.

Previous to this miſſion from Ireland, a confidential perſon was ſent over by the French Directory to collect

information respecting the state of Ireland.—Failing to obtain the necessary passports in London to pass into Ireland, he wrote over to request that one of the party might meet him in London. A person was accordingly sent over, whom your committee know from various channels of information, to have been the late Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and who, it is to be presumed, did not fail to furnish the French agent with every necessary intelligence.

The Directory gave the Irish agents sent to Paris, the strongest assurances of support, and did accordingly during the summer, make preparations of a very extensive nature, both at the Texel and at Brest for the invasion of Ireland; and in the autumn, intelligence was received by the Executive of the Union, that the troops were actually embarked in the Texel and only waited for a wind.

In consequence of this communication great exertions were made by the party, and in the beginning of October, when the Dutch fleet was on the point of sailing, the approach of the enemy (as will appear by reference to the provincial reports from Ulster of that date) was announced to the societies as at hand.

Appendix No. XIV.

The troops had been actually on board, commanded by General Daendells, but were suddenly disembarked. The Dutch fleet, contrary to the opinion of their own Admiral, as is believed generally, was at the instance of the French government, obliged to put to sea, which led to the ever memorable victory of the 11th October, 1797.

No. XVI. & XXXI.

It appears to your committee, that early in the present year farther advices were received by the Irish Executive from France, stating, that succours might be expected to be sent to Ireland in April, but notwithstanding the temptation held out by the rebellion, which commenced on the 23d of May following, the French government have not yet thought it prudent to fulfil their promise.

The

The committee truſt they have laid ſufficient grounds before the houſe, to ſatisfy them of the long entertained and fixed purpoſe of the United Iriſhmen to introduce the enemy into this kingdom, and through their aſſiſtance to ſeize upon the government and property of the country; and that in their negotiations with the French Directory, they have had no other reſerve but what their own treaſonable ambition pointed out. The particulars of the ſtatement reſting for the moſt part upon the admiſſion of the parties themſelves, there can be no poſſible room to doubt the truth of what has been ſubmitted.

Your committee think it material to obſerve, that notwithſtanding the wildneſs of the hope that they could ever ſucceed in overturning the government without powerful aid from abroad, yet on more than one occaſion, the eagerneſs of the more violent partizans ſo far prevailed over their reaſon, as to induce them to meditate an inſurrection. To this they were excited by the apprehenſion that the zeal of their followers would ſubſide if they were not called into action, as well as by a dread that a reſort to ſtronger meaſures on the part of government might at length deprive them of the means of exertion. It had been their invariable policy to announce an effort as at hand, merely to keep up the ſpirits of the people when no attempt of the kind was really in contemplation, however in the ſpring of 1797, a plan was ſeriouſly diſcuſſed amongſt the leaders then aſſembled in Dublin, for commencing a general riſing without waiting for foreign aſſiſtance, but as this ſcheme did not meet with the approbation of the Dublin part of the committee, it was laid aſide; and it appears that at this period, a coolneſs took place between the Ulſter and the Leinſter Delegates, in conſequence of which the progreſs of the conſpiracy ſeems to have been for a time much impeded. Appendix No. XXXI. & XV.

The northerns then in Dublin diſguſted with the cowardice (as they termed it) of the Leinſter Delegates, propoſed to act without their approbation, to ſeize upon the caſtle, ordnance ſtores, magazine, &c. and to truſt to the mob of Dublin for aſſiſtance; but from ſome additional No. XIV.

military

military precautions at that time adopted in the garrison, this plan was abandoned.

Shortly after the proclamation of the 17th of May 1797 above stated, notwithstanding the strong opinion entertained by the Leinster Executive, of the impolicy of such an attempt, the more so, as assurances had been recently received of the preparations going forward both at Brest and in the Texel for the invasion of Ireland; yet an active effort was made to produce a general insurrection throughout Ulster, the orders for which were given out the latter end of May, in conformity to a plan previously prepared. A slight movement did take place as before stated; however the main design of the party was frustrated by the active military measures then taken by Lieutenant General Lake, and many of their principal leaders were obliged to fly, several of whom passed into France, having received letters to Reinhart, French minister at Hamburg, from persons then resident in this country, in consequence of which introduction, the necessary passports were granted, to enable them to proceed to Paris, where they arrived early in August, and had frequent communications with the French Directory on Irish affairs.

Your committee do not find that the disaffected entertained at any other periods than those alluded to, until the middle of March 1798, any serious intention of hazarding an effort independent of foreign assistance. Indeed the opinion of the most cautious of their body was always adverse to a premature exertion. Their policy was to risque nothing so long as the party was gaining strength. Their principle to extend their organization, to add to their stock of arms, and to wait for events: and it appears from a variety of evidence laid before your committee, that the rebellion would not have broken out so soon as it did, had it not been for the well timed measures adopted by government, subsequent to the proclamation of the Lord Lieutenant and council, bearing date the 30th of March, 1798, as it is notorious that in many counties the effect of those measures was such in dissolving the union, and in obliging the people to surrender their arms, that it became evident

Appendix No XXXVII

evident to the generality of their leaders they had no other alternative but to rise at once, or to abandon their purpose.

It appears to your committee that with the double view of being prepared either to co-operate with the enemy in case of a descent, or of directing an insurrection upon system should they find it necessary to have recourse to such a measure before assistance might arrive from France, a military committee was appointed by the Executive in the month of February last. About this time detailed military instructions were issued to the Adjutant-generals of the Union, by which they were required to inform themselves and report on the state of the rebel regiments within their districts, of the number of mills, the roads, rivers, bridges and fords, the military positions, the capacity of the towns and villages to receive troops, to communicate to the Executive every movement of the enemy, (meaning the King's troops) to announce the first appearance of their allies, (meaning the French) and immediately to collect their force, with several other military regulations.

Appendix No. XXXI.

No. XIV. and XVII.

Instructions were also given to the several rebel regiments as to the arms and appointments with which they were to be furnished, so as to be enabled to take the field on the shortest notice.

No. XXVI.

At a meeting held the 26th of February, thanks are voted to the several Colonels for their effectual exertions in embodying and arming their respective regiments—the people are requested to bear the shackles of tyranny a little longer till the whole kingdom shall be in such a state of organization as will, by their joint co-operation, effect without loss that desirable object which they stated as hourly drawing to a crisis.

No. XXVII.

Whilst these extensive military arrangements were making by the Executive to act against the state as soon as a favourable opportunity should present itself, the same system of outrage which had been so successfully made use of by the party the year before in Ulster, to establish their own au-

 thority

thority in opposition to that of the laws, and to compel the people to look to the Union for protection rather than to the state, was very generally prevalent throughout the southern and midland counties. The enormities committed on the well affected, were marked with the most disgusting cruelty.

It is unnecessary for your Committee to detail individual instances of outrage which are fresh in the recollection of the House: it will be sufficient to state, that in the months of February and March, many parts of the provinces of Leinster and Munster were actually in the possession of a murderous banditti.—If they did not appear in arms by day, it only rendered their rebellion more difficult to be met and crushed by the King's troops and yeomanry—not a night passed without numerous murders; several districts in the provinces of Leinster and Munster had been proclaimed under the powers given to the Lord Lieutenant and Council by the act for preventing insurrections; but these measures proved ineffectual—very many of the loyal inhabitants of the counties of Cork, Limerick, Tipperary, Kilkenny, Carlow, King's County, Queen's County, Kildare, and Wicklow, were, in the course of one month, stript of their arms, and in many places obliged to fly for shelter into the garrison towns; and as one instance among many of the daring lengths to which the conspirators at this time had proceeded, your Committee think it necessary to state, that in open day, 800 insurgents, principally mounted, invested the town of Cahir in the county of Tipperary; held possession of it until they had made a regular search through every house, and carried off in triumph all the arms and ammunition they could find.

Appendix No. XXXVII

Under these circumstances the Lord Lieutenant and Council issued the proclamation before spoken of, bearing dated the 30th of March, stating that the traitorous conspiracy long existing within this kingdom had broken out into acts of *open rebellion*; and giving notice that the most direct and positive orders were issued to the officers commanding His Majesty's forces to employ them with the utmost vigour and decision for the immediate suppression thereof; and also for the recovery of such arms as had been traitorously taken from the King's peaceable and loyal subjects.

ſubjects. It was alſo enjoined that they ſhould diſarm the rebels and all perſons diſaffected to His Majeſty's government by the moſt ſummary and effectual meaſures.

This proclamation was tranſmitted by His Excellency's commands to Sir Ralph Abercrombie then Commander in Chief, who was directed to proceed into the diſturbed counties, being inveſted by the Lord Lieutenant with full powers.

Your committee annex to this report a notice to the inhabitants of the diſturbed counties, as iſſued by the ſaid Commander in Chief; and think it incumbent on them to obſerve, that on this and indeed on every occaſion in which the government or the officers acting under its orders have been driven to the neceſſity of adopting extraordinary meaſures for the ſafety of the ſtate, full notice and time have uniformly been given before they were acted upon, and the people have been exhorted to prevent the neceſſity of rigorous meaſures by a ceſſation from outrage and a ſurrender of their arms. Appendix No. XXXVIII.

It appears to your committee that the ſteps then taken, as mentioned in the proclamation, had an almoſt immediate effect in repreſſing the audacity of the rebels and in reſtoring tranquillity. The loyal inhabitants were enabled in many places to return in ſafety to their houſes,—murders became leſs frequent; in many counties, particularly in Kildare and Tipperary, the people ſenſible of the madneſs and wickedneſs of their conduct, began openly to acknowledge their crimes, ſurrender their arms, and point out their leaders and ſeducers; a ſubmiſſion which invariably obtained for them pardon and protection.

In April and the beginning of May, the deluſion of the people was ſo faſt and ſo widely yielding to the meaſures of government, which while they treated with ſeverity the obſtinately guilty, in all caſes held forth mercy to the repentant, that the leaders of the treaſon both in Dublin and in the provinces began to perceive that their cauſe was loſing ground, and that they had no alternative left but to hazard an inſurrection or to relinquiſh their hopes. The No. XXXIV.

arreſt

Appendix No. XVI. XIX. arreſt of the Leinſter provincial committee on the 12th of March, and of ſeveral other leading members of the Union on the ſame day, tended ſo much to diſcloſe the guilt of the party and to weaken their organization, that the conſpirators felt themſelves ſtill more compelled to a deſperate effort: a plan was accordingly digeſted by the military committee for a general riſing, the outline of which was to No. XIV. ſurpriſe Dublin, the camp at Loughlinſtown, and the artillery ſtation at Chapelizod on the ſame night, in which No. XVIII. attack the counties of Dublin, Wicklow and Kildare, were to co-operate: the inſurrection being commenced in the neighbourhood of the metropolis, (the ſignal for announc- No. XXXI. ing which was to be the detention of the mail-coaches,) it was expected that the North and South would alſo riſe.

The houſe will find the plan of inſurrection detailed and fully proved in the evidence adduced on the trial of Henry No XX XXXI. and John Sheares lately convicted of high treaſon; the bloody intentions of the party may beſt be collected from XXXIII. a manifeſto in the hand writing of the ſaid John Sheares, (one of the new executive elected after the arreſts made on the 12th of March laſt, as your committee have reaſon to believe) which was to have been iſſued in the event of ſucceſs. Were any additional proofs neceſſary to eſtabliſh the authenticity of the plan as above ſtated, it may be found in the proceedings of the provincial committee of No. XIV. Ulſter, which met at Armagh on the 12th of May, where the ſame plan was announced as decided on, and the neceſſary orders given for ſecuring as far as poſſible the co-operation of the North.

The government perfectly informed of the intentions of the conſpirators, cauſed ſeveral of the leaders to be apprehended on the 19th and 21ſt of May, and the approaching inſurrection was announced to the Lord Mayor late in the evening of the 21ſt in a letter from the Lord Lieutenant's ſecretary; and on the following day a meſſage to the ſame effect was ſent by His Excellency to both Houſes of Parliament. Notwithſtanding the military precautions adopted to counteract the intended riſing, it took place in the neighbourhood of Dublin on the night appointed,

ed, namely, the 23d of May; and every poſſible effort was made by the diſaffected within the town to co-operate with thoſe without. In conformity to the plan laid down, the mail coaches were deſtroyed on the northern and ſouthern roads, and every exertion made by the party in the provinces to bring the people into action.

Your Committee do not think it neceſſary to record the events of the bloody and deſtructive rebellion that enſued, which are ſtill but too freſh in the memory of the houſe; they need only ſtate, that as ſoon as the rebels had actually taken the field in force, and commenced their operations by ſeveral daring attacks upon the towns garriſoned by the King's troops; the Lord Lieutenant and council publiſhed a proclamation, bearing date the 24th of May, announcing, that he had authorized the ſummary puniſhment by martial law of all rebels found in arms, or of perſons in anywiſe aiding or aſſiſting in the rebellion; to which ſeaſonable interpoſition of the powers of the ſtate, the preſervation of the conſtitution againſt this daring attempt to ſubvert it is not leſs to be attributed, than to the diſtinguiſhed fidelity and bravery of the King's troops, both regulars, militia, and yeomanry.

Appendix No XXXV.

No. XXXIX.

On conſideration of the whole of the evidence, your committee are of opinion,

That the rebellion originated in a ſyſtem, framed not with a view of obtaining either Catholic Emancipation, or any Reform compatible with the exiſtence of the conſtitution, but for the purpoſe of ſubverting the government, ſeparating Ireland from Great Britain, and forming a democratic republic, founded on the deſtruction of all church eſtabliſhment, the abolition of ranks, and the confiſcation of property.

That the means reſorted to for the attainment of theſe deſigns, was a ſecret ſyſtematized combination, fitted to attract the multitude, by being adapted to vulgar prejudices and vicious paſſions, and artfully linked and connected together with a view of forming the maſs of the lower

ranks into a revolutionary force, acting in concert, and moving as one body, at the impulſe, and under the direction of their leaders.

That for the further accompliſhment of their object, the leaders of the conſpiracy entered into a negotiation and finally concluded an alliance with the French Directory, by which it was ſtipulated, that an adequate force ſhould be ſent for the invaſion of this country, as ſubſidiary to the preparations that were making for a general inſurrection.

That in purſuance of this deſign, meaſures were adopted by the chiefs of the conſpiracy, for giving to their ſocieties a military form; and that for arming their adherents they had recourſe partly to the fabrication of pikes, and partly to the plundering of the loyal inhabitants of their arms.

That from the vigorous and ſummary expedients reſorted to by government, and the conſequent exertions of the military, the leaders found themſelves reduced to the alternative of immediate inſurrection, or of being deprived of the means on which they relied for effecting their purpoſe; and that to this cauſe is excluſively to be attributed that premature and deſperate effort, the raſhneſs of which has ſo evidently facilitated its ſuppreſſion.

That the vigilance of the executive government, in detecting and arreſting many of the principal conſpirators in the very act of concerting their plans of inſurrection, the convictions which have enſued, and the ſtill more complete developement of the treaſon by the confeſſion of ſome of its moſt active and efficient conductors, have not only eſſentially contributed to the defeat of the rebellion, but by enabling the committee to diſcloſe the views and machinations of the conſpirators, may ſuggeſt means for ſecuring the future tranquillity of the country.

Your committee cannot conclude without obſerving, that on a review of the treaſon which has employed their attention, they trace a perfect coincidence, in its commencement and in its progreſs, its means and its objects, with that by

by which the government, the religion, and the happineſs of France have been deſtroyed; which has extended its deſolating influence over ſome of the moſt proſperous and flouriſhing countries of Europe, and has ſhaken to its foundation the fabric of regular ſociety throughout the civilized world. That the leaders of the ſyſtem, in order to adapt the minds of the multitude to the purpoſes of their treaſon, have, after the example of their jacobine allies in France, left no means unemployed which the moſt malignant ſubtlety could ſuggeſt, for eradicating from amongſt the working claſſes, every ſentiment both of private and public duty;—all quiet and peaceable habits, all ſocial as well as moral obligations it has been their object to deſtroy; and the more ſacred the tie, the more induſtriouſly have they laboured to diſſolve it: They have incited the ſoldier to betray his King, they have armed the tenant againſt the landlord, and they have taught the ſervant to conſpire with the aſſaſſin of his maſter; blaſting the repoſe and confidence of private life even in its ſanctuary, and effacing every law of truth, of juſtice, of gratitude and of religion, except where it has been poſſible to make even religion itſelf the perverted inſtrument of their execrable views. Such have been the leading principles, and the long laboured preparatives for that rebellion from which your committee truſt this country has been happily reſcued, and they indulge a ſanguine hope, that their preſent ſtatement, authenticated as it is by ſuch a maſs of evidence, will contribute ſtill farther to the complete re-eſtabliſhment of tranquillity, by throwing the fulleſt light on the dangers to which the community has been expoſed, and againſt which it is ſtill neceſſary to guard.

END OF THE REPORT.

THE FOLLOWING

P A P E R S

are annexed to the

FOREGOING REPORT.

THE FOLLOWING

P A P E R S

are annexed to the

FOREGOING REPORT.

Papers annexed to the foregoing Report.

Papers annexed to the foregoing Report.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

Report from the Secret Committee of the House of Lords in 1793.

My Lords,

THE Committee appointed to inquire into the Causes of the disorders and disturbances which prevail in several Parts of this kingdom, to endeavour to discover the promoters of them, to prevent their extension and to report the result of their enquiries to the House, have examined into the matters to them referred as far as the time would permit, but apprehending that delay may be attended with danger in the present circumstances of the times, they think it their duty to lay before the House immediately such information as they conceive to be material for the present, which is as follows:

The People at this time called Defenders are very different from those who originally assumed that appellation, and are all, as far as the committee could discover, of the Roman Catholic persuasion; in general poor ignorant labouring men, sworn to secrecy, and impressed with an opinion that they are assisting the Catholic cause; in other respects they do not appear to have any distinct particular object in view, but they talk of being relieved from hearth-money, tithes, county-cesses, and of lowering their rents. They first appeared in the county of Louth in considerable bodies in April last, several of them were armed; they assembled mostly in the night, and forced into the houses of Protestants, and took from them their arms. The disorders soon spread through the counties of Meath, Cavan, Monaghan and other parts adjacent; at first they took nothing but arms, but afterwards they plundered the houses of every thing they could find. Their measures appear to have been concerted and conducted with the utmost secrecy and a degree of regularity and system not usual in people in such mean condition, and as if directed by men of a superior rank. Sums of

money to a conſiderable amount have been levied and ſtill continue to be levied upon the Roman Catholics in all parts of the kingdom by ſubſcriptions and collections at their chapels and elſewhere, ſome of which levies have been made and ſtill continue to be made under the authority of a printed circular letter which has been ſent into all parts of the kingdom, a copy of which letter we think it our duty to inſert herein.

" Sir,

" By an order of the ſub-committee, dated the 15th of January, " I had the honour to forward you a plan for a general ſubſcrip- " tion, which had for its object the raiſing a fund for defraying " the heavy and growing expenſes incurred by the General Com- " mittee in conducting the affairs of the Catholics of Ireland, " As ſeveral miſtakes have occurred in the tranſmiſſion of theſe " letters, owing to my ignorance of the addreſs of many of the " Delegates, I am directed to inform you that ſuch a plan is now " in forwardneſs throughout the kingdom. A meaſure ſo ſtrongly " enforced by neceſſity, and ſo conſonant to juſtice, cannot fail to " attract your very ſerious attention; the commmittee having the " moſt perfect reliance on your zeal are therefore confident that " you will uſe your beſt exertions to carry this neceſſary buſineſs " into full effect.

" Dublin, February 5th 1793.

Signed by the Secretary of the ſub-committee.

" P. S. It is hoped that you will acknowledge the receipt of " this letter, ſtating at the ſame time whatever progreſs has been " made in your diſtrict."

Several ſeditious and inflammatory papers publiſhed in Dublin and diſperſed through the country ſeem to have countenanced and encouraged the Defenders in their Proceedings, and it appears that letters were written by a member of the committee of the Roman Catholics at Dublin, previous to the laſt ſummer aſſizes, to a perſon reſident at Dundalk, in one of which the ſaid perſon in the name of the ſaid Roman Catholic Committee, directed enquiries to be made touching the offences of which the Defenders then in confinement were accuſed, which enquiries will be beſt explained by inſerting the ſaid letter in the words following:

Dublin,

Dublin, 9th Auguſt, 1792.

" Dear Sir,

" I received this day your favour of the 8th inſtant, incloſing " the different papers reſpecting the Buſineſs I wrote you. It is " with much regret that I am obliged to reply, that from the " want of information on the ſubject-matter of the indictments, " no preciſe opinion can be formed whether the alledged offence is " or is not bailable; the committee are conſequently in the dark " as to the meaſures that ſhould be adopted, nor can your exertions " accelerate (as it ſeems) that period until the aſſizes, when you " will be able to obtain office copies of the examinations. Mr. " Nugent's brother left town this day truly diſconſolate, in not " being able to effect ſomething towards the liberation of his " Kinſman; he however did his beſt in the affair.

" I am, dear Sir,

" your obedient ſervant,

" John Sweetman."

" P. S. If any new occurrence ſhould happen, be good enough " to inform me of it.

And it does appear that the ſaid perſon to whom the ſaid letter was addreſſed at Dundalk, did employ at a conſiderable expenſe, an agent and counſel to act for ſeveral perſons who were accuſed of being Defenders, and were indicted for offences committed by them in the county of Louth, one of which offenders appears to be particularly named in the above letter. But the committee think it their duty to ſtate, that nothing appeared before them which could lead them to believe that the body of the Roman Catholics in this kingdom were concerned in promoting or countenancing ſuch diſturbances, or that they were privy to this application of any part of the money which had been levied upon them, however ſuſpicious the conduct of ill diſpoſed individuals of their perſuaſion reſident in Dublin may have been. If all the magiſtrates in the diſturbed counties had followed the ſpirited example of the few, who, much to their honour, exerted themſelves with vigour and courage to ſupport the laws, the committee are perſuaded that theſe diſturbances might have been ſuppreſſed; but inſtead of doing ſo, much the greater part of them remained inactive. The committee are of opinion that the beſt means of

reſtoring

reſtoring permanent tranquillity in the diſturbed counties, would be to procure a ſufficient number of active, reſolute and ſteady magiſtrates therein, who would exert themſelves to maintain the public peace, and to cut off from theſe deluded people all hope or expectation of ſupport or defence ariſing from a common fund to be levied upon perſons of their communion.

An unuſual ferment has for ſome months paſt diſturbed ſeveral parts of the North, particularly the town of Belfaſt and the county of Antrim; it is kept up and encouraged by ſeditious papers and pamphlets of the moſt dangerous tendency, printed at very cheap and inconſiderable rates in Dublin and Belfaſt, which iſſue almoſt daily from certain ſocieties of men or clubs in both thoſe places, calling themſelves committees under various deſcriptions, and carrying on a conſtant correſpondence with each other. Theſe publications are circulated amongſt the people with the utmoſt induſtry, and appear to be calculated to defame the government and parliament, and to render the people diſſatisfied with their condition and with the laws. The conduct of the French is ſhamefully extolled, and recommended to the public view as an example for imitation; hopes and expectations have been held up of their aſſiſtance by a deſcent upon this kingdom, and prayers have been offered up at Belfaſt from the pulpit for the ſucceſs of their arms in the preſence of military aſſociations which have been newly levied and arrayed in that town. A body of men aſſociated themſelves in Dublin under the title of the "Firſt National Battalion, their uniform is copied from the French, green turned up with white, white waiſtcoat and ſtriped trowſers, gilt buttons impreſſed with a harp and letters, importing, Firſt National Battalion," no crown, but a device over the harp of a cap of liberty upon a pike; two pattern coats were left at two ſhops in Dublin. Several bodies of men have been collected in different parts of the North, armed and diſciplined under officers choſen by themſelves, and compoſed moſtly of the loweſt claſſes of the people. Theſe bodies are daily encreaſing in numbers and force; they have exerted their beſt endeavours to procure military men of experience to act as their officers; ſome of them having expreſsly ſtated that there were men enough to be had, but that officers were what they wanted. Stands of arms and gunpowder to a very large amount, much above the common conſumption, have been ſent within theſe few months to Belfaſt and Newry, and orders given for a much greater quantity, which it appears could be wanted only for military operations. At Belfaſt, bodies of men in arms are drilled and exerciſed for ſeveral hours almoſt every night by candle-

candle-light, and attempts have been made to ſeduce the ſoldiery, which, much to the honour of the King's forces, have proved ineffectual. The declared object of theſe military bodies is to procure a reform of parliament, but the obvious intention of moſt of them appears to be to overawe the parliament and the government, and to dictate to both. The committee forbear mentioning the names of ſeveral perſons, leſt it ſhould in any manner affect any criminal proſecution, or involve the perſonal ſafety of any man who has come forward to give them information. The reſult of their inquiries is, that in their opinion it is incompatible with the public ſafety and tranquillity of this kingdom to permit bodies of men in arms to aſſemble when they pleaſe, without any legal authority: And that the exiſtence of a ſelf-created repreſentative body of any deſcription of the King's ſubjects, taking upon itſelf the government of them, and levying taxes or ſubſcriptions, to be applied at the diſcretion of ſuch repreſentative body, or of perſons deputed by them, is alſo incompatible with the public ſafety and tranquillity.

No. II.

Report from the Secret Committee of the House of Commons, in 1797.

Mr. Speaker,

The Committee of Secrecy appointed to take into consideration the papers presented to the House on the twenty-ninth day of April last by the Right Honourable Mr. Secretary Pelham, have directed me to report as follows:

YOUR Committee having taken into their consideration the papers referred to them, have thought it consistent with their duty to carry their enquiries back to the period of the commencement of the societies stiling themselves United Irishmen.

It appears that soon after the French Revolution certain individuals, encouraged by the example of France, aimed at the overthrow of the existing laws and constitution of this kingdom, and the establishment of a Republic unconnected with Great Britain: that they have been encouraged to proceed to this attempt by an expectation of aid from France, and the co-operation of certain disaffected and seditious societies in Great Britain entertaining similar views.

It appears to your Committee that their hopes of success in this apparently improbable design are derived from their expectations of being able to infuse into the minds of the lower orders of the people an idea that they are in a state of oppression and misery: that the King, the Houses of Lords and Commons, with the magistracy, clergy and gentry of the country, are the cause of their oppression: that the Society of United Irishmen are their sole protectors and defenders; and that the connexion between Great Britain and Ireland is inconsistent with the happiness and independence of this kingdom.

It appears to your Committee that to effect their purposes they have organized with great address and supported with equal activity a system plausible in its name, and which by a combination of certain specious propositions with principles destructive of the laws and constitution

conſtitution of this kingdom, leads in a manner the moſt inſidious to anarchy, confiſcation of property, and the extermination of its proprietors.

It appears to your Committee that in the original formation of this ſociety, its authors, to avoid alarming the feelings of thoſe who were not prepared at once to go to the full extent of their dangerous and traitorous deſigns, held forth Catholic Emancipation and Parliamentary Reform as the oſtenſible objects of their union: but their real purpoſes were to ſeparate Great Britain from Ireland and to ſubvert the preſent conſtitution, as will appear more fully from the following explanation given by Mr. Theobald Wolf Tone, one of the original framers of the inſtitution, in a letter addreſſed to his friends at Belfaſt, and containing the reſolutions and declarations upon which the inſtitution was formed: No. I.

" The foregoing contain my true and ſincere opinion of the ſtate " of this country, ſo far as in the preſent juncture it may be ad- " viſeable to publiſh it. They certainly fall ſhort of the truth, but " truth itſelf muſt ſometimes condeſcend to temporize; my unal- " terable opinion is, that the bane of Iriſh proſperity is in the in- " fluence of England; I believe that influence will ever be ex- " tended while the connexion between the two countries continues; " nevertheleſs, as I know that opinion is for the preſent too hardy, " though a very little time may eſtabliſh it univerſally, I have not " made it a part of the reſolutions; I have only propoſed to ſet up " a reformed parliament as a barrier againſt that miſchief which " every honeſt man that will open his eyes muſt ſee in every in- " ſtance overbears the intereſt of Ireland: I have not ſaid one " word that looks like a wiſh for ſeparation, though I give it to you " and your friends as my moſt decided opinion that ſuch an event " would be a regeneration to this country.

" I have, you will ſee, alluded to the reſolutions of the Whig " Club, and I have differed with them in degree only, that is, I " think and I am ſure they do not go far enough; they are not ſin- " cere friends to the popular cauſe; they dread the people as " much as the Caſtle does; it may be objected that an implied dif- " ference of ſentiment between them and the people will weaken " both: I think otherwiſe; if they do not join you in ſupporting " a reform in parliament they do not deſerve ſupport themſelves; " apply the touchſtone, if they ſtand the trial, well; if they fail, " they are falſe and hollow, and the ſooner they are detected the " better; what ſignifies pedling with their ſuperficial meaſures? They

"They are good so far as they go, but for the people to spend "their strength in pursuit of such would be just as wise as for a "man who has a mortification in his bowels to be very solicitous "about a plaister for his sore finger. To be candid, I dare say that "my Lord Charlemont, and I am pretty sure that Mr. Grattan, "would hesitate very much at the resolutions which I send; but I "only beg you will dismiss your respect for great names; read "over the resolutions and what I have now said, and then deter-"mine impartially between us. I have alluded to the Catholics, "but so remotely as I hope not to alarm the most cautious Pro-"testant; it is wicked nonsense to talk of a reform in Ireland in "which they shall not have their due share.

"I have in the third resolution conceded very far indeed to what "I consider as vulgar and ignorant prejudices: look at France and "America; the Pope burnt in effigy at Paris; the English catholics "at this very hour seceding from his church. A thousand argu-"ments crowd on me, but it is unnecessary here to dwell on them. "I hope you will find this resolution sufficiently guarded and cool. "I have been purposely vague and indefinite, and I must say men "who would seek a reform, and admit that indispensable step, have "different notions both of expediency and justice from any that I "can conceive.

"I think the best opportunity for publishing them will be on the "14th of July; I learn there is to be a commemoration of the "French Revolution, that morning-star of liberty to Ireland. The "volunteers, if they approve of the plan, may then adopt it, and "I have so worded it as to leave them an opportunity. I have left "as you see a blank for the name."

No. II. It appears that a society, calling themselves a society of United Irishmen in Dublin, did on the 9th day of November 1791 take as their declaration that of a similar society in Belfast, which nearly corresponds with the plan of Mr. Tone, with the addition of a test to be taken by the members.

It appears that this society did actually meet and correspond with certain seditious societies in Great Britain, and in furtherance of their designs of separating the kingdoms and alienating the minds of his Majesty's subjects of Ireland, did represent in different publications, the connexion as oppressive and tyrannical.

Your

Your committee then directed their enquiries to the means by which the papers referred to them in consequence of the Lord Lieutenant's message had been procured; and in order the better to ascertain the credit to be given to their contents they examined the persons by whom they had been taken, from whence it appears that upon information being given of certain societies or committees being appointed to assemble at the House of John Alexander in the town of Belfast, at the hour of eight o'clock on Friday the 14th of April last, Colonel Barber, with a detachment of the army, went to the said house, where two societies were then actually sitting.

Mr. Fox, store-keeper of the ordnance, under the direction of Colonel Barber, entered one of the rooms in which one of the committees or societies was sitting, with their papers before them, round a table, and their Secretary in the chair; and it appears in the minute book that the society had adjourned from the 9th to the 14th of April, the day on which they were arrested, to sit at the said house.

Lieutenant Ellison of the artillery entered another room in the same house where another committee was sitting; the papers belonging to that committee or society were in the hat of a person who sat at the head of the table, and appears from the papers to have been the Secretary of that society.

At the same time Mr. Atkinson, high constable of Belfast, found concealed in another room of the same house, papers purporting to belong to another committee or society, viz. the eightieth society.

These papers consist of,

1. The printed declaration and constitution of the United Irishmen.

2. Minutes of the proceedings of two of the societies.

3. Reports from Provincial and County Committees.

4. A report from the Military Committee.

5. Forms of the oath of an officer and of a soldier.

6. Names of some of the society, with the arms that they possess.

7. Size roll of the society.

8. A lift of the families that have received relief.

9. Refolutions of the United Societies of Donaghadee and its vicinity.

10. Other loofe notes and papers of their proceedings.

It appears to your committee that the declaration is the fame as that adopted by the United Irifhmen in 1791, and the conftitution formed upon the principles recommended in an addrefs of the fociety of the United Irifhmen in Dublin to the Irifh nation, William Drennan in the chair, and Archibald Hamilton Rowan fecretary, in which it is ftated, "Truft as little to your friends as to your enemies in a matter where you can act only by yourfelves; the will of the nation muft be declared before any reform ought to take place; it is not therefore any clafs however numerous, any fociety however refpectable, any fubaltern affembly, that have either right or competency to exprefs that authoritative will; nothing lefs than the people can fpeak for the people; this competency refides not in a few freeholders fhivering in the corner of a county hall, but only in the whole community reprefented in each county (as at prefent in Antrim) by Parochial Delegation, and then from each county by Baronial Delegation to Provincial Conventions, the union of which muft form the awful will of the people of Ireland."

The conftitution is as follows:

CONSTITUTION.

1ft. This fociety is conftituted for the purpofe of forwarding a brotherhood of affection, a communion of rights, and an union of power among Irifhmen of every religious perfuafion, and thereby to obtain a complete reform in the legiflature, founded on the principles of civil, political and religious liberty.

2d. The members of this fociety fhall either be ordinary or honorary, and fhall not be limited to any defcription of men, but to extend to all perfons who may be deemed eligible.

3d. Every candidate for admiffion into this fociety fhall be propofed by one member and feconded by another, both of whom fhall vouch for his character and principles and whofe name fhall be entered on the books of the fociety; the candidate to be balloted for on the fociety's fubfequent meeting, and if one of the beans be black he fhall ftand rejected.

4th. As

4th. As a fund is neceſſary, the better to carry into effect the purpoſe of this aſſociation, each member on his admiſſion ſhall pay to the ſociety the ſum of . and . per month while he ſhall continue a member.

5th. The officers of this ſociety ſhall be a Secretary, and Treaſurer, who ſhall be appointed by ballot every three months, viz. on every firſt meeting in November, February, May and Auguſt.

6th. This ſociety in manner aforeſaid ſhall appoint two members, who with the ſecretary ſhall act for the ſociety in a Baronial Committee, which members ſhall receive on each night of their attendance on ſaid committee.

7th. This ſociety ſhall in manner aforeſaid appoint members, who with the treaſurer ſhall form a committee of Finance, &c.

8th. At the requeſt of either committees, or any members ſigning a requiſition, the ſecretary or if he ſhall be abſent the treaſurer ſhall call an extra meeting of the ſociety.

9. This ſociety ſhall meet in ordinary every ſecond evening at o'clock, the preſident to be choſen by a majority of the members preſent of whom ſhall be a quorum.

10th. Every reſpect and deference ſhall be paid to the chairman. On his riſing from his ſeat and taking off his hat there ſhall be ſilence and the members ſeated. He ſhall be judge of order and propriety; ſhall grant leave of abſence at pleaſure; ſhall not enter into debate. If any member behave improperly he is empowered to direct an apology, or if refractory fine him in any ſum not exceeding and on refuſal to do as directed he ſhall therefore be expelled the ſociety for

11th. No member ſhalll ſpeak more than twice to one queſtion, without leave from the chairman.

12th. Every perſon elected a member of this ſociety, whether ordinary or honorary, ſhall previous to his admiſſion take the following *Teſt* in a ſeparate apartment in the preſence of the perſons who propoſed and ſeconded him, and one member appointed by the

the chairman; or in caſe of abſence of one of the two perſons, the chairman ſhall appoint another member to act for the abſentee, after which the new member ſhall be brought into the body of the ſociety, and there take the teſt in the uſual form.

T E S T.

In the awful preſence of God,

I, A. B. do voluntarily declare, that I will perſevere in endeavouring to form a brotherhood of affection among IRISHMEN of *every* religious perſuaſion, and that I will alſo perſevere in my endeavours to obtain an equal, full and adequate repreſentation of *all* the people of Ireland.

I do further declare that neither hopes, fears, rewards, or puniſhments, ſhall ever induce me, directly or indirectly, to inform on or give evidence againſt any member or members of this or ſimilar ſocieties, for any act or expreſſion of theirs, done or made collectively or individually, in or out of this ſociety, in purſuance of the ſpirit of this obligation.

13th. A member of any other acknowledged ſociety, being introduced to this ſociety by a member, ſhall, upon producing a certificate, ſigned by the ſecretary, and ſealed with the ſeal of the ſociety to which he may belong, and taking the foregoing teſt, be admitted to attend the ſittings of this ſociety.

14th. No member ſhall have a certificate but by applying to the committee, who ſhall not grant it unleſs the member is leaving his place of reſidence, which certificate ſhall be lodged with the ſecretary on his return.

15th. When this ſociety ſhall amount to the number of thirty-ſix members, it ſhall be equally divided by lot*; that is, the names of all the members ſhall be put into a hat or box, the ſecretary or treaſurer ſhall draw out eighteen individually, which eighteen ſhall be conſidered the ſenior ſociety, and the remaining eighteen the junior, who ſhall apply to the Baronial Committee, through the

* *Societies in country places to divide as may beſt ſuit their local ſituation.*

the Delegates of the ſenior ſociety for a number, and that this diviſion ſhall take place only in the months of October, January, April and July.—The fund ſhall alſo be equally divided.

16th. That no ſociety ſhall be recognized by any committee, unleſs approving of, and taking the teſt, and amounting in number to ſeven members.

Order of Buſineſs at Meetings.

1ſt. New members read declaration and teſt, during which ſubſcriptions to be collected.

2d. New members take the teſt, all members ſtanding and uncovered.

3d. Minutes of preceding meeting read.

4th. Reports of committees received.

5th. Communications called for.

6th. Candidates balloted for.

7th. Candidates propoſed.

8th. Motions made and determined.

9th. Place and time of next meeting appointed.

CONSTITUTION of COMMITTEES,

As adopted the 10th of May.

Baronial Committees.

1ſt. When any barony or other diſtrict ſhall contain three or more ſocieties, three perſons from each ſhall be elected by ballot, conformable to the ſixth article, to form a Baronial Committee (for three months:) their names to be returned to the Secretary of the ſenior ſociety, who ſhall requeſt a deputation from the neareſt Baronial Committee to conſtitute a committee for the ſaid barony or other diſtrict.

2d. When any barony or diſtrict ſhall contain eight ſocieties, they may form another committee, to be called the ſecond committee of ſaid barony or diſtrict, provided each contains three or more ſocieties.

3d. Baronial Committees ſhall receive Delegates from ſocieties of a contiguous barony, provided ſaid barony do not contain three ſocieties.

4th. That the Baronial Committee ſhall correſpond with ſocieties or individuals who have ſubſcribed the declaration and taken the teſt of the preſent aſſociated ſocieties.

5th. That all queſtions ſhall be determined by a majority of the members preſent.

6th. That the Baronial Committee being regularly ſummoned, the one third of its members ſhall be deemed a quorum, and capable of proceeding to buſineſs.

7th. That any buſineſs originating in any individual ſociety, ſhall at the inſtance of ſuch ſociety's Delegates be by the Baronial Committee laid before the other ſocieties.

County Committees.

1ſt. When any county ſhall contain three or more Baronial Committees, two perſons ſhall be elected by ballot from each Baronial Committee to form a County Committee (for three months.)

2d. County Committees ſhall receive Delegates from Baronial Committees of adjacent counties, if ſaid counties do not contain three Baronial Committees.

Provincial Committees.

1ſt. When two or more counties ſhall have County Committees, three perſons ſhall be elected by ballot from each to form a Provincial Committee (for three months.)

2d. Delegates from County Committees in other provinces will be received, if ſuch provinces do not contain two County Committees.

National

National Committee.

That when two Provincial Committees are formed they ſhall elect five perſons from each by ballot, to form a National Committee.

N. B. Society's firſt meetings in November, February, May and Auguſt, to be on or before the 5th; Baronial Committees on or before the 8th; County Committees on or before the 15th, and Provincial Committees on or before the 25th of the above months.

Baronial, County and Provincial Committees ſhall meet at leaſt once in every month, and report to their conſtituents.

Names of committee-men ſhould not be known by any perſon but thoſe who elect them.

Teſt for Secretaries of Societies or Committees.

" In the awful preſence of God,

" I, A. B. do voluntarily declare, that as long as I ſhall hold the
" office of ſecretary to this I will to the utmoſt
" of my abilities faithfully diſcharge the duties thereof.

" That all papers or documents received by me as Secretary I
" will in ſafety keep; I will not give any of them or any copy or
" copies of them to any perſon or perſon, members or others, but
" by a vote of this and that I will at the
" expiration of my Secretaryſhip deliver up to this
" all ſuch papers as may be then in my poſſeſſion."

CERTIFICATE.

" Society of United Iriſhmen of

" I hereby certify that *A. B.* has been duly elected, and having
" taken the teſt provided in the conſtitution, has been admitted a
" member of this Society."

Your committee think it neceſſary to point out a manifeſt and ſtriking diſtinction in the teſt annexed to the original declaration of the United Iriſhmen and that annexed to this conſtitution, and which corroborates the opinion your committee have already given, that

that reform of parliament was only a colourable object to work on the minds of the people, but that their real object was the overthrow of the conſtitution.

The original teſt holds forth a repreſentation of the Iriſh nation in parliament, and a reform of that parliament.

The preſent teſt, which your committee find to be the one univerſally adopted in the Societies of which they have received information, and under which all the United Iriſhmen are at preſent ſworn, purpoſely omits the words, *Parliament and Reform*, thereby clearly ſhewing, that an original inſtitution independent of parliament is the object, which is ſtill farther proved by the reports and communications between the Committees and Societies, in which they mention an Executive Committee, under the authority of which they ſeem to act.

It appears to your committee that the conſtiution ſo recommended is in a great meaſure carried into effect, and that ſuch committees do exiſt.

That Secretaries have been elected in theſe Societies; that committee-men have been appointed; that monthly contributions have been levied; that a Treaſurer has been appointed; that perſons have been named to purchaſe pikes; that it was reſolved to furniſh pikes at the expenſe of the ſociety for thoſe who could not afford to purchaſe them; that perſons have been interrogated for their conduct; that reports have been received and approved of; that a military committee has been appointed; that returns of arms, ammunition and men are made to the Military Committee; and that officers have been appointed, will appear from the following entries in the minute-book of the ſociety, ſeized by Mr. Fox.

Entries in the Minute Book, No. 2, ſeized and identified by Mr. Fox, Page 6, 7, and 8.

Reſolved, that the Secretary ſhall be known by the name of 54th Secretary of United Iriſhmen of Belfaſt.

James Burnſide elected Secretary, Pat. Handlam and John Atkinſon committee men.

Reſolved, that we will pay into the Baronial Committee 2s. 8½d. per month.

Edward

Edward Kelly and Terence M'Cann along with the Treafurer appointed to attend a committee of finance.

James Burnfide elected Treafurer.

Oct. 41ft 1796.

At a Meeting held in John Alexander's,
Richard M'Gee, in the Chair.

Refolved, that three men be appointed to purchafe pikes and poles for this fociety—James Burnfide, Pat. M'Stravock, and Richard M'Gee were appointed.

Refolved, that any man that fairly tells any of thefe three appointed that he is not able to purchafe a pike, that he fhall be furnifhed with one out of the fund of this fociety.

Refolved, that we meet at Crozier's in Union-ftreet at Eight o'Clock on Sunday 6th November in the morning.

Crozier's, 6th Nov. 1796.

Edward Kelly, Chairman.

James Burnfide elected fecretary.

Edward Kelly and Terence M'Cann were appointed committee men to attend the ninth divifion.

Refolved, that John Barret be interrogated who was the perfon gave him the word and fign.

Refolved, that if John Barret does not tell who it was that gave him the word and fign, and take the oath that is neceffary, he fhall be excluded this fociety.

Refolved, that each member fhall fpend two pence each night of meeting.

Page 10.

January 1ft 1797.

Richard M Gee, Chairman.

Refolved, that all money or fubfcription received for this fociety fhall go to the ufe of buying pikes.

Page 11.

Nickles's, 22d January 1797.

Refolved, that we approve of the Reports that we have received from the committee.

Refolved, that E. Kelly and R. M'Gee does attend the Civil Committee for this enfuing three months.

February 5th 1797.

Edward Clements, Chairman.

Refolved, that we approve of the report we have now heard read.

Page 12.

Refolved, that we will not receive any other perfon from the Military Committee but fuch as we have appointed.

Refolved, that William Stewart get a copy of this Refolution to lay before the committee.

Sunday, 19th Feb. 1797.

John Milton, Chairman.

Refolved, that we will ballot for two new members to attend the Military Committee in the place of Wm. Stewart and Rich. M'Gee.

Refolved, that John Miller and Thomas Hanlon does attend the Military Committee till further order of this Society.

Page 13.

Refolved, that James M'Donald gets a copy of the arms, ammunion and men belonging to this fociety to lay before the M. Committee.

Young's Tavern.

E. Kelly, Chairman.

Refolved, that the reports which we have now received from the committee is apd. of this fociety.

Page

Page 14.

Resolved by this society that each member who does not attend after legal warning shall be expelled this society.

Resolved by this society that the military officers shall get a list of the men's names belonging to this society to lay before the Military Committee.

Page 15.

Morrison's, 2d April.

John Milton, Chairman.

Resolved, that the officer's shall get a list of the men's names under their command.

Alexander's, 9th April.

Page 16.

Resolved, that John Milton get a caution from E. Kelly that he is clear of the charge laid against him.

Resolved, that we meet on Friday next in John Alexander's, at 8 o'clock.

It has appeared in evidence that the communication between the different Societies and committees is carried by means of the Secretaries and Delegates who take notes of what passes in order to report to and from the higher and lower Societies, and by this means the representations and opinions of the inferior Societies are communicated to their superiors, and the orders and instructions from the higher societies and committees are conveyed to the inferior ones.

It appears in evidence that the reports are not entered on the minutes, but usually destroyed after being read by the Secretary.

Your committee think it necessary for the infomration of the House to state at length the following papers, which will in a great measure develope the system upon which these societies proceed, and appear to be reports made by Secretaries.

Paper-writing seized and identified by Mr. Atkinson.

No. 7.

Resolutions of the United Societies of Donaghadee and its Vicinity

1st. Resolved, that it has always been the invariable opinion of all sound philosophers, statesmen and divines, that all power is radically in the people.

2d. Resolved,

2d. Resolved, that when tyrants, usurpers and oppressors, grasping at domination, or even such as are legally delegated by the people, degenerate into tyrants, or act contrary to the trust committed to them, in that case the people ought to claim their right, and the power return to its original channel.

3d. Resolved, that at the present crisis the people being united should also arm, chose their officers, and take a first, second and third requisition of such as are able to go forth to war in defence of their rights as men.

4th. Resolved, that our brethren in arms be duly provided for with such things as their case and situation requires, and that means be adopted that their families may not suffer in their absence.

5th. Resolved, that to answer such emergencies a contribution be imposed upon the people in general according to their respective circumstances; rents and tythes shall also be considered, the latter of which, except in the present emergency, shall for ever be abolished.

6th. Resolved, that there are a great many inimical and will no doubt prove hostile to the cause of liberty; their estates or property shall be confiscated and converted to the national benefit.

7th. Resolved, that the civil law must always be kept up and proper men appointed to prevent outrage in the country, and these men to be assisted by a military force when called upon, and that said men shall take proper measures to support both the inhabitants and military with proper necessaries.

8th. Resolved, that there shall be a national, or (if it be thought more eligible) a provincial fund, where the property of the enemy shall be deposited, and that drafts for the above purposes shall be made as necessity shall require.

9th. Resolved, that any avowed enemy to the cause shall not have admittance into the ranks when it makes its appearance, but shall be taken as prisoners and tried by a jury according to the law then existing, and if found guilty their property disposed of according to said law.

10th. Resolved, that farmers or such as possess a redundancy of victualling shall bring it forward to sale, and the families of such as are called off in the cause of their country shall be supplied thereby at a moderate Price, which shall be agreed on by the Revolutionary Committee or fit men delegated by them.

11th. Resolved,

11th. Resolved, that the wounded, the widow and fatherless of such as have fought in the cause of their country shall be vided for or supported from the aforesaid fund.

12th. Resolved, that there shall be an association under the name and designation of a Revolutionary Committee, composed of the best qualified and most respectable characters, viz. one man chosen from each society and delegated by said society to meet together, who shall keep and enforce the above resolutions, and take care that they be carried into effect and duly executed whenever the cause shall require.

13th. Resolved, that to act in concert with the Revolutionary Committee, there shall be magistrates appointed and vested with executive power, which shall continue in office for the space of six months only, except in case of re-election; but if a revolution is accomplished an annual election shall take place.

Paper-writing seized and identified by Lieutenant Ellison.

No. 7.

Reports from the Baronial Committee.

				£.	s.	d.
Men,	Antrim	22922	Money	78	6	8
	Down	16000		40	11	8
	Derry	10000		8	5	9
	Tyrone	6860		—	—	—
	Armagh	4000		7	8	5
	Monaghan	3020		—	—	—
	Donegal	5000		9	9	7
	Cavan	1000		—	—	—
	Meath	1776		—	—	—
	Fermanagh	2000		—	—	—
	Louth	2060		—	—	—
Total men		72206		144	2	1½

	£.	s.	d.
Paid to Antrim Prisoners -	78	6	8
Down Do. - -	11	7	6
Fermanagh Do. -	7	19	3
a Delegate of Tyrone -	2	5	6
	99	18	11
Balance -	44	3	2½

The following counties are formed into another Provincial Committee, viz. Westmeath, Kildare, Dublin City; the above counties are organized and are coming on well. Dublin is divided into four districts; your Executive Committee give no other reports than the organizing the above; not having met lately, there will a report be at next meeting of your Provincial Committee. Newry citizens have been very liberal, they voted £21 11s. as private subscription in addition to the large voluntary ones forwarded to their country; they employed a Delegate to Cavan and Leinster counties, where they formed a number of societies; they promise to do well; cash seventeen pounds. There is a Captain St. Leger of the 24th dragoons at present in Armagh for being an active U. I. M. to which they sent £4 11s. to be divided among his party that is confined; he has a wife and four children; his pay was taken from him, nor was he allowed to dispose of his commission. Recommended that all monthly subscriptions of counties be counted as if going to the Provincial Committee, that is to say, reserving a power to the counties discretion whatever sum they may think necessary to grant their prisoners at. Balance to be paid to the Provincial Committee, which will shew at once the sum paid by each Committee, likewise that there will be a monthly return of U. I. M. confined in each county, and what is allowed for their support; the county of Tyrone is much confused at present, owing to some their county members confined at present there; twenty-five men confined, not many the last month to support there; one there was, seven guineas voted to their support; they promised a return for this in another month; there was several petitions received from Kildare, and it is warmly recommended to the different counties to bring something forward for their support; last Provincial Meeting county Down Delegates reported, that William Bristow of

of this town has a Provincial account of laſt meeting previous to the Sub-committee: Belfaſt therefore be cautious, for ſome ſecretary is certainly deceiving us; the old word and ſign of U. I. Men is aboliſhed to further orders. Louth Delegates reported, that two men from Belfaſt, Denis Digney and Robert Rowny, behaved very ill, and was very near diſorganizing ſaid county on account of making uſe of lying reports and words and things of their making; your Provincial Committee dont approve of the reports of the county reſpecting new code of laws, being quite too premature, your Exece have that to do or to frame them; Armagh have appointed five to ſupport their priſoners; Monaghan Delegates have a conſiderable ſum of money, but being ſo young in the buſineſs did not know how to bring it forward, but will on the next meeting; the city of Dublin is doing well; ſent to Newry for five conſtitutions, and going on regular and is collecting money; will pay as ſoon as poſſible for the forwarding the buſineſs in the upper part of the county of Meath and Kildare; Dr. C q. take from Newry fifteen conſtitutions to the county Kildare, and promiſed to diſtribute them there with much attention; the delegates thought it proper to give in the ſums of money ſubſcribed by you to the Provincial Committee, being well aware of the numerous complaints made againſt your county for neglecting bringing forward money ſubſcribed monthly; the Treaſurer of county Louth in Dublin; county of Antrim is far deficient reſpecting the monthly ſubſcription, for the county Down on an average pays not leſs than ninety pounds per month to priſoners and provincial county.

Report of the County of Antrim.

Belfaſt.

Men	2,639	
	526	Guns
	399	Bayonets
	88	Piſtols
	567	Pikes
	12,130	Ball Car.
		15,953

15,953 Balls

566 Powder

6 Canons

1 Mortar

County total 23,059

2,659 Guns

982 Bayonets

204 Piſtols

2,348 Pikes

85 Swords

18,235 Ball Car^s.

2,358 Balls

628½ Powder

8 Canons

1 Mortar

Paper ſeized and identified by Mr. Elliſon.

No. 2.

7th December.

2434 Men repreſented in Belfaſt—248 guns—212 bayonets—19 piſtols—32 ſwords—120 pikes—8027 rounds of ball cartridge—82 pounds of powder—16 ſetts of belts and 2 forkes.

COUNTY

COUNTY REPORTS.

20184 Men, 1179 guns, 255 bayonets, 35 piſtols, 37 ſwords, 8743 ball-cartridge in the ſeveral baronies repreſented in the County Committee.

		£.	s.	d.
Upper Belfaſt - - - -	paid	10	10	4
Lower ditto - - - -		1	8	11
Upper Mazareen - - - -		2	1	8
Lower ditto - - - -		14	15	9
Upper Antrim - - -		3	2	—
Lower ditto - - - -		5	1	4½
Upper Toom - - - -		3	8	3
Lower ditto - - - -		18	4	8½
Lower Dunluſe - - -		1	14	1½
Upper Glenarm - - -		1	10	6
Lower Toom paid as voluntary ſubſcription		4	1	—
		£.65	18	7½

The above money was paid the county committee.

Resolved, that the 6th division gets four constitution, three of them to send up the country.—Resolved, that the 8 division be granted one constitution for the 80 society.—Resolved, that the 3d division be granted one do. for the prisoners in Carrick.—Resolved, that the 20 society be granted one constitution, and No. 11, for them split, as that number was never filled.—Resolved, that no secretary of societies or committees give any reports they may receive to any person but in the society or committee, and if any person be present not belonging to said society or committee, that they will not give the report in presence of the stranger.

Resolved, that we recommend to the military battalion to appoint men that can work field-pieces.

The 1st division recommended to all societies not to have any thing to say to father and son, name of Procter, lawyers.

Paper-writing, seized and identified by Mr. Atkinson.

No. 1.

Provintial Report.				Prisoners.		
		£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Antrim	22039	50	11	6½	50	11	6½
Down	23769	75	—	9½	75	—	9½
Derry	10000	—	—	—	—	—	—
Armagh	12273	44	10	—	22	15	—
Donegal	9648	25	—	—	15	1	1½
Monaghan	3075	17	4	6	—	—	—
Tyrone	12169	22	10	2	11	5	1
Lowth	3438	—	—	—	—	—	—

Cavan

		£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Cavan - - -	1000	— — —	— — —
Fermanagh - -	12000	— — —	— — —
	99411	234 17 —	174 13 6½
For 8000 conſtitutions		-	13 13 —
To the Executive		-	— 10 5½
			234 17 —

Antrim, Armagh, Down, Lowth.

Guns	Bayonets	Piſtols	Swords	Pikes
6346	2536	465	202	3816
Ball Cartridge	Balls	Powder	Cannon	Blunderbuſſes
20774	31699	1123	8	18
		1 Mortar		

The reports ſooner nor uſual on account of our friends being expected ſoon into Bantry; government is uſing all means in their power to put us into inſurrection, the Executive is taking proper meaſures to appoint proper officers. Mitchel the cows has got him in Dublin. No perſon to inſult yeomen on account of ſome of them turning out; ſet your face againſt bank notes and exciſe buſineſs, as that is the beſt means to harraſs the government; the Executive requeſts the full returns of men and arms and means of defence as in caſe if our friends not coming, but there is no danger for to no our own ſtrength. Leinſter commit. on Sunday laſt met, but we could have no return of provinrial report that each county takes it to account to make friends of Catholics and Orange men as it is doing a great dail of good in Armagh.

Antrim 22480—44l. 2s. 1½d.—Voluntary 203l. 16s. 3½d.

Guns	Bayonets	Piſtols	words	Pikes	B. Cartridge
2675 —	1267 —	302 —	245 —	3610 —	19919
			h		Balls

Balls	Powder	Cannon	Mortar
53869	900½	8	1

Resolved, that each county member brings entilligance how how wifes and children is to be supported.

Resolved, that 35l. 5s. 2½d. be got for the ensuing month, try al of friends 168l. 11s.

	£.	s.	d.
Forward to provincial committee - -	34	2	6
Provincial expenses - - -	5	19	2
Treasurer's hands - - - -	4	—	5½
	44	2	1

Three persons in each divisional comm. to settle any business betwixt united Irishmen, upper Tomb reported, Samuel Anderson, James Murray, Gilbert Clark, John Harris formed a secret comm. to destroy united Irish, and Harris opened the plot against the whole.

Resolved, that Dundas Mil. movement or other publication should be read by Mil. officers.

	£.	s.	d.
Voluntary subscription from 1st division -	158	11	5½

	Guineas.
Do. for mounting cannon - - -	26
2 division for cannon - - -	3
9 division - - - - -	1½
10 do. - - - - - -	1
Total -	31

Devlin { and Haughner } bad men.
Artilery { Militia }

Resolved, that voluntery subscription to be paid next meeting.

Paper-

Paper-writing ſeized and identified by Mr. Fox.

No. 5.

A report from the military committee received as ſuch; you are to let the officers know their men and the men their officers, and do not fail to engage them in a ſolemn manner, that they may call them out on one minute's warning, and they may by that means endeavour to ſee them armed in the moſt ſpeedy manner; there is no time to be loſt, for the grand committee think that if one of the priſoners we let them be hanged we ſhould forfeit our intention for evermore, for we know not the minute we'll be called on to give an account: for our friends is hourly expected.

Paper-writing ſeized and identified by Mr. Fox.

No. 10.

COUNTY REPORTS, 11th April 1797.

They received from the ariſtocrats of Belfaſt 374l. 4s. 6d. which was laid out as follows:

Paid the committee appointed to attend the Priſoners of this circuit - - -	283	15	—
Paid into the hands of different people to attend the priſoners out of this circuit - -	90	9	6
	374	4	6
Received from the ſocieties of this county as a voluntary ſubſcription - -	356	10	2

which was paid to the committee for the priſoners uſe; the provincial reports that they have uſed every means to defend the priſoners at the time of trial.

Men.	Guns.	Bayonets.	Piſtols.	Swords.	Pikes.
22,716	2,948	1,536	417	397	4,888

B. Cartridges.	Balls.	lbs. Powder.	Canon.	Mortar.
24,911	70,943	1,230	8	1

Belfaſt

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Belfaſt Town	482	17	6	12	14	1
Upper do.	38	6	1½	9	2	—
Lower do.	22	6	10½	—	—	—
Upper Maſereene	9	14	11½	—	—	—
Lower do.	28	12	8	—	—	—
Upper Antrim	83	9	—	—	—	—
Lower do.	14	10	5½	—	—	—
Upper Toome	1	14	1½	—	—	—
Lower do.	16	16	4½	3	13	—½
Upper Dunluce	3	5	9	—	—	—
Lower do.	—	—	—	1	16	—
Upper Glenarm	18	12	3	—	—	—
Lower do.	5	2	4½	—	—	—
Kilconway	1	6	3	—	—	—
Kerry	4	—	—	—	16	7
	730	14	8½	28	1	8½

The reaſon why there was not more monthly money paid was that the people thought it rather early in the month.

Reſolved, that the Provincial form a plan for the ſupport of poor families, that they get us the number of Defenders in the kingdom who are not U. I. and if they will act in concert with U. I.

Fulton and M'Cormick, who was reported ſome time ago to behave improperly, was tried and found innocent of that charge. John Kennedy from Crew brother-in-law to Hy. Sinclair of N. ſtreet in Belfaſt, is very bad, and came here for the purpoſe of getting information. William Pale, a deſerter, Kinly Shilock, blackſmith of Duncathery, Robert M'Clelland from Ballymena, and John Love an attorney of do. is all very bad and ought to be guarded againſt.

Reſolved,

Resolved, that we again declare it highly improper to hold any communication with people out of society, without they are well known.

Resolved, that a committee of 7 be appointed to lay out the money for the prisoners to the amount of 200l.—66 constitutions was granted at this meeting.

That it be recommended to all societies that is wealthy to enter into a vol. sub. for the purpose of arming our poor fellow-citizens.

Paper-writing seized and identified by Lt. Ellison.

No. 1.

11th April 1797.

COUNTY REPORT.

	Men.	Guns.	Bayonets.	Pistols.	Swords.
Antrim.	22,716	2,248	1,748	417	363

Pistols.	Pikes.
363	4,888.

Subscription.

Town Belfast	482	17	6	Upper do.	—	—	—
Lower	22	6	10½				
Upper Mazerine	9	14	11	Lower do	26	12	10
Upper Antrim	83	12	—	Lower Antrim	14	13	—
UpperToom	1	14	—½	Lower	16	16	4
Upper Dinluse	3	5	7	Lower do.	1	16	—
Upper Glenarm	18	12	3	Lower Glenarm	5	2	4
Kilconoury	1	6	3	Keary	4	—	7
				Total	693	8	9½

A voluntary

A voluntary ſubſcription got from araſtorrick	374	4	6
Paid to the North weſt Sirkiet - - -	90	9	6
To do. the North Eſt do. - - - -	283	15	4

Recommended to the Provenſal Ct. to form a plan of proviſion for poor mens familys during our exhorſhings in the field. Fulton and M'Cormick afirs is ſettled. Jno. brother-in-low to Hy. Sinclair from Crew, Kinly Sherlick Dimanry is a bad man and is wery dangeries to the cauſe. John Love belly moner a bad man very dangers to the cauſe. A riſulition we again declare it that it highly improper to hold any communication with perſons out of ſociety, not nowing them to be regular members. Reſolved that 7 members out of this cte. be choſen he will be appointed he ſhall have full power to vot away any ſums of money not exeding 200l. if in your hands, if in there hands for the ſeport of the provenſal priſiners. Laſt meeting 66 Ct. voted away.

Beroniel, Reſolved that it is recommended to the different ſocietys that is able to enter into a voluntary ſubſcription for the uſe of arming thoſe that is not able.

No. III. That theſe reports are generally circulated thro' the ſocieties is further proved by a paper taken by a magiſtrate in a diſtant part of the county of Antrim; and another paper taken in the county
No. IV. of Down near Portaferry from a perſon who acknowledged himſelf to be a ſecretary, on or about the 8th of November. The time of their forming themſelves into military bodies is aſcertained by this paper; and it is to be obſerved that the yeomanry corps eſtabliſhed by parliament about the ſame time were reſiſted and oppoſed in thoſe parts of the kingdom where the United Iriſhmen appeared to have been moſt active.

'It appears from a variety of evidence that no means are neglected for eſtabliſhing their conſtitution and enforcing an obedience to their laws; that contributions are levied to defray the expenſes of the ſociety; that threats and intimidations are employed againſt witneſſes and jury-men as a means to prevent their aſſociates from being brought to juſtice; and that a committee is appointed to defray the expenſes of defending ſuch as are brought to trial or are in priſon; that the aſſiſtance of the French is expected and held forth as negotiated for; that at Belfaſt alone exiſt 80 ſocieties

So ſocieties at leaſt; and that emiſſaries are employed to extend theſe ſocieties; that arms and ammunition are procured, pikes bought, officers appointed, military diſcipline recommended and enforced by oaths to be taken by officers and men; proviſion for the families of their ſociety during their exertions in the field; that ſuſpected perſons are brought to account for their actions, and it has been ſtated in evidence that a tribunal is appointed for this purpoſe who try the offenders in their abſence and determine their puniſhment even to death. No. V.

The committee forbear from ſtating individual inſtances of outrage and aſſaſſination which have appeared to them in evidence, as they may become the ſubjects of trial in the courts of juſtice; and for the ſame reaſon your committee refrain from ſtating the parol evidence that has been laid before them reſpecting the attempts to ſeduce the military; the committee think it their duty to ſtate the fact of ſuch attempts having been made, and at the ſame time to repreſent, that in their opinion thoſe attempts are ſo far from having been attended with the ſucceſs that was expected by thoſe who practiſed them, that the committee feel themſelves fully warranted in expreſſing the firmeſt reliance on the zeal and loyalty of his Majeſty's troops.

Your committee is inclined to believe that the numbers of the perſons ſtated in the returns of the ſeveral counties are conſiderably overrated; for it has been ſtated to them in evidence, that every artifice is uſed to keep up their ſpirits by exaggerated reports of their ſtrength and power.

Upon the whole, dangerous and alarming as this conſpiracy appears to be, your committee is induced to believe the degrees of criminality in the individuals who compoſe it are very different, as it appears to have been a principle with the authors of this inſtitution to cloak their real deſign under falſe colours.

At the ſame time your committee think it neceſſary to ſtate as their decided opinion, upon a review of the whole evidence that has been laid before the committee, that a complete revolution and confiſcation of property and the eſtabliſhment of a Republick upon French principles, are the real objects of this conſpiracy, and not an amelioration of the preſent conſtitution.

From the importance of the matter contained in this report your committee have thought it their duty to loſe no time in laying it before the houſe, and are proceeding in their enquiries.

The

The following Papers are annexed to the foregoing Report.

No. I.

" IN the prefent great æra of reform, when unjuft governments
" are falling in every quarter of Europe, when religious perfecu-
" tion is compelled to abjure her tyranny over confcience, when
" the rights of man are afcertained in theory, and that theory fub-
" ftantiated by practice, when antiquity can no longer defend ab-
" furd and oppreffive forms againft the common fenfe and common
" intereftsof mankind, when all government is acknowledged to
" originate from the people, and to be fo far only obligatory as it
" protects their rights and promotes their welfare, we think it our
" duty as Irifhmen to come forward and ftate what we feel to be
" our heavy grievance, and what we know to be its effectual re-
" medy.

" WE HAVE NO NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.

" We are ruled by Englifhmen and the fervants of Englifhmen,
" filled as to commerce and politics with the fhort-fighted and ig-
" norant prejudices of their country, and thefe men have the whole
" of the power and patronage of Ireland as means to feduce and to
" fubdue the honefty and the fpirit of her reprefentatives in the le-
" gifiature. Such an extrinfic power, acting with uniform force in
" a direction too frequently oppofite to the true line of our obvi-
" ous intereftsican be refifted with effect folely by *unanimity, deci-*
" *fion and fpirit in the people* qualities which may be exerted moft
" legally, conftitutionally and efficaciouffly by that great meafure
" effential to the profperity and freedom of Ireland, *A more equal*
" *reprefentation of the people in parliament.*

" We do not here mention as a grievance the rejection of a
" place bill, of a penfion bill, of a refponfibility bill, the fale of
" peerages in one houfe, the corruption publickly avowed in the
" other, nor the notorious infamy of borough traffic between both:
" not

" not that we do not feel their enormity, but that we confider
" them but as fymptoms of that mortal difeafe which corrodes the
" vitals of our conftitution, and leaves to the people in their own
" government but a fhadow of the name.

" Impreffed with thefe fentiments, we the underfigned have
" agreed to form an affociation, to be called
" and we do pledge ourfelves as citizens
" and as foldiers to our country and mutually to each other, that
" we will fteadily fupport and endeavour by all due means to carry
" into effect the following refolutions :

" 1ft. Refolved, that the conftitution of Ireland exifts only in
" theory, inafmuch as the people are deprived of their natural
" weight in the fcale of government, becaufe they are not duly re-
" prefented in parliament, and therefore that a more general ex-
" tenfion of the elective franchife is indifpenfably neceffary.

" 2d. Refolved, that the weight of Englifh influence in the
" government of this county is fo great as to require a cordial
" union among the people, to maintain that balance which is effen-
" tial to the prefervation of our liberties and the extenfion of our
" commerce.

" 3d. Refolved, that fatisfied as we are that the true greatnefs
" and happinefs of Ireland can arife folely from a complete internal
" union of *all her people*, we lament the miftaken policy which has
" fo long divided them, and that we fhall heartily co-operate in all
" meafures tending to the abolition of diftinctions between Irifh-
" men, equally invidious and unjuft, and which have been uni-
" formly the fource of weaknefs and mifery and difgrace to the
" country.

" Such are the refolutions which we propofe as fundamental
" principles; we have gone to what we conceive to be the root of
" the evil, we have ftated what we conceive to be the remedy.—
" With a reformed parliament every thing is eafy, without it no-
" thing can be done, unlefs by means too violent for the good
" people of this country, if not provoked beyond human fufferance
" even to think on.

" And we do call on and moft earneftly exhort our brethren
" THE VOLUNTEERS OF IRELAND, who may *in fact* eftablifh as

 they

" they have *in theory* restored the independence of their native " land: We call upon our countrymen in general to follow our " example, and to form similar societies in every quarter of the " kingdom for the promotion of constitutional knowledge and the " dispensation of *genuine whig principles*; the people when thus " collected will feel their own weight and secure that power which " theory has already admitted as their portion, and to which if " they be not aroused by their present provocations to vindicate it " they deserve to forfeit their pretensions for EVER.

" The foregoing contain my true and sincere opinion of the " state of this country *so far as in the present juncture it may be* " *adviseable to publish it.* They certainly fall short of the truth, " but truth itself must sometimes condescend to temporize: My " unalterable opinion is that the bane of Irish prosperity is in the " influence of England: I believe that influence will ever be ex- " tended while the connexion between the countries continues; " nevertheless, as I know that opinion is, *for the present*, too hardy, " though a very little time may establish it universally, I have not " made it a part of the resolutions, I have only proposed to set up " a reformed parliament as a barrier against that mischief which " every honest man that will open his eyes must see in every in- " stance overbears the interest of Ireland: I have not said one word " that looks like a wish for *separation*, though I give it to you and " your friends as my most decided opinion that such an event " would be a regeneration to this country.

" I have, you will see, alluded to the resolutions of the *Whig* " *Club*, and I have differed with them *in degree only*, that is, I " think and I am sure they do not go far enough—*they are not sin-* " *cere friends to the popular Cause*—they dread the people as much " as the Castle does. It may be objected that an implied difference " of sentiment between them and the people will weaken both— " I think otherwise. If they do not join you in supporting a re- " form in parliament they do not deserve support themselves: Ap- " ply the touchstone; if they stand the trial, well; if they fail, " they are false and hollow, and the sooner they are detected the " better. What signifies peddling with their superficial measures? " They are good *so far as they go*, but for the people to spend their " strength in pursuit of such would be just as wise as for a man " who has a mortification in his bowels to be very solicitous about " a plaister for his sore finger.—To be candid, I dare say that my " Lord

" Lord Charlemont, and I am pretty ſure that Mr. Grattan, would " heſitate very much at the reſolutions which I ſend; but I only " beg you will diſmiſs your reſpect for great names; read over the " reſolutions and what I have now ſaid, and then determine impartially between us. I have alluded to the Catholics, but ſo remotely as " I hope not to alarm the moſt cautious Proteſtant; it is wicked " nonſenſe to talk of a reform in Ireland in which they ſhall not " have their due ſhare.

" I have in the third reſolution conceded very far indeed to " what I conſider as vulgar and ignorant prejudices: Look at " France and America; the Pope burnt in effigy at Paris; the " Engliſh Catholics at this very hour ſeceding from his church: " A thouſand arguments croud on me, but it is unneceſſary here " to dwell on them. I hope you will find this reſolution ſufficiently guarded and cool. I have been purpoſely vague and indefinite, and I muſt ſay men who would ſeek a reform and omit " that indiſpenſable ſtep have different notions both of expediency " and juſtice from any that I can conceive.

" I think the beſt opportunity for publiſhing them will be on " the 14th July. I learn there is to be a commemoration of the " French Revolution, that morning ſtar of liberty to Ireland. The " Volunteers, if they approve of the plan, may then adopt it, and " I have ſo worded it as to leave them an opportunity; I have " left, as you ſee, a blank for the name, which I am clearly of " opinion ſhould be The Society of United Iriſhmen."

No. II.

Declaration of a Society, calling themſelves a Society of United Iriſhmen in Dublin, 9th November 1791, being ſimilar to that of a Society in Belfaſt.

" IN the preſent great æra of reform, when unjuſt governments " are falling in every quarter of *Europe*, when religious perſecution " is compelled to abjure her tyranny over conſcience, when the " rights of men are aſcertained in theory, and that theory ſub- " ſtantiated by practice, when antiquity can no longer defend ab- " ſurd and oppreſſive forms againſt the common ſenſe and common " intereſts of mankind, when all government is acknowledged to " originate from the people, and to be ſo far only obligatory as it " protects their rights and promotes their welfare ; we think it our " duty, as Iriſhmen, to come forward and ſtate what we feel to be " our heavy grievance, and what we know to be its effectual re- " medy.

" We have no National Government.

" We are ruled by Engliſhmen and the ſervants of Engliſhmen, " whoſe object is the intereſt of another country, whoſe inſtrument " is corruption, whoſe ſtrength is the weakneſs of Ireland, and " theſe men have the whole of the power and patronage of the " country as means to ſeduce and ſubdue the honeſty and the ſpirit " of her repreſentatives in the legiſlature. Such an extrinſic power, " acting with uniform force in a direction too frequently oppoſite " to the true line of our obvious intereſts, can be reſiſted with " effect ſolely by unanimity, deciſion and ſpirit in the people, qua- " lities which may be exerted moſt legally, conſtitutionally and " efficaciouſly by that great meaſure eſſential to the proſperity and " freedom of Ireland—An equal Repreſentation of all the People " in Parliament.

" We do not here mention as grievances the rejection of a place " bill, of a penſion bill, of a reſponſibility bill, the ſale of peerages " in one houſe, the corruption publickly avowed in the other, nor " the notorious infamy of borough traffic between both ; not that " we are inſenſible of their enormity, but that we conſider them " as but ſymptoms of that mortal diſeaſe which corrodes the vitals " of our conſtitution, and leaves to the people in their own govern- " ment but the ſhadow of a name.

" Impreſſed with theſe ſentiments, we have agreed to form an " aſſociation, to be called The Society of United Iriſhmen ; and we

" do

" do pledge ourſelves to our country and mutually to each other, " that we will ſteadily ſupport and endeavour by all due means to " carry into effect the following reſolutions :

" 1. Reſolved, that the weight of Engliſh influence in the Go- " vernment of this country is ſo great as to require a cordial union " among All the People of Ireland, to maintain that balance which " is eſſential to the preſervation of our liberties and the extenſion of " our commerce.

" 2. That the ſole conſtitutional mode by which this influence " can be oppoſed is by a complete and radical reform of the repre- " ſentation of the people in parliament.

" 3. That no reform is practicable, efficacious or juſt which ſhall " not include Iriſhmen of every religious perſuaſion.

" Satisfied as we are that the inteſtine diviſions among Iriſhmen " have too often given encouragement and impunity to audacious " and corrupt adminiſtrations in meaſures which but for theſe di- " viſions they durſt not have attempted, we ſubmit our reſolutions " to the nation as the baſis of our political faith.

