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T H E

R E P O R T

FROM THE

Saml. Mills

SECRET COMMITTEE

O F T H E

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

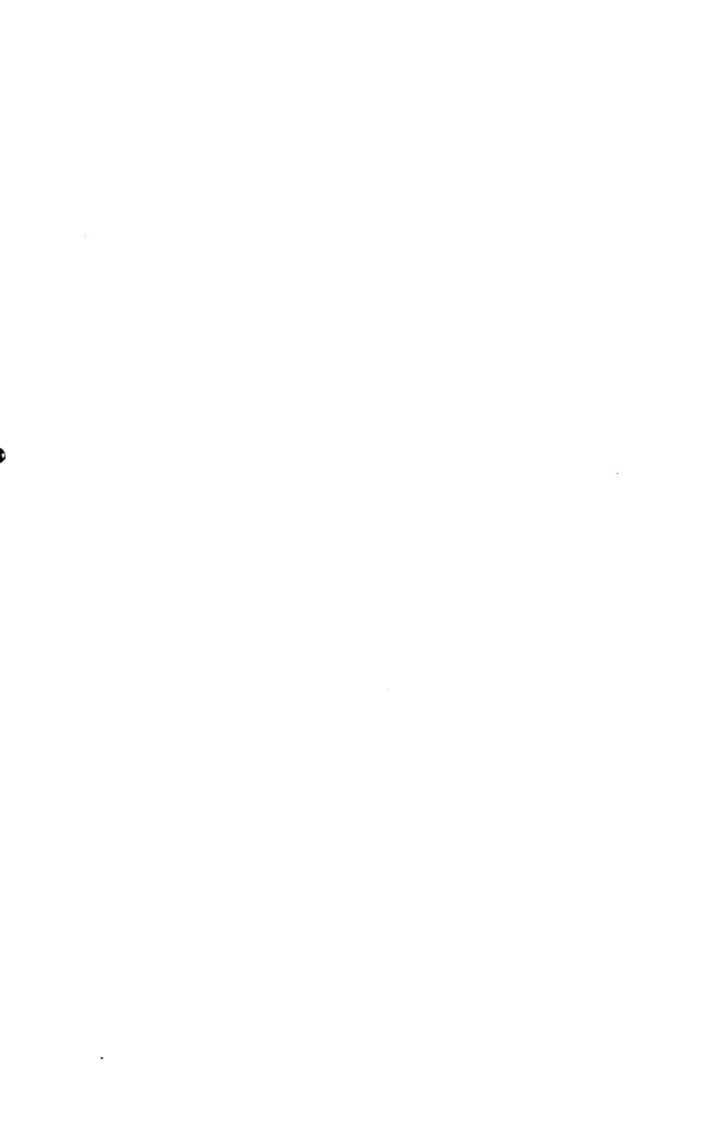
WITH AN APPENDIX.

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D U B L I N :

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HOUSE OF COMMONS—NO. 72, DAME-STREET.

1798.



R E P O R T

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 Castlereagh, have directed me to report as follows :

YOUR Committee, in reporting upon the papers re-ferred 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.

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 on by the party styling 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 established 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.

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and 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

pairing the public mind for the 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 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,

No. II.

nition, 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.

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

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.

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 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, 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 ^{37 G. 3.} were immediately brought in and passed without delay, ^{C. 37.} 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.

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

force exceeded 50,000 men, and might have been increased 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.

Appendix
No. VII. 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 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.

No. VIII.
and IX. 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.

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

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 when 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 indispensible to the public security, and under the circumstances of the case, strictly defensive.

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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 be 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

B

proved

proved ineffectual, and that it became necessary to employ the military force for the immediate suppression of such rebellious attempts.

Appendix
No. XIV. 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
No. XIII misled, came in, in crowds, to take the benefit of the proclamation 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 com-
mittees

mittees 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 portion 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 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 tithes, (which had been the pretext for the old White-boy instructions.) 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 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.

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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,

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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.

Towards the end of the same year, a newspaper called the Prefs 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 vilify 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 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.

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The measures thus adopted by the party completely succeeded in detaching the minds of the lower classes from their usual habits and pursuits, inso-much, 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,

App. numbers, that in the single county of Kildare, in conse-
 No. quence of the measures adopted by government, twelve
 XXXIX. 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 organi-
 zation itself, will appear, as well from the numbers seized
 in different parts of the kingdom, amounting in the whole
 Ibid. 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.

While they were thus maturing their design, and secretly
 acquiring the strength and consistency of a revolutiona-
 ry 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 the 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 circulat-
 ed amongst the privates and non-commissioned officers,
 No. urging them to insubordination and revolt, and holding
 XXX. 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
 No. the proceedings of the general courts martial hereunto an-
 XXX. nexed, before whom the culprits were tried, prior to the
 No. XX. breaking out of the rebellion, and to the trial of Henry
 and John Sheares before a special commission lately held.

Their attempts to frustrate the administration of justice
 No. have already been mentioned. It will be proper to state
 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 defend-
 ing such of their associates as should be brought to trial.
 That they had itinerant committees who went circuit as
 regularly

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.

In the hope of diminishing the recourses 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 value 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.

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XXVIII

Before your Committee proceed to state the traitorous correspondence carried on by the leading members of the conspiracy 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 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 for the detailed application of this new system to military purposes.

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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 before your Committee, has completely developed the connexion of the party

Ibid.

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 Committee 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.

App. 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 Hamburg to Switzerland, and had an interview near the French frontier with General Hoche, who afterwards had the command of the expedition 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.

About

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.

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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 1796 no formal and authorized 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.

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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, dispatched Mr. Lewins above mentioned as a confidential agent to press for assistance. This agent left Dublin in March, and proceeded to Hamburgh, but did not return until the end of May or beginning of June, and during this time he has continued to be the accredited agent of the Irish Union to the French Directory.

It is reported to your Committee, that in the summer of 1797 the Executive of the Union apprehensive left a prospect of a rebellion in the North, before the promised assistance 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

fore the vigorous measures adopted by government in the North should disconcert their projects.

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.

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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 the substance of a letter said to be received from Lewins, 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

Ibid.

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rally 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 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.

Appendix No. XXXI. 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.

1b. 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.

1b. 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.

1b. A second memoir was presented by this confidential agent upon his arrival at Paris, in which they urged such arguments, as he conceived most likely to induce the Directory not to postpone the invasion. He endeavoured to demonstrate

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.

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.

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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.

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The troops had been actually on board, commanded by General Daendells, but were suddenly disembarked. The
Dutch

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.

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

No. XIV.

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

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

Appendix
No.
XXXVII

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

No.
XXXI.

No.
XIV. and
XVII.

municate 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.

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. Appendix
No.
XXIII.

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 authority 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, stripped 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.

App.
No.
XXXVII.

Under these circumstances the Lord Lieutenant and Council issued the proclamation before spoken of, bearing date 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. 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

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. App. 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 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 No. XXXIV.

App. was to surprize Dublin, the camp at Loughlinstown, and
 No. the artillery station at Chapelizod on the same night, in
 XVIII. which 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 announcing 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
 No. XX. Henry and John Sheares, lately convicted of high treason;
 XXXI. the bloody intentions of the party may best be collected
 XXXIII from 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,
 No. XIV. it may be found in the proceedings of the provincial committee of 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, 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 north-

ern 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 any-wise 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

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 development 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,

attention, they trace a perfect coincidence, in its commencement and in its progress, its means and its objects, with that 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 further 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.

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A P P E N D I X.

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

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 subscription, which had for its object the raising a fund for defraying the heavy and growing expenses incurred by the General Committee 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 committee 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, enclosing 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 alleged 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

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-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.

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 styling 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 House 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 Wolfe Tone, one of the original framers of the institution, in a letter addressed to his No. friends at Belfast, and containing the resolutions and declarations¹ upon which the institution was formed:

“ 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

“ 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 plaiter for his fore 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 approved 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.”

It appears that a society, calling themselves a society of United
 Irishmen in Dublin, did on the 6th 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 publi-
 cations, the connection 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 list

8. A list of the families that have received relief.
9. Resolutions of the United Societies of Donaghadee and its vicinity.
10. Other loose notes and papers of their proceedings.

It appears to your committee that the declaration is the same as that adopted by the United Irishmen in 1791, and the constitution formed upon the principles recommended in an address of the Society of United Irishmen in Dublin to the Irish nation, William Brennan in the chair, and Archibald Hamilton Rowan secretary, in which it is stated, "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."

The constitution is as follows :

C O N S T I T U T I O N.

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.

2. The members of this society shall either be ordinary or honorary, and shall not be limited to any description of men, but to extend to all persons who may be deemed eligible.

3d. 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, and whose name shall be entered

tered on the books of the society; the candidate to be balloted for on the society's subsequent meeting, and if one of the beans be black he shall stand rejected.

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.

9th. 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 member 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 shall 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

* 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.

G

2d. When

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.”

C E R T I F I C A T E.

“ 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 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 constitution 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. 31st 1796.

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

Resolved, that three men be appointed to purchase pikes and poles for this society—James Burnfide, Pat. M'Stravock and Richard M'Gee were appointed.

Resolved, that any man that fairly tells any of these three appointed that he is not able to purchase a pike, that he shall be furnished with one out of the fund of this society.

Resolved, that we meet at Crozier's in Union-street at eight o'Clock on Sunday 6th November in the morning.

Crozier's, 6th Nov. 1796.

Edward Kelly, Chairman.

James Burnfide elected Secretary.

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

Resolved, that John Barret be interrogated who was the person gave him the word and sign.

Resolved, that if John Barret does not tell who it was that gave him the word and sign, and take the oath that is necessary, he shall be excluded this society.

Resolved, that each member shall spend two-pence each night of meeting.

Page 10.

January 1st 1797.

Richard M'Gee, Chairman.

Resolved, that all money or subscription received for this society shall go to the use of buying pikes.

Page 11.

Nickles's, 22d January 1797.

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

Resolved, that E. Kelly and R. M^cGee does attend the Civil Committee for this ensuing three months.

February 5th 1797.
Edward Clements, Chairman.

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

Page 12.

Resolved, that we will not receive any other person from the Military Committee but such as we have appointed.

Resolved, that Wm. Stewart get a copy of this Resolution to lay before the committee.

Sunday, 19th Feb. 1797.
John Milton, Chairman.

Resolved, that we will ballot for two new members to attend the Military Committee in the place of Wm. Stewart and Richd. M^cGee.

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

Page 13.

Resolved, that James M^cDonald gets a copy of the arms, ammunition and men belonging to this society to lay before the M. Committee.

Young's Tavern.
E. Kelly, Chairman.

Resolved, that the reports which we have now received from the committee is apd. of by this society.

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 officers shall get a list of the men's names under their command.

Alexander's, 9th April.

Page 16.

Resolved, that John Milton gets 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 information of the house to state at length the following papers, which will in a great measure develop 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 brethern 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 provided 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
			<hr/>		
			99	18	11
			<hr/>		
Balance	-	-	44	3	2½
			<hr/>		

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 dragons 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

county Down Delegates reported, that William Bristow 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 Excece 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.

H 2

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. Ellifson.

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 rounds of powder—16 fetts of belts and 2 forks.

COUNTY

COUNTY REPORTS.

20184 Men, 1179 guns, 255 bayonets, 35 pistols, 37 fwords, 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 Dunlufe	-	-	-	-	1	14	1½
Upper Glenarm	-	-	-	-	1	10	6
Lower Toom paid as voluntary subscription					4	1	—
					<hr/>		
					£.65	18	7½
					<hr/>		

The above money was paid the county committee.

PROVINCIAL REPORTS.

