











## CONTENTS OF VOL. II.

---

### CHAPTER XV.

Sketch of the life of Archbishop Usher—Bedell's parentage and birth—His abode at Venice—Burnet's account of him—His Letter on being offered the appointment of Provost of Trinity College—The state in which he found the churches of Kilmore and Ardagh—His useful labours and persecutions—Translation of the Scriptures into the Irish language—Opposition to this undertaking—His pathetic letter to the Lord-Lieutenant—Cruel treatment of Mr. King—Breaking out of the Rebellion—Bedell's confinement and liberation—His happy death and funeral—Mrs. Head's address to her children 1

### CHAPTER XVI.

Resistance made by the English settlers against the rebels—Acts of atrocious cruelty—Lord Caulfield barbarously murdered—Earl of Ormond Lieutenant-General of the Army—Complaints against the Lord-Justices—Siege of Drogheda—Brave conduct of Sir Henry Tichborne—Rebels defeated—Martial law enforced—Reprehensible conduct of the Justices—Rebels led out by Sir Phelim O'Neil—Arrival of Owen O'Neil—General synod convened at Kilkenny—Confederacy formed—Covenanters in Ulster—Arrival of Rinuncini, the Pope's legate—Discovery of the King's private letters . . . 67

### CHAPTER XVII.

Treaty concluded—Contradictory orders from the King—New association to resist the treaty—Opposition to the Lord-Lieutenant—Arrival of the Parliamentary forces—Ormond's resignation of the government—The Church Liturgy prohibited in Dublin—Victories gained by Michael Jones—The Royal cause favoured in Ireland—Collision of Romanists and Independents—Return of the Marquis of Ormond—Death of

	PAGE.
Charles I.—Preaching of the Gospel in Ireland—Cromwell's usurpation of the government—His successes and massacres—Extracts from his letters—His return to England—Ormond, weary of duplicity and insult, once more quits Ireland—Earl of Clanricarde, Lord-Deputy—Fleetwood, Cromwell's Deputy—Confession and execution of Phelim O'Neil—Parliamentary proclamation of peace in Ireland—Charles II. proclaimed King—Death of Cromwell—Observations on his government of Ireland . . . . .	112

#### CHAPTER XVIII.

Unsettled state of Ireland—Parliament convened—Duke-dom conferred on Ormond—Declared Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland—An Act of Settlement passed—Exportation of cattle from Ireland prohibited—Act of Explanation—Manufactures of woollen cloth and linen encouraged—Clergy's remonstrance—Encroachments of the Popish party—Removal of Ormond—Attempt on his life—Restored to the King's favour; returns to his government, and to the work of reformation—Complaints against him—His son's vindication of him—General improvement of the country—Recal of Ormond—Death of Lord Ossory—Death of the King—Accession of James II.—The Earl of Clarendon, Lord-Lieutenant—The Protestant Militia disarmed—Great concessions to papists—Lord Clarendon removed, and Tyrconnel appointed to fill his place—Innovations on protestant interests in every quarter—Siege of Derry . . . . .	171
---	-----

#### CHAPTER XIX.

Protestant associations—Tyrconnel intimidated—William and Mary proclaimed in the north-eastern towns—Landing of James at Kinsale—Removal of protestants from the Privy Council—Derry to be reduced by a slow siege—James attempts it in person—Unexpected salutation from the garrison—Soon weary of the siege, he returns to Dublin—Sufferings of the besieged—Rosen's cruel order—Londonderry relieved—James assembles his parliament in Dublin—Base coinage—Arbitrary proceedings—Persecution of protestants	220
---	-----

## CHAPTER XX.

PAGE.

Arrival of Duke Schomberg from England, with a great army—Reduction of Carlingford and Charlemont—Progress to Dundalk—Distresses of the English army—Cowardly conduct of James—Arrival of King William—Battle of the Boyne—James returns to France—William returns thanks for his success, on entering Dublin—Siege of Limerick—William raises the siege and retires unmolested—Committing the conduct of the army to Solmes and Ginckle, and the civil government to Lord-Justices, he embarks for England—War in Ireland carried on—Cork and Kinsale taken—Creaghts and Rapparees—Forts taken by De Ginckle—Athlone taken—Battle of Aughrim—Siege of Limerick—Treaty of peace . . . 268

## CHAPTER XXI.

Lord Sidney, Lord-Lieutenant—Disputes in parliament—Three Chief-Justices appointed—Encouragement and discouragement of manufactures—Objections against the King's grants—Commissioners appointed, and Trustees—Whigs and Tories—The Earl of Rochester, Lord-Lieutenant—Death of King James—Complaints against the Trustees—Debates in Parliament—Death of King William—Accession of Queen Anne—The Duke of Ormond, Lord-Lieutenant—Parliamentary proceedings—First dissension among the protestants of Ireland—The Palatines—Death of Queen Anne—Accession of George I.—Whig Ministry—Impeachment of the Duke of Ormond—Parliamentary proceedings—Wood's half-pence—Sketch of the Life of Dean Swift—Death of George I.—Distress in Ulster—Contest between the English and Irish interest renewed—Discreet government of Lord Chesterfield—Disputes respecting the payment of the national debt—Prudent administration of the Marquis of Hartington—The Patriots reinstated—Public accounts inspected—Parliamentary grants 308