" We have gone to what we conceive to be the root of the evil; " we have ſtated what we conceive to be the remedy: with a parlia- " ment thus reformed every thing is eaſy ; without it nothing can " be done; and we do call on and moſt earneſtly exhort our coun- " trymen in general to follow our example, and form ſimilar ſo- " cieties in every quarter of the kingdom for the promotion of " conſtitutional knowledge, the abolition of bigotry in religion " and politics, and the equal diſtribution of the Rights of Man " throughout all ſects and denominations of Iriſhmen.

" The people, when thus collected, will feel their own weight, and " ſecure that power which theory has already admitted as their " portion, and to which, if they be not arouſed by their preſent " provocations to vindicate it, they deſerve to forfeit their pretenſions " for ever.

" JAMES NAPPER TANDY, Secretary."

T E S T.

" I, A. B. in the preſence of God, do pledge myſelf to my " country that I will uſe all my abilities and influence in the attain- " ment of an impartial and adequate repreſentation of the Iriſh " nation in parliament ; and as a means of abſolute and immediate

 " neceſſity

"necessity in the establishment of this chief good of Ireland, I will "endeavour as much as lies in my ability to forward a brotherhood "of affection, an identity of interests, a communion of rights and "an union of power among Irishmen of all religious persuasions, "without which every reform in parliament must be partial, not "national, inadequate to the wants, delusive to the wishes, and "insufficient for the freedom and happiness of this country."

No. III.

Paper-writing taken by a Magistrate in a distant Part of the County of Antrim.

Minutes of the County Proceedings.

U. B.	Men.	Guns.	Pist.	Pks.	Balls.	Powder.
	1500	191	5	700	3000	7
Town do.	2639	526	88	567	28083	569
L. B.	1088	197	24	60	1550	12
U. A.	1801	200	—	435	Bay 16	
L. A.	1800	105	—	113		
U. M.	1540	30	11	40		
U. T.	1844	239	14	65		
L. T.	2074	361	24		2074	
U. D.	2000	300			3000	
L. D.	1521	30	10			13
U. G.	722	156	19	42		27
L. G.	950	20	10	6		
K.	392	42				
C.	1030	62				
Total -	22039	2659	205	2848	42520	628½

Cannon, eight 6 pounders.

T. B.

T. B. 12l. 13s. 8½d. U. B. 12l. 7s. 4d. L. B. 18s. —½d. U. A. 2l. 5s. 11d. L. A. 2l. 6s. 2d L. M U. M. 1l. 15s. 6d. U. T. 8l. 17s. 8d. L. T. ——. L. D. 2l. 9s. 6d. L. D. U. G. L. G. K. 10s. C. 1l. 14s. 1½d. Total paid in 46l. 8s. 4d.

C. Antrim 20942. D. 15000. Derry 10000. T. 6600. Ar. 4000. M. 3200. Don^l. 5088. Cavin 1000. Meath 1776. Fer. 2000. Louth 2600.—Total 72206. An. 78l. 6s. 8d. D. 40l. Derry 8l. 5s. 9d. Ar. 7l. 8s. 5d. Don. 9l. 9s. 7d. Total 144l. 2s. 1½d. Cash paid to Antrim Prisioners 78l. 6s. 8d. D. 11l. 7s. 6d. Ty. 7l. 19s. 3d. Delegates 2l. 5s. 6d. Total 99l. 18s. 11d. Ball^ce. 44l. 3s. 2½d.

Provincial Returns.

Countys formed into a noth^r. P. C. viz. West^th. Killd^r. Dub. Co. D. D. Cy. above Co. are organ^d. D. dowing well, D. Cy. divided into 4 Dist. yr. Ex^ve. give no other report then the organ^s. of the above not having latly met a report to be given from P. Com^te. next meeting. Newry citz. have been very gen^s. their privets subscrp^n. are 21. 11. 0. besides large vol^y. sub^crs to their Co. have employ'd dell^ts to go to Cavan and Letrim Cos. are formed and doing will, expence 17s. Cap. St. Legar of 24 dragoons consind in Ar. jail for Ex^ve. com. D. Ball. sent to him to distribute,

q

a wife and 4 chil^n. pay taken from him. When Co. expencs are pd. Ball are to go to the P. Com^te. a number of men taken from Co. Tyrone was Co. mem^rs. Total 25. 7gs. for their support voted, and they promise restit^n. next month. The Kilrea busines to be recommended to the P. Com^tee. for the opinion. Mr. Bristow of B. knows our provinc^l. meetings too well. Armagh appointed a com^tee of 5 to take care of their prisioners. Co. Mon. have cash in hand. Co. D. 50 const. from T. of Newry and collecting mony fast wh. will shortly be pd. in D. forwarding the busines to Meath and Killdear, 15 const^ns. sent to do. place. The Co. Ant. at this time is deffice^t. in their subscrip^n. Co. Down pays 90l. m. to the pris^rs. and to the P. Com^te. The prisioners in Carick 29 are paid 1 guin. each for 2 last months. 2 G. Coats by a Mrs. M'Clellan to poor sol^d. and 9 guis. to 9 of poorest sort.

U. Irishmen are warned not to cut timber that does not belong to themselves on any acc^t. for if the be prosecuted for the same they will not meet with any support whatever, as it brings a reproach on the cause. They are also warned ag^st. partial insurrections

rections of every kind, but to be obedient to the present laws by a prudent and sober conduct, for by prefevering in union we will at length work our own freedom in spite of all opposition. As soon as the South is properly organ . a National Convention will be eſtabliſhed, which is expected soon to take place.

Equal Liberty and Juſtic is the Equality only to be sought by us.

No. IV.

Paper-writing taken near Portaferry in the County of Down on or about 8th November 1796.

At a Baronial Meeting, October 22d, the County and Provincial Returns, &c.

Lower Caſtlereigh -	3020
Upper Caſtlereigh -	1098
Kilnarty - -	1299
Differin - -	570
Ards - -	2475
Upper Iveigh - -	1165
Lower Iveigh -	1327
Lecale - -	62
Down -	11016

	£.	s.	d.
Caſh received 22l. 3s. 2d. paid of that -	3	8	3
	—	16	5
Voted for the relief of the Priſoners	14	15	9
	19	—	5
	3	2	9

Provincial

Provincial Returns as follows:

Antrim - -	15000	£. 47	15	6	
Derry - -	3696				
Tyrone - -	4355	13	1	7	
	34067	20	9	6	Down Sepr. cash
		11	2	6	In Trea^frs. hands
		5	6	1	Rem^s. in Province
		97	14	8	The whole of which was voted to the Execut. Committee.

Reports in the following Places:

Donegal - -	2000
Armagh - -	1000
Louth - -	1600
Monaghan -	1000
Cork - -	1600
Meath, Weſtmeath, Kildare, Dublin -	16000
Total	57267

Reſolved on the following word and ſign: the under button of the waiſtcoat to be taken out with the right hand, ſaying "See."

Anſwer. Take out two under buttons with left hand, ſaying "What."

Report of the Select Committee, Resolutions, &c.

Resolved, that one committee for this county be sufficient; one Delegate to be sent from each division of baronies.

Resolved, that it is recommended to the different societies to enter into liberal subscriptions, for by the monthly subscriptions for the relief of our friends prisoners in this county gaol, as a safe communication is found thereto.

Resolved, that it is recommended to the divisions of baronies, societys, &c. to form themselves into military bodies and choose their own officers.

Resolved, that at this very alarming period of proscription by tyrants, we should more than ever persevere in forwarding that brotherhood of affection we so solemnly pledged ourselves to, and to be punctual in paying finance, viz. one penny each member per month.

Communications.—Four new societies organized in Scotland; eight more constitutions left; formed a baronial committee. County Kerry militia required one hundred constitutions for their own use; a few constitutions in Downshire and a good many united.

Moved and seconded, that thirteen guineas of this county money received to-day be given to our county secretary, to be paid to the relief of our friends prisoners, according to their different necessities.

Moved and seconded, for instructions to provincial delegates to move at their first committee that the Provincial Executive Committee do be empowered to carry on the trials of all our friends in the different counties who are there prosecuted.

As soon as our friends arrived in Dublin there was a deputation came to Belfast to know if they should be liberated, as they had it in their power.

Report of a smuggler out; if she arrive safe there will be plenty of

Adjourned until in at the house of at the hour of ten o'clock.

No. V.

No. V.

Paper-writing ſeized and identified by Mr. Fox, No. 4.

"I, A. B. do voluntarily ſwear that I will not call upon this "ſociety but when regularly called upon by my ſuperior officers, "and that I will be true and honeſt to the men under my com-"mand."

Paper-writing ſeized and identified by Mr. Fox, No. 6.

"I, A. B. do voluntarily ſwear that I will turn out when re-"gularly called on by my officers, and that I will obey them in all "that is lawful and not otherwiſe."

No. III.

Report from the Secret Committee of the House of Lords in 1797.

My Lords,

THE Lords Committees appointed to examine the matters of the sealed-up papers received from the House of Commons the 4th instant, and to report the same as they should appear to them to the House, having carefully examined the papers referred to them, and compared the said papers with the report made by the Secret Committee of the House of Commons; and having received and investigated such further evidence as they thought in prudence they were called upon to examine, have come to an unanimous resolution immediately to report to your Lordships, that they are fully satisfied and convinced, from the evidence laid before them, that a traitorous and alarming conspiracy has been formed, and that sundry acts have been done in pursuance thereof by certain affiliated societies and persons in different parts of this kingdom, calling themselves United Irishmen, for the subversion of the established laws and constitution, and the introduction of a system of anarchy, plunder and confusion, similar to that which has fatally prevailed in France.

Your Committee think it necessary further to report to your Lordships, that it has appeared distinctly to them that such a system was the first and fundamental object of these societies at their original institution in the Summer of the year 1791, and that the attainment of what are called Parliamentary Reform and Catholic Emancipation were and continue to be held out by them merely as a pretence for their associations, and with a view to seduce persons who were not apprized of their traitorous designs to unite with them. It has appeared to your Committee that these associations have gradually multiplied, and are now extended in a very alarming degree; that their members are bound to each other by oaths of secrecy, and appear to be firmly united in a general compact to subvert the monarchy and to establish a republican government in Ireland: To effect this object it has appeared clearly to your Committee that measures have been adopted by them and are still continued for procuring arms and ammunition, to be distributed amongst the accomplices in this conspiracy, for effectuating by open force their purposes, and particularly that pikes in very considerable numbers have been procured by them; and it has appeared clearly that they look to force only, for that they have unequivocally avowed their hostility to the Parliament and to all members of whom it is composed, without distinction or exception. It has

has further appeared to your Committee that the leaders and directors of these associations are now and have been for some time past anxiously engaged in uniting with them a class of men who had formerly disturbed the peace of this country by acts of outrage, robbery and murder, under the appellation of Defenders, and your Committee have reason to apprehend that in a certain degree they have succeeded.

Your Committee having carefully examined the report made by the Secret Committee of the House of Commons, which your Lordships have referred to them, find that it is fully supported by the evidence which has been investigated by your Committee, and therefore they have forborne to enter into the detail contained in the said report, which otherwise they should have thought it necessary to lay before your Lordships, but they beg leave to refer your Lordships to the said report, which will be found to contain facts of a most interesting and important nature, and deserving your Lordships most serious consideration. And in addition to the facts contained in the said report your Committee think it necessary to state to your Lordships, that it has appeared distinctly and unequivocally to them that a traitorous correspondence and communication has been carried on between the leaders and directors of the societies of United Irishmen and the Executive Directory of the French Republic; the period at which this correspondence was proved to have taken place has appeared to your Committee to have been between the month of June 1795 and the month of January 1796, and the means by which it was carried on in that instance have been fully proved before your Committee; and it has also appeared to your Committee that in the event of success on the part o these conspirators it has been decided that all persons who from their principles or situation may be deemed inimical to the conspiracy shall be massacred; the first proscribed list it has appeared to your Committee has been calculated by one of their leaders at thirty thousand persons.

Under circumstances so novel and alarming your Committee submit to your Lordships the expediency of their being empowered to make further enquiries and to receive such communications as may be made to them by order of his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant or by the Committee of Secrecy appointed by the House of Commons, whose zeal and assiduity in concert with your Lordships cannot fail, we trust, in detecting this scene of iniquity, and thereby averting the calamities in which the further progress of such a conspiracy must necessarily involve this happy and prosperous nation.

No IV.

The following Paper was circulated in Dublin in the Month of June 1791, and contains the original Design of that Association which was instituted in the Month of December following, under the Name of The SOCIETY OF UNITED IRISHMEN.

IDEM SENTIRE, DICERE, AGERE.

IT is proposed that at this conjuncture a SOCIETY shall be instituted in this City, having much of the secrecy, and somewhat of the ceremonial attached to Free-Masonry—with so much secrecy as may communicate curiosity, uncertainty and expectation to the minds of surrounding Men;—with so much impressive and affecting ceremony in all its internal œconomy, as without impeding real business, may strike the soul through the senses, and addressing the *whole* Man, may animate his philosophy by the energy of his passions.

Secrecy is expedient and necessary; it will make the bond of union more cohesive, and the spirit of this union more ardent and more condensed; it will envelope this dense flame with a cloud of gloomy ambiguity, that will not only facilitate its own agency, but will at the same time confound and terrify its enemies by their ignorance of the design, the extent, the direction, or the consequences. It will throw a veil over those individuals whose professional prudence might make them wish to lye concealed, until a manifestation of themselves became absolutely necessary. And lastly, secrecy is necessary, because it is by no means certain that a country so great a stranger to itself as Ireland, where the North and the South, and the East and the West, meet to wonder at each other, is yet *prepared* for the adoption of one profession of Political Faith, while there may be individuals from each of these quarters ready to adopt such a profession, and to propagate it with their best abilities, when necessary—with their Blood.

Our Provinces are perfectly ignorant of each other;—our Island is connected; we ourselves are insulated; and the distinctions of

of rank, of property, and of religious perſuaſion, have hitherto been not merely lines of difference, but brazen walls of ſeparation. We are ſeparate nations met and ſettled together, not mingled, but *convened*; an incoherent maſs of diſſimilar materials, uncemented, unconſolidated, like the image which Nebuchadnezar ſaw with a head of fine gold, legs of iron, and feet of clay, parts that do not cleave to one another.

In the midſt of an iſland, where Manhood has met and continues to meet with ſuch ſevere humiliation, where ſelfiſh men, or claſſes of men, have formed ſuch malignant conſpiracy againſt Public Good, let one benevolent, beneficent conſpiracy ariſe, one Plot of Patriots pledged by ſolemn adjuration to each other in the ſervice of the People—the People, in the largeſt ſenſe of that momentous word. Let the cement of this Conſtitutional Compact be a principle of ſuch ſtrong attraction, as completely to overpower all accidental and temporary repulſions that take place between real Iriſhmen, and thus to conſolidate the ſcattered and ſhifting ſand of Society into an adheſive and immoveable Caiſſon, ſunk beneath the dark and troubled waters. It is by wandering from the few plain and ſimple principles of Political Faith that our Politics, like our Religion, has become Preaching, not Practice, Words, not Works.

A Society, ſuch as this, will diſclaim thoſe party appellations which ſeem to pale the human heart into petty compartments, and parcel out into Sects and Sections, Common Senſe, Common Honeſty, and Common Weal. As little will it affect any ſpeculative, unimpaſſioned, quieſcent benevolence. It will not call itſelf a Whig Club, or a Revolution Society. It will not ground itſelf on a name indicative of a party, or an event well enough in the circumſtances and in the ſeaſon. It will not be an Ariſtocracy affecting the language of Patriotiſm, the rival of Deſpotiſm, for its own ſake, not its irreconcileable enemy, for the ſake of *us all*.

It will not, by views merely retroſpective, ſtop the march of mankind, or force them back into the lanes and alleys of their anceſtors. It will have an eye provident and proſpective, a reach and amplitude of conception commenſurate to the progreſſive diffuſion of knowledge, and at the ſame time a promptitude in execution requiſite in a life like this, ſo ſhort and ſo fragile, in a nation like this, ſo paſſive and ſo procraſtinating. Let its name be

be the IRISH BROTHERHOOD. Let its general aim be to make the light of philanthropy, a pale and ineffectual light, *converge*, and by converging kindle into ardent, energic, enthusiastic love for Ireland: that genuine unadulterated enthusiasm which descends from a luminous head to a burning heart, and impels the spirit of man to exertions greatly good, or unequivocally great. For this Society is not to rest satisfied in drawing speculative plans of reform and improvement, but to be practically busied about the *means* of accomplishment. Were the hand of Locke to hold from Heaven a scheme of government most perfectly adapted to the nature and capabilities of the Irish Nation, it would drop to the ground a mere sounding scroll, were there no other means of giving it effect than its intrinsic excellence. All true Irishmen agree in *what* ought to be done, but how to get it done is the question.—This Society is likely to be a means the most powerful for the promotion of a great end—what END?

THE RIGHTS OF MEN IN IRELAND, the greatest happiness of the greatest number in *this island*, the inherent and indefeasible claims of every free nation, to rest in this nation—the *will* and the *power* to be happy—to pursue the Common-Weal as an individual pursues his private welfare, and to stand in insulated independence, an imperatorial People.——To gain a knowledge of the real state of this heterogeneous country, to form a summary of the national will and pleasure in points most interesting to national happiness, and when such a summary is formed, to put this *Doctrine* as speedily as may be into *Practice*, will be the purpose of this central society, or lodge, from which other lodges in the different towns will radiate.

THE GREATEST HAPPINESS OF THE GREATEST NUMBER—On the rock of this principle let this Society rest; by this let it judge and determine every political question, and whatever is necessary for this end, let it not be accounted hazardous, but rather our interest, our duty, our glory, and our common religion. The rights of Men are the rights of God, and to vindicate the one is to maintain the other. We must be free in order to serve Him whose service is perfect freedom.

Let every Member wear, day and night, an Amulet round his neck, containing the great principle which unites the Brotherhood, in letters of gold, on a ribbon, striped with all the original colours, and inclosed in a sheath of white silk, to represent the pure union

of

of the mingled rays, and the abolition of all ſuperficial diſtinctions, all colours and ſhades of difference, for the ſake of one illuſtrious end. Let this Amulet of union, faith and honour, depend from the neck, and be bound about the body next to the ſkin and cloſe to the heart.

This is enthuſiaſm.—It is ſo; and who that has a ſpark of Hiberniciſm in his nature, would not feel it kindle into a flame of generous enthuſiaſm? Who, that has a drop of ſympathy in his heart, when he looks around him, and ſees how happineſs is heaped up in mounds, and how miſery is diffuſed and divided among the million, does not exclaim, Alas! for the ſuffering, and Oh! for the power to redreſs it? And who is there that has enthuſiaſm ſufficient to make an exclamation, would not combine with others as honeſt as himſelf to make the will live in the act, and to ſwear, —WE WILL REDRESS IT—Who is there? Who?

The firſt buſineſs of the Brotherhood will be to form a tranſcript, or digeſt, of the doctrine which they mean to ſubſcribe, to uphold, to propagate, and reduce to practice. It is time for Ireland to look her fortune in the face, not with turbulent oſtentation, but with fixed reſolution to live and die Freemen.—Let then thoſe queſtions be agitated and anſwered fully and fairly which have been wilfully concealed from us by intereſted perſons and parties, and which appear terrible only by being kept in the dark. Always armed with this principle, that it is the duty of the People to eſtabliſh their rights, this Society will carry it along with them in their courſe, as the Sybil did the branch of gold, to avert or to diſperſe every vain fear and every unreal terror.

What are the *means* of procuring ſuch a reform in the conſtitution as may ſecure to the People their rights moſt effectually and moſt ſpeedily?

What is the plan of reform moſt ſuited to this country?

Can the renovation in the conſtitution, which we all deem neceſſary, be accompliſhed by the *ways* of the conſtitution? "The "evil," ſays Junius, "lies too deep to be cured by any remedy, "leſs than ſome great convulſion which may bring back the con- "ſtitution to its original principles, or utterly deſtroy it." Is this opinion ſtill truer when applied to *this* country? or is it falſe?

Who are the People?

Can the right of changing the conſtitution reſt any where but in the original conſtitutive power—the People?

Can the will of the People be known but by full and fair convention, to be conſtituted on the plan which will come recommended on the moſt popular authority?

What are the rights of Roman Catholics, and what are the immediate duties of Proteſtants reſpecting theſe rights?

Are the Roman Catholics generally or partially *capaces Libertatis?* and if not, What are the ſpeedieſt means of making them ſo?

Is the Independence of Ireland nominal or real, a barren right, or a fact regulative of national conduct and influencing national character?

Has it had any other effect than raiſing the value of a houſe, and making it more ſelf-ſufficient, at the expenſe of the People?

Is there any middle ſtate between the extremes of union with Britain and total ſeparation, in which the rights of the People can be fully eſtabliſhed and reſt in ſecurity?

What is the form of government that will ſecure to us our rights with the leaſt expenſe and the greateſt benefit?

By the Brotherhood are theſe queſtions, and ſuch as theſe, to be determined. On this determination are they to form the chart of their conſtitution, which with honour and good faith they are to ſubſcribe, and which is to regulate their courſe.——Let the Society at large meet four times in the year, and an acting Committee once a month, to which all Members ſhall be invited. Let theſe meetings be *convivial*, but not the tranſitory patriotiſm of deep potation; *confidential*, the heart open and the door locked; *converſational*, not a debating ſociety. There is too much haranguing in this country already: a very great redundance of ſound. Would that we ſpoke a little more laconically, and acted a little more emphatically; and we ſhall do ſo, when our aim is at ſomething nobler and fairer than even the ſublime and beautiful of Mr. Burke:—the ſublimity of Common-ſenſe—the beauty of commonweal.

Our

Our Society ſhould at firſt be very chaſte and cautious in the ſelection of Members, ſhunning equally the giddineſs of the boy, and that ſullen indifference about the public good which comes on with decline of years, looking around for thoſe who are competent, and with reſpect to themſelves content, yet zealous and perſevering; not venal, not voracious, not confined in their manners and their morality to the pale of a profeſſion, not idle philanthropiſts, who figet round the globe with their favourite adage; not thoſe who are bound down by obedience to that wizard word *Empire*, to the ſovereignty of two ſounding ſyllables; but honeſt, honourable *Iriſhmen*, of whatever rank, of whatever religion, who know Liberty, who love it, who wiſh to have it, and who will have it.—Members ſhould be admitted only by an unanimous ballot, and perhaps once a year there ſhould be a general re-election.

The *external* buſineſs of this Society will be, 1ſt, Publication, in order to propagate their principles and effectuate their ends. All papers for this purpoſe to be ſanctioned by the Committee, and publiſhed with no other deſignation of character than—ONE OF THE BROTHERHOOD.—2dly, Communication with the different towns to be aſſiduouſly kept up, and every exertion uſed to accompliſh a *National Convention* of the People of Ireland, who may profit by paſt errors, and by many unexpected circumſtances which have happened ſince the laſt meeting.—3dly, Communication with ſimilar Societies abroad, as the Jacobin Club in Paris, the Revolution Society in England, the Committee for Reform in Scotland. Let the nations go abreaſt. Let the interchange of ſentiment among mankind concerning the rights of man be as immediate as poſſible. A correſpondence with diſtinguiſhed men in Britain, or on the Continent, will be neceſſary to enlighten us, and ought to be cheriſhed. Eulogies on ſuch men as have deſerved well of their country *until death*, ſhould be from time to time delivered by one of the Brotherhood, their works ſhould live in a Library to be formed by this Society, and dedicated to Liberty, and the Portraits of ſuch men ſhould adorn it. Let the ſhades of the mighty dead look down and conſecrate our Meetings. The Athenians were accuſtomed to faſten their edicts to the ſtatues of their anceſtors. Let our Laws and Liberties have a ſimilar attachment, taking heed always to remember what has been always too much forgotten—that *We* are to be anceſtors ourſelves; and as our bodies moulder down after ſepulture, merely to paſs into new forms of life, let our ſpirits preſerve a principle of animation to poſterity, and germinate from the very grave.

What

What is the time most applicable for the establishment of this Institution? Even NOW. "Le grand art est dans l'apropos." Why is Administration so imperious? Because the Nation does not act. The Whig Club is not a transfusion from the People. We do not thoroughly *understand* that Club, and they do not *feel* for us. When the Aristocracy come forward, the People fall backward; when the People come forward, the Aristocracy, fearful of being left behind, insinuate themselves into our ranks, and rise into timid leaders, or treacherous auxiliaries. They mean to make us their instruments. Let us rather make them *our* instruments. One of the two must happen. The People must serve the purposes of Party, or the Party must emerge in the mightiness of the People, and Hercules will then lean upon his club.

On the 14th of July, the day which shall ever commemorate the French Revolution, let this Society pour out their first libation to European Liberty, eventually the Liberty of the World, and with their hands joined in each other, and their eyes raised to Heaven, in his presence who breathed into them an ever-living soul, let them swear to maintain the rights and prerogatives of their nature as men, and the right and prerogative of Ireland as an Independent People.—"Dieu et *mon* Droit!" is the motto of kings.—"Dieu et la Liberte!" exclaimed Voltaire, when he first beheld Franklin his Fellow-Citizen of the World.—"Dieu et *nos* Droits!"—Let Irishmen cry aloud to each other.—The cry of Mercy—of Justice—and of Victory.

June 1791.

No. V.

Extracts from the Publications of United Irishmen.

Friday, 30th December, 1791.

Society of United Irishmen of Dublin. The Honourable Simon Butler in the Chair.

Resolved, unanimously, that the following Circular Letter, reported by our Committee of Correspondence, be adopted and printed.

THIS Letter is addressed to you from the Corresponding Committee of the Society of United Irishmen in Dublin.

We annex the declaration of political principles which we have subscribed, and the test which we have taken, as a social and sacred compact to bind us more closely together.

The object of this institution is to make an United Society of the Irish Nation; to make all Irishmen—Citizens;—all Citizens—Irishmen; nothing appearing to us more natural at all times, and at this crisis of Europe more seasonable, than that those who have common interests, and common enemies, who suffer common wrongs, and lay claim to common rights, should know each other and should act together. In our opinion ignorance has been the demon of discord, which has so long deprived Irishmen, not only of the blessings of well regulated government, but even the common benefits of civil society. Peace in this island has hitherto been a peace on the principles and with the consequences of civil war. For a century past there has indeed been tranquillity, but to most of our dear countrymen it has been the tranquillity of a dungeon; and if the land has lately prospered, it has been owing to the goodness of providence, and the strong efforts of human nature resisting and overcoming the malignant influence of a miserable administration.

To resist this influence, which rules by discord and embroils by system, it is vain to act as individuals or as parties;—it becomes necessary by an union of minds, and a knowledge of each other

to will and act as a nation. To know each other is to know ourſelves—the weakneſs of one and the ſtrength of many. Union, therefore, is power—it is wiſdom—it muſt prove liberty.

Our deſign, therefore, in forming this ſociety, is to give an example, which, when well followed, muſt collect the public will, and concentrate the public power into one ſolid maſs, the effect of which, once put in motion, muſt be rapid, momentous and conſequential.

In thus aſſociating we have thought little about our anceſtors—much of our poſterity. Are we for ever to walk like beaſts of prey, over fields which theſe anceſtors ſtained with blood? In looking back, we ſee nothing on the one part but ſavage force ſucceeded by ſavage policy; on the other, an unfortunate nation "ſcattered and peeled, meted out and trodden down!" We ſee a mutual intolerance, and a common carnage of the firſt moral emotions of the heart, which lead us to eſteem and place confidence in our fellow-creatures. We ſee this, and are ſilent. But we gladly look forward to brighter proſpects—to a People united in the fellowſhip of freedom—to a Parliament the expreſs image of the people—to a proſperity eſtabliſhed on civil, political and religious liberty—to a peace—not the gloomy and precarious ſtillneſs of men brooding over their wrongs, but that ſtable tranquillity which reſts on the rights of human nature, and leans on the arms by which theſe rights are to be maintained.

Our principal rule of conduct has been to attend to thoſe things in which we agree, to exclude from our thoughts thoſe in which we differ. We agree in knowing what are our rights, and in daring to aſſert them. If the rights of men be duties to God, we are in this reſpect of one religion. Our creed of civil faith is the ſame. We agree in thinking that there is not an individual among our millions, whoſe happineſs can be eſtabliſhed on any foundation ſo rational and ſo ſolid, as on the happineſs of the whole community—We agree, therefore, in the neceſſity of giving political value and ſtation to the great majority of the people; and we think that whoever deſires an amended conſtitution, without including the great body of the people, muſt on his own principles be convicted of political perſecution, and political monopoly. If the preſent electors be themſelves a morbid part of our conſtitution, where are we to recur for redreſs but to whole community? "A more unjuſt and abſurd conſtitution cannot be deviſed, than that which condemns the natives of a country to perpetual ſervitude, under the arbitrary dominion of ſtrangers and ſlaves."

We

We agree in thinking, that the firſt and moſt indiſpenſable condition of the laws in a free ſtate, is the aſſent of thoſe whoſe obedience they require, and for whoſe benefit only they are deſigned. Without, therefore, an impartial and adequate repreſentation of the community, we agree in declaring, We can have no conſtitution—no Country—no Ireland. Without this, our late revolution we declare to be fallacious and ideal; a thing much talked of, but neither felt nor ſeen. The act of Iriſh Sovereignty has been merely toſſed out of the Engliſh Houſes into the cabinet of the Miniſter; and nothing remains to the people, who of right are every thing, but a ſervile Majeſty and a ragged independence.

We call moſt earneſtly on every great and good Man, who at the late æra ſpoke or acted for his Country, to conſider leſs of what was done than of what there remains to do. We call upon their ſenatorial wiſdom to conſider the monſtrous and immeaſurable diſtance which ſeparates, in this iſland, the ranks of ſocial life, makes labour ineffectual, taxation unproductive, and divides the nation into petty deſpotiſm and public miſery. We call upon their tutelar genius, to remember, that government is inſtituted to remedy, not to render more grievous, the natural inequality of mankind, and that unleſs the rights of the whole community be aſſerted, anarchy (we cannot call it government) muſt continue to prevail, when the ſtrong tyrannize, the rich oppreſs, and the maſs are brayed in a mortar. We call upon them, therefore, to build their arguments and their actions on the broad platform of general good.

Let not the rights of nature be enjoyed merely by connivance, and the rights of conſcience merely by toleration. If you raiſe up a prone people, let it not be merely to their knees. Let the nation ſtand. Then will it caſt away the bad habit of ſervitude, which has brought with it indolence, ignorance, an extinction of our faculties, an abandonment of our very nature. Then will every right obtained, every franchiſe exerciſed, prove a ſeed of ſobriety, induſtry, and regard to character, and the manners of the people will be formed on the model of their free conſtitution.

This rapid expoſition of our principles, our object, and our rule of conduct, muſt naturally ſuggeſt the wiſh of multiplying ſimilar Societies, and the propriety of addreſſing ſuch a deſire to you. Is it neceſſary for us to requeſt, that you will hold out your hand, and open your heart to your countryman, townſman, neighbour?—Can you form a hope for political redemption, and by political penalties, or civil excommunications, withhold the rights of

of nature from your brother? We beſeech you to rally all the friends of liberty within your circle round a ſociety of this kind as a centre. Draw together your beſt and braveſt thoughts, your beſt and braveſt men. You will experience, as we have done, that theſe points of union will quickly attract numbers, while the aſſemblage of ſuch ſocieties, acting in concert, moving as one body, with one impulſe and one direction, will, in no long time, become not parts of the nation, but the nation itſelf; ſpeaking with its voice, expreſſing its will, reſiſtleſs in its power. We again entreat you to look around for men fit to form thoſe ſtable ſupports on which Ireland may reſt the Lever of Liberty. If there be but ten, take thoſe ten. If there be but two, take thoſe two, and truſt with confidence to the ſincerity of your intention, the juſtice of your cauſe, and the ſupport of your country.

Two objects intereſt the nation—A plan of repreſentation—and the means of accompliſhing it.—Theſe ſocieties will be a moſt powerful means. But a popular plan would itſelf be a means for its own accompliſhment. We have, therefore, to requeſt, that you will favour us with your ideas reſpecting the plan which appears to you moſt eligible and practicable, on the preſent more enlarged and liberal principles which actuate the people; at the ſame time giving your ſentiments upon our National Coalition, on the means of promoting it, and on the political ſtate and diſpoſition of the county or town where you reſide. We know what reſiſtance will be made to your patriotic efforts by thoſe who triumph in the diſunion and degradation of their country. The greater the neceſſity for reform, the greater probably will be the reſiſtance. We know that there is much ſpirit that requires being brought into maſs, as well as much maſſy body that muſt be refined into ſpirit. We have many enemies, and no enemy is contemptible. We do not deſpiſe the enemies of the Union, the Liberty and the Peace of Ireland, but we are not of a nature, nor have we encouraged the habit of fearing any Man, or any Body of Men, in an honeſt and honourable cauſe. In great undertakings like the preſent, we declare that we have found it always more difficult to attempt, than to accompliſh. The people of Ireland muſt perform all that they wiſh, if they attempt all that they can.

Signed by Order,

JAMES NAPPER TANDY, *Sec.*

November 23, 1792.

Addreſs from the Society of United Iriſhmen in Dublin to the Delegates for promoting a Reform in Scotland.

William Drennan, Chairman.

Archibald Hamilton Rowan, Secretary.

WE take the liberty of addreſſing you in the ſpirit of civil union, in the fellowſhip of a juſt and a common cauſe. We greatly rejoice that the ſpirit of freedom moves over the face of Scotland; that light ſeems to break from the chaos of her internal government; and that a country ſo reſpectable for her attainments in ſcience, in arts and in arms, for men of literary eminence, for the intelligence and morality of her people, now acts from a conviction of the union between virtue, letters and liberty, and now riſes to diſtinction, not by a calm, contented, ſecret wiſh for a reform in Parliament, but by openly, actively and urgently *willing* it, with the unity and energy of an embodied nation. We rejoice that you do not conſider yourſelves as merged and melted down into another country, but that in this great national queſtion you are ſtill Scotland—the land where Buchanan wrote, and Fletcher ſpoke, and Wallace fought.

Away from us and from our children thoſe puerile antipathies, ſo unworthy of the manhood of nations, which inſulate individuals as well as countries, and drive the citizen back to the ſavage. We eſteem and we reſpect you. We pay merited honour to a nation in general well educated and well informed, becauſe we know that the ignorance of the people is the cauſe and effect of all civil and religious deſpotiſm. We honour a nation regular in their lives and ſtrict in their manners, becauſe we conceive private morality to be the only ſecure foundation of public policy. We honour a nation eminent for men of genius, and we truſt that they will now exert themſelves not ſo much in peruſing and penning the hiſtories of other countries as in making their own a ſubject for the hiſtorian. May we venture to obſerve to them that mankind have been too retroſpective, canonized antiquity and undervalued themſelves. Man has repoſed on ruins, and reſted his head on ſome fragments of the temple of liberty, or at moſt amuſed himſelf in pacing the meaſurement of the edifice, and nicely limiting its proportions; not reflecting that this temple is truly Catholic, the ample earth its area, and the arch of heaven its dome.

We will lay open to you our hearts; our caufe is your caufe. If there is to be a ftruggle between us, let it be which nation fhall be foremoft in the race of mind; let this be the noble animofity kindled between us, who fhall firft attain that free conftitution from which both are equidiftant, who fhall firft be thefaviour of the empire.

In this SOCIETY and its affiliated fociety the Catholic and the Prefbyterian are at this inftant holding out their hands and opening their hearts to each other; agreeing in principles, concurring in practice. We unite for immediate, ample and fubftantial juftice to the Catholics, and when that is attained, a combined exertion for a reform in parliament is the condition of our compact and the feal of our communion.

Univerfal emancipation with reprefentative legiflature is the polar principle which guides our fociety and fhall guide it through all the tumult of factions and fluctuations of parties. It is not upon a coalition of oppofition with miniftry that we depend, but upon a coalition of Irifhmen with Irifhmen, and in that coalition alone we find an object worthy of reform, and at the fame time the ftrength and finew both to attain and fecure it. It is not upon external circumftances, upon the pledge of man or minifter, we depend, but upon the internal energy of the Irifh nation. We will not buy or borrow liberty from America or from France, but manufacture it ourfelves, and work it up with thofe materials which the hearts of Irifhmen furnifh them with at home. *We do not worfhip the Britifh, far lefs the Irifh conftitution, as fent down from Heaven, but we confider it as human workmanfhip, which man has made and man can mend. An unalterable conftitution, whatever be its nature, muft be defpotifm. It is not the conftitution but the people which ought to be inviolable, and it is time to recognize and renovate the rights of the Englifh, the Scotch, and the Irifh Nations*—Rights which can neither be bought nor fold, granted by charter, or foreftalled by monopoly, but which nature dictates as the birth-right of all, and which it is the bufinefs of a conftitution to define, to enforce, and to eftablifh. If government has a fincere regard for the fafety of the conftitution, let them coincide with the people in the fpeedy reform of its abufes, and *not by an obftinate adherence to them, drive that people into republicanifm.*

We have told you what our fituation was, what it is, what it ought to be: our end, a national legiflature; our means, an union of the whole people. Let this union extend throughout the empire

pire. Let all unite for all, or each man ſuffer for all. In each country let the people aſſemble in peaceful and conſtitutional convention. Let delegates from each country digeſt a plan of reform, beſt adopted to the ſituation and circumſtances of their reſpective nations, and let the legiſlatures be petitioned at once by the urgent and unanimous voice of England, Scotland and Ireland.

You have our ideas. Anſwer us, and that quickly. This is not a time to procraſtinate. Your illuſtrious Fletcher has ſaid, that the liberties of a people are not to be ſecured, without paſſing through great difficulties, and no toil or labours ought to be declined to preſerve a nation from ſlavery. He ſpoke well: and we add, that it is incumbent on every nation who adventures into a conflict for freedom, to remember it is on the event (however abſurdly) depends the eſtimation of public opinion; honour and immortality, if fortunate; if otherwiſe, infamy and oblivion. Let this check the raſhneſs that ruſhes unadviſedly into the committal or national character, or *if that be already made*, let the ſame conſideration impel us all to advance with active not paſſive perſevefance, with manly confidence and calm determination, ſmiling with equal ſcorn at the bluſter of official arrogance, and the whiſper of private malevolence, *until we have planted the flag of Freedom on the ſummit, and are at once victorious and ſecure.*

December, 14, 1792.

The Society of United Iriſhmen, at Dublin, to the Volunteers of Ireland.

William Drennan, Chairman.

Archibald Hamilton Rowan, Secretary.

Citizen Soldiers,

YOU firſt took up arms to protect your Country from foreign enemies, and from domeſtic diſturbance. For the ſame purpoſes, it now becomes neceſſary that you ſhould reſume them. A proclamation has been iſſued in England for embodying the militia, and a proclamation has been iſſued by the Lord Lieutenant and Council in Ireland, for repreſſing all *ſeditious* aſſociations. In conſequence of both theſe proclamations, it is reaſonable to apprehend danger from abroad, and danger at home. From whence but from apprehended danger are thoſe menacing preparations for war drawn through the

ſtreets

ſtreets of this capital, or whence, if not to *create* that internal commotion which was not *found*, to ſhake that credit which was not *affected*, to blaſt that Volunteer honour which was hitherto *inviolate*, are thoſe terrible ſuggeſtions and rumours and whiſpers, that meet us at every corner and agitate at leaſt our old men, our women and children. Whatever be the motive, or from whatever quarter it ariſes; alarm has ariſen, and you, VOLUNTEERS OF IRELAND, are therefore ſummoned *To Arms* at the inſtance of Government, as well as by the reſponſibility attached to your character, and the permanent obligations of your inſtitution. We will not at this day, condeſcend to quote authorities for the *right* of having and of uſing arms, but we will cry aloud, even amidſt the ſtorm raiſed by the witchcraft of a proclamation, That to your *formation* was owing the peace and protection of this Iſland, to your *relaxation* has been owing its relapſe into impotence and inſignificance, to your *renovation* muſt be owing its future freedom and its preſent tranquillity. You are therefore ſummoned to Arms, in order to preſerve your country in that guarded quiet, which may ſecure it from external hoſtility, and to maintain that internal regimen throughout the land, which ſuperſeding a notorious police or a ſuſpected militia, may preſerve the bleſſings of peace by a vigilant preparation for war.

Citizen Soldiers, to arms! Take up the ſhield of freedom, and the pledges of peace,—peace, the motive and end of your virtuous inſtitution.—War, an occaſional duty, ought never to be made an occupation. Every man ſhould become a ſoldier in the defence of his rights; no man ought to continue a ſoldier for offending the rights of others. The ſacrifice of life in the ſervice of our country is a duty much too honourable to be entruſted to mercenaries, and at this time when your country has by public authority been declared in danger, we conjure you by your intereſt, your duty and your glory, to ſtand to your arms, and in ſpite of a police, in ſpite of a ſencible militia, in virtue of two proclamations, to maintain good order in your vicinage, and tranquillity in Ireland.—It is only by the military array of men in whom they confide, whom they have been accuſtomed to revere as the guardians of domeſtic peace, the protectors of their liberties and lives, that the preſent agitation of the people can be ſtilled, that tumult and licentiouſneſs can be repreſſed, obedience ſecured to exiſting law, and a calm confidence diffuſed through the public mind in the ſpeedy reſurrection of a free conſtitution—of *Liberty* and of *Equality*,—words which we uſe for an opportunity of repelling calumny, and of ſaying, that,

By

By Liberty we never underſtood unlimited freedom, nor by Equality the levelling of property, or the deſtruction of ſubordination.—This is a calumny invented by that faction or that gang which miſrepreſents the King to the People, and the People to the King, traduces one half of the nation to cajole the other, and by keeping up diſtruſt and diviſion, wiſhes to continue the proud arbitrators of the fortune and fate of Ireland.—Liberty is the exerciſe of all our rights, natural and political, ſecured to us and our poſterity by a real repreſentation of the people;—and *equality is the extenſion of the conſtituent, to the fulleſt dimenſions of the conſtitution, of the elective franchiſe to the whole body of the people*, to the end that government which is collective power, may be guided by collective will, and that legiſlation may originate from public reaſon, keep pace with public improvement, and terminate in public happineſs. If our conſtitution be imperfect, nothing but a reform in repreſentation will rectify its abuſes; if it be perfect, nothing but the ſame reform will perpetuate its bleſſings.

We now addreſs you as citizens, for to be citizens you became ſoldiers *nor can we help wiſhing that all ſoldiers, partaking the paſſions and intereſt of the people would remember, that they were once citizens, that ſeduction made them ſoldiers,—" but nature made them men."* We addreſs you without any authority ſave that of reaſon, and if we obtain the coincidence of public opinion it is neither by force nor ſtratagem, for we have no power to terrify, no artifice to cajole, no fund to ſeduce.—Here we ſit,—without mace or beadle, neither a myſtery nor a craft, nor a corporation.——In four words lies all our power, UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION and REPRESENTATIVE LEGISLATURE; *yet we are confident that on the pivot of this principle, a convention,—ſtill leſs,—a ſociety,—leſs ſtill, a ſingle man, would be able, firſt to move and then to raiſe the world.* We, therefore, wiſh for catholic emancipation without any modification, but ſtill we conſider this neceſſary enfranchiſement as merely the portal to the temple of national freedom. Wide as this entrance is, wide enough to admit three millions,—it is narrow, when compared to the capacity and comprehenſion of our beloved principle, which takes in every individual of the Iriſh nation, caſts an equal eye over the whole iſland, embraces all that think and feels for all that ſuffer. The catholic cauſe is ſubordinate to our cauſe, and included in it, for as UNITED IRISHMEN, we adhere to no ſect, but to ſociety, to no creed but chriſtianity, to no party, but the whole people.—In the ſincerity of our ſouls, do we deſire catholic emancipation, but *were it obtained, to-morrow, to-morrow would we go on, as we do to-day, in the purſuit of that reform which would ſtill be wanting to ratify their liberties as well as our own.*

For both these purposes, it appears necessary that provincial conventions should assemble preparatory to the convention of the protestant people. The Delegates of the catholic body are not justified in communicating with individuals, or even bodies of inferior authority, and therefore an assembly of a similar nature and organization is necessary to establish an intercourse of sentiment, an uniformity of conduct, an united cause, and an united nation. If a convention on the one part does not soon follow, and is not soon connected with that on the other, the common cause will split into the partial interest; the people will relax into inattention and inertness; the union of affection and exertion will dissolve, and too probably some local insurrection, instigated by the malignity of our common enemy, may commit the character, and risque the tranquillity of the island, which can be obviated only by the influence of an assembly arising from, assimilated with the people, and whose spirit may be as it were knit with the soul of the nation,—unless the sense of the protestant people be on their part as fairly collected and as judiciously directed, unless individual exertion consolidates into collective strength, unless the particles unite into mass, we may perhaps serve some person, or some party for a little, but the public not at all. The nation is neither insolent nor rebellious nor seditious. *While it knows its rights it is unwilling to manifest its powers. It would rather supplicate administration to anticipate revolution by a well timed reform, and to save their country in mercy to themselves.*

The 15th of February approaches, a day ever memorable in the annals of this country as the birth-day of new Ireland— Let parochial meetings be held as soon as possible. Let each parish return delegates. Let the sense of Ulster be again declared from Duncannon on a day auspicious to union, peace and freedom, and the spirit of the north will again become the spirit of the nation. The civil assembly ought to claim the attendance of the military associations, and we have addressed you citizen soldiers, on this subject, from the belief that your body, uniting conviction with zeal and zeal with activity, may have much influence over our countrymen, your relations and friends. We offer only a general outline to the public, and meaning to address Ireland, we presume not at present to fill up the plan or pre-occupy the mode of its execution. We have thought it our duty to speak: answer us by actions; you have taken time for consideration. Fourteen long years are elapsed since the rise of your associations, and in 1782 did you imagine that in 1792 this nation would still remain unrepresented? How many nations in this interval have gotten the start of Ireland! How many of our countrymen have sunk into the grave!

January 25, 1793.

The Society of United Irishmen of Dublin to the Irish Nation.

William Drennan, Chairman.

Archibald Hamilton Rowan, Secretary.

ON the 9th of November 1791 was this society founded. We and our beloved brethren of Belfast first began that civic union, which, if a nation be a society united for mutual advantage, has made Ireland a nation; and at a time when all wished, many willed, but few spoke, and fewer acted, we, Catholics and Protestants, joined our hands and our hearts together; sunk every distinctive appellation in the name *Irishman*; and in the presence of God devoted ourselves to universal enfranchisement and a real representation of all the people in parliament. On this rock of right our little ark found a resting place; gradually, though not slowly, throughout the country, other stations of safety appeared, and what before was agitated sea became firm and fertile land. From that time have the body and spirit of our societies increased, until selfish corporations, sunk in conscious insignificance, have given way to a grand incorporation of the Irish people.

Knowing that what the tongue is to the man, the press is to the people, though nearly blasted in our cradle by the sorcery of solicitors of law and general attorneys, we have persisted with courageous perseverance to rally around this forlorn hope of freedom, and to maintain this citadel of the constitution at the risque of personal security, property, and all that was dear to us.

We have defended the violated liberty of the subject against the undefined and voracious privilege of the House of Commons, treating with merited scorn the insolent menaces of men inflated with office.

Not a man so low that if oppressed by any assumption of power, civil or military, has not met with our counsel, our purse and our protection; not a man so high, that if acting contrary to popular right or public independence, we have not denounced at the judgment seat of justice, and at the equitable tribunal of public opinion.

We

We have addreſſed the Volunteers—deliverers of this injured land! Have we done wrong? If we have, tear your colours from the ſtaff, reverſe your arms, muffle your drums. beat a funeral march for Ireland, and then abandon the corpſe to fencibles, to militia, to invalids and diſmounted dragoons. If we have done wrong, and we ſwear by the revolution of 82 that we have not, go on with the zeal of enterprizing virtue, and a ſenſe of your own importance, to exerciſe that right of ſelf-defence which belongs to the nation, and to infuſe conſtitutional energy into the public will for the public good.

O, Ireland! Ireland! country to which we have clung in all our misfortunes, perſonal, religious, political; for whoſe freedom and happineſs we are here ſolemnly united; for whom, as a ſociety, we live; and for whom as men, if hard neceſſity commands it, we are ready to die; let us conjure you not to abuſe the preſent precious moment, by a ſelf-extinguiſhment, by a credulous committal of your judgment and ſenſes to the direction of others, by an idle and idiot gaze on what may be going on in parliament. In receiving good offices from all, diſtinguiſh between ſound Hiberniciſm and that windy patriotiſm, which is now puffing and blowing in the race of popularity- *Truſt as little to your friends as to your enemies in a matter where you can act only by yourſelves. The will of the nation muſt be declared before any reform ought to take place.* It is not therefore any claſs however numerous, any ſociety however reſpectable, any ſubaltern aſſembly that have either right or competency to expreſs that authoritative will. *Nothing leſs than the people can ſpeak for the people. This competency reſides not in a few freeholders ſhivering in the corner of a county hall, but only in the whole community repreſented in each county,* (as at preſent in Antrim,) *by parochial delegation, and then from each county by baronial delegation, to provincial conventions, the union of which muſt form the awful will of the people of Ireland.* Let us therefore conclude, by conjuring the county meetings now aſſembling to follow the example of Ulſter, and by appointing delegates to a convention of their reſpective provinces, to unite their ſcattered and inſulated wills into one momentous maſs, which may have authority ſufficient to make a declaration of rights in behalf of the nation.

A Plan of an equal Representation of the People of Ireland in the House of Commons.

Prepared for Public Consideration by the Society of United Irishmen of Dublin.

I. THAT the nation, for the purpose of representation solely, should be divided into three hundred electorates, formed by a combination of parishes, and as nearly as possible equal in point of population.

II. That each electorate should return one representative to parliament.

III. That each electorate should, for the convenience of carrying on the elections at the same time be subdivided into a sufficient number of parts.

IV. That there should be a returning officer for each electorate, and a deputy returning officer for each subdivision, to be respectively elected.

V. That the electors of the electorate should vote, each in the subdivision in which he is registered, and has resided as hereinafter specified.

VI. That the returning officers of the subdivisions should severally return their respective polls to the returning officer of the electorate, who should tot up the whole, and return the person having a majority of votes, as the representative in parliament.

VII. That every man possessing the right of suffrage for a representative in parliament should exercise it in his own person only.

VIII. That no person should have a right to vote in more than one electorate at the same election.

IX. *That every male of sound mind, who has attained the full age of twenty-one years, and actually dwelt*, or maintained a family establishment in any electorate for six months of the twelve immediately previous to the commencement of the election, (provided his residence, or maintaining a family establishment be duly registered) *should be intitled to vote for the representative of the electorate.*

X. That there ſhould be a regiſtering officer, and a regiſtry of reſidence in every ſubdiviſion of each electorate; and that in all queſtions concerning reſidence, the regiſtry ſhould be conſidered as concluſive evidence.

XI. That all elections in the nation ſhould commence and cloſe on the ſame day.

XII. That the votes of all electors ſhould be given by voice and not by ballot.

XIII That no oath of any kind ſhould be taken by any elector.

XIV. That the full age of twenty-five years ſhould be a neceſſary qualification to intitle any man to be a repreſentative.

XV. That reſidence, within the electorate ſhould not, but that reſidence within the kingdom ſhould be a neceſſary qualification for a repreſentative.

XVI. *That no property qualificaiion ſhould be neceſſary to intitle any man to be a repreſentative.*

XVII. That any perſon having a penſion, or holding a place in the Executive or Judicial Departments, ſhould be thereby diſqualified from being a repreſentative.

XVIII. *That repreſentatives ſhould receive a reaſonable ſtipend for their ſervices.*

XIX. That every repreſentative ſhould, on taking his ſeat, ſwear that neither he, nor any perſon to promote his intereſt, with his privity, gave or was to give any bribe for the ſuffrage of any voter.

XX. That any repreſentative convicted by a jury, of having acted contrary to the ſubſtance of the above oath, ſhould be for ever diſqualified from ſitting or voting in parliament.

XXI. *That parliaments ſhould be annual.*

XXII. That a repreſentative ſhould be at liberty to reſign his delegation upon giving ſufficient notice to his conſtituents.

XXIII. That abſence from duty for ſhould vacate the ſeat of a repreſentative.

The Society of United Iriſhmen of Dublin, to the People of Ireland.

People of Ireland,

WE now ſubmit to your conſidertion, a plan for your equal repreſentation in the Houſe of Commons. In framing it, we have diſregarded the many over-charged accuſations, which we hear daily made by the prejudiced and the corrupt, againſt the people, their independence, integrity and underſtanding. We are, ourſelves, *but a portion of the People*; and that appellation, we feel, confers more real honour and importance, than can, in *theſe times*, be derived from places, penſions, or titles. As little have we conſulted the ſentiments of adminiſtration or of oppoſition. We have attentively obſerved them both, and, whatever we may hope of ſome members of the latter, *we firmly believe that both thoſe parties are equally averſe from the meaſure of adequate reform. If we had no other reaſon for that opinion, the plan laid before parliament, in the laſt ſeſſion, under the auſpices of oppoſition, might convince us of the melancholy truth.* Thus circumſtanced, then, diſtruſting all parties, we held it the right and the duty of every man in the nation, to examine, deliberate, and decide for himſelf on that important meaſure. *As a portion of the People* (for in no other capacity, we again repeat it, do we preſume to addreſs you) we ſuggeſt to you our ideas, by which we would provide to preſerve the popular part of the legiſlature uninfluenced by, and independent of the other two parts, and to effectuate that eſſential principle of juſtice and of our conſtitution, that every man has the right of voting, through the medium of his repreſentative, for the law by which he is bound: that ſacred principle, for which America fought, and by which Ireland was emancipated from Britiſh Supremacy! If our ideas are right, which we feel an honeſt conviction they are, adopt them, if wrong, diſcuſſion will detect their errors, and *we at leaſt*, ſhall be always found ready to profit by, and conform ourſelves ourſelves to the ſentiments of the people.

Our preſent ſtate of repreſentation is charged with being unequal, unjuſt, and by no means calculated to expreſs *your* deliberate will on any ſubject of general importance. We have endeavoured to point out the remedies of thoſe evils, by a more equal diſtribution of political power and liberty, *by doing juſtice*, and by anxiouſly providing that your deliberate will ſhall be, at all times

times, accurately expreſſed in your own branch of the legiſlature. If theſe are not the principles of good government we have yet to learn from the placemen and penſioners that flit about the Caſtle in what the ſcience of politics can conſiſt. But we know they are, and we are bold to ſay, that the more a government carries theſe principles into effect the nearer it approaches to perfection.

We believe it will be ſaid that our plan, however juſt, is impracticable in the preſent ſtate of this country. If any part of that impracticability ſhould be ſuppoſed to reſult from the intereſted reſiſtance of borough proprietors, although we never will conſent to compromiſe the *public right*, yet we, for our parts, might not heſitate to purchaſe the *public peace* by an adequate compenſation. At all events it reſts with you, countrymen, not with us, to remove the objection. If you do not wiſh the accompliſhment of ſuch a reform it will not take place: If you do, we cannot believe that Ireland is *yet* ſunk to that ſtate of miſgovernment in which it may be truly ſaid, that although the great body of the people ſeriouſly feel the juſtice of a meaſure, and are ſeriouſly determined on its attainment, it is nevertheleſs impracticable.

To you, among our countrymen, for whoſe welfare we have peculiarly laboured from the firſt moment of our inſtitution, and the contemplation of whoſe proſperity will more than compenſate us for the ſufferings we may have endured, for the calumnies with which we are aſperſed, and for thoſe which the publication of this unpalateable plan will call down upon us: *To you the poorer claſſes of the community* we now addreſs ourſelves. We are told you are ignorant; we wiſh you to enjoy liberty, without which no people was ever enlightened. We are told you are uneducated and immoral; we wiſh you to be educated, and your morality improved, by the moſt rapid of all inſtructors—a good government. *Do you find yourſelves ſunk in poverty and wretchedneſs? Are you overloaded with burdens you are but little able to bear? Do you feel many grievances which it would be tedious and might be unſafe to mention? Believe us they can all be redreſſed by ſuch a reform as will give you your juſt proportion of influence in the legiſlature,* AND BY SUCH A MEASURE ONLY.—To that, therefore, we wiſh to rivet all your attention. Let thoſe men who wrangle about preſerving or acquiring power catch at popularity by their petty regulations to check the progreſs of theſe growing evils; do you deliberate,

liberate, in the retirement of your hearts, upon their only adequate remedy. Desist, we entreat you, from those disturbances, which are a disgrace to your country and an injury to yourselves, which impair your own strength and impede your own cause. Examine, *peaceably and attentively*, the plan of reform we now submit to you. Consider *does it propose to do* YOU *justice? Does it propose to give* YOU *sufficient protection?* for we have no fears but that the rich will have justice done to them, and will be always sufficiently protected. *Hang this plan up in your cabbins; think on it over and over again; do not throw it by in despair, as being impossible to be carried into effect*, FOR NOTHING, WE HOPE, IS IMPOSSIBLE THAT IS JUST.

Conſtitution of the Society of United Iriſhmen of the City of Dublin, as firſt agreed upon.

THE Society is conſtituted for the purpoſe of forwarding a brotherhood of affection, an identity of intereſts, a communion of rights, and an union of power, among Iriſhmen of all religious perſuaſions, and thereby obtaining an impartial and adequate repreſentation of the nation in parliament.

The members of this ſociety are either ordinary or honorary.

Such perſons only are eligible as honorary members, who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves by promoting the liberties of mankind, and are not inhabitants of Ireland.

Every candidate for admiſſion into the ſociety, whether as an ordinary or honorary member, ſhall be propoſed by two ordinary members, who ſhall ſign a certificate of his being, from their knowledge of him, a fit perſon to be admitted—that he has ſeen the teſt, and is willing to take it: This certificate, delivered to the ſecretary, ſhall be read from the chair at the enſuing meeting of the ſociety; and on the next ſubſequent night of meeting the ſociety ſhall proceed to the election.—The names and additions of the candidate, with the names of thoſe by whom he has been propoſed, ſhall be inſerted in the ſummons for the night of election.—The election ſhall be conducted by ballot, and if one fifth of the number of beans be black, the candidate ſtands rejected. The election, with reſpect to an ordinary member, ſhall be void, if he does not attend within four meetings afterwards, unleſs he can plead ſome reaſonable excuſe for his abſence.

Every perſon elected a member of the ſociety, whether honorary or ordinary, ſhall, previous to his admiſſion, take and ſubſcribe the following teſt:

" I, *A. B.* in the preſence of God, do pledge myſelf to my " country, that I will uſe all my abilities and influence in the " attainment of an impartial and adequate repreſentation of " the Iriſh nation in parliament; and as a means of abſolute " and immediate neceſſity in the eſtabliſhment of this chief " good of Ireland, I will endeavour, as much as lies in my " ability,

" ability, to forward a brotherhood of affection, an identity of
" interests, a communion of rights, and an union of power
" among Irishmen of all religious persuasions; without which
" every reform in parliament must be partial, not national,
" inadequate to the wants, delusive to the wishes, and insufficient for the freedom and happiness of this country.

A member of another society of united Irishmen being introduced to the president by a member of this society, shall upon producing a certificate signed by the secretary, and sealed with the seal of the society to which he belongs, and taking the before mentioned test, be thereupon admitted to attend the sittings of this society.

The officers of the society shall consist of a president, treasurer and secretary, who shall be severally elected every three months, viz. on every first night of meeting in the months of November, February, May and August; the election to be determined by each member present writing on a piece of paper the names of the object of his choice, and putting it into a box—The majority of votes shall decide—If the votes are equal, the president shall have a casting voice. No person shall be capable of being re-elected to any office for the quarter next succeeding the determination of his office. In case of an occasional vacancy in any office by death or otherwise, the society shall on the next night of meeting, elect a person to the same for the remainder of the quarter.

The society shall meet on every second Friday night—oftener if necessary. The chair shall be taken at eight o'clock from 29th September to 25th March, and at nine o'clock from 25th March to 29th September. Fifteen members shall form a quorum. No new business shall be introduced after ten o'clock.

Every respect and deference shall be paid to the president—his chair shall be raised three steps above the seats of the members—the treasurer and secretary shall have seats under him, two steps above the seats of the members.—On his rising from his chair and taking off his hat, there must be silence, and the members be seated.—He shall be judge of order and propriety, be impowered to direct an apology, and to fine refractory members in any sum not above one crown.—If the member refuse

to

to pay the fine, or make the apology, he is thereupon expelled from the ſociety.

There ſhall be a committee of conſtitution, of finance, of correſpondence, and of accommodation.—The committee of conſtitution ſhall conſiſt of nine members, that of finance of ſeven members, that of correſpondence of five members.—Each committee ſhall, independent of occaſional reports, make general reports on every quarterly meeting. The treaſurer ſhall be under the direction of the committee of finance, and the ſecretary under the direction of the committee of correſpondence. The election for committees ſhall be on every quarterly meeting, and decided by the majority of votes.

In order to defray the neceſſary expenſes, and eſtabliſh a fund for the uſe of the ſociety, each ordinary member ſhall on his election pay to the treaſurer, by thoſe who propoſed him, one guinea admiſſion fee, and alſo one guinea annually, by half yearly payments, on every firſt night of meeting in November and May; the firſt payment thereof to be on the firſt night of meeting in November 1792. On every quarterly meeting following, the names of the defaulters, as they appear in the treaſury-book, ſhall be read from the chair.—If any member after the ſecond reading neglect to pay his ſubſcription, he ſhall be excluded the ſociety, unleſs he can ſhew ſome reaſonable excuſe for his default.

The ſecretary ſhall be furniſhed with the following ſeal, viz. a harp— at the top "*I am new ſtrung*;" at the bottom "*I will be heard*;" and on the exergue "*Society of United Iriſhmen of Dublin.*"

No motion for an alteration of, or addition to, the conſtitution ſhall be made but at the quarterly meetings, and notice of ſuch motion ſhall be given fourteen days previous to thoſe meetings—If upon ſuch motion the ſociety ſhall ſee ground for the propoſed alteration or addition, the ſame ſhall be referred to the proper committee, with inſtructions to report on the next night of meeting their opinion thereon; and upon ſuch report the queſtion ſhall be decided by the ſociety.

No. VI.

Extracts from the Information of Charles Mc. Fillin, given upon Oath before George Fitzgerald Hill, Esq; a Magistrate for the County of the City of Londonderry.

"THAT about the month of June 1796 he was sworn to become a United Irishman; he had resisted for a considerable time before to take the oath, but he perceived that so many persons in the county were sworn, and he was so strongly advised to it that he at last complied. He attended a few meetings of a Society which had been formed by another person, and he then formed one of his own. That each Society (to be legal according to the Constitution of United Irishmen) must consist of at least seven persons; that it required Delegates from at least threef ocieties to make a Baronial Committee, and that two Delegates from each Baronial Committee formed a County Committee, and two or three Delegates from each County Committee formed the Provincial Committee; there was an Executive Directory, which he was informed consisted of twenty-five persons, one of whom always attended the Provincial Meeting, in order to communicate intelligence and give orders to be carried by the members of the Provincial Meeting to their next County Meeting, and from the County Committee to the Baronial, and from these to the lowest societies. Each Committee had a Treasurer and Secretary, and it was the business of the Treasurer of the lowest society to collect so much money per week from each member, which was paid by the different Delegates of the different Societies progressively from one to the other until it reached the Provincial Committee, who then paid the money to the Executive Director, who always attended for the Purpose; and once in three months the Directory gave an account to the Provincial of the manner in which the former sums received had been disposed of. Returns likewise of arms, ammunition and men were made from the lowest society to the Delegates through the different Committees, the Baronial, the County and the Provincial, and from this last to the Executive Directory, who always attended the Provincial Committee."

The person giving this information was elected a Delegate to a County Committee which was held at Maghera on the 13th October 1796, and a person whom he names attended to give the reports of the last Provincial Meeting; about twenty members were present at this meeting, one of whom acted as Treasurer, and

the ſum of 21l. 12s. 2d. was paid into his hands. He attended another County Meeting at Garvagh on the ſecond Friday in November, where the reports of the Provincial were in like Manner given; it was a full meeting, and the names of nine perſons who were preſent are given. The Reporter from the Provincial told them that foreign aid was immediately expected, and that the United Iriſhmen were to hold themſelves in readineſs to riſe; this he mentioned from the Provincial, and gave them orders from the Provincial Committee to form themſelves into Companies under Officers; every hundred men to appoint one Captain, two Lieutenants and five Serjeants, to procure all the arms and ammunition they could. A perſon at the meeting deſired to know what they ſhould riſe with? and the Reporter anſwered, with pikes, guns, and with any other weapons they could in any way get; they were likewiſe told that the United Buſineſs was going on well in England and Scotland.

At this laſt meeting he was elected a Delegate to the Provincial meeting; a County Treaſurer was choſen, and half of the money collected was ſent to Derry for the uſe of ſuch United Men as were priſoners in that place. The reaſon why he was elected a Delegate he thinks was on account of his being a Roman Catholic, part of the ſyſtem of the United Iriſhmen being to unite all religious perſuaſions in the ſame object, which was to overturn the Government and Conſtitution of this country. To inſpire confidence into the Roman Catholics he thinks was the Reaſon for his being continued to four or five Provincial Meetings.

The foreign aid which the United Iriſhmen expected he always underſtood to be the French. At the next Provincial Meeting which he attended on the 22d November the principal buſineſs done was receiving returns of men, and arms and money. Five counties were repreſented at this meeting, and the names of the Delegates from each are mentioned. He was then deputed to carry the reports from the Provincial to a County Committee of Derry held at Tobermore; he attended other meetings in the ſame capacity at Stewartſtown and at Dungiven; ſubſcriptions were paid in at both times. At the latter place, for greater ſecrecy, they tranſacted the buſineſs of the meeting in a Cellar. It was rumoured that the French had arrived, and a member rode inſtantly to Belfaſt to know the truth; on his return he expreſſed much ſurprize that the Executive Directory had no intelligence of the coming of the French.

No. VII

(*Copy*) *By the Lord Lieutenant and Council of Ireland,*

A PROCLAMATION.

CAMDEN,

WHEREAS we have received information that divers ill-affected perſons have entered into illegal and treaſonable aſſociations in ſeveral parts of the counties of Antrim, Down, Tyrone, Londonderry and Armagh to ſubvert the eſtabliſhed government of this kingdom, and for effecting ſuch their treaſonable purpoſes have aſſaſſinated divers of his Majeſty's faithful and loyal ſubjects who have endeavoured, and threatened to aſſaſſinate all others who ſhall endeavour to detect or ſuppreſs their treaſon; and in further proſecution of their deſigns have endeavoured to deter his Majeſty's loyal ſubjects from enrolling themſelves under officers commiſſioned by his Majeſty for the defence of this kingdom during the preſent war, by maiming and deſtroying their cattle, and by aſſaulting and wantonly wounding one perſon becauſe he had enrolled himſelf, and by threatening aſſaſſination againſt all perſons who ſhould ſo enrol themſelves, and in further proſecution of ſuch their purpoſes have by felonious and other illegal means endeavoured ſecretly to procure ammunition and other warlike ſtores, and particularly that ſeveral evil-diſpoſed perſons lately broke into one of his Majeſty's ſtores in the town of Belfaſt in the county of Antrim, and thereout took and carried away ten barrels of gun-powder.

And whereas we have alſo received information that on Tueſday the firſt of November inſtant a conſiderable number of armed men, aſſociated in the aforeſaid treaſonable conſpiracies, entered the town of Stewartſtown in the county of Tyrone, and cut and maimed ſeveral of the peaceable inhabitants of the ſaid town who had refuſed to join in their aſſociations, and who had agreed to enrol themſelves in corps under officers to be commiſſioned by his Majeſty for the preſervation of the public peace, and for the protection of the kingdom againſt foreign invaſion.

And whereas we have alſo received information, that in further proſecution of the ſaid treaſonable purpoſes many large bodies of

Mr. Comyns of Newtownards, and that they profefs a refolution to affift the enemies of his Majefty, if they fhould be enabled to land in this kingdom. It further appears, that thefe difturbances and outrages exift, and even encreafe, as well in the diftricts which have been proclaimed, as in other parts of the country. In order therefore to reduce the perfons engaged in the aforefaid treafonable affociations and guilty of the faid atrocious outrages to fubordination to the laws, and to give confidence to the well-difpofed among his Majefty's fubjects, and fecurity to their properties and their lives, and to prevent any affiftance being given to the enemy by the difloyal and difaffected, His Excellency has commanded me to communicate to you his pofitive orders, that you take the moft immediate and decifive meafures for difpofing of the military force under your command, aided by the yeomanry corps, for immediately difarming all perfons who fhall not bear his Majefty's commiffion, or are acting under perfons fo commiffioned, or perfons holding commiffions under the authority of the yeomanry act, or perfons acting under officers fo commiffioned, and after making fuch difpofition, you are required to carry fuch difarming into effect.

His Excellency gives you this full authority, in order to give your difcretion the greateft latitude, relying at the fame time on your prudence and difcernment in the exercife of it, fo that the peaceable and well-affected may be protected againft the evil defigns of thofe who have threatened their lives and property with deftruction.

His Excellency further authorizes you to employ force againft any perfons affembled in arms, not legally authorized fo to be, to difperfe all tumultuous affemblies of perfons, though they may not be in arms, without waiting for the fanction and affiftance of the civil authority, if in your opinion the peace of the realm or the fafety of his Majefty's faithful fubjects may be endangered by waiting for fuch authority.

His Excellency further authorizes you to confider thofe parts of the country where the outrages before ftated have been committed, or where they fhall arife, as being in a ftate that requires all the meafures of exertion and precaution which a country depending upon military force alone for its protection would require; and you are therefore required to ftation your troops with a view to interrupt

interrupt communication between thoſe whom you may have reaſon to ſuſpect of evil deſigns; to eſtabliſh patroles on the high roads or other paſſes, and to ſtop all perſons paſſing and repaſſing after certain hours of the night; and in order completely to carry into effect any orders or regulations which, in the circumſtances of the caſe may be conſidered by you as neceſſary, you are authorized to iſſue notices, ſtating the regulations, and calling upon his Majeſty's ſubjects to be aiding and aſſiſting therein.

I have the honour to be,

&c. &c.

To Lieut. Gen. Lake. T. P.

No. IX.

General Lake's Proclamation, 13th March 1797.

Belfaſt, March 13th, 1797.

WHEREAS the daring and horrid outrages in many parts of this province, evidently perpetrated with a view to ſuperſede the laws and the adminiſtration of juſtice, by an organized ſyſtem of murder and robbery, have increaſed to ſuch an alarming degree, as from their atrocity and extent to bid defiance to the civil power, and to endanger the lives and properties of his Majeſty's faithful ſubjects.

And whereas the better to effect their traitorous purpoſes, ſeveral perſons who have been enrolled under the authority of his Majeſty's Commiſſions, and others, have been forcibly and traitorouſly deprived of their arms, it is therefore become indiſpenſably neceſſary for the ſafety and protection of the well diſpoſed, to interpoſe the King's troops under my command; and I do hereby give notice that I have received authority and directions to act in ſuch manner as the public ſafety may require.

I do therefore hereby enjoin and require all perſons in this diſtrict (peace officers and thoſe ſerving in a military capacity excepted) forthwith to bring in and ſurrender up all arms and ammunition which they may have in their poſſeſſion to the officer commanding the King's troops in their neighbourhood.

I truſt that an immediate compliance with this order may render any act of mine to enforce it unneceſſary.

Let the people ſeriouſly reflect before it is too late, on the ruin into which they are ruſhing; let them reflect on their preſent proſperity and the miſeries in which they will inevitably be involved by perſiſting in acts of poſitive rebellion; let them inſtantly by ſurrendering up their arms and by reſtoring thoſe traitorouſly taken from the King's forces, reſcue themſelves from the ſeverity of military authority—Let all the loyal and well intentioned act together

gether with energy and ſpirit in enforcing ſubordination to the laws and reſtoring tranquillity in their reſpective neighbourhoods, and they may be aſſured of protection and ſupport from me.

And I do hereby invite all perſons who are enabled to give information touching arms and ammunition which may be concealed, immediately to communicate the ſame to the ſeveral officers commanding his Majeſty's forces in their reſpective diſtricts; and for their encouragement and reward I do hereby promiſe and engage that ſtrict and inviolable ſecrecy ſhall be obſerved with reſpect to all perſons who ſhall make communication; and that every perſon who ſhall make it ſhall receive as a reward the full value of all ſuch arms and ammunition as ſhall be ſeized in conſequence thereof.

G Lake, Lieut. Gen.
Commanding the Northern Diſtrict.

No. X.

By the Lord Lieutenant and Council of Ireland,

A PROCLAMATION.

CAMDEN,

WHEREAS there exists within this kingdom a seditious and traitorous conspiracy, by a number of persons stiling themselves United Irishmen, for the subversion of the authority of his Majesty, and the Parliament, and the destruction of the established constitution and government: and whereas for the execution of such their wicked design, they have planned means of open violence, and formed secret arrangements for raising, arming, and paying a disciplined force, and, in furtherance of their purposes, have frequently assembled in great and unusual numbers, under the colourable pretence of planting or digging potatoes, attending funerals, and the like, and have frequently assembled in large armed bodies, and plundered of arms the houses of many of his majesty's loyal subjects in different parts of the kingdom, and cut down, and carried away great numbers of trees, wherewith to make handles for pikes, and other offensive weapons, to arm their traitorous associates, and have audaciously attempted to disarm the district or yeomanry corps, enrolled under his majesty's commission for the defence of the realm, and even fired upon several bodies of his Majesty's forces, when attempting to quell their insurrection; and it is therefore now become necessary to use the utmost powers with which government is by law entrusted for the suppression of such traitorous attempts. *And whereas the exertions of the civil power have proved ineffectual for the suppression of the aforesaid traitorous and wicked conspiracy,*

conſpiracy, and for the protection of the lives and properties of his Majeſty's faithful ſubjects.

Now We the Lord Lieutenant, by and with the advice of the privy council, having determined, as far as in Us lies, to ſuppreſs ſuch daring attempts, and at the ſame time, deſirous to prevent the well-diſpoſed, or miſled, from falling into the dangers to which ignorance or incaution may expoſe them, do by this our proclamation, forewarn all ſuch to abſtain from entering into the ſaid traitorous ſocieties of *United Iriſhmen*, or any of them, and from reſorting to their meetings, or acting under their directions or influence, or taking or adhering to any of their declarations or engagements, and from ſuffering them to aſſemble in their houſes, or in any manner harbouring them. And We do ſtrictly charge and command on their allegiance, all perſons having knowledge or information of the meetings of the ſaid ſocieties, or any of them, to give immediate information thereof to ſome of his Majeſty's juſtices of the peace, or to ſome officer of his Majeſty's forces in the neighbourhood of the place where ſuch meeting is intended. And We do forewarn all perſons from tumultuous or unlawful aſſemblies, or from meeting in any unuſual numbers, under the plauſible or colourable pretence aforeſaid, or any other, whatſoever.