County of			Voluntary.						
			£.	s.	d.				
Antrim	-	19256	} For which they paid	29	17	5½	19	17	6
Downe	-	12556		27	2	5½			
Derry	-	8000		16	16	10½			
Donegal	-	3000		2	2	4			
Tyrone	-	6500		21	12	3	12	10	3
Louth	-	1300	3	6	8				
Armagh	-	2500	paid nothing.						
Monaghan		2500	ditto						
Cavan	-	800	ditto						
Meath	-	1776	ditto						
Fermanagh		1500	ditto						
<hr/>			<hr/>			<hr/>			
59688 men			100	18	—½	32	7	9	

Your Provincial Committee reported that your Executive Committee did not act properly, in consequence of which your Provincial flipped of all their powers and dissolved them, and formed a new one; but to prevent the men that composed your Ex. C. to have any excuse, your Provincial C. elected two thirds of the old members for three months, and if they do not act as your Provincial C. thinks right, they will turn them out and put new ones in their place—the other third are men of respectability and honour, and they come under your Provincial C. inspection and are accountable to your Provincial C. for money and measures; some one handed in a report to p^r. as follows: recommending to U. I—n to be very circumspect

circumspect in their conduct, as the only wish of Government was to goad us into insurrection, by which means they would have it in their power to put us down, never to rise, at least for a century, and likewise we have paid a great deal of money to the people in gaol and it will take a large sum of money to assist them all winter; we request the Co^e. to allow us to take our superior officers for our body from the South, of the best men, but notwithstanding the treatment your Provincial received from your Ex. Co^e. your Provincial C. acted with great caution and prudence; in consequence of people being disappointed so often in coming from the farthest parts of this kingdom to Belfast for constitutions they allow them to be printed in three parts of this Kingdom; they recommend to all U. I—n not to buy any thing from despots if they can possibly help it—your Provincial C. earnestly recommends to all U. I—n to keep from intoxication—they promised to give to the county the number of defenders in Ireland—a defender up the country promised to give four thousand guineas for the use of the U. I—n, and all he asks is three or four of the U. I—n as security for that sum.—Reported in the county C. that the Privy Council of Ireland summoned the titular bishops and bribed them with 500 guineas, and desired them to summon the priests, and the priests for to do all in their power to find out if any of their hearers was U. I—n, or held any conversation with the like, and if there was any that was or did so, to excommunicate them from the church.—Your county C. thinks that if there is any U. I—n on the jury that will commit any of the prisoners that is confined for being U. I—n ought to lose their existence—the Orange men in the county of Tyrone are taking the arms from the defenders.

A member of your county C. called a meeting of the same to petition parliament for a reform of parliament, but all the members except a few were utterly against any such thing.

BELFAST, BARONIAL REPORTS.

1st battalion of military came to a resolution to divide into divisions, each division to compose three societies, and out of them to appoint 1 captain 2 lieutenants, the rest to be serjeants.

Resolved,

Resolved, that the sixth 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.

	Provincial Report.			Prisoners.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Antrim -	220	59		50	11	6½
Down - -	237	69		75	—	9½
Derry - -	100	00		—	—	—
Armagh -	122	73		22	15	—
Donegal -	96	48		15	1	1½
Monaghan -	30	75		—	—	—
Tyrone -	121	69		11	5	1
Lowth -	34	38		—	—	—

Cavan

			£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Cavan	-	-	1000	—	—	—	—	—
Fermanagh	-	-	2000	—	—	—	—	—
			<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
			99411	234	17	—	174	13 6½
For 8000 constitutions							13	13 —
To the Executive							—	10 5½
							<hr/>	<hr/>
							234	17 —
							<hr/>	<hr/>

Antrim, Armagh, Down, Lowth.

Guns	Bayonets	Pistols	Swords	Pikes
6346	2536	465	202	3816
Ball Cartridge	Balls	Powder	Cannon	Blunderbuffes
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 harass 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 provincial 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
		1			Balls

Balls Powder Cannon Mortar
 53869 — 900½ — 8 — 1

Resolved, that each county member brings entilligance how how wives 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's 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

Dublin { and Haughner } bal. men.
 Artillery { Militia }

Resolved, that voluntary subscription to be paid next meeting.

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
					<hr/>		
					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.
22,726	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
	<u>730</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>8½</u>	<u>28</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>8½</u>

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 Paie, 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. Ellifson.

No. I.

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	10				
Upper Mazerine	9	14	11	Lower do.	26	12	10
Upper Antrim	83	12	—	Lower Antrim	14	13	—
Upper Toom	1	14	— $\frac{1}{2}$	Lower	16	16	4
Upper Dinlufe	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	9 $\frac{1}{2}$

A voluntary

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

Recommended to the Provenfal 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-law to Hy. Sinclair from Crew, Kinly Sherlick Dimanry is a bad man and is wery dangers to the cause. John Love belly moner a bad man very dangers to the cause. A rifultion we again declare it that it highly improper to hold any communication with persons out of fociety, not nowing them to be regular members. Resolved that 7 members out of this cte. be chofen he will be appointed he shall have full power to vot away any fums of money not exeding 200l. if in your hands, if in there hands for the feport of the provenfal prifiners. Last meeting 66 Ct. voted away.

Beroniel, Resolved that it is recommended to the different focietys that is able to enter into a voluntary subscription for the ufe of arming thofe that is not able.

-
- o. III. That these reports are generally circulated through the focieties 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 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 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.

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 parole 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 following Papers are annexed to the foregoing Report.

No. I.

“ 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 man 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 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 remedy.

“ WE HAVE NO NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.

“ We are ruled by Englishmen and the servants of Englishmen, filled as to commerce and politics with the short-sighted and ignorant prejudices of their country, and these men have the whole of the power and patronage of Ireland as means to seduce and to 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* qualities which may be exerted most legally constitutionally and efficaciously by that great measure essential to the prosperity and freedom of Ireland, *A more equal representation of the people in parliament.*

“ We do not here mention as a grievance the rejection of a place bill, of a pension bill, of a responsibility bill, the the sale of peerages in one house, the corruption publicly 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 consider them
 “ but as symptoms of that mortal disease which corrodes the vitals
 “ of our constitution, and leaves to the people in their own govern-
 “ ment but a shadow of the name.

“ Impressed with these sentiments, we the undersigned have
 “ agreed to form an association, to be called

“ and we do pledge ourselves as citizens
 “ and as soldiers 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 constitution of Ireland exists only in
 “ theory, inasmuch as the people are deprived of their natural
 “ weight in the scale of government, because they are not duly re-
 “ presented in parliament, and therefore that a more general exten-
 “ sion of the elective franchise is indispensably necessary.

“ 2d. Resolved, that the weight of English influence in the
 “ government of this country is so great as to require a cordial
 “ union among the people, to maintain that balance which is essen-
 “ tial to the preservation of our liberties and the extension of our
 “ commerce.

“ 3d. Resolved, that satisfied as we are that the true greatness
 “ and happiness of Ireland can arise solely from a complete internal
 “ union of *all her people*, we lament the mistaken policy which has
 “ so long divided them, and that we shall heartily co-operate in all
 “ measures tending to the abolition of distinctions between Irish-
 “ men, equally invidious and unjust, and which have been uni-
 “ formly the source of weakness and misery and disgrace to the
 “ country.

“ Such are the resolutions which we propose as fundamental prin-
 “ ciples; 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
 “ reformed parliament every thing is easy, without it nothing can be
 “ done, unless by means too violent for the good people of this
 “ country, if not provoked beyond human sufferance even to think
 “ on.

“ And we do call on and most earnestly exhort our brethren
 “ THE VOLUNTEERS OF IRELAND, who may *in fact* establish as
 “ 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 advise-*
 “ *able 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 extended 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 par-
 “ liament as a barrier against that mischief which every honest man
 “ that will open his eyes must see in every instance 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 sincere 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 other-
 “ wise. If they do not join you in supporting a reform in parlia-
 “ ment they do not deserve support themselves: Apply the touch-
 “ stone; if they stand the trial, well; if they fail, they are false and
 “ hollow, and the sooner they are detected the better. What signi-
 “ fies 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 fore finger.
 “ —To be candid, I dare say that my Lord Charlemont, and I am
 “ pretty

“ 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
 “ 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 omit that indispensable step have different
 “ notions both of expediency and justice from any that I can con-
 “ ceive.

“ 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 Volun-
 “ teers, 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 substantiated by practice, when antiquity can no longer defend absurd 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 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, 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, 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.

“ 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 publicly 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 government 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 Govern-
 “ ment 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 divisions
 “ they dur! 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 country-
 “ men in general to follow our example, and 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.

“ 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

“ 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 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
Towndo.	2639	526	88	567	28083	569
L. B.	1088	197	24	60	1550	12
U. A.	1801	200	—	435	Bay 160	
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	<u>22039</u>	<u>2659</u>	<u>205</u>	<u>2848</u>	<u>42520</u>	<u>628½</u>

Cannon, eight 6 pounds.

T. B.

T. B. 12l. 13s. 8½d. U. B. 12l. 7s. 4d. L. B. 18s.—½d.
 U. A. 3l. 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. Donl. 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 Prisoners 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. Westth. Killdr^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 than the organ^s.
 of the above not having lately met a report to be given from P.
 Com^{te}. next meeting. Newry citz. have been very gen^{rs}. their
 privets subscriptⁿ. are 21. 11. 0. besides large voly. sub^{crs}. to their Co.
 have employed dell^{ts}. to go to Cavan and Leitrim Cos. are formed
 and doing will, expence 17s. Cap. St. Legar of 24 dragoons confind
 in Ar. jail for Ex^{ve}. com. D. Ball. sent to him to distribute.

a wife and 4 chilⁿ. pay taken from him. When Co. expences 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 restitⁿ. next month. The Kilrea Busin^{ss} 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 prisoners. Co. Mon. have cash in hand.
 Co. D. 50. conf. from T. of Newry and collecting mony fast. wh.
 will shortly be pd. in D. forwarding the Busin^{ss} to Meath and
 Killdear, 15 const^{ns}. sent to do. place. The Co. Ant. at this time is
 deffici^t. in their subscriptⁿ. Co. Down pays 90l. m. to the pris^{rs}. and
 to the P. Com^{te}. The prisoners in Carick 29 are paid 1 guin. each
 for 2 last months. 2 G. Coats by a Mrs. M^cClellan to poor sol^d. and
 9 guis. to 9 of poorest fort.

U. Irishmen are warned not to cut timber that does not belong to
 themselves on any acct. for if the be profecuted for the same they
 will

will not meet with any support whatever, as it brings a reproach on the cause. They are also warned agⁿ. partial inturrections of every kind, but to be obedient to the present laws by a prudent and sober conduct, for by persevering in union we will at length work our own freedom in spite of all opposition. As soon as the South is properly organ^d. a National Convention will be established, which is expected soon to take place.

Equal Liberty and Justice is the Equality only to be fought 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
	<hr/>
Down -	11016

Cash received 22l. 3s. 2d. paid	
of that -	£. 3 8 3
	<hr/> — 16 5

Voted for the relief	
of the Prisoners	14 15 9
	<hr/>
	19 — 5
	<hr/>
	3 2 9
	<hr/>

Provincial

Provincial Returns as follows :

Antrim	-	-	15000	£.47	15	6	
Derry	-	-	3696				
Tyrone	-	-	4355	13	1	7	
			<u>34067</u>	20	9	6	Down Sepr. cash
				11	2	6	In Treas ^{rs} . hands
				5	6	1	Rem ^s . in Province
			<u>97</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>8</u>		The whole of which
							was voted to the
							Execut. Commit
							tee.

Reports in the following Places :

Donegal	-	2000
Armagh	-	1000
Louth	-	1600
Monaghan	-	1000
Cork	-	1600
Meath	}	16000
Westmeath		
Kildare		
Dublin		
Total		<u>57267</u>

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, societies, &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.

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 regularly
“ 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 of 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 detelling 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 irreconcilable 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 the IRISH BROTHERHOOD. Let its general aim be to make the light of philanthropy, a pale and ineffectual

ineffectual light, *converge*, and by converging kindle into ardent, energetic, 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 imperial 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 constitution 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 constitute 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 expence 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 expence 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 common-weal.

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 man-

niers 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 founding 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 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

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.

*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*

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 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
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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 tutelary 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, and 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 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.

tre. *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 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 of 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 insult 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 cause is your cause. If there is to be a struggle between us, let it be which nation shall be foremost in the race of mind; let this be the noble animosity kindled between us, who shall first attain that free constitution from which both are equidistant, who shall first be the saviour of the empire.

In this SOCIETY and its affiliated societies the Catholic and the Presbyterian are at this instant holding out their hands and opening their hearts to each other; agreeing in principles, concurring in practice. We unite for immediate, ample and substantial justice to the Catholics, and when that is attained, a combined exertion for a reform in parliament is the condition of our compact and the seal of our communion.