## CHAPTER XXII.

War with France—Loyalty and liberality of the Roman catholics—Disaffection towards the Lord-Lieutenant—Landing of Thurot at Carrickfergus—His defeat and death—Ac

	PAGE.
count of this invasion by Mr. Wesley—Memoir of Thurot— Bravery of five Irishmen—Death of George II.—George III. proclaimed in Dublin—Whiteboys—Hearts of Oak—Octennial Parliament—Hearts of Steel—Emigrations to America—In- dulgence to Roman catholics—Failure of the public revenue —Volunteer Association—Free trade demanded—Parlia- mentary reform under consideration—Alarming increase and proceedings of the Volunteers—Charles Manners, Duke of Rutland, Lord-Lieutenant—Right-boys—Death of the Duke	361

### CHAPTER XXIII.

Marquis of Buckingham, Lord-Lieutenant—Riots in Ulster —The King's aberration of mind—Address from the Irish Parliament to the Prince of Wales—Buckingham's adminis- tration censured and vindicated—Inflammatory publications— Roman catholic committees—Association of United Irishmen —Atrocious cruelty of the Defenders—Battle of the Diamond —Orange Association—Alarming increase and proceedings of the United Irishmen—Concessions to Roman catholics— Attempted invasion—Arrest of the Provincial Committee— Outbreak of the rebellion—Dinner party at Bargy Castle . .	418
--	-----

### CHAPTER XXIV.

Battle of Arklow—Rebels defeated at Vinegar Hill—Mas- sacre at Wexford—A man saved by his dog—Entrance of the triumphant army into Wexford—"The Babes of the Wood" —Good conduct of the Scottish Highlanders—Defeat of the rebels at Castlecomer—Rebels repulsed in several places—Ex- pedients made use of by them—Landing of the French at Kil- lala—Engagement at Castlebar—The town taken by the French —Hasty retreat of the loyalists—Heroic conduct of a Highland sentinel—Protestants protected by the French—Humbert's retreat northward—His surrender at Ballynamuck—Defeat and slaughter of the rebels—Extract from the Bishop's private diary—Humbert's letter to the Bishop of Killala—Failure of the invasion—Napper Tandy at Hamburgh—Conclusion . .	480
---	-----



# SUMMARY OF IRISH HISTORY.

---

## CHAPTER XV.

---

Sketch of the life of Archbishop Usher—Bedell's parentage and birth—His abode at Venice—Burnet's account of him—His Letter on being offered the appointment of Provost of Trinity College—The state in which he found the Churches of Kilmore and Ardagh—His useful labours and persecutions—Translation of the Scriptures into the Irish Language—Opposition to this undertaking—His pathetic Letter to the Lord-Lieutenant—Cruel treatment of Mr. King—Breaking out of the Rebellion—Bedell's confinement and liberation—His happy death and funeral—Mrs. Head's Address to her Children.

THE earliest of Archbishop Usher's ancestors came to Ireland in the reign of King John, in the capacity of an usher, which induced him to assume that name instead of Neville, which he originally bore. Changing names in those days was a common practice.

James Usher was born on the 4th of January, 1580. Mr. Arnold Usher, his father, was one of the six clerks of chancery. His mother was the sister of Richard Stanyhurst, who became a convert to popery, and was engaged in a controversy with his nephew; who had the additional grief of seeing his mother fall



into the same delusion. His father's brother, Henry Usher, was Archbishop of Armagh.

The training of James in his childhood, happily for him, devolved upon two maiden aunts, who were blind from their infancy. But their understanding was enlightened to receive and know the truths of religion. The Bible was the inexhaustible treasure from whence they drew the precepts which they instilled into their little nephew. At ten years old, he was sent to school; at thirteen, his name was the first on the roll of students received into Trinity College, in the year 1593, when it was finished and opened; and at sixteen he made the first sketch of his great work, "The Annals of the Old and New Testament."

1607. When Camden, the antiquary, came to Dublin to collect materials for his description of that city, he says that he owes most of his information to "the diligence and labour of James Usher, Chancellor of St. Patrick's, who, in various learning and judgment, far exceeds his years."

In 1624, he was raised to the archbishopric of Armagh; and in 1626, he was the means of bringing Mr. Bedell to Ireland, to be Provost of Trinity College.