And We caution his Majeſty's loyal and loving ſubjects, whenever ſuch aſſemblies ſhall happen, or that they receive notice from any magiſtrates, or from the officers commanding any body of his Majeſty's forces, to keep quietly within their dwellings, to the end that the well-diſpoſed may avoid the miſchiefs which the guilty may bring upon themſelves.

And as it has become neceſſary, from the circumſtances before mentioned, *to employ the military force, with which we are by law entruſted, for the immediate ſuppreſſion of ſuch rebellious and traitorous attempts now making againſt the peace and dignity of the crown, and the ſafety of the lives and properties of his Majeſty's loyal ſubjects. We have therefore iſſued the moſt direct and effectual orders to all officers commanding his Majeſty's troops, by the exertions of their utmoſt force, to ſuppreſs the ſame, and to oppoſe with their full power all ſuch as ſhall reſiſt them in the execution of their duty.*

And We do hereby ſtrictly charge and command all our officers, civil and military, and all other his Majeſty's loving ſubjects, to uſe their

utmoſt

utmoſt endeavours to diſcover all pikes, pike-heads, concealed guns and ſwords, offenſive weapons, or ammunition of any kind whatſoever.

And We do hereby charge and command all perſons having in their cuſtody pikes, pike-heads, or concealed guns, ſwords, offenſive weapons, or ammunition of any kind whatever, to deliver up the ſame to ſome magiſtrate or officer of his Majeſty's troops, as they ſhall anſwer to the contrary at their peril. And We do hereby ſtrictly charge and command all officers, civil and military, and all other his Majeſty's faithful ſubjects, to be aiding and aſſiſting in ſuppreſſing all traitorous, tumultuous and unlawful aſſemblies, and in bringing to puniſhment all perſons diſturbing or attempting to diſturb the public peace.

And whereas we have reaſon to hope that many of his Majeſty's ſubjects who have joined the ſaid traitorous ſocieties, have done ſo without being apprized of the extent of their crimes, and others from intimidation, and that ſuch may be willing to return to their allegiance. Now We being deſirous to extend his Majeſty's pardon to all ſuch as are ſenſible of their errors, and willing to return to their allegiance, do hereby promiſe his Majeſty's gracious pardon to all ſuch perſons, ſo ſeduced or intimidated, as have taken an engagement to the ſaid ſocieties, or any of them, who ſhall, on or before the twenty-fourth day of June next, ſurrender themſelves to any of his Majeſty's juſtices of the peace, being of the quorum of the counties in which they ſhall reſpectively reſide, and take the oath of allegiance, and enter into ſufficient recognizance, with two ſufficient ſureties, if ſureties ſhall be required by the magiſtrate before whom ſuch recognizance ſhall be acknowledged, (which recognizance every ſuch magiſtrate is hereby required to return to the next general ſeſſion of the peace, or aſſizes, to be holden in and for the county in which ſuch recognizance ſhall be taken reſpectively) to be of the peace and good behaviour for the ſpace of ſeven years, ſave and except all ſuch as have been guilty of murder, conſpiracy of murder, burglary, burning of houſes, corn or hay, ſtacks of ſtraw or turf, maliciouſly digging up, or injuring, or deſtroying any potatoes, flax or hemp, rape or corn of any kind, planted or ſewed, or deſtroying meadows or hay, maiming or houghing of cattle, adminiſtering or cauſing to be adminiſtered any unlawful oath or engagement to any of his Majeſty's forces of any deſcription, or inciting or encouraging any perſon to commit

commit any of the aforesaid offences respectively, and save and except all persons now in custody.

Given at the Council-Chamber in Dublin, the 17th day of May, 1797.

W. Armagh. Clare C. Char. Cashel. W. Tuam. Waterford. Drogheda. Westmeath. Shannon. Clanbrassil. Altamont. Glandore. Portarlington. Farnham. Carhampton. Clonmell. Ely. Dillon. Gosford. H. Meath. Carleton. Yelverton. John Foster. J. Beresford. Denis Browne. T. Pelham. Hen. Cavendish. J. Blaquiere. H. Langrishe. Theo. Jones. Jos. Cooper. James Cuff. George Ogle. D. Latouche. J. Monk Mason. Arthur Wolfe. James Fitzgerald. Robert Ross. S. Hamilton. Lodge Morres.

God save the King.

No. XI.

(Copy)

Dublin Caſtle, 18th May 1797.

My Lord,

THE Lord Lieutenant and Council having judged it expedient to call upon his Majeſty's troops to exert their utmoſt force to ſuppreſs a ſeditious and traitorous conſpiracy of perſons ſtiling themſelves United Iriſhmen, I am commanded by his Excellency to tranſmit to your Lordſhip a copy of the proclamation iſſued on this ſubject, and to deſire that your Lordſhip will iſſue the neceſſary orders to the troops under your command in conſequence thereof; his Excellency has directed me to repreſent to your Lordſhip, that as the traitorous and treaſonable deſigns of theſe conſpirators extend to the ſubverſion of the Conſtitution and Government, it will be neceſſary to take meaſures of general precaution, ſo that the troops may be prepared to act whenever it may become neceſſary to have recourſe to their exertions. In thoſe parts of the kingdom where theſe deſigns have been manifeſted by acts of open violence, it will be neceſſary to give the officers of his Majeſty's troops more preciſe directions for their conduct. In ſuch parts of the kingdom as have been diſturbed by nocturnal depredations, where the lives of his Majeſty's loyal ſubjects have been endangered by perſons collected in arms attacking and firing upon their houſes, and where aſſemblies of perſons have been collected for the purpoſe of unlawfully cutting down trees or perpetrating other acts of outrage, military precaution ſhould be adopted for the ſecurity of the lives and property of his Majeſty's loyal ſubjects and oppoſing by the moſt effectual means ſuch daring acts of violence.

Diligent enquiry ſhould be made reſpecting any concealed arms or ammunition, and for pikes and pike handles, and upon information thereof, officers commanding parties ſhould be directed to ſearch for and ſeize the ſame.

Any perſons armed with pikes or other weapons in reſiſtance of his Majeſty's troops are to be conſidered as rebels and treated accordingly;

accordingly; all perſons exerciſing themſelves in the uſe of arms under perſons not holding his Majeſty's or the Lord Lieutenant's commiſſion are to be diſarmed and apprehended, and in caſe of reſiſtance to be treated as rebels; and as it appears to be a part of the ſyſtem of theſe conſpirators to take the opportunity of funerals and other occaſions to aſſemble conſiderable numbers of perſons, the officers of his Majeſty's army ſhould be directed in purſuance of this proclamation to watch all ſuch aſſemblies, and if from their number or other circumſtances the public peace ſhould appear to be endangered, they will diſperſe them; and as various attempts have been made to ſeduce his Majeſty's troops from their duty and allegiance, you will direct all perſons of ſuſpicious appearance who ſhall come within the lines of any encampment, barrack or other ſtations of his Majeſty's troops, to be detained.

And his Excellency further deſires that your Lordſhip will from time to time communicate ſuch inſtructions to the officers of his Majeſty's troops as you ſhall deem beſt adapted for carrying into effect his Excellency's proclamation, and as local exigencies may demand.

I have the honour to be, my Lord,
Your Lordſhip's moſt obedient,
Humble ſervant,
THOMAS PELHAM.

The Earl Carhampton,
Commander in Chief,
&c. &c. &c.

to the terms required by our ſaid proclamation, on or before the ſaid twenty-fourth day of July, in like manner as if they had ſo ſurrendered and conformed on or before the ſaid twenty-fourth day of June, with like exceptions as contained in our ſaid proclamation.

And whereas many of his Majeſty's ſubjects did, at the ſeſſion of oyer and terminer, holden on the 7th day of June inſtant, in and for the county of Antrim at Carrickfergus, and by adjournment at the town of Belfaſt, on the tenth day of June inſtant, before Barry Lord Yelverton, chief baron of the court of Exchequer, and Tankerville Chamberlaine, eſquire, one of the juſtices of the court of King's Bench, ſurrender themſelves, and take an oath of allegiance to his Majeſty, before the ſaid judges or one of them, or before certain juſtices of the peace for the ſaid county, aſſigned by the ſaid judges to adminiſter the ſame, but omitted to enter into recognizance purſuant to our ſaid proclamation.

Now We do, by and with the advice aforeſaid, promiſe his Majeſty's pardon, purſuant to the terms of the ſaid proclamation, to all perſons who took an oath of allegiance before the ſaid judges or either of them, or before any juſtice of the peace by the ſaid judges appointed to adminiſter ſuch oath, provided ſuch perſons ſhall, on or before the twenty-fourth day of July next, enter into ſuch recognizances, and procure ſuch ſureties as by the ſaid proclamation are directed, to be entered into by perſons ſurrendering themſelves purſuant to the ſaid proclamation.

Given at the Council chamber in Dublin, the 22d day of June, 1797.

Clare, C. Char. Caſhel, Drogheda, Weſtmeath, Shannon, Clanbraſſill, Farnham, Dillon, Carleton, Callan, Yelverton, J. Beresford, T. Pelham, J. Blaquiere, Theo. Jones, D. Latouche, J. Monck Maſon, Arthur Wolfe, Robert Roſs, Iſaac Corry, S. Hamilton, Lodge Morres.

No. XIV.

No. XIV.

The Information contained in this Number of the Appendix was received from Nicholas Maguan, of Saintfield, in the County of Down, who was himself a Member of the Provincial and County Committees, and also a Colonel in the Military System of the United Irishmen. He was present at each of the Meetings of which an Account is here given; and from Time to Time, immediately after each Meeting, communicated what passed thereat to the Rev. John Cleland, a Magistrate of the said County. The Person giving the Information has since verified it upon Oath before the Committee of the Lords; and Mr. Cleland has likewise sworn, that the Papers presented to the Committee contain the exact Information so communicated to him by Maguan.

Provincial Meeting of Ulster, 14th April 1797.

		Guns.	Bayonets.	Piſtols.	Swords.	Pikes.	Ball C.
Antrim	22716	2948	1536	417	397	4888	24911
	Bullets.	lb.Powder					
	90943	1230	8 Cannon—1 Mortar			- £. 34	2 . 6

Down - 28577 { The Reporter from the Military Committee having got an expreſs elſewhere, the number of arms did not appear.

		Guns.	Bayonets.	Pikes.	lb.Powder	Ball C.	Balls.		£.	s.	d.
Derry -	10500	1277	416	1230	1319	8545	550	—	25	4	—
							Piſtols.				
Armagh -	17000	1074	183	104	654	749	168	—	94	—	—
Monaghan	9020	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	51	7	5
								Yeomen.			
Tyrone -	14000	950	—	2000	90	2263	437	423	—	—	—
Louth -	5119	389	144	1400	30	2583	183	158	—	—	—
						24 Blunderbuſſes		-	22	15	—
Cavan -	688	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5	14	—
Fermanagh	2000										
Donegal -	9648	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	8	—	—
	116844										

Leinſter

Leinſter C. Return.

(Same Meeting.)

City of Dublin - -	2662
Militia - - -	1437
County do. - -	722
Kildare - -	850
Meath - - -	2432

The number in the buſineſs is immenſe, though unacquainted with the ſyſtem or organization.

Reſolution of the Executive.

Reſolved that all county delegates be prepared at the firſt provincial meeting to bring forward a plan for ſupporting the families of indigent perſons during their exertions in the field.

Reſolved that it is improper to hold correſpondence with perſons out of ſociety.

R E P O R T S.

		£.	s.	d.
Lower Caſtlereagh -	3000	4	11	5
Upper Caſtlereagh -	1800	3	2	4
Kenallarty -	1000	3	8	3
Females - -	50			
2 Kenallarty -	1000			
3 Do. - -	900	—	15	—
Ards - -	1500	3	8	3
Newry - -	1000	4	3	4
2 Do. - -	581	2	8	5
3 Do. - -	249			
Dufferin - -	844	3	6	4
Upper Iveagh -	5225			
2 Do. - -	1000			
3 Do. - -	2204			
Lower Iveagh - -	4000			
Lecall - -	900	1	0	7
2 Do. - -	574	2	3	3

		£.	s.	d.
Females	50	—	10	—
3 Do.	300	1	2	—
Mourne	2500			
	28577	29	19	2

Several divisions were destitute of cash, having exhausted themselves in public subscriptions.

Resolutions.

Resolved, that this committee does prepare an address to the people reprobating rioting or plundering; the same to be printed and circulated through the country in hand bills.

Resolved, that we hear with great concern the disaffection which prevails in some quarters respecting their money—we can assure them that not one penny of their money has been expended any other way than that it was intended for. We would recommend it to the people to delegate such persons as they could place confidence in, and we will take care that such persons shall be from us as we perfectly depend in. We have had a great deal of trouble at the last assizes; the expense was immense—they have ended with honour to the people. From the absence of the treasurer of the Secret Committee who got an express elsewhere, no other account can be brought forward than the following:

	£.	s.	d.
The money received by the treasurer for the county was	822	2	1½
To counsel and witnesses	498	4	0½
The balance remaining	324	1	9

Out of which agents, prisoners, attornies and clerks are to be paid.

The above meeting consisted of delegates who represented Upper Castlereagh—Lower Castlereagh—Kinellarty—Dufferin—Lower Ards—Lower Iveagh—Upper Iveagh—Newry—Lecal.

Reports

Reports and Resolutions at a County of Down Committee held at the House of James Armstrong, Innkeeper, Ballynahinch, May 11th 1797.

Resolved, that our Delegation do demand in explicit terms the nature of the engagement with France; we think that men who have risked their life and property in the support of business should be intrusted with such information, and that they be instructed to bring forward the business with or without such assistance.

	£.	s.	d.
The money received at the county was	29	19	2

Out of which was voted twenty-two guineas to the following persons:

	£.	s.	d.
Six persons from Saintfield	6	16	6
A Highlander from Killinchy	1	2	9
From Lecall	1	2	9
Broom from Hillsborough	1	2	9
Four militia	4	11	—
Upper Iveagh	1	2	9
Ards	4	11	—
Ballynahinch	1	2	9
Three women whose husbands were sent on board the tender	3	8	3
	22 Gs.		

County

County of Down Committee held in Ballynahinch at the House of James Armstrong, Thursday June 8, 1797.

Copy of the Reports made thereat.

Costs of the Law.

Counsellor	Curran	100 gs.
	Sampson	50 gs.
	Ball	40 gs.
	Dobbs	40 gs.
Attorney	Caddel	100 gs.
	Glenny	20 l.
	Wallace	100 gs.
	Frazer	50 l.
	Gaoler	10 gs.
	Two Assistants	20 l. each
	Sub-sheriff	20 gs.
	Witnesses	200 l.

Provincial Reports:

Ulster	Antrim	22816
	Down	30641
	Armagh	19042
	Derry	10500
	Donegal	3214
	Tyrone	12594
	Monaghan	10256
	Cavan	3807
	Fermanagh	3000
	Louth	5280
Leinster	City of Dublin	7230
	Co. Dublin	2918
	Kildare	12703
	Meath	7922
	Westmeath	20000

County Reports:

			£.	s.	d.
Lower Castlereagh		3000	4	11	—
Females		46	—	7	8

Upper

		£.	s.	d.
Upper Castlereagh	1800	1	12	10
Kinellarty	1000	4	11	—
Females	50			
2d ditto	1000	1	2	9
3d ditto	1000			
Dufferin	844			
Ards	2500	3	8	3
Newry	1000			
2d ditto	281			
3d ditto	249			
Upper Iveagh	5225			
2d ditto	1000			
3d ditto	2484			
Lower Iveagh	4000			
Lecale	900			
2d ditto	1172	2	—	2½
3d ditto	300			
Mourne	2500			
	30641			

Saintfield, 15th June 1797, a meeting of Colonels (their names appear in the original) was held for the county of Down. Saintfield, June 17th, at the house of James Shaw, at four o'clock, Colonel ——— called the Captains of his regiment and told them it was the determination of the National Committee to make a Rising in the ensuing week, and desired them to go home and cause their men to prepare their arms. He said he had not the plan they were to act upon, but the Colonels were to meet the next day and he would receive the General's plan how they were to act, but he believed they were to cut off all the outposts, and to embody in divisions like to eight or ten thousand men; and it was thought when all resources were cut off from the camps the general part of the men would turn over to us. He told the Captains to meet him there on Monday at ten o'clock, and they would receive further orders.

The Orders of Monday June 19th, 1797.

The Captains to go home to their respective companies and to meet their Colonel at James Woods, Innkeeper, at Knockbraken, on Friday morning the 23d June 1797, at 6 o'clock,

and he would have further information, as the Colonels of the county of Down were to meet on Thurſday the 22d June. The Colonel ſaid the National Committee was ſitting theſe 15 days paſt, and will for ſome days more. The only thing that retarded the riſing at preſent was the county of Antrim not being willing to riſe, 10,000 only excepted;—but if they could get the county of Antrim to come properly forward there was no doubt but the buſineſs would be put into execution. The only account from France is that they will not be here before ſix weeks from hence, if then. He had the honour to ſay that the Colonels of the county of Down were unanimous for riſing.

County of Down Meeting.

Belfaſt, Monday July 10th 1797.

Nine Perſons preſent. (their names appear in the original.) A Provincial Delegate for the County of Antrim ſaid there were 75,000 men at the Texel who were poſitively coming to Ireland; that the Iriſh Delegates were warmly received by the Directory of France; that Lowry and Teeling were of the number of Delegates. He could not ſay exactly the time when the men would land in Ireland, but he would not think it ſtrange if they came in the courſe of a fortnight. He was poſitive that at the preſent time there were two frigates reconnoitring the coaſt of Ireland. He recommended it to the Delegates not to tell the lower orders of the people that the correſpondence was ſtill carrying on with the province, leſt that by that means they ſhould be detected as they had been before. He recommended each delegate to get and bring to the meeting the number of fighting men in their reſpective diſtricts, and to obtain it by application to the ſeveral Captains who could make known to them the effective number in each of their companies.

County Meeting.

Downpatick, 22d July 1797.

Five members preſent. (their names appear in the original.) Ordered, that before the next meeting a perſon be ſent through the upper part of the county of Down to try and bring that part of the county forward. A report was made from the Provincial Meeting

ing held on the 14th July 1797, that the Provincial Meeting was thinly attended, there being only four counties repreſented, viz. Antrim, Down, Donegal and Tyrone. The next Provincial Meeting to be held at Belfaſt the 14th Auguſt next.

July 29th.

Meeting of Captains of the Drumbo Battalion, at James Woods—five Captains preſent. They all agreed that their reſpective companies would act if the French ſhould land.

July 31ſt.

Meeting of Captains of the Liſſons battalion, at John Shaw's—ſix Captains preſent. Same reſolution of the preceding of the Drumbo battalion; great fears were expreſſed at this meeting of the catholics and diſſenters becoming two ſeparate parties.

Provincial Meeting.

Randalſtown, 14th Auguſt 1797.

Five perſons preſent. (their names appear in the original.) Reports delivered that the National Committee has diſſolved the Executive in May, and that the Executive had had then a plan of inſurrection which they gave to the National, and that the province of Leinſter was to meet them in Dublin; the Provincial Delegates of Leinſter came to Dublin the time appointed, but the Members of Ulſter inſtead of meeting them at the time appointed, ſat in Belfaſt ſeveral days calling the Land-jobbers of the province to ſee whether it was neceſſary or not, until the principal leading men were all attacked, and the Leinſter Delegates gone home after waiting in Dublin four days. A few ſpirited men in Belfaſt now ſeeing the buſineſs fruſtrated, ſubſcribed five hundred guineas to ſend a perſon to France; but not knowing what road to ſend him or how to get him introduced to the Directory, they applied to a Member of the old Executive and found the very perſon they had elected was ſent ten days before by the Executive; it was alſo found that the Executive had been a thouſand guineas out of their own pocket, from theſe circumſtances the old Executive is elected into full power to act for the whole nation, and they think they can bring forward the whole nation yet, to act in a very ſhort ſpace of time even in caſe the

the French ſhould be fruſtrated in making a deſcent, which they are perfectly aſſured is their intention at this very inſtant, as there is a regular communication ſtill carried on with them and the Executive. They reported that there are a number of Societies formed in North America whoſe object is to aſſiſt Ireland. The Executive acknowledges receiving the ſum of two hundred and eleven dollars from the ſaid ſocieties in the courſe of theſe eight days. From the preſent ſtate of the province they were obliged to reſolve that each county ſhould raiſe money for the defence of its own priſoners, which they earneſtly recommend them not to neglect.

County of Down meeting is held in two parties, leſt a large number meeting might excite ſuſpicion. One party (the upper part of the county) meet to-morrow, the 17th Auguſt, at Moſes Montgomery's of Ballynahinch, innkeeper; the next meeting of the other party (the lower part of the county of Down) meet at Kean's of Belfaſt on Friday next, the 18th inſtant, Auguſt 1797.

It was ordered that certain perſons (named) ſhould apply to the moſt confidential perſons in Derry, Armagh, Cavan and Monaghan to come forward to repreſent theſe counties at the next Provincial Meeting.

This Provincial Meeting is to be held on the 14th September next in the Houſe of Mr. Samuel Thomſon, Scotch-ſtreet, Dungannon.

Report that no money is to be had from the people, the county Antrim excepted.

Provincial Committee,

14th September, Dungannon, at the houſe of Samuel Thomſon: Ten members preſent (named in the original). Reports delivered (by a perſon named), that two members of the Executive had met the Leinſter Delegates in Dublin, and had found that Leinſter was in a tolerable State of Organization, as alſo Connaught and Munſter, and there had been a great number of United Iriſhmen made, more ſince the Proclamation. They had alſo elected an Executive in Leinſter, which would cooperate with the Ulſter Executive. He ſaid there was a perſon juſt arrived from France; he brought word that the French had every thing ready for making a deſcent, and that the moſt part of the troops were on board; that

that our Delegates were along with them, and were to come from two parts, and that the Directory had given orders to their Admiral to proceed as ſoon as the wind would anſwer, and fight the Engliſh, and that the Dutch Admiral had got ſimilar orders. He ordered the people to meet in ſub-diviſions and be cautious, ſtill keeping up the correſpondence, and to have a look out for good horſes, as the French did not mean to bring any. Every man was aſked if he thought his conſtituents would yet act as formerly; general anſwer, they would, if they ſaw an equal chance. The Provincial Committee is to meet on the 14th October in Mrs. Mc. Call's, Armagh.

The Executive of Ulſter and Leinſter meet and act in the place of a National Committee.

County of Down Committee.

September 16th 1797, Downpatrick.

The reports the ſame as at the Provincial. Four perſons appointed to act as a Committee for Priſoners; they are to meet on Friday morning in Downpatrick, and to bring all the money they can collect; other perſons are to meet them, and to bring whatever money is left at Carrickfergus.

Provincial Meeting.

14th October 1797, Armagh, (names of perſons preſent.) Reported that there had not been any information from our Delegate in France further than that one of them had drawn a bill of 160l. on a member of the Executive. The opinion of the Executive was that the French ſhould have been here by this time, but they thought that the Britiſh government had got into poſſeſſion of the plan of the expedition, which has fruſtrated them for ſome time, but they were ſure the French never would make peace until they had fulfilled their engagements with Ireland; there had been no meeting of the Executive of Ulſter and Leinſter, but they are to meet againſt Monday eight days. The Executive requeſted that each County Delegate ſhould make a return of the number of the military, militia and yeomen in their different counties, with their ſituation, where they were quartered, and how many were favourable and unfavourable, againſt the next Provincial Meeting, ſame place, Mrs. Mc Call's, Scotch-ſtreet, Armagh, the 14th November next.

County Meeting.

October 21ſt, Downpatrick.

(Names of perſons preſent.)

Provincial reports read, and a recommendation given to raiſe ſeventy guineas to pay Sampſon, Mc Cready and Glenny; Curran got three hundred guineas for Armagh, Down and Antrim; Armagh is not yet paid; Wallace got forty guineas; Dobbs and Ball got two guineas each brief. A Baronial Meeting the ſame evening, held at James Shaw's, Saintfield, eight perſons preſent, (their names.) A perſon was at the meeting who had juſt arrived from Scotland; ſhewed a Scotch Conſtitution, which is word for word the ſame as the Iriſh, only the words North Britons put in the place of Iriſhmen.

Provincial Meeting.

Nov. 14th, Armagh.

(Names of perſons preſent.) The followingcounties were repreſented, Tyrone, Donegal, Armagh, Monaghan, Down, Antrim; Reports were given in; the Secretary took the number of the military in the different counties and their places of quarters; cannot be exact in the number as none were permitted to take notes but the Secretary; the general number in Antrim were four thouſand, out of theſe, friends to the people ſeven hundred; Down one thouſand one hundred, one thouſand of theſe friends; Tyrone two thouſand ſeven hundred, one thouſand of theſe friends; Armagh four thouſand two hundred, two hundred friends; Donegal two thouſand, ſeven hundred friends; Monaghan could not return the number. The different Delegates were aſked by the Secretary if they thought their counties could diſarm the militaſy within themſelves, they all ſaid they could, except Armagh; the reaſon for taking this anſwer was, to give it to the Executive that they might the better be enabled to form a plan for the people to act upon in caſe the French ſhould land; he ſaid the Executive was in great want of ſome proper perſon to act in the county of Derry; he ſaid he had the pleaſure now to tell them there were four Executive Committees now in Ireland, namely one in Cork, one in Galway, one in Dublin,

Dublin, one in Ulſter; He ſaid two members from each of them met laſt week and the Reports from Leinſter Committee and Munſter were very good; he ſaid one of our Delegates had arrived from France; he ſaid we all knew the Expedition which was at the Texel deſtined for this country had been put off, owing to the defeat of the Batavian Fleet, but the Directory was now preparing a more formidable expedition for us which we might depend upon; he ſaid further that the Directory ſhewed great friendſhip to our Delegates; He ſaid the Executive recommended it to us to uſe every exertion in our power to open the lower Committees and Societies and to collect what money we could from them as the Executive was at a dreadful expenſe at the preſent, and money was the heart and ſoul of the buſineſs.

Provincial Committee meet the 14th at Mc. Dermons in Randalſtown.

County Meeting.

Nov. 23d, Ballynahinch.

Nine Members preſent. (their names)

Reports the ſame as at the Provincial; one Member made a long ſpeech on the propriety of the people acting without the aid of the French, and was ſupported in this opinion by two others. (named) The treaſurer received the ſubſcriptions in the hands of the County Members.

Baronial Meeting.

Nov. 25th at Baily's Mill, (names of perſons preſent). Adjourned to that day three weeks to Toddſtown. Next County Meeting, Saintfield Fair.

Provincial Meeting.

Dec. 14th Randalſtown, Mc. Dermons, (names of the members preſent) the following counties were repreſented, Monaghan, Donegal, Armagh, Tyrone, Antrim, Down; Reports delivered, that the Executive Committee had not got any information from France ſince the laſt meeting, but that they every day expected the arrival of a Delegate; they were ſure the expedition was ſtill preparing for Ireland.

It

It was ſtated that the Executive Committee had advanced 137l. 8s. for bringing thirteen priſoners from Belfaſt to Dublin on the benefit of the habeas corpus act. They had alſo advanced 185l. 4s. for the priſoners trials in Armagh and Carrickfergus; and as they could not get money to defray the expenſes, they had thought of forming a lottery, the benefit of which was to be applied to ſaid purpoſes; the number of tickets 2000, one guinea each. Orders were iſſued to every county delegate to procure an exact account of the number of military, whether regular regiments, militia, or yeomen, and the quarters where they lie, and bring it to the next provincial meeting, as alſo how many of them reſpectively that can be reckoned on as friends; this is to be procured by the county members making application to the baronial members at the next county meeting, who are to make the returns for their reſpective baronies; in caſe the barony be not repreſented, or that he thinks additional friends neceſſary, he is to apply to ſome confidential, active, intelligent friend in the barony; the rule of reckoning on friends among military, &c. is, that in caſe the perſon ſworn is an united Iriſhman and has not taken any active ſteps againſt the body or any of its members out of the line of his profeſſion, he is to be deemed ſtill the friend of united Iriſhmen. A member took down the name of each Delegate preſent, and his direction, in order if any material news comes from France previous to the regular meeting on the 14th January next to write to them, and call an extra meeting. The former return of military, &c. was very lame and defective, and the Executive could not form a plan from it. It is neceſſary that this ſhould be completely remedied, and the reſpective ſtations and quarters of the troops known to the Executive, to enable them to form the proper plan for co-operation with the French on landing.

'County Committee.

'Dec. 28th——Saintfield.——Twenty members preſent—[the names of all preſent, except one] The reports the ſame as thoſe of the province. One conſtitution was voted to a member to be given to parts of a ſhip's company lying in Belfaſt Lough for the propagation of the general principle. The members for Down has come to a reſolution to abandon the idea of a lottery for the payment of their preſent debt, and are about to eſtabliſh a committee to meet at Ballynahinch on the 7th of next month, to deliberate on the means for accompliſhing that purpoſe, independent of the county of Antrim. [Committee appointed, and their names.] The county committee has alſo reſolved that each regiment whoſe colonels

colonels have emigrated ſhall have new ones appointed, in order that a meeting of colonels may take place as ſoon as may be after the next county meeting. There was alſo ſame day held a committee of the perſons who had the priſoners in charge at the laſt aſſizes. [their names.] Their account ſtates 53l. 9s. 10½d. deficient at laſt aſſizes. Three perſons [named] were to attend the national Executive on Sunday or Monday next, being the 7th or 8th January 1798.

A meeting was held on the 23d inſtant of the captains of the Knockbraken regiment in the houſe of James Woods; alſo a meeting of the Drumbo regiment on the 16th January in the houſe of Thomas Rainey.

Next County Meeting to be in Ballynahinch.

Ballynahinch.

7th Jan. 1798. Names of perſons preſent, nine in number. They reſolved that they would reject the lottery buſineſs as it encouraged the immorality of the people, and that they would exert themſelves to raiſe what money was wanting by ſubſcription, and that they would meet again that day four weeks ſame place. When the buſineſs of the meeting was nearly over a perſon [named] arrived, who ſaid he was deputed by the Executive Committee to ſhew them the propriety of admitting the lottery. He was aſked whether he would pledge his honour that the debts incurred by the county of Down would be paid out of the profit ariſing from it. He ſaid he would not, as the profit ariſing would barely ſupport the Dublin trials. He then requeſted that they might get liberty to ſolicit individually, and after a long altercation it was reſolved that they might be admitted individually, but not to be conſidered as an official buſineſs of the county of Down.

Provincial Meeting.

14th Jan. held at Mc. Calls, Armagh, twelve members preſent; the following counties were repreſented—Tyrone, Armagh, Antrim, Down, Donegal. Firſt buſineſs done reſpected the lottery. One member had ſold 19 tickets for which he paid; another had ſold 42; Armagh Delegates had not ſold any. It was found that a member had reported in Armagh and Monaghan that the profit ariſing from the ſcheme was to be applied to improper

uſes. It was then agreed to recommend it to the Executive to poſtpone the drawing another month, and each Delegate to keep what Tickets he had, and exert themſelves to ſell as many as many as poſſible till that time. The number of the military in the different quarters in the province could not properly be aſcertained from their unuſual movements. The Delegates ordered to try it again. The reporter ſaid there had been a meeting of the National Committee, and it was found, notwithſtanding all the depredations committed by the military, that the upper provinces were in a tolerable ſtate of organization. He ſaid that one of our Delegates had arrived from France. He told the meeting that it had been an intention of France to invade Ireland only, and that they were to have put that into execution in this month, but that the Directory had come to a ſecond reſolution that they would now fit out a more formidable expedition, and that they would invade the whole three kingdoms at once; therefore from the magnitude of ſuch a great buſineſs we need not expect them as ſoon as we did. He thought they could not come until it would be far on in the Spring, but he recommended to the people then preſent, and he thought that it was their duty to recommend it to their conſtituents to be cautious and ſteady, ſtill keeping up their organization, for the Directory had aſſured our Delegates in the moſt poſitive terms that they never would deſert us. He ſaid we had now eleven Delegates between Hamburgh and Paris.

Next provincial meeting to be held at Mc. Clean's, Shane's Caſtle, on the 1ſt February.

County Meeting.

18th Jan.—At M. Montgomery's Ballynahinch ten members were preſent. [their names]—Reports the ſame as the Provincial. Adjourned to the 4th Feb. alſo the committee for collecting money is to adjourn from Ballynahinch to Saintfield the ſame day.

Provincial Meeting.

Feb. 1ſt—Shane's-caſtle—Mc. Clean's, nine members preſent. [their names. The perſon who reported did not arrive from Dublin until three o'clock, and the ticket money was collected before he came. He dwelt a long time upon the ſucceſs we had obtained over government on the late trials in Dublin.—He then ſaid he would, by Heavens, ſpeak his mind openly, for he was not afraid, as our delivery was now certain. He ſaid the national committee had met in Dublin that week, and that the upper provinces were all ready to act

act in a moment; two regiments in one province had offered to deliver it; he said we had three Delegates arrived from France, and that the French were going on with the expedition, and that it was in a greater state of forwardness than was expected; but what was more flattering three Delegates had been sent from the United Britons to our National Committee; and that from this very moment we were to consider England, Scotland and Ireland all as one people, acting for one common cause; there were legislators now chosen from the three Kingdoms to act as an Executive for the whole; he then produced an address which the Delegates of Britain brought with them to our National Committee, and that was the reason he said which made him so violent as he was certain we could now obtain Liberty although the French never should come here; he told the Delegates to cause the men to hold themselves in readiness as the hour of action could not be far distant; and he desired them to collect the names of all our enemies and their places of residence.

He further said, that our higher (Ex.) Committee had power to grant passports to any person of confidence to go to France, and that lands could be bought there now at a very low rate.

Some particulars which occurred at this meeting, given in on memory.

[That the county Antrim meeting was very respectable, being composed of better sort of men, seemingly of substance, education and manners of gentlemen; a member in private conversation told that he thought the French expedition would be ready in about six weeks; told also that the reverend priest Quigley now returned to Belfast, and formerly of the county of Louth from which he had fled some time ago, was one of the Delegates lately returned from France, and that he and the Reverend Arthur M'Mahon of Hollywood, who fled from thence on the general apprehension in the county of Down last summer were the principal persons who opened the communication with the United Britons.

The drawing of the lottery is postponed till after next Provincial Meeting by reason of the tickets not being sold, but that then at any rate the drawing shall take place, and the tickets on hand will be taken at all chances by the Executive Committee of Ulster, who are the whole and sole conductors and contrivers of the scheme. The persons formerly in custody in the artillery barracks, and apprehended last summer, will not go to any of the public meetings from fear, but are very anxious to get the reports and hear the news.

No

No military returns could be made at the Provincial Meeting owing to the general moovements of the troops, but the Members are inſtructed to make diligent enquiry and to try to get them.]

United Britons, to the United Iriſhmen.

FELLOW-MEN,

Anxious to diſſipate thoſe prejudices, which a miſtaken and intereſted policy has artfully diffuſed, to prevent an UNION of ſentiment and mutuality of opinion from being held by the people of England and Ireland; we in the name of the former, (with whoſe ſentiments we are acquainted, and whoſe confidence we poſſeſs) declare that we will by every poſſible means promote the EMANCIPATION OF BOTH COUNTRIES. To forward this great object we offer you our confidence, and in return demand yours.

Though labouring under the yoke of the ſame oppreſſors, the Siſter Countries have been differently treated. Ireland has always been the object of direct and open violence, England of fraud; Ireland has been robbed, England has been cheated. One uniform plan, DIVISION, has been carried on in both. Sacrificed as Ireland has been to the ambition of England, the idea of her being treated as a FREE Country was too groſs to be obtruded upon the meaneſt underſtanding; but England, whoſe avarice was flattered by the deſpicable lure of excluſive trade, greedily ſwallowed the bait. She was taught to believe that Riches flowed upon her, while Poverty was ſecretly inſinuating itſelf into her very vitals.

Amidſt mock contentions for LIBERTY and real ones for plunder, She vainly imagined herſelf FREE, and was thereby induced to pay the intereſt of a Debt, of greater amount than the value of the whole Landed property of the Country, without reflecting that Bankruptcy however late muſt be the conſequence of an overſtretched credit.—THAT BANKRUPTCY HAS ARRIVED.

The Religious diſſentions between *Catholic* and *Proteſtant* in Ireland (whoſe opinions admit of a real diſtinction) and the party ſquabbles between *Whig* and *Tory* in England (whoſe political ones admit

admit of none) were affiduoufly fomented; the People were divided about the *fhadow* till they loft the *fubftance*. The plan of oppreffion was fyftematically directed throughout both countries to the fame object, though in apparent oppofition. In Ireland Revenue was only raifed to be lavifhed in unmerited penfions, without the infult of pretended National advantage; in England the veil of fraud was neceffary to cheat the people of large fums under the plaufible pretext of public neceffity. The undifguifed oppreffions of Ireland, by rendering fubfiftence precarious to the Poor, have made her a conftant hot-bed for the fattellites of Tyranny; but in England occafional crops could only be raifed when the flame of war unufually forced the foil. This marked diftinction in the treatment of the Countries, has produced as marked a difference in the characters of the two Nations; Ireland has acquired that of manly opennefs, England that of mean difguife.

England though abufed with forms has never been without fincere friends to fubftantial LIBERTY. Among them a number of dark and defigning characters have always intruded; and their conduct has furnifhed fuch a tiffue of apoftacy, that general apathy had nearly fucceeded general diftruft.

Various political Societies have been inftituted for the purpofe of REFORM, but of thefe, few could boaft purity of Principles, or integrity of Leaders. Formerly, *Richmond* headed the votaries of Univerfal Suffrage, *Fox* thofe of Repreftentation by Houfeholders, and *Pitt* thofe who wifhed to disfranchife the Corrupt Boroughs, to throw their proportion of Repreftentation into the Counties; but thefe have vanifhed. The Society of the FRIENDS OF THE PEOPLE, and that for CONSTITUTIONAL INFORMATION, have difcontinued their exertions. The LONDON CORRESPONDING, and other Societies in UNION with it, have arifen upon their ruins, and as univerfal good is their bafis, we doubt not, but, fupported by Numbers and Principles, they will not be wanting in the hour of danger.

The IRISH, always an heroic People, had, during the American War, become an armed Nation. They took up Arms for Defence, and undertook the caufe of REFORM for Security. ENGLAND, likewife, engaged in the caufe of REFORM, but her efforts were weak, as fhe had not endured fufficient to convince her of the neceffity of UNION. The efforts of a number of eminent Perfons in both Countries in the caufe of FREEDOM, were infufficient, becaufe

Prejudice yet prevailed, and Men were not awakened to their juſt Rights and true Intereſts.

The Apoſtacy of ſeveral Leaders in the Public cauſe, added to the famous Coalition, ſmothered for a long time, the flame of LIBERTY; 'till the FRENCH REVOLUTION again fanned its dying embers into a glow, which, we hope and truſt, will never be extinguiſhed.

The conduct of the two Countries, on this important event, diſplayed a ſtriking contraſt. IRELAND, who by her arms, had extorted from the *Engliſh Government* ſome fragments of her Rights, ſeemed ready in the ſame manner to demand the reſt. ENGLAND, alſo, formed Societies, whoſe object was EMANCIPATION, but who hoped it might be obtained by *Reaſon*; Alas! they over-rated its force.

The diſarming Bills in IRELAND, the Treaſon and Sedition Bills in ENGLAND, and their conſequences in both Countries, need hardly be mentioned. On the People they have brought Chains, on the Government irreconcileable Hatred. One good effect has, however, reſulted from mutual Sufferings, and mutual Commiſeration; the prejudice of Nations is done away, and the ENGLISH burn with deſire, to hail the IRISH, as *Free-men*, and as *Brethren*.

Our numbers are immenſe, our influence ſtill more conſiderable, and our ſentiments accord with yours. We are unthinned by the Tyranny of the Law or of the Sword; 'tis true, we have had our Fears and our Jealouſies, *Spies* and *Informers* have been introduced amongſt us, but all theſe have ſerved only to point out more clearly the Men who are worthy of truſt, and in theſe, whether Rich or Poor, we have the higheſt confidence.

Our DELEGATE is entruſted to lay before you our whole proceedings; we, therefore, decline entering into particulars in the preſent Addreſs. We have repoſed confidence in you, and ſhall expect ſuch a return as you may think our Integrity and Talents deſerve. We doubt not but you will, with us, ſee the propriety of eſtabliſhing unlimited confidence, or declining our interference as fruitleſs. Should you think our ſituation, our influence, and our opportunities calculated to ſerve the Common Cauſe, rely upon our Diligence, our Zeal, and our Fidelity.

With

With beſt wiſhes, for the amelioration of the condition of Man, and hopes that your Exertions and Virtues, aided by an UNITED PEOPLE, WILL SPEEDILY EMANCIPATE YOUR COUNTRY; we remain in the bonds of BROTHERHOOD and UNION.

Your's Fraternally!

Friday, January 5th, 1798.

(Seal.)

County Meeting.

February 4th—Saintfield.

Seventeen members preſent. [their names] Reports the ſame as the Provincial. A treaſurer was appointed for the money committee, who received from the members preſent eighteen guineas. The money committee is to meet at Ballynahinch the 12th inſt. Principal members not being preſent at this meeting, nothing particular was done, except that Earl Moira's character was diſcuſſed at full length to know whether he was a man that could be depended upon or not by the people—It was agreed that he was as great a tyrant as the Lord Lieutenant, and a deeper deſigning one. A perſon who had fled from the country wrote to the Committee for their advice whether he ſhould come home again. It was directed that the opinion of counſel ſhould be taken upon his caſe.

County Committee to be held again in Ballynahinch on Thurſday the 1ſt March next.

Provincial Meeting.

February 27th. Armagh.

Thirteen members preſent. (their names.)

The Reporter ſaid we had a Delegate arrived from France, and that the French were uſing every endeavour to have the expedition for this country completed, and that our Delegate came home to cauſe us to put ourſelves into a ſtate of organization to join them, as the Directory poſitively aſſured our Delegates that the expedition would ſet out for this country in the latter end of April or beginning of May; he ſaid that the Executive of this kingdom had anſwered a draft of five hundred pounds for our Delegates

delegates which they meant to raiſe off the four provinces equally, and he wanted to know the beſt method of raiſing our quota. It was agreed that it ſhould be raiſed in this province by voluntary loans—he ſaid we had now fourteen Delegates in France, and that there had been held in London a meeting of all the Delegates of England and Scotland, but that we could not get their reſolutions until our next provincial which is to be held in the Moy in Sam. Greaves's the 25th of March. He ſaid the lottery could not be drawn 'till after our next meeting, as there were ſix hundred of the tickets unfold, and the Ulſter Delegates had taken them to Dublin to ſell them there. The National Executive was at this very time ſitting in Dublin. He then preſented the following directions of which he cauſed every member to take a copy; they were inſtructions how the different counties were to act:

Inſtructions.

The colonels in each county are to make out a liſt of the names of perſons to act as Adjutant Generals, to be ſealed up and returned through the medium of the Provincial, or any other authentic channel.

The Duty of Adjutant General.

They will make at leaſt monthly returns to the Executive through the medium of the perſon named to them for that purpoſe on the following ſubjects, and uſe every diligence to diſcover every thing within their county:

1ſt. The number, ſtrength and arms of their regiments, and the qualifications of their officers; who of them have been in the army and have ſeen actual ſervice.

2d. What number of mills in their counties, and what average quantity of flour, corn, &c. they contain ſummer and winter.

3rd. The breadth and condition of the roads, depth of the rivers, height of their banks, where they have bridges or fords, impaſſable marſhes in ſummer and winter, and roads run though bogs.

4th. Beſt poſition to interrupt convoys going from the capital to the enemy's camps or depots, or from one town to another; alſo

alſo the fitteſt place for the patriots to aſſemble or rally; with a reaſoned detail of the advantages and diſadvantages.

5th. What number of towns and villages; in how many where horſe and foot can be quartered in them; whether the country has plantations to ſhelter the troops without tents, and where they can find ſtraw and forage.

6th. Who the beſt Patriots are, and beſt fitted by intelligence and honeſty to be employed as commiſſaries.

7th. To communicate to the Executive every change of quarters, numbers of horſe and foot, ſpecifying whether natives or foreigners, ſituation, nature of depots with regard to ſubſiſtence, ammunition, arms and money, and their nature and ſtrength.

8th. Thoſe in the maritime counties are charged on the firſt appearance of a friendly force upon the coaſt, but eſpecially on the moſt certain information being had of the debarkation of our allies, to communicate the ſame in the moſt ſpeedy manner to the Executive. They muſt then collect their force and march forward with as many of the yeomanry and militia as poſſible; each man to be provided with at leaſt three days ſubſiſtence, and to bring along all they can of cars, draft horſes, harneſs and horſes to mount cavalry, with three days forage; taking care to ſeize no where the property of a Patriot, where an enemy can be found to raiſe contributions of.

County Meeting.

March 1ſt.—Saintfield.

Sixteen perſons preſent. (their names) Reports the ſame as at the Provincial. A conference was held on the beſt method of collecting Colonels, and it was agreed to ſummon ſuch as are in the country to meet in Belfaſt on Sunday the 11th: It was alſo ordered and reported to thoſe quarters where the Colonels had emigrated to chuſe new ones, and to call at (named) before the time of meeting, and he would tell them where it was. The county in general appears to be much elevated at the preſent reports, and very ambitious for officers.

Subſcriptions paid-in.

Proceedings of ſeveral private meetings.

Money Committee met at Belfaſt 16th February. March 5th the County Committee was adjourned from Ballynahinch to Saintfield, as the fair being held in the latter place it was thought leſs dangerous. It is to meet again in Comber on the 5th April. There was a hard conteſt for the election of Provincial Delegate between four perſons; after three ballots two were elected.

Meeting of Colonels.

County of Down.

March 9th in the houſe of R. Kean, Belfaſt, eight Colonels preſent. (their names) They agreed to appoint three perſons to be Adjutant Generals (their names) and that an application ſhould be made to them accordingly to meet at Saintfield on the 23d inſtant.

Seven perſons accordingly met repreſenting ſo many regiments; others were admitted, as it is termed, to the honours of the ſitting; ſome alarm was felt by ſome of the members, and an Adjutant General was rejected; a deputation was ſent to invite another to ſucceed him, but this propoſal was not directly accepted of, this perſon had been bailed in the ſum of ſix hundred pounds, he heſitated therefore leſt this ſhould be forfeited—ſaid he would conſult his bails man, but at all events deſired them to return his name. The Colonels agreed that they ſhould divide into two meetings as it would be leſs ſuſpicious; accordingly the Colonels of one diviſion are to meet in Rathfryland on the 28th, and thoſe of the other in Newtown Ards on the 31ſt inſtant.

Provincial Committee.

25th March, Moy.

Eight perſons preſent. (their names) a Quaker, once a priſoner in Charlemont, introduced a Delegate from the Leinſter Executive who paſſed under a feigned name. From ſome alarm the meeting adjourned to Blackwater-town, there they were diſturbed by the appearance of a party of light horſe, and adjourned to Mc Call's in Armagh, where they did the buſineſs of the day. Some matters concerning

concerning the lottery were diſpoſed of and it was ſaid that the drawing would take place the firſt week in April. It was then referred to the Leinſter Delegate to give the reports, he accordingly ſaid he was happy to tell them the Leinſter Provincial Committee was perfectly recovered from the ſhock; they were only four days from the time they were taken 'till they had the whole Province in a complete ſtate of organization; the Government had alſo taken three of the Executive, but there were three appointed in their place that very evening after they were taken. He ſaid the Leinſter Executive had delegated him to wait on us to anſwer ſome queſtions which he read from a paper—they were to the following effect: the number of the United Iriſhmen who would act if called upon; the number of arms; the number of military and militia and how many good and bad, with a recommendation for the people to put themſelves immediately into as good ſtate of organization as poſſible, for that they had a Delegate arrived with poſitive aſſurance that the French would commence embarkation on the 1ſt of April and that they would be all on board by the middle of the month and ready to ſail the firſt opportunity after. The paper alſo contained the ſtrength of United Iriſhmen in Leinſter both civil and military, it ſeemed to be exaggerated, but as it was not allowed to take a copy it cannot be accurately ſet forth; every regiment of military and militia was numbered, how many good and how many bad; the groſs number in Dublin amounted to about eight thouſand, three thouſand eight hundred of which it was ſtated would act againſt Government; ſome return was made of the numbers ſuppoſed to be diſaffected in ſome of the regiments of militia. The anſwers to his queſtions were but weakly anſwered; he ſaid that the National Committee was to be held in Dublin on Tueſday, and it was the intention of the Executive that it ſhould be compoſed of one man from each Executive and one man from each Province; their Executive was to meet the ſame evening and he propoſed to introduce whoever went from hence to them. The meeting then proceeded to elect a Delegate, the firſt choſen was a Colonel but he excuſed himſelf on account of his other duties; the perſon appointed ſet out that night or the next morning for Dublin along with the Leinſter Delegate, and was told who the Delegate was that ſhould meet him in Dublin from the Ulſter Executive.

Provincial Committee is to meet in Belfaſt, Sunday the 1ſt April.

Meeting

Meeting of Colonels,

March 28th. Rathfryland.

Six Colonels attended. (their names)

Reports were given. The Colonels were aſked individually whether they were able to diſarm the military within the bounds of their own regiments; they all agreed that they were. They were alſo aſked the number of arms; they do not appear to be conſiderable.

Civil Committee.

29th March—Ballynahinch.

Eleven members preſent. (their names)

It was reſolved that the ſame committee who acted in defence of the priſoners laſt aſſizes ſhould again be requeſted to act in the ſame capacity the enſuing aſſizes, and that every exertion ſhould be made to ſupply them with money, and that they are to meet in Downpatrick on Thurſday the 5th of April. Civil Committee to meet on Friday the 5th.

Meeting of Colonels.

March 31ſt. Newtown Ards.

It was reſolved not to tranſact any buſineſs in this place; a magiſtrate remarkable for his activity reſided there, and it was not thought ſafe to hold meetings in his neighbourhood. They adjourned to Grey-abbey, and a perſon remained behind to ſend on there ſuch perſons as ſhould come to the meeting.

Provincial Committee.

1ſt April—Belfaſt.

Eight members preſent. [their names] The following counties were repreſented—Derry, Antrim, Tyrone, Armagh, Down. Reported the names of the perſons whom the Executive has choſen from the names ſent to them to act as Adjutant Generals

Generals in Chief. They were appointed for Antrim, Down, Armagh and Tyrone. The other Counties had not yet ſent in their liſts. The liſt for Derry a member promiſed ſhould be returned the next week; the ſame member was appointed to go through Donegal, Cavan and Fermanagh, and to put them into a ſtate of organization—another member was ordered on the ſame duty in Monaghan. About two o'clock the Delegate who had been ſent to Dublin, arrived in Belfaſt; he informed the meeting that he had been very kindly received by the Leinſter Committee—that the Leinſter Executive had received a letter from Bartholomew Teeling who is oneof our Delegates in France, ſtating that the French troops would moſt certainly be on board by the middle of this month. He ſaid the troops from Breſt and that neighbourhood were determined to try to evade the Britiſh fleet, and to land in Ireland. Of courſe the Britiſh fleet would follow them round, and while thus drawn off, all the other troops embarked at other ports would make a deſcent on England. Whatever might reſult from this attempt, it was the fixed determination of the National Committee, in caſe the French ſhould be fruſtrated, that we ſhould of ourſelves make a riſing. He ſaid that the citizens of Dublin with the aſſiſtance of the army could ſeize the capital at any moment.

He informed them that the leaders in Leinſter were particularly active in organizing the Military Committees, as were alſo ſome of our Ulſter friends who are at preſent there. He named Mr. Samuel Neilſon in particular; he ſaid he was riding almoſt day and night organizing the people, and no perſon almoſt knew where he dined or where he ſlept; he named alſo of Belfaſt as being very active—on the whole he ſaid there were fourteen northerns now in Dublin he ſuppoſed the moſt active men in the kingdom, acting for us; he ſaid we might expect one of the Leinſter Delegates at our next meeting which muſt be very ſoon, as he was ordered on leaving Dublin to cauſe a meeting to be held in leſs than twenty days. No communication at the National Committee from the United Britons.

To meet at Campbell's Armagh, Tueſday the 17th inſt.

County Meetings.

April 6th. Downpatrick.

Twelve members prefent. [their names] Reports the fame as at the Provincial; no material bufinefs tranfacted.

Another County Meeting April the 20th, at Belfaft, fixteen members prefent. Three men were appointed to meet the upper half of the county, to chufe a man to legiflate for the county. Great reflections thrown out againft the Money Committee for fome of them not attending to give an account of the bufinefs of the laft affizes.

County to meet on the 14th May, at N. T. Ards.

Provincial Meetings.

17th April. Armagh.

Adjourned as a Delegate expected from Dublin had not arrived, met at Belfaft 19th April.

A full meeting at Armagh—reprefented Monaghan, Armagh, Louth, Donegal, Derry, Tyrone, Down, none from Antrim. At the meeting at Belfaft a letter was read by the Reporter, written by the Delegate in Dublin, which mentioned that a letter had been received from one of the Delegates at Paris, dated the 24th March laft, ftating that there was an embargo on all the French ports, and that the expedition would be very foon ready, and that a meffenger would be fent to Ireland at leaft eight days before it failed. That the Delegate in Dublin had waited three days longer expecting his arrival. In cafe of the arrival of this meffenger an extra meeting is to be called,

The reporter mentioned a letter having been received from a perfon in Liverpool who is a Delegate there, ftating that the French would not land for two months. It was afferted that this could not be true. The Executive Committee of Leinfter, he told them, had all been taken up or banifhed except three, and thefe three refufed to act: In confequence, he faid, twelve new ones, *he believed*, were chofen by this time.

He

He ſaid in honour to the province of Ulſter they were the only men who dared to act in the worſt of times. Had it not been for three perſons from Ulſter [named] the people in Leinſter had been completely diſorganized; therefore now in his opinion, we could never act without the aſſiſtance of the French. It was reſolved that one man from each county ſhould be elected and added to the Executive, and their names returned at next meeting.

The lottery is not yet drawn, owing to two hundred tickets being lodged in Oliver Bond's hands at the time he was made priſoner, and two hundred of them ſent to London of which there is yet no return of money or tickets.

Provincial Meeting.

May 10th.———Armagh.

Eleven members preſent. [their names] Reports given, that the meſſenger mentioned in the laſt reports was expected to have arrived before now, but is hourly expected; in conſequence of his not having come the reporter had no information from France to give at this meeting; he ſaid the Executive Committee of Dublin was changed three times in ten days, in order to get warm patriots and men of abilities who would lay a plan for the people to act upon. They had now laid a plan to take Dublin, Chapel-izod, and the Camp, and to ſeize on the Executive Government; he would not however ſay that it would be put into execution, but he was ſure that nothing but the cowardice of the people would ſtop it at the moment of action, which he doubted would be the caſe. The Executive requeſt that the reſpective county members would make a return of the military, diſtinguiſhing the number of friends and of enemies in the reſpective counties. He was deſired to take the names and directions of the ſeveral members in order to be able to call an extra meeting as ſoon as the meſſenger arrived from France, or in caſe the ſaid plan ſhould be put into execution; it was the wiſh of the Executive that the members ſhould not abſent themſelves from their places of abode, but be in the way to receive a ſummons of an extra meeting; he ſaid that the Executive requeſted that the names ſhould be returned of the men choſen out of the reſpective counties that ſhould be added to the Executive to compoſe the National Aſſembly or Parliament. There were ſeven choſen, [their names] to wit: a ſilverſmith for Armagh, a preſbyterian clergyman for Tyrone, a probationer preſbyterian clergyman for Donegal, a farmer for Louth, an adjutant general for Derry, a cloth-merchant for Antrim, and a farmer for Monaghan; to meet the 29th May inſtant at Armagh.

Meeting

Meeting of Colonels.

Upper half of the county of Down, held in Harrifon's of Dromore—May 12th; thirteen colonels prefent. No particular bufinefs tranfacted.

Provincial Meeting.

May 29th——Armagh.

Nine members prefent. (their names) heard from the laft provincial reports that a plan of infurrection was in contemplation by the National Executive; two members were deputed from the Ulfter Executive to form faid plan, in conjunction with certain deputies from the other Provincial Executive; the plan was for Dublin to rife and to feize on the Government, and the mail-coaches were to be burned for a fignal for the whole kingdom to act. Thefe Delegates returned and reported the fame to the Ulfter Executive; the reporter complained that the Ulfter Executive had taken no meafures to put the people in readinefs to act; every application had been made to the Executive to call the adjutant-generals together, but without effect; they were required alfo to fummon the provincial Delegates together to put the refpective counties in a ftate ready to act, and that they did not obey; he thought they completely betrayed the people both of Leinfter and Ulfter, and he thought it the duty of the prefent committee to denounce and vote them out of office, and to take fome fpeedy and vigorous meafures to fecond the efforts of the people in the upper counties; they were accordingly voted out of office. The reporter then took a lift of all the military throught the province, and their places of quarters as nearly as he could afcertain; he then afked the different Delegates if they thought they could difarm the military in their refpective counties; Derry, Donegal, and Louth faid they could; Down, Antrim, Armagh, and the upper half of the county of Tyrone thought they could not; he then afked them individually if they thought the people they reprfented woul d act, and they all faid they would, except Down. Its Delegate obferved that he could not exactly anfwer whether it would or not, but he would try and afcertain it by taking the fenfe of the adjutant-generals and colonels; it was then refolved that the adjutant-generals of Down and Antrim fhould meet next day, and in cafe that the two counties would act, that they fhould form a general plan of infurrection, and that they fhould fend the faid plan by exprefs to the different adjutant generals throughout the province, that they fhould all act at the fame moment; in cafe the infurrection was not agreed upon they were to meet at Belfaft on the 24th June, but it was generally

the

the opinion that they were all to return to their reſpective occupations and induſtry, and not meet again and deceive the people any longer. The new addition of one member from each county to the Executive are to meet in Banbridge on Monday the 4th June, and a printer in Belfaſt was to furniſh them with a printing-preſs for their uſe, to print and publiſh manifeſtoes, &c. when they ſhould take the field.

Meeting of Colonels.——May 31ſt——Saintfield.

Perſons aſſembled; [their names] repreſented ten regiments; they received the provincial reports, and generally determined to act; ſeveral meſſages paſſed between the different colonels as to this reſolution; a few days after this an adjutant-general reſigned, and at a meeting where 23 colonels were aſſembled, only two reſolved for action, and the other 21 declared they would not act on any plan but on the invaſion of the French or ſucceſs to the efforts of the inſurgents about Dublin. They are to meet again on Tueſday next to elect a new adjutant-general, and to hear the ſituation of the other provinces. The adjutant-general for the county of Down propoſed to take up his head-quarters at Ballynahinch, and to remain there and to make it the place of rendezvous for the forces of the county of Down.

On the 5th June meſſages paſt between the adjutant-general of Down and the colonels; they urged the adjutant-general to put the county of Down in motion, or that if he declined it they would find a man who could do ſo. A meſſage was received and delivered upon oath that the county of Antrim intended ſeizing on the magiſtrates aſſembled in Antrim at the ſeſſions as hoſtages, at the beginning of their riſing. It was ordered that an expreſs ſhould be ſent to all the colonels of the county of Down, commanding them to collect their regiments as nearly as poſſible at the ſame time; at this time an account was brought that Doctor Dickſon was made a priſoner in Ballynahinch about nine o'clock yeſterday evening by Lord Anneſley's yeomen. At firſt it was reſolved to wait the reſult of the meeting of the new Executive at Ballymena on the 8th June; they diſperſed for the preſent, and concealed themſelves; afterward attempts were made to prevail on perſons to take the chief command. The people of Ballynahinch were of opinion they could reſcue Dickſon the moment the county meant to act, and it was their intention ſo to do.

No. XV.

Extracts from the Information of John Hughes of Belfast, Bookseller, given upon Oath before General Lucius Barber, and since confirmed on Oath before the Committee of the Lords, and on his Examination before the Committee of the Commons.

SAYS, that in the year 1793 he was admitted a member of the 1st Society of United Irishmen in Belfast—that about July 1796 he became a member of a Society (which regenerated under the present system) in Belfast—Robert Orr then a Chandler in Belfast administered the oath on his admission—the oath he took is exactly the same as that set out in the printed Constitutions—soon after he formed a Society of United Irishmen himself at Belfast.—In the month of November 1796, Bar. Teeling, then of Dundalk, Linen Merchant, met him in Belfast, and asked him if he could spare a fortnight or three weeks to go to Dublin for the purpose of extending the Societies there—he consented—he did not receive any letters of introduction, but Teeling directed him verbally to call upon Edward John Lewins of Beresford-street, and to communicate with him—It was part of the system to avoid writing as much as possible, and no person was employed in the confidential business or missions whose character was not a sufficient voucher for him. He went to Dublin and called upon Lewins, who upon consideration was of opinion that he could not be useful in Dublin as his acquaintance was very limited there—Whilst he remained in Dublin he dined frequently with Lewins—the Company at his table were generally Clergymen and some of them foreigners—he thinks it likely they were Priests. He returned to Belfast in December 1796—he did not attend the Societies from motives of caution, but spoke to the young men who were concerned in the day time, in the street, or when they called at his house to ask his opinion—He continued such cautions till shortly before the Lent Assizes 1797, when Mr. James M'Guchin, the Attorney, requested him to go to Dublin in order to get a license for Counsellor Curran to be concerned for the Prisoners then in the several Gaols on the North East Circuit charged as United Irishmen—His directions from M'Guchin were to get

Curran

Curran down on as cheap terms as poſſible, but to get him down at all events. Believes the ſubſcriptions for County Antrim amounted to £700 and upwards, and the ſubſcriptions for County Down to £900 and upwards—The treaſurer for the County Down, Alexander Lowry, repaid him the money he had advanced—£50 which he had paid to Mr. Curran as a retaining fee, and about £200 that he had paid for licenſes for Mr. Curran—He underſtood then in every converſation that Down and Antrim were prepared to riſe and prevent any capital conviction being executed.—At the Lent Aſſizes of Antrim or Down, Lowry and Teeling requeſted him to meet them in Dublin early in June following—he was not then informed of the Buſineſs—a few days after he received a note urging the neceſſity of his going—the next day he went to Balealy, where the writer of the note informed him that he muſt go to Dublin for the purpoſe of meeting Lowry, Teeling and other friends, but that he muſt firſt take an oath not to mention the names of any of the perſons with whom he ſhould communicate in Dublin—He took the oath, ſet out for Dublin the ſame day, and arrived there ſome days before the 5th of June 1797—He met Lowry and Teeling, who then informed him that there was to be a national meeting in Dublin at that time of Delegates from the different provinces, in order to receive a return of the ſtrength of the United Iriſhmen, and to determine whether an inſurrection would then be practicable, and Lowry and Teeling told him the reaſon they deſired him to meet them was to give his opinion of the ſtength and readineſs of Down and Antrim—He ſaid his opinion was that as the People were in a great meaſure diſarmed the majority of them would not riſe—Teeley ſaid his opinion was otherwiſe, and that Louth was anxious to riſe—Lowry ſaid Down was alſo anxious to riſe—Lowry and Teeling afterwards told him that the national meeting had taken place at *John Jackſon's* in Church-ſtreet, and that the Delegates had agreed to proceed to action—Teeling ſhewed him at his (Teeling's) lodgings in Aungier-ſtreet, a map of Ireland, on which the plan of the inſurrection was deſcribed, and the points marked to which certain numbers of men were to be brought—The Delegates left Dublin in order to raiſe their reſpective counties and to take the field. They collected the Colonels in each County in order to give them directions for bringing out their regiments—The Colonels of the County Antrim refuſed to come forward—The Colonels of the County Down agreed to bring their regiments forward—The other counties in Ulſter were diſinclined, and therefore the intended inſurrection did not take place—Lowry told him what had paſſed at the meeting of the Down Colonels, and he underſtood the reſult of the applications to the Colonels of the other

other Counties, from converſations with many people in Belfaſt at that time. While he was in Dublin in June 1797, Teeling invited him to breakfaſt one morning at his lodging in Aungier-ſtreet, where he told him he ſhould ſee more friends—He went there accordingly, and at breakfaſt there, and after breakfaſt on ſame day in other lodgings which Teeling had in the Munſter Hotel in Capel-ſtreet, the converſation turned upon the ſtate of the Country, and the preparation and fitneſs at that time to begin the inſurrection. In the courſe of it the opinions of thoſe preſent differed. Some of them preſſed for commencing the inſurrection immediately, particularly Lowry, Teeling and M'Can. Some of the others were of opinion that however Ulſter might be ready to riſe the other provinces were not in a ſufficient degree of forwardneſs for riſing—He left Dublin and returned to Belfaſt on or before the 14th of June. He attended a meeting at Randleſtown, which was held within about four days of that time. The meeting conſiſted of Teeling, Lowry, Robert Moore of Derry, Iron-monger, (as he believes his chriſtian name and trade to be) and ſome other perſons—He attended ſaid meeting by the directions of Lowry and Teeling, to hear the report of the Colonels of the County Antrim—The firſt reſolution of the report as he beſts recollects was, that it was imprudent to act at that time without foreign aid, but that if the County Down would act, a part of the Antrim Colonels who could bring out 9 or 10,000 men would act with them. The meeting broke up in conſequence of the diviſion amongſt the Antrim Colonels—The Rev. Arthur M'Mahon told the meeting that he had been ſent by the Colonels of the County of Down, to ſtate to the Colonels of the County Antrim, that they (of Down) were willing to riſe, and that he had delivered ſuch meſſage accordingly—A few days after there was to have been a meeting of the leaders of the County of Down and Antrim at Ballinahinch, but they did not come, and Teeling and Lowry left Ballinahinch determined to go to France, as it would not be ſafe for them to remain longer in the country. Did not attend any meeting from June 1797, till March 1798.

He has known the Rev. of for two years intimately—He ( ) called on him on Friday the 1ſt of June at his houſe in Belfaſt, and told him that the Colonels of the United Iriſh Regiments in the County of Down, had had a meeting in Saintfield on the day before as had ſtated, that twenty three of them had agreed to fight and commence the rebellion, provided the County of Antrim and the other counties of Ulſter, as he believes, would act with them; and as he knew there was to have been

been a meeting of the Colonels of the County of Antrim that day (viz. 1ſt June inſt.) he ( ) wiſhed to know whether he had heard any thing from it—( ) ſaid he would go out to Mr. ———'s that evening, and requeſted that intelligence ſhould be ſent of what was done in the Antrim meeting—He added, that he would go from Mr. ———'s to —— where he was to preach on Sunday, from thence he would go to Ballinahinch and remain there 'till Wedneſday, at the ſame time he told him that he ( ) was one of the Adjutant Generals of the United Iriſhmens' forces in the County Down, and that he intended going to Ballinahinch as it was a central place, from which he could iſſue his orders to his Officers —He ſaid farther, that the reaſon of his ſtaying till Wedneſday was, that the Antrim Colonels had adjourned till the Tueſday, and that he could receive their determination in Ballinahinch the day following.

In February laſt when the Priſoners were trying at the commiſſion, Prieſt Quigley introduced him to the younger Binns from England, thinks his name is Benjamin—Binns told he had diſtributed moſt of the printed addreſſes "United Britons to the United Iriſhmen," and gave him a copy of it, and directed him to print an edition of them—He printed a thouſand of them—Mr. —— of Belfaſt, to whom they were ſent when printed off, paid him three Guineas for them.

The ſame Mr. ——— of Belfaſt, told him that he ( ) was appointed Treaſurer of a Lottery which was to conſiſt of 2000 tickets at one Guinea each, the higheſt prize £300, the profits to be applied to the general ſyſtem of United Iriſhmen—The firſt immediate want of money was to be made up and ſupport witneſſes on the trials in Dublin.

No. XVI.