Universal emancipation with representative legislature is the polar principle which guides our society and shall guide it through all the tumult of factions and fluctuations of parties. It is not upon a coalition of opposition with ministry that we depend, but upon a coalition of Irishmen with Irishmen, and in that coalition alone we find an object worthy of reform, and at the same time the strength and sinew both to attain and secure it. It is not upon external circumstances, upon the pledge of man or minister, we depend, but upon the internal energy of the Irish nation. We will not buy or borrow liberty from America or from France, but manufacture it ourselves, and work it up with those materials which the hearts of Irishmen furnish them with at home. *We do not worship the British, far less the Irish constitution, as sent down from Heaven, but we consider it as human workmanship, which man has made and man can mend. An unalterable constitution, whatever be its nature, must be despotism. It is not the constitution but the people which ought to be inviolable, and it is time to recognize and renovate the rights of the English, the Scotch, and the Irish, Nations.*—Rights which can neither be bought nor sold, granted by charter, or forestalled by monopoly, but which nature dictates as the birth-right of all, and which it is the business of a constitution to define, to enforce, and to establish. If government has a sincere regard for the safety of the constitution, let them coincide with the people in the speedy reform of its abuses, and *not by an obstinate adherence to them, drive that people into republicanism.*

We have told you what our situation was, what it is, what it ought to be: our end, a national legislature; 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 perseverance, 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 *sedition* 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 *areate* that internal commotion which was not *found*, to shake that credit which was not *effected*, 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 fencible 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 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, with 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

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 risk of personal security, property and all that was dear to us.

We

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 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 corps 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 interprizing 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

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 sufficient 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*

gistered) *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 entitle 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 qualification 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 forever 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 consideration, 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 hold 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 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 unpalatable 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 over-loaded 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, in the retirement

ment 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, inade-
 “quate 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 the 25th of March, and at nine o'clock from the 25th of March to the 29th of 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 empowered to direct an apology, and to fine refractory members in any sum not above one crown. If the member refuse to pay the fine, or make the apology, he is thereupon expelled from the society.

There

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 expences, 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.

Extracts from the Information of Charles Mc. Fillin, given upon Oath before Sir George Fitzgerald, Hill, Bart. 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 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 three societies 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. 12. 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.

(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 gunpowder.

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 men have assembled and arrayed themselves and marched in military order and with military musick through several parts of the said districts,

No. VII.

icts, under the pretence of saving corn and digging potatoes (though they far exceeded the numbers necessary to be employed in such services) to the very great terror of the loyal and faithful subjects of his Majesty.

And whereas such treasonable outrages have caused well-grounded alarms in the minds of his Majesty's faithful subjects, and are of the most dangerous and pernicious tendency :

Now we the Lord Lieutenant and Privy Council, being determined to main in the public peace and to afford protection to all his Majesty's loyal subjects, and immediately and effectually to exercise all powers with which the constitution has invested us for these purposes, do forewarn all persons of the danger they may incur, and on their allegiance charge them to desist from such treasonable practices.

And we do hereby strictly charge and command all mayors, sheriffs, justices of the peace and other peace officers, and all officers civil and military in this Kingdom, and all other his Majesty's loving subjects, as they tender their allegiance to his Majesty and their own safety, to use their best endeavours to prevent, and where that cannot be done to discover and bring to justice those concerned in the aforesaid practices, and to prevent and disperse all treasonable, seditious or unlawful assemblies, the necessary orders having been already issued to the several officers of his Majesty's forces in this kingdom to be aiding and assisting to the civil magistrates in the execution of their duties for that purpose.

Given at the Council Chamber in Dublin the 6th Day of
November 1796.

W. Armagh, Clare, C. Bellamont, Glandore, Mount Norris, Ely, Dillon, Pery, Mountjoy, O'Neil, Muskerry, Donoughmore, Carleton, Yelverton, Rossmore, John Foster, J. Parnell, J. Blaquiere, Her. Langrishe, D. La Touche, H. Cavendish, Arthur Wolfe, James Cuff, J. Beresford, T. Pelham, Robert Ross, S. Hamilton, Lodge Morris.

(A true Copy.)

J. PATRICKSON.

Mr. Pelham's Letter to General Lake, 3d March.

Dublin Castle, 3d March, 1797.

S I R,

I am commanded by my Lord Lieutenant to acquaint you, that from the information received by his Excellency with respect to various parts of the north of Ireland, additional measures to those hitherto employed for preserving the public peace are become necessary. It appears that in the counties of Down, Antrim, Tyrone, Derry and Donegal, secret and treasonable associations still continue to an alarming degree, and that the persons concerned in these associations are attempting to defeat all the exertions of the loyal and well-disposed, by the means of terror; that they threatened the lives of all who shall venture, from regard to their duty and oath of allegiance, to discover their treasons; that they assemble in great numbers by night, and by threats and force disarm the peaceable inhabitants; that they have fired on his Majesty's justices of the peace when endeavouring to apprehend them in their nocturnal robberies; that they threaten by papers, letters and notices, the persons of those who shall in any manner resist or oppose them: that in their nightly excursions for the purpose of disarming his Majesty's loyal subjects, they disguise their persons and countenances; that they endeavour to collect great quantities of Arms in concealed hiding places; that they have cut down great numbers of trees on the estates of the gentry, for the purpose of making pikes; that they have stolen great quantities of lead for the purpose of casting bullets; that they privately by night exercise themselves in the practice of arms; that they endeavour to intimidate persons from joining the yeomanry corps established by law in order to resist a foreign enemy; that they refuse to employ in manufactures those who enlist in the said corps; that they not only threaten but ill treat the persons of the yeomanry, and even attack their houses by night, and proceed to the barbarous extremity of deliberate and shocking murder, as was exemplified in their recent attack and murder by night of Mr. Comyns of Newtownards,

Newtownards, and that they profess a resolution to assist the enemies of his Majesty, if they should be enabled to land in this kingdom. It further appears, that these disturbances and outrages exist, and even encrease, as well in the districts which have been proclaimed, as in other parts of the country. In order therefore to reduce the persons engaged in the aforesaid treasonable associations and guilty of the said atrocious outrages to subordination to the laws, and to give confidence to the well-disposed among his Majesty's subjects, and security to their properties and their lives, and to prevent any assistance being given to the enemy by the disloyal und disaffected, His Excellency has commanded me to communicate to you his positive orders, that you take the most immediate and decisive measures for disposing of the military force under your command, aided by the yeomanry corps, for immediately disarming all persons who shall not bear his Majesty's commission, or are acting under persons so commissioned, or persons holding commissions under the authority of the yeomanry act, or persons acting under officers so commissioned, and after making such dispositions, you are required to carry such disarming into effect.

His Excellency gives you this full authority, in order to give your discretion the greatest latitude, relying at the same time on your prudence and discernment in the exercise of it, so that the peaceable and well-affected may be protected against the evil designs of those who have threatened their lives and property with destruction.

His Excellency further authorizes you to employ force against any persons assembled in arms, not legally authorized so to be, to disperse all tumultuous assemblies of persons, though they may not be in arms, without waiting for the sanction and assistance of the civil authority, if in your opinion the peace of the realm or the safety of his Majesty's faithful subjects may be endangered by waiting for such authority.

His Excellency further authorizes you to consider those parts of the country where the outrages before stated have been committed, or where they shall arise, as being in a state that requires all the measures of exertion and precaution which a country depending upon military force alone for its protection would require ;

quire ; and you are therefore required to station your troops with a view to interrupt communication between those whom you may have reason to suspect of evil designs ; to establish patrols 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.

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.

By the Lord Lieutenant and Council of Ireland.

A PROCLAMATION.

CAMDEN,

WHEREAS there exists within this kingdom a feditious 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 insufficient 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

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 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 sowed, or destroying meadows or hay, maiming or loughing of cattle, administering

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 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. Portarlinton. Farnham. Carhampton. Clon-
mell. 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 Rofs. S. Hamilton. Lodge Morris.

God save the King.

(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 styling 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.

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

And

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

(Copy)

Lord Carhampton's Orders.

IN obedience to the order of the Lord Lieutenant in Council, it is the Commander in Chief's commands that the military do act without waiting for directions from the civil magistrates in dispersing any tumultuous or unlawful assemblies of persons threatening the peace of the realm, and the safety of the lives and properties of his Majesty's loyal subjects, wheresoever collected.

By the Lord Lieutenant and Council of Ireland,

A PROCLAMATION.

CAMDEN,

WHEREAS we did, by our proclamation bearing date the 17th day of May last, by and with the advice of the Privy Council, promise his Majesty's pardon to all such offenders thereby described, who, being sensible of their errors, and willing to return to their allegiance, should, on or before the twenty fourth day of June instant, 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, to be of the peace and good behaviour for the space of seven years, (save and except such persons as have been guilty of the offences in our said proclamation specified.) And whereas many of his Majesty's subjects have surrendered themselves, and entered into recognizance, and taken the oath of allegiance, pursuant to the said proclamation, and there is reason to believe that many others are desirous to return to their duty, if the time for receiving surrenders, and extending such promise of pardon were enlarged.

Now We the Lord Lieutenant, being desirous to extend his Majesty's pardon to such as are willing to return to their duty, do, by this our proclamation, by and with the advice of his Majesty's Privy Council, enlarge the time limited by the said proclamation, for accepting such surrenders, and taking such recognizances, to the twenty-fourth day of July next ensuing the date hereof, and do promise his Majesty's gracious pardon to all such Persons as shall surrender themselves to any of his Majesty's Justices of the peace (being of the quorum) in the counties where they shall respectively reside, and conform in all respects 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 continued 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. Cahel, Drogheda, Westmeath, Shannon, Clonraffill, Farnham, Dillon, Carleton, Callan, Yelverton, J. Beresford, T. Peiham, J. Blaquiére, Theo. Jones, D. Latouche, J. Menck Mason, Arthur Wolfe, Robert Rois, Isaac Corry, S. Hamilton, Lodge Morris.

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 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.

	{	22716											
Antrim	}	Bullets.	2948	417	397	4888	24911	Ball C.					
	}	90943	lb. Powder	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.

Derry	-	10500	Guns.	1277	416	Bayonets.	1230	1319	8545	Ball C.	550	Balls.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Armagh	-	17000		1074	183		104	654	749		168	Pistols.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Monaghan	-	9020																	
Tyrone	-	14000		950			2000	90	2263		437			Yemen.					
Louth	-	5119		389	144		1400	30	2583		183								
Cavan	-	688							24	Blunderbuffs									
Fermanagh	-	2000																	
Donegal	-	9648																	
		116844																	

*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	—	7
2 Do.	574	2	3	3
				Females

			£.	s.	d.	
Females	-	-	50	—	10	—
3 Do.	-	-	300	1	2	—
Mourne	-	-	2500			
			<u>28577</u>	<u>29</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>2</u>

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 bear 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 expence 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	1h
To counsel and witnesses	498	4	ch
The balance remaining	324	1	9

Out of which agents, prisoners, attorneys 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 and Resolutions at a County of Down Committee held at the House of James Armstrong, Innkeeper, Ballynahinch, May 11th 1797.

Resolved, that our Delegates 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 instructed 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 0
Upper Iveagh	-	1	2 9
Ards	-	4	11 0
Ballynahinch	-	1	2 9
Three women whose husbands were sent on board the tender	-	3	8 3
		<hr/>	
		22	Gs.
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County of Down Committee held in Ballynabinch at the House of James Armstrong, Thursday June 8, 1797.

Copy of the Reports made thereat.

Costs of the Law.

Counfellow	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	-	-	228	16
	Down	-	-	306	41
	Armagh	-	-	190	42
	Derry	-	-	105	00
	Donegal	-	-	32	14
	Tyrone	-	-	125	94
	Monaghan	-	-	107	56
	Cavan	-	-	38	07
	Fermanagh	-	-	30	00
Leinster	Louth	-	-	52	80
	City of Dublin	-	-	72	30
	Co. of Dublin	-	-	29	18
	Kildare	-	-	127	03
	Meath	-	-	79	22
	Westmeath	-	-	20	00

County Reports :

			£.	s.	d.
Lower Castleknagh	-	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			

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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,
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and

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.

Downpatrick, 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 Liffons 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 Ballynabinch. 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 co-operate 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. M'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 16cl. 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. M'Call's, Scotch-street, Armagh, the 14th of November next.

County

County Meeting.

October 21st, Downpatrick.

(Names of persons present.)

Provincial reports read, and a recommendation given to raise seventy guineas to pay Sampson, M'Creedy 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 following counties 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 military 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

one in 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 expence at the present, and money was the heart and soul of the business.

Provincial Committee meet the 14th at Mc. Dermon's 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. Dermon's, (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 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

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 2,000, 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. Call's, 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 impr. per
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uses.

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 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 Heaven's, 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 military returns could be made at the Provincial Meeting, owing to the general movements 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 dissensions 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 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 satellites of Tyranny; 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

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 irreconcilable 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 best wishes, for the amelioration of the condition of Man, and hopes that your Exertions and Virtues, aided by an UNITED PEOPLE,

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.

1. 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.