The reformed clergy were grieved and alarmed at the insolence of their popish opponents, who erected abbeys, and seized churches for their own worship. Usher was the most distinguished of the protestant clergy. He was appointed to preach before Lord Falkland on his arrival. His text was, "He beareth not the sword in vain." His sentiments were of the greatest weight; and he made use of the present opportunity to recom-

mend such restraints as might deter the Romanists from acts of public outrage and insolence. This exasperated the recusants, who exclaimed against him as a sanguinary persecutor, who would extirpate all those who refused to conform to the established church. The archbishop, in another discourse, vindicated himself, by a full explanation of the equity and lenity of his intentions. His abilities were exercised, and did essential service to government in these times of religious contest. He enforced the nature and lawfulness of the oath of supremacy, with powerful eloquence, when magistrates were cited to the castle-chamber for recusancy: but reason and argument availed little against the obstinate prepossessions of a party which exulted in their numbers, power, and influence.\*

In 1626, Charles I. wrote to Archbishop Usher, not only ratifying his father's instructions to the lord-deputy, but desiring to "make some necessary addition to the same." He required of Usher to "take especial care, that the people be instructed in the principles of religion by those to whom it appertaineth; and that the New Testament and Book of Common Prayer, translated into Irish, be frequently used in the parishes of the Irishrie; and that every non-resident there do constantly keepe and continue one to read service in the Irish tongue, as is expressly commanded by the said orders," issued by James I.

The propositions in this letter were suggested to the king by Usher himself.

\* Leland. *Cox's Life of Usher.*

Usher was invited to England, about the beginning of the year 1640, and embarked with his wife and family, all of whom arrived safely in London. Soon after Lord Strafford was impeached, the archbishop frequently visited him in prison, and was consulted by him in many particulars relating to his defence.

When the king gave his sanction to the bill of attainder, the archbishop, whom he had sent for, said, with tears in his eyes, "Oh, sire, what have you done? I fear that this act may prove a great trouble upon your conscience, and pray God that your majesty may never suffer for signing this bill!"

While Strafford was Viceroy of Ireland, he never evinced any friendly disposition towards Usher; but now that his days were numbered, he was the spiritual adviser chosen by him. The primate attended the earl to the scaffold, where he knelt and prayed beside him. He observed with comfort that Strafford's last moments were passed in silent devotion: he addressed him in his eloquent speech, before he disrobed for execution. Usher, having received his last farewell, went to the king, and telling him that all was over, added, that he believed the earl was well prepared for his change; and that his last gloomy hours were brightened by the prospect of eternal glory.

On receiving intelligence of the horrible rebellion which broke out in Ireland, and of the loss of his property, he expressed great thankfulness for his own and his family's personal safety. His house, furniture, and library, at Drogheda, were all that remained to him of his possessions, and he was obliged to sell his plate and



other valuables, which he had brought to England, for the maintenance of his family.

It is said, that at an early period of his life he had believed that affliction was a necessary mark of being a child of God, and that he had prayed for it. He was afterwards convinced that his prayer was wrong. But though he ceased to pray for chastisement, he never afterwards was free from it; and earnestly advised Christians never so to tempt God.

The reader is referred to his life, for a detail of his sufferings in England, from his sixtieth year.

The native Irish owe so much to Bishop Bedell, for his invaluable translation of the scriptures into their own tongue, that I shall introduce a more enlarged detail of the particulars of his life and labours among them.

William Bedell was the younger son of an ancient and respectable family. He was born at Black Notley, in Essex. After his school education, he was sent to Emanuel College, Cambridge, and placed under the care of Dr. Chadderton, the famous and long-lived head of that house. Bedell received holy orders from the bishop's suffragan, at Colchester; who said of him, that he had ordained a better man than ever the bishop himself had ordained.

In 1593, he was chosen Fellow of the College, and took his degree of Bachelor of Divinity. Six years afterwards he was removed from the university to the town of Bury St. Edmund's, in Suffolk, where he served long in the gospel, and with great success. His reputation was so well established, that when King James sent Sir Henry Wotton as his ambassador to Venice, at

the time of the interdict, Bedell was recommended as the fittest man to go as chaplain, in so critical a conjuncture.

Waddesworth, his fellow-student, who had a benefice in the diocese with him, was, at the same time that Bedell went to Venice, sent to Spain, to teach the Infanta the English tongue; the match between her and the late King of England being believed to be concluded. Waddesworth, in Spain, was influenced to abandon both his religion and country; while Bedell, at Venice, was doing honour to both.

Paul V. had a contest with the republic of Venice on account of two of their decrees, which would have circumscribed the number of religious houses in their dominions, and the acquisition of wealth among their orders; they also refused to give up to the ecclesiastical court, two ecclesiastics, accused of capital crimes. The pope, highly resenting what he considered encroachments upon his authority, laid all the dominions of the republic under an interdict, by a bull, dated at Rome, April 17, 1606. The Venetians, declaring the bull to be null and void, obliged the clergy to perform divine service as usual: all the religious orders who complied with the pope's bull were banished from their dominions. Preparations for war were being made on both sides, when an accommodation, not very honourable to Paul V.,\* took place, by the mediation of Henry IV., King of France.

The pope had excommunicated the Doge (*i.e.* Duke), the whole senate, and the entire dominions.

\* See Bower's *History of the Pope*, Vol. vii. p. 477.