The following Information was given upon Oath by Thomas Reynolds of Kilkea Castle, in the County of Kildare, who afterwards confirmed the same upon Oath before the Committee of the Lords, and likewise before the Committee of the Commons.—Mr. Reynolds gave Evidence on the Trials of M'Cann, Byrne and Bond, who were all found Guilty, and on these occasions he likewise confirmed the principal matters contained in the following:

THE voluntary information of Thomas Reynolds of Kilkea Castle in the county of Kildare, Esq. who being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists, Saith that he was sworn an United Irishman by Oliver Bond at his house in Bridge-Street, Dublin, about two months after that Christmas on which the French were in Bantry Bay, which was about February 1797, and that Richard Dillon, Linen Draper of Bridge-Street, Dublin, was present at his being sworn in as such United Irishman by the said Oliver Bond—And this Deponent further saith that he has been at three or four meetings of United Irishmen in company with the said Oliver Bond at the Brazen-head in Bridge-Street, Dublin.—That the first of those meetings was about ten days or a fortnight after Deponent was first sworn in, and that the others were held at the distance of about eight days from each other.—And this Deponent further saith that the objects of the conspiracy of United Irishmen are most decidedly those of overturning the present government, of establishing a republican form of government in its stead, of dethroning the King, and of assisting the French in any invasion they may make upon this kingdom to forward these views; that the intention of assisting the French is not a necessary part of the Conspiracy, as many of the United Irishmen wished to accomplish a revolution in this Country without the intervention of the French, but not being able to effect that purpose, they would join the French in case of an invasion; that the above objects were those that the said Oliver Bond, and all those who attended at any meeting of United Irishmen at which Deponent was present, had in view.—And this Deponent further

saith

ſaith that the above-mentioned Richard Dillon, John Cormick of Thomas-Street, Feather-Merchant, —— Andoe, of High-Street, and Hugh Wilſon, formerly clerk in Finlay's Bank, and who afterwards went to Cork, were preſent at thoſe meetings of United Iriſhmen, which Deponent attended at the Brazen Head in Bridge-ſtreet.—And this Deponent further ſaith, that at one of thoſe meetings Oliver Bond related to the ſociety in the preſence of the above-named men and many others, a plan by which the United Iriſhmen could poſſeſs themſelves of the city of Dublin, and the ſtrong places therein, and particularly ſpoke of the ſeizure of the Parliament-houſe while the members were there.—And this Deponent further ſaith, that at the laſt meeting that he attended at the place abovementioned, the members of it ſeperated into different ſplits, that of the ſplit to which deponent belonged, he himſelf became Treaſurer, John Cormick, Secretary, and Hugh Wilſon, Delegate, to go forward to the Baronial.—And this deponent further ſaith, that the object of the ſplit to which he belonged was to hold communications with the people, in order to forward the principles of the United Iriſhmen among them, to effect a Revolution, and to prepare them to arm for that purpoſe—That each individual mentioned the number of arms and ammunition he poſſeſſed, from which the returns to the higher Societies were made.—And this deponent further ſaith, the Secretary to the meeting at the Brazen-Head keeps a hardware ſhop, next door to Wogan the bookſeller in Bridge-ſtreet, his name is M'Bride, and that Croſs the bookſeller was ballotted into that meeting.—And this Deponent further ſaith, that he is certain, that the ſaid Oliver Bond is privy to the extent of the conſpiracy, becauſe on Lord Edward Fitzgerald's offering this deponent to become a Colonel in the corps of the United Iriſhmen, in the county of Kildare, ſaid Oliver Bond adviſed Deponent very ſtrongly to accept of that Commiſſion.—And this Deponent further ſaith, that about the third or fourth time of his attending the meeting at the Brazen Head, about a month after his firſt admiſſion, he was delegated forward into the Baronial, that the Baronial was held at the Struggler's in Cook-ſtreet, that on going with John Cormick and Hugh Wilſon to the houſe, M'Cann as Secretary came out of the room, in which the Committee was held, to meet them, introduced the three Delegates to the meeting, having firſt ſworn them as being duly delegated; that there were about thirty perſons preſent, that deponent knew of them only George Teeling and another, and that the reſt were low perſons—that at one of the Baronial meetings, one Burgeſs, ſon to Mrs. Burgeſs, linen-draper on the quay, brought up as Delegate from the preſs-gang on the river very large returns from them of arms, of cannon, &c.—that the Baronial collected money

from

from the inferior Societies—that he has paid in money himſelf, as Treaſurer to his ſplit; that deponent attended the Baronial two or three times afterwards, that none but low perſons were preſent—Deponent at this time was reſident in Park-ſtreet, Liberties, his father a ſilk manufacturer.—And this Deponent further ſaith, that at this period he quitted the conſpiracy for ſome time.—This Deponent further ſaith, that in November 1797, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, accompanied by Hugh Wilſon, met deponent upon the ſteps of the Four Courts, and told him that he wiſhed to ſpeak to him upon very particular buſineſs; that Deponent informed Lord Edward Fitzgerald he would be found in Park-ſtreet, if he called on him there—that Deponent and Lord Edward knew each other only perſonally, and that only from a purchaſe Deponent had been about in the county of Kildare from the Duke of Leinſter; that Lord Edward was walking with Hugh Wilſon, from whom he muſt have known of Deponent's connexion with the United Iriſhmen.—And this Deponent further ſaith, that on the next day Lord Edward Fitzgerald did call on Deponent at his houſe, and told him that he came to requeſt Deponent to become a Colonel for the Barony of Kilkea and Moon, in the County of Kildare—that Deponent had then purchaſed his place at Kilkea—that Deponent had ſome general converſation with Lord Edward, endeavouring to put him off—but that Lord Edward ſaid he would ſhare every danger with him, that he would ſtand or fall with him, and Deponent on this conſented to become ſuch Colonel—That Deponent ſaid to Lord Edward, he did not think the United Men could ſtand in battle before the King's troops, Lord Edward replied, *That* would not be altogether neceſſary, as aſſiſtance from France was expected, that then ſome of the United Men would certainly join in the French lines, and of courſe would ſoon become diſciplined; but as to the multitude, all they would have to do, would be to harraſs the eſcorts of ammunition, cut off detachments and foraging parties, and in fine, make the King's troops feel themſelves in every reſpect in an enemy's country, while the actual battles would be left to the foreign troops: that Deponent ſays this took place in the month of November laſt—that Lord Edward then ſaid, that there was an honeſt man in the County of Kildare, Mathew Kennaa, who would call on and ſpeak to Deponent about electing Deponent Colonel—That ſoon after Lord Edward had ſpoken to Deponent, Deponent met Oliver Bond in Bridge-ſtreet, and told him of Lord Edward's application, repeating to Bond his reluctance to become Colonel; Bond uſed many arguments to induce Deponent to accept of the appointment, and at length Deponent agreed, ſaying to Bond, "well, ſince you adviſe me "ſo ſtrongly, I will comply with Lord Edward's deſire and accept

"of

" of the employment."—That Deponent went down to Kilkea, and remained ſome time there without hearing any thing, when in the latter end of January 1798, Mathew Kennaa came to Deponent and aſked him if he would ſtand his election for Colonel, that Deponent anſwered, he would, for Lord Edward had been ſpeaking to him about it; Kennaa ſaid, " he knew Lord Edward had ſpoke to Depo-" nent," and he then told Deponent he ſhould hold a civil, as well as a military employment, and aſked him which he would chuſe to be a Treaſurer or a Secretary; Deponent ſaid he would be a Treaſurer, as that poſt was much leſs reſponſible, and leſs troubleſome than the poſt of Secretary; Kennaa ſaid he was glad of the choice, and that he himſelf would go forward with Deponent as Secretary—That on or about the 15th day of February, Kennaa came again to Deponent and told him he had been unanimouſly elected Colonel and Treaſurer, and that he (Kennaa) was choſen Secretary to the Baronial, and that the County Meeting was to be held the following Sunday 18th February 1798, at the Nineteen Mile-houſe near Kilcullen, and told Deponent he (Kennaa) would meet Deponent on the road at 8 o'clock on Sunday morning; that accordingly Deponent did meet Kennaa, and they rode to the Nineteen Mile-houſe together, and there they met the County of Kildare Committee—That an election for the officers of the Society was held—that thoſe elections came on every three months, that is, the beginning of February, the beginning of May, and ſo on, were the times—that there were preſent at the County Meeting Mathew Kennaa, Mic. Reynolds of Naas, Mr. Flood, Mr. Daly of Kilcullen, Cummings the Apothecary of Kildare, two perſons from Athy, one perſon from Narraghmore, another perſon belonging to Mr. La Touche's Yeomanry.—That Deponent expected to meet Lord Edward Fitzgerald there, as Kennaa told Deponent he had regularly attended the County Meetings, that Cummings came forward at the meeting and ſtated, that although Lord Edward had done ſo, yet being a marked man he declined attending for a time, and therefore reſigned his office of Treaſurer, and propoſed that a new one ſhould be elected—that on the election taking place, Cummings was elected to go forward to the Provincial, as Secretary, in the room of Mic. Reynolds; Deponent was elected to go forward as Treaſurer, inſtead of Lord Edward, and Daly was elected Delegate;—that about two guineas were paid into Deponent's hands as Treaſurer, made up of what was called three-penny money, from its being collected by three-pences from the inferior Societies—That the returns of arms, &c. were given in; that there was no

 report

report in Dublin; that there was little ſaid, the election having taken up moſt of the time, and that the meeting was over about three or four o'clock—that Mic. Reynolds ſaid, that at 10 o'clock next day, Provincial was to meet at Bond's in Bridge-ſtreet, Dublin.—And this Deponent further ſaith, that as it would have been very inconvenient for him after four o'clock, to have gone from Nineteen Mile houſe home to Kilkea, 15 miles, and then to Dublin, 35 miles, to be at Bond's by 10 o'clock the next morning, and to have gone on to Dublin without returning home, would have alarmed Mrs. Reynolds, he wrote a letter to Oliver Bond by poſt, excuſing himſelf from attending that meeting, promiſing to be in Dublin in the courſe of the week—which letter Bond afterwards told Deponent he did receive and did accordingly lay before the meeting—That Cummings did not go, and Daly went alone; that this meeting at Bond's was on the Monday three weeks before the arreſt of the perſons at his houſe, that is on Monday the 19th of February 1798.—And this Deponent further ſaith, that on the Tueſday following, he arrived in Dublin with Mrs. Reynolds, and remained there for ſome time—that Deponent had never yet met any of his Captains, that he did not then know any of them except Kennaa and Malone, a ſmith, whom he ſaw once with Kennaa—that Daly told Deponent he underſtood the Monday three weeks from the meeting at Bond's, was to be the next meeting day of the Provincial, and at Bond's houſe likewiſe—At this time about the 25th February 1798, Deponent travelled with Mr. Cope to Caſtle-Jordan in order to obtain poſſeſſion of ſome lands to which they were jointly entitled, and during the journey Deponent at the perſuaſion of Mr. Cope, on whoſe friendſhip and honour he had the moſt implicit reliance, did diſcloſe to Mr. Cope in part, the extent of the conſpiracy, and told him that in order to enable government to counteract it entirely, he would procure a man who could get to the bottom of it, and detect the leaders; that in conſequence Deponent did, in the name of a third perſon, communicate to Mr. Cope for government all he knew of the plans and views of the United Iriſhmen, and particularly the proceedings of the meeting at Bond's of the 19th of February 1798, which Deponent got from Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and the intended meeting of the 12th of March, alſo at Bond's, which meeting was in conſequence apprehended.—That in order to procure more certain knowledge of the intended meeting of the 12th of March, Deponent applied to Bond, at whoſe houſe Daly had ſaid it was to be held, that Bond referred Deponent to John M'Cann as the man who was to regulate that part of the buſineſs, and to give any information that might be neceſſary about

about it; that Deponent did apply accordingly to M'Cann, that M'Cann ſaid to Deponent, that unleſs he brought up the returns from the County Committee of Kildare, he could not be admitted to the Provincial, neither could he give him any information thereof, till he ſhewed to him ſaid returns—that on communication with Mr Cope, he adviſed Deponent to go down to his County, which he accordingly did.—That Deponent went down on the Saturday week before the arreſt of the meeting at Bond's, to Kilkea—that on the Sunday he went to Caſtledermott, where for the firſt time he met his Officers, ſettled returns of men and arms, &c., that Kennaa acted as Secretary.—That the Officers preſent, whom Deponent knew, were Brannicks, two Germans, Malone, the ſmith, Cornelius M'Daniel, farmer, near Caſtledermott—That Deponent went to this meeting merely to authorize him to get the returns to bring to M'Cann, that he called on Daly at Kilcullen whom he knew had the returns, and who wrote a copy of them and gave it to Deponent; that Deponent brought the returns up to Dublin, that he ſhewed them to M'Cann, and aſked him the time of the meeting of the Provincial, who ſaid it was very odd there was not any increaſe in the returns ſince the laſt meeting, and that the Delegates muſt be in town on the Sunday evening; that M'Cann promiſed to breakfaſt with Deponent on Sunday 11th March 1798, at his houſe, No. 4, Cumberland-ſtreet, and tell him all particulars as to the time and place of the Provincial Meeting.—And this Deponent further ſaith, that he called at Oliver Bond's houſe on Saturday, that while he was there M'Cann came in and ſaid to Bond, that he muſt have a room from him for Monday, to which Bond anſwered, that M'Cann ſhould have the room he had laſt, or he ſhould have the little room—that another perſon was preſent when Bond ſaid this; that Deponent thinks the perſon like one Gallagher, a clerk to Moor, the iron-monger of Thomas-ſtreet; that Deponent ſuppoſed decidedly that Bond knew the purpoſe for which M'Cann aſked the uſe of the room.—And this Deponent further ſaith, that M'Cann came on the next morning, Sunday, to breakfaſt with Deponent, that no particular converſation took place, as Mrs. Reynold was preſent, that Deponent after breakfaſt walked with M'Cann to the bottom of Church-Street, who told him that at 10 o'clock on Monday morning he muſt be at Oliver Bond's, and deſired Deponent to be punctual, as particular buſineſs would be done,—That Deponent not wiſhing to be at the meeting, as he knew it was to be arreſted, wrote a note to Bond, which he ſent to Bond's on Monday morning, ſtating that Mrs. Reynolds was taken very ill, that he could not conſequently bring

bring his money at the hour appointed, and begged him to make an apology for him to M'Cann on that account.—And this Deponent further faith, that on the day of the arreſt of the perſons at Oliver Bond's, he underſtood that Lord Edward Fitzgerald went from Dr. M'Nevins's lodgings to the houſe of a Swadler in Aungier-Street named Kennedy, at No. 13 or 23 as Deponent thinks—Deponent met Lord Edward Fitzgerald at Leinſter-houſe ſome days before, believes on Sunday the 11th of March 1798, with a printed order for the Lawyers Corps to get Ball Cartridges and keep their orders ſecret, in his hand, which Deponent was carrying to Mr. Cope to point out the impropriety of, and which on Lord Edward's ſeeing, he ſaid "he was a marked man, that Government "wiſhed to ſeize him, and this order was meant againſt him, that he "wiſhed he could get to France, the communication from thence "having been lately interrupted; that he was very intimate with "Talleyrand Perigord, and if he was there he could influence him "to haſten the invaſion, for which the port of Wexford would be "the beſt fitted—That the French had a few remarkable faſt ſailing "Frigates, and that he thought the beſt plan would be to fill two "or three of them with Officers and Iriſh-men, and perſons capable "of drilling men, and arms and ammunition, and run them into "Wexford; that he did not approve of a general invaſion, for if the "Grand French Fleet ſhould be beaten by the Engliſh it would "ruin the cauſe; and if a partial landing could be made, the Coun-"try would riſe and hold out, till ſupplies could be thrown in from "France."—That on the Wedneſday after the arreſt at Bond's, M'Cann of Grafton-ſtreet told Deponent that Lord Edward wiſhed to ſee him at 8 o'Clock ſame night, he brought Deponent to the houſe of [a perſon named in the original,] where Deponent ſaw Lord Edward, who ſaid he would write ſomething for the County of Kildare, and deſired Deponent to call on him the following evening at the ſame hour in the ſame place; Deponent did call and Lord Edward gave him a letter to the County of Kildare in his own writing, deſiring them not to mind what had paſſed, it ſignified nothing but to fill up their vacancies occaſioned by the arreſt at Bond's as ſoon as poſſible, as the day was at hand when they ſhould be called into action, and they might rely on his being in his place on the day of need; he alſo told Deponent that he had in his hands £13 as Treaſurer to the Barony of Ophaly, and £32 as Treaſurer to the County of Kildare, which two ſums he would take care to have handed over to Deponent; and then Lord Edward went away from the houſe in diſguiſe, under care of a gentleman who Deponent believes

lieves to be a Mr. Lawlefs a Surgeon, but Deponent is not certain as to his name, not being very well acquainted with Mr. Lawlefs's perfon—And this Deponent further faith that the report of the Committee, a copy of which he gave Mr. Cope to forward to Government, was given him by Lord Edward Fitzgerald—that Deponent went down one day about 24th February 1798, to the Black Rock with Cummings and M'Cann of Grafton-ftreet, Lady Edward's Apothecary, to dine with Lord Edward, where he found Hugh Wilfon, and that after dinner Lord Edward gave Deponent thofe papers to copy, and to report to his County committee—And this Deponent further faith, that two or three days after the arreft of the perfons at Oliver Bond's, he was with Mrs. Bond, and that Neilfon, who was there, faid that the people of Dublin were not like thofe of the North, who inftead of flying about the ftreets would have quietly proceeded to fill up the places of the arrefted Delegates—And this Deponent further faith, that he afterwards returned to the County of Kildare, that he was informed by Daly that the County meeting would be held at Bell's, on the Curragh, on the next Sunday, that Deponent attended, and that at the faid County meeting a refolution was read as if it came from Dublin, defiring them to fill up the vacancies inftantly, which were made by the arreft of the Delegates at Bond's in Dublin, and that the aforefaid letter from Lord Edward Fitzgerald was alfo read—that Deponent gave in this letter at the meeting, that the letter was in the hand writing of Lord Edward, and was believed at the County committee to come from Lord Edward, and the fubftance of faid letter was handed all about the county as fuch; that the faid letter was unfealed when Deponent received it from Lord Edward Fitzgerald; that Deponent received alfo from Lady Edward £13, for the Barony of Ophaly, which fhe directed him to give to Daly, and alfo £32 as fucceffor to Lord Edward as Treafurer to the County Committee, which Lady Edward gave from an account on paper which fhe read, that Deponent gave the £13 to Daly, through one Murphy, who called on Deponent at Kilkea for it, and of the £32 Deponent has £15 at prefent in his poffeffion, and the reft he gave to Michael Reynolds, Mrs. Luby and another perfon, who formed a committee on behalf of the prifoners to be tried at the Affizes at Naas; that Deponent was orderd to give Cummings, who is a prifoner in Dublin, any money he might want—that the County committee knew fo exactly the fum Deponent had received from Lady Edward before his arrival, that they mentioned his having fix bad Bank Notes, which he was not aware of himfelf. And Deponent further faith, that after this laft mentioned County meeting, he had never been in Dublin, till brought there a prifoner—on

Tuesday sen'night after the arrest at Bond's Deponent met his Officers, at which meeting Brannicks said that Germane had something of importance to communicate, who being called in, stated that Mr. Caulfield of Levetstown directed him to say, that if he was appointed to the joint command as Colonel with Deponent, he would join the United Irishmen—that on debating upon the proposal, Germane was entrusted to inform Mr. Caulfield, that he should have the joint command.—That at the said meeting it was proposed that the several Officers should take their respective Oaths, and that Deponent should take his as Colonel, which he did, and the rest took theirs; that from the breaking up of this meeting, Deponent has never met any committee.—And this Deponent further saith, that some suspicions has attached upon him as being the cause of the Provincial Committee having been seized, that he had heard so from Kennaa and that it was in consequence of Deponent's communications with Mr. Cope, which Deponent endeavoured to explain away to Kennaa to arise from his having had money transactions with Mr. Cope—that Deponent was coming to town with the above-mentioned particulars to Mr. Cope on Thursday last; when at Naas he met with Flood, who said that the last county meeting was at the Nineteen Mile House, and a very full one, and said he supposed Deponent would be at the meeting on Sunday; that on Deponent's shewing an ignorance of the meeting Flood drew in, and would not say any more; that it was likely Flood might have heard of the suspicions of Deponent, and thought it imprudent to trust him.—And this Deponent further saith, that upon this he went back to Kilcullen, that at the Nineteen Mile House he wrote a note to Mr. Cope telling him that he could not be in Town for some time, the reason of which he could not commit to paper, but which when he knew it he would be satisfied with—that Deponent carried this letter to Kilcullen and put it in the Post-Office there, that he went home to Kilkea, and from thence to Castledermott: whence he was seized by the military, and carried to Colonel Campqell, who declined seeing him, and ordered him to gaol; that Deponent entreated to be permitted to speak with Colonel Campbell, or to be sent immediately to Dublin Castle, but that the guard were ordered to do their duty, and he was taken to Athy gaol—that Deponent wrote from thence to Colonel Campbell, requesting a few minutes conversation—his request was not attended to; that about 10 o'clock on Sunday Deponent again solicited an interview, on which after some delay he was brought up and stated the meeting of the County Committee that was to take place on that day, which being most likely over he advised the seizure of the persons

retnrning

returning to their houſes, which was accordingly made in part.—And this Deponent further ſaith, that being eſcorted on his way to Dublin by a detachment of Mr. La Touche's yeomanry, he remarked the countenance of one of the Yeomen who were guarding him as one familiar to him, that the man looked very earneſtly at Deponent, and at laſt whiſpered him to be ſteady—that Deponent recollected before he got to Johnſtown that the yeoman was one of the County Committee with whom he had ſat—that the yeoman took an opportunity of deſiring the Deponent not to falter, as he had moſt important news; that upon this Deponent got leave to go into the neceſſary-houſe, to which the ſaid yeoman was appointed to guard him, and there found an opportunity to whiſper to him that there was to be a riſing in ten days, and that Mic. Reynolds came down from Dublin to inform them ſo.

No. XVII.

Paper copied by Mr. T. Reynolds from one in the Hand-writing of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and given by Lord Edward Fitzgerald to Mr. Reynolds.

The following Returns and Resolutions, together with the Duty of Adjutant-General, were copied from a paper in the hand-writing of Lord Edward Fitzgerald by him, and transmitted to Government previous to the arrest of the meeting at Bond's. They are alluded to in Mr. Reynolds's information.

National Committee, 26th Feb. 1798.

Ulster and Munster made no new returns this time, but state their former returns again of last Monday.

	Armed Men.	Finances in hand.		
Ulster	110,990	£. 436	2	4
Munster	100,634	147	17	2
Kildare	10,863	110	17	7
Wicklow	12,895	93	6	4
Dublin	3,010	37	2	6
Dublin City	2,177	321	17	11
Queen's County	11,689	91	2	1
King's County	3,600	21	11	3
Carlow	9,414	49	2	10
Kilkenny	624	10	2	3
Meath	1,400	171	2	1
	279,896	£. 1485	4	9

Resolved, that our thanks be returned to the several colonels for their effectual exertions in embodying and arming their several regiments.

Resolved, that two delegates be sent into Connaught by the Ulster provincial, to organize that province.

Resolved, that the Executive Committee be requested to account for the expenditure of 60 guineas voted to them.

Resolved, that we will pay no attention whatever to any attempts that may be made by either Houses of Parliament, to divert the public mind from the grand object which we have in view, as nothing short of the complete Emancipation of our Country will satisfy us.

Resolved, that each county who have not yet paid up their finances, shall be requested to pay 70*l.* except the county of Carlow, which shall only pay 40*l.*

Resolved, that the Executive do take such steps immediately as will tend most expeditiously to bring about a union of the four provinces—three only having as yet come forward.

Resolved, that the colonels in each county shall make lists of three persons, to be transmitted, sealed up, either through the province or any other authentic channel, one of which three will be nominated to the employment.

Resolved, that the counties of Carlow, Meath, Wicklow, Derry, Down and Antrim, deserve well of their country, for their manly offer of emancipating her directly; but that they be requested to bear the shackles of tyranny a little longer, until the whole kingdom shall be in such a state of organization as will, by their joint co-operation, effect without loss their desirable point, which is hourly drawing to a crisis.

Duty of Adjutant-Generals.

They must make at least every second week reports to the Executive, through the medium of the person named to them for that purpose, on such or all of the following subjects, as they shall obtain any intelligence of, and be unremitting in discreet exertions to discover every thing within their county.

1st. The number, strength, and arms of the regiments under their command, qualifications of their officers, which of them have seen actual service, and have been in the army.

2d. What number of mills in their counties, and what average quantity of flour and corn they contain summer and winter.

3d. The breadth and condition of the roads, depth of the rivers, heighth of their banks, where they have bridges and fords, form impassable marshes in summer and winter, run through bogs, &c.

4th. The best position to interrupt the convoys going to the enemy from the capital, leading to their camps or depots, or from one town to another; also, the fittest for the patriots to assemble or rally in, with a reasoned detail of the alledged advantages or disadvantages.

5th What

5th. What number of towns and villages; how many horſe and foot could be quartered in them; where the country has plantations ſufficient to afford ſhelter to troops without tents, or whether they could conveniently find fuel, ſtraw and forage.

6th. Who the beſt patriots, and beſt fitted by intelligence and honeſty to be employed as commiſſaries.

7th. To communicate to the Executive every movement of the enemy, every change of quarters, number of horſe and foot, ſpecifying whether native or foreign, ſituation, nature and quantity of depots, and nature of their poſition.

8th. Thoſe in the maritime counties are charged on the firſt appearance of a friendly force on the coaſt, but eſpecially on certain intelligence being had of the debarkation of our allies, to communicate the ſame in the moſt ſpeedy and truſty manner to the Executive.—They muſt then immediately collect their force, and march forward with as many of the Yeomanry and Militia as poſſible; each man to be provided with at leaſt three days ſubſiſtence, and to bring on all they can of cars, draft horſes, horſes harneſſed, and horſes to mount cavalry, with three or four days forage; taking care to ſeize no where the property of a patriot where an enemy can be found to raiſe contributions on.

No. XVIII.

No. I.

Papers found in the pocket-book of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and in his possession, at the time of his arrest.

T. Keathy, Enverness Fencibles		50	with 1 Batt^{n} of
Salt, Londonderry -		47	1
Nass, Armagh - -		250	1
Green-Horse -		22	
Connell - -		-	1
Clane, Armagh - -		50	1
Narragh Rab^{n} K^{s} County M.		500	2
	Longford		
	6th Dragoons		
	Louth M.		
Kilkea,	Do. Do. Do.	500	1
Killcullen,	9th Dragoons	80	0
	Tyrone M.	30	
	Suffolk	50	
	Orange Yeo^{n}	90	
Carbery, Inverness Fencibles		50	0
Ophilia, Sundr^{s}		600	2
County sundry Returns		2319	with 10 Batt^{s} of
		1500	
		3819	

No. II.

50 Chains of 6 foot long, with 50 padlocks.
1000 Spike nails, 4, 6, 8 inches.
200 Round staples.
20 Cramp Irons, ⌐¬ in this form.
50 Large sledges.
50 Small ones.
50 Hammers.
50 Groove irons.
100 Hatchets.
300 Shovels and spades, or as many as can be procured.
150 Hooks for scaling ladders, the catching point to have a hackle face.

No.

No. III.

[*In the hand writing of Lord Edward Fitzgerald.*]

Suppoſe R. force divided into 3 columns. The left *of the Kildare line* * to [column] to [aſſemble at] Cloncurry, or between it Clonard-bridge; a detachment to be ſent to Clonard-bridge, as ſoon as poſſible; that *body* [column] to advance by Kilcock, Maynooth, Leixlip and Chapelizod, towards Dublin.

* The words in Italics had a line drawn through them in the original.

No. XIX.

Papers found at the Meeting at Bond's, on the 12th of March.

Found on John Lynch at the Meeting at Bond's; Hand-writing of William-Michael Byrne.

The County W———^w^. C——— inform their Conſtituents—that by the advice they have received from the Provincial, it appears that very flattering accounts have been received from abroad, which will, in a very few days, be officially handed down.—The Provincial returns of men have only encreaſed a *few thouſands* ſince the laſt reports—as the new County Members have not yet come in—in conſequence of the *new* Elections, which, each Barony will take notice, muſt be on or before the 15th February next.

The County Comm^e^ again earneſtly recommend it to their Conſtituents—to pay no attention to any flying reports, as they know to a certainty, falſe emiſſaries are encouraged to diſſeminate ſuch news as may tend to diſunite or lead them aſtray.

The C. C. hear with regret the diſſatisfaction of the Baronial Committee of Newcaſtle, with reſpect to their not being as yet fully ſupplied with Arms, &c.—They aſſure them that every exertion has been uſed for that purpoſe, and that quantities of P ks are now ready manufactured for delivery; but would at the ſame time recommend to have as many made as poſſible in each Barony, as they will thereby come infinitely cheaper.

The County Committee cannot be accountable for any money in the hands of a Baronial Treaſurer,—and of courſe cannot account for any, but ſuch as has been paid in to them, of which there appears a correct ſtatement in the returns.

They feel with concern the apathy of their fellow-citizens of the Co. W. who refuſe ſo ſmall a pittance as *one penny* per man—to alleviate, in ſome degree, the diſtreſſes of their ſuffering brethren now in W. Jail—where there are many innocent Cit. in want of the common neceſſaries of life;—but who, though famiſhing, ſcorn to betray the *truſt* repoſed in them.

The County Com^e^ inform their Conſtituents, that, ſo far from having a fund in hands, they are now indebted to one of their members.

(No.

(No. 2.) who has kindly advanced 18l. 4s. 2d. for the relief of prisoners—The County Members are therefore intreated to forward to *him*, without delay, as much money as can be collected in their respective Baronies; as there appears to be now in gaol—from Arklow Barony *four*---from Shillela *five*---from Ballinacorr *fourteen*, and *one* from Talbotstown *fifteen* · and from Newcastle *two*---in all *forty-two*, without the smallest fund for the ensuing m°.

Resolved, that a subscription be instantly commenced, for the purpose of forming a fund, for the employing and retaining Council, which shall be taken as a voluntary contribution, according to the circumstances of individuals---to be lodged in the hands of a *Treasurer* chosen by the County C°.

Resolved, that it is requested that the next meeting may be *fully attended*, as there is business of the utmost importance to be taken into consideration.

C. C. Jany. 22, 1798.

					Pd. prisoners.	
Tal.	2974	20 3 10	——			119 0 0
Low. D.	706	——	——	1st.	12 10 3	35 15 0
Ar.	2400	59 8 3	——	2d.	22 15 0	——
Rd.	1200	17 0 0	5 0 0	3d.	37 19 3	83 5 0
N. C.	1800	35 15 0	——	N° 2.	12 6 5	162 3 4
W. B.	1800	13 15 0	——		——	——
L. B.	840	8 2 0	——		85 10 11	245 8 4
Shil.	1080	7 19 3	⅔ —		——	85 10 11
				Rest to Province		
	12800	162 3 4			——	159 17 5
		73 4 6	88 18 10		73 4 6	

	G.	P.	S.	B.	Ps.	B. C.	B.	lb.P.
Tal.	181	78	66	134	321	3331	8315	75
Ar.	265	85	68	87	200	400	8050	500
N. C.	158	41	20	32	355	——	5965	169
R. D.	185	94	62	75	380	980	500	17
	789	298	216	328	1256	4711	22830	761
Ar.	210	75	62 } At					
N. C.	100	0	0 }					
R. D.	200	0	0 }					
	1299	373	278					

No. I.

No. I.

Papers found in the Room at Bond's.

Hand-writing of John Macan.

I, do ſolemnly declare, that I came duly elected.

No. II.

Hand-writing of John Macan.

19th February, 1798.

Kildare	10863	In Treaſurer's Hands	20	18	3
Wicklow	12095				
Dublin	3010		20	—	—
Do. City	2000				
Queen's Co.	11689				
King's Co.	3600				
Carlow	9414				
Kilkenny	624.				
Meath	14000				
	67295		40	18	3

Reſolved, that the Colonels in each County ſhall make out a liſt of three perſons to be Adjutants-General for ſaid Counties.—The liſts to be tranſmitted, ſealed, either through the Provincial, or any other authentic channel to the Executive, who will nominate one of the three to the employment.

Reſolved, that our Treaſurer be allowed to pay 16 guineas to the Delegate for to buy a Horſe—which, when the entire County is organized, is to be ſold, and the money paid back into the hands of the Treaſurer.

Reſolved, that the Ex. Comm^e be requeſted to account for the Expenditure of 60 guineas voted them.

Reſolved, that each Co. who have not paid in any finance, ſhall be requeſted to pay in 70l. immediately, except the Co. Carlow, which ſhall only pay 40l.

PRIVATES

PRIVATES TEST.

Hand-writing not known.

I, *A. B.* do ſolemnly declare, that I will perform my duty, and be obedient to all the lawful commands of my Officers, while they act in ſubordination to the duly-elected Committee.

Hand-writing of John Macan.

Reſolved, that we will pay no attention whatſoever to any attempt that may be made by either Houſes of Parliament, to divert the public mind from the grand object we have in view, as nothing ſhort of the compleat Emancipation of our Country will ſatisfy us.

No. III.

K.	10863	In Hands	20	18	3
W.	12095				
D.	3010	£. 32	20	—	—
C. D.	2000				
Q. C.	11689				
K. C.	3600				
C^w	9414				
K^y	624				
M.	14000				
	67295		40	18	3

Ten in the Morning this Day three Weeks.

No. IV.

Hand-writing of John Macan.

Reſolved, that it is the opinion of this Committee, that if the other Ps. be in an equal ſtate of preparation as Leinſter, as ſoon as we can procure the information of their ſtate, and their determination to act in concert with the Nation, we ſhould immediately proceed to act;—and that the Exe^ve be requeſted to take ſuch ſteps immediately, as will tend moſt expeditiouſly to bring about an Union of the different prov^s.

Reſolved, that the Select Com^e of five be requeſted to prepare a Military Teſt to be laid before the Prov^l at their next Meeting for their approbation.

Extracts from the pocket book of John Macan, found at Bond's.

P. C. [Provincial Committee.]

20th February, 1798.

Kildare	10863					
Wicklow	12895			£. 20	18	3
Dublin	3010			20		
Do. City	2177			104	6	5
Queen's Co.	11689	-	-			
King's Co.	3600	-	-			
Carlow	9414	-	-			
Kilkenny	624	-	-			
Meath	14000	-	-			
	68272			£. 145	4	8

Subſcriptions :

	Febr^y. 9th, 1798		Febr^y. 16th.		Febr^y. 23.			
No.	8	8						
1	1	1	6½			6½		
2	1	1	6½			6½		
3	2	8½	6½					
4	1	1	6½			6½		
5			6½		1	1		
6			6½					
7	1	1	6½			6½		
8			6½			6½		
9	2	8½						
10	1	1			2	8½	2	2
11	1	1					6	6
12			6½ & 2	8½				
			3	9½				
£.	1 0	7	1 7	1			15	2

C. C. [County Committee.]

February 19th, 1798.

1	812	28	8	11	[Four diviſions of the City of Dublin.]
2	865	19	15		
3	500	9	13	6	
4		46	9		
	2177	£. 104	6	5	

D. C.

D. C. 2d March.

					In hands £. 1	16	0½
No. 1	118	4	11				6½
2	118	3	19	7½			6½
3	84	12					
4	72						6½
5	120	2				4	4
6	99	1	15			3	3
7	50						
8							6½
9		1	12	10½			
10	80	1	6	9			6½
11	70	1				4	4
12	115	1	11	9		1	1
13						1	½
14						2	8½
					£. 2	16	4

D. C. 8th March, 98. B. C. [Baronial Committee.] 5th March, 1798.

No. 1	118	4	3	6½	12	£. 2	17	5
2	118	4	3	3	12			
3	48	1	0	6	12			
4	72				12			
5	120				12		13	
6	105	1	15	2	10			
7	107		14		12			
8	89	12						
9	86	3	8	3				
10	118	2	4	9	8		15	
11	102	1	13					
12	115	2	11	6				
13	86	1	7	8				
14	84	3	7	8				

Extract

Extract of a letter found upon Oliver Bond, ſigned H. W. (Hugh Wilſon) and dated, Cork 6th, 1798.

I have been ſo cooped up ſince I came here, that had I known the ſituation of the place, my mind ſhould never have been ſo abominably cloſeted, for any emolument that I may derive before a change of the preſent government takes place.

You can but faintly imagine how things are going on here; give the people but a little time, and reſt aſſured the progreſs ſcience is making will aſtoniſh the world.—The enemies of the human race are much alarmed, and the revolt of the Dublin County Militia has increaſed their fears. Mr. Finlay ſays, they are all aſſaſſins, and he is almoſt afraid to truſt himſelf with them.—I hear they are to be diſperſed among the Highlanders through the country. Numbers of preachers of the true Goſpel are better than few, and thoſe diſperſed grains may not fall on rocky ground.

When the news came this morning of the Spaniſh fleet being out, the Ariſtocrats ſeemed happy, ſaying, their doom was at hand, Jervis being after them.

With beſt regards to Mrs. Bond and all friends,

I am ſincerely yours,
H. W.

Evidence

No. XX.

Evidence of Captain Armſtrong, on the Trial of Henry and John Sheares.

The Witneſs ſworn and examined.

Q. Pray, Sir, in what profeſſion are you?
A. I am a Captain in the King's County Militia.
Q. Are you acquainted with Mr. Henry or Mr. John Sheares?
A. I am; with both of them.
Q. Do you ſee theſe gentlemen in Court?
A. I do.
Q. Point them out?
A. That is Mr. Henry Sheares, and that is John Sheares, I believe.
Q. You know theſe two perſons?
A. I do.
Q. Can you tell when you firſt became acquainted with either of them?
A. The firſt time was *Tueſday*, the 10th of *May* laſt.

(Here the Witneſs produced ſome papers.)

Q. What papers are theſe?
A. Some notes I took of the buſineſs as it happened.
Q. In your own hand-writing?
A. Yes.
Q. Then you have a right to look at them. Can you recollect, how you happened to become acquainted with them?
A. I came to town from the camp about buſineſs, and went into Mr. Byrne's ſhop—After ſome converſation, he aſked me, Did I know Mr. Sheares? I aſked him, Was it Sheares, the lawyer?
Q. What camp did you ſpeak of?
A. The camp of Lehaunſtown.
Q. Was your regiment quartered there?
A. My company was quartered there.
Q. Where was Byrne's ſhop?
A. In Grafton ſtreet: I do not know the number.
Q. What did Byrne propoſe?
A. He aſked me, Had I any objection to meet Mr. Sheares? I ſaid, I had not.
Q. How long had you been acquainted with Mr. Byrne the bookſeller?
A. I believe, I have known him about two years.
Q. What was the nature of that acquaintance you had with Mr. Byrne? was it familiar, or otherwiſe?

 A. I knew

A. I knew him as my bookſeller, whoſe ſhop I much frequented: I was there almoſt every day.

Q. Do you recollect any particular deſcription of books which you were in the habit of purchaſing from him?

A. I uſed to purchaſe every political pamphlet as it came out, and other books I fancied.

Q. Do you recollect what was the particular occaſion of his aſking to introduce you to Mr. Sheares?

A. I did not know his purpoſe.

Q. But you were ſpeaking about ſomething?

A. I was not ſpeaking at the time; he followed me out.

Q. You had been ſpeaking?

A. I had, but do not recollect.

Q. There were other people there?

A. There were.

Q. He followed you out, when he made that propoſal?

A. He did.

Q. Did you take any particular meaſure in conſequence of that propoſal?

A. I did: I went to look for Captain Clibborn, a man upon whom I had dependance, and who I knew was in town: He was my particular friend.

Q. Was that before you met either of the Mr. Sheares's?

A. It was.

Q. (*By the Court.*) Was that immediately after you left Byrne's?

A. It was, my Lord.

Q. Did you ſee Mr. Clibborn, whom you went in queſt of?

A. I did.

Q. What did you do?

A. I told him what had happened, and aſked him for his advice.

Q. I preſume you mean, what had happened between you and Byrne?

A. I do, Sir.

Q. Can you recollect what advice he gave you, or what you determined to do?

The counſel for the Priſoners objected to this queſtion.

Q. Did you come to any determination?

A. Capt. Clibborn adviſed me to give them a meeting.

Q. The reſult of your converſation was to give the Mr. Sheares's, a meeting.

A. It was.

Q. Mention, whether you were ever introduced to the Mr. Sheares's, or either of them, in conſequence of this propoſal, or not?

A. Upon

A. Upon my return to Mr. Byrne's late, I waited until the elder Sheares arrived.

Q. (*By the Court.*) That is Henry?
A. I believe ſo, my Lord.

Q. What paſſed upon the arrival of Mr. Henry Sheares?
A. Mr. Byrne introduced me to him in the inner ſhop.
Q. Do you recollect in what manner or form he introduced you?
A. He only mentioned my name; but ſaid, that if we had a mind to chat, we might go into the room inſide the inner ſhop.
Q. Recollect whether any thing elſe was ſaid by Byrne in the preſence of Mr. Henry Sheares?
A. He opened the door, ſhewed me in and ſaid, "All I can ſay "to you, Mr. Sheares, is, that Capt. Armſtrong is a true brother, "and you may depend upon him."
Q. Be ſo good as to call to your recollection any thing that may have paſſed upon that interview between you and Mr. Henry Sheares; you have a right to refreſh your memory by your notes. —At what time did you take them?
A. I took a ſheet after every interview I had with the gentlemen.
Q. Mention the import and ſubſtance of what paſſed?
A. Henry Sheares told me, that what he wanted to ſay to me, he wiſhed to ſay in the preſence of his brother.

Q. (*By the Court.*) Did he ſay this in the preſence of Byrne?
A. No, my Lord, in the private room, when we were alone.

Q. Do you recollect any thing worthy obſerving to have paſſed that day?
A. I told him, I had no objection to wait till the brother came.
Q. When did you again hold converſation with him?
A. In a very ſhort time after the other Mr. Sheares came to the ſhop.
Q. After he came, where were you?
A. We were introduced pretty much in the ſame manner as before.
Q. Do you mean by Byrne?
A. Yes
Q. He introduced you to John alſo? Mention then what paſſed?
A. He told me he knew my principles very well—

Q. (*By the Court.*) Who told you that?
A. Mr. John Sheares.

Q. Were you at this time in the inner room again?
A. Yes.
Q. And the door ſhut?
A. I believe ſo.

Q. (*By*

Q. (*By the Court*) Did the brother Henry go in?
A. No, my Lord, I had separate interviews with them.

Q. Did Mr. Henry Sheares go away?
A. He did, before John came, and did not return that day.—John said, he knew my principles very well—that he was emboldened by that knowledge, and the pressure of events induced him, for the good of the cause, to make himself known to me, and to shew me how the cause could be benefited by my joining the cause *in action*, as he knew I had *by inclination*.—I told him, I was ready to do every thing in my power for it.
Q. Meaning the cause?
A. Yes.—And that if he should shew me how I could do any thing, I would serve him to the utmost of my power.
A. Did he state to you in what manner you could serve this cause to which he thus alluded?
A. He said, that as I was willing to serve it, he would tell me at once what I could do—He told me, that the rising was very near—that they could not wait for the French, but had determined upon a home exertion; and that the principal manner in which I could assist them, was by seducing the soldiers, and bringing about the King's County Militia, and consulting with him about taking the camp.

Q. (*By the Court.*) What camp?
A. The camp at Lehaunstown I understood, where I was quartered.—And that for the purpose of bringing about the soldiers, he would recommend me to endeavour to practise upon the non commissioned officers and privates, who were of the Roman Catholic religion, as they were most likely to think themselves aggrieved. I do not recollect any thing more of the conversation that day, except our appointment to meet the Sunday following.

Q. Did he mention an appointment for that day?
A. He did.
Q. Where?
A. At his house.
Q. Where was that?
A. In Baggot-street.
Q. Did he tell you?
A. Yes; for I did not know it till then—On the Sunday following I went to his house, and the elder only was at home.
Q. That was Henry?
A. I believe so; I only knew them at that time by the distinction of elder and younger.

Q. De

Q. Do you recollect the number of the houſe?

A. I do not.

Q. Upon which ſide of the way is it?

A. On the right hand going out of town, his name was upon the door.

Q. What paſſed?

A. I had a repetition of a good part of the converſation with Henry, that I had had upon the former day with John.

Q. Mention what you particularly recollect?

A. He told me, that he underſtood his brother and I had converſed together—he apologized to me for not returning to me to Byrne's, for that there was a committee ſitting that day, which it was neceſſary that one of them ſhould attend.

Q. Did he mention what that committee was about?

A. He did not.—He aſked me as to the ſtate of the regiment, and the ſituation of the camp; where it was moſt vulnerable, and the number of troops ſtationed there—he queſtioned me as to the poſſibility of taking it by ſtorm, or by treachery, or by uſing the counterſign, or ſomething of that kind—I do not recollect any thing further till the Priſoner came in.

Q. *(By the Court.)* This converſation was before John came in?

A. It was.

Q. Do you mean to ſay, you do not recollect any thing more ſaid by Henry?

A. Except a repetition of what John had ſaid.—John aſked me, whether I knew any United men in the regiment—I ſaid, not.

Q. Was that in the preſence of Henry?

A. It was. He ſaid, he thought I could make good men of the ſoldiers.

Q. Which of them ſaid that?

A. John:—I ſaid, I ſhould be afraid to commit myſelf with any of them; but if I knew them, I ſhould then do what I could in concert with them. He ſaid, he believed he could inform me of ſome I might depend upon—he told me, it was their intention to ſeize the camp, the artillery at Chapelizod, and the City of Dublin in one night.

Q. *(By the Court.)* Whoſe intention?

A. *Ours* was his expreſſion: I underſtood the United Iriſhmen. —He ſaid, there was to be one hour and a half between the ſeizing of the camp and Dublin, and an hour between ſeizing Dublin and Chapelizod, ſo that the news of both might arrive at the ſame time. He told me, if I would call at eleven at night, he would give me the neams of ſome men in the regiment.

 Q. What

Q. What regiment?
A. My own regiment.

Q. (*By the Court.*) That meeting was in the morning?
A. In the morning before dinner.—At the meeting in the evening, he told me, he had not been able to obtain the names for me; but that a man would call upon me in the camp to whom I was to give a paſs, and that I might converſe with him upon his return without reſerve.

Q. Recollect, if you can, whether any thing more particular paſſed about the cauſe in hand?
A. I do not recollect any thing on that day.
Q. Who had the command of your regiment?
A. Col. L'Eſtrange.
Q. Did you ever communicate to any perſons what paſſed at theſe interviews?
A. I returned to the camp immediately after each interview, and communicated the buſineſs that paſſed to Col. L'Eſtrange and Capt. Clibborn—Sometimes I communicated it to Lord Caſtlereagh and Mr. Cooke.—On Wedneſday the 16th, the Colonel was ſurpriſed, that no man had called upon me—he requeſted I would go to town and find out the reaſon: I came to town, and as neither of the Mr. Sheares's was at home, I left word, that I would call between five and ſix o'clock. I called between five and ſix, and was ſhewn into the library at Mr. Sheares's houſe.
Q. At the ſame houſe?
A. Yes: the younger Sheares came in, told me he wiſhed to introduce me to a gentleman with whom I might conſult and adviſe in his abſence, as he muſt go down and organize Cork; he ſaid, he had not been able to find out the names I wanted in the regiment—He ſaid, the riſing in Cork was to be in ſuch a manner, that the news might reach Dublin at the ſame time with the news of riſing in other places, and that he was only waiting for the Executive to fix the day.

Q. (*By the Court.*) Was the news of the riſing in Cork to reach Dublin at the time of the riſing there?
A. Yes.

Q. (*By the Jury.*) Where was the Executive? Who were they?
A. I do not know; he did not explain, and I aſked him no queſtion.
Q. What did you underſtand?
A. The Executive Directory, who were ſitting in Dublin in the ſame manner, as other committees were ſitting.—Mr. John Sheares appointed

appointed me to meet him next day, and that he would introduce me to that gentleman.

Q. Had you ſeen Henry at that meeting at all upon the 16th?

A. Not at that time—I went there next day, Thurſday 17th, and met both the brothers.

Q. At the ſame houſe?

A. Yes, the ſame houſe.—I do not recollect any converſation of moment, until the gentleman came. I was introduced to him as to a Mr. Lawleſs, a relation of Lord Cloncurry: That was the name he was introduced by.

Q. Was there any other preſent?

A. None but the two brothers.

Q. He was introduced as the perſon Mr. John Sheares had been ſpeaking of the day before?

A. I underſtood ſo. Mr. Lawleſs told me, he had been preſent ſome time before at a meeting of deputies from all, or compoſed of almoſt all, the militia regiments in Ireland; at which meeting, he ſaid, there were two of our men; he did not know their names; but that if I would call between five and ſix upon Mr. Sheares, he would leave their names with him for me.

Q. (*By the Court.*) Were the Mr. Sheares's preſent at this converſation?

A. They were both preſent, my Lord.—He ſaid, he would obtain the names from a man, who had been very active in making United Iriſhmen, and who had been very active in making ſome in every regiment that had been in Dublin for two years paſt.

Q. The two priſoners were preſent at that meeting?

A. Both were preſent on that day. The elder Sheares told me, that the corps throughout Ireland were completely organized, and had all their Captains and Adjutants appointed. I called that evening to get the names which Mr. Lawleſs was to leave for me. I was ſhewn into the library, where Mr. John Sheares was in converſation with a man.—Upon the man's going away, Mr. John Sheares gave me this note, which was to be a note of introduction to a Serjeant in our regiment, intimating to him, that I might be depended upon, and ſaid he got it from the man he had been ſpeaking to.

Q. (*By the Jury.*) Is it in Mr. Sheares's hand writing?

A. I do not know.

Q. Is it directed?

A. It is directed to Serjeant Connors.

Q. Is

Q. Is there any other Serjeant of that name in your regiment?
A. I believe not.
Q. Before you quit Mr. Lawlefs, do you recollect any expreffion relating to the camp, or the neighbourhood of it?
A. I do; he remarked, that the trees to the right of the Camp would be very convenient for hanging people.

Q. (*By the Court.*) Was that in the prefence of Mr. Sheares?
A. It was, my Lord.

Q. Have you in your recollection any direction given by Mr. Lawlefs or the Mr. Sheares's, as to what fhould be done at the time of the attack, or the line of conduct to be purfued?
A. Yes, my conduct was to be this:—I was to erect a ftandard upon the night to be fixed upon for the attack upon the camp, which was to be joined by all whom I had previoufly known to be United Irifhmen; that no other perfon was to be fpared, and they were not to be given the option of joining at the time of the attack. He gave me the name of a private, Pat. Fennan, at the time he gave me the note, and appointed me to meet him the Sunday following, when he would introduce me to more friends of the caufe.
Q. Did he fay any thing refpecting Fennan?
A. I underftood, that Fennan and Connors were the two deputies whom Lawlefs mentioned.

Q. (*By the Court.*) From whom did you underftand that?
A. Lawlefs had mentioned, that he would leave their names with Mr. John Sheares, and thofe were the names which Mr. John Sheares gave to me.—On Friday, I could not find Connors; but on Saturday I gave him the note, and afked him, Did he know the man named in the note; it was Arthur Hill—he told me he did.

Q. What is become of Connors?
A. He is in confinement, I believe, in the Caftle guard-room.
Q. He has been made a prifoner?
A. He was about the 20th of May:—He faid he would call upon me for a pafs.
Q. Did you call upon Mr. Sheares again?
A. I did, upon Sunday the 20th of May. I found the elder Sheares at home. I told him what had paffed between Connors and me, and that he would not know me.
Q. That is, would not open himfelf to you?
A. Yes:—He faid he was much furprifed at that, but attributed it to his caution; and he recommended caution to me, for that he and his brother efcaped by their caution, for Government then thought

thought them inactive. He ſaid there was a man at that time with Connors at Lehaunſtown, and that I ſhould find no difficulty in converſing with him upon my return to the Camp. The younger Sheares produced a paper, upon which appeared to be written names, by way of memorandum—among them were three more names of our regiment.

Q. *(By the Court.)* Did John come in?

A. He did.—I do not recollect any converſation more of moment with Henry:—John came in and Henry went out—then John produced the paper—he mentioned the names as if reading them from the paper, and three of them correſponded with three ſerjeants in our regiment.

Q. *(By the Court.)* What did he ſay of them?

A. He told me they were men I might depend upon as United Iriſhmen, and he mentioned their names to me as ſuch.

Q. Is there any thing elſe in your recollection?

A. He told me, he had that day called at Lawleſs's, and that he believed he had abſconded, for he was denied to him. He ſaid that a man had been out at the Camp on Saturday looking for me, to give me a letter, but could not find me. I aſked him the contents; he ſaid it was no matter, as I was then there, I would hear of it. He ſaid, the Executive Directory had directed him to tell me, they had come to a reſolution to appoint me to the command of the King's County regiment.—He ſaid I might promiſe to every man in the regiment that would join me, a portion of land in the King's County.—He told me, that on the night of the riſing in Dublin, the Lord Lieutenant was to be ſeized and all the Privy Council, ſeparately in their own houſes.—This converſation was in the preſence of the elder.

Q. *(By the Court.)* What part of the converſation?

A. All ſubſequent to his ſaying that Lawleſs had ſecreted himſelf, —He ſaid that when the Privy Council were all ſeized, there was no place to iſſue orders from, ſo as to counteract the riſing; and that in caſe of a failure of the attack upon the Camp, on the march of the ſoldiery into the town through Baggot-ſtreet, they had a ſufficient number of houſes in Baggot-ſtreet in their intereſt, to ſhoot them from, ſo as to render them uſeleſs; and that he expected throughout Ireland, that the Militia regiments would join, from the accounts they had received of them:—that ſeveral men of the different regiments had promiſed different numbers, ſome ten men, ſome twenty, ſome thirty, and ſome one hundred, provided they had ſufficien

notice:—but that if they were called out with their officers, nothing could be done, as the other regiments would be too ſtrong for them.

Q This was mentioned by John Sheares in the preſence of Henry?

A. Yes.

Q. He told you that the riſing was to take place ſoon?

A. He did.

Q. Did he mention any reaſon?

A. He did, the country was tired with the proſecutions, and that the people threatened, if the riſing did not immediately take place, they would take the oath of allegiance, and give up their arms. The elder Sheares told me, that he had had a ſervant, who was the greateſt coward he ever ſaw; but that he had been particularly active in making United Iriſhmen, particularly ſoldiers; but had quit him through fear and gone to Cork.—I do not recollect any thing further.

Q. Did you communicate the laſt converſation to any perſon?

A. Continually, every one:—I never had an interview with the Mr. Sheares's, that I had not one with Colonel L'Eſtrange and Captain Cobborn, and my Lord Caſtlereagh.

Q. Where have you been ſince that time?

A. I have only been in Wicklow and Wexford, and the county of Kildare.

Q. Did any thing happen to you?

A. I was wounded in my foot, at Slievebuy mountain, where I was with Colonel Walpole. I could not go to my regiment, being ordered by Lord Caſtlereagh not to leave town; I volunteered, and had the command of the grenadier company in the Londonderry Militia, where they behaved in the moſt exemplary manner.

Q. Did you ſee either of the Priſoners after they were arreſted?

A. I ſaw the younger.

Q. Where?

A. In the officer's guard-room at the Caſtle.

Q. Do you recollect upon what day he was made a priſoner?

A. The morning after the laſt converſation.

Q. Did any thing paſs between you?

A. He aſked me if his brother was taken? I ſaid I did not know. He aſked me if his papers were ſeized.—I ſaid I did not know.—He ſaid he hoped not, for there was one among them that would commit him.

Croſs-

Croſs-Examined by Mr. CURRAN.

Q. What countryman are you?
A. An Iriſhman.
Q. What part?
A. The King's County.
Q. How old are you?
A. I believe between 27 and 28.
Q. Have you any hereditary fortune?
A. Every thing I have is hereditary.
Q. Then you have hereditary fortune?
A. I have hereditary fortune, which qualifies me to be a Captain in the King's County Militia, otherwiſe I would not be one.
Q. Do you mean to ſay that your eſtate is not diminiſhed, or waſted?
A. Since I came of age, do you mean?
Q. Yes, Sir?—
A. Certainly not.
Q. Had you ever been in any military ſituation before you were in the King's County Militia?
A. I had.
Q. Where?
A. In ſeveral places.
Q. Mention as many as you recollect?
A. I have been quartered——
Q. You miſtake me, Sir,—I mean, had you been in the army?
A. I was in the Engliſh Militia.
Q. In what regiment?
A. In two; the Somerſet, and the South Middleſex ſupplementary.
Q. Do you recollect how you came to quit the Somerſet?
A. I do.—Having buſineſs in Ireland, and not being able to obtain leave of abſence.
Q. Have you always, when you talked of the ſubject, mentioned that as your reaſon for leaving the Somerſet Militia?
A. I do not recollect having given any reaſon.
Q. I want you to ſay poſitively upon your oath, whether you did —or whether you do not recollect?
A. I do not recollect that I gave any other.
Q. Then you do not ſay you did not?
A. I do not believe I ever did.
Q. Do you ſwear poſitively?
A. I cannot ſay; but I believe I did not; and that was the reaſon.

Q. Iaſk

Q. I aſk you, will you venture to ſwear poſitively, that you never did give any other reaſon for your leaving the Somerſet?

A. I cannot ſwear poſitively to what I may have ſaid in jeſting:—It is not impoſſible; but I believe I did not, and that was the reaſon.

Q. I beg you to recollect.—Did you in jeſt, or otherwiſe, give any other account of your leaving the regiment?

A. I cannot ſwear poſitively; but I do not believe I ever did:—It is ſo very trifling a thing; I might have ſaid, I did not like quarters, or ſome ſuch thing.

Q. How long after did you go into the South Middleſex?

A. About a year, I believe. I do not exactly recollect the time the Supplementary were called out. I had a friend in London, who put down my name, knowing I was unemployed and would like it.

Q. I aſked you, Sir, and you ſaid you did believe in the exiſtence of a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments. I aſk you now upon the oath you have taken, have you always profeſſed that belief?

A. Always.

Q. I wiſh to have your anſwer correct and preciſe.—Do you ſay, you always profeſſed it?

A. I do and did.

Q. From your education, you ought very well to underſtand the moral obligation of an oath. I preſume you have often reflected upon it?

A. I have often thought of it; I hope with great reſpect.

Q. By virtue of your oath, have you ever expreſſed any other ſentiment than reſpect of the obligation of an oath?

A. Never to my knowledge.

Q. Will you ſay upon your oath, that you never did upon any occaſion deliberately ſay, that an oath ought to be binding ſo far, and no longer, than it was convenient?

A. Never.

Q. Did you in any manner deride the moral obligation of an oath?

A. I believe not.

Q. Do you know a gentleman of the name of Bride?

A. I do.

Q. Have you been in company with him?

A. Very often.

Q. Did you in his company deride the moral obligation of an oath?

A. I do not recollect.

Q. Were you in his company within the laſt ſix months?

A. I was.

Q. When

Q. Were you in the College with him?

A. I was.

Q. In whoſe chamber?

A. I do not believe I was in any chamber with him theſe ſix months.

Q. Were you any time before that?

A. I have been in chambers with him.

Q. In whoſe chamber?

A. Mr. Browne's.

Q. Do you ſpeak poſitively?

A. I do.

Q. Within how many months?

A. Within a year.

Q. Was Mr. Bride there?

A. I could not be in company with him if he were not there.

Q. O, I forgot, I believe my queſtion was as to your being in company with him.—Do you recollect any converſation in that company touching the ſubject of an oath?

A. I do not.

Q. You will be the beſt judge yourſelf whether you can undertake to give a poſitive anſwer to my queſtion—Will you upon your oath Say, that you did not in that company expreſs any contempt or deriſion for an oath?

A. I am confident I never did.

Q. How long were you in the South Middleſex?

A. I do not know exactly; for I never ſaw my commiſſion.

Q. You mentioned that you had been much in the habit of buying political pamphlets from Mr. Byrne?

A. I ſaid ſo.

Q. Had you been much in the habit of talking upon ſuch ſubjects?

A. Of politics, do you mean?—Yes, I was.

Q. Had you been much in the habit of expreſſing your own political ſentiments touching the ſtate and affairs of your own country?

A. I generally uſed to chat there: when buying a book, I had ſome converſation about it.

Q. I no not mean to confine you to the time of buying a book, but generally?

A. Very often—When in company I uſed to ſpeak upon that as upon other ſubjects.

Q. I ſhould be glad to aſk, if you can recollect, whether the general ſtyle of your obſervations was in favour of the conduct of government, or the contrary?

A. The contrary.

Q. That was the general and pretty uniform line of your converſation in company?

A. Generally ſo.

Q. Was it pretty ſtrongly the contrary, or not?

A. I do not know that it was very ſtrong—it had that tendency.

Q. Keeping at a due diſtance from——

A. I hope ſo, Sir.

Q. From what, Sir?

A. Any thing wrong, or injurious to myſelf.

Q. Do you recollect—People ſometimes make up their ſentiments to toaſts, and hand them about in that ſhape—Did you ever give Republicaniſm?

A. I do not recollect it—If that was the round, I gave it.

Q. If that was the round?—

A. Toaſts are generally given in rounds—ſometimes hunting—ſometimes of other kinds—If that was the round, I gave it as well as I could.

Q. Do you recollect any thing about the Kings of Europe, as to either good or bad health?

A. Not the Kings of Europe.

Q. Some of them?

A. Yes, I have drank them.

Q. With great affection?

A. I cannot ſay with great affection; I have drank my own King with regard.

Q. Have you had much political converſation with Mr. Byrne?—I ſuppoſe not?——

A. Never, but when I was buying a book in his ſhop.

Q. That ſeems goes further than the title page with a bookſeller—Did you make any particular profeſſions to him?—I ſuppoſe not?

A. I do not recollect any till after the introduction to the Mr. Sheares's.

Q. Never before, about your principles?

A. Never about my principles.

Q. The propoſal to become acquainted with them was merely a wiſh of Mr. Byrne?

A. I do not know with whom the wiſh originated.

Q. He propoſed it, you ſaid?

A. I did ſay, he propoſed it.

Q. You ſaid, you had no idea of what the ſubject was, or whether any ſubject was talked of, between you and Mr. Sheares?

A. No,

A. No, Sir; I ſaid the contrary.

Q. When Byrne propoſed it, you ſaid you had no objection?

A. I did.

Q. Pray, Sir, do you know a gentleman of the name of Drought?

A. I do, a great many.

Q. Do you know the Drought, I mean?

A. I do not.

Q. Have you no conjecture of the Drought I mean?

A. I have.

Q. What Drought is it you mean?

A. I do not know whom you mean.

Q. What Drought do you gueſs at?

A. You would not take my gueſſing.

Q. I will—What Drought did you ſuppoſe I aſked you about?—Do you recollect having called any Mr. Drought to your window?

A. I do; that gentleman is my firſt couſin.

Q. Then you know your couſin Drought—Had you any converſation with him when you called him up?

A. I had a good deal.

Q. For what time?

A. Very near an hour.

Q. Do you recollect what the converſation was about?

A. Upon my word, I do not:—It was common place—the common news of the day—A good deal of it was profeſſions of joy at having ſeen each other; for we had not ſeen each other for ſome time.

Q. Was this before or after you met with the wound?

A. It was after.

Q. Do you remember to have told him any thing that happened to you?

A. I ſuppoſe I told him all that happened to me.

Q. Did you tell him any that happened about two countrymen?

A. No, but about three.

Q. Did you tell him you had hanged any of them?

A. No, for that would not have been the fact.

Q. Did you tell him you had *tied* them up?

A. No.

Q. Or that you *ordered* them to be tied up?

A. No.

Q. Or that they were tied up?

A. I did:—I told him that one was tied up.

Q. For what purpoſe?

A. One

A. One was to be hanged, the other was to be flogged. We were going up Blackmore Hill under Sir James Duff--there was a party of rebels there—we met three men with green cockades—one we ſhot, another we hanged, and the third we flogged and made a guide of

Q. Which did you make the guide of?

A. The one that was neither ſhot nor hanged.

Q. Did Mr. Drought ſay any thing to you as to the cruelty of the tranſaction?

A. No: he might have ſaid ſomething of the diſtreſſed ſituation of the country.

Q. Did he ſay any thing as to what you could expect hereafter?

A. No, I do not recollect, that he did.

Q. Did you ſay to him, "I thought you knew my ſentiments too well long ſince upon the ſubject of futurity?"

A. I do not recollect ever to have broached the ſubject of futurity to him. I always knew Mr. Drought's opinion of futurity.

Q. You never converſed with him upon the ſubject of a future exiſtence?

A. Never:—I do not recollect it.

Q. How long ago is it ſince the converſation you mentioned?

A. I do not recollect the day—it was ſince the 5th of June. Col. Walpole's death was upon the 4th—but I ſhould think it was a fortnight after that, becauſe I was not able to go to the window for a fortnight.

Q. Then it was within a month—Can you undertake to ſay, that you did not ſay to him, "You know my ſentiments upon futurity?"—

A. I ſaid no ſuch thing.

Q. Will you give me leave to aſk you, had you ever been in any other military ſituation, a *civico*-military ſituation?

A. No.

Q. Did you know Archibald Hamilton Rowan?

A. I have ſeen him; but never knew him to ſpeak to him.

Q. Were you in his corps?

A. Never.

Q. Do you recollect the National Guards in 1792?

A. I do not recollect any thing of it. I have heard of Hamilton Rowan; I was only juſt of age at that time.

Q. Were you in that corps?

A. Never.

Q. Did

Q. Did you make up the uniform?

A. Never:—I do not know the uniform. I might have had a coat anſwering the uniform; but I never made it up for the corps, nor did I ever ſee it.

Q. Did you wear in the year 1792, any dreſs like a uniform with green trowſers—buttons having a harp impreſſed without a crown, and green cockades?

A. Never. I had no green coat, nor buttons of that kind—I might have worn green when a boy.

Croſs-Examined by Mr. PONSONBY.

Q. How long have you been in the King's County Militia?

A. Since the 19th of January laſt.

Q. Have you declared it was in your power to bring over the King's County Militia, if there was a riſing?

A. Never to any perſon but the Sheares's, and to Byrne after my introduction to them.

Q. Do you recollect not having ſpoken favourably of the King of England. Did you ever ſay, "that if no other perſon could be found to cut off the head of the King of England, you would do it yourſelf?"

A. Never.

Q. Are you poſitive you never did?

A. Never.

Q. As you have been fond of buying new pamphlets as they came out, do you recollect to have bought the pamphlets of Paine?

A. I have.

Q. Have you read them?

A. I have read all that I got—I have not got them all.

Q. You have read the "Rights of Man" and the "Age of Reaſon?"

A. I have.

Q. Do you recollect having told any one, that they contained your creed?

A. No:—I do not recollect that I did.

Q. Are you ſure you did not ſay it?

A. I did not ſay it, becauſe I never thought it.

The following Paper, found by Alderman Alexander, in a Box in the Poſſeſſion of Mr. Sheares, was read:

Note. The words in Italics were interlined: Theſe between Crotchets were ſtruck acroſs with a pen.

" *Iriſhmen,*

[" Your Country is free; all thoſe Monſters who uſurped Its " Government to oppreſs its people are in our hands, except ſuch " as have]

" Your Country is free and you are about to be avenged [already] " that Vile Government which has ſo long and ſo Cruelly oppreſſed " You, is no more; ſome of its moſt Atrocious Monſters have al- " ready paid the forfeit of their Lives, and the reſt are in our hands " [waiting their fate.] The National Flag, *the Sacred Green,* is at " this Moment flying over the Ruins of Deſpotiſm, and that Capital " which a few hours paſt [was the Scene] Witneſſed the Debauchery, " [the Machinations] plots and Crimes of your Tyrants, is now the " Citadel of Triumphant Patriotiſm *and Virtue.* Ariſe then, United " Sons of Ireland; ariſe like a great and powerful people, Deter- " mined to [live] be free or die, Arm Yourſelves by every means " in your power, and Ruſh like Lions on your Foes; Conſider, " that [in Diſarming your Enemy] for every Enemy you diſarm, " you arm a friend, and thus become doubly powerful; In the " Cauſe of Liberty, inaction is Cowardice, and the Coward ſhall " forfeit the Property he has not the Courage to protect. Let his " Arms be Seized and Transferred to thoſe Gallant [Patriots] *Spirits* " who want, and will uſe them; Yes, Iriſhmen, we ſwear by that " eternal Juſtice, in whoſe Cauſe you fight, that the brave Patriot, " who ſurvives the preſent glorious Struggle, and the family of him " who has fallen, or ſhall fall hereafter in it, ſhall Receive from the " hands of a grateful Nation, an ample Recompence out of [thoſe " funds] that property which the Crimes of our Enemies [ſhall] have " Forfeited into its hands, and his Name [too] ſhall be Inſcribed on " the National Record of Iriſh Revolution, as a glorious Example to " all poſterity; *But we likewiſe ſwear to puniſh Robbery with death and* " *Infamy.*

" We alſo ſwear, that we will never Sheathe the Sword until " every [perſon] being in the Country is reſtored to thoſe equal " Rights,

" Rights, which the God of Nature has given to all Men,—Until
" an Order of things ſhall be eſtabliſhed, in which no Superiority
" ſhall be acknowledged among the Citizens of Erin, but that
" [which] of Virtue and Talent [ſhall Intitle to.]

" As for thoſe degenerate Wretches who turn their Swords againſt
" their Native Country, the National Vengeance awaits them: Let
" them find no quarter unleſs they ſhall prove their Repentance by
" *ſpeedily* deſerting, Exchanging from the Standard of Slavery, for
" that of Freedom, under which their former Errors may be buried,
" and they may Share the Glory and advantages that are due to the
" Patriot Bands of Ireland.

" Many of the Military feel the love of Liberty glow within their
" Breaſts, and have [already to] joined the National Standard;
" receive [thoſe] with open Arms, ſuch as ſhall follow ſo Glorious
" an Example, they Can render ſignal Service to the Cauſe of
" freedom, and ſhall be rewarded according to their deſerts: But
" for the Wretch who turns his Sword againſt his Native Country,
" let the National Vengeance be Viſited on him, let him find no
" Quarter, Two other Crimes demand———

" Rouſe all the Energies of your Souls; call forth *all* the Merit
" and abilities which a Vicious Government Conſigned to obſcurity,
" and under the conduct of your Choſen Leaders March with a
" Steady Step to Victory; heed not the Glare of [a Mercenary]
" hired Soldiery, or *Ariſtocratic Yeomanry*, they Cannot ſtand the
" Vigorous Shock of Freedom, [cloſe with them Man to Man, and
" let them ſee what Vigour the Cauſe of freedom can.] Their
" Trappings and their Arms will ſoon be Yours, and the Deteſted
" Government of England to which we Vow eternal hatred, ſhall
" learn, that the Treaſures, [ſhe, it] *they* Exhauſts on [their merce-
" nary] its accoutered Slaves for the purpoſe of Butchering Iriſhmen,
" ſhall but further Enable us to turn their Swords on its devoted
" head.

" Attack them in every direction by Day and by Night; avail
" yourſelves of the Natural Advantages of your Country, which are
" Innumerable, *and with which you are better acquainted than they*;
" Where you cannot Oppoſe them in full force, Conſtantly haraſs
" their Rear and their flanks; Cut off their proviſions and Magazines
" and prevent them as much as poſſible from Uniting their forces;
" let whatever Moments you Cannot [paſs in] Devote to fighting for
" your Country, be [Devoted to] paſſed in learning how to fight for
" it

" it, or preparing the means of War, for War, War alone muſt
" occupy every mind, and every hand in Ireland, until its long op-
" preſſed Soil be purged of all its Enemies.

" Vengeance, Iriſhmen, Vengeance on your Oppreſſors—Re-
" member what thouſands of your deareſt friends have periſhed by
" their [Murders, Cruel plots] *Mercileſs Orders*; Remember their
" burnings, their rackings, their torturings, their Military Maſſacres,
" and their legal Murders. Remember ORR."

No. XXI.

Irishmen —

~~Your Country is free. — The Monsters who usurped this Government & oppressed its people are in our hands except such as have~~ All & you are about to be avenged. ~~already~~

Your Country is free. — That vile Government, which has so long and so cruelly oppressed you, is no more. Some of it's most atrocious Monsters have already paid the forfeit of their lives, & the rest are in our hands. ~~awaiting their fate~~ The National Flag, the sacred Green, is at this moment flying over the ruins of Despotism, and that Capital, which a few hours hash ~~was the scene~~ witnessed the debauchery ~~the machinations~~ plots & crimes of your Tyrants is now the citadel of triumphant patriotism & virtue.

Arise then, United Sons of Ireland: Arise like a great & powerful people, determined to live free or die. Arm yourselves by every Means in your power, and rush like lions on your foes. Consider that ~~to destroying your enemy~~ for every enemy you disarm you arm a friend and thus become doubly powerful. In the cause of Liberty inaction is cowardice, and the coward shall forfeit the property he has not

the courage to protect: let his arms be seized and transferred to those gallant ~~patriots~~ spirits who want & will use them. Yes Irishmen, we swear by that eternal Justice, in whose cause you fight, that the brave patriot who survives the present glorious struggle and the family of him who has fallen or shall fall hereafter ~~fall~~ in it, shall receive from the hands of a grateful nation, an ample recompence out of ~~those funds~~ that property, which the crimes of our enemies ~~shall~~ have forfeited into it's hands, & his name ~~to~~ shall be inscribed on the great National record of Irish Revolution, as a glorious example to all posterity but we likewise swear to punish robbery with death & infamy. We also swear that we will never sheathe the sword until every ~~peasant~~ being in the country is restored to those equal rights, which the God of Nature has given to all Men;—until an order of things shall be established, in which no superiority shall be acknowledged among the citizens of Erin, but that ~~which~~ virtue & talent ~~shall entitle to~~. As for those degenerate Wretches who turn their swords against their Native Country, the National vengeance awaits them let them find no quarter unless they shall prove their repentance by speedily ~~relinquishing~~ exchanging

~~from the Standard of Slavery for that of~~ Freedom, under which, their former errors may be buried & they may Share the Glory & advantages ~~that attend the Patriot Bands of Ireland~~ due to Rouse all the energies of your Souls Call forth all the Merit & abilities which a vicious Government consigned to obscurity, and under the conduct of your chosen leaders, March with a Steady Step to victory. Heed not the glare of a ~~Mercenary~~ hired or aristocratic Soldiery, they cannot Stand the vigorous Shock of Freemen. Close with them, Map & Maul, and let them feel what vigor the Cause of Freedom can e[illegible] Their trappings & their Arms will Soon be yours, and the detested Government of England, to which we vow eternal hatred, Shall learn that the treasures ~~that~~ it exhausts on ~~their~~ its accoutered Slaves for the purpose of butchering freshmen, Shall but further enable us to turn their Swords on its devoted head. —

Many of the Military feel the love of Liberty glow within their breasts, & have ready to Joined the National Standard Receive ~~them~~ such as shall follow so glorious an example with open arms. they can Render Signal Service to the cause of Freedom & shall be rewarded according to their deserts. But for the Wretch who turns his Sword against his Native Country, let the national vengeance be visited on him; let him find no quarter. Two other crimes demand

Attack them in every direction by Day & by Night. Avail yourselves of the Natural advantages of your Country, which are innumerable & with which you are better acquainted than they. Where you cannot oppose them in full force, constantly harrass their Rear & their flanks, cut off their provisions & Magazines and prevent them as much as possible from uniting their forces. Let Whatever Moments you cannot devote to ~~pass in~~ fighting for your Country, be ~~devoted to~~ passed in learning how to fight for it: or preparing the means of War for War, War alone must occupy every Mind & every hand in Ireland until it's long oppressed Soil be purged of all it's enemies.

Vengeance, Irishmen, vengeance on your Oppressors - Remember what thousands of your dearest friends have perished by their mercilessness ~~murderous~~ ~~cruel~~ ~~cold blooded~~ orders. Remember their burnings, their Lackings, their torturings, their Military Massacres & their legal Murders Remember Orr.—

No. XXI.

llowing Returns, &c. were found in the
e of Edward Rattigan, in Bridgefoot-
t, in the City of Dublin, and among
Papers.

Attack them in every direction by Day & by Night. Avail yourselves of the natural advantages of your country, which are innumerable & with which you are better acquainted than they. Where you cannot oppose them in full force, constantly harrass their rear & their flanks, cut off their provisions & Magazines and prevent them as much as possible from uniting their forces. Let Whatever Moments you cannot devote to ~~spent in~~ fighting for your Country, be ~~devoted to~~ spent in learning how to fight for it: for preparing the means of War. For War, War alone must occupy every Mind & every hand in Ireland until it's long oppressed Soil be purged of all it's enemies.

Vengeance, Irishmen, vengeance on your Oppressors - remember what thousands of your dearest friends have perished by their ~~murderous~~ cruel & ~~bloody~~ merciless orders. Remember their burnings, their Tackings, their torturings, their Military Massacres & their legal Murders Remember Orr. —

No. XXI.

The following Returns, &c. were found in the Houſe of Edward Rattigan, in Bridgefoot-Street, in the City of Dublin, and among his Papers.

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	
5119 1	388	144	24	183	31	1450	333	2050	30	158	517		341	165			We are No. 1 in the 9 Baronial Committee of Barrack Division.
4420 2										Cavy.							453 lb. Lead. J. H. No. 1 in the 10th B——l.
1677 3	51	15	15	4	10			840	8½								
1530 4																	Secs. of Baronial Committees meet and form Diſtrictive Committee.
3452 5	366	102	23	116	82	90	400	940	17	156		7					
16198 6	806	261	62	303	123	1540	733	3830	55½	314	517	7	341	165			

Leinster Key,

A—Men
B—Muſkets
C—Bayonets
D—Blunderbuſſes
E—Piſtols
F—Swords
G—Pikes
H—Ball Cartridge
I—Balls
K—lb. of Powder
L—Yeoman Friends
M—Militia Ditto
N—Priſoners
O—Militia Enemies
P—Yeomen Ditto

1—Louth
2—City of Dublin
3—County Ditto
4—Kildare
5—Meath
6—Total.

1—Antrim
2—Down
3—Derry
4—Armagh
5—Donegall
6—Monaghan
7—Tyrone
8—Cavan
9—Fermanagh

A—Men
B—Muſkets
C—Bayonets
D—Blunderbuſſes
E—Piſtols
F—Swords
G—Pikes
H—Ball Cartridge
I—Ball
K—lb of Powder
L—Cannon
M—Mortars
N—Yeomen

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	K	L	M	N	O	
1	22716	2948	1536		417	369	4888	24911	70948	1230	8	1			
2	26153														
3	10500	1217	416				1230	8545	5500	1317					1 ton Lead
4	17000	1744	834		168	654	104	7409		324			36 Cavaly		
5	9648														
6	9020														
7	14000	950	437				202	2263		9			423		
8	688														
9	2000														
10	111725	6919	3223		585	1023	6424	43128	76448	2880	8	1	495		
11															

Paid Executc Comcc £ 288 15 0
Paid Priſoners Friends 700 0 0

£ 988 15 0

It is requeſted that each county will ſend perſons of the beſt ability and probity they poſſibly can on the next election, as it is indiſpenſably neceſſary at this critical juncture. It is earneſtly requeſted that each county will form immediately on the military organization. It is alſo deſired, that no perſon will purchase Lottery Tickets.

Key of the City of Dublin.

1 W.—66
2 B.—69
3 R.—73
4 S.—26

234 Societies

1	1095	Finance £ 5 13 9
2	1595	10 19 3½ 5 13 9
3	1327	4 8 5
		£ 26 15 2
4	403	formerly 13 7 7
		Total 40 2 9
Total	4420	

Private Subſcriptions.

0 17 0
0 8 3

1 5 3

formerly
4 4 10½

5 10 1½

Appendix, No. XXI.

	Men	Guns	Bayon[t]	Blund.	Piſtols	Swords	BallCg[e]	Pikes	Balls	lb.Pow.	Yeo.F.	Mili.	Priſo.	Yeo. E[n]	Mil.do.
A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
Louth 1	5119	389	144	24	183	31	1450	333	2050	30	158	517		341	165
City D. 2	4420														
Coun[y] Do. 3	1677	51	15	15	4	10			840	8½					
Kildare 4	1530														
Meath 5	3452	336	102	23	116	82	90	400	940	17	156		7		453 L.
Total	16198	806	261	62	303	123	1540	733	3830	55½	314	517	7	341	165
Antrim 1	Men 22716	Guns 2948	Bayon[t] 1536		Piſtols 417	Swords 369	Pikes 4888	BallCg[e] 24911	Balls 70948	Powder 1230	Canon 8	Mortr[s] 1	Yeo. F.	ar.	
Down 2	26153													D.	
Derry 3	10500	1217	416				1230	8545	5500	1317				Do.	1 Tom.L.
Armagh 4	17000	1744	834		168	654	104	7409		324			36	ar.	
Donnegal 5	9648												Calv.	Do.	
Monagh[n] 6	9020													M.	
Tyrone 7	14000	950	437				202	2263		9			423	T.	
Cavan 8	688													C.	
Fermana[h] 9	2000													F.	
Total	111725	6919	3223		585	1023	6424	43125	76448	2880	8	1	459	U.	1 Tom.
					83460		34632								

City of Dublin.

A	B	C	D		
			Finance.		
W. H. 1	Societi[s] 66	Men 1095	5	13	9
B. K. 2	69	1595	10	19	3½
Rotun[a] 3	73	1327	5	13	9½
Ste. G. 4	26	403	4	8	5
	234	4420	26	15	3
former Y.			13	7	7
priv[e]			5	10	1½
In all			45	12	10½

It is earneſtly requeſted that each C. will ſend P. of the beſt ability and probity they poſſibly can, on the next election, as it is indiſpenſibly neceſſary at this criſis, It is requeſted no B[r] will purchaſe L. Tickets.

ULSTER KEY.

Found among the Papers of Edward Rattigan.