3d. 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 through 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 or 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 choose 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 of 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 fitting; 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 bail's-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

Some matters 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 Delegates 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 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. Newtownards.

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 in

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 one of 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 also 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 Northerners 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

County Meetings.

April 6th. Downpatrick.

Twelve Members present. (their names.) Reports the same as at the Provincial; no material business transacted.

Another County Meeting April the 20th, at Belfast, sixteen members present. Three men were appointed to meet the upper half of the county, to chuse a man to legislate for the county. Great reflections thrown out against the Money Committee for some of them not attending to give an account of the business of the last assizes.

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 Belfast 19th April.

A full meeting at Armagh—represented Monaghan, Armagh, Louth, Donegal, Derry, Tyrone, Down, none from Antrim. At the meeting at Belfast 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 last, stating that there was an embargo on all the French ports, and that the expedition would be very soon ready, and that a messenger would be sent to Ireland at least eight days before it failed. That the Delegate in Dublin had waited three days longer expecting his arrival. In case of the arrival of this messenger an extra meeting is to be called.

The Reporter mentioned a letter having been received from a person in Liverpool who is a Delegate there, stating that the French would not land for two months. It was asserted that this could not be true. The Executive Committee of Leinster, he told them, had all been taken up or banished except three, and these three refused to act: In consequence, he said, twelve new ones, he believed, were chosen by this time.

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

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 morning.

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 the people to act upon. They had now laid a plan to take Dublin, Chapelizod, 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 Harrison's of Dro-more May 12th; thirteen colonels present. No particular business transacted.

Provincial Meeting.

May 29th—Armagh.

Nine members present. (their names) heard from the last provincial reports that a plan of insurrection was in contemplation by the National Executive; two members were deputed from the Ulster Executive to form said plan, in conjunction with certain deputies from the other Provincial Executive; the plan was for Dublin to rise and to seize on the Government, and mail-coaches were to be burned for a signal for the whole kingdom to act. These Delegates returned and reported the same to the Ulster Executive; the reporter complained that the Ulster Executive had taken no measures to put the people in readiness to act; every application had been made to the Executive to call the adjutant-generals together, but without effect; they were required also to summon the provincial Delegates together to put the respective counties in a state ready to act, and that they did not obey; he thought they completely betrayed the people both of Leinster and Ulster, and he thought it the duty of the present committee to denounce and vote them out of office, and to take some speedy and vigorous measures to second the efforts of the people in the upper counties; they were accordingly voted out of office. The reporter then took a list of all the military throughout the province, and their places of quarters as nearly as he could ascertain; he then asked the different Delegates if they thought they could disarm the military in their respective counties; Derry, Donegal and Louth said they could; Down, Antrim, Armagh, and the upper half of the county Tyrone thought they could not; he then asked them individually if they thought the people they represented would act, and they all said they would, except Down. Its Delegates observed that he could not exactly answer whether it would or not, but he would try and ascertain it by taking the sense of the adjutant-generals and colonels; it was then resolved that the adjutant-generals of Down and Antrim should meet next day, and in case that the two counties would act, that they should form a general plan of insurrection, and that they should send the said plan by express to the different adjutant-generals throughout the province, that they should all act at the same moment; in case the insurrection was not agreed upon they were to meet at Belfast 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.

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 licences 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 strength 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—Feeley 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

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. 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 best 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

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 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 Irishmen's 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.

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 McCann, 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

faith 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 faith, 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 faith, that at the last meeting that he attended at the place abovementioned, the members of it separated 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 faith, 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 faith, 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 faith, 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 faith, 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

Burgefs,

Burgefs, fon to Mrs. Burgefs, linen-drafer on the quay, brought up as Delegate from the prefs-gang on the river very large returns from them of arms, of cannon, &c.—that the Baronial collected money from the inferior Societies—that he has paid in money himfelf, as Treafurer to his fplit; that deponent attended the Baronial two or three times afterwards, that none but low perfons were prefent—Deponent at this time was refident in Park-ftreet, Liberties, his father a filk manufacturer.—And this Deponent further faith, that at this period he quitted the confpiracy for fome time.—This Deponent further faith, that in November 1797, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, accompanied by Hugh Wilfon, met deponent upon the fteps of the Four Courts, and told him that he wifhed to fpeak to him upon very particular bufinefs; that Deponent informed Lord Edward Fitzgerald he would be found in Park-ftreet, if he called on him there—that Deponent and Lord Edward knew each other only perfonally, and that only from a purchafe Deponent had been about in the county of Kildare from the Duke of Leinfter; that Lord Edward was walking with Hugh Wilfon, from whom he muft have known of Deponent's connexion with the United! Irifhmen.—And this Deponent further faith, that on the next day Lord Edward Fitzgerald did call on Deponent at his houfe, 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 purchafed his place at Kilkea—that Deponent had fome general converfation with Lord Edward, endeavouring to put him off—but that Lord Edward faid he would fhare every danger with him, that he would ftand or fall with him, and Deponent on this confented to become fuch Colonel—That Deponent faid to Lord Edward, he did not think the United Men could ftand in battle before the King's troops, Lord Edward replied, *That* would not be a together neceffary, as affiftance from France was expected, that then fome of the United Men would certainly join in the French line, and of courfe would foon become difciplined; but as to the multitude, all they would have to do, would be to harrafs the escorts of ammunition, cut off detachments and foraging parties, and in fine, make the King's troops feel themfelves in every refpect in an enemy's country, while the actual battles would be left to the foreign troops; that Deponent fays this took place in the month of November laft—that Lord Edward then faid, that there was an honeft man in the County of Kildare, Mathew Kennas, who would call on and fpeak to Deponent about electing Deponent Colonel—That foon after Lord Edward

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 the employment."—That Deponent went down to Killea, 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 Deponent," 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 Kilkullen, 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 Kilkullen, 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 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 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

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 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 saith, that on the day of the arrest of the persons at Oliver Bond's, he understood that Lord Edward Fitzgerald went from Dr. M'Nevin'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

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 to be a Mr. Lawless a Surgeon, but Deponent is not certain as to his name, not being very well acquainted with Mr. Lawless's person—And this Deponent further saith 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-street, Lady Edward's Apothecary, to dine with Lord Edward, where he found Hugh Wilson, and that after dinner Lord Edward gave Deponent those papers to copy, and to report to his County committee—And this Deponent further saith, that two or three days after the arrest of the persons at Oliver Bond's, he was with Mrs. Bond, and that Neilson, who was there, said that the people of Dublin were not like those of the North, who instead of flying about the streets would have quietly proceeded to fill up the places of the arrested Delegates—And this Deponent further saith, 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 said County meeting a resolution was read as if it came from Dublin, desiring them to fill up the vacancies instantly, which were made by the arrest of the Delegates at Bond's in Dublin, and that the aforesaid letter from Lord Edward Fitzgerald was also 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 substance of said letter was handed all about the county as such that the said letter was unsealed when Deponent received it from Lord Edward

Edward Fitzgerald; that Deponent received also from Lady Edward £13, for the Barony of Ophaly, which she directed him to give to Daly, and also £32 as successor to Lord Edward as Treasurer to the County Committee, which Lady Edward gave from an account on paper which she read, that Deponent gave the £13 to Daly, through one Murphy, who called on Deponent at Killea for it, and of the £32 Deponent has £15 at present in his possession, and the rest he gave to Michael Reynolds, Mrs. Luby and another person, who formed a committee on behalf of the prisoners to be tried at the Assizes at Naas; that Deponent was ordered to give Cummings, who is a prisoner in Dublin, any money he might want—that the County committee knew so exactly the sum Deponent had received from Lady Edward before his arrival, that they mentioned his having six bad Bank Notes, which he was not aware of himself. And Deponent further saith, that after this last mentioned County meeting, he had never been in Dublin, till brought there a prisoner—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 Kennan and that it was in consequence of Deponent's communications with Mr. Cope, which Deponent endeavoured to explain away to Kennan 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 sus-
picious

pitions 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 Campbell, 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 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.

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	3010	-	37 2 6
Dublin City	2177	-	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	1400	-	171 2 1
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	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.

Z

Resolved,

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, height 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 alleged advantages or disadvantages.

5th. What number of towns and villages; how many horse and foot could be quartered in them, where the country has plantations
sufficient

sufficient to afford shelter to troops without tents, or where 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. 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		
Nafs, Armagh -	250	}		
Green-Horse -	22			
Connell - - -	-	1		
Clane, Armagh -	50	1		
Narragh Rab ⁿ K ^s County M.	}	}		
Longford			500	2
6th Dragoons				
Louth M.				
Kilkea, Do. Do. Do.	500	1		
Kilcullen, { 9th Dragoons	}	}		
Tyrone M.			80	0
Suffolk			30	}
Orange Yeo ⁿ			50	
	90	0		
Carbery, Inverness Fencibles	50	0		
Ophilia, Sundr ^s	600	2		
	<hr/>	<hr/>		
County fundry Returns	2319	with 10 Batt ^s of		
	1500			
	<hr/>			
	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. 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 increased 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 to 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. 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 goal—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 small fund for the ensuing m^o.

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^o.

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. Jan^y. 22, 1798.

				Pd. prisoners.					
Tal.	2974	20	3 10	—	1ft.	12 10 3	119	0 0	
Low. D.	706	—	—	—	2d.	22 15 0	35	15 0	
A.	2400	59	8 3	—	3d.	57 19 3	83	5 0	
Rd.	1200	17	0 0	5 0 0	N ^o 2.	12 6 5	162	3 4	
N. C.	1800	35	15 0	—			—	—	
W. B.	1800	13	15 0	—			—	—	
L. B.	840	8	2 0	—		85 10 11	245	8 4	
Shil.	1080	7	19 3	4			85	10 11	
		—	—	—					
	12800	162	3 4		Rest to Province		159	17 5	
		73	4 0	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	82	355	—	5905	169
R. D.	185	94	62	75	380	980	500	17
	789	298	216	328	1256	4711	22830	761
Ar.	210	75	62					
N. C.	100	0	0					
R. D.	200	0	0					

1299 3 3 278

No. I.

Papers found in the Room at Bond's.

*Hand-writing of John Macan.*I,
elected.

do solemnly declare, that I came duly

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				
	<hr/>				
	67295		<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
			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 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				
	<hr/>				
	67295				
					<hr/>
					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^v 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^o 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	-	-	
	<u>68272</u>			<u>£. 145 4 8</u>

Febr ^y . 9th, 1798.		Subscriptions:		Febr ^y . 23.	
No.	8 8	Feb ^y . 16th.			
1	1 1	6 $\frac{1}{2}$		6 $\frac{1}{2}$	
2	1 1	6 $\frac{1}{2}$		6 $\frac{1}{2}$	
3	2 8 $\frac{1}{2}$	6 $\frac{1}{2}$			
4	1 1	6 $\frac{1}{2}$		6 $\frac{1}{2}$	
5		6 $\frac{1}{2}$		1 1	
6		6 $\frac{1}{2}$			
7	1 1	6 $\frac{1}{2}$		6 $\frac{1}{2}$	
8		6 $\frac{1}{2}$		6 $\frac{1}{2}$	
9	2 8 $\frac{1}{2}$				
10	1 1			2 8 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 2
11	1 1				6 6
12		6 $\frac{1}{2}$ & 2 8 $\frac{1}{2}$			
		3 9 $\frac{1}{2}$			
	<u>£. 1 0 7</u>	<u>1 7 1</u>		<u>15 2</u>	

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		4 ^b 9	
	<u>2177</u>	<u>£. 104 6 5</u>	

D. C.

D. C. 2d March.

No. 1	118	4 11	In hands £. 1 16	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
2	118	3 19 7 $\frac{1}{2}$		6 $\frac{1}{2}$
3	84	12		6 $\frac{1}{2}$
4	72			6 $\frac{1}{2}$
5	120	2	4	4
6	99	1 15	3	3
7	50			
8				6 $\frac{1}{2}$
9		1 12 10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
10	80	1 6 9		6 $\frac{1}{2}$
11	70	1	4	4
12	115	1 11 9	1	1
13			1	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
14			2	8 $\frac{1}{2}$
				<hr/>
				£. 2 16 4

D. C. 8th March, 98.

B. C. [Baronial Committee.]

5th March, 1798.

No. 1	118	4 3 6 $\frac{1}{2}$	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 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 clofeted, 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, Jarvis being after them.

^s With best regards to Mrs. Bond and all friends,

I am sincerely yours,

H. W.

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

The Witnesses 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 Witnesses 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 book-feller?

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 on 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 his 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.

Q. 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 the 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 til 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 Do

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 counter-sign, 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 names of some men in the regiment.