Padre Paulo, was a man of consummate prudence, as well as extensive learning; being esteemed as the greatest divine, and wisest man of the age. He was, in short, the celebrated historian of the Council of Trent. It is highly creditable to the character of Bedell, that an Italian, who, besides the caution characteristic of his country, was so circumstanced, that to distrust every one was prudent, and whom the strictness of government bound to a very great reservedness with all people, yet took Bedell into his very soul. Sir Henry Wotton assured the king that Paulo communicated the inmost thoughts of his heart to Bedell; and professed that he had learned more divinity from him, both speculative and practical, than from any he had ever before conversed with in his whole life. Padre Paulo assisted Bedell in acquiring the Italian language, in which he made such proficiency, that he spoke it like a native, and wrote his sermons either in Italian or Latin.

During the interdict, the seven divines (employed by the senate, both to preach and write against the pope's authority), so highly approved of the English Common Prayer Book, which Bedell translated into Italian, that they were resolved on making it their standard, in case their controversy with the pope should succeed.

At the time of this interdict, Thomas Maria Caraffa, a Jesuit, arrived at Venice: he had printed a thousand theses on theological and philosophical subjects, which he dedicated to the pope, with the following blasphemous inscription:—PAULO V. VICE-DEO, *Christianæ Reipublicæ Monarchæ invictissimo, and Pontificiæ Omnipotentis conservatori accerrimo.* “To Paul V. the

Vice-God, the most invincible monarch of the Christian commonwealth, and the most zealous assertor of the papal omnipotency." The arrogance of this title caused much astonishment. Bedell discovered that the numeral letters, PAVLO V. VICE-DEO, put together, made exactly 666, the number of the beast; having pointed this out to P. Paulo and the seven divines, they reported it to the duke and senate: it was received almost as a light from heaven, and publicly preached over all their territories that here was a certain evidence that the pope was Anti-christ. This assertion spread over Italy. The pope fearing its influence on the minds of the people, caused his emissaries to give out every where, that Anti-christ was now in Babylon, where he was born, that he was descended from the tribe of Dan, and was gathering together a great army, with which he intended to destroy Christendom; therefore, it was incumbent on all christian princes to prepare for battle, and resist to the uttermost this so great invasion. Bedell was too modest to claim to himself this discovery; but Sir Henry Wotton assured King James that Bedell was the author of it.

The breach between the pope and the republic was brought to such a crisis, that a total separation was expected, not only from the court, but also from the church of Rome. The controversy was maintained with much zeal and prudence by Padre Paulo and the seven divines. King James's ambassador received his majesty's orders to assist them as much as possible, and to accuse the pope and papacy as the chief authors of the evils of Christendom.

Bedell was in the habit of comparing scripture with scripture, and collected a large mass of critical exposition. He often repeated a passage of a sermon which he had heard at Venice, preached by Fulgentio, from the words of our Saviour, "Have ye not read in the scriptures?"

"If Christ were to ask this question now," said the preacher to his auditory, "the only answer you could give, would be, no, we are not allowed to read them." Again, he preached on Pilate's question, "What is truth?" "I have found out what it is," said Fulgentio, exhibiting a New Testament which he held in his hand, "It is here;" then putting the book into his pocket, he coldly added, "But it is a prohibited book."

Bedell had frequent discussions with the Rabbi Leo and his brethren, on the Messiahship of Christ.

Padre Paulo Sarpi was so highly esteemed by the senate for his great wisdom, that they consulted him as an oracle, and trusted to him their most important secrets; hence he saw the impossibility of absenting himself. He complied as far as he could with their established worship. In saying mass, he passed over many parts of the canon, those offices in particular which honoured saints, to whom he never prayed, nor joined in any parts of their worship which conscientiously he could not. Being asked why he still held communion with an idolatrous church, he answered, that "God had not given him the spirit of Luther." He expressed great tenderness and regard for Bedell at parting with him, and told him that both he and several



others would have gone with him had it been in their power; but that he might never be forgotten by him, he gave him his picture, with a Hebrew bible, without points, and a little Hebrew psalter, in which he wrote some sentences expressive of his esteem and friendship. He also presented him with the invaluable MS. of the "History of the Council of Trent," together with that of "The Interdict" and "The Inquisition." The first of these will ever be considered the chief model, after which all who intend to succeed well in writing history, must copy. Some other valuable papers which he gave to Bedell were lost.

By means of P. Leo, Bedell purchased that fair manuscript of the Old Testament which he gave to Emanuel College, and which Burnet says, he was credibly informed, cost him its weight in silver.

Bedell spent eight years in Venice, and on returning to England, resumed his charge at Bury St. Edmunds, where he employed much of his time in translating the works of his friend Paulo into Latin. But he lived unnoticed and unknown in that obscure corner. He could not stoop to those servile compliances which are often expected by men who have preferments in their power. Such an abject spirit he did not think becoming in a Christian, much less in a churchman, whose business it is to esteem lightly the things of this world, and live in perfect resignation to the Divine will. He had one friend, able and willing to serve him, Sir Thomas Jermyn, a Suffolk gentleman, a privy councillor, and vice-chamberlain to King Charles I., who obtained for him the small living of Horingsheath, which he held

for twelve years, with credit to himself and profit to the church.