A. Counties
B. Men
C. Guns
D. Bayonets
E. Blunderbuſſes
F. Piſtols
G. Swords
H. Pikes
I. Ball cartridge
K. Balls
L. Hair-powder
M. Cannon
N. Mortars
O. Yeomen Friends
Q. Lead

1 Antrim
2 Down
3 Derry
4 Armagh
5 Donegal
6 Monaghan
7 Tyrone
8 Cavan
9 Fermanagh

1 Work-houſe
2 Barrack
3 Rotunda
4 Stephen's-green

B. Societies
C. Men
D. Finance

1 Guns
2 Bayonets
3 Blunderbuſſes
4 Men
5 Piſtols
6 Swords
7 Pikes
8 Ball-cartridge
9 Blank do.
10 Powder
11 Ball
12 lb. Lead
13 Yeo. frs.
14 Cannon
15 Militia frs.
16 Do. enemies
17 Yeo. do.
18 Infantry frs.
19 Volunteers—old ones
20 lb. Ball

A. Dublin
B. County do.
C. Louth
D. Kildare
E. Meath
T. Finances

At a Meeting of U. I. held at B. C. Pimlico, Dublin, May 7th 1797,

Edward Maguire in the Chair.

John Tench, Treaſurer.

Edward Ratigan, Secretary.

s.	d.			s.	d.		
*1	1	1	Edward Maguire	*1	1	19	Sil. Fox
		2	John Tench			20	John Dowling
		3	Edward Ratigan			21	Owen Connor 3
		4	Patrick Shuffleton			22	Peter Hays 1
		5	James Lawler			23	Arthur Connell 5
		6	James Harlin			24	John Fagan
		7	Hugh Roſborough			25	Nicholas Brogan
		8	Thomas Cavanagh			26	Philip Crofton 18
		9	Robert Paxman			27	John Reilly
		10	William Salters			28	Andrew Ennis 11
		11	John Murphy			29	Arthur Paſmer 4
		12	Patrick Howard			30	Bartholomew Carney
		13	G. Fitzſimons			31	Thomas Dunn 7
		14	Thomas Gilligan			32	Matthew M'Cabe
		15	John Higgins			33	Wm. Ryan
		16	Luke Duigan			34	Andrew Nicholſon 13
		17	Thomas Flynn			35	Richard Behan 17
		18	Thomas Maher			36	Philip Reynolds 9

To enquire for Flin and Soran.

* An Engliſh ſhilling ſubſcription paid at each meeting.

Several other papers were found with the above, containing liſts of names and ſubſcriptions at meetings of United Iriſhmen.

UNITED MEN OF IRELAND.

YOUR numbers have encreaſed to ſuch a degree, that you may with truth be ſaid to be the *People of Ireland*, but your organization ſhould keep pace with your numbers; for without organization, how can your numbers or your ſtrength be brought to act? conſider the preſent moment, a moment when France, after conquering the armies of the Deſpots of Europe, is marching her ſoldiers to her coaſts, a moment when France, collecting the Navies of Spain, Holland, Venice and her own, is preparing one hundred and ſeventy ſhips of the line, to tranſport thoſe conquerors of the Deſpots of the continent, that they may pour them on England, Scotland and Ireland, filled with millions, *united* in the glorious cauſe of freedom, anxious to receive them. In a moment when deſpotiſm, founded on the uſurpation of every popular right, and ſupported by corruption and tyranny, is ready to fall to pieces, into a gulph of bankruptcy and ruin: *Is this a moment for you to be unprepared?* Is this a time for you to abate your perſeverance, your patience, or your ſpirit? Conſult your reaſon, it will tell you that your ſtrength conſiſts in your being a cordially UNITED, and thoroughly well ORGANIZED BODY. Do not then hearken to thoſe men, who will tell you to diſcontinue your organization, or from chooſing your Repreſentatives. Let ſobriety, let good character, let courage, let talents be the qualities which ſhall direct your choice. Purge your ſocieties of all ſuſpicious or doubtful men. No doubt at this inſtant, thoſe you elect will have to fill poſts of danger, but ere long they will be poſts of honour and of ſafety. Above all be mindful of the ſolemn oath you have taken to promote UNION amongſt *Iriſhmen of every Sect and Religion.* DISUNION has been the means by which Ireland has been enſlaved for the centuries that are paſt, in UNION *only can Ireland find her ſalvation.* Be diſcreet and avoid drunkenneſs, be firm, but be patient and avoid riots. In a word UNITE and ORGANIZE, and rely on it ere long you muſt be FREE.

Reſolved, that it is ordered, that each Barony do pay into the NATION three pence per month each man at the leaſt, whilſt thoſe who are rich do pay according to their abilities.

Reſolved, that no man do pay except to his own Treaſurer.

Reſolved, that the taking of arms by force from houſes is attended with great evil, and productive of no good; therefore any men impriſoned therefor, ſhall not be maintained by their Societies.

Reſolved, that United Men are ſtrictly forbidden to attend to any orders which do not come regularly through their Repreſentatives.

I, A. B. do ſolemnly ſwear, in the awful preſence of God, that I will obey whatever orders I may receive from my ſuperior officer, for the purpoſe of freeing my country. So help me God, as I keep this ſacred obligation.

☞ Many thouſands more found with this among the papers of Edward Rattigan.

PRIVATE's TEST.

I, A. B. as private, do voluntarily declare, that I will come forward when called on by ſerjeant or ſuperior officer, and aid them as far as in my power lies, in any eligible manner that may tend to the eſtabliſhment of Liberty, or the Freedom of Ireland.

SERJEANT's TEST.

I, A. B. as ſerjeant, do voluntarily declare, that I will come forward when called on by my captain or ſuperior officers, and aid them as far as in my power lies in any eligible manner that may tend to the eſtabliſhment of Liberty, or the freedom of Ireland. I do further declare, that I will not call forward under arms any of the men conſigned to my command, without the authority of my ſuperior officers or commander, except in a caſe of emergency, when ſuch authority cannot be obtained; and that I will not riſk by any illegal meeting the ſafety of any individual under my command.

COMMANDING OFFICER's TEST.

I, A. B. as captain, colonel or commander, do voluntarily declare, that I will aid to the utmoſt of my ſkill and power the men under my command, in any eligible manner that may tend to the eſtabliſhment of Liberty or the Freedom of Ireland. I do further declare, that I will not call forward under arms any individual conſigned to my command, without the approbation of the ſuperior authorities.

No. XXII.

Extract from the Trial of the Rev. William Jackſon, for High Treaſon, in the King's Bench of Ireland, 23d April 1795.

Attorney General. Do you recollect any converſation between Mr. *Jackſon* and Mr. *Lewins* at any time?

A. At any time? Yes.

Q. Where and when?

A. At *Hyde*'s Coffee-houſe.

Q. In what chamber?

A. I believe in that where I ſlept.

Q. Can you recollect what that converſation was?

A. That was as to Mr. *Lewins* aſking Mr. *Jackſon* for ſome written documents or authorities, that he might produce them to Mr. *Rowan*, in order that Mr. *Rowan* might with confidence talk to Mr. *Jackſon*.

Q. Who is the Mr. *Rowan* you ſpeak of?

A. Mr. *Hamilton Rowan*, I think, they called him.

Q. Where was he at that time?

A. In Newgate.

Q. Can you tell whether Mr. *Lewins* and Mr. *Jackſon* had any converſation reſpecting Mr. *Rowan* before?

A. I cannot ſay to that.

Q. Did you not ſay that Mr. *Lewins* came to aſk *Jackſon* had he any written document that he might produce to *Rowan* to convince him he might talk with confidence?

A. I did.

Q. What anſwer did *Jackſon* give to that requeſt?

A. I believe he gave him ſome paper.

Q. Did you ſee whether he gave any?

A. I cannot ſwear that I ſaw him deliver the papers into his hand.

Q. Did *Jackſon* tell you whether he had delivered them?

A. He did tell me that he had delivered ſome papers to *Lewins*, and that he wiſhed he had them again.

Q. Did he tell you why he wiſhed to have them again?

A. He ſaid he would not truſt them with *Lewins* if he had them back.

Q. Did he tell you what thoſe papers were?

A. He did not.

Q. Do you know whether he ever got them back?

A. I believe he did.

Q. Did he ever tell you whether he did or not?

A. Not directly in thoſe words.

Q. In what words then?

A. I can only ſay I believe he did get them back again, but I cannot ſwear that Mr. *Jackſon* ſaid "Mr. *Lewins* has given me theſe papers."—I have every reaſon to believe that he did get them back.

Q. Can you recollect how ſoon after your arrival this converſation was?

A. Can you tell me the date of our arrival?

Mr. *Attorney General.* I am not to tell you any thing.

Witneſs. We arrived on the ſecond or third, and I ſhould ſuppoſe it was four or five days after, but I can't ſpeak poſitive.

Q. Had *Jackſon* any interview with *Rowan?*

A. He had.

Q. When had he the firſt?

A. Do you aſk me in point of date?

Mr. *Attorney General.* If you recollect how ſoon after the converſation with *Lewins?*

A. I believe a day or two after the converſation with *Lewins.*

Q. You *believe!*——

A. I may have hurried myſelf in ſaying *believe*; I *know* that he had an interview.

Q. Were you preſent?

A. Yes.

Q. Had he none previous to that that you were preſent at?

A. I believe he had; if that be not evidence, I cannot ſay more.

Q. Did

Q. Did *Jackſon* ſay he had an interview?

A. He told me he had ſeen Mr. *Rowan*.

Q. That was before you were preſent?

A. It was.

Q. And either a day or two after *Lewins* called for the papers?

A. It was.

Q. Did *Jackſon* tell you what paſſed between him and *Rowan* at that interview, or any part of it?

A. He told me he was much ſatisfied with Mr. *Rowan*; that his manners were very much thoſe of a gentleman. I recollect nothing more.

Q. Did *Jackſon* tell you whether he was to ſee *Rowan* again or not?

A. He ſaid he was.

Q. Did he tell you when that meeting was to be, and what the object of it was?

A. I don't think he ſaid what it was—yes—he ſaid it was to breakfaſt.

Q. He did not tell you the object?

A. No, I think not.

Q. Did he tell you who was to be there?

A. No.

Q. Did he go?

A. Yes, he went there certainly.

Q. How do you know?

A. I went with him.

Q. How ſoon was this after the firſt meeting?

A. Within the compaſs of three or four days, or a week, certainly.

Q. Was there any other perſon with *Rowan* when you were there?

A. I really believe—I can't ſpeak poſitive, and I'll tell you why—there was two or three meetings, and I can't tell at which—there was a relative of Mr. *Rowan*, I think his father or father-in-law.

Q. Did that relative continue during the whole time you were there?

A. No—he went away.

Q. Do you remember whether there was any body elſe?

A. I think Mr. *Tone* was there, I cannot poſitively ſwear.

Q. Do

Q. Do you remember what was the ſubject of the converſation there?

A. It was on politicks.

Q. What politicks?

A. *Iriſh* affairs.

Q. In what reſpect.

A. A great deal was ſaid about the *United Iriſhmen* of which Mr. *Rowan* was a member; ſome pamphlets were read, and ſome other matters talked of between them—and there was a converſation about the diſſatisfaction of the people in ſome part of the kingdom.

Q. Were you preſent at a meeting with *Jackſon* and *Rowan* when *Tone* was preſent?

A. I was.

Q. Did you know, previous to going, who was to be there?

A. I now begin to recollect, but I am not poſitively certain, *Jackſon* ſaid *Tone* was to be there.

Q. Did you meet any perſon there?

A. I met Mr. *Tone* there.

Lord Clonmell. Was that the firſt meeting or the ſecond?

A. I am not ſure; but at ſome meeting I met Mr. *Tone* there.

Q. Can you tell for what purpoſe *Jackſon* went to meet *Tone* there, or for what purpoſe he was there?

A. Mr. *Jackſon* did not tell me for what purpoſe he was to be there.

Q. Was there any other perſon preſent but *Tone*, *Rowan*, *Jackſon*, and you?

A. No.

Q. Can you tell what was the purport of the converſation?

A. I ſhall be very little able to complete an anſwer to that queſtion, becauſe I did not particularly wiſh to make myſelf maſter of that converſation *in toto*.

Q. Be pleaſed to inform the Court what you do recollect of that converſation.

A. There was ſome paper produced, it was in the hands of *Tone* and it was read by him and *Rowan*.

Lord Clonmell. Read aloud?

A. Not ſo loud that I could underſtand it.

Mr.

Mr. *Attorney General.* Did you ſee that paper again at any time?

A. I had it once.

Q. Would you know it again?

A. I made no mark on it.

Mr. *Attorney General.* I did not aſk you that.

Witneſs. If I were to ſee it I would make you an anſwer whether I would know it or not; before that I cannot give an anſwer.

Q. You read it?

A. No, never.

Q. What converſation paſſed at the meeting where *Tone* was? I don't aſk you the particular words.

A. The converſation among the three was the forming a plan, or talking of a plan, to ſend ſomebody to *France.*

Q. Was any particular perſon mentioned to go on that errand.

A. Mr. *Tone* was aſked to go.

Lord CLONMELL. What—to go?

A. To go.

Mr. *Attorney General.* For what purpoſe was he to go?

A. As I underſtood———

Q. Did you underſtand from the converſation for what purpoſe *Tone* was to go to *France?*

Mr. *Curran.* It is impoſſible to ſuſtain the queſtion that is put in law—did he *underſtand*—it is not a legal queſtion, and for one reaſon as good as a thouſand, that it would be impoſſible to indict a witneſs for perjury upon ſuch teſtimony.

The Court. You need not go further into the objection. (To the witneſs.) Did you hear the converſation?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you underſtand it?

A. Yes, in part.

Q. How do mean *in part?*

A. They were at one corner of the room, and I in another with a book in my hand, and I did not hear enough to ſtate what they ſaid.

Mr. *Attorney General.* Do you know for what purpoſe *Tone* was to go to *France?*

A. I cannot ſay, but from my own conjecture.

Q. Did *Jackſon* ever tell you for what purpoſe *Tone* was to go?

A. Never directly ſo; but from what I underſtood and from general converſations, I am well ſatisfied what the purpoſe was in my own mind——

Q. *The Court.* What did he ſay?

A. I cannot repeat it.

Q. What was the ſubſtantial import?

A. The ſubſtantial import was that he was to go to *France* with a paper as I underſtand—thoſe papers I never ſaw.

Q. Did Mr. *Tone* agree to go?

A. At one time he ſaid he would, at another time he receded; he gave his reaſons for agreeing to go and for receding.

Mr. *Curran.* Was Mr. *Jackſon* preſent?

A. At the reaſons that he firſt gave, Mr. *Jackſon* was not preſent.

Mr. *Attorney General.* Where was it?

A. At *Newgate.*

Q. Had you a meeting with *Tone* and *Rowan* when *Jackſon* was not preſent?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you ever hear *Tone* give any reaſons for going or not going when *Jackſon* was preſent?

A. Yes Sir.

Q. Where was that?

A. At *Newgate.*

Q. Who was preſent?

A. Mr. *Rowan*, Mr. *Tone* and *I.*

Q. Was *Jackſon* preſent?

A. I *think* he was.—[This evidence was objected to.]

Q. Were you at *Rowan*'s lodgings at *Newgate* at any other meeting than thoſe you have mentioned?

A. How many have I mentioned?

Q. Did you ever ſee any other perſon beſides *Tone* at *Rowan*'s lodgings in *Newgate*?

A. Yes, I ſaw Dr. *Reynolds.*

Q. Was

Q. Was *Tone* prefent at either of them?
A. Once he was.
Q. How often?
A. Once if not twice.
Q. Did you fee him there more than once?
A. I think twice—'tis a year ago, and I have had that on my mind fince, that has fhattered my memory very much.
Q. Was *Jackfon* prefent at either of thofe meetings that *Reynolds* was at?
A. I don't know how to fwear pofitively—I think he was.
Q. Did you go alone to the meeting?
A. I can't tell—I was alone more than once at Mr. *Rowan*'s.
Q. I afk you did you go alone to the meeting at which Dr. *Reynolds* was prefent?
A. If I could have anfwered that queftion I would have faved you the trouble of repeating it.
Q. What converfation paffed between *Rowan*, *Reynolds* and *Tone* when you faw them together?

[Counfel for the prifoner objected to this queftion, *Jackfon* not being proved to have been prefent.]

Q. Had you any converfation with *Jackfon* refpecting Dr. *Reynolds?*
A. I had.
Q. What was the fubftance of it?
A. The fubftance of it was, as to his being a proper or an improper perfon to go to *France*.

Queftion by the Court. What did *Jackfon* fay on that fubject?
A. Mr. *Jackfon* faid he did not fo much approve of him as of Mr. *Tone*.

Mr. *Attorney General.* Did he tell you why?
A. I cannot anfwer that he told me why—the reafon why, I thought, I am convinced——
Q. Did *Jackfon* tell you on what errand *Reynolds* was to have gone?
A. The fame of *Tone*'s.
Q. What was that?
A. To carry fome paper to *France*.

Queftion

Question by the Court. How do you know?

A. Becaufe the paper, whatever it was, was drawn in Newgate while I was there.

Q. Do you know this from your own knowledge, or did *Jackfon* tell you?

A. I cannot fay that he told me fo *in hæc verba.*

Q. Can you tell fubftantially what you heard from the prifoner?

A. In fubftance, it was, that he was to go to *France* with fome inftructions to the French. It is very difficult to repeat converfations with accuracy; I have heard this in many alternate converfations with *Jackfon*, with *Tone*, with *Reynolds* and with *Rowan.*

Mr. *Curran.* My client is to be affected by no converfation that is not fworn to have been in his prefence; the witnefs fays there were fome converfations at which he was not prefent, and therefore it is neceffary the witnefs fhould fwear pofitively that *Jackfon* was prefent, when any thing refpecting thofe inftructions paffed.

Witnefs. Originally *Tone* was to have gone, but he left *Dublin* abruptly without faying whether he would or would not go, and then Mr. *Rowan* applied to Dr. *Reynolds* I believe. If I am not point blank in my anfwers, you will let me tell why I am not fo, for I would not leave the *Court* under the impreffion that I would wilfully conceal any thing.

Q. Then *Jackfon* told you that *Reynolds* was to go to *France* and take a paper; did you learn from him in converfation what that paper was?

A. So many converfations we have had, that it draws me into a maze which of them I fhall think of. I was many weeks in company with the prifoner, and the fubject was talked of repeatedly.—I cannot tell the precife words.

Q. You miftake me, I afked you of converfations in general between you and *Jackfon.*—Did he ever tell you for what purpofe *Reynolds* was to be fent to *France?*

A. To take fome written paper with him, to the French Convention I believe; I cannot fay pofitively.

Q. Did *Jackfon* tell you at any time or in any converfation for what purpofe *Reynolds* was to go?

A. I

A. I don't know how to anſwer, there are ſo many anſwers to be given this queſtion.

Lord Clonmell. Did you draw any inference from theſe converſations for what purpoſe he was to be ſent?

Mr. *Curran.* I beg your Lordſhip's pardon; but the witneſs will conceive that he has a right to give his own opinion in anſwer to that queſtion.

Lord Clonmell. Did you underſtand unequivocally from thoſe converſations what he was to be ſent for—did *Jackſon* ever tell you for what purpoſe, or to whom *Reynolds* or *Tone* were to go?

A. They were to go to *France.*—I cannot tell in what words to put my anſwer—I cannot ſay to whom they were to go; if I was to ſay one perſon I might be wrong, for it was my own underſtanding of it. I underſtood from general converſations conſtantly had, that they were to go with ſome papers to *France.* I cannot repeat *Jackſon*'s words, my own words will be my underſtanding of his words.

Attorney General. The witneſs ſaid he had already heard ſo in alternate converſations with *Jackſon*, *Tone*, &c.

Witneſs. I adhere to that ſtill.

Lord Clonmell. "With inſtructions for the *French*"—for what purpoſe?

A. I ſhall there catch up what I ſaid before—I *underſtood* they were to have written inſtructions for the *French*, but what they were I don't know.

Attorney General. To what part of *France* was the meſſenger to go?

A. I underſtood they were to go to *Paris.*

Q. From whom did you underſtand that?

A. From them all.

Q. Did either *Tone* or *Reynolds* receive any encouragement to go?

A. Yes.

Q. Either *Tone* or *Reynolds* in your prefence?

A. Yes.

Q. By whom?

A. By the prifoner and *Rowan.*

Q. What were the encouragements that *Jackfon* held out to *Tone?*

A. That he would find the *French* a generous, and, I think, a brave people—a generous people.

Q. Was there any thing in the converfation that led *Jackfon* to fay that?

A. What brought that fpeech from *Jackfon* I prefume, was owing to the difficulties that *Tone* raifed to his going.

Q. What were they?

A. A wife and family.

Q. Were there any others mentioned?

A. The lofs of opportunities which might very likely arife from his remaining in this kingdom.

Q. Did *Jackfon* give *Reynolds* encouragement to go, or ufe any perfuafions?

A. Not much—he did not like him; he would rather have had *Tone.*

State of Ireland, prepared for the purpose of being sent to France by Dr. Jackson, and proved on his Trial.

" THE situation of Ireland and England is fundamentally different in this—the government of England is national, that of Ireland provincial. The interest of the first is the same with that of the people—of the last directly opposite. The people of Ireland are divided into three sects; the Established Church, the Dissenters, and the Catholics; the first infinitely the smallest portion, have engrossed besides the whole church patronage, all the profits and honours of the country exclusively, and a very great share of the landed property. They are of course aristocrats, adverse to any change, and decided enemies of the French Revolution. The Dissenters which are much more numerous, are the most enlightened body of the nation, they are steady republicans, devoted to liberty and through all the stages of the French Revolution, have been enthusiastically attached to it. The Catholics, the great body of the people, are in the lowest degree of ignorance, and are ready for any change, because no change can make them worse. The whole peasantry of Ireland, the most oppressed and wretched in Europe, may be said to be Catholic. They have within these two years received a certain degree of information and manifested a proportionate degree of discontent by various insurrections, &c. They are a bold hardy race, and make excellent soldiers. There is no where a higher spirit of aristocracy than in all the privileged orders, the clergy and gentry of Ireland, down to the very lowest, to countervail which, there appears now a spirit rising in the people which never existed before, but which is spreading most rapidly, as appears by the Defenders as they are called, and other Insurgents. If the people of Ireland be 4,500,000, as it seems probable they are, the established church may be reckoned at 450,000, the dissenters at 900,000, the catholics at 3,150,000. The prejudices in England are adverse to the French nation under whatever form of government. It seems idle to suppose the present rancour against the French is owing merely to their being republicans; it has been cherished by the manners of four centuries and aggravated by continual wars. It is morally certain that any invasion of England would unite all ranks in opposition to the invaders. In Ireland, a conquered, oppressed and insulted country, the name of England

and

and her power is univerſally odious, ſave with thoſe who have an intereſt in maintaining it: a body however only formidable from ſituation and property, but which the firſt convulſion would level in the duſt; on the contrary, the great bulk of the people of Ireland would be ready to throw off the yoke in this country, if they ſaw any force ſufficiently ſtrong to reſort to for defence until arrangements could be made; the diſſenters are enemies to the Engliſh power from reaſon and from reflection, the catholics from a hatred of the Engliſh name; in a word, the prejudices of one country are directly adverſe, of the other directly favourable to an invaſion. The government of Ireland is only to be looked upon as a government of force, the moment a ſuperior force appears, it would tumble at once, as being founded neither in the intereſts nor in the affections of the people. It may be ſaid, the people of Ireland ſhew no political exertion. In the firſt place, public ſpirit is completely depreſſed by the recent perſecutions of ſeveral. The convention act, the gun-powder, &c. &c. Declarations of government, parliamentary unanimity, or declarations of grand juries, all proceeding from ariſtocrats, whoſe intereſt is adverſe to that of the people, and who think ſuch conduct neceſſary for their ſecurity are no obſtacles; the weight of ſuch men falls in the general welfare, and their own tenantry and dependants would deſert and turn againſt them, the people have no way of expreſſing their diſcontent *civiliter* which is at the ſame time greatly aggravated by thoſe meaſures, and they are on the other hand in that *Semi-barbarous* ſtate which is of all others the beſt adapted for making War. The ſpirit of Ireland cannot therefore be calculated from newſpaper publications, county meetings, &c. at which the gentry only meet and ſpeak for themſelves. They are ſo ſituated that they have but one way left to make their ſentiments known, and that is by War. The church eſtabliſhment and tythes are very ſevere grievances, and have been the cauſe of numberleſs local inſurrections; in a word, from reaſon, reflection, intereſt, prejudice, the ſpirit of change, the miſery of the great bulk of the nation, and above all, the hatred of the Engliſh name reſulting from the tyranny of near ſeven centuries, there ſeems little doubt but an invaſion and ſufficient force would be ſupported by the people. There is ſcarce any army in the country, and the militia, the bulk of whom are Catholics, would to a moral certainty refuſe to act, if they ſaw ſuch a force as they could look to for ſupport."

The above Extracts are taken from the Report of the Trial of Dr. Jackſon, by Meſſrs. Ridgeway, Schoales and Lapp, and publiſhed by J. Exſhaw, Dublin.

No. XXIII.

Copies of the following were found in ſeveral Places.

Inſtructions drawn up by the Provincial Committee of Leinſter, 19th April 1798.

Provincial, 19th April 1798.

INSTRUCTIONS.

1ſt. A return of muſkets in each regiment.

2d. Six good flints and a ſufficient quantity of powder for each muſket to be got directly.

3d. A man to be got in each regiment or barony who underſtands making ball cartridges and a cartridge ſtick to be got for each company, the men to inſtruct others in making cartridges.

4th. One bullet mould muſt be had for each company at leaſt.

5th. Powder of each regiment to be kept if poſſible by the colonel or ſome other ſhop-keeper who can be depended on, the powder by no means to be buried.

6th. Each regiment to find a perſon who has ſerved in the army or militia to act as adjutant, this man to drill the captains, who are to drill the ſerjeants, who are to drill the men; the adjutant to go through the companies by rotation, and to be paid by the Baronial Committee.

7th. A ſtandard to be got for each company ten feet long with a pike in the end, the flag to be of green ſtuff about two feet ſquare.

8th. Each company to provide a horn, a bugle-horn if poſſible, if not a cows-horn, the perſon appointed to have them to learn three ſounds, firſt an aſſembly, ſecond a charge, third a call of captains to aſſemble.

9th. Every man to provide himſelf with an havre-ſack and if poſſible to have conſtantly by him at leaſt a week's proviſion.

10th. Every man to keep kettles or pots in readineſs.

11. Every ſerjeant's diviſion to be provided with one ſhovel, every ſecond diviſion with one fork, every third with one pick, every diviſion with one bill-hook and every company with one axe.

12th. Every company to have one good car and horſe both in good and perfect order for work.

13th. Every man to provide himſelf with ſtraps to carry his great coat or blankets, alſo ſmall ſtraps for his can and ſpoon.

14th. A bit of green ſtuff or any other colour to be faſtened at the end of each pike as it has a great effect in frightning the horſes of cavalry.

		Colonels.	In hands.					
			£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Carlow, 1.	11300	—	40	—	—			
Kildare, 2.	11910	6	22	15	—	72	15	—
Kilkenny, 3.	6700	—	70	—	—			
Co. Dublin, 4.	7412	3	29	6	—	32	2	6
Meath, 5.	8596	3	56	17	6			
Wicklow, 6.	14000	—	22	15	—			
King's Co. 7.	6500							
Weſtmeath, 8.	5250	—	70	—	—			
City Dublin, 9.	8597	—				92	3	3½

No. XXIV.

The Declaration, Resolutions and Constitution of the Societies of United Irishmen.

DECLARATION AND RESOLUTIONS.

In the present æra of reform, when unjust governments are falling in every quarter of Europe; when religious persecution is compelled to abjure her tyranny over conscience; when the rights of men are ascertained in theory, and that theory substantiated by practice; when antiquity can no longer defend absurd and oppressive forms, against the common sense and common interests of mankind; when all governments are acknowledged to originate from the people, and to be so far only obligatory, as they protect their rights and promote their welfare: we think it our duty as Irishmen to come forward, and state what we feel to be our heavy grievance, and what we know to be its effectual remedy: we have no National Government; we are ruled by Englishmen and the servants of Englishmen, whose object is the interest of another country; whose instrument is corruption, and whose strength is the weakness of Ireland; and these men have the whole of the power and patronage of the country, as means to seduce and subdue the honesty of her representatives in the Legislature.—Such an extrinsic power acting with uniform force, in a direction too frequently opposite to the true line of our obvious interests, can be resisted with effect solely by *unanimity*, *decision* and *spirit* in the *people*; qualities which may be exerted most legally, constitutionally and efficaciously, by that great measure, essential to the prosperity and freedom of Ireland; an equal Representation of all the People in Parliament.

Impressed with these sentiments, we have agreed to form an association, to be called the Society of United Irishmen, and we do pledge ourselves to our country, and mutually to each other, that we will steadily support, and endeavour by all due means to carry into effect the following resolutions:

1st. Resolved, That the weight of English influence in the government of this country is so great, as to require a cordial *union* among *all the People of Ireland*, to maintain that balance which is essential to the preservation of our liberties and extension of our commerce.

2d. That

2d. That the ſole conſtitutional mode by which this influence can be oppoſed is by a complete and radical reform of the repreſentation of the people in parliament.

3d. That no reform is practicable, efficacious or juſt, which ſhall not include *Iriſhmen* of every religious perſuaſion.

Satisfied, as we are, that the inteſtine diviſions among Iriſhmen have too often given encouragement and impunity to profligate, audacious and corrupt adminiſtrations, in meaſures which, but for theſe diviſions they durſt not have attempted. We ſubmit our reſolutions to the nation as the baſis of our political faith. We have gone to what we conceive to be the root of the evil. We have ſtated what we conceive to be *remedy*. With a parliament thus formed, every thing is eaſy—without it nothing can be done:—and we do call on, and moſt earneſtly exhort our countrymen in general to follow our example, and to form ſimilar ſocieties in every quarter of the kingdom, for the promotion of conſtitutional knowledge, the abolition of bigotry in religion and politics, and the equal diſtribution of the Rights of Man throughout all ſects and denominations of Iriſhmen. The people when thus collected, will feel their own weight, and ſecure that power which theory has already admitted as their portion, and to which, if they be not arouſed by their preſent provocations to vindicate it, they deſerve to forfeit their pretenſions for ever.

CONSTITUTION.

1ſt. This ſociety is conſtituted for the purpoſe of forwarding a brotherhood of affection, a communion of rights and an union of power among Iriſhmen of every religious perſuaſion; and thereby to obtain a complete reform in the legiſlature founded on the principles of civil, political and religious liberty.

2d. Every candidate for admiſſion into this ſociety ſhall be propoſed by one member and ſeconded by another, both of whom ſhall vouch for his character and principles. The candidate to be ballotted for on the ſocieties ſubſequent meeting, and if one of the beans ſhall be black, he ſhall ſtand rejected.

3d. Each ſociety ſhall fix upon a weekly ſubſcription ſuited to the circumſtances and convenience of its numbers, which they ſhall regularly return to their Baronial by the proper officer.

4th.

4th. The officers of this ſociety ſhall be a ſecretary and treaſurer, who ſhall be appointed by ballot every three months: on every firſt meeting in November, February, May and Auguſt.

5th. A ſociety ſhall conſiſt of no more than *twelve* members, and thoſe as nearly as poſſible of the ſame ſtreet or neighbourhood, whereby they may be all thoroughly known to each other, and their conduct be ſubject to the cenſorial check of all.

6th. Every perſon elected a member of this ſociety ſhall, previous to his admiſſion, take the following *teſt*. But in order to diminiſh riſque, it ſhall be taken in a ſeparate apartment, in the preſence of the perſons who propoſed and ſeconded him only, after which the new member ſhall be brought into the body of the ſociety, and there vouched for by the ſame.

T E S T.

" In the awful preſence of God,

" I, A. B. do voluntarily declare that I will perſevere in en-
" deavouring to form a brotherhood of affection among Iriſhmen
" of *every* religious perſuaſion, and that I will alſo perſevere in
" my endeavours to obtain an equal, full and adequate repreſen-
" tation of *all* the people of Ireland. I do further declare that
" neither hopes, fears, rewards or puniſhments ſhall ever induce
" me, directly or indirectly, to inform on or give evidence againſt
" any member or members of this or ſimilar ſocieties for any act
" or expreſſion of theirs, done or made collectively or individually
" in or out of this ſociety, in purſuance of the ſpirit of this obli-
" gation."

7th. No perſon, though he ſhall have taken the *Teſt*, will be conſidered as an United Iriſhman until he has contributed to the funds of the inſtitution, or longer than he ſhall continue to pay ſuch contribution.

8th. No communication relating to the buſineſs of the inſtitution ſhall be made to any United Iriſhman on any pretence whatever, except in his own Society or Committee or by ſome member of his own Society or Committee.

9th. When the Society ſhall amount to the number of twelve members, it ſhall be equally divided by lot) Societies in country

places to divide as may beſt ſuit their local ſituation) that is, the names of all the members ſhall be put into a hat or box, the Secretary or Treaſurer ſhall draw out ſix individually, which ſix ſhall be conſidered the ſenior Society and the remaining ſix the junior, who ſhall apply to the Baronial Committee, through the Delegates of the ſenior Society, for a number. This mode ſhall be purſued until the whole neighbourhood is organized.

Order of Buſineſs at Meetings.

1ſt. New members read declaration and teſt, during which ſubſcriptions to be collected.

2d. Reports of committees received.

3d. Communications called for.

4th. Candidates ballotted for.

5th. Candidates propoſed.

Conſtitution of Committees.

Baronial Committees.

1ſt. When any barony or other diſtrict ſhall contain from four to ten Societies, the Secretaries of theſe ſhall conſtitute a Lower Baronial Committee, they ſhould not exceed ten and be numbered in the order of their formation.

2d. An Upper Baronial to conſiſt of ten Secretaries from ten Lower Baronials.

3d. Baronial Committees ſhall receive Delegates from Societies of a contiguous barony, provided ſaid barony did not contain four Societies.

County Committees.

1ſt. When any county ſhall contain four or more Upper Baronial Committees their Secretaries ſhall aſſemble and chuſe Deputies to form a County Committee.

2d. County Committees ſhall receive Delegates from Baronial Committees of adjacent counties if ſaid counties do not contain four Baronial Committees.

Provincial

Provincial Committees.

1ſt. When two or more counties ſhall have County Committees, two perſons ſhall be elected by ballot from each to form a Provincial Committee. (for three months)

2d. Delegates from County Committees in other provinces will be received, if ſuch provinces do not contain two County Committees.

National Committee.

That when two Provincial Committees are formed they ſhall elect five perſons each by ballot to form a National Committee.

☞ Societies firſt meetings in November, February, May and Auguſt to be on or before the 5th, Baronial Committees on or before the 8th, County Committees on or before the 25th of the above months.

Baronial, County and Provincial Committees ſhall meet at leaſt once in every month and report to their Conſtituents.

Names of Committee Men ſhould not be known by any perſon but by thoſe who elect them.

Teſt for Secretaries of Societies or Committees.

" In the awful preſence of God.

" I, A. B. do voluntarily declare that as long as I ſhall hold the " office of Secretary to this I will, to the utmoſt of my " abilities faithfully diſcharge the duties thereof.

" That all papers or documents received by me as Secretary I " will in ſafety keep; I will not give any of them or any copy or " copies of them to any perſon or perſons, members or others but " by a vote of this and that I will at the expiration " of my Secretaryſhip deliver up to this all ſuch papers " as may be then in my poſſeſſion."

RECAPITULATION.

Societies to conſiſt of not leſs than four, nor more than twelve, complete twelve; Under Baronials of not leſs than four Secretaries of Societies, nor more than ten, complete one hundred and twenty; Upper Baronials of not leſs than four Baronial Secretaries, nor more than ten, complete one thouſand two hundred.

An

An Addreſs of the County Committee of Dublin City, to their Conſtituents; and an Appendix to our glorious Conſtitution.

MANY hardſhips and perſecutions having been, and ſtill continue to be ſuffered by the brotherhood, partly occaſioned by the miſguided zeal of ſome of its members; partly by the incautious and indiſcriminate admiſſion of perſons, without due regard having been had to their moral character, or ſufficient previous knowledge of their political ſentiments and patriotiſm; and partly by the arts and wicked contrivances of our *enemies*, to defeat our honeſt purſuits, by which we hope to reſcue our country from the ſyſtem of *corruption* which has nearly deſtroyed it; your committee think it neceſſary to recommend ſome alterations as remedies to thoſe evils, and as the means of reſtoring confidence, renewing exertions, and enabling ſocieties and committees to meet with eaſe and ſafety in future.

We recommend, in the moſt earneſt manner, your conſtant recollection of your ſolemn obligation, to promote a brotherhood of affection amongſt Iriſhmen of every religious perſuaſion; ſuffer it not to be a mere profeſſion, but realize it by every act of benevolence and kindneſs to each other, as circumſtances ſhall enable you, and as you would do to your natural brothers. Union and love are the foundations of your aſſociation, and they cannot be too ſtrongly, or too frequently inculcated, in and out of your meetings.

Be ſober and promote ſobriety in all your circles; by the obſervance of this, many inconveniences and much hazard will be avoided, and more good to yourſelves and loſs to your enemies will be thereby effected, than can poſſibly be calculated; to the ſame end it is recommended to abſtain as much as poſſible from the conſumption of exciſeable articles, or thoſe which pay high cuſtomary duties, ſuch as *wine*, *ſpirits*, *ſugar*, *tobacco*, *&c.* you will thereby dry up the ſprings and ſources of *corruption*, that powerful engine in the hands of your cruel and implacable enemies, a government which draws its reſources from vice, (ſuch as GAMBLING and DRUNKENNESS), muſt fall ſo ſoon as the people become virtuous.

We recommend the patriotic practice of preferring, on all reaſonable occaſions, the manufactures and products of your own country, to thoſe of that country from whence our ſlavery is derived, and the government of which is our only natural enemy.

Baniſh

Baniſh all violent and intemperate language from your meetings, be aſſured, nothing can injure the cauſe of LIBERTY more than ſuch converſations; whoever perſiſts in ſuch, muſt either be diſhoneſt or indiſcreet, and therefore ought to be carefully avoided; violent and and intemperate language is affected by *ſpies* or *enemies*, and ſhould therefore be watched; or where it is cauſed by intemperate zeal, it ought to be corrected; for in this caſe it has afforded but too much occaſion to your enemies to calumniate your honeſt purpoſes.

APPENDIX.

Diminiſh, as much as poſſible, the riſque of giving or taking the TEST; for this purpoſe, therefore, we recommend that when any perſon has been admitted a member of a ſociety, and is to take the TEST, the practice ſhould be, that it be taken in the preſence of his friend only who propoſed him, or of ſuch other member of the ſociety, as he may prefer for that purpoſe. It is likewiſe ſtrongly recommended, that one black bean ſhould exclude from admiſſion.

Avoid, as much as poſſible, meetings in public houſes, either of ſocieties or committees, becauſe they might be attended with much danger, and the occaſions of meeting induce no ſuch neceſſity; a few minutes in any convenient place, will be ſufficient for a ſmall number of men to confer on the objects of their deliberation.

As it appears from good foundation, that an irregular ſyſtem of finance has produced a great waſte and diſſipation of the funds, it is our decided opinion, that no ſociety, committee, or treaſurer, under any pretence, ſhould be allowed to apply the money paſſing through their or his hands, to any occaſion whatever; but that the whole of the ſubſcriptions ſhould paſs unimpaired to the county committee, who ſhould be obliged, in reporting back to the ſocieties, to account for the diſpoſal of ſuch finances; of courſe all applications for pecuniary aid ſhould be made to the county committee, to which all the neceſſities of the political aſſociation muſt be reported. The ſocieties are earneſtly called upon to exert themſelves with zeal and diligence, in paying in and forwarding their ſubſcriptions, for the demands are of the utmoſt urgency; the ſufferings and afflictions of the brotherhood greatly require allevination.

It is alſo ſtrongly recommended, that each ſociety ſhall fix upon a weekly ſubſcription, ſuited to the circumſtances and convenience of its members, which they ſhall regularly return to their BARONIAL by the proper officer.

Your ſocieties ſhould be new modelled immediately, and on the moſt mature deliberation, and all circumſtances conſidered, we are decidedly of opinion, that no ſociety ſhould conſiſt of more than *twelve members*, and thoſe, as nearly as poſſible, of the ſame ſtreet or neighbourhood, whereby they may be all thoroughly well known to each other, and their conduct be ſubject to the cenſorial check of all.

We recommend BARONIAL committees to conſiſt only of the ſecretaries for the time being, of *ten* ſocieties, which number ſhould on no account be exceeded; BARONIAL committees to be numbered in the order of their formation.

The DISTRICT committee to be compoſed of the ſecretaries for the time being of the BARONIAL committees, but not to exceed *ten members*, but if the baronials ſhould be ſo numerous in the DISTRICT, as to render it neceſſary *five*, *ſix*, *ſeven*, *eight*, or any number, more or leſs, of the BARONIALS, as the caſe may require, moſt convenient to each other, ſhould each ſend their ſecretary to an UPPER BARONIAL committee, from which UPPER BARONIALS, in that caſe, ſecretaries ſhould be ſent to conſtitute the DISTRICT committee; it being earneſtly recommended, that no committee, whether BARONIAL or DISTRICT, ſhould exceed *ten perſons*.

The COUNTY committee to be conſtituted, as at preſent, by *two members* from each DISTRICT committee.

Obſerving theſe recommendations and regulations, we rely, that order will be reſtored and confidence revived; as riſque will be ſo conſiderably diminiſhed.

Auguſt 27th, 1797.

No. XXV.

Printed Hand Bills diſtributed by the United Iriſhmen.

ADDRESS TO THE MORE WEALTHY CLASSES OF *UNITED IRISHMEN.*

You to whom fortunate circumſtances give a power of promoting the public Cauſe, with ſo much general efficacy, and ſo little perſonal riſque; who may alleviate, from a portion of your ſuperfluities, the ſufferings of thoſe adventurous brethren, whom an over-ardent, but on the whole, a neceſſary zeal, has ſubjected to the vengeance of Government, whilſt a cautious reſerve has exempted moſt of you from perſecution. We call upon you in what we truſt is a well founded confidence, that you will make up by pecuniary contributions, for the deficiency or neglect of other exertions. We know that all men cannot be uſeful in the ſame way, and do not deſire that men in delicate ſituations ſhould run unneceſſary hazards; but he ſurely is a luke-warm patriot, without title to confidence or credit, who goes no farther than barren profeſſions; thinks it enough to give a *toaſt* to the cauſe of liberty, or utter ſome *ſneaking condemnation* of the atrocities of government.

Unleſs it be your own faults, men of wealth and education, you will be the firſt to profit by the reform of abuſes and ſolid independence of your country. You, for the moſt part, yet eſcaped from the vengeance of its enemies, whilſt they who laboured to prepare it, have ſome of them been deprived of life, others loſt health and fortune, ſome were hurried to diſtant climes, the regions of peſtilence and death; and many, very many linger at this moment in the baſtiles of our tyrants. Impriſonment, a thing ſo horrible in itſelf is aggravated in the cauſe of thoſe virtuous men, whoſe invincible fidelity an abandoned adminiſtration perſecutes with the utmoſt rigour: The common attentions which humanity ſeldom refuſes to felons and murderers, are frequently withheld from the United Iriſhmen; and being withheld by order (it is ſaid) of thoſe in high authority, require to be ſupplied by more than ordinary means.

As

As far as our funds could hitherto allow, ſome proviſion has been made for the wants of our brethren, but from the irregularity that has crept into the payment of ſubſcriptions, and, with the exception of a few bright examples, the ſmall obligation they as yet owe to the rich, our means are inadequate to the relief of our fellow-ſufferers. Where an induſtrious citizen is torn from his employment or purſuits, lies captive in a dungeon; where a wife with her children is robbed of the protection of her companion, every perſon a friend to the Cauſe for which he ſuffers and which his virtue ſcorns to betray, will feel the call of duty and of honour to come forward in his ſupport.

If a trial at laſt be granted, *innocence has ſtill to pay for being defended*; it has ſtill to ſtruggle with an hoſt of *ſuborned* or *tutored* witneſſes, a bar of *crown-lawyers*, *packed juries*, ſometimes *prejudiced* ſometimes *corrupt judges*, before whom a *charge* muſt be twice refuted, *malice* twice confounded, and *innocence made clearer than the ſun*, to obtain a verdict of *acquittal*.

What under heaven can more forcibly intereſt the generous mind than the ſufferings of the impriſoned United Iriſhmen, and the virtue of the ſufferers. Whilſt adminiſtration does not diſdain to proffer immenſe ſums as a lure to *perfidy* and the *purchaſe-money of blood*; it can procure but a few out-caſts only, already abandoned to every ſpecies of vice; and the jails over-flow with our perſecuted, pennyleſs brethren: Of thoſe, ſeveral have ſcorned to ſave their lives by treachery to their glorious cauſe, but caried their principles and their ſecrets inviolate to the grave; and many more at this hour, with the ſword of deſpotiſm threatening their exiſtence, hold them in their faithful boſoms, as in a citadel, which cowardice will not ſurrender, or lucre ever buy.

Oh! much injured Countrymen! ſo often contemned by your foreign oppreſſors, more culpably reviled by ſome unnatural natives of the land, traitors to your intereſts and ſtrangers to your virtues, what nation can boaſt a higher character of honour, than you now confer upon your own. With the terrors of puniſhment and death on one ſide, the allurements of reward and impunity on the other, you inflexibly adhere to your plighted faith and obligations, and exhibit a proof of moral character and integrity, which few people have ever equalled—none have ever ſurpaſſed. Much injured and gallant Countrymen! a day will come when your magnanimous patience will be requited: IT SHALL NOT BE FORGOTTEN, that although your dwellings were deſtroyed, your little property laid waſte,

waſte, tho' fear is a ſtranger to your hearts, and you loſt all you had to loſe, yet did you hearken to the voice of reaſon diſſuading from premature reſiſtance, which alone can bring ruin upon your country, or fruſtrate the brilliant deſtiny that awaits it.

Why ſhould Iriſhmen bound to each other by ties ſo ſacred and ſo honourable be found leſs zealous in each other's ſupport, than their enemies are zealous to put them down? If impriſonment be applied to torture, patriotiſm it cannot conquer; yet ſhall a brotherhood of affection go forth into the cell; and beſides the conſolations of ſympathy, carry with it the little comforts of which nature ſtands in need.

And if perchance this addreſs ſhould fall into other hands, than thoſe for whom it is intended, we conjure ſuch people to beſtow one moment's diſpaſſionate reflexion upon the *views* and *meaſures* of government, and the *object* and *proceedings* of the United Iriſh, let the determine which is better, a *free legiſlature*, or a *penſioned parliament*; a *national adminiſtration*, or an *irreſponſible foreign executive*; an *oblivion of religious animoſities*, or the *exterminating perſecution* of *Orange-men*. Let them, if they be CHILDREN OF THIS SOIL, contraſt the ſyſtem of IRISH UNION with that of ENGLISH DISSENSION; the fidelity, patriotiſm and honour of the ſupporters of *one*, with the *polluted ſpy*, the *blood-thirſty magiſtrate*, the *mercileſs bravo*, the *venal* and *ſanguinary ſenator*, who rank as the friends of the preſent government. When they ſhall have compared the men and the meaſures, *they* will feel that their properties and lives will be moſt ſecure under the protection of the united Iriſh, and that their exaggerated fears of the effects of a revolution can have no foundation, unleſs in their own MISCONDUCT.

I R I S H M E N!

The period is faſt approaching, which muſt fix our deſtiny. The preſent rulers of Ireland have extended the ſyſtem of tyranny and extermination, as far as can be executed, without depriving them of worſhippers and ſlaves; not ſatisfied with fleecing the people, and mercileſsly expoſing them to penury and want, they glut themſelves with blood.—

> "See with what heat theſe dogs of Hell advance,
> To waſte and havoc yonder world, ſo fair
> And good created."

Ah! whence that noiſe! cometh it from the ſpirits of murdered friends, the groans of impriſoned patriots; no, your groans ſhall not be heard in vain. you ſhall be revenged—ſoon ſhall we hail that auſpicious day, uſhered in by a bright and cloudleſs ſky, which ſhall ſet you free, accompanied by a general ſhout of *Ireland as it ſhould be.*—Tremble then, thou miniſters of death, ere that day arrives, fly from a ſoil which you have curſed by your counſels, which you have polluted by your crimes.

Countrymen,

Be firm: truſt in your ſtrength: be united; before one month paſſes, you ſhall be free;—honoured patriots become more reſpectable by captivity, and you, ye virtuous fugitives, with hearts of ſterling worth, be not appalled at the gorgeous ſhew of power exhibited—a few declining ſuns, and it paſſeth away, never more to ſully our horizon; be of good comfort, the hearts of the people are with you, and ſoon ſhall you receive the marked gratitude of a free people.

We are accuſed of a predilection for French principles—ſuppoſing the fact, who forced them on us? Men who have taken from us that which not enriches them and makes us poor indeed; uſurpers, who exceed in perſecution the human ſacrifices of former ages; but they miſtake, we contend only for Iriſh rights; and whatever coincidence there be between the rights of Ireland and France, has been eſtabliſhed by the God of Nature, and who ſhall impiouſly disjoin them.

Friends,

Liberty, like the great orb of nature has its periods of darkneſs and effulgence; but let us not vainly imagine that what is only contingent, can interrupt the great plan of the Deity, in perfecting the happineſs of mankind. We as a portion of intelligent beings, want not the moral freedom to will, nor the phyſical power to act. The firſt is confirmed by our Union; and to ſupport our claim to both, half a million of heroes are ready—yes, they only wait the ſecond coming, to commence the millenium of freedom.

And thou noble-minded youth, whoſe princely virtues acquire new ſplendour, from a fervent zeal for your country's rights: Oh! may the genius of Liberty, ever faithful to its votaries, guard your

ſteps

ſteps—may the new Harp of Erin vibrate its thrilling ſounds through the land, to call you forth, and hail you with the angelic cry of the deliverer of our country.

March 27, 1798.

A CITIZEN.

TO THE UNITED IRISHMEN.

AT this awful and important criſis, when the tyrants of Ireland violate every tye that binds man to ſociety; when *Rigour beyond the Law*," is avowed and practiſed by the governors, and adopted as a defenſive duty by the governed; when the judicial bench is made the ſeat of aſſaſſination; where Yelverton weeps over the victim in the refinement of cruelty, or Toler with leſs equivocation, mingles the courſe wit of an horſe-jockey, with the ſolemnity of a ſentence that dooms an Iriſhman to death; when the ART OF PRINTING that invaluable bulwark of liberty, that ineſtimable ſource of happineſs, that powerful opponent of deſpotiſm, is openly and contemptuouſly annihilated by the ſervants and ſlaves of a foreign government *aſſuming the mockery of legiſlators*, like a divan of *Saracens*, or a war-council of *Vandals*, ſweeping with barbarian ferocity every written monument of knowledge, every trace of letters from the face of the land. Worthy progeny of the firſt Engliſh invaders, whoſe ſavage legiſlation baniſhed inſtruction by tranſporting and hanging the Iriſh teachers, under the ſpacious pretext of eradicating the Catholic Faith:—Infamous oppreſſors! how unlike the generous ambition of ancient Rome, who carried the arts into the countries ſhe conquered; ſhe poliſhed the nations into which ſhe bore her eagles; where *your* banners waved you created enormity, barbariſm, and extermination, as a French orator truly ſaid, " you would rather reign over a church-yard, than ceaſe to govern."

When an O'Connor is hunted from his country, and a conſpiracy made in the Britiſh cabinet againſt his life, for the crime of loving Ireland; when Fitzgerald is a fugitive, for ſacrificing the prejudices of birth to accelerate the happineſs of his country, and repelling with the arms of juſtice that infamous power that burns the peaſant out of his dwelling, or puts him on the bayonet; when the honourable trade of a merchant, the peaceable one of a phyſician, the learned profeſſion of a lawyer, the humble one of a huſbandman or an artiſt, are no protection againſt a perſecution that is directed

directed against the virtue and integrity of Irishmen, that will eradicate the name of Ireland, if not speedily checked in its horrid career by an united appeal to Heaven; which will ultimately give to our armed exertions the means of victory, liberty, and terrible justice.

In the preparative interim, let sobriety be national and unchangeable; by abstaining totally from the use of *spirituous liquors* you will destroy the excise, which is the only branch of revenue remaining, from whence is produced the *principal strength of government*; you will prevent the distillation of grain, which consumes nearly *double the quantity* that is otherwise used for the necessaries of life; you will consequently make bread one-third cheaper, benefit the community, and embarrass your enemies.

To promote this desirable object, let the following Test be taken:—

I, A. B. Do solemnly promise, by the obligation of an U. I. which I have taken, that I will not make use of any spirituous liquors, nor suffer them to be used where I have any influence, for months, nor will I associate with any person who will violate this sacred obligation.

I R I S H M E N.

A NEW act of base and perfidious tyranny, directed against the whole of the patriotism of Ireland, though immediately and personally operating only on a few individuals, has deprived us for a time of the countenance and consolation of honest and able men, whose only crime is the suspicion of being your friends. Our oppressors, despairing to effect by the most subtle refinements of legalized murder, by partial Sheriffs, by packed Juries, and by Judges sanguinary, timid or corrupt, the destruction of the victims whom they had pre-doomed to die at the approaching assizes, so long as they could leave them the protection of faithful and eloquent advocates known to be zealous in their cause, and pledged to their defence, have robbed the latter of liberty, in order to rob the former of life.

That administration, and that legislature, who so lately told you *there was no conciliation for Ireland*, have with perfect consistency, followed

followed up this denunciation of carnage and proſcription, of fire and ſword, of robbery and rape. This explicit and unequivocal *declaration of war* on the Iriſh people, by a proceeding which leaves not a ſhadow of doubt or ambiguity to diſguiſe their intentions; which forces four hundred thouſand fighting-men, the phyſical ſtrength of Ireland, to make, in convenient time, their final option between death and ſelf-defence, and which proves, by evidence more than palpable, that this nation and that adminiſtration cannot exiſt together.

Yet has this, their laſt treaſon, like all their former ones, turned, with an overwhelming recoil upon themſelves. On the memorable day, which ſaw ſo many virtuous and reſpectable citizens of Dublin dragged ignominiouſly to priſon, by arbitrary mandates *unſupported by information on oath*, confuſion and trepidation marked the conduct of the oppreſſors, while the unclouded ſerenity, the calm unaſſuming fortitude of conſcious innocence, beamed from the countenance of the oppreſſed. With mingled horror and contempt, the capital ſaw the *Prime-Miſcreant*, the Robeſpierre of Ireland, the nefarious author and apologiſt of atrocities without name and number, appalled by the mere gaze of Iriſh eyes, and ſhaking in a paroxyſm of rage and terror, while the murderous weapon trembled in his palſied hand, the ſtrong thirſt of blood ſtruggling in vain with the ſtill ſtronger impulſes of conſcious guilt and native cowardice.

For us, the keen but momentary anxiety, occaſioned by the ſituation of our invaluable friends, ſubſided, on learning all the circumſtances of the caſe, into a calm tranquillity, a conſoling conviction of mind, that they are as ſafe as innocence can make men now; and to theſe ſentiments were quickly added a redoubled energy, a tenfold activity of exertion which has already produced the happieſt effects. *The organization of the capital is perfect.* No vacancies exiſting, arrangements have been made, and are ſtill making, to ſecure for our oppreſſed brethren whoſe trials approach, the benefit of legal defence; and the centinels whom you have appointed to watch over your intereſts, ſtand firm at their poſts, vigilant of events, and prompt to give you notice and advice, which, on every occaſion at all requiring it, rely on receiving.

This recital, Iriſhmen, is meant to guard thoſe of you, who are remote from the ſcene of the late events, againſt the conſequences of miſrepreſentation and miſtake. The moſt unfounded rumours have been ſet afloat, fabricated for the double purpoſe of deluſion

and intimidation. Your enemies *talk* of treachery, in the vain and fallacious hope of *creating* it; but you, who ſcorn equally to be their dupes or their ſlaves, will meet their forgeries with dignified contempt, incapable of being either goaded into untimely violence, or ſunk into puſillanimous deſpondency. Be firm, Iriſhmen, but be cool and cautious; be patient yet a while; truſt to no unauthoriſed communications; and above all we warn you, again and again we warn you, againſt doing the work of your tyrants, by *premature*, by *partial* or *divided* exertion. If Ireland ſhall be forced to throw away the ſcabbard, let it be at *her own* time, not at *theirs*.

Dublin, March 17th, (St. Patrick's Day) 1798.

TO THE UNITED IRISHMEN.

COUNTRYMEN,

No moment was ever ſo awful to Ireland as the preſent one—Liberty or ſlavery is now before us. That the deciſion is in your hand, I am well aſſured. Glorious proſpect! The people of Ireland are UNITED. Shew the pitiful tyrants who calumniate you—Shew Europe—ſhew the World that you are a *band of brothers*, actuated by a ſenſe of honour, virtue and patriotiſm—ſhew an example of the effects of your principles in Armagh. The hills and vallies which were lately ſtained with blood, are now covered by the *real* ſpirit of the Goſpel, and peace, and love and charity, and union reign in the hearts of IRISHMEN!—Look at this, ye traducers, ye dividers, ye devourers of Ireland. Yes, thank Heaven, we are UNITED, and that our enemies know right well. Let not the honeſt indignation of your virtuous ſouls provoke you to a word or an action unworthy of your country or your cauſe, when you hear yourſelves termed 'a neſt of execrable and infamous traitors.' You muſt learn to ſmile at the impotent attacks of malignant deſpair.

Look at the map, ſays a Miniſterial character, and you will find that Ireland *muſt* belong to England or France. What occaſion to look at the map, or why employ the word *muſt?* But, if this be the decree of Fate for Ireland, let it be done with unanimity, with love, and with power; let no internal broils, no local ſituations, no religious opinions, ever provoke an *Iriſhman* to ſpill the blood of an *Iriſhman*.

But let us for the ſake of our common intereſt, for the ſake our common country, for the ſake of our common God and Father, go with one hand and one heart *together*.

Trouble

Trouble not yourſelves whether France is to ſend 40 or 50,000 troops here; whether England is to ſend 40 or 50,00 troops here; but turn your attention to *Ireland*—think of what ſhe was, what ſhe is, and what ſhe *may* be. Think, that were you to divide as in *former days*, and one part to ſeek protection and aſſiſtance from one of thoſe powerful nations, the other party from the other nation, what carnage and rivers of blood would enſue—ſlavery would follow, and Ireland be undone, perhaps for ever. But in your UNION is your ſafety—in your UNION is your ſtrength, your importance and your liberty. In whatever ſcale your weight is caſt, it will preponderate in an inſtant. He is your enemy, and the man of blood who would divide you—he is your friend, and the man of peace who would keep you together.

I am far from aſſuming ſo much importance, as to attempt laying down a plan of conduct at this critical period. Your obedience to the laws, your ſobriety, induſtry, prudence and patience, have rendered you the envy of your enemies, and make any thing I could ſay unneceſſary.

Your Will muſt prevail—let it then be matured—let it reſult from reflection—from cool, determined adherence to your principles—from a regard to the peace of your country—from the glorious love of liberty and the *Iriſh* name.

If your hearts pant after a continuation of the Britiſh Miniſter's behaviour to Ireland—if you admire the war, the conduct of the war, and the conſequences of the war: If you be ſatisfied that three-fourths of the people of Ireland ſhould not enjoy the benefits of the Conſtitution—that the very name of Reform ſhould be ſcouted with deriſion—if the ſuſpenſion of the trial by Jury, the Convention bill, the gunpowder bill, the proclamations and Baſtiles appear eligible and ſalutary, you will have no difficulty how to conduct yourſelves. But ſhould theſe things appear to you in a different point of view, it will be neceſſary, perhaps, to conduct yourſelves in a different manner. And that that manner may terminate in the glory, liberty and happineſs of Ireland, ought to be the honeſt wiſh of every *honeſt*

IRISHMAN.

No. XXVI.

Fabricated Rules and Regulations of the Orange Men.

AS an inſtance of the arts uſed to make the Orange Aſſociation an occaſion of exciting in the breaſts of the lower claſs of catholics the moſt malignant and vindictive paſſions—the following ſeries of fabricated rules and regulations intended to be conſidered as thoſe of the Orange Men, are here inſerted. The copy from which they are tranſcribed was found in the houſe of *Marlay*, a Taylor, in Hoey's-court, but ſimilar copies were frequently found both on the perſons and in the houſes of United Iriſhmen.

1ſt. Reſolved unanimouſly, that each and every member be furniſhed with a caſe of horſe piſtols and a ſword alſo that every member ſhall have twelve rounds of ball cartridges.

2d. Reſolved, that every man ſhall be ready at a moments warning.

3d. Reſolved, that no member is to introduce a papiſt or preſbyterian, quaker or methodiſt, or any perſuaſion but a proteſtant.

4th. Reſolved, that no man wear Iriſh manufacture nor give employment to any papiſt.

5th. Reſolved, that every man ſhall be ready at a moment's warning to burn all the chapels and meeting houſes in the city and county of Dublin.

6th. Reſolved, that any man that will give information of any houſe he ſuſpects to be a United Iriſhman's will get the ſum of 5l. and his name kept private.

7th. Reſolved, that no member will introduce any man under the age of nineteen or over the age of forty-ſix.

No. XXVII.

Extracts from the Union Star, and Press.

UNION STAR.

THE Union Star appeared at irregular periods, was printed on one side of the paper to fit it for being pasted on walls, and frequently second editions were published of the same numbers. It chiefly consisted of names and abusive characters of persons supposed to have been informers against United Irishmen, or active opposers of their designs; and to such lists were generally added the most furious exhortations to the populace, to rise and take vengeance on their oppressors. Each number commences with the following words:

" As the Union Star is an official paper, the managers promise the " public that no characters shall be hazarded but such as are de- " nounced by authority, as being the partners and creatures of Pit, " and his sanguinary journeyman, *Luttrell.*

" The Star offers to public justice the following detestable trai- " tors, as spies and perjured informers.

" Perhaps some arm more lucky than the rest, may reach his " heart, and free the world from bondage."

Then followed the lists of proscription, of which, from the wanton cruelty with which individuals are brought forward, as objects of popular odium, it is impossible to give an example: The exhortations with which each number concluded, may be judged of from the following extracts:

Extracts from the Union Star.

"LET the indignation of man be raiſed againſt the impious wretch who prophanely aſſumes the title of reigning by the grace of God, and impudently tells the world *he can do no wrong*—Iriſhmen! is granting a patent, and offering premiums to murderers to depopulate your country, and take your properties, no wrong? Is taking part of the ſpoil no wrong? Is the foreign deſpot incapable of wrong, who ſharpens the ſword that deprives you of life, and expoſes your children to poverty, and all its conſequent calamities? Oh, man! or rather leſs, O King! will the ſmothered groans of my countrymen, who in thy name fill the innumerable dungeons you have made for aſſerting the rights of man, be conſidered no wrongs? Will enlightened Iriſhmen believe you incapable of wrong, who offers up the moſt amiable of mankind daily on the ſcaffold, or the gibbet, to thy inſatiable ambition? Is burning the villages of what you call your people, and ſhooting the trembling ſufferers, no wrong? Is taking the church into partnerſhip, and encouraging its idle and voluptuous drones to deſpoil induſtry of its reward, and teach a lying doctrine to ſanction their injuſtice, no wrongs? Are the continual wars you engender and provoke to deſtroy mankind, no wrong? Go, impious blaſphemer, and your hypocritical ſorcerers, to the fate philoſophy, juſtice and liberty conſigns thee. 'Tis inevitable, thy impoſitions are detected. Thy kind have been brought to juſtice. The firſt poſſeſſor of thy trade has recently bled for the crimes of the craft: his idle and vile followers, who eſcaped the national axe, are walking memorials of juſtice, begging a miſerable livelihood over thoſe countries, whoſe tottering thrones encourage but an uncertain aſſylum. Ere the grave, which is opening for thy deſpiſed perſon, emboſoms thee, make one atonement for the vices of thy predeceſſors; reſiſt not the claims of a People reduced to every miſery; in thy name give back the properties that thy nation wreſted from a ſuffering people; and let the deſcendants of thoſe Engliſh ruffians reſtore to Iriſhmen their Country, and to their Country Liberty: 'Tis rather late to trifle;' one fortunate breeze may do it; and then, woe be to him who was a tyrant, or who is unjuſt."

No. 2.

"Inſurrection and revenge, however deſcribed or diſcountenanced by the abettors of tyranny, ſhould always be reſpected by a people, as they have operated powerfully towards the preſervation of liberty and the diſtribution of juſtice. As revolutions in every age and

and country, were acts contrary to laws then in existence, they consequently were insurrections. The thing called in England a revolution in 1688, justifies the assertion; and in the declaration of rights, the men who drew it up, and the people who read it, defended and admired the virtue and necessity of resistance to oppression. The revolutions of France and America were founded on insurrection; and before them the Portuguese and Dutch revolutions. Antiquity furnish many splendid insurrections; amongst others, the celebrated one of the Roman people retreating to the Mons Sacer, and defending themselves by wholesome regulations from the privileged patricians,—the Luttrells, Fitzgibbons and Scotts of the day. History ornaments her page with the bold struggles, as honourable, edifying, and worthy of imitation by suffering humanity. Revenge! glorious revenge! Your name is as sweet as liberty; as Paine says, "He that would "not punish cruelty offers a premium to vice," or, as Ganganelli expresses it, "Mercy to the wicked, is cruelty to the worthy."—The Irishman who would not expiate the burning of his cabbin, by the burning of a tyrant's palace, is accessary to his neighbour's destruction; or he, whose father, son, or brother has been murdered by British or Irish mercenaries, would not revenge the deed, by imolating any of his country's oppressors, is beneath a man, and is the murderer of his kindred by connivance. The horrors committed in our country by our English masters, centuries ago, demand vengeance; when killing an Irishman was only fineable, many proofs of which are existing. We shall cite one: At a general gaol delivery at Waterford, the 4th of Edward II. before John Wogan, Lord Justice of Ireland, an Englishman accused of murder, pleaded in bar of judgment, that the person killed was an Irishman. The tying of catholic clergymen back to back, and drowning them in the Shannon.—The English plan of starving whole counties is loudly boasted of by English writers; we need not resort to the calendar of English cruelties—they are again revived; and Ireland, moistening with the blood of her children, loudly calls for glorious revenge. United Irishmen, be steady and persevering; liberty and justice point the road to glory; the delivery of our country is at hand; your labours will be rewarded; your just revenge will be gratified; the ghosts of your martyred countrymen will be comforted; and an equal distribution of rights will be yours: Industry will be honoured, industrious age venerated, pregnant wives respected; and the plough, the shuttle and the ship shall give their blessings unshackled. Be not cast down nor hopeless, the genius of Ireland will give aid to your endeavours; the mitred mountebank shall resign his lands for the education

education of deſerted infancy, and the care of induſtrious age. The lands which royal villainy arreſted from murdered Iriſhmen, ſhall be the rewards of the deliverers of their country. No more will the lazy lord enjoy the fruits of your labour, and ſtarve you into the ranks, to pleaſe his ambition or extend his power. No more ſhall inceſſant toil be your fate. No more ſhall you be as you have been for centuries, rearing and watching the ox or the ſheep whoſe fleſh you never taſted, or whoſe fleece never warms you. No more ſhall you be doomed to threſh or ſow the corn you never were allowed to ſee in bread. If the want of liberty has expoſed you to ſo many calamities, heſitate not a moment, ſhe is with you, and one bold exertion will place her in the center of your country, where her avenging ſpirit ſhall deliver her enemies into your hands, and deliver your immured brethren from captivity, your fields from ſuperſtitious plunder, and eſtabliſh the empire of univerſal benevolence and fraternity from Wicklow hills to Belfaſt,—from the channel to the Atlantic; and let every honeſt man ſay, Amen—and every brother do his duty.

No. 3.

IRISHMEN! recollect and know who are the men who rival Robeſpierre; nay, exceed him in horrors and crimes; that depopulates your country; that burn your fields and villages. Turn over the page of hiſtory as written by Engliſhmen—you will ſee Ireland's preſent ſufferings, at which your nature muſt ſhudder, your juſt indignation awaken into wiſhes, and exertions that muſt be fatal to your oppreſſors, and glorious to yourſelves. Look at what are called Acts of Parliament. The 17th year of Charles the 1ſt. confiſcating three millions of acres at one ſitting, and ſelling them to Engliſh adventurers, on the conditions of having and holding them by exterminating the ancient Iriſh proprietors! Remember that the lapſe of years does not juſtify any right in your *maſters* to retain the *property of your fathers*. That ſtage ſhould not conſecrate error. That the lights thrown on the rights of man by philoſophy and truth, gives you encouragement to hope that the French teachers, and deliverers of Europe, will ſanction your claims, and ſecond your ſtruggles. The Star does not *unjuſtly* adviſe a thought that would injure the proprietor of an eſtate, acquired by mercantile or mechanic induſtry. The Star only aims at thoſe properties wreſted from our murdered anceſtors by Engliſh perfidy; which reminds the preſent holders, that they muſt perform the agreement on which they poſſeſſed the territory, and in which they are not deficient, as they have revived every enormity that

that royal villainy can encourage. Ireland! bleeding at every vein, presents the horrid spectacle; and her innumerable wounds, as so many tongues, cry to Heaven and liberty for justice. When English tyrants could no longer provoke rebellion, which was a fruitful excuse for confiscating Irish property, they enacted a law to make murder high treason, which empowered the king to become the *heir* of the convicted person—the thing was a *ready mode* of robbing a *spirited* or *rich* family, and reward an English *favourite*; to effect which an informer was procured, who was always sure of doing his business, as property insured conviction—an innocent man was hanged, and his family reduced to beggary. High treason, in other cases, was another method of plunder; in England, two witnesses were necessary; but, as Irishmen were to be destroyed—no mode was admitted; the king *graciously* bestowed on a *faithful follower* the estate of an innocent Irishman, convicted on one evidence, easily and readily at hand to swear high treason on any unfortunate man of property. Those acts are *strong reasons* for *loving* the lord's *anointed*; who issue their royal warrants in the following *humane* and *pious* manner:

" George, by the Grace of God We command you to burn the
" Town of Belfast, &c. such is our Royal Pleasure."

Burning a town by the grace of God, and by a man calling himself the *father* of his *people*, might be strong reasons for saying, " From such grace, and such parents, O Lord, deliver us."

IRISHMEN! your country is represented by brethren of ability and virtue; they plead your cause at Lisle; they negociate for an independant Irish republic in the teeth of that deplomatique spy, Malmsbury; they are countenanced and encouraged by the French commissioners; and we have some hopes that Ireland will be seen in the political map of Europe, when her cowardly cruel step-sister is consigned to the insignificance her crimes justly merit. Should some unfortunate event put off your delivery, by England purchasing an immediate peace, you should not despond! Peace will be only temporary; it may be productive of some political comforts, as we then may openly praise and study the glorious truths France is capable of proclaiming. Communication with that country will be revived, and liberty will gain new strength, and knowledge be more universal; consequently despotism must die, and Irishmen will go to the funeral.

We have feen a paper, as it is called a proclamation, with the name Camden prefixed, and the nicknames of Clare, Carhampton, Drogheda, and Clonmell, and the real names of Pelham, James Cuff, J. Monk Mafon, Arthur Wolfe, James Fitzgerald, and Lodge Morres, underfigned, attempting to hurt the Union Star, by naming it a vehicle for inviting affaffination.

The Union Star, in the opinion of honeft Irifhmen, will not be lefs valuable for exciting the difpleafure, or encountering the threats of the above-named, whom we know to be part of the ftanding Committee for burning villages and Catholic chapels; murdering fathers, mothers and children indifcriminately, without any regard to the prayers of age, the tears of infancy, or the intreaties of beauty. This depopulating Society think themfelves fecure from every law except affaffination; their objection to which awes them into many fchemes, for ftamping with their imaginary confequences infamy on any inftrument in favour of Liberty. Tho' we are not advocates for affaffination, we know on the authority of hiftory, that affaffination preferved the liberties and refcued many of the ancient republics from the power of afpiring villains, who raifed themfelves on the neck of the people, and on the ruins of liberty. 'Twas a pofitive law in Corinth, Rome, Athens, Syracufe, &c. that any citizen was juftified, and fhould be rewarded and honoured as the deliverer of his country, who would affaffinate any villain afpiring to the fovereign power, or infringing the rights of the people.

The Union Star has more confolatory hopes of United Irifhmen than affaffination. It fees with pleafure the head quarters of liberty in the centre of delivering Europe, with coloffal ftrength gathered from the ruins of thrones of privileged order and fuperftition, carrying liberty and hope to Ireland! The Union Star rifes with happy anticipation at the unavoidable moment, when the tyrants of Ireland muft reftore the plunder of ages to the country; when their acres will be brought to the national hammer, to pay the debts that were contracted by idlenefs, and laid on induftry.

No. 5.

We are conftantly witneffing the impudent affectation of cowardly moderation, acting in partnerfhip with tyranny, againft the Union

Union Star, which they accuſe of inculcating principles of aſſaſſination.

We certainly do not adviſe, though we do not deſcry aſſaſſination, as we conceive it is the only mode at preſent, within the reach of Iriſhmen to bring to juſtice the royal agents, who are conſtantly exerciſing rapes, murders and burnings, through our devoted country.

We appeal to thy noble and venerated name, O, Brutus! who bravely aſſaſſinated the tyrant of your country amidſt his cohorts, and in the preſence of his penſioned ſenate. It is not our ſolitary ſuffrage that has attempted to honour thy name, and worſhip thy ſpirit. The patriot, the ſage and the hero, in every honourable ſtate of life, for eighteen centuries, have given thy name the firſt and moſt unequivocal recommendation to the admiring earth, as one that deſerves the higheſt rank among the benefactors of the human race.

Yes! Prince of patriotic aſſaſſins, thy noble and virtuous ſpirit ſhould pervade our land; the infant whom a Britiſh, or a Britiſh Iriſh butcher, has left fatherleſs, ſhould be taught, through his progreſs to manhood, that thy example ſhould be rigidly imitated, as an honeſt duty to his parents and his country. The Iriſh ſeaman, maimed in the ſervice of his country's tyrant, whoſe banners he often led to victory, perhaps, at the ſame moment, when his aged mother lived to ſee her daughter violated by a horrid ſoldiery, who had mangled the aſhes of her huſband, with thoſe of their humble habitation—in ſuch a ſon, aſſaſſination would be a holy duty, commanded by nature, and approved of by Heaven. Thus we defend aſſaſſination, and clear it from the rubbiſh of ignorance, and the falſhoods of deſpotiſm, which were too often ſucceſsful in confounding the characters of the man who deſtroyed a tyrant, and him, who to gratify private revenge, or urged by avarice, might ſell himſelf to murder an innocent fellow-creature.

Extracts from a Newspaper called the PRESS, published in DUBLIN *in the Winter of* 1797.

PRESS, No. 8, 14th Oct. 1797.

"When such restraints are laid on the press, that the people are held in ignorance, and from that ignorance know neither their own duty as members of the state, nor yet the duty of those who are set over them or, to speak more properly, those who have *set themselves* over them, it may fairly be concluded *that the government*, where this ignorance prevails, is verging fast to its dissolution."

Same.