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'Éstrange.

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'Éstrange 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*

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 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

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 there any other Serjeant of that name in your regiment?

A. I believe not.

Q. Before you quit Mr. Lawless, do you recollect any expression 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 presence of Mr. Sheares?

A. It was, my Lord.

Q. Have you in your recollection any direction given by Mr. Lawless or the Mr. Sheares's, as to what should be done at the time of the attack, or the line of conduct to be pursued?

A. Yes, my conduct was to be this:—I was to erect a standard upon the night to be fixed upon for the attack upon the camp, which was to be joined by all whom I had previously known to be United Irishmen; that no other person was to be spared, 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 cause.

Q. Did he say any thing respecting Fennan?

A. I understood, that Fennan and Connors were the two deputies whom Lawless mentioned.

Q. (*By the Court.*) From whom did you understand that?

A. Lawless had mentioned, that he would leave their names with Mr. John Sheares, and those were the names which Mr. John Sheares gave

gave to me.—On Friday, I could not find Connors; but on Saturday I gave him the note, and asked 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 Castle guard-room.

Q. He has been made a prisoner?

A. He was about the 20th of May:—He said he would call upon me for a pass.

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 passed between Connors and me, and that he would not know me.

Q. That is, would not open himself to you?

A. Yes:—He said he was much surpris'd at that, but attributed it to his caution; and he recommended caution to me, for that he and his brother escaped by their caution, for Government then 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

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 sufficient 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 Cibbon, and my Lord Castlereagh.

Q. Where

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-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

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. 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

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. 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.

C c

Q. You

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 do 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

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, 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—

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 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

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. Colonel 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 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. PONSONEY.

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

“ 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, 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

“ 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——

“ Route 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* *Leomanry*, 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 mercenary] 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, or preparing the means of War, for War, War alone must occupy every mind, and every hand in Ireland, until its long oppressed Soil be purged of all its Enemies.

“ Vengeance, Irishmen, Vengeance on your Oppressors—Remember 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.”

Frischmen

Your Country is free. ^{All} The Ministers
who despised ^{the} Government & supported its people are in
our hands except ^{such as have} ~~such as have~~
^{if 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 its most atrocious Monarchs have
already paid the forfeit of their lives, & the rest
are in our hands, awaiting their fate. The National
^{The Sacred Green} Flag 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 ^{plots} machinations & crimes of your Tyrants
is now the citadel of triumphant patriotism.
Arise then, United Sons of Ireland: Arise like
a great & powerful people, determined to be
free or die. Arm yourselves by every Means in
your power, and rush like lions on your foes.
Consider that ^{for every enemy you disarm} ~~in slaying your enemy~~ 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

It is our courage to protect: let his arms be seized
and transferred to those gallant ~~persons~~ ^{soldiers} who wait
to rush into them. Yet Irishmen we wear by
that national banner, in whose cause you fight
that the brave patriot who survives the present
glorious struggle and the family of him who
shall fall in battle ~~shall~~ ^{shall} receive
from the hands of a grateful ^{an ample recompense} nation, out of
~~that property~~ ^{that property}, which the dimes of our enemies
~~shall~~ ^{have} forfeited into its hands, his name to be
inscribed on the National record of Irish
revolution as a glorious example to all posterity
but we take our success to go with liberty with death & infamy.
We also swear that we will never sheathe the
sword until ^{being in the country} every ~~place~~ ^{place} is restored to their
equal rights, which the God of Nature
has given to all Men;—until an order of
things shall be established, in which no opinion
shall be acknowledged among the citizens of
Iris. but that ~~virtue~~ ^{virtue} & talent shall
entitle to it. 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 ^{expressly} ~~speedily~~ ^{speedily} ~~submitting~~

erase the ~~memory~~ ^{memory} of slavery for that of
freedom, under which they shall share the
glory & advantages ~~that await the Patriot~~ ^{due to}
~~bands of Ireland~~ ^{bands of Ireland} ~~whose~~ ^{whose} all the energies of your
souls call forth all the ^{abilities} merit, which a vicious
government consigned to obscurity, and under the
conduct of your chosen leaders, march with
a steady step to victory. Need not the glare
of a ~~mercenary~~ ^{mercenary} ~~oblivion~~ ^{oblivion} they cannot stand
the vigorous shock of freemen. ~~Go with~~
~~Brill. Mag & Mass.~~ ^{and let them feel what}
~~vigorous~~ ^{vigorous} the cause of Freedom ~~is~~
their triumphs & their sword will soon
be yours, and the detested governments of
England, to which we vow eternal hatred,
shall learn that the treasures ~~that~~
on ~~the~~ ^{its} ~~treasures~~ ^{accoulters} slaves for the purpose
of butchering & robbing shall but further
enable us to turn their sword on its devoted
head. ~

Many of the Military feel the love of Liberty glow within
their breasts, & ^{have} ~~are~~ ready to ~~join~~ ^{join} the National Standard receive
~~that~~ ^{such as shall follow a general example} with open arms, they can render signal service to the cause.
& shall be rewarded according to their desert. But for the Wretch
who turns his sword against his Nation's Country, let the National Congress
be visible in his blood; 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
^{which are insurmountable} Country, with which you are better acquainted
than they. Whose you cannot oppose ^{them} in full
force, constantly harass 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 ^{be} fighting for your Country, be devoted to in-
^{for preparing the means of War} learning how to fight for it; for War, War alone
must occupy every Mind & every hand in Ireland:
until its long oppressed Soil be purged of all its
enemies.

Vengeance, Irishmen, vengeance on
your Oppressors - Remember what thousands of your
dearest friends have perished by their ^{merciless} ~~orders~~ ^{orders}. Remember their burnings, their lachings, their
torchings, their Military, Magazines & their legal Murders
Remember Ours.

The following Returns, &c. were found

A	B	C	D	E	F	G
5119 1	388	144	24	183	31	1450
4420 2						
1677 3	51	15	15	4	10	
153 4						
345 5						
161 6						

next election, as it is indispensibly necessary at this crisis, It is requested no B' will purchase L. Tickets.

Appendix, No. XXI.

	Men	Guns	Bayon'	Blund.	Pistols	Swords	BallCg ^e	Pikes	Balls	lb.Pow.	Yeo.F.	Mili.	Prifo.	Yeo.E	Mil.do.	City of Dublin.			
A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	A	B	C	D
Louth 1	5119	389	144	24	183	31	1450	333	2050	30	158	517		341	165	W. H. 1	Socieri' 66	Men 1095	Finance. 5 13 9
City D. 2	4420															B. K. 2	69	1595	10 19 3½
Coun ^y Do. 3	1677	51	15	15	4	10			840	8½						Rotun ^t 3	73	1327	5 13 9½
Kildare 4	1530															Ste. G. 4	26	403	4 8 5
Meath 5	3452	336	102	23	116	82	90	400	940	17	156		7		453 L.		234	4420	26 15 3
Total	16198	806	261	62	303	123	1540	733	3830	55½	314	517	7	341	165			former Y.	13 7 7
Antrim 1	Men 22716	Guns 2948	Bayon' 1536		Pistols 417	Swords 369	Pikes 4888	BallCg ^e 24911	Balls 70948	Powder 1230	Canon 8	Mortr ^s 1	Yeo. F.	ar.				priv ^e	5 10 1½
Down 2	26153													D.				In all	45 12 10½
Derry 3	10500	1217	416				1230	8545	5500	1317				Do.		I 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												

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 request- ed no B' will purchase L. Tickets.

following Returns, &c. were found in the House of Edward Rattigan, in Bridgefoot-Street, in the City of Dublin, and among his Papers.

B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	We are No. 1 in the 9 Baronial Committee of Barrack Division.
144	24	175	31	123	111	2130	31	131	517			341	165			
									Caval.							253 lbs. Lead. 111 No. 1 in the 15th B—
15	15	4	10			842	51									
																Sec ^y of Baronial Committees meet and form Districtive Committee.
102	102	21	116	82	99	400	940	17	150			7				
264	62	303	123	1540	733	3830	551	343	517			7	341	165		

- LETTERS KEY.
- Men 1—Louth
 - Mof. 2—City of Dublin
 - Bayonet 3—County Ditto
 - Blunderbuffs 4—Kildare
 - Pilt 5—Meath
 - Swords 6—Total.
 - Pikes
 - Ball Cartridge
 - Balls
 - lb. of Powder
 - Yeoman Friends
 - Militia Ditto
 - Prisoners
 - Militia Enemies
 - Yeoman Ditto

- 1—Antrim A—Men
- 2—Down B—Muskets
- 3—Derry C—Bayonets
- 4—Armagh D—Blunderbuffs
- 5—Donegall E—Pillols
- 6—Monaghan F—Swords
- 7—Tyrone G—Pikes
- 8—Cavan H—Ball Cartridge
- 9—Fermanagh 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	32710	2948	1536		417	270	4858	24003	70948	123	8	1			
2	26153														
3	12500	1217	416				1230	8545	5520	1517					1600 Lead
4	17000	1744	834		108	654	164	7409		324					30 Caval
5	9947														
6	9721														
7	1100	950	417				212	2205		9				453	
8	688														
9	2000														
10	11725	6910	3223		585	1023	6424	45125	7914	270	50	1	1951		
11															

Part of the Total £ 270,145 10
Part of the Total £ 2,000 00

KEY OF THE CITY OF DUBLIN.		Balance £ 3 11		Privates £ 400 00	
1	W.—66	1	1095		
2	B.—69	2	1395	1000	17
3	R.—73	3	1327	500	1000
4	S.—26	4	423	4500	1000
	234 Societies			£ 20,150 0	1000
				formerly 13,700	1000
				Total 20,150 0	2000
				Total 4420	

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.

ULSTER KEY.

Found among the Papers of Edward Rattigan.

- A. Counties
- B. Men
- C. Guns
- D. Bayonets
- E. Blunderbuffes
- F. Pistols
- G. Swords
- H. Pikes
- I. Ball-cartridge
- K. Balls
- L. Hair-powder
- M. Cannon
- N. Mortars
- O. Yeomen Friends
- Q. Lead

- 1 Guns
- 2 Bayonets
- 3 Blunderbuffes
- 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

-
- | | |
|----------|-------------|
| 1 Antrim | 5 Donegal |
| 2 Down | 6 Monaghan |
| 3 Derry | 7 Tyrone |
| 4 Armagh | 8 Cavan |
| | 9 Fermanagh |

-
- | | |
|-------------------|--|
| 1 Work-houfe | } B. Societies
C. Men
D. Finance |
| 2 Barrack | |
| 3 Rotunda | |
| 4 Stephen's-green | |

-
- 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, Treafurer.

Edward Rattigan, Secretary.

s. d.		s. d.		
* 1 1	1 Edward Maguire	* 1 1	19 Sil. Fox	
	2 John Tench		20 John Dowling	
	3 Edward Rattigan		21 Owen Conner	3
	4 Patrick Shuffleton		22 Peter Hays	1
	5 James Lawler		23 Arthur Connell	5
	6 James Harlin		24 John Fagan	
	7 Hugh Redberough		25 Nicholas Brogan	
	8 Thomas Cavanagh		26 Philip Croiton	18
	9 Robert Paxman		27 John Keilly	
10	William Peters		28 Andrew Ennis	11
11	John Murphy		29 Arthur Pafmer	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 Nicholfon	13
17	Thomas Lynn		35 Richard Behan	17
18	Thomas Maher		36 Philip Reynolds	9

To enquire for Fliu and Soran.

* An English shilling subfcription paid at each meeting.

Several other papers were found with the above, containing lifts of names and subfcriptions 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.

SERGEANT'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.

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 *Hale'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

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 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

Lord CLONMELL. Read aloud?

A. Not so loud that I could understand it.

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*?

F f

A. They

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

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 *Tone* present at either of them?

A. Once he was.

Q. How often?

A. Once if not twice.

Q. Did you see him there more than once?

A. I think twice—'tis a year ago, and I have had that on my mind since, that has shattered my memory very much.

Q. Was *Jackson* present at either of those meetings that *Reynolds* was at?

A. I don't know how to swear positively—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 ask you did you go alone to the meeting at which Dr. *Reynolds* was present?

A. If I could have answered that question I would have saved you the trouble of repeating it.

Q. What conversation passed between *Rowan*, *Reynolds* and *Tone* when you saw them together?

[Counsel for the prisoner objected to this question, *Jackson* not being proved to have been present.]