Bishop Burnet says, "The true reasons that obstructed Bedell's preferment, seem to be these: he was a Calvinist in the matter of decrees and grace, and preferments at that time were generally given to those who held the other opinions. He had also another principle which was not very acceptable to some in power; he thought conformity was an exact adhering to the rubric, and that the addition of any new rite or ceremony was as much non-conformity as the passing over those that were prescribed; so that he would not use those bowings or gesticulations that grew so much in fashion, that men's affections were measured by them. He had too good an understanding not to conclude, that things were not unlawful in themselves; but he had observed, that when once the humour of adding new rites and ceremonies got into the church, it went on by a fatal increase, till it had grown up to that bulk to which we find it swelled in the church of Rome. And this began so early, and grew so fast, that S. Austin complained of it in his time, saying, that the condition of christians was then more uneasy by that yoke of observances than that of the Jews had been. And, therefore, Bedell thought the adhering to established laws and rules was an established and fixed thing; whereas superstition was infinite. So he was against all innovations, or arbitrary and assumed practices; and so much the more, when men were distinguished and marked out for preferment by that which in strictness of law deserved punishment. For in the



Act of Uniformity, made in the first year of Queen Elizabeth's reign, it was made highly penal to use any other rite or ceremony, order or form, either in the sacraments, or in morning or evening prayers, than what was mentioned and set forth in that book. Therefore, he continued to make the rubric the measure of his conformity, as well before his promotion as after it.

“But he was well satisfied with that which the providence of God had laid in his way, and went on in the duties of his pastoral care, and in his own private studies; and was as great a pattern in Suffolk, of pastoral care, in the lower degree, as he afterwards proved in Ireland in the higher order. He laboured not as a hireling, only to raise a revenue out of his parish, and abandon his flock, trusting them to the cheapest mercenary that he could find. He watched over his flock like one who knew he was to answer to God for those souls committed to his charge; so he preached to the understanding and conscience of his parishioners, and catechised constantly. And the whole course of his own most exemplary behaviour was a continued sermon; he was very exact in visiting the sick, and in private discourse, exciting his people to religion, &c. This he made his work, and followed it so close, and lived so much at home, that he was so little known or so much forgotten, that when Diodati came over to England, many years after this, he could meet with no person who knew him; though he was acquainted with many of the clergy. He was much amazed to find that so extraordinary a man, that was so much admired at Venice, by so good judges, was not so much as

known in his own country. He had given up all hope of finding him, when they met accidentally in a street in London, and great was the joy of both. Diodati presented his friend Bedell to Merton, the learned and aged Bishop of Duresme, telling him the great value which Padre Paulo set on him. Upon which the bishop treated him in a very particular manner.”

Knowing the character of William Bedell, Usher earnestly set his heart upon his being elected Provost of Trinity College, when, by the death of Sir William Temple, that office became vacant. When offered to him, he was living in comparative obscurity and neglect—personally unknown to Archbishop Usher or any of the Fellows of the college. Bedell’s humble and unambitious views will be seen in his reply to the person employed to treat with him.

“Dated Bury, March 6, 1626.

“I am married, and have three children; therefore, if the place requires a single man, the business is at an end. I have no want, I thank my God, of anything necessary for this life. I have a competent living of about one hundred a-year, in a good air and seat, with a very convenient house near to my friends, and a little parish not exceeding the compass of my weak voice. I have often heard it, that changing seldom brings the better, especially to those who are well: and I see well that my wife, though resolving, as she ought, to be contented with whatever God shall appoint, had rather continue with her friends in her native country, than put herself into the hazard of the seas and a foreign land, with many casualties of travel, which she, per-

haps out of fear, apprehends more than there is cause. All these reasons I have, if I consult with flesh and blood, which move me rather to reject this offer. Yet, with all humble and dutiful thanks to my lord primate, for his kind and good opinion of me. On the other side, I consider the end wherefore I came into the world; and the business of a subject of our Lord Jesus Christ, of a minister of the gospel, of a good patriot, and of an honest man. If I may be of any use to my country, or to God's church, or of any better service to our common master, I must close mine eyes against all private respects: and, if God call me, I must answer, here am I. For my part, therefore, I will not stir one foot, nor lift up my finger for or against this motion; but if it proceed from the Lord, that is, if those whom it concerns there do procure those who may command me here, to send me thither, I shall obey; if it were not only to go into Ireland—but into Virginia. Yea, though I were not only to meet with troubles, dangers and difficulties, but with death itself in the performance."

The business was soon settled. The archbishop and Fellows of Trinity College petitioned the king that he might be appointed provost; and having received the royal command, he cheerfully obeyed.

Fifty years had now passed away since Sir Henry Sidney had strenuously urged the absolute necessity of instructing the Irish people in their native language. For this purpose, ministers ought to have been prepared by a thorough knowledge of it, but hitherto nothing of the kind had been done. Bedell saw the



necessity of this preparation, and it was the first thing to which he turned his attention, on taking upon himself the Provostship of Trinity College; during the short period of two years, that he remained there, he instituted an "Irish lecture." In 1629, Laud, the Chancellor, thus writes to Primate Usher:—"The king likes wondrous well of the Irish lecture begun by Mr. Bedell, and the course of sending such young men as your grace mentions." In a letter from Bedell himself, to Usher, dated September 18, 1630, he tells of one of these young men who had attended the Irish lecture, as having translated the catechism into Irish.