"The rule of right, is a rule that in morals should never vary; but, in these kingdoms, to preach *up royalism* is the best rule; and the wisdom of government protects those who embrace this right side of the question, while it punishes with equal rectitude those who maintained that a *republic* is the only right form of government;—let us apply this rule to the Continent France is not a nation of fools; and some amongst them have as much sense (God forgive them) as * * * * * but no matter. The fools of France tell you, that monarchy is a coat of arms, whose supporters are the church and the aristocracy—its crest, the bloody hand; and its motto, *Odi profanum vulgus*; but that democracy not possessing these *rampant* wits, is the ægis of wisdom, whose *right rule* should govern the world; now these are *two rules of right*, both appearing on opposite principles, both pronounced to be the very best for the government of man, and each declared superior to the other in excellence; yet a man shall be punished alternately for observing this or that, according to the air which he breathes."

Press, No. 9. Oct. 17th, 1797.

"*The United Irishmen* recommend to each other temperance, patience, peace, and non-resistance (heinous crimes:) They do not wish for reform or emancipation, because they never asked for any such

ſuch thing—no! This is a little odd —But what is the conſpiracy? A conſpiracy of truth againſt falſehood,—a conſpiracy of peace and liberty againſt war and ſlavery,—a conſpiracy of love and national union againſt hatred and civil diſtraction,—a conſpiracy of reaſon, juſtice and virtue, againſt cruel oppreſſion, inhumanity, and vice"——*And we will ſay farther, if the King and his people do not unite or conſpire (call it by what name you pleaſe) againſt the mad, wicked, blood-thirſty miniſters, who have conſpired againſt both, God can only tell how ſoon the people will loſe their beloved King, or he his faithful, but wretched people.*"

Preſs, No. 10. Oct. 19, 1797.

After a compariſon of the conduct of Lord Yelverton on Orr's condemnation to that of Judge Jefferies, follows: "*At this criſis*, ſo full of horror, we have a conſolation in thinking that certain atrocities can live only till they are underſtood, they are hideous ſpectres which vaniſh with the morning: The mere executions of military force, terrible as they are, go no farther than the branches, and may be endured; but the blow that is levelled at the root of ſociety is a warning to mankind, that "*if they* "*do not awake, they muſt ſleep for ever; there is no alternative between liberty and deſtruction, and if they are too abject to claim freedom as a right, they muſt fly to it as a refuge.*"

Same.

"IRISH REBELLION.

MONDAY next will be the anniverſary of what is *uſually called* the Iriſh rebellion: Far be it from us to juſtify the cruelties *ſaid* to have been committed by ſome of the inſurgents of that day, &c. But whatever thoſe cruelties may have been, *they* cannot have given riſe to the epithet, *Rebellion*; that, if juſt, muſt be warranted by the objects and demands of the inſurgents.—(Here follows a large expoſition of their demands.) Oh, Ireland! what is to be thy *future* deſtiny? If the myſterious workings of Providence ſhall withhold from us thoſe bleſſings after which we pant, will our poſterity calumniate their forefathers, and ſhall *our failures* be matter of triumph to *our* children? But no; it cannot be—the honeſt, and, we truſt, the peaceable exertions of *United Ireland in favour of freedom muſt* ſucceed. The queſtion of forfeited property is, thank God, by common conſent, at reſt; and we will not, like our anceſtors, mar a national cauſe by ſectorial quarrels; we ſhall have no controverſies about which ſet of prieſts ſhall enjoy the archbiſhopricks, biſhopricks, deanries, and other ſpiritual promotions; let us then perſevere with patience, moderation,

 firmneſs,

firmneſs.—Whatever Aſcendancy Men, or Orange Men, may attempt,—*the cauſe of Iriſh Liberty muſt finally prevail, ſupported as it is, by a "brotherhood of affection amongſt Iriſhmen of every religious perſuaſion."*

Preſs, No. 13. Oct. 26, 1797.

"But, my Lord, (to the Lord Lieutenant on Orr's execution,) it will not do—though your guards, and your ſoldiers, and your thouſands, and your tens of thouſands, ſhould conduct innocence to death—It will not do.—A voice has cried in the wilderneſs, and let the deſerted ſtreets of Carrickfergus proclaim to all the world, that good men will not be intimidated; and that they are yet more numerous than your ſoldiers."

No. 9. Oct. 17, 1797.

"*The United Iriſhmen* are every where knocked down by the hacks and runners of adminiſtration, with all the rancour of political fanaticiſm; while the Orangemen, who have ſolemnly ſworn to exterminate his Majeſty's Roman Catholic ſubjects, are the only perſons protected and cheriſhed by the Engliſh cabinet. *If then any branch of his Majeſty's oppreſſed ſubjects in Ireland are driven to ſeek foreign protection, who is to blame, the oppreſſed or the oppreſſors?*"

No. 18. Nov. 7, 1797.

"To the PEOPLE of IRELAND.

For ſhame! for ſhame! what are you afraid of? The miniſter is as timid as he is inſolent—your patience has made him proud; your humility has made him haughty; your firmneſs will make him fearful: But if the time of recovering your liberties is gone by, if your doom of ſervitude is ſealed, if you are to be ſlaves, at leaſt, forge not your own fetters, nor fit them with your own hands—let them be forced upon you, and let Europe ſee that you do not wear them with willingneſs and eaſe; remember that though life is preſcious, liberty is the gem that gives life its luſtre. Aſſert your rights; demand the conſtitution of your forefathers; let not the blood of Hampden, Sidney and Ruſſell, have flowed in vain. Recommend yourſelves to God, and, if neceſſary, in defence of liberty, *die* in the laſt ditch."

No.

No. 17. Nov. 4, 1797.

"Examples are not wanting, if examples could avail, that tyranny has no terrors for a mind resolved, and that confederated multitudes can overpower the best disciplined troops. France has confirmed this new discovered truth, and France has afforded a lesson of moderation to the Sovereigns of Europe."

Same.

The fatal Battle of Aughrim.

"Mourn; lost Hibernia, ever mourn
"Thy freedom lost, thy laurels torn,
"Thy warriors sunk on Aughrim's plains,
"And Britain loading thee with chains."

No. 23, Nov. 18, 1797.

"Should those desperate Frenchmen be inclined to approach our shores, as they have threatened this season, and not meeting *Commodore Winter* in the same bluftery temper, should they chance to effect a landing, there can be no manner of doubt but the peasantry of the country, considering the signal gratitude of the Legislature and Government shewn to them, for their former loyalty and promptitude in the national defence, would rise *en masse*, and meet the enemy *in open arms*."

Same.

"The ever memorable *capture* and *destruction* of the *Bastile*, is a striking and awful example to tyrannical governments, of what even *unarmed* citizens can do against disciplined force, entrenched in the strongest fortifications, if once roused by a sense of injuries, and an enthusiastic love of liberty, to shake off at once their *fears* and their *chains*."

No. 24, Nov. 21, 1797.

"I must warn you, that if you hope to unite, the ease and indulgence, both mental and bodily, of untroubled times, with the agitations of party, you will be sorely disappointed. The present times will require uncommon firmness, large sacrifices, severe privations, and laborious exertions; but how shall you escape them, could you desire it? you must fly from your native land, you must renounce your situation in society, many of your most valuable connexions; you must divest yourself of the patriot feeling towards your country, which includes all the best affections, and universal charities of the

one inſtance of a people naturally brave, and wanting but the will to be illuſtrious, ſuccumbing to the domination of their own ſervants, their minions, and paſſively agonizing under the extremities of opreſſion?—No; Ireland is ſingular in ſuffering, and in cowardice; ſhe could cruſh her tormentors, and yet they embowel her; ſhe *could* be *free*, yet ſhe *is* a ſlave.

Preſs, No. 30. Dec. 5th, 1797.

"There are many reaſons for doubting that the Engliſh government will venture on their favourite ſcheme of removing our militia. Without an act of parliament they dare not attempt it, as they well know that the Iriſh militia, in ſo juſt a cauſe, would reſiſt force by force, and be ſupported, in ſuch reſiſtance, by every honeſt man in the nation."

No. 32. Dec. 9th, 1797.

"We recommend the proclamation of general Buonaparte to the Ligurian Republic, to the moſt ſerious conſideration of the Iriſh patriots. It is a proclamation that breathes the moſt tender ſentiments of moderation and morality, and teaches us that the beſt cauſe is endangered, and the pureſt motives counteracted by violence and paſſion. Above all, it is a leſſon to the tyrants of Europe, as it teaches them that they cannot delude their ſubjects by falſe colourings of "French Liberty;" and that wh rever the French have carried their arms, they "have deſtroyed corrupt governments, and led the people to exiſt with glory."

No. 34. Dec. 14th, 1797.

Monaghan Aſſizes. "Among thoſe convicted, many of whom were Catholics, were the two only ſons of an innocent and venerable old man of the name of Johnſton, a Proteſtant Diſſenter;—the eldeſt for *taking arms* in the town of Glaſlough, *to prevent the diſarming of the county by the military*;—the other, for *ſimply adminiſtering the United Iriſhman's Oath* The eldeſt was pardoned—the youngeſt hanged, it is ſaid by miſtake, &c. The youth, who was 17 years of age, walked undaunted to the place of execution, and met death with a compoſure that argued a mind *unconſcious of guilt*."

No.

No. 35. Dec. 16th, 1797.

"Such is now the effect of politics, that family disputes are become very frequent by the contrary opinions entertained, and we constantly hear of *two sisters* who are for ever grumbling; and who, we think, would, as our countryman says, "agree better together, *if they were asunder*"

No. 36. Dec. 19th, 1797.

"The Catholics and Presbyterians are united in indissoluble ties, like dying martyrs, in a common cause, priding themselves in mutual good offices, and for ever abjuring the barbarous fanaticism that made them hate each other. From the Protestants of the establishment, every man of worth, of talent, or of honour, has ranged himself by their side; and nothing now remains against *Irish union* but 25,000, as near as may be, of bigots, hirelings, and dependants, just enough to furnish the Lord Lieutenant with addresses."

To IRISH WOMEN. Same.

"In political changes you have been frequently the actuating principle; then, oh! determine to act for the melioration of your country in the *mighty crisis which awaits her.*

"It is absurd to suppose that there is not a preponderancy of rectitude either on the *part of the government*, or *of the people*; if then justice be on one side of the question, impartiality is not only pusillanimous, but criminal. I only urge you to *investigate, and choose* your opinions. This is your bounden duty; if you perform it, and abstract the consideration from prejudice, I have no doubt you will determine as you ought; I have no doubt that Erin will have to boast a race of daughters, as patriotic as they are fair—as magnanimous as they are lovely. I know your arms are not sinewed to buffet the surge of war; you have a far different field for exertion; be it yours to conciliate, to animate, to persuade. Truth, in its most stern and rugged form, is respectable; but, when it assumes the guise of woman, it is irresistible."

No. 39. Dec. 26th, 1797.

To THE LORD LIEUTENANT.

"The day is fast approaching, when you will be struck with a sense of your duty, but perhaps too late; when promises and threats will be equally despised by a people determined to *be free.*"

No.

No. 39. Dec. 26th, 1797.

A Chriſtmas-box to the readers of the Preſs, concluding, after recommending ſobriety and orderly behaviour to the United Iriſhmen. " In vain would the coward, who lurks for the moment, when ſucceſs may determine him to come forward to reap a harveſt which he has not ſown, expect that ſuch cold-blooded policy will avail him. *He may escape the puniſhment by which many guilty perſons muſt prepare to make atonement for their public crimes*; but contempt and impunity can be his only reward. Laſtly, in the language of the great apoſtle, " We charge ye, brethren, that you love one another; for it is a goodly thing to dwell together *in unity and brotherly love*;" and *when your courage and conſtancy ſhall have triumphed over your oppreſſors, yours may yet be the delightful prerogative of tempering juſtice with mercy.*

No. 41. January 2d, 1798.

To the PEOPLE of IRELAND.

Be ſteady, my friends, for without ſteadineſs, reſolution is a weak virtue? Your ſufferings cannot always laſt, and Europe may yet ſee you *forgiving* thoſe who now whip and ſcourge you"——" Government, even the worſt and wickedeſt, is ſtill government, and, *while it laſts* ſome reſpect is due to it? Submiſſion to preſent circumſtances, will demonſtrate how worthy you are to participate of that reform, in purſuit of which the beſt have bled, and which, be aſſured, your virtue muſt attain."

Same.

But the night of ſorrow is receding, and the day ſtar of liberty riſes faſt upon it—The Philoſophy that has enlightened the Continent, approaches to illuminate your Iſle—She rides upon the waves, and navies ſink before her; ſhe ſteps upon the ſhore, and armies diſappear. *Her* virtue is *your own*; for philoſophy is truth, and truth is ſucceſs."

No. 43. January 6th, 1798.

It is both dangerous and unprofitable to oppreſs the poor. If it ſhould happen that the ſoldiery and the people ſhould make one common cauſe, as they have common intereſt and common feelings, the rich muſt prepare to make way for new poſſeſſors, and, when it is too late, repent the honeſt warnings which our faithful columns have ſo often afforded them."

No. 44. January 9th, 1798.

" The Union of brotherhood is daily increaſing in Scotland, to the great annoyance of his Majeſty's miniſters."

No.

No. 47. January 16th, 1798.

"United Irishmen—Their meetings were made felonies—They steadily kept their Ground; they have been, like the early christians, persecuted, put to death and torture—they have still persevered; at one time 100,000 men were made felons by a parliament, *of which we do not mean to speak any more*; they were driven to more solemn obligations of fidelity and secrecy. We believe they are now, with the exception of a few thousands, commensurate with the population of the nation.

May they still be merciful, temperate, and just. They may, perhaps, soon have an opportunity of shewing, by acts of mercy and forgiveness, more sublime than fortune has yet put it into their power to exercise, that virtue which it shall be our province to cultivate and foster."

Same.

"This day the Lord Lieutenant and the King's Parliament went to Christ's Church, to return thanks for the *last* victory."

No. 48. January 18th, 1798.

To THE YEOMEN OF IRELAND.

"Some of you, perhaps, may think you have an interest in a life of bondage;—grievously will you find yourselves mistaken; a day of reckoning will come when the utmost farthing must be paid. Look around you; count the millions that are bursting their chains, and say, which has the majority; *you* or the *nation?* Adhere to that duty from which no oath can absolve you: *Protect your country and its laws.*

But your King.——The history of your country has told you, that allegiance and protection are mutual; and that, could the monarch violate the laws, your oath of allegiance would be an oath *of resistance.* Will you be the Irish "gentry," that, Lord Grenville says, join in the murders of their country? Or would you not rather be that generous Irish people, who, he says, *do* resist abuse.

No. 48. Jan. 18th, 1798.

THE DISUNITED MEN.

"The Difunited Men fay, there can be no conciliation with *traitors*; we hope however, that *traitors* as *they are*, *they* will find that mercy which they did not fhew," fuch of them at leaft, as are not fteeped to the very eyes "in crimes of deadly hue":—Arfon, confpiracy, fubornation, perjury and murder, cannot be forgiven. Libels and cheats may be forgiven; folly and malice defpifed.—Ponder on this, ye difunited men."

Prefs, No. 51. Jan. 25th, 1798.

"To THEIR HIGH MIGHTINESSES—THE GENERALS, LIEUTENANT-GENERALS, &c. NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICERS, DRUMMERS, AND PRIVATES, NOW EXERCISING THE POWERS OF GOVERNMENT IN IRELAND.

"The PETITION of the poor afflicted People of Ireland, *united in Misfortune* and affection to each other, and in humble Duty to your Highneffes, &c.

"WE do dutifully implore your Highneffes to do all feeming juftice towards yourfelves; and feeing how little profit and advantage there is, or has been, in deftroying the habitations, &c. of your *poor* and dutiful fubjects; and feeing how many palaces and caftles, &c. there be in the hands of your inveterate enemies, &c. and many bifhopricks, rectories, and other offices in church and ftate there be, We, therefore, pray your Highneffes to take the fame to your non-gracious *ufe*, and to confider what goodly bifhops, judges, lawyers, fpeakers, marquiffes, counfellors of ftate, and tafters of wine, your Mightineffes would make, and above all, how much *eafier* is the *burthen of fpending a few thoufand pounds by the year, than that of carrying a knapfack and firelock, as the greater part of you at prefent do*; and we *pledge ourfelves to affift you* in the faid juft and neceffary undertaking—*for God and for man—for religion—for our rights and liberties—for magna charta—the bill of rights—the trial by jury—and our moft bleffed conftitution in church and ftate*," &c.

No.

No. 52. Jan. 27th, 1798.

From Mr. ROGER O'CONNOR's Third Letter.

" Thanks to the God of Nature, who works by means inſcrutable to mortal ken, Grenville, Pitt, and Jenkinſon, have done wonders; *they have nearly realiſed our fond hopes of ſeeing thoſe abuſes, which have hitherto withſtood the ineffectual ſtruggles of divided kingdoms, fall proſtrate before the moderate, but determined exertions of united nations.*"

No. 56. Feb. 6th, 1798.

" To CORRESPONDENTS.

" We have received a dialogue between a venerable old countryman and a ſoldier, in which the countryman ſeduces the ſoldier from murder and robbery; but ſhews, that even though it be loyal, and for the good of religious and ſocial order to murder and plunder, *it is both ſafer, and more profitable, to rob the rich than the poor.*"

No. 57. Feb. 8, 1798.

" The PEOPLE.

" Happy would it be for their oppreſſors, were the preſent ſilence of the people *the ſilence of death*; but thrice happy for the people it is only the *ſilence of ſleep.* The night is nearly ſpent, and the morning breaks * * * * * * *. Your Lordſhip (the Lord Lieutenant) may have the happineſs of ſeeing, that the Iriſh people *are as valiant in the field*, as they are patient under *torture*, and reſigned at the *ſcaffold.*"

No. 58. Feb. 10, 1798.

The Preſbyterian of Ulſter wiſhes for life only that he may ſee his *country free*, and all the people partaking equally the rights and privileges of Citizens; *nothing leſs is their object than the independence of Ireland, and the freedom of all its inhabitants.* Truſt me, the Preſbyterians of Ulſter do by no means wiſh to ſee you ſit down contented with cold catholic emancipation, as a *gift* from any

any government: No; they wish to see you by your own energy, rescue yourselves from that oppression you have so long laboured under; and in doing so, they are ready to *risk* every thing in the common cause."

No. 58. Feb. 10, 1798.

"What a glorious prospect opens to the view of every honest Irishman. The administration is reduced to this dreadful precipice, that if it moved forward, it is dashed to pieces; and if it attempts to retreat, certain destruction is its fate. Thus, in the very nature of things, the dissolution of the present system is inevitable; and the freedom of Ireland is as certainly approaching, as the noontide-blaze advances from the early dawn. A little patience will soon terminate our sufferings. Perseverance in union, and brotherly affection, will, for the present, alleviate them. We hear of your sufferings, and your *virtues*; we are also suffering with you in the same cause; and the time is not far distant, when our *passive virtues, impregnated with the active ones*, shall procure for Ireland her rights; shall hurl confusion and destruction on her enemies; shall avenge the manes of her slaughtered patriots, indemnify the sufferings of those who may escape the proscription, and consolidate the everlasting glory, happiness and peace of Ireland."

No. 61. Feb. 17, 1798.

TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

"Your masters are alarmed: They will propose a reform in parliament, not so much to divide you, (for that they know is impossible, as to paralyze your efforts, and to shake that which they cannot pull down. Trust them not.—Whilst they thought you disunited and unable to resist tyranny, they reviled and insulted you; but at the name of the Great Nation, they shrunk into their own worthlessness: Already they hear its thunders breaking on their heads, and see its armies pouring destruction on them. While those thunders rolled at a distance, they despised the noise; for men are apt to be brave when they apprehend no danger; but as the sound approaches, their dread increases with its nearness, and appalled at the power they had so often defied, they lower the loftiness of their air, and assume the tones of moderation, &c. If they be sincere in their professions

feſſions of reform, let the axe be laid to the root. What ſignifies the clippings and ſhearings of a few withered leaves, while the whole trunk is rotten? Let the tree be cut down and caſt into the fire, it has but too long cumbered the ground;—beware of them when they have over-reached you and got you in their power, they will return to their old ſyſtem, and afterwards laugh at you. Neither muſt you hope a ſecond time to be relieved,—but be *ſteady, and do not act profanely, thwart not that kind Providence which is working your deliverance.*"

No. 61. Feb. 17th 1798.

" We muſt deplore his Col. Manſergh St. George's) death, as the melancholy conſequence of that pernicious ſyſtem of Pitt and his aſſociates, which by hollowing the *rich* againſt the *poor*, the proteſtant againſt the papiſt—weakly endeavours to prevent an union, which muſt terminate in the deſtruction of their power, and the puniſhment of their crimes; a very ſhort time however will expoſe thoſe aſſaſſins in their true colours."

No. 63. Feb. 22, 1798.

" What a people can do, the people of North America have done; what a people ought to do, the people of Ireland are conſidering."

Same.

" The Preſs will continue to its laſt hour to deſpiſe its adverſaries; and be it ſilenced when it may, it will live in the remembrance of Iriſhmen, whoſe union is now complete, *who know their duties* and *will* perform them."

" The diſpoſition to repel oppreſſion and maſſacre, are clearly augmented by the late determination to purſue, and of conſequence to encreaſe rigorous meaſures againſt the people of this land: But men when inſpired by liberty, will not long deliberate on adopting what nature prompts, Freedom, or——ELSE."

PRESS.

Extract from a letter in No. 68 of the Press, which was seized on the day of its intended publication, addressed to the Author of Coercion.

My Lord, the ancients entertained a superstition that in certain circumstances men were irresistibly impelled by some secret power to their own destruction; or, to use a word which seems to be immediately derived from the superstition, that they were infatuated; such, my Lord, at present seems your situation.—You seem to shut your eyes on the situation of this country—you seem incapable of deriving any advantage from the example of another country—The hand of fate seems upon you, and you still go on as foolishly confident, and as madly gay, as the insect that flutters round the torch, or the bird that cannot resist the fascination of the serpent's jaws that are extended to devour him.

I know, my Lord, you plume yourself on the imaginary safety of your situation. But pride not yourself any longer on that circumstance; deceive yourself no more; I tell you, you are in danger: think not to screen yourself behind the shield of parliamentary support: repose not on the delusive promises of military protection: they will avail you nothing in the dread moment of national retribution, and amid the confusion of revolutionary vengeance.

At such a moment, if unhappily perseverance in your present conduct should induce it, the sacred person of the judge will not be respected; your elevated situation will not protect you; the formalities of trial may be laid aside, the cautious and established rules of evidence may be exploded: at such a juncture the forms of law may not be insulted to justify your execution. There will be no necessity for suborned testimony, or intoxicated jurymen, to procure your condemnation. Ireland can afford the clearest evidence of your crimes: the unanimous voice of its inhabitants will pronounce you guilty; on such an occasion, our disgust against the duty of the executioner, will be suspended, and men will contend for the honour of terminating so destructive an existence.

Extracts

Extracts from a Collection of Songs, intitled the Irish Harp new strung.

The new Viva la.

Tune—*Willy was a Wanton Wag.*

Muse of energy and fire
Stretch abroad thy boldest wing,
Freedom calls! assume the lyre,
Freedom calls! arise and sing.
Viva la, long live the people
Free from care and slavery,
Viva la, Hibernia
Man will surely soon be free.

Sing the Captives broken chain,
Sing the tyrants withered arm,
Mad oppression storms in vain,
Freedom's breath has broke the charm.
Viva la, &c.

Slavery's bastile reared its head,
Deep the strong foundation lay,
Lost in its tremendous shade
Nations mourned the absent day.
Viva la, &c.

All the ghastly regions round,
Stretched immense a hideous wild,
Misery hoped and horror frowned,
Men despaired and demons smiled.
Viva la, &c.

Sudden sounding from afar,
Freedoms awful voice was heard;
Glorious as the morning star
Soon Liberty herself appeared.
Viva la, &c.

Triumph shining in her eyes,
Beams of heavenly splendor shed,
Kindling up the glowing skies,
Darkness saw and midnight fled.
Viva la, &c.

Down

Down the gothic ſtructure then,
Thundered on the builders heads,
Slaves beheld, and ſprung to men,
Tyrants ſaw and ſhrunk to ſhades.
Viva la, &c.

Storms and tempeſts howling flew,
Deſolation left the ſcene,
Gales of vernal fragrance blew,
Nature blew in flowery green.
Viva la, &c.

Freedom, ſtill extend thy ſway,
Boundleſs may thy influence run,
Univerſal as the day,
Everlaſting as the ſun.
Viva la, &c.

Plant, Plant the Tree.

Tune—*Daffy hi down dilly.*

1ſt.

See, Erin's ſons yon riſing beam
The eaſtern hills adorning,
Now freedom's ſun begins to gleam
And break a glorious morning;
Deſpotic ſway from France is chaſed
And church deluſions vaniſhed,
Our iſle ſhall never be diſgraced
If theſe dread fiends were baniſhed.

Chorus,

Plant, plant the tree, fair freedom's tree
'Midſt danger, wounds and ſlaughter,
Erin's green fields its ſoil ſhall be
Her tyrants blood its water.

2d.

They come, they come, ſee myriads come
Of Frenchmen to relieve us,
Seize, ſeize the pike, beat, beat the drum
Then come my friends to ſave us;
Whilſt trembling deſpots fly this land
To ſhun impending danger,
We ſtretch forth our fraternal hand
To hail each welcome ſtranger.
Plant, plant the tree, &c.

That

3d.

That caſtle which through ages paſt
For deſpots was appointed,
You, ſovereign people, claim at laſt,
For you're the Lord's anointed:
The uſeleſs baubles that adorned
Our late Vice-royal ninnies,
Now to the crucible returned,
Produce you uſeful guineas.
Plant, plant the tree, &c.

4th.

Thoſe nicknames Marquis, Lord and Earl,
That ſet the crowd a gazing,
We prize as hogs eſteem a pearl,
Their patents ſet a blazing,
No more they'l vote away our wealth
To pleaſe a King or Queen, ſirs,
But gladly pack away by ſtealth
Or taſte the guillotine, ſirs.
Plant, plant the tree, &c.

5th.

Our Commons too, who ſay ſo ſooth
They repreſent the nation,
Shall ſcamper eaſt, weſt, north and ſouth
Or feel our indignation;
The Speaker's mace to current coin
We preſently will alter,
For ribbons lately thought ſo fine
Wee'l fit each with a halter.
Plant, plant the tree, &c.

6th.

No more our tythes wee'l grumbling throw,
To thoſe who on us trample,
But, where he wills each man ſhall go
To reaſons pureſt temple;
Erin go brah, each choir ſhall ſing,
The heart oppreſſed to chear ſirs,
Not theſe curſ'd ſounds "God ſave the King,"
Diſcordant grate our ears, ſirs.
Plant, plant the tree, &c.

7th.

The nations bank has been put up
To ſwindling moſt completely,
To forgeries it e'en can ſtoop
On guinea notes ſo neatly,
And when it gets your ſolid coin,
The cuſtom-houſe marauder
Will forgery in red letters join
To the back of Townly Lawder.
Plant, plant the tree, &c.

8th.

Thoſe lawyers who with face of braſs,
And wigs replete with learning,
Whoſe far fetched, quibbling quirks ſurpaſs
Republicans diſcerning;
For them, to ancient forms be ſtaunch,
'Twill ſuit ſuch worthy fellows,
In juſtice ſpare one legal branch,
I mean, reſerve the gallows.
Plant, plant the tree, &c.

9th.

And when th'all glorious work is done,
Rejoice with one another,
To plough-ſhares beat the ſword and gun,
Now every man's your brother;
Deteſted wars ſhall ever ceaſe
In kind fraternization,
All will be harmony and peace,
And the whole world one nation.
Plant, plant the tree, &c.

The Fatal Blow.

Tune—*O'er the Hills and far away.*

Come come my countrymen advance,
Charge our muſket, point your lance;
Proclaim your will from ſhore to ſhore,
'Till tyranny ſhall be no more.

Too long have tyrants ruled the land,
Too long you ſpare the ruffian band;
The blood by vile oppreſſors ſhed
Calls vengeance on each guilty head.

To you in this deciſive hour
Avenging fate entruſts her power,
Then haſte to ſtrike the fatal blow
And puniſh each tyrannic foe.

No. XXVIII.

Printed Papers against taking Bank Notes, and purchasing Quit Rents.

A CAUTION TO THE BRETHREN.

THOSE appointed by you to superintend your interests, have from time to time sent you such advice, or information, as they were enabled from reflection, or enquiry to offer for your advantage and the general good.

Still actuated by the same principle of zeal and fidelity, they deem it their duty to caution you against the immense quantity of bank notes, which government is fabricating without bounds. We need not tell you that the value of any bank note rests upon the credit of him who issues it. And in our opinion, the issuer of this paper is a bankrupt, who in all likelihood must shortly shut up, and *run away*. The present convenience of circulation will be but poor amends for the subsequent beggary and ruin it will bring on the holders; for you know it will be waste paper and must stop somewhere as soon as there is a *burst*, and that the possessor, *(God help him)* will be robbed of so much property as he has taken it for.

Sometimes people accept of rap-half-pence for the convenience of change; but that is by far not so foolish as taking these bank notes; for a tinker or brass-founder will give you something for base metal: but when the government *goes down*, these fine notes of theirs, with stamps of *hundreds and thousands* upon them, will not fetch *a penny a pound* at a snuff-shop. Besides, government has a great many guineas in the banks and elsewhere, which there is a design of hoarding up against the *hard push*, when these folks are very certain their bank notes will not be worth as much as the old rags they were made of. But if you'll not give the government contractors or commissioners your goods without *hard cash*, they must shell out the *gold*. What is the worst that can happen to you, but to sell somewhat less, until the want of your commodities makes them pay for them in proper coin; or if you don't sell, is it not better for you to have your goods than to give them *for nothing*.

THE

THE UNITED IRISHMEN
TO THE
LANDED AND MONIED INTERESTS OF IRELAND.

WHEREAS it has been propoſed by the *Chancellor of the Exchequer* to ſell the *quit-rents* of the Crown; in order to raiſe new ſupplies for the proſecution of this unjuſt, unneceſſary and ruinous war: Now, we the UNITED IRISHMEN, impelled by a ſenſe of public duty, and a ſincere regard to the *rights of property*, think fit to give you this public caution; that no ſuch fraudulent tranſaction, conſuming by anticipation the reſources and future revenues of the Nation, will be ſufficient to ſtand good in the event of a Revolution and a free Legiſlature; a fair and ſolid bargain muſt have the ſanction of due authority: but this, as well as every other loan or contract now in agitation, is in itſelf invalidated by the nefarioufneſs of its object, and the incompetency of the preſent Parliament to bind the Nation by any act whatſoever, as it is notorious to the whole world that it was named by the Crown, under the *terrors of martial law*; that there exiſts in it no freedom of action, but that it is the bought baſe inſtrument of ſupporting an exterminating government and foreign dominion.

After this let the Dupes blame themſelves.

Extract from the Trial of Daniel Gillan, Owen M'Canna, William M'Canna and Peter M'Carron, Privates in the Monaghan Regiment of Militia, held at Belfast on the 8th of May, 1797, on the following Charges:

1ſt. For exciting, cauſing, and joining in a Mutiny and Sedition in the ſaid regiment.

2d. For not uſing their utmoſt endeavours to ſuppreſs ſaid Mutiny and Sedition, being preſent thereat; and alſo for not giving information without delay to their Commanding Officer, of ſuch Mutiny or intended Mutiny, as ſoon as they came to the knowledge thereof.

The firſt witneſs, Corporal John Reel depoſed, "I met Daniel Gillan and Owen M'Canna one day in North-ſtreet; Gillan aſked me what I thought of the plan he had laid out, I then aſked him what it was, he told me it was to get articles from the town's people to form Societies in the regiment. I ſaid I did not think there were ſcholars good enough in the regiment to carry on the buſineſs; he made anſwer, and ſaid, that he and Owen M'Canna were ſcholars good enough to carry on that and more; we then appointed a meeting for that night at the houſe of one Griffin, in Blue Bell Entry, we met accordingly at Griffin's houſe, myſelf and the three priſoners, Daniel Gillan, Owen M'Canna, and William M'Canna, we went up ſtairs, called for ſome beer and ſent for Griffin, but he was not in the houſe that night. The priſoners and I together with ſome others whoſe names I do not now recollect, went to Griffin's the next night, and we ſent down for Griffin and he came up ſtairs to us—Daniel Gillan ſpoke ſometing to Griffin, and Griffin would not ſay any thing concerning it, until Owen M'Canna aſſured him I was an United Iriſhman and that he need not be afraid; Daniel Gillan then told him what we were come about. Daniel Gillan ſaid that he expected Griffin would do as much as he could to aſſiſt us; Griffin ſaid he would do as much as he could, but he was ſure he could do no-

thing until ſuch time as a ſtricter account was given in of what United Iriſhmen were in the regiment, and at that meeting Griffin deſired us to appoint two of the ſteadieſt men that were amongſt us to go with their returns to a Committee in town, and that he would go with them to a Committee or Society where they would get a return of the number of United Iriſhmen in Ireland and in the French fleet, and Griffin ſaid unleſs Societies were formed amongſt the men themſelves that they never could be of any uſe to the town's people, and to let every news that was be made known to them, ſo as that upon a ſignal to be ſettled by the town's people and given to a confidential man to be made known to all the reſt, they might turn out of the ranks, and to be poſitive there were no traitors amongſt them; and our buſineſs upon turning out was to join the town's people and the mob.—Daniel Gillan made mention of Robert M'Adam, a grenadier, and deſired us to be cautious of him, and to caution all men that we knew to be United Iriſhmen againſt him, as he had been ſworn by a perſon in the town to diſcover or find out any of the men who were United Iriſhmen.—William M'Canna then ſwore that if Robert M'Adam ever found out or diſcovered of a man in the regiment that he would murder him.—Owen M'Canna then ſaid that not only him but any other man in the regiment that ſhould make any diſcovery ſhould meet with the ſame. We then fell to and appointed one man of each company to make a return of the United men in their different companies, which returns was to be made in ſome time after, as ſoon as they could get it done.—Daniel Gillan was appointed to inform the men that were not there of their being ſo appointed, and he, Gillan, was appointed to make a return of Captain Lucas's company—Owen M'Canna was appointed for the Major's, and William M'Canna for Colonel Leſlie's. We then waited for about a fortnight or three weeks and had a meeting at the houſe of one Crozier, of Union-ſtreet, when we all came in, namely, myſelf, the priſoners and others. I came in the laſt, we called for ſome beer, after drinking ſome beer we got in pens, ink, and paper—Daniel Gillan called on Patrick M'Canna to give in his return for the grenadiers, and as the returns were given in Owen M'Canna wrote them down, and when it came to Captain Lucas's company the return as I beſt recollect was twenty-five, and Gillan exclaimed and ſaid, we were dilatory in not putting the men up, as

we

we ſhould do, and having the veterans perfected; we ſwore in three Secretaries. The three priſoners then ſaid it was unneceſſary for them to ſwear as they had been ſworn before, and I was objected to as a Secretary, not knowing how to read or write.—They then aſked me (the entire that was there) if I knew who was the beſt ſcholar in the company I belonged to, and if I did, to bring him forward to be an United Iriſhman, in order to ſwear him to be Secretary to the company. I agreed on doing ſo—we then fell to and voted for two of the ſteadieſt men to go with the return to the town's people. Owen M'Canna, the priſoner, and John Wilſon were appointed to go with the returns. Daniel Gillan ſaid, by the time we got an anſwer from the town's people that we would get every news, and a ſtate of all the United Iriſhmen in Ireland, and of every news from the French fleet, and a return of the United Iriſhmen in the Engliſh fleet, and when the trouble broke out upon a ſignal given, if it was by day-light the men would turn out of the ranks, and if it was by night, if it could be ſo contrived, an United Iriſhman ſhould be ſentry at the gate, who was to ſell the Barracks, and ſuch United Iriſhmen as were within the Barracks were to exert themſelves in ſeizing ſuch arms and ammunition within as they could get."

SENTENCE.

"The Court having taken into their conſideration, the whole of the evidence given in ſupport of the charges preferred againſt the priſoners, and alſo what was offered by the priſoners in their defence, find the priſoners guilty of the charges preferred againſt them, in breach of the third and fourth Articles of the ſecond Section of the Articles of War, and do therefore adjudge them to ſuffer death."

Extract from the Trial of John Ward, Arthur M'Cormick, John O'Neill, and Bernard Lunny, Private Soldiers in the Louth Regiment of Militia, held at Limerick, on the 15th of May, 1797, on the following Charges:

For Mutiny and Sedition, and endeavouring to excite the ſame.

On a queſtion from the Proſecutor to the evidence, Jeremiah Daly, he anſwered, that "None but O'Neill ſaid, that the French would be here; the four priſoners, M'Cormick, Lunny, Ward, and O'Neill, ſaid, that when the French came, the United Iriſhmen would be all one with them; and O'Neill ſaid, that by knowing the ſigns, I would be ſafe, but cannot tell the exact time when it was ſaid, but it was often repeated by O'Neill."

SENTENCES.

"The evidence being cloſed, and the priſoners withdrawn, the Court took the evidence into their conſideration, which had been laid before them, And do find the priſoner, John Ward, guilty of the charges preferred againſt him, being a breach of the 3d and 4th Articles, of the 2d Section of the Articles of War, and do therefore adjudge, that he ſhall ſerve as a ſoldier, for life, in any of the corps ſtationed in any of his Majeſty's dominions, beyond the ſeas, or in foreign parts, that his Majeſty ſhall think fit.—The Court have not awarded a ſevere puniſhment to the priſoner, on account of his youth, and on account of his having voluntarily came forward, and ſurrendered himſelf to his Commanding Officer, to whom he owned the entire of his guilt, before any crime had been laid to his charge.

"The Court do likewiſe find the priſoners, Arthur M'Cormick, and John O'Neill, guilty of the crimes preferred againſt them; being a breach of the 3d and 4th Article, of the 2d Section, of the Articles of War, And do therefore adjudge, that they ſhall ſerve as ſoldiers for life, in any of the Corps ſtationed in any of his Majeſty's dominions beyond the ſeas, or in foreign parts, that his Majeſty ſhall think fit.—The Court do likewiſe find the priſoner, Bernard Lunny, guilty of ſedition, and endeavouring to excite the ſame, being a breach of the 3d and 4th Articles of the 2d Section of the Articles of War, and do adjudge, that he ſhall ſerve as a ſoldier for ſeven years, in any of the Corps ſtationed in any of his Majeſty's dominions beyond the ſeas, or in foreign parts, that his Majeſty ſhall pleaſe to order."

Extract

Extract from the Trial of Bernard Gilmore, James Mallan, Thomas Wall, Patrick M'Mullen, and Edward Woods, Private Soldiers in the Louth Regiment of Militia, held on the 24th of May, 1797, on the following charges :

1ſt. For joining in Mutiny and Sedition.

2d. For coming to the knowledge of intended Mutiny and Sedition, and not endeavouring to ſuppreſs the ſame ; and for not, without delay, giving information thereof, to their Commanding Officer.

On a queſtion from the Proſecutor, to the Evidence, John O'Neill, he anſwered—" When I was in company with Bernard Gilmore, and James Mallan, the way I heard it explained, that when the French ſhould come, we were to be ſuch as them, that there was to be no rich, but all equality, and that there was no uſe in our going againſt the French, becauſe when all powers were againſt them, they could make no hand of them."

SENTENCE.

The Court, in conſideration of the evidence laid before them, do find the priſoners, Bernard Gilmore, Thomas Wall, and Edward Woods, guilty of the crimes laid to their charge, and do adjudge that they ſhall ſerve for their reſpective lives, as ſoldiers abroad.—And the Court having, on the evidence laid before them, found the priſoner, James Mallan, guilty of not, without delay, giving information of the ſedition to his Commanding Officer, do adjudge, that he ſhall receive 500 laſhes—and that Patrick M'Mullen, who they likewiſe find guilty on the evidence adduced againſt him, ſhall receive one thouſand laſhes.

Extract from the Trials of Daniel Mahon, and Thomas Carty, Privates of the Kildare Regiment of Militia, at Dublin, on the 30th day of May, 1797, on the following Charges, viz.

1ſt. For exciting and joining in Mutiny and Sedition.

 2d. For

2d. For advifing and perfuading two men of the Duke of York's Royal Regiment of Highlanders, to defert his Majefty's fervice.

James Mafon, the fecond witnefs, depofed—" I was walking with Corporal Brunton, and the two prifoners met us, and afked us if we would go and take a glafs, the Corporal at firft refufed it, faying that he had orders to take out. We however went into a houfe, and they called for a naggin of whifkey, and afked us if we were going to ftand out for a fhilling a day, as all foldiers were going to do it. We faid we did not know, or hear any thing about it; then they began, and afked us what we thought about the United Irifhmen. We faid we did not know what they meant by it; then they faid, that if we would join them, it would be better than to be foldiers, for that we fhould have money and provifions. They faid they had gone out of the barracks without any money, and got plenty of it, and they faid if any of our officers looked down upon us, and we would defert, and come to that houfe, we would get clothes, and plenty of every thing, and never be taken; and they defired the woman of the houfe to take a loook at us, that fhe might know us again; and if we called again, to be kind to us. They told us they had a defign to cut off the Frazers, becaufe they knew that none of them would join them, but hoped there were a great many of our's that would join them. One of them (the witnefs pointing to Carty) faid, that Captain Walker told him in the ranks, that he, Carty, was a United Irifhman, and he faid, the anfwer he returned the Captain was, That there were more of them that, than him; and he, Carty, faid, That the Duke of Leinfter had given up his commiffion, and that they need not be afraid, for that the head men of the kingdom were to take charge of them.—One of them (I can't recollect which) went to an adjoining room, where there were country people, and a Gentleman came back with him and faid—As long as we would be in that mind, that they were in, that as long as he had threepence, we fhould have three halfpence of it.—They then began to fpeak about Religion, and faid it did not fignify what Religion they were to be of; and that the firft that was to caft up to another what Religion he was of, was to be hung."

SENTENCE.

The Court having taken into confideration, the evidence adduced on the trial of Daniel Mahon, and Thomas Carty, privates in

in the Kildare Regiment of Militia, find both the prifoners guilty of the crimes alledged againft them, in breach of the 3d Article of the 2d Section, of the 5th Article of the 5th Section, of the Articles of War, and the Court having found the prifoners, Daniel Mahon, and Thomas Carty, guilty of *exciting and joining in Mutiny and Sedition*, in breach of the 2d Article of the 3d Section of the Articles of War, do therefore adjudge them to fuffer death.

Extract from the Trial of James Matthews and John Sheridan, of the Royal Dublin Regiment of Militia, at Bluris Camp, on the 5th day of July, 1797, *on the following Charge, viz.*

For exciting and joining in Mutiny and Sedition.

Mathew Browne of the Dublin Regiment of Militia, the firft witnefs, depofed—" On our arrival at Caftle-town we went into a garden, and were brought to a fmall houfe, when we went in, we found feven or eight men, and we were defired to fit down, the houfe, as I heard, belonged to Meffrs. Burn and Teeling, the people then addreffed Matthews, as if he had been there before, and afked him how he was? and faid they had a very thin meeting there, this night, which they did not expect; we then talked of going away, and they fent for a Gentleman, who deponent underftood to be a Mr. Teeling, and on his difcourfing to us, he afked the prifoner, Matthews, how he was getting on in the company? He faid, very well; damn you, Matthews, fays he, but you are a fine little fellow, and deferve to be a Captain:—The company then began to talk about the French fleet, and Mr. Teeling faid, if they would make their landing good, they would get enough to affift them, and he faid that they had plenty of money in the funds of their different Committees, to buy fuch inftruments as were neceffary; and he faid by the laft returns he got from Dublin, there were upwards of ninety-thoufand United Irifhmen; all this happened in the prefence and hearing of the prifoner, Matthews, and there were two other foldiers of the Regiment prefent, who have fince deferted.

" The next meeting was after the return of the Regiment from Monaghan to Dundalk, at O'Hare's, to which deponent was warned, with other men of the light company, by the prifoner,

Matthews: We aſſembled on a Sunday evening, to the beſt of deponent's recollection; there were many men of the Dublin Regiment, then preſent, amongſt whom were the priſoners, Matthews and Sheridan, they were appointed by the majority of the meeting, to forward the buſineſs of United Iriſhmen; there was a ſoldier of the regiment, of the name of Connor, who ſat that night as Preſident, and he declared that any man in the room, that would diſcover againſt any of the company then preſent, ſhould be aſſaſſinated. We then broke up, but not before a meeting was appointed for another day. A few nights after we met at O'Hare's; the priſoner Matthews was there, with other men of the regiment, but Sheridan, to the beſt of deponent's recollection, was not there; and on account of Matthews being acquainted with the buſineſs firſt, the men in the room thought proper to appoint him Lieutenant, as he was ſo forward in the buſineſs, and alert in making United Iriſhmen; ſome of the men ſpoke of the priſoner, Sheridan, as a proper man to be Captain, we finiſhed our buſineſs, and we adjourned.

"The priſoner, Matthews, had ſuch intercourſe with one Woods, an Apothecary at Dundalk, and the priſoner often told the deponent, that he underſtood from the intelligence that was conveyed to him by Wood, that there were a number of people at Belfaſt, ready to aſſiſt the French when they landed, and that diſturbances would begin ſooner than we imagined. One Stewart M'Coomb, of the Dublin Regiment, was preſent at this communication from the priſoner, and I have heard the priſoner often declare in the preſence of M'Coomb, that if the French landed, he, the priſoner, Matthews, would join them."

SENTENCE.

The Court having taken into conſideration, the evidence adduced on the trial of James Matthews, of the Royal Dublin Regiment of Militia, find him guilty of the crime alledged againſt him, in breach of the 3d article, of the 2d Section, of the Articles of War, and do therefore adjudge him to ſuffer death.

The Court do alſo find the priſoner, John Sheridan, of the Royal Dublin Regiment of Militia, guilty of the crime alledged againſt him, in breach of the 3d Article, of the 2d Section, of the Articles of War, and do therefore adjudge him to ſerve for life, in

in any of his Majesty's dominions beyond the seas, or in foreign parts.

Extract from the Trials of Dominick Giligan, Private of the Roscommon, Patrick Allen, Private of the Galway, Thomas Redmond, Private of the Wexford, Richard Tankerd, Private of the Limerick County, Michael Castillo, Private of the Leitrim, Bryan M'Govern, Private of the Wexford, Corporal Drumgold of the Westmeath, and Corporal Connor of the Meath Regiments of Militia, held at Bandon, on the 10th day of July, 1797, on the following Charge, viz.

For beginning, exciting, causing, or joining in a Mutiny or Sedition in the corps to which they belong, by having taken unlawful, mutinous, or seditious oaths, or being instrumental to their being taken, as also for being present at a mutiny or sedition, or intended mutiny or sedition, and not using their utmost endeavours to suppress the same, or coming to the knowledge of a mutiny or intended mutiny, and not without delay giving information thereof to their Commanding Officer.

" John Daly deposeth, that Halloway told him that Terence O'Brien was doing duty at Innishannon, and Dominick Gilligan at the Camp Ground, and without their signing them he could not get them, and when evidence did get them they would stand him in 6s. 6d. as every man who got the articles paid 6s. 6d. to the Committee-Man, which was kept for the subsistence of the wives and children of men shot and transported for the same, but told evidence he would get them for him for half-a-crown next day, as he had been at the expence of liquor for him. On evidence walking out with *Halliday* they met *Mac Donald* of the same company, an additional gunner, to whom he was introduced as a *friend* by *Halowday*, when evidence asked them back to the same house to drink, and *M'Donald* told him we had put a coal of fire to the Waggon Stores, which was found and put out by a Dragoon who had stables near it, and that they were waiting for a letter from Fermoy Camp, and when they received that they would place the cannon on the 30th regiment's barracks to keep them in, as they could not depend on them. The evening previous to the execution of the men of the Wexford regiment, evidence went again and demanded the articles of *Halloway*, who told him he was very sorry

 for

for keeping them ſo long from them, as he believed it was a means of keeping many men of the ſame company with evidence ignorant of the *cauſe*, and deſired evidence if the General gave them a halt at Inniſhannon the next day attending the execution, to go to the head Inn, where he would ſee him and Ter. O'Brien of the 2d Fencibles, and would get the articles ſigned, and after that there was no danger, but he would get them ſigned in camp by Dominick Gilligan of the Roſcommon."

"Patrick Dougan, of the Galway Light Infantry, depoſeth, that we all three went up ſtairs together, and *Gilligan* aſked him if he had a mind to know more of the ſecret, when he took out a paper and began to read, and ſwore him to be true to the French Republic, and take the life of any man that would attempt to diſcover; he then aſked him for a ſhilling, and ſaid he got one from every man he ſwore, and on his ſaying he had not one, a pedlar that was preſent took out two ſhillings which he gave to priſoner for Martin Burke, and evidence.

SENTENCE.

The Court having taken into conſideration the proſecution, and priſoner's defence, are of opinion, the priſoner, *Dominick Gilligan*, is guilty of the crime alledged againſt him in breach of the 3d and 4th Articles of the 2d Section of the Articles of War, and do therefore adjudge him to ſuffer death.

John Hargrove, on the trial of Patrick Allen, depoſeth, "that about a month ago he was walking by the river near the camp, *Patrick Allen* and other men were there, and *Halloway* of the Meath, *Tankard* of the Limerick County, *M'Govern* and *Clancy* of the Wexford, *Kelſh* and *Maguire* of the Royal Meath, one of the Waterford, and another he does not know—about three or four weeks back there was another ſquad, ſome of the Sligo, a man of the Limerick, about eight or ten—the priſoner was ſitting with the firſt party, and called to evidence; after our talking ſome time, *Allen* ſaid to *Halloway*, I think we may inform *Hargrove* with our deſign, which I think he will keep ſecret—*Halloway* anſwered he might; *Allen* then ſaid they intended writing to the North and other parts of the kingdom, to inform them they would go on with their intention, the firſt of July, and then to have the kingdom on fire in both ends and in the middle, and then with what friends

friends Mr. O'Brien, near Bandon, could ſend them, and what friends they had in camp, about four hundred, that they intended firſt taking the cannon, and then taking the bell-tents, with the ſmall-arms, which they would give to the country-people that would be ſent by Mr. O'Brien, and then go put General Coote to death, and as many officers as they could, and then retreat to Bantry, and take poſſeſſion of the battery, and keep it if poſſible, till the French would land; this is all evidence knows of the priſoner, Allen."

SENTENCE.

The Court do alſo find Patrick Allen, guilty of the crime alledged againſt him, and do therefore adjudge him to receive ONE THOUSAND LASHES.

N. B. Thomas Redmond found guilty, and ſentenced to receive FIFTEEN HUNDRED LASHES.

Bryan M'Govern found guilty, and ſentenced to receive FIVE HUNDRED LASHES.

Richard Tankard found Guilty, and ſentenced to ſerve abroad, for life.

The priſoner, Michael Caſtillo, found guilty of the crime alledged againſt him, and ſentenced to receive ONE THOUSAND LASHES, and to ſerve abroad for life.

The priſoner, Corporal Drumgold, found guilty of the crime alledged againſt him, and adjudged to ſuffer DEATH.

N. B. The priſoner, Corporal Connor, withdrawn from before the Court. General Coote propoſing to try him by a Court Martial of the Line.

Extract from the Trial of Corporal M'Auliff, William Larracy, and Terence O'Brien, of the Second Fencible Dragoons, held at Bandon, on the 20th Day of July, 1797, on the following Charge, viz.

For beginning, exciting, causing, or joining, in a Mutiny or Sedition, in the regiment to which they belong, by having taken unlawful, mutinous, and seditious oaths, or being instrumental to their being taken, as also being present at a Mutiny or Sedition, or intended Mutiny or Sedition, and not without delay giving information thereof to their commanding officer.

Henry Curren, Private in the Second Fencible Dragoons, deposeth, "That about three months ago, prisoner, Corporal *M'Auliff*, who was Corporal of the guard on which evidence was a soldier, took him about two hours before the guard was relieved, up the Cork road, with John Purcel, another of the guard, when the Corporal told evidence, he was sorry he was so blind, and evidence replying he was very sorry for it himself, the Corporal made answer, that if he would do as they desired, he would never want a friend, a shilling, or a drink, while a brother could give it to to him. Prisoner, Corporal *M'Auliff*, sent *Purcell* for *William Larracy*, asked them what news? they answering good news; and *Larracy* said to me, he always thought me a sober, settled fellow, and that he was easy, as he believed I would become a brother. Evidence seeing *Dennis Callaghan*, the slater, coming down the road, he desired them to stop the conversation; when evidence imagines, the prisoner, *M'Auliff*, said, that was the man they wanted, and on his coming up and bidding good morning, he asked what news? and they answered, they believed good news; then *Callaghan* asked, if evidence was a brother, or did he mean to become one? they answered, they believed he did, and *Callaghan* shook hands with him, saying, he was very glad to see me, and and they all asked me inside the ditch, and *Callaghan* gave me a book, and swore me to keep secret what I would hear or see, and afterwards *Callaghan* swore me to be true to my brethren; we all then went to Murphy's public house, and after getting some liquor, *Callaghan* read the articles, which were in writing, to be true to my brothers, and never see a brother want, while I would have 2½*d.* and to join the French when they should come, and swore me four times to them; at the bottom of the paper there were two hearts, and a tree, which appeared to evidence to be done with silk;

ſilk, and *Callaghan* ſaid he got them from a Mr. O'Connor, in the Weſt, and that the tree denoted Liberty, and they all ſhewed ſigns to evidence, with the hand of Love and Liberty, and the priſoners M'Auliff and Larracy often repeated them, and *Callaghan* taught him a catechiſm by which he was to know a brother, both *M'Auliff* and *Larracy* told him about the 1ſt of July they meant to have a general riſe through the kingdom, to ſeize the cannon and camp, to murder the officers, and all who would not join them, and that if the French did not come, they thought they could march throughout the kingdom themſelves, as they would be joined by all that part of the army that were ſworn."

SENTENCE.

The Court find the priſoners, Corporal *M'Auliff* and *William Larracy*, guilty of the crime alledged againſt them, and do therefore adjudge them to ſuffer DEATH.

The Court do find the priſoner, *Terence O'Brien*, guilty of the crime alledged againſt him, and ſentence him to receive ONE THOUSAND LASHES, and to ſerve abroad for life.

Extract from the Trial of James Murphy, Patrick Halvey, Henry Hodgens, Valentine Cooke, Matthew Toole, Charles Kelly, and James Condron, Privates in the Dublin County Regiment of Militia, held at Cork, on the 15th of March, 1798, on the following Charges, viz.

For beginning, exciting, cauſing, or joining in a Mutiny and Sedition in the regiment to which they belong, and being preſent at a Mutiny and Sedition, and not uſing their utmoſt endeavours to ſuppreſs the ſame, and for coming to the knowledge of a Mutiny, or intended Mutiny, and not, without delay, giving information thereof to Lieutenant Colonel Finlay, the Commanding Officer of the regiment.

James Greenham depoſeth, that " Some time after the priſoner *Murphy* aſked evidence to go to a meeting of friends that he could depend upon; evidence anſwered he would, and went accordingly to the houſe of Early, a publican, near South Gaol, where he met all the priſoners, *James Murphy, Patrick*

Halvey, *Henry Hodgens*, *Valentine Cooke*, *Matthew Toole*, *Charles Kelly*, and *James Condron*, and two men more of the regiment, who have ſince deſerted, and one Gorman, and another man of the regiment that was diſcharged a few days before. When evidence was with them about half an hour, an inhabitant, who was called Murphy, and ſaid he was a delegate from United Iriſhmen, when they converſed together about ſeizing the arms of the Dublin County Regiment, and enquiring how many United Iriſhmen belonging to the regiment. The priſoner *Murphy* anſwered, about 300 ſuſpected friends. *Murphy*, the delegate, ſaid, if there were but 30 friends in the barrack, by having them diſperſed up and down in the rooms, when the attack was to be made, to give the arms to the town's-people."

On being aſked whether the delegate *Murphy* ſpoke of *Hardgrove*, a ſoldier of the regiment, he anſwered, that "Some time after the meeting I met the priſoner *Murphy* on South-bridge, when he told me he would ſhoot *Hardgrove* for being ſuch an enemy to the United Iriſhmen, ſaying, he would compleat it by getting twine, and ſlinging it to a piſtol under his coat, and went back at that time to get it, as he ſaid, but afterwards at the meeting it was debated, whether *Hardgrove* ſhould not be put death, when it was determined he ſhould not; as, if he was put to death, it would be the cauſe of the town being proclaimed, and they could do no good at all then. The delegate ſaid, nine-tenths of the people of Cork were ſworn."

On being aſked whether he ever heard why *Murphy*, the priſoner, ſuſpected *Hardgrove* for being unfriendly to the cauſe of United Iriſhmen, he anſwered—"Yes, I did, on account of his behaving ſo treacherous to them."

On being queſtioned whether he ever was at the houſe of one *Donnelly* at Glaſsnevin, who were in company, and what paſſed in converſation there, he anſwered—"I was in company with the priſoners *Murphy* and *Halvey*, *John Kean*, a ſoldier, that deſerted, and *Donnelly*, the man of the houſe. Priſoner *Murphy* enquired which of the officers of the Dublin County Regiment deſerved death, and mentioned Captain Brabazon and Lieutenant Coleman, and ſome others I do not recollect. The diſcourſe was ſtopped by (*Kean*,) who ſaid it was not right to be ſpoken of in

common;

common; and *Donnelly* mentioned a plot that was formed of blowing up the magazine."

Michael Gorman depoſeth, that—" After evidence was ſworn, *Murphy* the delegate, gave the word and ſign, which was, coming in with the left hand covering the right, and ſaying, ſtudy, to anſwer, I am determined, which was, for that month, and farther ſaid, he hoped it would be the laſt, as the general riſing was to be ſoon, and that if there were to be thirty men diſperſed in the barracks, to give the arms to the town's-people outſide, it would be ſufficient; and that when the riſing took place they would take *General Myers*. priſoner, and ſeize the Shannon and Blackpool guards."

On being queſtioned whether any perſon at the meeting he mentioned, ſeemed to take a lead, or to be particularly attended to beſide the delegate, *Murphy*, he anſwered—" Yes, *Murphy*, the priſoner.

On being aſked whether *Murphy*, the priſoner, made any offer of his ſervices when the riſing was to take place, and to ſeize the arms, he anſwered—" Yes—he ſaid he would head them himſelf."

Patrick Flanagan depoſeth, that " the priſoner, *Murphy*, then wanted evidence to ſwear on ſome papers to turn out at a moment's warning, and join the French when they landed, and wanted him to kiſs the papers, but evidence refuſed, and turning about laid them down by him."

SENTENCES.

" The Court having taken into their conſideration the evidence laid before them, find the priſoners, *James Murphy*, *Patrick Halvey*, *Henry Hodgens*, *Valentine Cooke*, *Matthew Tool*, *Charles Kelly*, and *James Condron*, privates in the Dublin County Regiment of Militia, Guilty, being in breach of the third and fourth articles of the ſecond ſection of the articles of war; and we do thereby adjudge the priſoners, *James Murphy*, *Patrick Halvey* to ſuffer death; and the priſoners, *Valentine Cooke* and *James Condron* to receive one thouſand laſhes each; and the priſoners, *Henry Hodgens* and *Matthew Toole* to receive eight hundred laſhes each; and the priſoner,

priſoner, *Charles Kelly*, to receive five hundred laſhes in the uſual manner.

But it having appeared to the Court that the priſoner, *Charles Kelly*, was in a ſtate of the greateſt intoxication, in which he continued during their ſitting; and that he may have been taken to that meeting for the purpoſe of ſwearing, it not having appeared that he was ſworn before, and that he was objected to by the delegate, *Murphy*—the Court do therefore recommend him as a proper object for mercy."

Extract

Extract from the Trial of Thomas Whelchan, Brian Murtin, William Mahady, William Conlan, Thomas Ready, Michael Gunley, Mathew Murtin, James Gunning, John Bray, Patrick M'Loughlin, and Felix Fitzgerald, Privates of the Weſtmeath Regiment of militia, held at Cork, the 11th day of July, 1798.—Confined by order of Lieutenant General Sir James Stewart, for Mutiny and Sedition, and for diſpoſing of his Majeſty's ammunition.

Cornelius Sullivan, inhabitant of Skibbereen, depoſed, "that evidence went to the houſe of John Sullivan, publican, where he ſaw the priſoners, *John Bray* and *Bryan Murtin*, and about three or four more ſoldiers, but none of the priſoners but thoſe mentioned, and one *Teady Driſcol*, when they came to agreement to ſend a man on paſs next day to Cloghnakilty, to bring the ſoldiers there to the ſame mind that they were, which was to put their Officers and the Orangemen to death at Cloghnakilty and Skibbereen, if they did not come to dine at the Leap as was fixed—the men at each quarter was to put it in execution, and then take poſſeſſion of the guns and arms and join each other, and march to Caſtle Townſend, Skibbereen and Bantry, and then to the Kerry Mountains. *John Bray* was to command the Skibbereen people, and the priſoner, *James Gunning*, was the perſon who went on paſs to Cloghnakilty, as agreed upon, and when evidence met him after his return he told him they were all ready at a moment's warning, meaning the men of the Weſtmeath regiment who were quartered there; and three days after evidence was at another meeting at Skibbereen, at *Jerry* or *Michael Sullivan's*, where the priſoner, *William Conlan*, and one or two more ſoldiers were, and *Conlan* told evidence they had been agreeing juſt on the former plan, and often was told by different men of the regiment on meeting them to ſame effect, particularly from *Byan Murtin*, *William Mahady*, *William Conlan*, *Thomas Ready*, *Michael Gunley*, *James Gunning*, and *John Bray*, with *Pat. M'Laughlin*, but never heard priſoners, *Whelchan*, *Mathew Murtin*, *or Felix Fitzgerald*, ſay any thing about it—evidence never ſaw *Fitzgerald*, before he ſaw ball cartridges with Teady Driſcol, but does not know who gave them to him. Theſe meetings continued 'till laſt Sunday fortnight, when Thomas Ready came to evidence and deſired him to get pen, ink, and paper, to write a letter for him, and get a horſe and man to ſend it by, to Cloghnakilty, to

have the ſoldiers there ready to turn out on that night, when evidence told him he would not do it, and the priſoner *Ready*, went away—evidence ſaw *Ready* afterwards, when he told him no perſon could walk through the town without the paſs-word, which was, " *all is well, and five pounds for a Croppy's head*"—this paſs-word evidence ſays, was among the ſoldiers, and thoſe of their party. Major Nugent who commanded at Skibbereen, having made a figure which was called a Croppy and uſed as a Target for the troops to fire at, they had fixed to make the Major bring this figure on his back to the Leap, where they were to march after putting their Officers to death, and then put Major Nugent to death, and the Yeomanry, if they oppoſed them—evidence heard the priſoner, (*Bray*) in particular ſay ſo."

Timothy Driſcol, inhabitant of Skibbereen, depoſeth, that " The ſignal was the burning of a houſe, when we were to aſſemble, and remain on the mountains near the town, till morning, the ſoldiers were to have eight hours for plundering the money, &c. of the town, and if they could not get at their arms, the country people were to fire a ſhot, to alarm the town, and when they got their arms, the country people were to take all the goods and proviſions, in the town, towards furniſhing a camp, which was to be formed, and were to have gone to Bantry, and if purſued to the Kerry Mountains; evidence believes there would have been two thouſand men collected in the country, to join them; it was divided into four diviſions, or quarters, one of which, evidence was to command, and had others under him, but on finding they meant to take the lives of the Yeomanry, having a brother an officer in it, evidence lodged information of all he knew, before a magiſtrate."

SENTENCE.

" The Court having conſidered the proſecution, and what the priſoners had to offer in their defence, the Court are of opinion, the priſoners, *William Conlon*, *Thomas Ready*, *Michael Gunley*, and *John Bray*, are guilty of the crimes alledged againſt them (of Mutiny and Sedition) and do therefore ſentence them to ſuffer DEATH.

The Court do alſo find the priſoners, *Thomas Whelchan*, *Bryan Martin*, *William Mahady*, and *James Gunning*, guilty of ſame crime, and

and do therefore ſentence them to ſerve for life, in ſome of his Majeſty's Plantations beyond the ſeas.—The Court do find the priſoner, *Patrick M'Laughlin*, guilty of the ſame crime, and do therefore ſentence him to receive 500 laſhes, in the uſual manner, and the Court do acquit the priſoner, *Mathew Martin* and *Felix Fitzgerald*, and the Court do acquit all the priſoners of the latter part of the charge."

No. XXX.

No. XXX.

Hand-bills diſtributed on ſeveral Occaſions among the Soldiers.

SOLDIERS,

WHETHER Engliſh, Scotch, or Iriſh, at this awful and alarming period, when the legiſlature of the country ſeem determined on precipitating it from one danger to another, let me entreat you not to forget you are ſtill men: Seduction made you ſoldiers, but nature made you men. Let her call awaken every noble and generous ſentiment in your breaſts, never to turn your arms againſt your fellow-men, whoſe crimes are hatred to tyranny and oppreſſion, and a love of liberty. For this are we ſtiled traitors and rebels;—but by whom?—By thoſe who are themſelves the worſt of traitors; thoſe who have betrayed the people; who have rebelled againſt the rights of man, and exerciſe their deſpotiſm upon us becauſe we eſpouſe their cauſe: Your cauſe, 'tis a common one, and Engliſh, Scotch, and Iriſh, are alike intereſted in it. Our tyrants talk of treaſon, forgetting there can be none except againſt the rights and intereſts of the people. The people could *flouriſh* and would flouriſh without them; but what are they without the people? IT IS THE PEOPLE PAYS BOTH THEM AND YOU. Let the Engliſh ſoldier conſider the ſeverity, the burdens enormous under which his country (which probably contains all his deareſt connexions) groans, for the redreſs of which Britons are *now* united. Let the Scotch ſoldier weigh the ſame conſiderations, (and recollect the recent maſſacres at *Tranent*,) and for the redreſs of which Scotchmen are now united, and then if they can, let them condemn *us* for ſtruggling for liberty, of which we ſincerely wiſh them to participate; and if they cannot, never let them turn their arms againſt us. The Iriſh Soldier cannot forget that he is an

IRISHMAN.

31ſt March, 1798.

TO THE SOLDIERS OF IRELAND.

Fellow Citizens and Fellow Soldiers,

PERMIT a countryman to addreſs you in a few words upon a few plain facts, and if any of you feel with me the poſitions I ſhall lay down, I entreat you by all that can be dear to man, forward its influence amongſt your brethren in arms: but in doing ſo let the cautious conduct you purſue lull ſuſpicion to reſt in thoſe tyrants who now under the colour of commanding dare enſlave ſuch brave men, as I truſt none of you will fail proving himſelf when the day ſhall arrive.

Firſt—Let me aſk you, is there one amongſt you (particularly thoſe who have been reared in the country) whoſe deareſt relations and moſt intimate friends do not reſide in your reſpective counties? I anſwer, none; and you muſt feel if they are expoſed to danger.

Secondly—Which of you that has not formed in his mind a hope of one day (when the period of military ſervice is expired) reviſiting his dear friends, and ſpending an honoured age in the boſom of his parents in peace and tranquillity, re-animated by the ſcenes his boyiſh days played truant in, looking with fond remembrance on the village that gave him birth, and cheering a lonely Winter in the companionable ſociety of perhaps a loving wife and riſing offſpring—You all expect to do ſo; not a man of you but muſt have formed the moſt ſanguine hopes of doing ſo.

But, my countrymen, what muſt your feelings be, how check your indignant manly rage, when every day adds peril to their exiſtence; when each day gives a melancholy ſad account, (which I do not heſitate to ſay is concealed from you) of their being murdered by thoſe Orange-men in power—hunted by thoſe paid to defend them in your abſence, and with ſhame I muſt add, by ſome of our own countrymen, debaſed and degenerated by becoming dupes to the murderous Orange faction now lording it through the land; Iriſh blood freezes at the ſcenes of perſecution carried on againſt our countrymen, againſt your families and friends; not an Iriſh heart but beats with redoubled ardour to face ſuch blood-hounds, and not an Iriſh hand but would wield a ſabre to have revenge!

My

My countrymen, what can you ſay when you hear of ſcenes of blood acting on the ſpot where your native hamlets once ſtood, but now no more: Their owners (your friends) either ſent to ſeek repoſe in the grave by the hands of theſe villainous orange murderers, or immured in the damp and dreary dungeons of the baſtiles of this country, pining in chill deſpondency, waiting for a trial ſeldom obtained, and when obtained, acquitted, after years of dreary ſolitary confinement!! Some hurried on board priſon ſhips, ſome actually tranſported to the ſettlements on the Coaſt of Africa, others ſent to ſerve in the Weſt Indies, certain victims to the climate; or left to rot, chained in the hold of a filthy coaſting veſſel! Your wives deſpoiled to gratify the inſatiable luſt of theſe raviſhers! and theſe ſcenes, my countrymen, ſuffered to go unpuniſhed by thoſe in power, whom you protect; to whoſe frowns your array adds terror; to whom you give your ſupport, for unleſs you pleaſe they vaniſh; without your protection theſe Deſpots fall, theſe deſolators that each day refine on ſuch bloody deeds would periſh, and your country be free. My brave countrymen do not let the world call us daſtards: No, let us ſhew the world we are men, and above all that we are Iriſhmen. Let every man among you feel the injuries your country, yourſelves have ſuffered; the inſults you have received, the ſtripes that have been dealt with an unmerciful hand on thoſe brave comrades who dared think and feel for their country.—If you do, the glorious work will be complete, and in the union of the citizen and his brave fellow ſoldier, the world (hitherto thought to look down upon us with contempt) will ſee that we can emancipate our country; we will convince ſurrounding nations that Iriſh ſoldiers have avowed and adopted a maxim they will maintain, or periſh—namely, *that every man ſhould be a Soldier in defence of his Liberty*, but *none* to take away the *Liberty* of others.

SHAMROC.

Weſtmeath, 27th March, 1798.

DUBLIN GARRISON.

THE great difficulties which the Soldiers have laboured under from the lowneſs of their pay, has long been known and acknowledged, and has been borne by them with an unexampled degree of patience. The ſubſiſtence money of the Soldiers, at preſent, is no more than three ſhillings and ſix-pence per week; a ſum inſufficient to maintain in any degree of comfort, a ſingle man, and totally inadequate to maintain a man who has a wife and family, which many of us have; if the pay is compared with that of a labourer or a porter in this city, the difference is immenſe.—The pay of the ſailors is now fixed at one ſhilling Britiſh per day, excluſive of which they have a profuſe allowance of meat, of beer, and of ſpirit, which keeps them comfortable, and enables them to ſave ſufficiently for the maintenance of their wives and families.—We the ſoldiers of the Garriſon of Dublin, who have long cheerfully ſubmitted to a very ſevere Garriſon Duty, and who will not even for a moment allow, that we are inferior to any body of men in loyalty to our King and Country, have unanimouſly agreed, humbly to repreſent to Government the inſufficiency of our preſent pay, and that we are convinced, that one ſhilling per day, ſubſiſtence money, would be a moderate allowance for the Infantry, with a proportionate advance to the Cavalry and Artillery, to be paid in money and not in paper—and in order to have thoſe moderate and juſt claims brought to a concluſion, we have determined to remain in our preſent quarters, until they are ſettled to our ſatisfaction; and we recommend in the moſt earneſt manner, to every Regiment throughout the Kingdom, to aſſiſt us in obtaining this juſt and reaſonable demand.

Dublin, April 29, 1797.

The following Hand Bill was diſtributed in Cork in March laſt exciting the Soldiers to Mutiny.

TO MILITIA MEN!!!

TWO of your body are to be murdered, and you will be called on to be the murderers: you will be told that you have ſworn to obey your officers, and that you are in danger of being puniſhed if you refuſe to be executioners. But I tell you, you are bound to reſiſt ſuch a command, and that the people who have affixed a watchful eye on all your proceedings will never excuſe you from ſuch

ſuch an Act.—From the moment the trigger is drawn by which they are to be butchered you ceaſe to have the confidence of the *Men of Erin.* Refuſe to fire, refuſe to be the executioners of your tyrants damnable orders, who dares to call you to account. The whole people will defend and ſhield you; they will feed and and lodge and clothe you; they will warm you in their boſoms; as you behave now, your country will conſider you for ever. Oh! Militia men, you will all be ſhot one by one, if you dont at once put a ſtop to ſlaughter.

Did you not hear how the brave men of the Carlow militia a Blaris Camp refuſed to ſhoot two of their comrades; another regiment was called on for the purpoſe—They refuſed to be murderers: A Scotch regiment was ſingled out—even they refuſed, yet not one of them was puniſhed:—Who dare to puniſh you if you are true to each other?—Now is the time to prove yourſelves.

DEATH BEFORE DISHONOUR:

OR, THE FOUR IRISH SOLDIERS.

A TRUE STORY.

THESE brave men, William M'Kenna, Owen M'Kenna, Peter M'Carren and Daniel M'Gillain, ſoldiers in the Monaghan militia, were ſentenced to be ſhot by a Court Martial for being United Iriſhmen. They were repeatedly offered their pardon and rewards on condition of informing againſt their aſſociates. They choſe death before diſhonour, and met their fate like men. They were carried upon cars, attended by their clergy, and accompanied by large detachments of various regiments, from Belfaſt to Blaris camp, on Tueſday the 16th day of May 1797.—The father of Owen M'Kenna was deſired to interfere in order to ſave his ſon's life, and to encourage him to inform. His anſwer was, that his ſon ſhould never ſave his life by informing, as in that caſe, if thoſe who wiſhed his ſon to turn traitor ſhould forbear to ſhoot him, he himſelf would do it. Upon this the ſon and his three comrades had their brains blown out in the preſence of the brave old man.

The United Iriſhmen have made a handſome proviſion for the families of theſe honourable men, as the only token of eſteem and gratitude now in their power to beſtow.

No. XXXI.

Examinations of Doctor Mc. Nevin, Arthur O'Connor, Esq; Samuel Neilson and Thomas Addis Emmet.

SECRET COMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

Tuesday, 7th August 1798.

Doctor William James Mc. Nevin sworn.

Q. When did you become an United Irishman?

A. About September or October 1796 I became a member of the close society of United Irishmen; it consisted of societies at first composed of thirty-six members, afterwards these societies were reduced to twelve members; each society of twelve chose a Secretary, and generally a Treasurer.

Q. What was the next higher society?

A. The Secretaries of five societies formed a lower Baronial Committee, out of each of the lower Baronial Committees one person was chosen to be a member of the upper Baronial, each of the upper baronials consisted of ten members thus chosen. The next superior Committees were in populous towns, District Committees; and in counties, County Committees; these were composed of one member elected from each Baronial. The next superior Committees were the Provincial Committees, composed of two members, sometimes three, elected from each County Committee.

Q. How was the Executive chosen?

A. Each Provincial Committee elected five persons by ballot, the Secretary examined the ballots, and reported to the persons elected their appointment, but made no report of the election to the Provincial, who were thus kept in ignorance of the persons who composed the Executive. The Executive had the command of the whole body thus organized.