Q. Had you any conversation with *Jackson* respecting Dr. *Reynolds*?

A. I had.

Q. What was the substance of it?

A. The substance of it was, as to his being a proper or an improper person to go to *France*.

Question by the Court. What did *Jackson* say on that subject?

A. Mr. *Jackson* said he did not so much approve of him as of Mr. *Tone*.

Mr.

Mr. *Attorney General*. Did he tell you why ?

A. I cannot answer that he told me why—the reason why, I thought, I am convinced——

Q. Did *Jackson* tell you on what errand *Reynolds* was to have gone ?

A. The same of *Tone*'s.

Q. What was that ?

A. To carry some paper to *France*.

Question by the Court. How do you know ?

A. Because the paper, whatever it was, was drawn in Newgate while I was there.

Q. Do you know this from your own knowledge, or did *Jackson* tell you ?

A. I cannot say that he told me so *in hæc verba*.

Q. Can you tell substantially what you heard from the prisoner ?

A. In substance, it was, that he was to go to *France* with some instructions to the French. It is very difficult to repeat conversations with accuracy ; I have heard this in many alternate conversations with *Jackson*, with *Tone*, with *Reynolds* and with *Rowan*.

Mr. *Curran*. My client is to be affected by no conversation that is not sworn to have been in his presence ; the witness says there were some conversations at which he was not present, and therefore it is necessary the witness should swear positively that *Jackson* was present, when any thing respecting those instructions passed,

Witness. Originally *Tone* was to have gone, but he left *Dublin* abruptly without saying 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 answers, you will let me tell why I am not so, for I would not leave the *Court* under the impression that I would wilfully conceal any thing.

Q. Then *Jackson* told you that *Reynolds* was to go to *France* and take a paper ; did you learn from him in conversation what that paper was ?

A. So

A. So many conversations we have had, that it draws me into a maze which of them I shall think of. I was many weeks in company with the prisoner, and the subject was talked of repeatedly.—I cannot tell the precise words.

Q. You mistake me, I asked you of conversations in general between you and *Jackson*.—Did he ever tell you for what purpose *Reynolds* was to be sent to *France*?

A. To take some written paper with him, to the French Convention I believe; I cannot say positively.

Q. Did *Jackson* tell you at any time or in any conversation for what purpose *Reynolds* was to go?

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

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 presence?

A. Yes.

Q. By whom?

A. By the prisoner and *Rowan*.

Q. What were the encouragements that *Jackson* 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 conversation that led *Jackson* to say that?

A. What brought that speech from *Jackson* I presume, was owing to the difficulties that *Tone* raised to his going.

Q. What were they?

A. A wife and family.

Q. Were there any others mentioned?

A. The loss of opportunities which might very likely arise from his remaining in this kingdom.

Q. Did *Jackson* give *Reynolds* encouragement to go, or use any persuasions?

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 her power is universally odious. save with those who have an interest

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.

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.

I N S T R U C T I O N S.

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.

G g

9th. Every

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.

11th. 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 frightening 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	—						
						<u>92</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3½</u>

The Declarations, 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 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 the *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.

C O N S T I T U T I O N .

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 balloted 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. 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 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.”

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

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 balloted 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 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.”

R E C A P I T U L A T I O N .

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 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 sources 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 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 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.

A P P E N D I X.

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 alleviation.

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.

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 fortunes 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 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 *crowd-lawyers, packed juries*, sometimes *prejudiced*, sometimes *corrupt judges*, before whom a *charge* must be twice refuted, *maice* 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 overflow with our persecuted, penniless brethren: Of those, several have scorned to save their lives by treachery to their glorious cause, but carried 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 required: **IT SHALL NOT BE FORGOTTEN**, that although your dwellings were destroyed, your little property laid waste, though fear is a
stranger

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 consolation 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 *vices* and *measures* of government, and the *object* and *proceedings* of the United Irish, let them determine which is better, a *free legislature*, or a *penioned parliament*; a *national administration*, or an *irresponsible foreign executive*; an *oblivion of religious animosities*, or the *exterminating persecution* of *Orangemen*. 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!

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 fully 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—

may

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 tie 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 husband-man or an artist,

tist, are no protection against a persecution that is 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 predoomed 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 unauthorized 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) 1793.

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 of our common country, for the sake of our common God and Father, go with one hand and one heart *together*.

Trouble not yourselves whether France is to send 40 or 50,000 troops here; whether England is to send 40 or 50,000 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.

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 moment's 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.

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 denounced by authority, as being the partners and creatures of Pitt, and his sanguinary journeyman, *Luttrell*.”

“The *Star* offers to public justice the following detestable traitors, 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,

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 forcerers, 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 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.

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 cabin, by the burning of a tyrant’s palace, is accessory 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 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 *lord* of the convicted person—the thing was a *ready mode* of robbing a *spoiled* or *rich* family, and reward an English *favoured*; 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 *strange reasons* for *loving* the lord's *appointed*; 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 negotiate for an independant Irish republic in the teeth of that diplomatique 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 seen 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 Mason, Arthur Wolfe, James Fitzgerald, and Lodge Morres, undersigned, attempting to hurt the Union Star, by naming it a vehicle for inviting assassination.

The Union Star, in the opinion of honest Irishmen, will not be less valuable for exciting the displeasure, or encountering the threats of the above-named, whom we know to be part of the standing Committee for burning villages and Catholic chapels; murdering fathers, mothers and children indiscriminately, without any regard to the prayers of age, the tears of infancy, or the intreaties of beauty. This depopulating Society think themselves secure from every law except assassination; their objection to which awes them into many schemes, for stamping with their imaginary consequences infamy on any instrument in favour of Liberty. Tho' we are not advocates for assassination, we know on the authority of history, that assassination preserved the liberties and rescued many of the ancient republics from the power of aspiring villains, who raised themselves on the neck of the people, and on the ruins of liberty. 'Twas a positive law in Corinth, Rome, Athens, Syracuse, &c. that any citizen was justified, and should be rewarded and honoured as the deliverer of his country, who would assassinate any villain aspiring to the sovereign power, or infringing the rights of the people.

The Union Star has more consolatory hopes of United Irishmen than assassination. It sees with pleasure the head quarters of liberty in the centre of delivering Europe, with colossal strength gathered from the ruins of thrones of privileged order and superstition, carrying liberty and hope to Ireland! The Union Star rises with happy anticipation at the unavoidable moment, when the tyrants of Ireland must restore 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 idleness, and laid on industry.

We are constantly witnessing the impudent affectation of cowardly moderation, acting in partnership with tyranny, against the Union Star, which they accuse of inculcating principles of assassination.

We certainly do not advise, though we do not desecry 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 falsehoods 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 Number of 1777.*

PRESS, No. 3, 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 *republi.* 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 *impro* wits, is the regis of wisdom, whose *virtu* 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 fraternal union against hatred and civil distraction,—a conspiracy of reason, justice and virtue, against cruel oppression, inhumanity, and vice”—— *and we will go farther, if the King and his people do not unite or conspire (call it by what name you please) against the most wicked blood-thirsty ministers, who have conspired against both, God can only tell how soon the people will lose their beloved King, or be his faithful, but wretched people.*

Press, No. 10. Oct. 10, 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.

“ I R I S H R E B E L L I O N .

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

shall have no controversies about which set of priests shall enjoy the archbishopsricks, bishopsricks, deanries, and other spiritual promotions; let us then persevere with patience, moderation, 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. 12. 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 precious, 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 blustering 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 forely 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
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the universal bosom. And whither would you fly? In what quarter of the habitable globe can you dream of finding untroubled and permanent repose, amidst the general convulsion which shakes the *genius* and the *moral instruments*. It is not only more manly and more honourable, but also more prudent, to march with countenance erect, a volunteer, into the patriot ranks, than to be forced to the painful alternative of becoming one of the satellites of tyranny, one of the oppressors of your country, one of the butchers of your brethren; of joining the patriot band, at a future day, reluctantly, and ungraciously, and of bringing an accession of strength, without deserving gratitude or honour.

Above all, do not despond of the Republic. Believe me, it shall not be lost, the present silence of the people is not the silence of fear and despondency, but of discretion—the public cause is not abandoned, notwithstanding the terrors of military execution, &c. but the day *must* come when the people shall firmly rally round the constitution, and range themselves boldly under the standard of freedom.”

No. 26. Nov. 25, 1797.

“What thinks royalty now? how stands its account with the world? is it at last convinced of its madness and vanity, in oppressing the will of a great, but oppressed nation, *once determined to be free!*”

In the letter to Lord Carhampton, under the title of Satanides, is the following passage :

No. 27. Nov. 28, 1797.

“It was indeed to be lamented that you should perish by the stroke of *private justice*, and defraud the executioner of his right, and the nation of its example. Were you this moment surrounded by the justly enraged populace; were their arms raised to inflict the desired doom, I would throw myself among their poniards, I would endeavour to rescue you from their fury. I would intercede for your hated life—I would say, “suffer him to pollute the air a little longer; degrade not the majestic exertions of the people, by employing them on so base an object. The day comes when justice shall prevail, when Ireland shall raise her head from the dust, and perform a solemn sacrifice to the constitution—on that av-

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“ful day of rejoicing to the good, and terror to the wicked, *a few victims may be required*; and this wretch may be included in the number, and meet the ignominious doom of a traitor.”

No. 27. Nov. 28, 1797.

“Gracious God! for what misery are we reserved? when such atrocities are stamped with the praise of spirit, and when it is proclaimed to the Republic of France, that the natives of this devoted country are thus hunted down like wild beasts, by their own nobility and gentry; when we see the *address of Hoche, offering liberty and protection*, answered by the manifesto of *Lord Grenville, denouncing slavery and blood.*”

Same.

“Let not your ill-judged violence, let not those divisions that are villainously sowed amongst you, provoke the Father of Justice to punish your cruelty to one another, with condign rigour; be assured tho’ “sorrow lasteth for a night, that joy cometh in the morning.” Be patient, be firm, and the same unanimity that makes common calamity supportable, will, be assured, make united effort irresistible.”

No. 28. Nov. 30, 1797.

Erin, Daughter of the main,
When shall thou thy rights regain?
Soon, oh! soon, thy standard green,
Proudly flying shall be seen.
Soon thy heroes croud the plain,
Freedom marching in their train;
Echo all along the shore,
Shall repeat the cannons roar.
Tyrants blood in streams shall flow,—
Prostrate fall the haughty foe.”

&c. &c.

No. 29. Dec. 2, 1797.

To the STUDENTS of TRINITY COLLEGE.

“You, my fellow-students, have explored the page of history. Where the insect courtier is forgotten, the despot is blasted in infamy, and the *glorious Tyrannicide is immortalized*. Can you remember

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 oppression?—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.

Prefs, 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 wherever 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. 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

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 furge 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. 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.

No. 44. January 9th, 1798.

“ The Union of brotherhood is daily increasing in Scotland, to the great annoyance of his Majesty’s ministers.”

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 *late* 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

you not rather be that generous Irish people, who, he says, *do* resist abuse.

No. 48. Jan. 18th, 1798.

THE DISUNITED MEN.

“ The Disunited Men say, there can be no conciliation with *traitors*; we hope however, that *traitors* as *they are*, *they* will find that mercy which they did not shew,” such of them at least, as are not steeped to the very eyes “ in crimes of deadly hue” :—Arson, conspiracy, subornation, perjury, and murder, cannot be forgiven. Libels and cheats may be forgiven; folly and malice despised.—Ponder on this, ye disunited 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 Highnesses, &c.

“ WE do dutifully implore your Highnesses to do all seeming justice towards yourselves; and seeing how little profit and advantage there is, or has been, in destroying the habitations, &c. of your *poor* and dutiful subjects; and seeing how many palaces and castles, &c. there be in the hands of your inveterate enemies, &c. and many bishopricks, rectories, and other offices in church and state there be, We, therefore, pray your Highnesses to take the same to your non-gracious *use*, and to consider what goodly bishops, judges, lawyers, speakers, marquisses, counsellors of state, and tasters of wine, your Mightinesses would *make*, and above all, how much *easier* is the *burthen of spending a few thousand pounds by the year, than that of carrying a knapsack and firelock, as the greater part of you at present do*; and we pledge ourselves to assist you in the said just and necessary 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 most blessed constitution in church and state,” &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 government: No; they wish to see you by your own energy, rescue yourselves from that oppression you have so long laboured under;

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

fections 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.”

P R E S S.

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 from a Collection of Songs, intitled the Irish Harp new sung.

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 Captive's broken chain,
Sing the tyrant's 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,
Loft 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 despair'd and dæmons smiled.
Viva la, &c.

Sudden founding from afar,
Freedom's 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 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,
 They 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.