The university was much indebted to him for many essential services—he rectified disorders; he restored discipline; he made new regulations; and particularly applied himself to the spiritual improvement of the students. In 1629, he was removed from his useful sphere of duty to the bishoprick of Kilmore and Ardagh, in the province of Ulster. He was in the fifty-ninth year of his age when this important charge devolved upon him. How he found things will be best explained in his own letter to Archbishop Laud:—

“Right reverend father, my honourable good lord,—

“Since coming to this place I have not been unmindful of your lordship’s commands to advertise you, as my experience should inform me, of the state of the church, which I shall now the better do, because I have been about my dioceses, and can set down, out of my knowledge and view, what I shall relate. And shortly, to speak much ill matter in a few words—it is very miserable.

“The cathedral church of Ardagh, one of the most ancient in Ireland, said to be built by St. Patrick, together with the bishop’s house there, down to the ground. The church here without bell or steeple, font or chalice. The parish churches all, in a manner, ruined, unroofed, and unrepaired. The people, saving a few British planters here and there, are obstinate recusants (refusers of the protestant doctrines); a popish clergy, more numerous by far than we, and in full exercise of all jurisdiction ecclesiastical by their vicar-general and officials, who are so confident, that they excommunicate those that come to our courts, even in matrimonial causes—which affront hath been offered to myself by the popish primate’s vicar-general, for which I have begun a process against him. Their primate himself lives in my parish, within two miles of my house; the bishop, in another part of my diocese, farther off. Every parish hath its priests, and some, two or three a-piece; and so their mass-houses also: in some places mass is said in the churches. Friars there are in divers places, who go about, though not in their habit, and by their importunate beggings impoverish the people; who, indeed, are generally very poor, as from that cause, so from their paying double tithes to their own clergy and to ours; from the dearth of corn, and the death of their cattle these late years; with the contributions to their soldiers and their agents; and (which they forget not to reckon among other causes) the oppression of the court ecclesiastical, which in very truth, my lord, I cannot excuse, and do seek to reform. For our own there are seven or eight ministers



in each diocese of good sufficiency; and (which is no small cause of the people's continuance in popery still) English, which have not the tongue of the people nor can perform any divine offices, or converse with them; and which hold, many of them, two or three, four, or more vicarages a-piece: even the clerkships themselves are, in like manner, conferred upon the English, and sometimes two or three, or more, upon one man; and ordinarily bought and sold, or let to farm. His majesty is now, with the greatest part of the country, as to their hearts and consciences, king, but at the pope's discretion.

“WILLIAM KILMORE AND ARDAGH.”

“Kilmore, April 1, 1630.”

At Wentworth's first coming to Ireland he was prejudiced against Bedell, because of his having signed a petition from the county of Cavan, complaining of the subsidies levied, and proposing some regulations for the army, which was thought so insolent, that when any commission or order was brought to Strafford with the bishop's name, he dashed it out with his pen, expressing his indignation. Bedell himself, being conscious of his innocence, did not much regard the displeasure of the lord-lieutenant on his own account, yet he used prudent means to overcome it. He did not present himself with the other bishops to congratulate him on his arrival, but wrote to his steady friend, Sir Thomas Jermyn, to undertake the office of conciliation for him, which he managed so effectually, that when Bedell afterwards came with his tardy congratulations, he was

received with a very particular kindness instead of being imprisoned, or deprived, as many thought he would. One of Bedell's letters, at this time, to the Archbishop of Canterbury, gives, along with his own vindication, such an account of the state of the country that it is worthy of insertion. Burnet thinks, from the way in which it begins, that the whole letter had not been transmitted to him.

“ Right honourable my very good lord,

“ In the midst of these thoughts, I have been advertised from an honourable friend in England, that I am accused to his majesty of having opposed his service; and that my hand, with two other bishops only, was to a writing touching the money to be levied on the papists for maintenance of the men of war. Indeed, if I should have had such an intention, this had been not only to oppose the service of his majesty, but to expose, with the public peace, mine own neck to the skeins\* of the Romish cut-throats. I, that knew that in this kingdom of his majesty's the pope hath another kingdom far greater in number, constantly guided and directed by the order of the new congregation, De Propaganda Fide, lately erected at Rome. The pope hath here a clergy, if I may guess by my own diocese, double in number to us, the heads whereof are by corporeal oath bound to him, to maintain him and his regalities, and to execute his mandates to the uttermost of their forces, which accordingly they do.

\* Knives.