Q. How were the orders of the Executive communicated?

A. One member of the Executive communicated with one member of the Provincial Committee, he with the Secretary of the County Committee, he in like manner with the Secretaries of the Baronials and these Secretaries with those of the subordinate Societies.

Q. Was

Q. Was there any omiſſion made in the laſt teſt?

A. In the laſt teſt the words were "a full repreſentation of all "the people," omitting the words "in the Commons Houſe of "Parliament."

Q. Why was the omiſſion made?

A. To reconcile reformers and republicans, and becauſe they had given up all idea of reform, and were determined on republicaniſm.

Q. What was the organization originally?

A. At firſt it was purely a civil organization; but I believe it was military in Ulſter about the latter end of 1796.

Q. What was the nature of the military organization?

A. The Secretary of the ſociety of twelve was the petty officer, that is, Serjeant or Corporal; the Delegate of five ſocieties to a lower Baronial was uſually the Captain, and thus had ſixty men under his command; and the Delegate of ten lower Baronials to the upper or Diſtrict Committee was uſually the Colonel, thus a battalion was compoſed of ſix hundred men.

Q. In what manner were the higher officers or ſtaff appointed?

A. The Colonels of each county ſent in the names of three perſons to the Executive, one of whom was appointed by the Executive Adjutant General of the county, his duty was to receive and communicate all military orders from the Executive.

Q. Was any attempt made to procure Iriſh officers who had ſerved in foreign armies?

A. Such a plan was formed but not proceeded on.

Q. Did they endeavour to prevail on French officers in England or Ireland to join them?

A. They did not.

Q. Were any attempts made to ſeduce the army and militia?

A. There were many.

Q. How were finances of the ſociety recruited?

A. Every member of the ſociety paid a monthly ſubſcription; this fund was applied to the ſupport of priſoners in gaol, to defend them on their trials and to extend the union.

Q. How were the arms and ammunition to be procured?

A. The general direction was for each perſon to arm himſelf, ſuch as could afford it with fire arms and ammunition, others with pikes.

Q. What was the object of the ſyſtem?

A. To effect a revolution and eſtabliſh a republick.

Q. How were emiſſaries appointed to extend the ſyſtem?

A. They were ſelected by ſome confidential perſon in the different diſtricts.

Q. How

Q. How were the expenſes of the emiſſaries borne?

A. Out of the general fund.

Q. Were the reports of the Secret Committees of the two houſes of Parliament laſt year accurate?

A. I believe they were accurate, ſave that they underſtated the number of men and arms.

Q. Do you know of any depots of arms or ammunition?

A. I do not—each man concealed his own arms, and I believe there were many engaged in the ſyſtem who were not armed.

Q. For what purpoſe were arms provided?

A. For the purpoſe of inſurrection, and I think even after diſarming the North, the people were much inclined to riſe, but were prevented by a repreſentation from the Executive, that it would be abſurd to riſe when their enemies were prepared, and that they might ſoon expect foreign aſſiſtance, I believe they retained more arms than were taken from them.

Q. When did the military organization begin in Leinſter?

A. In the beginning or middle of 1797.

Q. Was this organization made with the knowledge and approbation of the National Executive, for the purpoſe of revolution?

A. It was.

Q. When was the ſyſtem introduced into Munſter?

A. About twelve or eighteen months ſince, but it did not extend rapidly—it went on quietly.

Q. Was there any connection between the union and the Scotch and Engliſh ſocieties?

A. There might have been ſome ſlight connection between the North and thoſe ſocieties, but there was no cloſe connection between them and the Union.

Q. How was the Military Committee appointed and when?

A. It was appointed by the Executive about February, 1798.

Q. What was the duty of this committee?

A. To

A. To confider and digeft fuch plans and direct the National military force in fuch manner, as might be neceffary in cafe of infurrection; and in cafe of invafion to co-operate with the French.

Q. Was any plan of infurrection formed, and when?

A. In April or May 1797 a plan of infurrection for the North was formed, and heads drawn up in writing, but it was foon given up and the writing deftroyed.

Q. Were any directions given by the Directory to the members to abftain from the confumption of fpirits and other exciffeable goods?

A. There were, and it was recommended to ftop the currency of bank notes, and not to purchafe quit-rents. A hand-bill to this purpofe was circulated by order of the Executive, ftating that it was an anticipation of the public refources which at the revolution would not be allowed to ftand good.

Q. Have there been any communications between the National Directory of Ireland and Executive Directory of France?

A. There have—Previous to 1796 fome perfons had gone from hence to France—In 1796 a letter came from one of them, ftating that the fituation of this country had been repreffented to the Directory, who had promifed to invade Ireland, for the purpofe of feparating it from Great Britain. This letter was taken into ferious confideration by the Executive early in 1796, and an anfwer fent in April that year, accepting the propofal on condition that they fhould come as allies to act under the direction of the new government, as Rochambeau did in America, that they fhould be paid the expenfes of the expedition, and their troops receive Irifh pay while they acted here. This anfwer was fent to Paris by a fpecial meffenger, and the French Directory promifed that the fuccours fhould be fent.

About October or November 1796, a meffenger came from France with intelligence that the fuccours might be fpeedily expected, and defiring to know the ftate of preparation of the country. The force to be fent by France was

ſtated to be 15,000 men, and a great quantity of arms and ammunition, and he thinks if they had landed, when they came to Bantry, an inſurrection would have taken place in the North. After the French expedition at Bantry had failed, there was no communication with the Directory till April 1797. Then an accredited Miniſter was ſent by the Iriſh Directory to the Directory of France by way of Hamburgh.—He may have heard that the Iriſh Miniſter had a conference with general Hoche at Frankfort, and that the French Miniſter at Hamburgh had given him a letter of introduction to Hoche. The Iriſh Miniſter was well received at Paris by the Directory, and continued the accredited Iriſh Miniſter there till February laſt—ſince that time he has not heard of him, having been arreſted in March, and continued in confinement ſince. He believes a confidential meeting took place ſoon after April, 1797, between a perſon who went from hence, and a perſon in London with reſpect to the diſpoſitions of the French government. The next communication of conſequence was in June 1797, when an accredited perſon went from hence to communicate with the French Directory by their deſire: he went by Hamburgh where he ſaw the French miniſter, who made ſome difficulty about granting a paſſport, and demanded a memorial which was written by the accredited perſon and given to the French miniſter under the impreſſion, that the paſſport would not be granted.

The Memoire was written in Engliſh, and contained the objects of his miſſion according to the inſtructions which he had received from the Executive. It began by ſtating that the appearance of the French in Bantry-bay had encouraged the leaſt confident of the Iriſh, in the hope of throwing off the yoke of England with the aſſiſtance of France: That the event of that expedition had proved the facility of invading Ireland: That in the event of a ſecond expedition, if the object was to take Cork, Oyſter-haven would be the beſt place of debarkation: That the perſon who had been before accredited was inſtructed to point out Oyſter-haven

as

as the beſt place of debarkation; and it ſtated the precautions which had been taken by throwing up works at Bantry, Fermoy and Mallow. It further ſtated that the ſyſtem of United Iriſhmen had made a rapid progreſs in the county of Cork, and that Bandon was become a ſecond Belfaſt: That the ſyſtem had made great progreſs in other counties, and that the people were now well inclined to aſſiſt the French: That 150,000 United Iriſhmen were organized and enrolled in Ulſter, a great part of them regimented, and one-third ready to march out of the province. It detailed the number of the King's forces in Ulſter, and their ſtations; recommended Lough-Swilly as a place of debarkation in the North, and ſtated that the people in the peninſula of Donegal would join the French. It ſtated alſo the ſtrength of the garriſon of Londonderry, and that one regiment which made a part of it was ſuppoſed to be diſaffected. It mentioned Killybegs alſo as a good place of debarkation; and ſtated that the counties of Tyrone, Fermanagh and Monaghan, were amongſt the beſt affected to the cauſe. In caſe of a landing at Killybegs, it recommended a diverſion in Sligo, and ſtated that a force of 10,000 United Iriſhmen might be collected to fall upon Enniſkillen, which commanded the paſs of Lough Erne: That it was eaſy to enter the Bay of Galway—but very difficult to get out of it: That the counties of Louth, Armagh, Weſtmeath, Kildare, King's County and City of Dublin, were the beſt organized: That the Catholic prieſts had ceaſed to be alarmed at the calumnies which had been propagated of French irreligion, and were all affected to the cauſe: That ſome of them had rendered great ſervice in propagating with diſcreet zeal the ſyſtem of the Union. It declared that the people of Ireland had a lively ſenſe of gratitude to France for the part which ſhe took, and alſo to Spain for the intereſt ſhe took in the affairs of Ireland. It engaged, on the part of the National Directory, to reimburſe the expenſes of France in the expedition which had failed, and of another to be undertaken. The number of troops demanded was a force not exceeding 10,000 nor leſs than

5000

5000 men. It ſtated that a brigade of Engliſh artillery had been already ſent over, and that a large body of troops would probably be ſent if Ireland was attacked. A conſiderable quantity of artillery and ammunition, with a large ſtaff, and a body of engineers, and as many Iriſh officers as poſſible, whoſe fidelity they were aſſured of, were demanded as neceſſary to accompany the expedition: a recommendation was given to ſeparate the Iriſh ſeamen who were priſoners of war from the Britiſh, ſuppoſing they would be ready to join in an expedition to liberate their country. It further recommended a proclamation to be publiſhed by the French General on his arrival here, that the French came as allies to deliver the country—not to conquer it. It alſo recommended to the Directory to make the independence of Ireland an indiſpenſable condition of the treaty of peace then depending; and ſtated that a proceeding ſo authentic could not be diſguiſed or miſrepreſented, and would very much encourage the people of Ireland. It contained alſo an aſſurance that the Iriſh militia would join the French if they landed in conſiderable force.

Immediately after this Memoire was given in to the French miniſter, a paſſport was granted to the writer to go to Paris, where he had ſeveral conferences with people in authority, ſome of them members of the Directory: the object of theſe conferences was to obtain the ſame aſſurances of ſuccours from them that their agents had before given. The negociation for peace was then going on at Liſle. He was told by perſons in authority that they did not think the Engliſh Cabinet ſincere, but that if France could get the terms ſhe had a right to expect, the Directory would make peace.

A ſecond Memoire was preſented at Paris by the ſame perſon ſoon after his arrival there; its object was to impreſs on the Directory the neceſſity of expediting the armament for Ireland, by every argument which the writer could uſe.

After

After the breaking off the negociation and Lord Malmſbury's return to England, aſſurances were given that the French government would ſend a new expedition to Ireland, and that they would never abandon Ireland till ſhe was ſeparated from Great Britain; and theſe aſſurances have been ſince renewed.

Q. Was any information ſent to the Iriſh Executive of the Dutch armament in the Texel?

A. there was in July or Auguſt, and that it was deſtined for Ireland.

Q. Were there any accounts received from France ſince thoſe you have mentioned?

A. There were three ſeveral accounts between October 1797, and February 1798; the two firſt contained renewals of their former aſſurances, the laſt a promiſe of the arrival of the armament here in April.

Q. Was any diſpatch ſent from Ireland to France during the laſt winter?

A. There was a diſpatch made up ſome time in the laſt winter by the Iriſh Executive, and given to one member of it, who undertook to have it conveyed to France. The general import of this diſpatch was to preſs for the promiſed ſuccours.

Q. Were you a member of the Executive?

A. I was.

Q. Do you ſpeak with certainty of the miſſion to France in June 1797, and of what paſſed at Paris in conſequence of it, and of the two Memoires?

A. I do.

Q. Have you read thoſe Memoires?

A. I have.

Q. Do you know they were both delivered?

A. I do

Q. How were the expenſes of the accredited Iriſh miniſter at Paris to be borne?

A. He took a good deal of money with him, either his

own, or raiſed by a particular ſubſcription, and it was intended to remit ſupplies to him when that was expended.

Q. Have you ſeen a reſolution of the Leinſter Provincial of the 19th February, 1798, "That they would not be diverted from their purpoſe, by any thing which could be done in Parliament, as nothing ſhort of the total emancipation of the country would ſatisfy them?"

A. I have.

Q. Was it officially communicated by the Provincial to to the Executive?

A. It was.

Q. Did you know that a Provincial Meeting was to be held on Monday the 12th of March?

A. I did.

Q. What was the reform originally required by United Iriſhmen?

A. A democratic Houſe of Commons, they thought one ariſtocratic body in the ſtate ſufficient.

Q. Was any eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment intended by the new government?

A. No, I conceive that a revolution would of courſe involve the demolition of the church eſtabliſhment, and of courſe a relief of the poor from tythes.

Q. Do you know of any loan being negotiated with France or Spain?

A. Yes, the agent who was ſent over in April 1797, was inſtructed to negotiate a loan of half a million or 30,000l. if it could be got from France or Spain.

Q. Have any doubt of the ſincerity of France?

A. I have not, I believe inability alone has prevented France from invading Ireland.

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

A. I am ſure they do not, but they wiſh much to be relieved from the payment of tythes.

Thurſday,

Thurſday, 9th Auguſt 1798.

Arthur O'Connor, Eſq. Sworn.

Q. When did you become an United Iriſhman?

A. About November 1796.

Q. When did the Military organization begin?

A. About the middle of 1796.

Q. Were you a member of the National Executive.

A. I was, and continued ſo from November 1796, to January 1798.

Q. When did the communications with France commence?

A. Before I was an United Iriſhman, I believe in the middle of 1796, at the ſame time that the Military organization was formed.

Q. When was it agreed to accept the offer of aſſiſtance from France?

A. I underſtood it was accepted at a meeting of the Executive in ſummer 1796.—I was apprized of the offer and acceptance by my brother members of the Executive after I became a member of it, and before the arrival of the French in Bantry Bay.

Q. Was it the determination of the United Iriſhmen in the North to riſe if the French had landed?

A. The Directory thought they would riſe.

Q. When was the firſt communication from France after the expedition to Bantry Bay?

A. The firſt which of my own knowledge I can ſpeak of was in Auguſt 1797.—It ſtated that a fleet lay in the Texel with 15,000 men on board, and that the armament was deſtined for Ireland. I was arreſted and in confinement for ſome months before that time.

Q. Was it mentioned to the Iriſh Executive where the deſcent was intended?

A. It was not in the diſpatch which I ſaw.

Q. Was

Q. Was there any intelligence brought of the intended invaſion at Bantry?

A. There was by a Meſſenger who arrived here about November 1796.

Q. Was there a Reſident Agent appointed to go to Paris in Spring 1797?

A. There was whilſt I was in priſon, and a ſecond perſon was ſent in June following: I ſaw this perſon on his return to Ireland from France about November 1797. He reported that no armament was then ready, but that one would ſhortly be ready, I underſtood that when a French fleet was ready the expedition would take place.

Q. Have you heard that there were ſome converſations on this ſubject between perſons of this country and General Valence prior to October 1796.

A. I have heard there were, they did not however lead to any thing deciſive.

Q. Was there any connection with the Engliſh or Scotch ſocieties?

A. Any connection with them was merely between individuals: the Iriſh Executive wiſh'd to keep clear of them.

Q. Do you know of any loan being negotiated with France or Spain?

A. Inſtructions were given to the agent to negotiate a loan of half a million in France or Spain on the ſecurity of the new Iriſh Government. Says his ſituation in the Executive was filled up when he left Ireland in January laſt.

Samuel Neilſon, ſworn.

Q. When did you become a member of the Society of United Iriſhmen?

A. In October 1791, I became a member of the original Society.

Q. When did the preſent organization commence?

A. In ſpring 1792, the affiliated ſyſtem of organization commenced, and has gradually increaſed ſince that time.

Q. When was the organization completed in Ulſter?

A. On the 10th of May 1795.

Q. When did the affiliation begin between Ulſter and the reſt of the kingdom?

A. From the time that the ſyſtem commenced, emiſſaries were ſent to every part of the kingdom for the purpoſe of extending it.

Q. What was the object then?

A. I think to alarm Government into a compliance with their objects.

Q. When

Q. When did the military organization begin in Ulſter?

A. In Autumn 1796. The object of this organization was to carry their meaſures by force.

Q. Did you know any thing of the correſpondence carried on with France?

A. Previous to my being arreſted, which happened in September 1796, I had heard of communications with France and a probability of the negotiations for aſſiſtance being ſucceſsful.

Q. When were you liberated and on what condition?

A. I was liberated in January or February laſt, on condition that he ſhould not belong to any treaſonable committee.

Q. After you were liberated did you hear of any intended attempt on Dublin or Lehaunſtown camp?

A. I did not till after the arreſts at Bonds.

Q. After that, were you very active in adviſing the filling up the vacancies that you ſuppoſed had taken place in conſequence of thoſe arreſts?

A. I was.

Q. Had you then any information of an intended inſurrection?

A. Soon after I diſcovered that an inſurrection was decided upon and I meant to have given my advice and aſſiſtance.

Q. Was there a letter from John Sheares found in your pocket when you were laſt arreſted?

A. There was.

Q. What was the object of this letter.

A. To diſſuade me from attacking Kilmainham gaol.

Q. Was there any intention of attacking Newgate?

A. I believe there was an intention of attacking it on the night I was arreſted the 23d of May.

Q. Did you know of any depots of arms and ammunition?

A. I believe there never were any: the arms were in the hands of the people, and they hid them. The manufacture of pikes began about the time of the military organization. Says the Convention Bill was calculated to meet every part of the ſyſtem of United Iriſhmen. Says Ulſter is not ſo well organized as it was a year ago. Says many people joined the United Iriſhmen ſuppoſing them to be the ſtrongeſt party in the ſtate, and if their affairs had been well conducted, he thinks they would have become the Government. Latterly their affairs have been much miſconducted becauſe the ableſt men amongſt them have been either arreſted or obliged to fly. Says, that until the laſt two months he did not conſider Government to be well informed, but the late arreſts convinced him they were.

Friday, 11th August, 1798.

Thomas Addis Emmett, Esq. sworn.

Q. Did you belong to the society of United Irishmen?

A. I did.

Q. Were you a member of the Executive?

A. I was.—I was first appointed in January 1797, and continued a member of it till May 1797. I then ceased to be of it till December last when I was elected a second time, and I continued a member till my arrest.

Q. When did the military organization take place?

A. I have heard that it commenced the beginning or middle of 1796. Its object was to prepare for resistance. This organization was known to and had the approbation of the Executive, as returns of men and arms were regularly made to them. The last military organization proceeded immediately from the Executive.

Q. When did the first communication with France take place?

A. The first I heard of took place about the middle of 1796 This was in consequence of an offer of assistance from France: this offer was in consequence of representations made by persons of this country resident at Paris. It was taken into serious consideration in the summer 1796, and accepted by the Executive. The first communication with France, of which I can speak from my knowledge, was in April, 1797 This was an effort to establish a permanent intercourse with the French Directory; to give them an account of the number of troops here, and of their situation, and of the dispositions of the people, and to solicit the aid of a limited number of troops with arms and ammunition. A special messenger was sent on this occasion who was continued the resident accredited agent of the Irish Executive at Paris, and has been supported by private subscriptions.

Q. Were any dispatches received from this agent?

A. In

A. In ſome time after his arrival at Paris, he ſent aſſurances to the Executive, of aſſiſtance from the French, and that they would continue it till Ireland was ſeparated from Great Britain.

Q. When did the next communication with France take place?

A. In June 1797, a ſecond meſſenger was diſpatched. He was ſent in conſequence of an application from the French Directory to arrange every thing for the invaſion. His inſtructions were pretty much the ſame as thoſe of the former, but he was to require a greater quantity of arms. This additional ſupply of arms was demanded principally in conſequence of the ſeizure of arms in the North which had been made by order of government.

Q. Was any communication made here relative to the armament in the Texel?

A. I am pretty certain that a communication was made in ſummer 1797, that the armament in the Texel was deſtined for Ireland.

Q. Was any diſpatch received from France in the laſt winter?

A. A diſpatch from the Directory arrived in the laſt winter to inform the Executive that an armament would arrive here in the month of April. No mention was made of the amount of the force to be ſent, nor of the place of debarkation, as they were aſſured by the Iriſh Executive that wherever they landed they would be ſupported.

Q. How do you account for the people being ſo loyal and well-diſpoſed while the French were in Bantry Bay?

A. About November 1796 a meſſenger arrived here from France who ſtated that a deſcent would immediately be made with 15,000 men. In a very few days after this meſſenger had quitted Ireland on his return, a letter arrived which was conſidered as authentic by the Iriſh Executive, ſtating that the expedition was deferred till ſpring, when England would be invaded, and probably Ireland. This contradiction then threw the Executive off their guard, in conſequence of which no meaſures were taken

to

to prepare the people for the reception of the French army. The people were left to themſelves.

Q. Was any diſpatch ſent from this to France in the laſt Winter?

About the beginning of January or the latter end of December a diſpatch was made up by the Executive, and intended to be tranſmitted to the Directory, but the attempt failed.

Q. When was the Staff appointed?

A. It was appointed for Leinſter by the Executive in January or February 1798. It was thought neceſſary to have an Adjutant-General in each county to communicate military orders from the Executive.

Q. What was the mode of appointment?

A. The Colonels of each county returned the names of three perſons to the Executive, who appointed one of them.

Q. What was the purpoſe of the military organization and preparations?

A. To aſſiſt the French when they ſhould land, and effect a revolution.

Q. When was the Military Committee appointed?

A. I believe in February 1798. Their duty was to prepare a plan of co-operation with the French when they ſhould land, or of inſurrection in caſe they ſhould be forced to it before the arrival of the French, which they are determined to avoid if poſſible. I believe the inſurrection which has taken place was brought forward by the military ſeverities which were exerciſed in the county of Kildare, and that if the arreſts had not taken place it would have been kept back by the perſons who were arreſted till the French ſhould arrive, as it was their determination to wait for aſſiſtance from France. If the French had arrived I am certain there would have been a very general and formidable inſurrection in every part of the country.

Q. Was John Sheares a member of the Executive before your arreſt?

A. He was not. Says the old Executive never meant to ſpill blood, but rather to retain men of a certain rank as hoſtages, and if they found them hoſtile to the new government to ſend them out of the country. That it was alſo determined that if the wives of ſuch perſons did not act with hoſtility to the new government they ſhould be allowed a maintenance out of the huſband's property, and that each child ſhould have a portion, the reſidue to belong to the nation.

Q. Did the arreſts on the 12th of March tend to diſorganize the ſyſtem?

A. They did. The principal members of the Union were either confined or fled in conſequence of the arreſts.

Q. Do

Q. Do you think the mafs of the people care for Catholic Emancipation or Parliamentary Reform?

A. I believe the mafs of the people do not care a feather for Catholic Emancipation; neither did they care for Parliamentary Reform till it was explained to them as leading to other objects which they looked to, principally the abolition of tythes. They were alfo taught to confider that when they became members of a democracy their condition would be bettered.

Q. Was any ecclefiaftical eftablifhment intended by the revolutionary government.

A. None, certainly.

Q. How do you fuppofe it poffible for Ireland to remain an independent country unconnected with Great Britain?

A. Ireland is now in a very different fituation from that in which fhe ftood at the Revolution: I think fhe has grown out of her connection with Great Britain.

Q. Explain yourfelf?

A. At the Revolution her population did not much exceed a million and an half, now it amounts to five millions; her wealth has increafed in a greater proportion.—I am therefore of opinion that fhe is capable now of ftanding alone.

Q. Do you not think it a wifer and a fairer policy to abide by that connexion by which her wealth and population have grown fo confiderably?

A. I do not. I think this might be the happieft country in the world if fhe was eftablifhed as an independent Republic.

Q. How could fhe exift without a fhip of war or the means of having one. Twelve Britifh frigates ftationed around her coafts muft annihilate the trade of Ireland. How much could England diftrefs her, even in the fingle article of coals?

A. I think Ireland would be very much crippled for fome years; but if fhe were feparated from Great Britain the colloffal ftrength of the Britifh navy would be very quickly reduced; and as to the fupply of coals, I think by extending our inland navigation we could be fupplied with fuel at home.

No. XXXII.

Extracts from the Declaration of John Cormick, of Thomas-ſtreet in the City of Dublin, who had fled from thence and was apprehended at Guernſey, July 10th 1798.

THAT about fifteen months ago he had taken the oath of an United Iriſhman—about three months ago Lord Edward Fitzgerald was brought to his houſe by William Lawleſs (a Surgeon who lived in French-ſtreet, Dublin) in order to be concealed there, ſince which time, influenced by his lordſhip, he had taken a more active part in the rebellion by attending ſeditious meetings; that during his intercourſe with Lord Edward Fitzgerald his Lordſhip ſhewed him two letters, taking care to conceal their ſignatures from him—one of which ſtated that the number of diſaffected in London amounted to ſeventeen thouſand, who would riſe upon a common emergency, but that there were at leaſt one hundred thouſand of the ſame deſcription who would not ſhew themſelves until the time of actual invaſion; the other was conceived in nearly theſe terms—"I have juſt received a letter from L. who has made application to the truſtees for the advance of 5000l. upon your eſtates, which they refuſed, ſaying they would make no payment ſhort of the entire, and that they would not be able to effect that for four months." That the date of the laſt letter was ſome time in May; that Lord Edward Fitzgerald remained concealed in his houſe nearly a month; he afterwards abſconded, ſearch having been made in his houſe for his Lordſhip.

In his declaration he further ſtated, that in the month of March laſt a Deputation from the United Britiſh in London arrived in Dublin; he knows that there is an Agent for the United Britiſh reſident in Paris, and that there are Agents both for the United Britiſh and Iriſh reſident at Hamburgh, but that he is ignorant of all their names, except of that of Lewins, who is the ſame perſon whoſe initial was written in the Letter ſhewn to him by Lord Edward Fitzgerald.

He acknowledged his being intimately acquainted with this Lewins, who is the Iriſh reſident at Paris; and offered, if his pardon ſhould be granted, to correſpond with ſaid perſon, who he was certain would write confidentially to him.

No. XXXIII.

Letter from John Sheares, found upon Samuel Neilſon, on the evening of the 23d May.

SIR,

I have ſought you in every direction, but unfortunately in vain. It is now too late to uſe many words upon the ſubject of our intended interview—let it ſuffice to ſay that I am acquainted with the deſtructive deſign you meditate, and am reſolved to counteract it, whatever it may coſt me—reſt aſſured that nothing ſhall check a reſolution, which honor, private affection and public duty unite to demand the immediate execution of, and that however unwilling I may be at any other moment to take the only ſteps which your obſtinacy may render neceſſary this evening for the preſervation of my friends and my country, I will without heſitation take them. The ſcheme you have undertaken I view with horror, whether its effects be conſidered as relating to my impriſoned friends, the deſtruction of whoſe property and lives muſt be the conſequence even of your ſucceſs, or as affecting Arthur O'Connor's exiſtence, the precarious chance for which you thus cruelly leſſen, or (what is ſuperior to every other conſideration) as enſuring the ruin of Ireland's freedom—In ſhort, Mr. to be candid with you, the ſcheme is ſo totally deſtitute of any apology even from the plea of folly or paſſion, that I cannot avoid attributing its origin to a worſe cauſe, and nothing can convince me of the contrary but your immediately foregoing ſo pernicious an enterprize. In theſe ſentiments I am not ſingular, nor in the reſolution which ariſes from them, and ſhould you doubt me, you muſt purchaſe conviction at a very ſevere coſt: my reſolution and that of my friends is this, if you do not by nine o'clock this evening give us every neceſſary and ſacred aſſurance, that you will counteract and prevent the perpetration of this plot againſt all that you ought to hold dear, notice of it ſhall be given to the government without a moment's delay — for we do prefer that a few miſguided (not to ſay guilty) individuals ſhould periſh, than that every remaining hope of our country's ſucceſs, and the lives of our moſt valued friends ſhould be ſacrificed by the accompliſhment of a ſtupid, perhaps wicked undertaking.—Do not feed yourſelf with hope that any conſideration ſhall deter me from fulfilling this threat—If every poignard you could command were at my throat I would do my duty—I did think well of you—I wiſh to do ſo ſtill—You alone can prevent me.

J. S.

I dine at 52 Abbey-ſtreet, where I ſhall expect your anſwer before eight o'clock.

No. XXXIV.

Letter from John M'Manus to Patrick Gallagher.

Kilbeggan 2d May 1798.

Dear Citizen,

Conformable to the informations I received when I laſt had the pleaſure of ſeeing you, immediately on my return to the country, I ſent inſtructions to the reſpective Baronies, to have their numbers properly returned, their collections made &c. and appointed a day for the County Meeting accordingly, (which was laſt Saturday) when to my great mortification, I was totally diſappointed, they not having come according to appointment. I cannot pretend to account in any manner for this timid conduct on the part of the Delegates, but ſurely there is nothing in my opinion to juſtify it—I was prepared to go up on Sunday as requeſted, but conſidered it totally uſeleſs, as I was deſtitute of any returns ſaving thoſe of the Barony. I am certain there muſt be a very curious idea formed of this county, from ſuch unpardonable neglect, but I alſo flatter myſelf that were matters fully known to our friends, no blame would be attached to me—from the firſt moment of our receiving the Syſtem of Organization in this Barony we loſt not a moment's time—the people are all well prepared, and in four hours we can bring to the field 3,400 men determined to ſtand or fall in the cauſe of their country, all they want is a knowledge of the moment. I am certain the good ſenſe of our friends thro, the neglect or intimidation of the other Baronies) would not ſuffer ſuch a number of brave men to be ſacrificed, and I hope ſtill for the neceſſary informations.

From the variable diſpoſitions of the lower order of people I do think many of their Bn. Members excuſable; it takes and requires great patience as well as perſeverance, to bring them to a proper ſenſe of their duty, and I know the exertions of ſome in particular has not been wanting. I have again ſent word for our County Meeting to aſſemble this week, and inform me when the Delegates ſhould be in town with proper returns, &c.

Yours moſt fraternally,

JOHN M'MANUS.

Number

Number of Troops in this Barony.

70 Northumberland Fencibles in this town.

40 Orange Yeomen infantry Tuelfpals.

35 Do. do. Cavalry, Moat.

With a few more not worth mentioning.

The fact is, we are determined to put them down in a moment, or ten times their number.

My brother was in Dublin all laft week, and tells me he called different times, but had not the fortune to meet you within. I hope there will be no difappointment now.

No. XXXV.

Mr. Grandy's Information.

County of Wexford, to wit. } RICHARD GRANDY of Ballyſtraco, in the county of Wexford, farmer, came this day before us his Majeſty's juſtices of the peace for ſaid county, and maketh oath upon the Holy Evangeliſts that he this examinant was attacked and ſeized at the croſs roads of Kilbride in ſaid county on Sunday the third day of June inſtant, between the hours of nine and ten o'clock in the morning, as he was returning from a farm he had on the lands of Kilbride, by ſeveral perſons armed with guns, pikes, and ſpears; that amongſt the number were Michael Poor, Thomas Poor, Martin White, Richard Shee, Martin Cothoun, Nicholas Browne, Michael White, John Moran and Laurence Moran, all of Kilbride aforeſaid, with many others, whoſe names this deponent knows not, though their faces were very familiar to him; that examinant was conducted from thence to the rebel camp at Carrick-Byrne in ſaid county, and in the afternoon of ſame day was brought to Mr. King's houſe at Scollobogue in ſaid county; that he was introduced into a room where he ſaw Bagenel Harvey of Bargy-Caſtle in ſaid county, eſquire, William Devereux of Taghmon in ſaid county, farmer, Francis Brien of Taghmon, and Nicholas Sweetman of New-Bawne in ſaid county, with a few more whom deponent did not know, but believes that John Colclough of Ballytiegue in ſaid county, and a ſon of ſaid William Devereux's were of the number; that deponent was cloſely examined by ſaid Bagnel Harvey as to the ſtate of Roſs and Duncannon Fort, and whether he was an Orange-man or an United-man; that ſaid Bagnel Harvey proffered him to take the oath of an united Iriſhman, and become one of their community; that at laſt deponent obtained a paſs from ſaid Bagenel Harvey, with which he came as far as Bryanſtown, where he was ſtopped by the guard of rebels who were ſtationed there; that he was conducted back again to Collop's-Well, where he met with ſaid Bagenel Harvey and ſaid Nicholas Sweetman; that ſaid Sweetman ſigned the paſs he had got from ſaid Harvey; that he had not gone far before the paſs had been taken from him and torn, upon which deponent was taken priſoner to Scollobogue-Houſe, where he was confined till the

the Tuesday morning, following with many other Proteſtants; that about nine o'clock John Murphy of Loughnageer in ſaid county who had the command of the Roſegarland rebel corps, and was the officer of the guard over the priſoners, had ordered them out by fours to be ſhot by his company of rebels, till thirty-five were maſſacred; that the rebel ſpear-men uſed to take pleaſure in piercing the victims through with their ſpears, and in exultation licking their bloody ſpears; that while this horrid ſcene was acting the barn at ſaid Scollobogue, in which were above one hundred Proteſtants (as deponent heard and believes) was ſet on fire and all conſumed to aſhes; that examinant's life was ſpared becauſe ſaid Murphy knew ſaid Bagenel Harvey had given him a paſs, and through his interceſſion with ſaid Murphy, Loftus Freſſell was likewiſe ſpared; ſayeth they were both tied and conveyed within a mile of Roſs where they met ſaid Bagenel Harvey, Cornelius Grogan of Johnſtown in ſaid county, eſquire, ſaid William Devereux, and many others unknown to deponent, retreating from the battle of Roſs; ſaith that ſaid Bagenel Harvey ordered ſaid Murphy to take the priſoners to his lodging at Collop's-well, where he gave a paſs to Loftus Frizzell, but refuſed to give one to deponent, leaſt he ſhould go to Duncannon Fort, and report what deponent had heard and ſeen; ſaith that he heard and believes it to be a fact that ſaid Cornelius Grogan had the command of the barony of Fort rebel troops at the battle of Roſs; ſaith that he was taken to Foulke's-mill in ſaid county that night, where he continued for two days under a guard dreſſing the wounded; that he was afterwards conveyed to Ballymitty in ſaid county, when he obtained a paſs from Edward Murphy, pariſh prieſt of ſaid place, to paſs and re-paſs through his diſtrict for the purpoſe of curing the wounded; ſaith that he was ſent to Taghmon where the ſitting rebel magiſtrates John Brien, James Harpar, Joſeph Cullamore and Matthew Commons were of opinion that deponent might with the prieſt's paſs have gone back again and remain there; ſaith that he ſtrolled along the ſea ſide under the protection of this paſs till at laſt he effected his eſcape acroſs the ferry of Bannow to Feathard on Friday evening the 22d inſtant, and from thence to Duncannon fort this morning; ſaith that he often heard it reported while he was in cuſtody that John Colclough and Thomas M'Leard, both of Tintern in ſaid county, were very active in promoting the rebellion; and further ſaith that he ſaw John Devereux of Shalbeggan in ſaid county, junior, at Scollobogue on Monday the 4th inſtant, and that he ſeemed and he verily believeth he had a principal command in the rebel army;

ſaith

faith that he likewife faw Charles Reily of Ramfgrange in faid county at the faid camp at Carrick-byrne amongft the rebels very bufy and active to promote their caufe; deponent further faith that he attended mafs celebrated by Edward Murphy, parifh prieft of Bannow; that after mafs he heard faid Murphy preach a fermon, in which he faid, "Brethren you fee you are victorious "every where, that the balls of the Hereticks fly about you "without hurting you, that few of you have fallen whilft thoufands "of the Hereticks are dead, and the few that have fallen was "from deviating from our caufe and want of faith; that this "vifibly is the work of God, who now is determined that the "Hereticks who have reigned upwards of one hundred years "fhould be now extirpated, and the true Catholic religion eftab-"lifhed;" and deponent faith this fermon was preached after the battle of Rofs, and fayeth he has heard feveral fermons preached by the priefts to fame effect; and further faith that he has heard feveral of the rebels who had been at the battle of Ennifcorthy and elfewhere declare, that Edward Roche the prieft did conftantly catch the bullets that came from his Majefty's army in his hand and give them to the rebels to load their guns with; deponent further faith that any Proteftant who was admitted into the rebel army was firft baptized by a Roman Catholic prieft, and that every Proteftant who refufed to be baptized was put to death, and that many to fave their lives fuffered themfelves to be baptized.

Sworn before us his Majefty's juftices of the peace for faid county this 23d day of June 1798, at Duncannon Fort.

Bound in the fum of two hundred pounds to profecute, when called on, this examination with effect.

GEORGE OGLE,
ISAAC CORNOCK,
JOHN HENRY LYSTER,
JOHN KENNEDY.

RICHARD GRANDY.

(A copy.)

GENERAL ORDERS.

At a Meeting of the General and ſeveral Officers of the United Army of the County of Wexford the following Reſolutions were agreed upon:

Reſolved, that the Commander in Chief ſhall ſend guards to certain baronies for the purpoſe of bringing in all men they ſhall find loitering and delaying at home or elſewhere, and if any reſiſtance be given to thoſe guards ſo to be ſent by the Commanding Officer's orders, it is our deſire and orders, that ſuch perſons ſo giving reſiſtance ſhall be liable to be put to death by the guards, who are to bear a commiſſion for that purpoſe; and all ſuch perſons ſo to be found loitering and delaying at home, when brought in by the guards, ſhall be tried by a court martial appointed and choſen from amongſt the Commanders of all the different Corps and be puniſhed with death.

Reſolved, that all Officers ſhall immediately repair to their reſpective quarters and remain with their different Corps, and not depart therefrom under pain of death, unleſs authorized to quit by written orders from the Commander in Chief for that purpoſe.

It is alſo ordered that a guard ſhall be kept in the rere of the different Armies with orders to ſhoot all perſons who ſhall fly or deſert from any engagement, and that theſe orders ſhall be taken notice of by all Officers commanding ſuch engagements.

All men refuſing to obey their ſuperior Officer to be tried by a court martial and puniſhed according to their ſentence.

It is alſo ordered that all men who ſhall attempt to leave their reſpective quarters when they have been halted by the Commander in Chief ſhall ſuffer death, unleſs they ſhall have leave from their Officers for ſo doing.

It is ordered by the Commander in Chief that all perſons who have ſtolen or taken away any horſe or horſes ſhall immediately bring in all ſuch horſes to the camp at head quarters, otherwiſe any horſe that ſhall be ſeen or found in the poſſeſſion of any perſon to whom he does not belong, ſhall on being convicted thereof ſuffer death.

And any goods that ſhall have been plundered from any houſe, if not brought in to head quarters, or returned immediately to the houſes or owners, that all perſons ſo plundering as aforeſaid ſhall on being convicted thereof ſuffer death.

It is alſo reſolved, that any perſon or perſons who ſhall take upon him or them to kill or murder any perſon or priſoner, burn any houſe, or commit any plunder, without ſpecial written orders from the Commander in Chief, ſhall ſuffer death.

By Order of,

B. B. Harvey, Commander in Chief.

Head Quarters, Carrick Burn Camp,
June 6, 1798.

Francis Breen, Secretary and Adjt.

No. XXXVI.

By the Lord Lieutenant and Council of Ireland.

A PROCLAMATION.

CAMDEN,

WHEREAS a traitorous Conſpiracy exiſting within this kingdom for the ſubverſion of the authority of his Majeſty and the Parliament, and for the deſtruction of the eſtabliſhed conſtitution and government, hath conſiderably extended itſelf, and hath broken out into acts of open violence and rebellion.

We have therefore, by and with the advice of his Majeſty's Privy Council, iſſued the moſt direct and poſitive orders to the officers commanding his Majeſty's forces, to employ them with the utmoſt vigour and deciſion for the immediate ſuppreſſion thereof, and alſo to recover the arms which have been traitorouſly forced from his Majeſty's peaceable and loyal Subjects, and to diſarm the Rebels and all perſons diſaffected to his Majeſty's government, by the moſt ſummary and effectual meaſures.

And we do hereby ſtrictly charge and command all his Majeſty's peaceable and loyal ſubjects, on their allegiance, to aid and aſſiſt to the utmoſt of their power his Majeſty's forces in the execution of their duty, to whom we have given it ſtrictly in command to afford full protection to them from all acts of violence which ſhall be attempted againſt their perſons or properties.

Given at the Council Chamber in Dublin the 30th day of March 1798.

Clare, C. Char. Caſhel, W. Tuam, Drogheda, Ormonde and Offory, Shannon, Altamont, Clonmell, Ely, Dillon, Pery, Gosford, O'Neill, H. Meath, Caſtlereagh, Glentworth, Callan, Tyrawly, John Foſter, J. Parnell, H. Cavendiſh, J. Blaquiere, H. Langriſhe, Theo. Jones, Joſ. Cooper, D. La Touche, J. M. Maſon, James Fitzgerald, R. Roſs, Iſaac Corry, Lodge Morres.

God ſave the King.

No. XXXVII.

Notice to the Inhabitants of the County of

WHEREAS his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant in Council has in consequence of the daring acts and depredations committed in this country, ordered and directed by his proclamation bearing date the 30th of March last and by his particular orders thereon, that the military should use the most summary means to repress disturbances, and to recover all arms taken from the Yeomanry and well-affected, and other concealed arms and ammunition. All the people concerned in taking or concealing these arms are required to give them up within ten days from the publication of this notice, which if they do they may be assured no violence whatever will be done to them or to their properties; but if they not, they are informed that the troops will be quartered in large bodies to live at free quarters among them, and other very severe means be used to enforce obedience to this notice.

And those who have knowledge where arms are concealed are called upon to give information, which they may do in any private manner to the nearest civil magistrate or commanding officer of his Majesty's forces or of the yeomanry corps; secrecy shall be observed with respect to them, and they shall be rewarded when their report is proved to be true.

Should the deluded and evil disposed among the people in this county still persevere in robbing and murdering, and committing other acts of violent insubordination to the laws of their country; they are informed that the Commander in chief will be obliged to have recourse to those powers with which he has been invested to bring them to immediate punishment.

Given at Head Quarters at Kildare,
the 3d of April 1798.

By order of the Commander in Chief,

Frederick Maitland,

Secretary.

No. XXXVIII.

By the Lord Lieutenant and Council of Ireland.

A PROCLAMATION.

CAMDEN,

HIS Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, by and with the advice of the Privy Council, has iſſued orders to ALL the General Officers commanding his Majeſty's forces to puniſh all perſons acting, aiding or in any manner aſſiſting in the rebellion which now exiſts in this kingdom, and has broken out in the moſt daring and violent attacks upon his Majeſty's forces, according to martial law, either by death or otherwiſe, as to them ſhall ſeem expedient for the puniſhment and ſuppreſſion of all rebels in their ſeveral diſtricts; of which all his Majeſty's ſubjects are required to take notice.

Given at the Council-Chamber in Dublin the 24th day of May, 1798.

W. Armagh. Clare, C. Char. Caſhel. W. Tuam. Waterford. Drogheda. Ormond and Oſſory. Weſtmeath. Shannon. Bellamont. Roden. Altamont. Glandore. Farnham. Ely. Dillon. Pery. O'Neill. Carleton. Caſtlereagh. H. Meath. G. L. Kildare. Muſkerry. Glentworth. Roſſmore. Tyrawly. John Foſter. J. Beresford. J. Parnell. H. Cavendiſh. J. Blaquiere. H. Langriſhe. Theo. Jones. Joſ. Cooper. D. La Touche. J. Monck Maſon. Arthur Wolfe. Rob. Roſs. Iſaac Corry. Lodge Morres.

God ſave the King.

No. XXXIX.

Return of Arms ſeized and ſurrendered in ſeveral Diſtricts.

ommanders.		Guns.	Bayo-nets.	Piſtols.	Swords	Blunder buſſes	Muſket Barrels.	Sword Blades	Ord-nance.	Pikes.
eral Dundas	28th March to 14th July	7027	620	1270	873					14973
— Roſs	1ſt May to 10th June	48		15	12	6				
Ditto	15th July	1128	316	410	537	78	101	106		17
— Moore	25th July	300								800
— Taylor	7th June to 18th July	240	6	11	3		18			2
— Dunne	26th March to 21ſt July	2456		628	304				ſwi-vels	1903
— Duffe	16th July	4246	303	341	227	55			9	14283
— St. John	17th July	500								5000
— Craig	18th May to 16th July	1930	375	1183	1340	70			13	2544
— Nugent	July 31ſt	15200		350	700					17000
nel Skerritt	June 28th to July 28th	5								207
Champagné	July 28th	3844	44	106	50					83
— Groſe	1ſt Auguſt	23		5	9					2000
— Lake	13th March 15th Auguſt	10500								8500
or Hardy	10th May to 4th June	662	92	144	128	39				3318
		48109	1756	4463	4183	248	119	106	22	70630

Total - 129583

appears from the letters of the Generals that many arms have been ſeized, or ſur-
ered, which are not included in the above returns; in many places they have
ined in the poſſeſſion of the yeomen.

REPORT

FROM THE

Committee of Secrecy.

REPORTED BY THE

Right Honourable Lord Viſcount
CASTLEREAGH,

Martis, 21° *die Auguſti*, 1798.

REPORT

FROM THE

COMMITTEE OF SECRECY

OF THE

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Die Jovis, 30° *Augusti*, 1798°

The Lord Chancellor from the Lords Committees appointed to examine the Matters of the Sealed-up Papers received from the Commons on the 23d of July last, whose Lordships had Power to send for Persons, Papers and Records, and to examine all such Persons as they might summon before them in the most solemn Manner, and to communicate from time to time with the Committee of Secrecy, appointed by the House of Commons, made the following Report.

MY LORDS,

THE Lords Committees appointed to examine the matters of the sealed-up papers received from the Commons on the 23d of July last, and to report the same as they shall appear to them to this House, have met and examined into the matters to them referred, and directed me to report to your Lordships as follows:

Your Committee beg leave first to recall your Lordships attention to a Report made to this House on the 7th of March 1793, by the Lords Committees, who had been appointed to enquire into the Causes of the Disorders and Disturbances which prevailed in this Kingdom in the years 1792 and 1793, by which it appears, "That considerable "bodies of Insurgents then distinguished by the name of "Defenders, infested the Counties of Meath, Louth, Cavan,

"Monaghan

" Monaghan and other adjacent diſtricts during that period, " and that the meaſures which were then purſued by them, " appeared to be concerted with a degree of ſyſtem and " regularity which proved diſtinctly that they were di- " rected by men of ſuperior rank, who ſtimulated the lower " orders of the people to tumult and outrage, as leading to " the abolition of tythes, hearth and county taxes, and to " the reduction of rents.—That during that period very con- " ſiderable ſums of money were levied upon the Roman Ca- " tholics of this kingdom, under the authority of a commit- " tee of perſons of that perſuaſion, who then aſſumed and " ſeemed in a great degree to ſucceed in the government " and direction of the whole body of Iriſh Catholics, and " that out of the general fund thus created, protection was " extended to perſons who were criminally proſecuted for " the moſt daring and flagrant crimes.—That during the " ſame period an unuſual ferment diſturbed ſeveral parts of " the northern province, particularly the town of Belfaſt " and the county of Antrim, kept up and encouraged by " every artifice which turbulence and diſaffection could ſug- " geſt, and more particularly by the moſt licentious abuſe of " the preſs.—That the conduct of France was openly held " up as an example for imitation, that hopes and expecta- " tions were given of French aſſiſtance, by a deſcent upon " this kingdom, and that prayers had been publicly offered " up at Belfaſt from the pulpit, for the ſucceſs of the French " armies, in the preſence of military bodies, which had been " newly levied and arrayed in that town, without any legal " authority.—That ſeveral other military aſſociations had in " like manner been entered into, in different parts of the " province of Ulſter, compoſed of perſons of a very inferior " deſcription, armed without authority, and diſciplined by " officers of their own election.—That theſe armed bodies " were daily encreaſing in numbers and force, and had ex- " erted their beſt endeavours to procure military men of ex- " perience to command them. Some of them having ex- " preſsly ſtated, that there were men enough to be had, but " that officers were what they wanted.—That arms and gun- " powder to a very large amount, much above the common " conſumption had been recently ſent to Belfaſt and Newry, " and that orders had been given for a much greater quan- " tity, which could be wanted only for military operations.—

" That

" That at Belfaſt large bodies of men in arms, aſſembled " nightly by candle light to be drilled and exerciſed, and " that repeated attempts were made to ſeduce the ſoldiery, " which much to the honour of the King's forces had proved " ineffectual.—That at the ſame period a body of men had been " arrayed at Dublin, under the Title of Firſt Battalion of na- " tional Guards—their uniform copied from that of the French " National Guards, and marked with emblems of diſaffec- " tion.—That the declared object of theſe military prepa- " rations was to procure a reform of parliament; but that " the plain and palpable intention was to overawe the par- " liament and executive government, and to dictate to both."

Your committee next beg leave to recall your Lordſhip's attention, to a Report made to the houſe on the 12th of May 1797 by the Lords Committees appointed to examine the matters of the ſealed-up papers received from the Commons on the 4th of the ſame month, by which it appears " That the ſyſtem of treaſon which had been eſtabliſh- " ed in the year 1792, was then much matured and extend- " ed under the influence and direction of numerous affilia- " ted Societies, calling themſelves United Iriſhmen, in con- " junction with the Aſſociated Body of Defenders.—That a " traitorous correſpondence and communication between " the leaders and directors of the ſocieties of United Iriſh- " men and the Executive Directory of the French Republic " had been carried on between the month of June 1795 and " the month of January 1796, and that the means by which " it had been carried on were diſtinctly proved."

Your Committee are now enabled more fully and accurately to ſtate to your lordſhips the nature and extent of the treaſon which ſo juſtly alarmed your lordſhips in 1793, and which has recently broken forth in open Rebellion, having examined four perſons who were members of the Executive Directory of the Iriſh Revolutionary Union, namely, Arthur O'Connor, Eſq; who was lately tried at Maidſtone for high treaſon, William James M'Nevin, doctor of phyſic, Thomas-Addis Emmett, barriſter at law, and Oliver Bond, lately convicted of treaſon, all of whom have acknowledged themſelves to have been confidential leaders and directors

of

of the Iriſh Union, and that their object was, to effect a Revolution in this kingdom, by ſeducing his Majeſty's ſubjects from their allegiance, under a variety of ſpecious pretences, and by introducing a French army into their country to aſſiſt them in this moſt foul and unnatural project.

The original conſtitution of the traitorous ſocieties of United Iriſhmen, their gradual progreſs to open rebellion, and the means by which they hoped to ſucceed in ſubverting the exiſting eſtabliſhments in Church and State, have been ſo fully detailed in former Reports upon the ſubject appearing on the journals, and by the Report recently made by the Secret Committee of the Houſe of Commons, which has been communicated to your Lordſhips, that your Committee have forborn now to enter ſo minutely into this diſguſting ſubject, as they might otherwiſe have conſidered a duty incumbent on them; they have therefore taken up the detail of it from that period when the conſpiracy was ſo matured, as to have for its avowed object the array and levy of a regular military force, in every part of the kingdom, for the purpoſe of aſſiſting the French, if they ſhould be enabled to make a deſcent upon this country; or, if foreign aſſiſtance could not be procured, of making a General Inſurrection, in the hope of ſubverting the monarchy and eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment, of ſeizing the perſons and confiſcating the property of his Majeſty's loyal ſubjects, and of eſtabliſhing a Republican Government guarranteed by the power of France.—It appears to your Committee, that the Organization, as it is called, by which the Directory of the Iriſh Union was enabled to levy a revolutionary army, was completed in the province of Ulſter on the 10th of May 1795.—That the ſcheme of extending it to the other provinces was adopted at an early period by the Iriſh Directory; but it does not appear to your Committee that it made any conſiderable progreſs beyond the northern province before the autumn of 1796, when Emiſſaries were ſent into the province of Leinſter to propagate the ſyſtem.—It appeared diſtinctly to your Committee that the ſtale pretexts of Parliamentary Reform and Catholic Emancipation were found ineffectual for the ſeduction of the people of that province, and therefore the emiſſaries of treaſon who had undertaken it, in order to prevail with them to adopt the ſyſtem of organization, firſt repreſented that it was neceſſary in

in their own defence, as their Proteſtant fellow-ſubjects had entered into a ſolemn league and covenant to deſtroy them, having ſworn to wade up to their knees in Popiſh Blood.—The people were next taught to believe that their organization would lead to the abolition of tithes, and to a diſtribution of property, inaſmuch as they would become members of a democracy which would govern the country; and under the influence of theſe falſe, wicked, and artful ſuggeſtions, the ſyſtem of organization appears to have been gradually extended by the emiſſaries of the Iriſh Directory into the provinces of Leinſter, Munſter, and Connaught.—The better to impoſe on the people, the ſyſtem was firſt repreſented to be purely for civil or political purpoſes. The inferior ſocieties at their original inſtitution conſiſted each of thirty-ſix members, they were however, afterwards reduced to twelve—theſe twelve choſe a ſecretary and treaſurer, and the ſecretaries of five of theſe ſocieties, formed what was called a lower baronial committee, which had the immediate direction and ſuperintendence of the five ſocieties who thus contributed to its inſtitution. From each lower baronial committee thus conſtituted, one member was delegated to an upper baronial committee, which in like manner aſſumed and exerciſed the ſuperintendence and direction of all the lower baronial committees in the ſeveral counties.—The next ſuperior committees were, in populous towns, diſtinguiſhed by the name of diſtrict committees, and in counties by the name of county committees, and were compoſed of members delegated by the upper baronials. Each upper baronial committee delegated one of its members to the diſtrict or county committee, and theſe diſtrict or county committees had the ſuperintendence and direction of all the upper baronials, who contributed to their inſtitution.—Having thus organized the ſeveral counties and populous towns, a ſubordinate directory was erected in each of the four provinces, compoſed of two members or three, according to the extent and population of the diſtricts which they repreſented, who were delegated to a provincial committee, which had the immediate direction and ſuperintendence of the ſeveral county and diſtrict committees in each of the four provinces; and a General Executive Directory compoſed of five perſons, was elected by the provincial directories, but the election was ſo managed that

none but the ſecretaries of the provincials knew on whom the election fell—It was made by ballot, but not reported to the electors, the appointment was notified only to thoſe on whom the election devolved, and the Executive Directory thus compoſed, aſſumed and exerciſed the ſupreme and uncontrouled command of the whole body of t heUnion.

The manner of communicating the orders iſſued by the executive directory, was peculiarly calculated to baffle detection. One member of the executive alone communicated with one member of each provincial committee or directory,—The order was tranſmitted by him to the ſecretary of each county or diſtrict committee in his province,—The ſecretaries of the county and diſtrict committees, communicated with the ſecretaries of the upper baronials in each county, they communicated with the ſecretaries of the lower baronial committees, who gave the order to the ſecretaries of each ſubordinate committee, by whom it was given to the ſeveral inferior members of the union.—It appears to your committee, that the leaders and directors of this conſpiracy having completed this their revolutionary ſyſtem in the province of Ulſter ſo early as the 10th of May 1795; and having made conſiderable progreſs in eſtabliſhing it in the autumn and winter of 1796 in the province of Leinſter, proceeded at that period to convert it into a *military* ſhape and form, for the undiſguiſed project of Rebellion; and this project has been diſtinctly and unequivocally acknowledged by the aforeſaid Arthur O'Connor, William James M'Nevin, Thomas-Addis Emmett, and Oliver Bond, who have confeſſed themſelves to have been leading and active members of this conſpiracy, as will appear more diſtinctly to your Lordſhips from the confeſſions which they have made before your Committee, annexed by way of Appendix to this Report.

From the confeſſions of theſe perſons it appears to your Committee, that the *military* organization, as they termed it, was grafted on the civil. That the ſecretary of each ſubordinate ſociety compoſed of twelve, was appointed their petty or non-commiſſioned officer, that the delegate of five ſocieties to a lower baronial committee was commonly appointed

pointed captain of a company, compoſed of the five ſocieties who had ſo delegated him, and who made up the number of ſixty privates; and that the delegate of ten lower baronials to the upper or diſtrict committee, was commonly appointed colonel of a battalion, which was thus compoſed of ſix hundred men—That the colonels of battalions in each county ſent in the names of three perſons to the executive directory of the union, one of whom was appointed by them adjutant-general of the county, whoſe duty it was to receive and communicate military orders from the executive to the colonels of battalions, and in general to act as officers of the revolutionary ſtaff.—In addition to this eſtabliſhment, it appears that a military committee was appointed by the executive directory to prepare a regular plan for aſſiſting a French army, if any ſuch ſhould make a landing in this kingdom, by directing the national military force, as it was called, to co-operate with them; or to form a regular plan of Inſurrection in caſe it ſhould be ordered, without waiting for French aſſiſtance; and it appears to your committee, that a regular and digeſted plan of inſurrection was actually formed and reduced to writing in April 1797, which was given up for that time only from the repreſentations of the executive directory of the union that ſpeedy and effectual aſſiſtance was promiſed from France. For the purpoſe of arming this body orders were given by the Iriſh Directory, that every member of the union who had the means, ſhould provide himſelf with fire-arms and ammunition, and that ſuch perſons, whoſe means would not afford any other weapons ſhould provide themſelves with pikes—which order appeared to your Committee to have been executed in a very great extent throughout the provinces of Ulſter, Leinſter, and Munſter—in the province of Connaught the emiſſaries of the union ſeem not to have been enabled to proceed further in their ſyſtem of treaſon than by adminiſtering oaths to the people; their further progreſs ſeems to have been obſtructed by the vigorous exertions of the executive government, when rebellion broke forth in acts of open hoſtility.—It appears to your Committee, that the directory of the union having thus eſtabliſhed a Revolutionary Government in themſelves over a great body of the people, iſſued an order forbidding the uſe of any article of conſumption liable to the exciſe duties, which order

was

was ſtated to your Committee by the aforeſaid perſons, who had been members of the Republican Directory, to have been generally and implicitly obeyed.—And it further appeared to your Committee from the teſtimony of the ſame perſons, or ſome of them, that an order had been alſo iſſued by the ſame directory to ſtop the currency of bank notes, and to forbid the purchaſe of quit-rents payable to the crown, which by an act of this ſeſſion have been veſted in the Lords' Commiſſioners of the treaſury, to be ſold for the ſervice of the current year, with a threat on the part of the Directory, that ſuch a ſale would be diſallowed at the approaching Revolution, as an anticipation of its reſources.

Your Committee having thus detailed the ſyſtem of Treaſon and Rebellion eſtabliſhed within this kingdom, which has been ſo acknowledged by ſome of the moſt active and confidential members of the Iriſh Revolutionary Directory, will now proceed to open to your Lordſhips their dark and deſperate deſigns, which have been confeſſed by them, of betraying their country to a rapacious and mercileſs foreign enemy.

It appears to your Committee, that early in the year 1796, a propoſition was made from the Executive Directory of the French Republic, by Theobald-Wolfe Tone, late a barriſter of this country, who abſconded ſhortly after the conviction of a man of the name of Jackſon, for treaſon, in the year 1794, to the Executive Directory of the Iriſh Union, that a French army ſhould be ſent to Ireland to aſſiſt the Republicans of this country in ſubverting the monarchy, and ſeparating Ireland from the Britiſh crown.—The aforeſaid Meſſrs. Arthur O'Connor, Thomas-Addis Emmett, William M'Nevin, and Oliver Bond, all of whom have been members of the Iriſh Republican Directory, have depoſed to your committee, that this was the firſt communication within their knowledge which took place between the Iriſh and the French Directories, and that the propoſition originally moved from France; Your Committee however are of opinion, that the communication thus made to the Iriſh Directory through Mr. Tone, muſt have taken place in conſequence of an application originating with ſome members of the Iriſh Union, inaſmuch as it appears by the report of the ſecret committee

of

of this houſe made in the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, that a meſſenger had been diſpatched by the ſociety of United Iriſhmen to the Executive Directory of the French Republic, upon a treaſonable miſſion, between the month of June, 1795, and the month of January, 1796, at which time the meſſenger ſo ſent had returned to Ireland; and your Committee have ſtrong reaſon to believe, that Edward-John Lewins, who now is and has been for a conſiderable time the accredited reſident Ambaſſador of the Iriſh Rebellious Union to the French Republic, was the perſon thus diſpatched in the ſummer of 1795. It appears to your Committee that the propoſition ſo made by the French Directory, of aſſiſtance to the rebels of this kingdom, was taken into conſideration by the Executive Directory of the Iriſh Union immediately after it was communicated to them, that they did agree to accept the proffered aſſiſtance, and that their de rmination was made known to the Directory of the French Republic by a ſpecial meſſenger—and your Committee have ſtrong reaſon to believe, that the Invaſion of this kingdom which was afterwards attempted, was fully arranged at an interview which took place in Switzerland in the ſummer of 1796, near the French frontier, between Lord Edward Fitzgerald, the aforeſaid Mr. Arthur O'Connor, and General Hoche.—It appears to your Committee, that in the month of October, or November, 1796, the hoſtile armament which ſoon after appeared in Bantry Bay, was announced to the Iriſh Directory by a ſpecial meſſenger diſpatched from France, who was alſo inſtructed to enquire into the ſtate of preparation in which this country ſtood, which armament was then ſtated to the Iriſh Directory to conſiſt of 15,000 troops, together with a conſiderable quantity of arms and ammunition intended for the uſe of the Iriſh Republican Union—In a few days after the departure of the Meſſenger who had been thus ſent to announce the ſpeedy arrival of this armament on the coaſts of this kingdom, it appears to your Committee, that a letter from France was received by the Iriſh Directory, which was conſidered by them as authentic, ſtating that the projected deſcent was poſtponed for ſome months, and to this circumſtance it has been fairly acknowledged to your Committee, by one of the Iriſh Directory, that this country was indebted

for the good conduct of the people in the province of Munster, when the enemy appeared in Bantry Bay.—He has confessed that these contradictory communications threw the Irish Directory off their guard, in consequence of which they omitted to prepare the people for the reception of the enemy.—He has confessed that the people were loyal, because they were left to themselves.—It appears to your Committee, that after the attempt to invade this kingdom in December, 1796, had failed, the Irish Directory renewed their solicitations to France for assistance, and it was determined by them to establish a regular communication and correspondence with the Directory of France, by a resident accredited Irish minister at Paris;—Accordingly it appears to your committee, that in April, 1797, Edward-John Lewins of this city, attorney at law, was dispatched from hence, under the assumed name of Thompson, to act as the minister of the Irish Republican Directory at Paris. That he went by way of Hamburgh, where he obtained a letter of credence from the French minister to General Hoche, with whom he had a conference at Franckfort, from whence he proceeded to Paris, where he has continued to reside from that time, as the minister of the Executive Directory of the Republic of Ireland.—It appears to your Committee, that in June, 1797, a second messenger, Doctor William-James M'Nevin, was dispatched by the same Directory to Paris, with more precise instructions than they were enabled to give to Lewins, and that M'Nevin also took Hamburgh in his way, where finding some difficulty in obtaining a passport from Rheynhart the French minister to enable him to go to Paris, he presented a Memoir in writing to that minister, containing the substance of his instructions from his employers, to be transmitted to the Directory of the French Republic.—M'Nevin has stated to your Committee the principal points of this Memoir, in which it was recommended particularly to the Directory of the French Republic, on their next attack upon this kingdom, rather to make a landing at Oysterhaven than at Bantry, as the reduction of the city of Cork would be thereby considerably facilitated—and he has stated, that it also contained every species of information which occurred to the Irish Directory as useful to the enemy in their projected invasion of this kingdom, the particulars of which your Committee

mittee forbear further to detail, as they have annexed the ſaid M'Nevin's confeſſion made to them by way of Appendix to this Report.—It appears to your committee, that the ſaid M'Nevin having obtained a paſſport from the French miniſter at Hamburgh, ſoon after the delivery of his Memoir to him, proceeded directly to Paris, where he had ſeveral conferences with ſome of the miniſters of the French Republic, in which he preſſed ſtrongly upon them the advantages of a ſecond armament againſt this kingdom, in which an additional ſupply of arms was repreſented as neceſſary, from the ſeizure which had been made, by order of Government, of arms which had been collected for rebellion in the northern province; and the expences of this armament, as well as of that which had already failed, he undertook, for the Iriſh Directory, ſhould be defrayed on the eſtabliſhment of a Republic in Ireland; and in theſe conferences it appears to your Committee, that it was ſtrongly impreſſed upon the French Directory to make the ſeparation of Ireland from the kingdom of Great Britain, an indiſpenſible condition of any treaty of peace which might be concluded in conſequence of the negotiation which then depended at Liſle:—The better to impreſs his arguments, a ſecond written Memoir was preſented by the ſaid M'Nevin, enforcing as ſtrongly as he could every thing which he had theretofore urged to encourage the Invaſion of this kingdom by a French force, and to induce the Directory of the French Republic to continue the war with Great Britain, until Ireland ſhould be ſeparated from the Britiſh crown; and it appears to your Committee, that M'Nevin was further inſtructed to negotiate a loan of half a million in France or Spain for the Iriſh Directory, on the ſecurity of the Revolution which they meditated, but that in this object of his miſſion he failed altogether:—It appears to your Committee that immediately after the negotiation at Liſle was broken off, information of it was ſent from France to the Iriſh Directory, with aſſurances that the French Government would never abandon the cauſe of the Iriſh Union, nor make peace with Great Britain, until the ſeperation of Ireland from the Britiſh crown was effected; and with freſh aſſurances of a ſpeedy Invaſion, which have frequently been renewed ſince that period.—It appears to your committee that the ſaid M'Nevin returned to this Kingdom in October

1797,

1797, when he made his report to the Iriſh Directory of the reſult of his miſſion, and that they might rely with confidence on the promiſed ſuccours from France; and it has alſo appeared to your committee that in July or Auguſt 1797, the Iriſh Directory received a diſpatch from their miniſter at Paris, announcing the Dutch armament in the Texel intended againſt this Kingdom, which was baffled and diſcomfited by the ever memorable and perſevering valour of the Britiſh fleet commanded by Lord Duncan.—It appears to your Committee that three ſeveral diſpatches have been received by the Iriſh Directory from their miniſter at Paris ſince October 1797; the two firſt contained a renewal generally of the former aſſurances of friendſhip and ſupport given by the Directory of the French Republic; the laſt announced that the projected invaſion of Ireland would be made in the month of April 1798. And it appears to your Committee that a diſpatch for the Directory of the French Republic earneſtly preſſing for the promiſed ſuccours was made up by the Iriſh Directory, late in December 1797 or early in January 1798, which one of them undertook to have conveyed to France; but that the attempt failed.—It has been ſtated to your Committee by one of the rebel Directory of Ireland who was privy to this act of Treaſon, that the diſpatch was not to be ſent through Great Britain; but he did not explain to your Committee any reaſon on which this aſſertion was founded, nor any other route by which the meſſenger was to make his way to France. The ſeveral perſons aforeſaid who have ſo confeſſed themſelves to have been members of the Executive Revolutionary Directory of the Iriſh Rebels and acknowledged their traitorous correſpondence and connexion with the Directory of the French Republic, have endeavoured to palliate this branch of their treaſon by aſcribing it, firſt to their diſapprobation of an act of parliament paſſed in the Year 1796 to prevent inſurrection, next to their diſappointment in obtaining a parliamentary reform, and laſtly by repreſenting their diſinclination to negotiate with France for a greater force than might enable them to ſubvert the monarchy and retain the government of this country in their own hands.

The

The falſehood and abſurdity of theſe pretences are ſo manifeſt that your Committee would have thought it unbecoming to advert to them in their Report, if theſe avowed Traitors to their King and Country had not in part learned thus to palliate their treaſon from perſons of a very different deſcription in Great Britain and Ireland, who fatally for the peace of this Kingdom and the ſecurity of the Britiſh Empire, have during the progreſs of this moſt foul and unnatural Rebellion, from utter Ignorance and Miſinformation on the ſubject, as your Committee muſt preſume, publicly and repeatedly palliated, if not juſtified, that ſyſtem of treaſon which had well nigh involved this once happy and flouriſhing kingdom in all the miſeries of the French Revolution.—With reſpect to the Inſurrection Act your Committee have only to obſerve that it paſſed into a Law on the twenty-fourth of March 1796, and was not put into execution before the fourteenth of November 1796, on which day the firſt proclamation, which iſſued under the proviſions of it, bears date, and that the introduction of it into the Houſe of Commons was long ſubſequent to the period when it appears that the connexion and correſpondence of the Iriſh Union with the Directory of the French Republic firſt commenced; And that it was enacted in conſequence of a ſyſtem of midnight murder, robbery and outrage which began in 1792, and was ſo matured in 1796 under the influence and direction of the Iriſh Union as nearly to depopulate a very conſiderable diſtrict in two of the provinces, of every loyal and peaceable inhabitant of it. With reſpect to Parliamentary Reform your Committee have to obſerve that it was diſtinctly acknowledged by the perſons who in their own phraſe have taken upon them to think for the People, that no reform of parliament will ſatisfy them which does not neceſſarily involve in it, the ſubverſion of all eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhments proteſtant or popiſh, and the gradual ſeparation of this kingdom from the Britiſh Crown; and that no plan of reform will ſatisfy them ſhort of an Houſe of Commons purely democratic.—It was further alledged by the ſeveral perſons who ſo acknowledged their traitorous connexion with France, that the immediate cauſe of their eſtabliſhing a reſident agent at Paris, was the rejection of a plan of reform which was propoſed in 1797 in the Houſe of Commons, which plan they ſaid would have ſatisfied

the People.—But the palpable falſehood of this aſſertion appears by the journals of the Houſe of Commons; for theſe perſons have all confeſſed that their reſident agent was diſpatched by them to Paris in April 1797, with inſtructions to negotiate a treaty with the Directory of France; and the propoſition for parliamentary reform, to the rejection of which they pretend to aſcribe the miſſion of Lewins, was not made till the fifteenth of May 1797. As to Catholic Emancipation (as it is called) it was admitted *by them all* to have been a mere Pretence from the firſt eſtabliſhment of the Iriſh Union, and that if they had been enabled to ſucceed in their plan of reform and revolution it would have involved in it equally the deſtruction of the Proteſtant and Popiſh Religion—The ſaid M'Nevin having diſtinctly acknowledged that the intention was to aboliſh all church eſtabliſhment, and not to have any Eſtabliſhed Religion, and that, for his own part, he would as ſoon eſtabliſh the Mahometan as the Popiſh Religion, though he was himſelf a Roman Catholic.—With reſpect to their diſinclination to negotiate for a French force to be ſent into this Kingdom of ſufficient magnitude to conquer it—the Idea of ſetting Bounds to the Ambition and rapacity of that Power, if once enabled to eſtabliſh itſelf here, is too abſurd to deſerve any Notice; but it appears to your Committee, that the Directory of France have heretofore declined to ſend any force to this country which will not enable them to dictate ſuch terms to it as they may think fit, although it appears to have been urged to them, on the part of the Iriſh Rebels, particularly by Lord Edward Fitzgerald, that the beſt expedient for accompliſhing a Revolution here would be, to diſpatch faſt ſailing Frigates to the Coaſt with ſmall Bodies of Troops and conſiderable ſupplies of Arms and military Stores, together with officers qualified to diſcipline the Iriſh Peaſantry; but from a letter ſuppoſed to be written from Paris by Lewins, the Iriſh agent to the ſaid Lord Edward Fitzgerald, which he read, ſhortly before his arreſt, to John Cormick a colonel in the Rebel Army of Dublin, it appears that the Directory of France diſapproved of any ſuch plan of carrying *their* object—the terms of the letter are, "The truſtees have refuſed "to advance the 5000l. on the ſecurity, they will not make "any partial advance till they have the *whole ſum* ready."

Upon

Upon a review of this ſubject, of the evidence which has been collected, and of all thoſe facts of notoriety which have taken place in this kingdom for the laſt eight years, your Committee feel themſelves fully warranted to ſtate, that there has been, during the whole of that period, a ſeditious and treaſonable Faction in this country, whoſe object has been to ſubvert the Conſtitution in Church and State, and to ſeparate Ireland from the Britiſh Crown, by inculcating the principles, and adopting the means which were ſucceſsfully employed to aboliſh the Religion, extirpate the Nobility, and ſubvert the Monarchy of France.

Your committee here allude to the addreſſes which were forwarded at an early period, from this faction to the French National Aſſembly, to their commemorations of French Feſtivals, particularly the 14th of July, to their attempts made to pervert the loyal inſtitution of Volunteers to the purpoſes of Rebellion, by reviving it on the ſyſtem of the French National Guards; to the inſtitution of the original ſocieties of United Iriſhmen, their various ſeditious and treaſonable publications in favour of the French and the Republican ſyſtem, vilyfying and degrading the government and parliament of their own country, particularly by repreſenting the houſe of commons, as it is conſtituted, not to be a legitimate branch of the legiſlature, that it was in its original formation a violation of the rights of the people, and has continued to be an uſurpation on them; to their perſevering induſtry in iſſuing and circulating theſe and all other Publications at the cheapeſt rate amongſt the lower orders of the People, which could alienate their Minds from the Duty of Allegiance, and inculcate the Principles of Inſubordination, Revolt and Irreligion, and to their attempts, in imitation of the French Revolutioniſts, to form a National Convention.

Your committee further allude to the Syſtem of Organization which they have already detailed, which appears to them to have been formed by this faction when their open attempts to ſubvert the conſtitution were fruſtrated by the convention act; and to the ſecret obligations which they impoſed upon their aſſociates, to elude detection and puniſhment.

Your

Your committee further allude to the meaſures which were purſued by the ſame faction to intimidate the reſident gentlemen of the country, by midnight attacks, in order to drive them from their houſes, or to enforce their connivance or ſupport, a courſe which your committee underſtand was purſued with fatal ſucceſs in France; and to the impudent falſehood and calumnies propagated with ſimilar induſtry by the ſame faction, and by their partizans, repreſenting the means to which the government and parliament were compelled to reſort, for the ſuppreſſion of midnight robbery and murder, and for the diſcomfiture of rebellion, as the ſource of theſe complicated evils.

Your committee further allude to the inſidious addreſs uſed by the ſame faction, in turning to their purpoſes the religious feuds, prejudices and diſtinctions of the country, which were revived principally by their wicked machinations; at one time flattering the paſſions and hopes of the higher order of the Catholics, at the moment in which they meditated their deſtruction, and at another, ſtimulating the lower ranks to indiſcriminate acts of outrage and vengeance againſt their loyal fellow ſubjects.

Your committee further allude to the plan formed by the ſame faction, of arraying and regimenting the whole maſs of the people, of ſupplying them with arms and ammunition forced from the loyal, and of eſtabliſhing in every part of the country manufactories of pikes to be diſtributed amongſt the loweſt ranks of the people.

Your committee further allude to the early diſpoſition which appeared in the leaders of the ſame faction to correſpond with the ruling powers of France, to obtain French aſſiſtance in their revolutionary projects, and to the regular ſyſtem which they afterwards eſtabliſhed, for connecting themſelves with the Executive Directory of the French Republic, wherein they appear to have acted as the ruling power of the country, negotiating treaties and loans of money with foreign ſtates.