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'll 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 forth,
 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,
 We'll fit each with a halter.

Plant, plant the tree, &c.

6th.

No more our tythes we'll grumbling throw,
 To those who on us trample,
 But, where he wills each man shall go,
 To reason's purest temple;
 Erin go brah, each choir shall sing,
 The heart oppressed to cheer, 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 your 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.

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 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-hulspence 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 UNITED IRISHMEN

TO THE

LANDED AND MONIED INTERESTS OF IRELAND.

Whereas it has been propos'd 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, impell'd 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 nefariousness 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 something 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 nothing

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 to 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 come 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 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 advising and persuading two men of the Duke of York's Royal Regiment of Highlanders, to desert his Majesty's service.

James Mason, the second witness, deposed—"I was walking with Corporal Brunton, and the two prisoners met us, and asked us if we would go and take a glass, the Corporal at first refused it, saying that he had orders to take out. We however went into a house, and they called for a naggin of whiskey, and asked us if we were going to stand out for a shilling a day, as all soldiers were going to do it. We said we did not know, or hear any thing about it; then they began, and asked us what we thought about the United Irishmen. We said we did not know what they meant by it; then they said, that if we would join them, it would be better than to be soldiers, for that we should have money and provisions. They said they had gone out of the barracks without any money, and got plenty of it, and they said if any of our officers looked down upon us, and we would desert, and come to that house, we would get clothes, and plenty of every thing, and never be taken; and they desired the woman of the house to take a look at us, that she might know us again; and if we called again, to be kind to us. They told us they had a design to cut off the Frazers, because 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 witness pointing to Carty) said, that Captain Walker told him in the ranks, that he, Carty, was a United Irishman, and he said, the answer he returned the Captain was, That there were more of them that, than him; and he, Carty, said, That the Duke of Leinster had given up his commission, 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 said—As long as we would be in that mind, that they were in, that as long as he had threepence, we should have three halfpence of it.—They then began to speak about Religion, and said it did not signify what Religion they were to be of; and that the first that was to cast up to another what Religion he was of, was to be hung."

SENTENCE.

The Court having taken into consideration, the evidence adduced on the trial of Daniel Mahon, and Thomas Carty, privates in

in the Kildare Regiment of Militia, find both the prisoners guilty of the crimes alledged against 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 prisoners, 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 suffer death.

Extract from the Trial of James Matthews and John Sheridan, of the Royal Dublin Regiment of Militia, at Elaris 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 first witness, deposed—"On our arrival at Castle-town we went into a garden, and were brought to a small house, when we went in, we found seven or eight men, and we were desired to sit down, the house, as I heard, belonged to Messrs. Burn and Teeling, the people then addressed Matthews, as if he had been there before, and asked him how he was? and said they had a very thin meeting there, this night, which they did not expect; we then talked of going away, and they sent for a Gentleman, who deponent understood to be a Mr. Teeling, and on his discoursing to us, he asked the prisoner, Matthews, how he was getting on in the company? He said, very well; damn you, Matthews, says he, but you are a fine little fellow, and deserve to be a Captain:—The company then began to talk about the French fleet, and Mr. Teeling said, if they would make their landing good, they would get enough to assist them, and he said that they had plenty of money in the funds of their different Committees, to buy such instruments as were necessary; and he said by the last returns he got from Dublin, there were upwards of ninety-thousand United Irishmen; all this happened in the presence and hearing of the prisoner, Matthews, and there were two other soldiers of the Regiment present, who have since deserted.

"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 prisoner, Matthews;

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 any of his Majesty's dominions beyond the seas, or in foreign parts.

Extract from the Trials of Dominick Gilligan, Private of the Roscommon, Patrick Allen, Private of the Galway, Thomas Redmond, Private of the Wexford, Richard Tankard, 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 deposes, 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 *Hallowday*, 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 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 Rosecommon."

"Patrick Dougan, of the Galway Light Infantry, deposes, 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, deposes, "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, *McGovern* and *Clancy* of the Wexford, *Kell* 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-teats, with the small-arms, which they would give to the country-people that would be sent by Mr. O'Brien, and then go upon 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 Alier, guilty of the crime alleged 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.**

Brian 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 alleged against him, and sentenced to receive **ONE THOUSAND LASHES,** and to serve abroad for life.

The prisoner, Corporal Drumgold, found guilty of the crime alleged 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^cAuliff, 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, deposes, "That about three months ago, prisoner, Corporal *M^cAuliff*, 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 Purcell, 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 him. Prisoner, Corporal *M^cAuliff*, 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^cAuliff*, 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 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,

filk, 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 Condon, 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 deposes, 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,*

*Halvey, Henry Hodgins, Valentine Cooke, Matthew Toole, Charles Kelly, and James Condon, 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 flinging 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 Glafsnevin, 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 deposed, 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 deposed, 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 Hodgins*, *Valentine Cooke*, *Matthew Toole*, *Charles Kelly*, and *James Condon*, 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 Condon* to receive one thousand lashes each ; and the prisoners, *Henry Hodgins* 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 from the Trial of Thomas Whelchan, Brian Martin, William Mahady, William Conlan, Thomas Ready, Michael Gunley, Matherw Mutin, 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 Martin*, 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 *Ferry* 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 *Bryan Martin*, *William Mahady*, *William Conlan*, *Thomas Ready*, *Michael Gunley*, *James Gunning*, and *John Bray*, with *Pat. M'Loughlin*, but never heard prisoners, *Whelchan*, *Matherw Mutin*, 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 foldiers there ready to turn out on that night, when evidence told him he would not do it, and the prifoner *Ready*, went away—evidence faw *Ready* afterwards, when he told him no perfon could walk through the town without the pafs-word, which was, “*all is well, and five pounds for a Croppy’s head*”—this pafs-word evidence fays, was among the foldiers, and thofe of their party. Major Nugent who commanded at Skibbereen, having made a figure which was called a Croppy and ufed 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 oppofed them—evidence heard the prifoner, (*Bray*) in particular fay fo.”

Timothy Drifcol, inhabitant of Skibbereen, depofeth, that “The fignal was the burning of a houfe, when we were to afsemble, and remain on the mountains near the town, till morning, the foldiers 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 fhot, to alarm the town, and when they got their arms, the country people were to take all the goods and provifions, in the town, towards furnifhing a camp, which was to be formed, and were to have gone to Bantry, and if purfued to the Kerry Mountains; evidence believes there would have been two thoufand men collected in the country, to join them; it was divided into four divifions, 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 magiftrate.”

SENTENCE.

“The Court having confidered the profecution, and what the prifoners had to offer in their defence, the Court are of opinion, the prifoners, *William Conlon*, *Thomas Ready*, *Michael Gunley*, and *John Bray*, are guilty of the crimes alledged againft them (of Mutiny and Sedition) and do therefore fentence them to fuffer DEATH.

The Court do alfo find the prifoners, *Thomas Whelchan*, *Bryan Martin*, *William Mahady*, and *James Gunning*, guilty of fame 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."

Hand-bills distributed on several Occasions among the Soldiers.

S O L D I E R S,

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 styled 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

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.*

SIAMROC.

Westmeath, 27th March, 1798.

DUBLIN

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 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 don't at once put a stop to slaughter.

Did you not hear how the brave men of the Carlow militia at 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.

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 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 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

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 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 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, 1796.

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

A. In April or May 1797 a plan of infurrection 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 Directory to the members 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, 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 National Directory of Ireland and Executive directory of France?

A. There have—Previous to 1796 some persons had gone from hence to France—In 1796 a letter came from one of them, stating that the situation of this country had been represented to the Directory, who had promised to invade Ireland, for the purpose of separating it from Great Britain. This letter was taken into serious consideration by the Executive early in 1796, and an answer sent in April that year, accepting the proposal on condition that they should come as allies to act under the direction of the new government, as Rochambeau did in America, that they should be paid the expences of the expedition, and their troops receive Irish pay while they acted here. This answer was sent to Paris by a special messenger, and the French Directory promised that the succours should be sent.

About October or November 1796, a messenger came from France with intelligence that the succours might be speedily expected, and desiring to know the state of preparation of the country. The force to be sent by France was stated to be 15000 men, and he thinks if they had landed, when they came to Bantry, an infurrection 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

tion 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 Hamburg 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 England, 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 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 effected 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 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

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 the breaking off the negociation and Lord Malmesbury'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

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 expences 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 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 300,000*l.* 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 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 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

from France about November 1797. He reported that no armament was then ready, but that one should 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 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 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 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

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 I should not belong to any treasonable committee.

Q. After you were liberated did you not 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 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

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 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?

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.

Q. When

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 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 tythes. They 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 an independent 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 connection with Great Britain.

Q. Explain yourself?

A. At the Revolution her population did not much exceed a million and an 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 considerably?

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 without a ship of war or the means of having one. Twelve British frigates stationed around her coasts must annihilate the trade of Ireland. How much could England distress her, even 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 be very quickly reduced; and as to the supply of coal, I think by extending our inland navigation we could be supplied with fuel at home.

Extracts from the Declaration of John Cornick, 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, influence 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 this 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.

Letter from John Sheares, found upon Samuel Neilson, on the evening of the 23d of May.

S I R,

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 honour, 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 on 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 his 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.

Letter from John M'Manus to Patrick Gallagher.

Kilbeggan, 2nd 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 accordingly 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 through the neglect or intimidation of 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 the people I do think many of their Bo. 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.

Your's most fraternally,

JOHN M'MANUS.

Number

Number of Troops in this Barony,

70 Northumberland Fencibles in this town.

40 Orange Yeomen infantry Tuelfpafs.

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 last 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.

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 Evan-
 gelists 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 See, Martin Cothoun, Nicholas Browne, Michael
 White, John Moran and Laurence Moran, all of Kilbride afore-
 said, 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 introduc-
 ed into a room where he saw Bagenel Harvey of Bargy-Castle in
 said county, esquire, William Devereux of Taghmon in said coun-
 ty, 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 whe-
 ther 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 ob-
 tained a pass from said Bagnel 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 Bagnel Harvey had given him a pass, and through his intercession with said Murphy, Loftus Fressell was likewise spared; sayeth they were both tyed and conveyed within a mile of Rofs where they met said Bagnel Harvey, Cornelius Grogan, of Johnstown in said county, Esq. said William Devereux, and many others unknown to deponent, retreating from the battle of Rofs; sayeth that said Bagnel 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; faith 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 Rofs; faith 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; sayeth 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, sayeth 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 Fethard on Friday evening the 22d instant, and from thence to Duncannon fort this morning; sayeth 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 sayeth that he saw John Devereux of Shalbeggan in said county, junior, at Scollobogue on
Monday

Monday the 4th instant, and that he seemed and he verily believeth he had a principal command in the rebel army; sayeth that he likewise saw Charles Reily of Ramsgrange in said county at the said camp at Carrick-byrne amongst the Rebels very busy and active to promote their cause; deponent further sayeth that he attended mass celebrated by Edward Murphy, parish priest of Bannow; that after mass he heard said Murphy preach a sermon, in which he said "Brethern you see you are victorious every where, that the balls of the Hereticks fly about you without hurting you, that few of you have fallen whilst thousands of the Hereticks are dead, and the few that have fallen was from deviating from our cause and want of faith; that this visibly is the work of God, who now is determined, that the Hereticks who have reigned upwards of one hundred years, should be now extirpated, and the true Catholic religion established;" and deponent sayeth this sermon was preached after the battle of Ross, and sayeth he has heard several sermons preached by the priests to the same effect; and further sayeth that he has heard several of the rebels who had been at the battle of Enniscorthy and elsewhere declare, that Edward Roche the priest did constantly catch the bullets that came from his Majesty's army in his hand and give them to the rebels to load their guns with; deponent further sayeth that any Protestant who was admitted into the rebel army was first baptized by a Roman Catholic priest, and that every Protestant who refused to be baptized was put to death, and that many to save their lives suffered themselves to be baptized.

Sworn before his Majesty's justices of the peace for said county this 23d day of June 1798, at Duncannon Fort.

Bound in the sum of two hundred pounds to prosecute, when called on, this examination with effect.

GEORGE OGLE,
ISAAC CORNOCK,
JOHN HENRY LYSTER,
JOHN KENNEDY.

RICHARD GRANDY.

[A true Copy.]

G E N E R A L O R D E R S.

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 rear 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.

By the Lord Lieutenant and Council of Ireland.

A P R O C L A M A T I O N.

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. Cahell, 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.

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 do 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.

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. Ormonde and Ossory. Westmeath. Shannon. Bel-
lamont. 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.