“ I, that knew there is in the kingdom, for the moulding of the people to the pope’s obedience, a rabble of irregular regulars, commonly younger brothers of good houses, who are grown to that insolency, as to advance themselves to be members of the ecclesiastical hierarchy in better ranks than priests, insomuch that the censure of the Sorbonne is fain to be implored to curb them, which yet is called in again; so tender is the pope of his own creatures. I, that knew that his holiness hath erected a new university in Dublin to confront his majesty’s college there, and to breed the youth of his kingdom to his devotion, of which university one Paul Harris, the author of that infamous libel which was put forth in print against my lord of Armagh’s Wansted sermon, styleth himself in print to be dean. I, that knew and have given advertisement to the state, that these regulars dare erect new friaries in the country, since the dissolving of those in the city; that they have brought the people to such a sottish senselessness, as they care not to learn the commandments as God himself spake and writ them; but they flock in great numbers to the preaching of new superstitious and detestable doctrines, such as their own priests are ashamed of; and at all those they levy collections, three, four, five, or six pounds at a sermon. In short, I, that knew that those regulars and this clergy have, at a general meeting, like to a synod, as themselves style it, decreed, that it is not lawful to take an oath of allegiance: and, if they be constant to their own doctrine, do account his majesty, in their hearts, to be king, but at the pope’s discretion. In this state of this kingdom, to think the

bridle of the army may be taken away, should be the thought, not of a brain-sick, but a brainless man.

“Your Lordship’s, in all duty,

“WILLIAM KILMORE.”

“*The day of our deliverance from the  
popish powder plot, anno, 1633.*”

Bedell regarded the power of ordination as the most sacred part of a bishop’s trust, and weighed carefully in his thoughts the importance of Paul’s charge to Timothy—“Lay hands suddenly on no man, and be not a partaker of other men’s sins.” He made the primitive times his standard, resolving to come as near to it as he could, considering the corruption of the age in which he lived. He was so careful that those who were ordained by him should be at no charge, that he wrote all the instruments himself, and delivered them with his own hands to the persons to whom they belonged, earnestly entreating them not to give anything to his servants; to prevent which he always attended them, on those occasions, to the gate of his house.

His next care was to observe the conduct of his clergy: he knew that the lives of churchmen had generally much more efficacy than their sermons: therefore, he was the more sensibly struck with the remark of an Irishman, made in open court, “That the king’s priests are as bad as the pope’s priests.” These last being grossly ignorant, and openly immoral, addicted to drunkenness, and other gross vices—the reproach was a very heavy one.

Bedell never gave a benefice to any one, without so-



lemnly engaging him to reside at his living, and enjoining him to hold no other. He thus concluded his collations:—"Obtesting you, in the Lord, and enjoining you, by virtue of that obedience which you owe to the great Shepherd, that you will diligently feed his flock committed to your care, which he purchased with his own blood; that you instruct them in the catholic faith, and perform divine offices in a tongue understood by the people; and above all things, that you show yourself a pattern to believers, in good works, so that the adversaries may be put to shame when they find nothing for which they can reproach you."

Bishop Bedell soon perceived that no efficient means had been used for the conversion of the native Irish; that they had been a despised, neglected people; treated as though they were incapable of culture or civilization. He clearly discerned the mistake, that force alone could restrain them and harsh measures subdue them. They had never read the scriptures. There was no man to tell them, in their own tongue, what the Son of God had suffered for the salvation of the soul. Bedell being determined that no effort of his should be wanting to effect this great purpose, sat down, in the sixtieth year of his age, to learn the Irish language, preparatory to a complete translation of the whole Bible. But this was a great work: he wanted help; and, on inquiry, was directed to Murtoth King, a convert from popery—who, thirty years before, had been employed in the translation of the New Testament, and was esteemed the best Irish scholar of his day. Another assistant was found in Dennis O'Shereden. The bishop having

admitted Mr. King to holy orders, placed him in a benefice, and committed to his care the translation of the Holy Scriptures, “commending him to God with prayer and blessing.”

The people were highly flattered by Bishop Bedell’s desire to learn their language. It was quite sufficient to attract them to the church where he preached, and to cause his doctrine to distil, like the dew, into the hearts of the natives. Both his dioceses were chiefly inhabited by them; and he was so deeply impressed with the absolute necessity that they should have ministers thus qualified, that he rejected several applicants, simply because they were unacquainted with the Irish tongue.

Before he was able to engage in the service himself—while the scriptures in Irish were being read in his own church—he was always present. And when he made himself master of the language, he frequently read the prayers himself. Numbers came willingly to receive instruction from him, with whom “he took great pains to convey a true sense of religion; teaching every man in all wisdom, that he might present every man perfect in Christ Jesus.”

Through the blessing of God on Bedell’s efforts, some men of talent were converted to God, whom he afterwards employed in preaching the gospel to their countrymen. He required of his clergy to institute schools in every parish; and proceeding vigorously with the translation of the Bible, he completed it, and resolved on printing it *at his own expense*. But as all who will live godly in Christ Jesus must suffer persecution, this good bishop did not escape. Satan stirs

up many adversaries to oppose the Lord's work, to the great discomfort of his faithful servants, though he cannot really circumvent or overthrow that which a stronger than he has ordained.\*

There were abuses which Bedell laid before Archbishop Usher, entreating him earnestly to use his best endeavour to reform them,—“Since they were acted in his name, and by virtue of his authority deputed to his chancellor and to the other officers of the court, called the *spiritual court*.† No man was more sensible than Usher was of those abuses. No man knew better the rise and progress of them—nor could any man be more touched with the ill effects of them: together with his great learning, he had a great soul; and no man had a more apostolical mind. In conversation, he expressed himself with the simplicity of a true Christian. Passion, pride, self-will, or the love of the world, seemed to have no place in his nature. It was dove-like. He had a way of gaining people's hearts, while he touched their consciences, so as somewhat to revive the apostolical age. He was certainly one of the best men that the age, or perhaps the world, has produced. But no man is entirely perfect; he was not made for the governing part of his function. He had too gentle a soul for the rough work of reforming abuses; and, therefore, he left things as he found them. He hoped a time of reformation would come, of which he saw the necessity; and probably felt that he was too inactive, for he prayed often, with great humility, that

\* *Hone's Lives.*

† Burnet.