Your committee further allude to the repeated attempts which have been made by the ſame faction to ſeduce the king's troops of all deſcriptions from their allegiance, and their

their attempts to deter his majesty's loyal subjects from enrolling themselves in the yeomanry corps; to their plans of insurrection, massacre and confiscation, which have been clearly proved against some of their leaders, who have been convicted of treason by due course of law, and have been confessed by others of them before your committee; and above all, to the desperate project of the same faction to corrupt the Youth of the country, by introducing their organized system of treason into the University, which attempt was happily frustrated by the timely interposition of the visitors of Trinity College, and by the high spirit of honour and loyalty of the great body of students in that learned Seminary.

Your committee further allude to the various insurrections which were meditated, as well as those which have actually taken place; to the late destructive Rebellion, and the present Invasion by a French force, which your committee feel themselves warranted in stating accurately to correspond with the plan of revolutionizing this country, which was recommended by Lord Edward Fitzgerald.

It appears to your committee, that the government and legislature being sensible of the designs thus meditated against the constitution of this kingdom, felt themselves bound to resist every demand which was made upon them by the same faction, with a view to effect their traitorous purposes; and as it appears from the confession of some of the most leading and notorious traitors engaged in this conspiracy, that what they termed catholic emancipation and parliamentary reform were considered as the surest means of accomplishing their rebellious projects, your committee cannot but applaud the wisdom and discretion of parliament in withholding their assent to such wild and fatal concessions.—If any thing was wanting in proof of their wisdom, it is supplied by a Resolution entered into by the rebel provincial committees of Ulster and Leinster on the 19th February 1798, the day on which a proposition was made to your lordships of concession and conciliation to the people, as a probable measure to tranquilize the country. This resolution was agreed to in the same words and on the same day, 19th February 1798, by two provincial committees, one assembled at Armagh, the other at Dublin, it has

 been

been authenticated to your committee, and appears to have been officially reported to the Executive Directory of the Rebellious Union, and is in the following words—" Resolved, " that we will pay no attention whatever to any attempt " that may be made by either house of parliament to divert " the public mind from the grand object we have in view, " as nothing short of the complete emancipation of our " country will satisfy us."

On the whole your committee attribute the salvation of this kingdom to the vigorous and decisive measures of the executive government, adopted in March 1797, and pursued from the same period; and to the firmness of parliament, who, always disposed to promote the welfare and happiness of the people, have evinced a determined resolution never to yield to the artifices of traitors, what is intended only for the subversion of the constitution—But your committee think it their bounden duty to state to your lordships, that although it appears to them, that the system of treason and rebellion which had been established, is for the present considerably shaken, yet that having fatally taken deep root in the country, it will require unceasing vigilance and attention, in every department of the state, to guard against the revival of it.—Your committee have to lament deeply the facility with which the lower orders of the people may be seduced from their allegiance, and cannot but represent to your lordships their decided opinion, that no effort should remain untried, to open their eyes to the evils which they have invariably suffered by yielding to seduction, and to the wicked artifices of that traitorous association, which has already involved them in extreme and complicated Miseries.

Your committee have thought it their duty to annex by way of Appendix to this Report, the confessions of their treasons made on oath, by some of the most notorious and leading Traitors, who have been engaged in this conspiracy, and who have thrown themselves on his Majesty's clemency.

And your committee beg leave also to refer your lordships to the Report of the committee of secrecy of the house of commons, which will be found to contain most interesting and important details upon this subject, all of which are fully illustrated and proved in the Appendix annexed to their Report.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

Examination of John Hughes.

FRIDAY, 3d AUGUST, 1798.

John Hughes, of Belfaſt, ſworn.

Says about five years ago, in the year 1793, he was admitted a member of the firſt ſociety of United Iriſhmen in Belfaſt; the ſociety conſiſted of about 70 of the leading people in buſineſs in Belfaſt, ſuch as Mr. M'Cabe, Mr. Boyd, Mr. Watt, and perſons of that deſcription. There were four or five other ſocieties of the ſame kind then in Belfaſt. There was no oath on admiſſion at that time; the members took a teſt only; he did not attend much to the ſociety, and the ſyſtem of 1793 fell into diſuſe.

About July, 1796, he became a member of a ſociety (which regenerated under the preſent ſyſtem of the United Iriſhmen) in Belfaſt; it was called the firſt ſociety of United Iriſhmen in Belfaſt; Robert Orr, then a chandler in Belfaſt, adminiſtered the oath on his admiſſion; the oath he took is exactly the ſame as that which is ſet out in the printed conſtitutions. That ſociety conſiſted of the following perſons, namely, the ſaid Robert Orr, Thomas Richardſon, —— Browne, and two or three other perſons whoſe names he did not know, and to whom he was and is yet an utter ſtranger. He ſuppoſes he was brought by Orr to that ſociety, becauſe the other members of it were ſtrangers to him, for at that time it was neceſſary that ſix United Iriſhmen ſhould be preſent when a new member was ſworn. Soon after he formed a ſociety of United Iriſhmen himſelf in Belfaſt.—That ſociety conſiſted of the following perſons, namely, Mr. Robert Hunter, of Belfaſt, broker; John Tiſdall, of Belfaſt, notary public; James Maclean, of Belfaſt, watch-maker; Henry Hazelett, of Belfaſt, merchant; Samuel

Maclean, of Belfaſt, merchant; Thomas M'Donnell, of Belfaſt grocer; James Luke, of Belfaſt, linen factor; Hugh Crawford, of Belfaſt, merchant; William Thomſon, of Belfaſt, linen merchant; Adam M'Lean, of Belfaſt, woollen draper; Walter Crawford, of Belfaſt, iron merchant; Hugh Dunlap, of Belfaſt, builder; and William Hogg, of Belfaſt, linen factor.

He was ſecretary to the ſociety and brought the prayer-book to ſwear in the members, they took the book, and he alſo furniſhed them with the conſtitution, and they took the oath at the table.—After the expiration of his office of ſecretary to the ſociety, which was about three months after he formed it, he did not attend regularly, and was not an active member.—In the month of November, 1796, Bartholemew Teeling, then of Dundalk, linen merchant, met him in Belfaſt; he had been well acquainted with Teeling before that time, and each knew the other to be an United Iriſhman.—Teeling aſked him if he could ſpare a fortnight or three weeks to go to Dublin for the purpoſe of promoting and extending the ſocieties of United Iriſhmen there; he did not underſtand that Teeling then held any office in the ſyſtem, but that he was acting from zeal in the cauſe; he conſented to go to Dublin for the purpoſe; he did not ſtipulate for being paid or reimburſed his expences.—He did not receive any letters of introduction from Teeling, but Teeling directed him, verbally, to call upon Edward-John Lewins, of Beresford-ſtreet, Dublin, and to communicate with him upon the beſt means of extending the ſyſtem of United Iriſhmen in Dublin.—It was part of the ſyſtem to avoid writing as much as poſſible, and no perſon was employed in the confidential buſineſs or miſſions of the ſociety, whoſe character was not a ſufficient voucher for him.—He went to Dublin accordingly and called upon Lewins. He told Lewins, that Mr. Teeling had directed him to call upon him, in order to be informed of the ſituation and the progreſs of the ſocieties in Dublin, that he might (if he could be uſeful) aſſiſt in promoting and extending them.—Lewins told him, that the ſocieties were gaining ground in Dublin and extending in the country, and Lewins (upon conſideration) was of opinion, that he could not be uſeful in Dublin, as his acquaintance was very limited there.—He viſited Lewins generally once a day whilſt he remained in Dublin, and frequently dined with him. The company at his table were generally Clergymen, and ſome of them Foreigners; he thinks it likely they were Prieſts.—He ſtaid in Dublin about three weeks at that time.—Teeling came to Dublin whilſt he was there, and lodged in the ſame houſe with him, the Belfaſt Hotel in Capel-ſtreet.—Teeling ſtaid about three days in Dublin at that time, and nothing particular paſſed between them there.—He did not attend or ſit in any ſociety of United Iriſhmen during the time he ſtaid in Dublin.

He

He returned to Belfaſt in December 1796. He was ill with a rheumatiſm for ſome time after his return to Belfaſt, and was not at the town meeting which was held in conſequence of the French being in Bantry Bay.—He did not attend the ſocieties, from motives of caution, but ſpoke to the young men who were concerned, in the day-time, in the ſtreet, or when they called at his houſe to aſk his opinion.—He continued ſuch cautious conduct till ſhortly before the Lent Aſſizes 1797, when Mr. James M'Guckin the Attorney, requeſted him to go to Dublin in order to get a licence for Counſellor Curran to be concerned for the priſoners then in the ſeveral gaols on the North Eaſt Circuit, charged as United Iriſhmen.—He accordingly went to Dublin, and at the deſire of Mr. M'Guckin waited upon Mr. Curran, to know whether he would attend as Counſel for the priſoners at the Aſſizes.—Mr. Curran ſaid he would, but would expect to receive one hundred guineas as a fee for each and every town he ſhould be deſired to go to.—He told Mr. Curran he ſhould have the money, and he paid him fifty pounds as a retaining fee, and appointed him to attend at Monaghan aſſizes firſt, and he would there be informed what other towns he ſhould be required to attend at.—His general directions from M'Guchen were to get Curran down, on as cheap terms as he could, but to get him down at all events.—He did not attend at Monaghan, or Armagh aſſizes, but he attended at the then enſuing aſſizes at Carrickfergus.—Mr. Francis Jordan of Belfaſt, merchant, was treaſurer for the county of Antrim, and collected the money.—Has heard moſt of the gentlemen in Belfaſt ſubſcribed, that Cunningham Gregg paid twenty guineas, Charles Rankin paid twenty guineas, William Sinclaire paid twenty guineas, Robert Thompſon paid ten guineas for himſelf, five guineas for his ſon and five guineas for his daughter.—Never heard that the Sub-ſheriff of Antrim received any money from the priſoners or their agent, but heard that Hugh M' Key, Sub-ſheriff of the county of Down, was paid thirty guineas for returning a partial pannel, and that Alexander Lowry, of Linnen Hill, paid him the money, viz. ten guineas before the trials came on, and twenty guineas after the aſſizes were over.—Believes the ſubſcriptions for the county of Antrim then amounted to ſeven hundred pounds and upwards, and the ſubſcriptions for the county of Down amounted to nine hundred pounds and upwards. Alexander Lowry was the treaſurer for Down, he repaid him the money he had advanced, viz. the fifty pounds that he had paid to Mr. Curran as a retaining fee, and about two hundred pounds that he had paid for licences for Mr. Curran.—He underſtood then in every converſation he had, that Down and Antrim were prepared to riſe and prevent any capital conviction being executed.—At the Lent aſſizes of Antrim or Down, Lowry and Teeling requeſted him to meet them in Dublin early in June following; they did not acquaint him upon what buſineſs they deſired to ſee him in Dublin; he ſuppoſed it was to ſtate to people in Dublin, the ſituation of Belfaſt, or ſuch other part of the neighbourhood as he was acquainted with.—

He consented to meet them in Dublin.—A few days afterwards he received a note from Mr. John Magennis of Balealy, desiring him to see him immediately at Balealy. He received this note on a Saturday. He went to Balealy on the next day and met Magenis.—Magenis told him it would be necessary for him to go to Dublin, where he would meet Lowry and Teeling and other friends, but that he must first take an obligation, Magenis then administered an oath to him that he would not mention the names of any of the persons he should be introduced to, or with whom he should communicate in Dublin.—He took that oath, and on same day set out from Balealy to Banbridge where he took a place in the mail coach for Dublin, where he arrived the next morning; this was some days before the fifth of June, 1797.—He met Lowry and Teeling in Dublin, they asked him if he had seen Magenis.—He told them he had.—Lowry and Teeling then informed him that there was to be a national meeting in Dublin at that time, of delegates from the different provinces of Ireland under the organization of United Irishmen, in order to receive a general return of the strength of the United Irishmen, and to determine whether an insurrection would be then practicable, and Lowry and Teeling told him the reason they desired him to meet them in Dublin was, to give his opinion of the strength and readiness of Down and Antrim to aid the insurrection, so far as he was capable of judging.—He said his opinion was, that as the people were in a great measure disarmed at that time, the majority of them would not rise or join the insurrection.—Teeling said his opinion was otherwise; he said Louth was anxious to rise: Lowry said Down was also anxious to rise.—Lowry and Teeling afterwards told him that the national meeting had taken place at John Jackson's in Church-street, Dublin, and that the delegates had agreed to proceed to action.—Teeling shewed him a map of Ireland at his (Teeling's) lodgings in Aungier-street, on which the plan of the insurrection was described, and the points marked to which certain numbers of men were to be brought.—He understood that the map so marked, had been prepared by some Irish officers who had been in the Austrian service, who expressed their opinion decidedly, that the people were not in a state of preparation to make a successful insurrection, being deficient in arms and ammunition.—The delegates left Dublin in order to raise their respective counties, and to take the field.—They collected the Colonels in each county in order to give them directions for bringing out their Regiments;—The Colonels of the county of Antrim refused to come forward;—The Colonels of the county of Down agreed to bring their regiments forward;—The other counties in Ulster were disinclined to come forward, and therefore the intended insurrection did not take place.—Lowry told him what had passed at the meeting of the Down Colonels, and he understood the result of the applications to the Colonels of the other counties, from conversations with many people in Belfast at that time.—Whilst he was in Dublin in June, 1797, Teeling invited him to breakfast one morning at his lodgings in Aungier-street, and told him he should see some friends; he went there accordingly, and met at breakfast there, and after breakfast on the same day, at other lodgings

which

which Teeling had in the Munſter Hotel, in Cope-ſtreet, the following perſons, John Magenis, of Balealy, in the county of Down; Mr. Tony M'Cann, of Dundalk; Mr. Samuel Turner; John Byrne, of Union Lodge, near Dundalk; Mr. Patrick Byrne, who lives near Union Lodge; Colonel James Plunket; Alexander Lowry, and Mr. Andrew Cunning of the county of Galway, and Dr. M'Nevin.—The converſation turned upon the ſtate of the country, and its preparation and fitneſs at that time to begin the inſurrection; in the courſe of it, the opinions of the before mentioned perſons differed, ſome of them preſſed for the inſurrection commencing immediately, particularly Teeling, Lowry, and M'Cann; ſome of the others were of opinion, that however Ulſter might be ready to riſe; yet the other provinces were not in a ſufficient degree of forwardneſs or preparation for riſing. He met the above-mentioned perſons at ſeveral other times during his ſtay in Dublin in June, 1797; and their converſations were generally upon the ſtate of Ireland, and to the import before mentioned.—He left Dublin and returned to Belfaſt on or before the fourteenth day of June. —He attended a meeting at Randalſtown, which was held within about four days of that time; the meeting conſiſted of Teeling, Lowry, Robert Moore, of Derry, Iron Monger, (as he believes his chriſtian name and trade to be) and Colonel James Plunket; he attended ſaid meeting by the direction of Lowry and Teeling to hear the report of the Colonels of the county of Antrim; the report was brought to the meeting (by a perſon of the name of Dunn, as he believes) who was clerk to Bartly, Black, and Co. of Larne, accompanied by the Rev. Arthur M'Mahon, of Hollywood.—The report from the Colonels was read by Dunn. The firſt reſolution was, as he beſt recollects, That it was imprudent to act at that time, without foreign aid, but that if the county of Down would act, a part of the Antrim Colonels who could bring out nine or ten thouſand men would act with Down.—The meeting broke up in conſequence of the diviſion amongſt the Antrim Colonels.—The Rev. Arthur M'Mahon told the meeting, that he had been ſent by the Colonels of the county of Down, to ſtate to the Colonels of the county of Antrim who had met at Park-gate that day, that they (the Colonels of Down) were willing to riſe, and that he had delivered ſuch the meſſage of the Down Colonels to the Antrim Colonels.—M'Mahon was then a member of the Ulſter Provincial Committee, and he told him that he had been one of the ſeven Colonels of the c unty of Down who had been ſelected and appointed leaders for ſaid county; and he alſo told him that he (M'Mahon) was a member of the National Executive. —Teeling left Randalſtown with him on Tueſday, they came together to Shane's Caſtle, and ſlept there that night, and got to Belfaſt on Wednesday.—Teeling ſlept at his houſe on ſaid Wedneſday, and on next day he and Teeling went to Ballynahinch, where they met M'Mahon and Lowry at Armſtrong's Inn.—There was to have been a meeting of the leaders of Down and Antrim on that day at Ballynahinch, but they did not come, and Teeling and Lowry left Ballynahinch determined

to go to France, as it would not be ſafe for them to remain longer in this country.—He returned home that night.—M'Mahon was informed on his road home (as he heard) that he would be taken; and he, Robert-Rollo Read, Haſtings Maſon, once an officer in the Downſhire Militia, and John Magenis, took boat at Bangor and got over to Scotland, and afterwards M'Mahon got to France where he ſtill is.

From June to November, 1797, his private affairs became embarraſſed, and he ſtopped payment in November, and a commiſſion of bankruptcy iſſued againſt him ſome time afterwards.—He did not attend any civil or military meeting of United Iriſhmen from June, 1797, till March, 1798, when he ſurrendered himſelf under the commiſſion in Dublin.

He went to Dublin in March, 1798, and ſtaid two days; the time for his final examination was enlarged till the twenty-firſt of April; he went to Dublin on the twentieth of April, and remained there about nine days.—He called on Samuel Neilſon, walked with him to Mr. Cormick, a feather merchant, in Thomas-ſtreet.—He was introduced by Neilſon to Cormick in the office.—Cormick aſked them to go up ſtairs: he and Neilſon went up ſtairs and found Lord Edward Fitzgerald and Mr. Lawleſs, the Surgeon playing at billiards.—He had been introduced to Lord Edward about a year before by Teeling; he was a ſtranger to Lawleſs; ſtaid about an hour; no particular converſations; was invited to dine there that day, and did ſo; the company were Lord Edward, Lawleſs, Neilſon, Cormick, and his Wife.—The converſation turned upon the ſtate of the country, and the violent meaſures of government in letting the army looſe.—The company were all of opinion, that there was then no chance of the people reſiſting by force with any ſucceſs.—He was alſo introduced by Gordon, who had been in Newgate, and Robert Orr, of Belfaſt, Chandler, to Mr. Rattican, the timber merchant at the Corner of Thomas-ſtreet.—Rattican talked to him on the ſtate of the country and of the city of Dublin, and told him that they would begin the inſurrection in Dublin by liberating the priſoners in Kilmainham.—Rattican ſhewed him a plan of the intended attack upon Kilmainham.—Whilſt he was in Dublin, in April, he dined with Neilſon at the Brazen Head.—Next day Neilſon called him up at five o'clock, and they went to Sweetman's, near Judge Chamberlaine's, to breakfaſt; Sweetman was then in priſon, but Neilſon lived in his houſe.—Neilſon took Sweetman's carriage to Mr. Grattan's, and brought him along with him.—When they got to Mr. Grattan's, Neilſon told him he had ſomething to ſay to Mr. Grattan in private, and deſired him to take a walk in the domain.—Neilſon however introduced him to Mr. Grattan firſt; and Mr. Grattan ordered a ſervant to attend him to ſhew him the grounds.—He returned in about half an hour.—Went into Mr. Grattan's library—Neilſon and Grattan were there together.—Grattan aſked a variety of queſtions touching the ſtate of the

country

country in the North; how many families had been driven out and how many houſes burned by the government or the Orange Men?—Grattan ſaid he ſuppoſed he was an United Iriſhman; he ſaid he was.—Grattan aſked him how many United Iriſhmen were in the province? he ſaid he reckoned 126,000.—Grattan aſked how many Orange Men there were? he ſaid about 12,000.—Grattan made no particular anſwer.—Neilſon and he left Grattan's about twelve in the day; they walked to their carriage which was at Enniſkerry; he aſked Neilſon what had paſſed between Grattan and him—Neilſon evaded the queſtion but ſaid generally that he had gone down to Grattan to aſk him whether he would come forward, and that he had ſworn him.—That Grattan promiſed to meet him in Dublin before the next Tueſday.—He left Dublin that evening and returned to Belfaſt.—He has known the reverend Steele Dickſon of Portaferry for two years intimately.—Saw him at the aſſizes of Antrim and Down at Lent aſſizes 1797.—He ſaw him acting with Lowry, Turner and Teeling as one of the committee for conducting the priſoners defence.—Nicholas Magin called on him with a meſſage from Doctor Dickſon, that Dickſon was going to Ballynahinch to remain there till Tueſday, and that he would be at Mr. Pottingers till ſeven o'clock of that evening.—Dickſon called upon him Friday the firſt of June at his houſe in Belfaſt, and told him that the colonels of the United Iriſh regiments in the county of Down had had a meeting in a field on the day before, as Mr. Magin had ſtated, that twenty-three of them had agreed to fight, and commence the rebellion provided the county of Antrim and the other counties of Ulſter, as he believes, would act with them, and as he (Dickſon) knew there was to have been a meeting of the colonels of the county of Antrim that day, (viz. the firſt of June) Dickſon wiſhed to know whether he had heard any thing from it.—He ſaid he had not heard of the meeting—He knew there was to be ſuch a meeting; Hunter told him ſo.—Dickſon ſaid he would go out to Mr. Pottinger's that evening, and requeſted he would ſend him intelligence of what ſhould be done in the Antrim meeting; that he would go from Mr. Pottinger's to Ballee, where he was to preach on Sunday, from thence he would go to Ballynahinch and remain there till Wedneſday.

On the Sunday, Mr. Keane, of Finlay's bank, came from Dublin, and aſked him where Dr. Dickſon was.—He told Keane he would find him at Ballynahinch—Keane went there on Monday, as he believes.

On Friday the 1ſt of June, Dickſon told him that he was one of the Adjutant Generals of the United Iriſhmens forces in the county of Down, and that he (Dickſon) would go to Ballynahinch and remain there till Wedneſday, as it was a central place, from which he could iſſue his orders to his officers.—Dickſon told him that the reaſon why he would remain at Ballynahinch till Wedneſday was, that the Antrim

Colonels had adjourned till the Tuesday, and that he could receive their determination in Ballynahinch on Wednesday.

In February last, when the prisoners where trying at the Commission, Priest Quigley introduced him to Citizen Baily, who was an officer in the East India Company's Service, and lived near Canterbury, and also to the younger Binns from England; thinks his name is Benjamin.

Binns told him he had distributed most of the printed addresses, entitled, "United Britons to the United Irishmen," and gave him a copy of it, and directed him to print an edition of them—He printed one thousand of them, and the one now produced to him is a copy of that which Binns delivered to him.—Mr. John Caldwell, of Belfast, paid him for printing the edition; as the copies were wrought off he sent them to Mr. Caldwell—Caldwell paid three guineas to him for the printing.

He heard a Mr. Bonham came with Baily and Binns from London, and was the delegate from England to Ireland mentioned in the paper. —He never saw Mr. Bonham—Either Binns or Baily told him that the address was written by a Mr. Cosgrave of London.—John Caldwell, of Belfast, managed a lottery.—Caldwell told him that he had been appointed treasurer for the lottery; that it was to consist of two thousand tickets, at one guinea each, the highest prize 300l.—the profits to be applied towards the general system of United Irishmen.—The first immediate want of money was to send up and support witnesses on the trials in Dublin.

Q. You have said that you were introduced to Mr. Grattan by Samuel Neilson at his house at Tinnehinch, in April last—Recollect yourself, and say whether you can speak with certainty as to that fact?

A. I certainly can.—About the 28th of April last, I went to Mr. Grattan's at Tinnehinch with Samuel Neilson, on going into the house we were shewed into the library.—Neilson introduced me to Mr. Grattan, and I soon after walked out, and left them alone for full half an hour.—I saw a printed constitution of the United Irishmen in the room.

Q. Can you say whether Mr. Grattan knew it to be the constitution of United Irishmen?

A. I can—for he asked me some questions about it.—He asked me also a variety of questions about the state of the North.—When we were going away I heard Mr. Grattan tell Neilson that he would be in town

on

on or before the Tuesday following;—and I understood from Neilson that Mr. Grattan had visited him in prison, and on our return to town, Neilson told me he had sworn Mr. Grattan.

Neilson and I breakfasted that morning at the country house of Sweetman, who was then in prison, and went from thence to Mr. Grattan's in Sweetman's carriage.

Appendix, No. II.

The Addreſs of the United Britons to the United Iriſhmen, proved and alluded to in the Evidence of John Hughes.

United Britons, to the United Iriſhmen.

FELLOW-MEN,

Anxious to diſſipate thoſe prejudices, which a miſtaken and intereſted policy has artfully diffuſed, to prevent an UNION of ſentiment and mutuality of opinion from being held by the people of England and Ireland; we in the name of the former, (with whoſe ſentiments we are acquainted, and whoſe confidence we poſſeſs) declare that we will by every poſſible means promote the EMANCIPATION OF BOTH COUNTRIES. To forward this great object we offer you our confidence, and in return demand yours.

Though labouring under the yoke of the ſame oppreſſors, the Siſter Countries have been differently treated. Ireland has always been the object of direct and open violence, England of Fraud; Ireland has been robbed, England has been cheated. One uniform plan, DIVISION, has been carried on in both. Sacrificed as Ireland has been to the ambition of England, the idea of her being treated as a FREE Country was too groſs to be obtruded upon the meaneſt underſtanding; but England, whoſe avarice was flattered by the deſpicable lure of excluſive trade, greedily ſwallowed the bait. She was taught to believe that Riches flowed upon her, while Poverty was ſecretly inſinuating itſelf into her very vitals.

Amidſt mock contentions for LIBERTY and real ones for plunder, She vainly imagined herſelf FREE, and was thereby induced to pay the intereſt of a Debt, of greater amount than the value of the whole Landed property of the Country, without reflecting that Bankruptcy however late muſt be the conſequence of an overſtretched credit.—THAT BANKRUPTCY HAS ARRIVED.

The Religious diſſentions between *Catholic* and *Proteſtant* in Ireland (whoſe opinions admit of a real diſtinction) and the party ſquabbles between *Whig* and *Tory* in England (whoſe political ones admit of none) were aſſiduouſly fomented; the People were divided about the *ſhadow* till they loſt the *ſubſtance*. The plan of oppreſſion was ſyſtematically directed throughout both countries to the ſame object, though in apparent oppoſition. In Ireland Revenue was only raiſed to be laviſhed in unmerited penſions, without the inſult of pretended National advantage; in England the veil of fraud was neceſſary to cheat the people of large ſums under the plauſible pretext of public neceſſity. The undiſguiſed oppreſſions of Ireland, by rendering ſubſiſtence precarious to the Poor, have made her a conſtant hot-bed for the ſattelites of Tyranny;

ranny; but in England occaſional crops could only be raiſed when the flame of war unuſually forced the ſoil. This marked diſtinction in the treatment of the Countries, has produced as marked a difference in the characters of the two Nations; Ireland has acquired that of manly openneſs, England that of mean diſguiſe.

England though abuſed with forms has never been without ſincere friends to ſubſtantial LIBERTY. Among them a number of dark and deſigning characters have always intruded; and their conduct has furniſhed ſuch a tiſſue of apoſtacy, that general apathy had nearly ſucceeded general diſtruſt.

Various political Societies have been inſtituted for the purpoſe of REFORM, but of theſe, few could boaſt purity of Principles, or integrity of Leaders. Formerly, *Richmond* headed the votaries of Univerſal Suffrage, *Fox* thoſe of Repreſentation by Houſeholders, and *Pitt* thoſe who wiſhed to disfranchiſe the Corrupt Boroughs, to throw their proportion of Repreſentation into the Counties; but theſe have vaniſhed. The Society of the FRIENDS OF THE PEOPLE, and that for CONSTITUTIONAL INFORMATION, have diſcontinued their exertions. The LONDON CORRESPONDING, and other Societies in UNION with it, have ariſen upon their ruins, and as univerſal good is their baſis, we doubt not, but, ſupported by Numbers and Principles, they will not be wanting in the hour of danger.

The IRISH, always an heroic People, had, during the American War, become an armed Nation. They took up Arms for Defence, and undertook the cauſe of REFORM for Security. ENGLAND, likewiſe, engaged in the cauſe of REFORM, but her efforts were weak, as ſhe had not endured ſufficient to convince her of the neceſſity of UNION. The efforts of a number of eminent Perſons in both Countries in the cauſe of FREEDOM, were inſufficient, becauſe Prejudice yet prevailed, and Men were not awakened to their juſt Rights and true Intereſts.

The Apoſtacy of ſeveral Leaders of the Public cauſe, added to the famous Coalition, ſmothered for a long time, the flame of LIBERTY; 'till the FRENCH REVOLUTION again fanned its dying embers into a glow, which, we hope and truſt, will never be extinguiſhed.

The conduct of the two Countries, on this important event, diſplayed a ſtriking contraſt. IRELAND, who by her arms, had extorted from the *Engliſh Government* ſome fragments of her Rights, ſeemed ready in the ſame manner to demand the reſt. ENGLAND, alſo, formed Societies, whoſe object was EMANCIPATION, but who hoped it might be obtained by *Reaſon*; Alas! they over-rated its force.

The difarming Bills in IRELAND, the Treafon and Sedition Bills in ENGLAND, and their confequences in both Countries, need hardly be mentioned. On the People they have brought Chains, on the Government irreconcileable Hatred. One good effect has, however, refulted from mutual Sufferings, and mutual Commiferation; the prejudice of Nations is done away, and the ENGLISH butn with defire, to hail the IRISH, as *Freemen*, and as *Brethren*.

Our numbers are immenfe, our influence ftill more confiderable, and our fentiments accord with yours. We are unthinned by the Tyranny of the Law or of the Sword; 'tis true, we have had our Fears and our Jealoufies, *Spies* and *Informers* have been introduced amongft us, but all thefe have ferved only to point out more clearly the Men who are worthy of truft, and in thefe, whether Rich or Poor, we have the higheft confidence.

Our DELEGATE is entrufted to lay before you our whole proceedings; we, therefore, decline entering into particulars in the prefent Addrefs. We have repofed confidence in you, and fhall expect fuch a return as you may think our Integrity and Talents deferve. We doubt not but you will, with us, fee the propriety of eftablifhing unlimited confidence, or declining our interference as fruitlefs. Should you think our fituation, our influence, and our opportunities calculated to ferve the Common Caufe, rely upon our Diligence, our Zeal, and our Fidelity.

With beft wifhes, for the amelioration of the condition of Man, and hopes that your Exertions and Virtues, aided by an UNITED PEOPLE, WILL SPEEDILY EMANCIPATE YOUR COUNTRY; we remain in the bonds of BROTHERHOOD and UNION.

Your's Fraternally!

Friday, January 5th, 1798.

(Seal.)

Examination

Examination of Doctor William-James M'Nevin.

TUESDAY, 7th AUGUST, 1798.

Doctor William-James M'Nevin, ſworn.

Q. WHEN did you become an United Iriſhman?

A. About September or October 1796, I became a member of the Cloſe Society of United Iriſhmen—It conſiſted of Societies at firſt compoſed of 36 Members, afterwards theſe ſocieties were reduced to 12 members, each ſociety of 12 choſe a Secretary and generally a Treaſurer.

Q. What was the next higher ſociety?

A. The Secretaries of five ſocieties formed a Lower Baronial Committee, out of each of the Lower Baronial Committees, one perſon was choſen to be a member of the Upper Baronial, each of the Upper Baronials conſiſted of ten members thus choſen.—The next Superior Committees were, in populous towns, Diſtrict Committees, and in counties, County Committees, theſe were compoſed of one member elected from each Baronial.—The next Superior Committees were the Provincial Committees, compoſed of two members, ſometimes three, elected from each County Committee.

Q. How was the Executive choſen?

A. The Provincial Committees elected five perſons by ballot—the ſecretary examined the ballots, and reported to the perſons elected, their appointment, but made no report of the election to the Provincials, who were thus kept in ignorance of the perſons who compoſed the Executive.—The Executive had the command of the whole body thus organized.

Q. How were the orders of the Executive communicated?

A. One member of the Executive communicated with one member of the Provincial Committee, he with the Secretary of the County Committee, he in like manner, with the Secretaries of the Baronials, and theſe ſecretaries with thoſe of the ſubordinate ſocieties.

Q. Was there any omiſſion made in the laſt teſt?

A. In the laſt teſt the words were. "A full repreſentation of all "the people," omitting the words "in the Commons Houſe of Parliament."

Q. Why was the omiſſion made?

A. To reconcile reformers and republicans; and becauſe they had given up all idea of Reform, and were determined on Republicaniſm.

Q. What was the organization originally?

A. At firſt it was purely a civil organization, but I believe it was military in Ulſter about the latter end of 1796.

Q. What was the nature of the Military Organization?

A, The ſecretary of the ſociety of twelve was the petty officer, that is, ſerjeant or corporal,—The delegate of five ſocieties to a Lower Baronial, was uſually the captain, and thus had ſixty men under his command and the delegate of ten Lower Baronials, to the Upper or Diſtrict Committee, was uſually the colonel.—Thus a battalion was compoſed of ſix hundred men.

Q. In what manner were the higher Officers or Staff appointed?

A. The Colonels of each county ſent in the names of three perſons to the Executive, one of whom was appointed, by the Executive, Adjutant General of the county.—His duty was to receive and communicate all military orders from the Executive.

Q. Was any attempt made to procure Iriſh Officers who had ſerved in foreign armies?

A. Such a plan was formed, but not proceeded on.

Q. Did they endeavour to prevail on French Officers in England or Ireland to join them?

A. They did not.

Q. Were any attempts made to ſeduce the army or militia?

A. There were many.

Q. How were the finances of the ſociety recruited?

A. Every member of the ſociety paid a monthly ſubſcription,—This fund was applied to the ſupport of priſoners in gaol, to defend them on their trials, and to extend the Union.

Q. How were arms and ammunition to be procured?

A. The general direction was for each perſon to arm himſelf, ſuch as could afford it, with fire arms and ammunition, others with pikes.

Q. What

Q. What was the object of the ſyſtem?

A. To effect a revolution and eſtabliſh a republic.

Q. How were emiſſaries appointed to extend the ſyſtem?

A. They were ſelected by ſome confidential perſon in the different diſtricts.

Q. How were the expences of the emiſſaries borne?

A. Out of the general fund.

Q. Were the Reports of the Secret Committees of the two Houſes of Parliament laſt year accurate?

A. I believe they were accurate, ſave that they underſtated the number of men and arms.

Q. Do you know of any depots of arms or ammunition?

A. I do not,—each man concealed his own arms, and I believe there were many engaged in the ſyſtem who were not armed.

Q. For what purpoſe were arms provided?

A. For the purpoſe of inſurrection, and I think even after diſarming the North, the people were much inclined to riſe, but were prevented by a repreſentation from the Iriſh National Executive Directory, that it would be abſurd to riſe, when their enemies were prepared, and that they might ſoon expect foreign aſſiſtance.—I believe they retained more arms than were taken from them.

Q. When did the Military Organization begin in Leinſter?

A. In the beginning or middle of 1797.

Q. Was this organization made with the knowledge and approbation of the Iriſh National Executive Directory for the purpoſe of Rebellion and Revolution?

A. It was.

Q. When was the ſyſtem introduced into Munſter?

A. About twelve or eighteen months ſince, but it did not extend rapidly,—it went on quietly.

Q. Was there any connection between the Union and the Scotch and English Societies.

A. There might have been ſome ſlight connection between the North and thoſe Societies, but there was no cloſe connection between them and the Executive Directory of the Union.—A perſon came from the Correſponding Society in London to Dublin with an addreſs which I ſaw, but I did not ſee the perſon who brought it.

Q. How was the Military Committee appointed, and when?

A. It was appointed by the Executive Directory of the Union about February, 1798.

Q. What was the duty of this Committee?

A. To conſider and digeſt ſuch plans, and direct the national military force in ſuch manner as might be neceſſary in caſe of inſurrection;—and in caſe of invaſion to co-operate with the French.

Q. Was any plan of inſurrection formed, and when?

A. In April or May 1797, a plan of inſurrection for the North was formed, and heads drawn up in writing, but it was ſoon given up and the writing deſtroyed.

Q. Were any Directions given by the Executive Directory of the Union to the members of it to abſtain from the conſumption of Spirits and other exciſeable goods?

A. There were; and it was recommended to ſtop the currency of Bank Notes, and not to purchaſe Quit Rents.—A hand-bill to this purpoſe was circulated by order of the Executive Directory of the Union, ſtating that it was an anticipation of the public reſources, which at the revolution would not be allowed to ſtand good.

Q. Have there been any communications between the Revolutionary Executive Directory of Ireland and the Executive Directory of the French Republic?

A. There have—Previous to 1796 ſome perſons had gone from hence to France on account of their political opinions—Early in 1796 a letter came from one of them ſtating that the ſituation of this country had been repreſented to the Directory of the French republic who had promiſed to invade Ireland, for the purpoſe of ſeperating it from Great Britain.—This letter was taken into ſerious conſideration by the Iriſh Executive early in 1796, and an anſwer was ſent in April that year accepting the propoſal on condition that they ſhould come as allies, to act under the directions of the projected revolutionary government, as Rochambeau did in America, that they ſhould be paid the expences of

the expedition and their troops receive Iriſh pay whilſt they acted here—This anſwer was ſent to Paris by a ſpecial meſſenger, and the French Directory promiſed that the ſuccours thus demanded ſhould be ſent.

About October or November 1796, a meſſenger came from France to the Iriſh Directory with intelligence that the promiſed ſuccours might be ſpeedily expected, and deſiring to know the ſtate of preparation of this country.—The force to be ſent by France was ſtated to be 15,000 men and a great quantity of arms and ammunition, and I think if they had landed when they came to Bantry an inſurrection would have taken place in the North of Ireland.

After the French expedition at Bantry had failed, there was no communication with the Executive Directory of the Iriſh Union till April 1797—Then an accredited reſident miniſter or agent was ſent by the Iriſh Directory to the Directory of France by way of Hamburgh.

Q. Have you heard that the Iriſh miniſter had a conference with General Hoche at Franckfort, and that the French miniſter at Hamburgh, had given him a letter of introduction to General Hoche?

A. I may have heard ſo.

Q. How was the Iriſh miniſter received at Paris?

A. He was well received by the Directory at Paris, and continued the reſident accredited miniſter of the National Executive Directory of Ireland, till February laſt.—Since that time I cannot ſpeak from my knowledge, having been arreſted in March, under a warrant of the Secretary of State, and continued in confinement ſince.

Q. Did any confidential meeting take place ſoon after April 1797, between a perſon who went from hence, and a perſon in London, with reſpect to the diſpoſitions of the French government?

A. I believe there did.

Q. When was the next communication with France?

A. The next communication of conſequence, was in June 1797, when an accredited perſon, went from hence to communicate with the French Directory by their deſire—He went by Hamburgh, where he ſaw the French miniſter, who made ſome difficulty about giving him a paſſport, and demanded a Memoir containing his inſtructions, which was accordingly written by the accredited perſon and given to the French miniſter under the impreſſion that the paſſport would not be granted

The Memoir was written in Engliſh, and contained the objects of his miſſion according to the inſtructions which he had received from the Executive Directory of the Iriſh Union.

It begun by ſtating that the appearance of the French in Bantry bay had encouraged the leaſt confident of the Iriſh in the hope of throwing off the yoke of England, with the aſſiſtance of France.—That the event of that expedition, had proved the facilty of invading Ireland.—That in the event of a ſecond expedition, if the object was to take Cork, Oyſter Haven would be the beſt place of debarkation.—That the perſon who had been before accredited, was inſtructed to point out Oyſter Haven as the beſt place of debarkation—and it ſtated the precautions which had been taken for defence, by throwing up works at Bantry, Fermoy and Mallow.—It further ſtated that the ſyſtem of United Iriſhmen, had made a rapid progreſs in the country of Cork, and that Bandon was become a ſecond Belfaſt.—That the ſyſtem had made great progreſs in other counties, and that the people were now well inclined to aſſiſt the French. —That 150,000 United Iriſhmen were organized and enrolled in Ulſter, a great part of them regimented, and one third ready to march out of the province.—It detailed the number of the kings forces in Ulſter and their ſtations.—Recommended Loughſwilly as a place of debarkation in the North, and ſtated that the people in the Peninſula of Donegal would join the French.—It ſtated alſo the ſtrength of the garriſon of Londonderry, and that one regiment which made a part of it, was ſuppoſed to be diſaffected to the King of Great Britain.—It mentioned Killybegs alſo, as a good place of debarkation, and ſtated that the counties of Tyrone, Fermanagh and Monaghan were amongſt the beſt affected to the cauſe. —In caſe of a landing at Killybegs, it recommended a diverſion at Sligo, and ſtated that a force of 10,000 United Iriſhmen might be collected to fall upon Enniſkillen, which commanded the paſs of Lough-Erne.—That it was eaſy to enter the bay of Galway but very difficult to get out of it.— That the counties of Louth, Armagh, Weſtmeath, Kildare, Kings County and city of Dublin, were the beſt organized.—That the Catholic Prieſts had ceaſed to be alarmed at the calumnies which had been propagated of French irreligion, and were well affected to the cauſe.—That ſome of them had rendered great ſervice in propagating with diſcreet zeal the ſyſtem of the Iriſh Union.—It declared that the people of Ireland, had a lively ſenſe of gratitude to France for the part which ſhe took, and alſo to Spain for the intereſt which ſhe felt in the affairs of Ireland.—It engaged on the part of the Iriſh National Executive Directory to reimburſe the expences of France in the expedition which had failed, and of any other which might be undertaken.—The number of troops demanded was a force not exceeding 10,000 nor leſs than 5,000 men.—It ſtated that a brigade of Engliſh artillery had been already ſent over, and that a large body of troops would probably be ſent from Great Britain if Ireland

was

was attacked.—A conſiderable quantity of artillery and ammunition with a large ſtaff and body of engineers, and as many Iriſh officers as poſſible, whoſe fidelity they were aſſured of, were demanded as neceſſary to accompany the expedition.—A recommendation was given to ſeperate the Iriſh ſeamen who were priſoners of war from the Britiſh, ſuppoſing the former would be ready to join in an expedition to liberate their country. —It further recommended a proclamation to be publiſhed by the French General on his arrival here, that the French came as allies to deliver the country, not to conquer it.—It alſo recommended to the Directory of the French Republic to make the independence of Ireland an indiſpenſible condition of the treaty of peace then depending at Liſle, and ſtated that a proceeding ſo authentic, could not be diſguiſed or miſrepreſented, and would very much encourage the people of Ireland to perſiſt in their exertions to atchieve a revolution.—It contained alſo an aſſurance that the Iriſh Militia would join the French if they landed in conſiderable force.

Immediately after this Memoir was given in to the French miniſter a paſſport was granted to the writer of it to go to Paris, where he had ſeveral conferences with perſons in authority, ſome of them members of the Directory.—The object of theſe conferences was to obtain the ſame aſſurances of ſuccours from them that their agents had before given to the Executive Directory of the Iriſh Union.

The negotiation for peace was then going on at Liſle,—He was told by perſons in authority that they did not think the Engliſh cabinet ſincere, but that if France could get the terms ſhe had a right to expect, the Directory would make peace.

A ſecond memoir was preſented at Paris by the ſame perſon ſoon after his arrival there, its object was to impreſs on the Directory the neceſſity of expediting the armament for Ireland, and of inſiſting on the independence of Ireland as an indiſpenſible condition of any treaty of peace, by every argument which the writer could uſe.

After the breaking off the negotiation, and Lord Malmſbury's return to England, aſſurances were given to the Iriſh Executive Directory, that the French Government would ſend a new expedition to Ireland, and that they never would abandon her, till ſhe was ſeperated from Great Britain, and theſe aſſurances have been ſince renewed,

Q. Was any information ſent to the Iriſh Executive Directory, of the Dutch armament in the Texel?

 A. There

A. There was in July or Auguſt, and that it was deſtined for Ireland.

Q. Were there any accounts received from France ſince thoſe you have mentioned?

A. There were three ſeveral accounts between October 1797, and February 1798.—The two firſt contained general renewals of their former aſſurances, the laſt a promiſe of the arrival of the expected armament here in April.

Q. Was any diſpatch ſent from Ireland to France during the laſt Winter?

A. There was a diſpatch made up ſometime in the laſt winter, by the Iriſh Executive, and given to one Member of it, who undertook to have it conveyed to France.—The general import of this diſpatch was to preſs for the promiſed ſuccours; but the attempt to convey it to France failed.

Q. Were you a member of the Executive Revolutionary Directory of United Iriſhmen?

A. I was.

Q. Do you ſpeak with certainty of the miſſion to France in June 1797, and of what paſſed at Paris in conſequence of it, and of the two Memoirs?

A. I do.

Q. Have you read thoſe memoirs?

A. I have.

Q. Do you know they were both delivered to the Executive Directory of the French republic?

A. I do.

Q. How were the expences of the accredited Iriſh miniſter at Paris defrayed?

A. He took a conſiderable ſum of money with him, either his own, or raiſed by a particular ſubſcription, and it was intended to remit ſupplies to him when that was expended.

Q. Have you ſeen a reſolution of the Leinſter provincial Committee of the 19th of February 1798, the day on which Lord Moira made a motion in the Houſe of Lords, "That they would not be diverted from their purpoſe, by any thing which could be done in Parliament, as nothing ſhort of the total emancipation of their country would ſatisfy them?"

A. I have.

A. I have.

Q. Was it officially communicated by the Leinſter Provincial Committee, to the Executive Directory of the Union?

A. It was.

Q. Do you know that the ſame reſolution was agreed to on the ſame day by the Ulſter Provincial Committee?

A. I do not know that it was, but I have heard and do believe it.

Q. Did you know that a Provincial Meeting was to be held on Monday the 12th of March?

A. I did.

Q. What was the reform originally required by United Iriſhmen?

A. A democratic Houſe of Commons,—they thought one ariſtocratic body in the ſtate ſufficient.

Q. Was any eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment intended by the revolutionary government when it ſhould be eſtabliſhed?

A. No. I conceive that a revolution would of courſe involve the demolition of the church eſtabliſhment, and of courſe a relief of the poor from tythes.

Q. Was it intended to have a Popiſh or Roman Catholic eſtabliſhment?

A. The intention was to aboliſh the church eſtabliſhment, and not to have any eſtabliſhed religion, but that all perſons ſhould exerciſe their reſpective religion, and pay their own clergy: for my own part I would as ſoon eſtabliſh the Mahometan as the Popiſh religion, though I am myſelf a Roman Catholic.

Q. Do you know of any loan negotiated with France or Spain?

A. Yes, the agent of the National Executive Directory who was ſent over in April 1797, was inſtructed to negotiate a loan of half a million, or 300,000l. if it could be got from France or Spain.

Q. Have you any doubt of the ſincerity of France?

A. I have not; I believe inability alone has prevented France from invading Ireland.

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

A. I am ſure they do not; but they wiſh much to be relieved from the payment of Tithes.

Q. How do you account for the cruelties lately exerciſed by the Rebels on Proteſtants?

A. If the National Executive Directory could have prevented it I believe they would; but the lower order of Catholics conſider Proteſtant and Engliſhman, that is, Engliſh ſettler, as ſynonimous, and as their natural enemy—the ſame Iriſh word (Saſſena) ſignifies both.

Examination of Arthur O'Connor, Esq.

THURSDAY, 9th AUGUST, 1798.

Arthur O'Connor, Esq; Sworn.

Q. When did you become an United Iriſhman?

A. About November, 1796.

Q. When did the military organization begin?

A. About the middle of 1796.

Q. Were you a member of the Executive Directory of United Iriſhmen?

A. I was, and continued ſo from November, 1796, till January, 1798.

Q. When did the communications with France commence?

A. Before I was an United Iriſhman, I believe in the middle of 1796, about the ſame time that the military organization commenced.

Q. When was it agreed to accept the offer of aſſiſtance from France?

A. I underſtood it was accepted at a meeting of the Executive Directory of the Iriſh Union, in ſummer 1796.—I was apprized of the offer and acceptance by my brother members of the Executive Directory after I became a member of it, and before the arrival of the French in Bantry Bay.

Q. Was it the determination of the United Iriſhmen in the North to riſe if the French had landed?

A. The Executive Directory of the Union thought they would riſe if a landing of the French had taken place.

Q. When was the firſt communication from France, after the expedition to Bantry Bay?

A. The firſt which of my own knowledge I can ſpeak of, was in Auguſt 1797.—It ſtated that a fleet lay in the Texel with 15,000 men on board, and that the armament was deſtined for Ireland.—I was arreſted in this city under a ſecretary's warrant, and in confinement for ſome months before that time.

Q. Was it mentioned to the Iriſh Executive where the deſcent was intended to be made?

A. It was not in the diſpatch which I ſaw.

Q. Was there any intelligence brought of the intended invaſion at Bantry?

A. There was, by a meſſenger who arrived here about November 1796.

Q. Was there a reſident agent appointed to go to Paris in Spring 1797?

A. There was, whilſt I was in Priſon, and a ſecond perſon was ſent in June following.

Q. Did you ſee this perſon on his return to Ireland from France?

A. I did about November 1797.—He reported to the Executive Directory, that no armament was then ready, but that one would ſhortly be ready.

Q. Did you underſtand that when a French fleet was ready, the expedition would take place?

A. I did.

Q. Have you heard that there were ſome converſations on this ſubject, between perſons of this country, and General Valence, prior to October 1796?

A. I have heard there were, they did not however, lead to any thing deciſive.

Q. Was there any connexion with the Engliſh or Scotch ſocieties?

A. Any connexion with them was merely between individuals.—The Iriſh Executive Directory wiſhed to keep clear of them.

Q. Do you know of any loan being negotiated with France or Spain?

A. Inſtructions were given to the agent of the Iriſh Executive Directory, to negotiate a loan of half a million, in France or Spain, on the ſecurity of the Revolutionary Government when it ſhould be eſtabliſhed.

Q. Was your ſituation in the Executive Directory of the Iriſh Union filled up, when you left Ireland in January laſt?

A. It was.

Examination

Examination of Samuel Neilson.

THURSDAY, 9th AUGUST, 1798.

Samuel Neilson, sworn.

Q. When did you become a member of the society of United Irishmen?

A. In October 1791 I became a member of the original society.

Q. When did the present organization commence?

A. In Spring 1792, the affiliated system of orginization commenced, and has gradually encreased since that time.

Q. When was the organization completed in Ulster?

A. On the 10th of May 1795.

Q. When did the affiliation begin between Ulster and the rest of the kingdom?

A. From the time that the system commenced, emissaries were sent to every part of the kingdom for the purpose of extending it.

Q. What was the object then?

A. I think to alarm Government into a compliance with their Objects.

Q. When did the military organization begin in Ulster?

A. In Autumn 1796.

Q. What was the object of the military organization?

A. The object was to carry their measures by force.

Q. Do you know any thing of the correspondence carried on with France?

A. Previous to my being arrested, which happened in September 1796, I had heard of communications with France, and a probability of the negotiations for assistance being successful.

Q. When were you liberated, and on what condition?

A. I was liberated in January or February last, on condition that I should not belong to any treasonable committee.

Q. After you were liberated, did you hear of any intended attempt on Dublin or Lehaunstown Camp?

A. I did not till after the arrests at Bond's on the 12th of March.

Q. After that were you very active in advising the filling up the vacancies in the several departments of the Irish Union, which you supposed had taken place in consequence of those arrests?

A. I was.

Q. Had you then any information of an intended insurrection?

A. Soon after I discovered that an insurrection was decided upon, and I meant to have given my advice and assistance in it.

Q. Was there a Letter from John Sheares who was lately convicted of treason, and executed, found in your pocket, when you were last arrested?

A. There was.

Q. What was the purport of that letter?

A. To dissuade me from attacking Kilmainham Gaol.

Q. Was there any intention of attacking Newgate?

A. I believe there was an intention of attacking it on the night I was arrested, the 23d of May, 1798, in order to liberate Lord Edward Fitzgerald.—I believe some hundreds were assembled at the Barley Fields for that purpose.—They considered that Lord Edward would be a very valuable leader, and that he would have led the Rebels in Leinster—All the delegates looked to him as their leader.—I have delivered several messages from him to different committees.—Lord Edward and I were stopped by a patrole at Palmerstown not long before and liberated by mistake.

Q. Were Lord Edward Fitzgerald and the Sheares's acquainted with each other?

A. They were, and knew each others political opinions.

For some time before Lord Edward's arrest, he was almost constantly employed in consultations with military men, and in forming plans of military operations.

I believe latterly Lord Edward was rather afraid of invasion, lest the French should conquer Ireland, and therefore urged on the insurrection.

Q. Have you had any interviews with Mr. Grattan since you were liberated from confinement?

A. I was

A. I was twice with Mr. Grattan at Tinnehinch, in April 1798.—I either ſhewed Mr. Grattan the laſt conſtitution of the ſociety of United Iriſhmen, or explained it to him, and preſſed him to come forward—I was accompanied at theſe interviews by John Sweetman and Oliver Bond—But I do not believe Mr. Grattan was ever an United Iriſhmen.

Q. Do you mean John Sweetman who is now in cuſtody on a charge of treaſon, and has with others of the ſtate priſoners ſubmitted to the mercy of government?

A. I do.

Q. Did you know of any depots of arms or ammunition?

A. I believe there never were any—The arms were in the hands of the people and they hid them, this was conſidered the ſafeſt method.

Q. It has been ſtated to this committee, that you have ſaid you ſwore Mr. Grattan?

A. I never did ſwear Mr. Grattan, nor have I ever ſaid that I ſwore him.

Q. When did the manufacture of pikes begin?

A. About the time of the military organization.

Says, the Convention Bill was calculated to meet every part of the ſyſtem of United Iriſhmen. When he read it, he ſuppoſed the framer of the bill had their conſtitution before him whilſt he was drawing it.

Says, Ulſter is not ſo well organized as it was a year ago.

Says, many people joined the United Iriſhmen, ſuppoſing them to be the ſtrongeſt party in the ſtate, and if their affairs had been well conducted, he thinks they would have become the government of the country.—Being deſired to explain himſelf, he ſaid, latterly their affairs have been much miſconducted, becauſe the ableſt men amongſt them, have been either arreſted or obliged to fly.—If they had remained at large, is of opinion they muſt have ſucceeded.

Says, that till the laſt two months, he did not conſider government to be well informed, but the late arreſts convinced him they were.

By a letter addreſſed to the Lord Chancellor, by Samuel Neilſon, immediately after his examination, he wiſhes to correct his evidence, by ſtating, that he had another interview with Mr. Grattan at Tinnehinch, in company with Mr. John Hughes, and that they both went there in Mr. Sweetman's chaiſe.

Examination

Examination of Thomas-Addis Emmett, Esquire.

SATURDAY, 11th AUGUST, 1798.

Thomas-Addis Emmett, Esq; Sworn.

Q. Did you belong to the ſociety of United Iriſhmen?

A. I did.

Q. Were you a member of the Executive Directory of that ſociety?

A. I was,—I was firſt appointed in January 1797, and continued a member of it till May 1797—I then ceaſed to be a member of the Directory till December laſt, when I was elected a ſecond time and I continued a member till my arreſt in March laſt.

Q. When did the military organization take place?

A. I have heard that it commenced the beginning or middle of 1796.

Q. What was the object of the military organization?

A. Its object was to prepare for reſiſtance and effect a revolution.

Q. Was this organization known to the Executive Directory of the Union?

A. It was known to and had the approbation of the Executive, as returns of men and arms were regularly made to them.—The laſt military organization proceeded immediately from the Executive Directory.

Q. When did the firſt communication with France take place?

A. The firſt I heard of took place about the middle of 1796.—This was in conſequence of an offer of aſſiſtance from France.—This offer was in conſequence of repreſentations made by perſons of this country, reſident at Paris.—It was taken into ſerious conſideration in ſummer 1796, and accepted by the Iriſh Executive Directory.

The firſt communication with France, of which I can ſpeak from my own particular knowledge, was in April 1797.—This was an effort to eſtabliſh a permanent intercourſe with the French Directory, to give them an account of the number of troops here, and of their ſituation, and of the diſpoſitions of the people;—and to ſolicit the aid of a limited number of troops, with arms and ammunition.—A ſpecial

Meſſenger was ſent on this occaſion, who has continued the reſident accredited agent of the Iriſh Executive Directory at Paris, and has been ſupported from hence by private ſubſcriptions.

Q. Were any diſpatches received from this agent?

A. In ſome time after his arrival at Paris, he ſent aſſurances to the Executive, of aſſiſtance from the French, and that they would continue it till Ireland was ſeperated from Great Britain.

Q. When did the next communication with France take place?

A. In June 1797, a ſecond meſſenger was diſpatched.—He was ſent in conſequence of an application from the French Directory, to arrange every thing for an invaſion of this kingdom, his inſtructions were pretty much the ſame as thoſe of the former, but he was to require a greater quantity of arms—This additional ſupply of arms was demanded, principally in conſequence of the ſeizure of arms in the North, which had been made by order of government.

Q. Was any communication made to the Executive Directory of the United Iriſhmen, relative to the armament in the Texel?

I am pretty certain a communication was made in the ſummer of 1797, that the armament in the Texel was deſtined for Ireland.

Q. Was any diſpatch received from France in the laſt winter?

A. A diſpatch arrived in the laſt winter from the French Directory, to inform the Executive Directory here, that an armament would arrive on the Iriſh coaſt in the month of April 1798.—No mention was made of the amount of the force to be ſent, nor of the place of debarkation, as they were aſſured by the Iriſh Executive, that wherever they landed they would be ſupported.

Q. How do you account for the people being ſo loyal and well diſpoſed, while the French were in Bantry Bay?

A. About November, 1796, a meſſenger arrived here from France, who ſtated that a deſcent would immediately be made with 15,000 men—In a very few days after this meſſenger had quitted Ireland on his return, a letter arrived, which was conſidered, by the Iriſh Executive as authentic, ſtating, that the expedition was deferred till Spring, when England would be invaded, and probably Ireland:—This contradiction threw the Executive off their guard, in conſequence of which, no meaſures were taken to prepare the people for the reception of the French army.—The people were left to themſelves.

Q. Was any diſpatch ſent from this kingdom to France in the laſt winter?

A. About

A. About the beginning of January or the latter end of December, a dispatch was made up by the Executive and intended to be transmitted to the Directory, but the attempt failed.—I perceive the tendency of that question—but I desire to be understood, that that dispatch was not meant to be sent through England.

Q. When was the Revolutionary Staff appointed?

A. It was appointed for Leinster in January or February, 1798.—It was thought necessary to have an Adjutant General in each county, to receive and communicate military orders from the Executive Directory.

Q. What was the mode of appointment?

A. The Colonels of each county returned the names of three persons to the Executive, who appointed one of them to act as Adjutant General of the county.

Q. What was the purpose of the Military Organization, and preparations?

A. To assist the French when they should land, and effect a Revolution.

Q. When was the Military Committee appointed?

A. I believe in February, 1798.

Q. What was the duty of the Military Committee?

A. Their duty was to prepare a plan of co-operation with the French when they should land, or of insurrection in case they should be forced to it before the arrival of the French, which they were determined to avoid if possible.—I believe the insurrection, which has taken place, was brought forward by the military severities which were exercised in the county of Kildare, and if the arrests had not taken place it would have been kept back, by the persons who were arrested, till the French should arrive, as it was their determination to wait for Assistance from France, before any open attack should be made by the people.—If the French had arrived at the appointed time, I am certain there would have been a very general and formidable insurrection in every part of the country.

Q. Was John Sheares a member of the Executive before your arrest?

A. He was not.

Q. Have you heard that he was elected a member of the Executive Directory after your arreſt?

A. I have not; but it is poſſible he may.

Q. Have you ſeen the Revolutionary Proclamation which was drawn by John Sheares, and proved at his trial?

A. I have and I very much diſapprove of it.—The old Executive never meant to ſpill blood, but rather to retain men of a certain rank as hoſtages, and if they found them hoſtile to the Revolutionary Government, to ſend them out of the country—And it was alſo determined, that if the wives of ſuch perſons did not act with hoſtility to the new Government, they ſhould be allowed a maintenance out of the huſband's property, and that each child ſhould have a portion: The reſidue to belong to the nation.

Q. Did the arreſts of the 12th of March, tend to diſorganize the ſyſtem?

A. They did,—the principal members of the Union were either confined or fled in conſequence of the arreſts.

Q. Did you think the maſs of the people care for Catholic Emancipation or Parliamentary Reform?

A. I believe the maſs of the people do not care a feather for Catholic Emancipation, neither did they care for Parliamentary Reform, till it was explained to them as leading to other objects which they looked to, principally the abolition of tithes.—I am very ſure if tithes were aboliſhed, the people, on taking new leaſes, would be obliged to pay more in proportion for lands than the value they now pay for tithes—My wiſh was to deſtroy the preſent eſtabliſhed church, and to have no church eſtabliſhment.—The People were alſo taught to conſider that when they became members of a Democracy, their condition would be bettered.

Q. Was any Eccleſiaſtical Eſtabliſhment intended by the Revolutionary Government?

A. None, *certainly:*

Q. How do you ſuppoſe it poſſible for Ireland to remain a free country, unconnected with Great Britain?

A. Ireland is now in a very different ſituation from that in which ſhe ſtood at the Revolution; I think ſhe has grown out of her connexion with Great Britain.

Q. Explain yourſelf?

A. At

A. At the Revolution, her population did not much exceed a million and a half, now it amounts to five millions.—Her wealth has increaſed in a greater proportion—I am therefore of opinion, that ſhe is capable now of ſtanding alone.

Q. Do you not think it a wiſer and a fairer policy to abide by that connexion, by which her wealth and population have grown ſo rapidly?

A. I do not; I think this might be the happieſt country in the world, if ſhe was eſtabliſhed as an independent republic.

Q. How could ſhe exiſt as an independent ſtate unconnected with Britain, without a ſhip of war, or the means of having one?—Twelve Britiſh frigates ſtationed on her coaſts, could annihilate the trade of Ireland.—How could England diſtreſs her in the ſingle article of coals?

A. I think Ireland would be very much crippled for ſome years, but if ſhe were ſeparated from Great Britain, the coloſſal ſtrength of the Britiſh navy would very quickly be reduced.—And as to the ſupply of coals, I think by extending our inland navigation, we could be ſupplied with fuel at home.

Examination

Examination of Oliver Bond.

TUESDAY, 14th AUGUST, 1798.

Oliver Bond, Sworn.

Q. Were you an United Iriſhman?

A. I was, and continued ſo till the time of my arreſt.

Q. Were you a member of the Executive Directory of the Iriſh Union?

A. I was was not regularly a member of the Executive, I was originally aſſociated with the Northern Executive in 1796, and acted under that aſſociation in conducting the affairs of the Union.—When the Leinſter organization was completed, early in 1797, I was regularly elected a member of the Executive, but declined to act officially, I however continued in the confidence of the Union, and was conſulted by them on all affairs of moment.

Q. Did you know any thing of the correſpondence with France?

A. I did before the Leinſter organization was completed in 1797; but I knew nothing of it officially after I declined being a member of the Executive Directory.

Q. When was the firſt communication with France?

A. The firſt I knew of was about the middle of 1796.—A perſon was then ſent to France to ſound the diſpoſitions of the Directory, and to know what aſſiſtance they would give.

Q. When did the military organization commence?

A. It commenced in the North late in 1796, and in Dublin in Spring 1797.

Q. How was the ſyſtem propagated?

A. By emiſſaries ſent into the different counties, with letters, to ſuch reſident perſons as were likely to forward the ſyſtem, and had influence in the Diſtrict.

Q. When was the ſociety of United Iriſhmen inſtituted?

A. It was originally inſtituted in 1791, for the purpoſe of Reform,—Catholic Emancipation was a mere pretence.

Q. Do you think the maſs of the people care for Parliamentary Reform?

A. I believe the maſs of the people did not, nor do not care for Parliamentary Reform—but thoſe who thought for them did.

Q. Were

Q. Were the reports of the ſecret committees of laſt ſeſſion accurate.

A. I think they were.

Q. How did you get the letters of Smith and Newel?

A. They were left with me by the perſons who got them up from them by negotiation.

Q. Was not the object of the Union, to arm and regiment the people, for the purpoſe of ſubverting the Government?

A. Latterly it was.

Q. Were there any depots of arms?

A. There were not.

Q. For what purpoſe was the newſpaper called the Preſs ſet up?

A. I believe to forward the cauſe of the Union.

Q. Was it an object of the Union, to aboliſh all eccleſiaſtical eſtabments?

A. It was a principal object.

Q. Was there any perſon ſent from Dublin to organize the South?

A. There was laſt Winter, and I underſtood he had made conſiderable progreſs in Limerick and other places.

Q. Did you underſtand that Connaught in general was well organized?

A. I underſtood it was.

Q. Do you think the places, in the Executive Directory and the other departments of the Iriſh Union, of thoſe who were arreſted on the 12th of March were filled up after that arreſt.

A. I believe they were.

Copy

Copy of a paper found in the writing box of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, on the 12th of March by the Officer who went on that day to arreſt him under a Charge of Treaſon.

N. B. This does not appear amongſt the papers ſeized on Lord Edward Fitzgerald, which are contained in the Appendix to the Report of the Houſe of Commons.

IF ever any unfortunate cauſe ſhould put our city, with the other parts of the country into the poſſeſſion of a cruel and tyrannical enemy, whoſe government by repeated oppreſſions, might drive us, into the laſt ſtage of deſperate reſiſtance, our conduct then ſhould be regulated in a manner beſt calculated for obtaining victory.

The following thoughts are humbly offered for the inſpection of every real Iriſhman.

It is ſuppoſed that the enemy have a well appointed and diſciplined ſtanding army.—

In ſuch a caſe every man ought to conſider how that army could be attacked or repelled, and what advantage their diſcipline and numbers might give them in a populous city, acting in concert with the adjoining counties.

It is well known that an officer of any ſkill in his profeſſion, would be very cautious of bringing the beſt diſciplined troops into a large city in a ſtate of inſurrection, for the following reaſons:

His troops, by the breadth of the ſtreets, are obliged to have a very narrow front, and however numerous only three men deep can be brought into action, which in the wideſt of our ſtreets, cannot be more than ſixty men, as a ſpace muſt be left on each ſide or flank, for the men who diſcharge to retreat to the rear, that their places may be occupied by the next in ſucceſſion, who are loaded, ſo though there are a thouſand men in a ſtreet, not more than ſixty can act at one time, and ſhould they be attacked by an irregular body armed with pikes or ſuch bold weapons, if the ſixty men in front were defeated the whole body, however numerous, are unable to aſſiſt, and immediately become a ſmall mob in uniform, from the inferiority of number, in compariſon to the people, and eaſily diſpoſed of.

Another inconvenience might deſtroy the order of this army. Perhaps at the ſame moment, they may be dreadfully galled from the houſe-tops, by ſhowers of bricks, coping ſtones, &c. which may be at hand, without imitating the women of Paris, who carried the ſtones of the unpaved ſtreets to the windows and tops of the houſes in their aprons.

Another diſadvantage on the part of the ſoldiers, would be, as they are regulated by the word of command, or ſtroke of the drum, they muſt be left to their individual diſcretion, as ſuch communications muſt be drowned in the noiſe and clamour of a popular tumult.

In the next place, that part of the populace, who could not get into the engagement, would be employed in unpaving the ſtreets, ſo as to impede the movements of horſe or artillery; and in the avenues where the army were likely to paſs, numbers would be engaged forming barriers of hogſheads, carts, cars, counters, doors, &c. the forcing of which barriers, by the army would be diſputed, while like ones, were forming at every twenty or thirty yards or any convenient diſtances ſituation might require; ſhould ſuch precautions be well obſerved, the progreſs of an army, through one ſtreet or over one bridge would be very tedious, and attended with great loſs, if it would not be deſtroyed, at the ſame time the neighbouring counties might riſe in a Maſs and diſpoſe of the troops ſcattered in their vicinity, and prevent a junction or a paſſage of any army intended for the city; they would tear up the roads and barricade every convenient diſtance with trees, timber, implements of huſbandry, &c. at the ſame time lining the hedges, walls, ditches and houſes, with men armed with muſkets, who would keep up a well directed fire.

However well exerciſed ſtanding armies are ſuppoſed to be, by frequent reviews, and ſham battles, they are never prepared for broken roads, or encloſed fields, in a country like ours covered with innumerable and continued interſections of ditches and hedges, every one of which are an advantage to an irregular body, and may with advantage be diſputed, againſt an army as ſo many fortifications and entrenchments.

The

The people in the city would have an advantage by being armed with pikes or ſuch weapons, the firſt attack if poſſible ſhould be made by men whoſe pikes were nine or ten feet long, by that means they could act in ranks deeper than the ſoldiery, whoſe arms are much ſhorter, then the deep files of the pike men, by being weightier, muſt eaſily break the thin order of the army.

The Charge of the pike men, ſhould be made in a ſmart trot, on the flank or extremity of every rank, there ſhould be intrepid men placed to keep the fronts even, that at cloſing every point ſhould tell together, they ſhould have at the ſame time, two or three like bodies at convenient diſtances in the rear, who would be brought up if wanting to ſupport the front, which would give confidence, to their brothers in action, as it would tend to diſcourage the enemy, at the ſame time there ſhould be in the rear of each diviſion, ſome men of ſpirit to keep the ranks as cloſe as poſſible.

The apparent ſtrength of the army, ſhould not intimidate, as cloſing on it makes its powder and ball uſeleſs, all its ſuperiority is in fighting at a diſtance, all its ſkill ceaſes, and all its action muſt be ſuſpended, when it once is within reach of the pike.

The reaſon of printing and writing this, is to remind the people, of diſcuſſing military ſubjects.

REPORT

FROM THE

Committee of Secrecy,

OF THE

HOUSE OF LORDS.

30th *August*, 1798.

SECOND REPORT

FROM THE

COMMITTEE OF SECRECY

OF THE

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Die Jovis, 6° Septembris, 1798°

The Lord Chancellor made the following Report from the Committee of Secrecy.

MY LORDS,

THE Lords Committees appointed to examine the matters of the ſealed-up Papers received from the Commons on the 23d of July laſt, and to report the ſame as they ſhall appear to them to this Houſe; having ſeen an advertiſement in the Public Prints ſigned Arthur O'Connor, Thomas-Addis Emmet and William-James M'Neven, in the following Words,—(" *Having read in the different Newſpapers* " *Publications pretending to be Abſtracts of the Report of the* " *Secret Committee of the Houſe of Commons, and of our Depo-* " *ſitions before the Committees of the Lords and Commons; we* " *feel ourſelves called upon to aſſure the public, that they are* " *groſs and to us aſtoniſhing Miſrepreſentations, not only unſup-* " *ported by, but in many Inſtances directly contradictory to the* " *facts we really ſtated on thoſe Occaſions. We further aſſure* " *our Friends, that in no Inſtance did the Name of any Individual* " *eſcape from us; on the Contrary, we always refuſed anſwer-* " *ing ſuch Queſtions as might tend to Implicate any Perſon* " *whatever, conformably to the Agreement entered into by the* " *State Priſoners with Government.*

" *Arthur O'Connor,*
" *Thomas-Addis Emmet,*
" *William-James M'Neven.*")

have thought it their Duty to examine the ſaid Arthur O'Connor, Thomas-Addis Emmet and William-James M'Neven with reſpect to ſuch Advertiſement, to the end that it might be aſcertained whether they or any of them intended to contradict or retract any thing which they had heretofore depoſed before your Committee—And your Committee ſubjoin the ſeveral Examinations on Oath of the ſaid Arthur O'Connor, Thomas Addis-Emmet and William-James M'Neven, this day made and ſigned by them reſpectively upon that ſubject, as follow, viz.

SECRET

SECRET COMMITTEE,

HOUSE OF LORDS,

THURSDAY, 6th SEPTEMBER, 1798.

Arthur O'Connor, Esq. sworn.

ADMITS that the Advertisement which appeared in the Hibernian Journal and Saunders's News-Letter of Monday the 27th of August last, under the Signatures of Arthur O'Connor, Thomas-Addis Emmet and William-James M'Neven, was published by their Authority.—Says he does not mean to contradict or retract any thing stated by him before this Committee or the Secret Committee of the House of Commons.—Says he has now read the Evidence given by him before the Secret Committee of the House of Lords as printed in the Appendix to their Report, which he admits to be accurate, but wishes to explain himself upon two Points contained in said Evidence—First, That General Valence was not in the most distant manner connected or concerned in any Negociations carried on between the Directory of the Irish Union and the French Directory—Secondly, That it did not appear to him that there was any Connexion between the Irish Executive Directory and any Society in Great Britain; on the contrary that it was proposed to the Person who adjusted the Terms of the Alliance between the Irish Union and the French Directory in 1796, that an Invasion of England should take place at the same time that Ireland was to be invaded, to dissuade them from which the Irish Agent used such Arguments as he believes were conclusive.

A. O'CONNOR.

Thomas-Addis Emmet, Esq. Sworn.

ADMITS that the Advertisement which appeared in the Hibernian Journal and Saunders's News Letter of Monday the 27th of August last, under the Signatures of Arthur O'Connor, Thomas-Addis Emmet and William-James M'Neven, was published by their Authority.—Says he did not by said Advertisement, nor does he in any manner, mean to contradict or retract any thing stated by him before this Committee or the Secret Committee of the House of Commons, but is willing to authenticate the whole of the Evidence which he gave on those occasions in any manner that may be thought fit.—Declares that the said Advertisement alluded solely to Misrepresentations in the News Papers.—

Says

Says that he has read the Evidence ſtated in the Appendix to the Report of the Secret Committee of the Houſe of Lords, as having been given by him before that Committee, and admits that the Evidence ſo ſtated expreſſes nothing but the Truth, but omits many Reaſons which he gave in juſtification of his own Conduct and of that of the Members of the Union at large.—Says he does not mean to contradict any thing which has been ſo reported with reſpect to the Military Organization of the United Iriſhmen in this Kingdom, or the Nature or Object of it, which was, after they had deſpaired of obtaining a Reform in Parliament by peaceable means, to effect a Revolution by ſubverting the Monarchy, ſeperating this Country from Great Britain and erecting ſuch Government in Ireland as might be choſen by the People.—Says he does not mean to contradict the Details given in the ſaid Reports, of the Correſpondence and Connexion of the Iriſh Union with the Government of France, as far as he has any knowledge thereof, and which Details he ſo far admits to be accurate.

THOS-ADDIS EMMET.

Doctor William-James Mc. Neven, Sworn.

ADMITS that the Advertiſement which appeared in the Hibernian Journal and Saunders's News Letter of Monday the 27th of Auguſt laſt, under the Signatures of Arthur O'Connor, Thomas-Addis Emmet and William-James Mc. Neven, was publiſhed by their Authority.—Says he does not mean to contradict or retract any thing ſtated by him before this Committee or the Secret Committee of the Houſe of Commons.—The Advertiſement alluded ſolely to the Miſrepreſentations in the News Papers which are not ſupported by the Report of either Houſe of Parliament—Says he does not mean to contradict any thing which has been ſo reported with reſpect to the Military Organization of the United Iriſhmen in this Kingdom, or the Nature or Object of it, which was to effect a Revolution by ſubverting the Monarchy, ſeparating this Country from Great Britain and erecting a Republican Government in Ireland.—Says he does not mean to contradict the Detail given in the ſaid Reports of the Correſpondence and Connection of the Iriſh Revolutionary Union with the Government of France, which details he admits to be accurate.

W. J. Mc.NEVEN.

REPORT

FROM THE

Committee of Secrecy,

OF THE

HOUSE OF LORDS.