Return of Arms seized and surrendered in several Districts.

Commanders		Guns.	Bay- onets.	Pistols.	Swords.	Lu- der- buffs.	Musket Barrels.	Sword Blades.	Ord- nance.	Pikes.
Gen. Dundas	25th March to 14th July	7027	620	1270	873					14973
— Rofs	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
Col. Skerritt	June 28th to July 28th	5								207
Gen. Champagné	July 28th	3844	44	106	50					83
— Grose	1st August	23		5	9					2000
— Lake	13th March to 15 August	10500								8500
Major Hardy	10th May to 4th June	662	92	144	128	39				3318
		48109	1756	4463	4183	248	119	106	22	70630
		Total		129583						

It appears from the letters of the Generals, that many arms have been seized or surrendered which are not included in the above returns; in many places they have remained in the possession of the yeomen.

END OF THE APPENDIX.



R E P O R T

FROM THE

SECRET COMMITTEE

OF THE

HOUSE OF LORDS,

WITH AN APPENDIX.

Printed by Authority.

D U B L I N :

PRINTED BY W. SLEATER, PRINTER TO THE HOUSE OF LORDS,
NO. 28, DAME-STREET.

1798.

R E P O R T

FROM THE

COMMITTEE OF SECRECY.

Die Jovis, 30^o Augusti, 1798^o

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 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 directed
 “ by men of superior rank, who stimulated the lower orders
 “ of the people to tumult and outrage, as leading to
 “ the abolition of tithes, hearth and county taxes, and to
 “ the reduction of rents.—That during that period very
 “ considerable sums of money were levied upon the Roman
 “ Catholics of this kingdom, under the authority of a com-
 “ mittee 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 suggest,
 “ 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 expectations
 “ 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 increasing
 “ in numbers and force, and had exerted their best endeavours
 “ to procure military men of experience to command them.
 “ Some of them having expressly 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

“ for a much greater quantity, which could be wanted only
 “ for military operations.—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 National Guards—their uniform
 “ copied from that of the French National Guards, and
 “ marked with emblems of disaffection.—That the declared
 “ object of these military preparations was to procure a reform
 “ of parliament; but that the plain and palpable intention
 “ was to overawe the parliament 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 Lord’s 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 established in the year 1792, was then much
 “ matured and extended under the influence and direction of
 “ numerous affiliated Societies, calling themselves United Irishmen,
 “ in conjunction with the Associated Body of Defenders.—
 “ That a traitorous correspondence and communication between
 “ the leaders and directors of the societies of United Irishmen
 “ 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 Mc’Neven, doctor of physic, Thomas-Addis Emmet, barrister at law, and Oliver Bond, lately convicted of treason, all of whom have acknowledged themselves to have been confidential leaders and directors of the Irish Union, and that their object was, to effect a Revolution in
 this

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 forbore 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 guaranteed 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 pretences 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 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

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 the Union.

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'Neven, Thomas-Addis Emmet, 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 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

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 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 th^e 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 Emmet, William M'Neven, 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 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

accept the proffered assistance, and that their determination 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'Neven, was dispatched by the same Directory to Paris, with more precise instructions than they were enabled to give to Lewins, and that M'Neven also took Hamburgh in his way, where finding some difficulty in obtaining a passport from Rheyhart 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'Neven 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 forbear further to detail, as they have annexed the said M'Neven's confession made to them by way of Appendix to this Report. — It appears to your committee, that the said M'Neven 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 indispensable 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

was presented by the said M^{re}Neven, 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^{re}Neven 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 separation 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^{re}Neven returned to this kingdom in October 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 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 to 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'Neven 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

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 Cornick 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 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, vilifying 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.

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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 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 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
authenticated

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.

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A P P E N D I X.

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,

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 Hazlett, of Belfast, merchant; Samuel Maclean, of Belfast, merchant; Thomas McDonnell, of Belfast, grocer; James Luke, of Belfast, linen factor; Hugh Crawford, of Belfast, merchant; William Thomson, of Belfast, linen merchant; Adam McLean, 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, Bartholomew 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

cieties 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 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'Guckin 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-heriff of Antrim received any money from the prisoners or their agent, but heard that Hugh M'Key, Sub-heriff 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 trial 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 Magennis.—Magennis 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, Magennis 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 Magennis.—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 Teeling had in the Munster Hotel, in Cope-street, the following persons, John Magennis, 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 Cumming of the county of Galway, and Dr. M'Neven.—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 county 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 Maion, 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.

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 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

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 were 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 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.

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 dissensions 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

vided 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 satellites of Tyranny; 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 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 irreconcilable 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 *Freemen*, 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 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!
(*Seal.*)

Friday, January 5th, 1798.

Examination of Doctor William-James McNeven.

TUESDAY, 7th AUGUST, 1798.

Doctor William-James McNeven, 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 Committees.

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

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

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 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

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

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 separating 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

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 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—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 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 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

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regiment

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 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 separate 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 indispensable 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 achieve a revolution.—It contained also an assurance that the Irish Militia would join the French if they landed in considerable force.

Immediately

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 indispensable condition of any treaty of peace, by every argument which the writer could use.

After the breaking off the negotiation, and Lord Malmesbury'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 separated 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 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.

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

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 tithes.

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 300,000*l.* 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 synonymous, and as their natural enemy—the same Irish word (*Saffena*) 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

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 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 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 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

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 patrol 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 twice with Mr. Grattan at Tinnelinch, 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 Irishman.

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 of Thomas-Addis Emmet, Esquire.

SATURDAY, 11th AUGUST, 1798.

Thomas-Addis Emmet, 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 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 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?

A. 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 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

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 feverities 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,

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 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 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 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 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 establishments?

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 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 hogheads, 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

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.

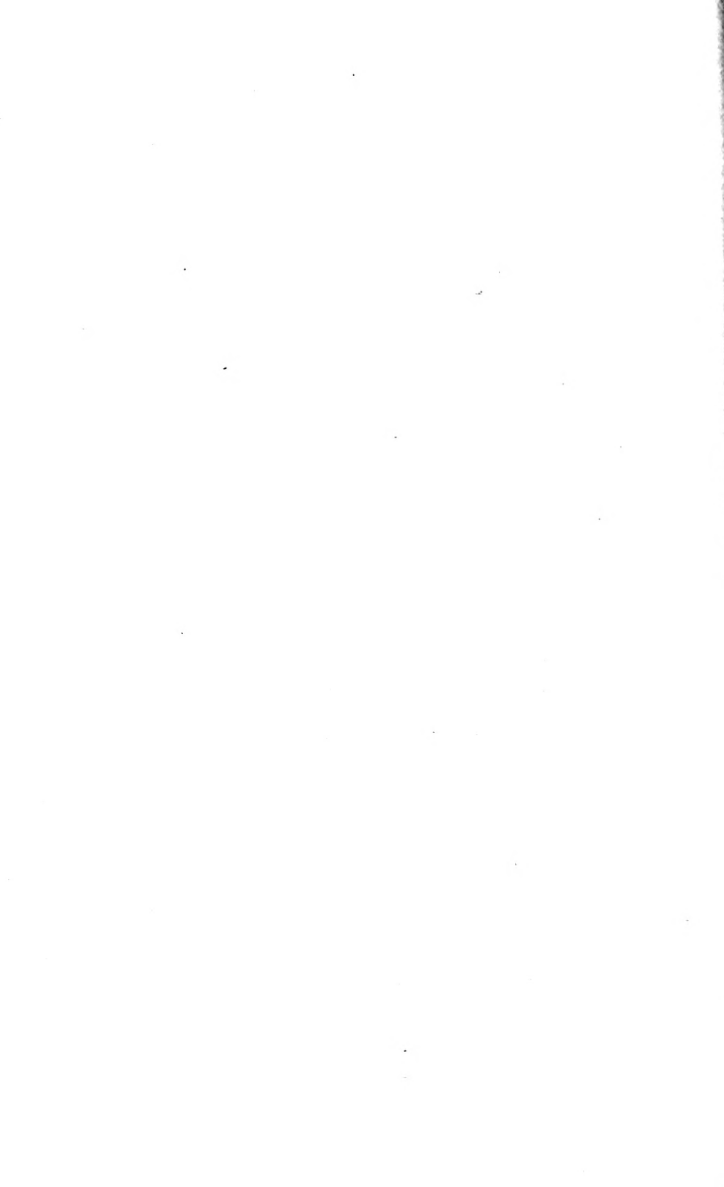
However well exercised standing armies are supposed to be, by frequent reviews, and sham battles, they are never prepared for broken roads, or enclosed fields, in a country like ours covered with innumerable and continued interfections of ditches and hedges, every one of which are an advantage to an irregular body, and may with advantage be disputed, against an army as so many fortifications and entrenchments.

The 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 rere, 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 rere 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 useles, 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.



S E C O N D
R E P O R T
FROM THE
COMMITTEE OF SECRECY
OF THE
HOUSE OF LORDS.

Die Jovis, 6^o Septembris, 1798^o.

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 Depositions 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 unsupported 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 answering 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

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 COMMITTEE,

HOUSE OF LORDS,

THURSDAY, 6th SEPTEMBER, 1798.

Arthur O'Connor, Esq. sworn.

ADMITTS 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 Negotiations 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 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, separating 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.

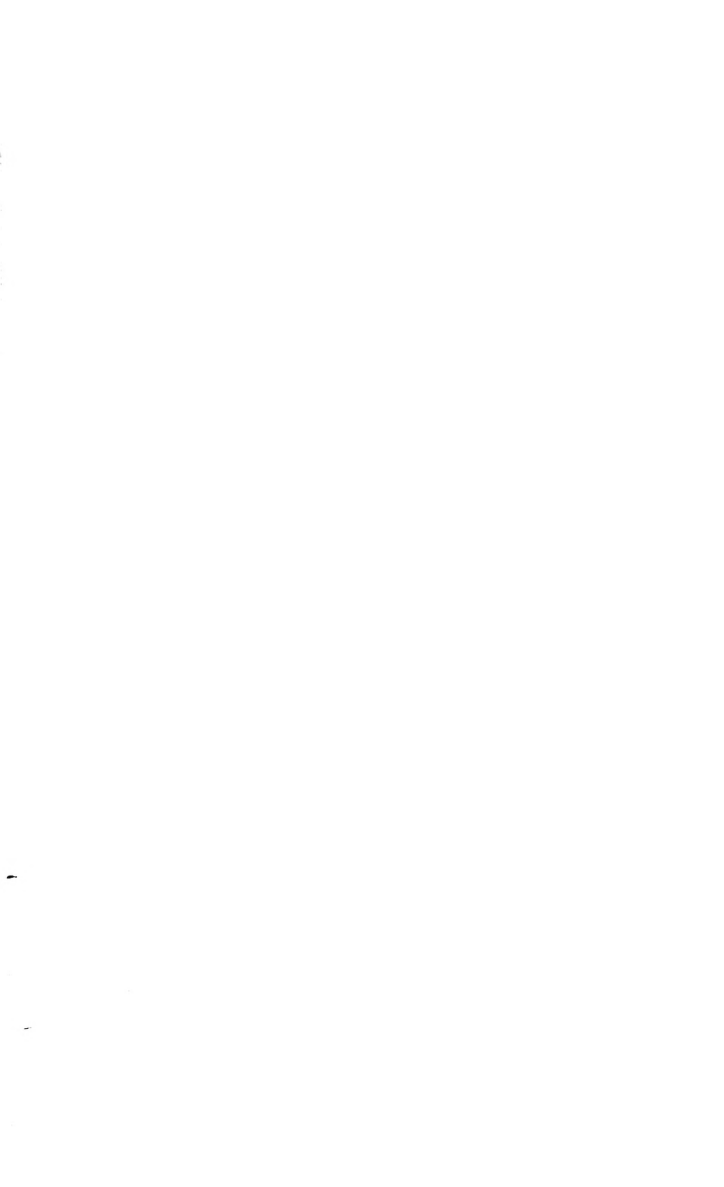
THO:-ADDIS EMMET.

Doctor

Doctor William-James M'Neven, Sworn.

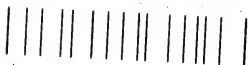
ADMITS that the Advertisement which appeared in the Hibernian Journal and Saunders's News Letter of Monday the 27th of August last, under the Signatures of Arthur O'Connor, Thomas-Addis Emmet and William-James M'Neven, was published by their Authority.—Says he does not mean to contradict or retract any thing stated by him before this Committee or the Secret Committee of the House of Commons.—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 Details 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. M'NEVEN.



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The report contains information that is classified as



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