God would forgive him his sins of omission, and his failure in duty. His physician, Dr. Boatius, said truly of him, "If our primate of Armagh were as good a disciplinarian, as he is eminent in searching antiquity, defending the truth, and preaching the gospel, he might without doubt deserve to be made the chief of churchmen of Christendom."

Bedell observed, with great concern, that the clergy had scarcely considered the natives as a part of their charge, and had left them wholly to their own priests, without taking any other care than to make them pay their tithes. Their priests, in general, knew nothing beyond the reading their offices, which many of them did not understand; and all they taught the people was to say their Paternoster and Ave Maria in Latin.

For the conversion of the natives, Bedell thought the best way would be to gain the priests; for all that the people had been taught of Christianity was, to depend upon what their priests told them—this was to confess their sins, pay them their dues, and receive absolution. Several of the priests were converted by means of the bishop's instruction, and gave such satisfactory proofs of it, that he provided benefices for some of them; and so truly and effectually did he inculcate the principles of religion, that but one of his converts fell away. When the rebellion broke out, this man was among the first in plundering and killing the English.

There was a convent of friars near him, on whom he bestowed much pains, with very good success. He wrote a short catechism for his converts, (and as a means of instructing others as well,) and had it printed, English



on one page, Irish on the other. He dispersed this all over his diocese; it was received with great joy by many of the Irish, who seemed to be hungering and thirsting after righteousness, so eagerly did they receive this beginning of knowledge.

The catechism contained the elements and most essential truths of the Christian religion; together with some forms of prayer and instructive passages of scripture.

Heartily condemning the system of pluralities and non-residence among the clergy, by preaching and private persuasions, he strenuously set forth the great evil of these prevailing abuses.

Setting his clergy an example, he resigned Ardagh to Dr. Richardson.—It had such an effect, together with the sermon which he preached, that all his clergy relinquished their pluralities. He saw the finger of God in this—for he had no authority to compel them—yet he won them by such gentle ways, that their compliance was at once free and unanimous, with but one exception—the dean refused to submit to such terms as the bishop and his clergy had agreed on; but being ashamed to continue in the diocese, he exchanged his deanery for another. That he became an opponent to Bedell will be seen from a letter written to Primate Usher:—

“Most reverend father, my honourable good lord,

“I cannot easily express what contentment I received at my late being with your grace at Termonfeckin. There had nothing happened to me, I will not say, since I came into Ireland, but, as far as I can

call to remembrance, in my whole life, which did so much affect me in this kind, as the hazard of your good opinion. For, loving and honouring you in truth (for the truth's sake which is in us, and shall abide with us for ever), without any private interest, and receiving so unlooked-for a blow from your own hand (which I expected should have tenderly applied some remedy to me, being smitten by others), I had not present the defences of reason and grace. And although I knew it to be a fault in myself, since, in the performance of our duties, the judgment of our master, even alone, ought to suffice us; yet I could not be so much master of mine affections as to cast out this weakness. But blessed be God, who (as I began to say) at my being with you, refreshed my spirits by your kind renewing and confirming your love to me: and all humble thanks to you, that gave me place to make my defence, and took upon you the cognizance of mine innocency. And as for mine accuser (whose hatred I have incurred only by not giving way to his covetous desire of heaping living upon living, to the evident damage, not only of other souls committed to him, but of his own) truly, I am glad, and do give God thanks that this malignity, which awhile masked itself in the pretence of friendship, hath at last discovered itself by public opposition. It hath not, and I hope it shall not be in his power to hurt me at all; he hath rather shamed himself: and, although his high heart cannot give his tongue leave to acknowledge his folly, his understanding is not so weak and blind as not to see it. Whom I could be very well content to leave to taste

the fruit of it also, without being further troublesome to your grace, save that I do not despair but your grace's authority will pull him out of the snare of Satan, whose instrument he hath been to cross the work of God; and give me more occasion of joy by his amendment, than I had grief by his perversion and opposition."

The primate had written to the dean on this business, which seemed to have made a right impression on his mind, for Bedell writes, "As I was at the Lord's table, beginning the communion service, before the sermon, Mr. Dean came in, and after the sermon, he stood forth and spake to this purpose, before those who were to communicate:—'Whereas the Book of Common Prayer requires, that before the Lord's Supper, if there be any variance or breach of charity, there should be reconciliation; and much more is this requisite among ministers.'—And because they all knew there had been some difference between him and me, he professed that he bore me no malice, nor hatred, and if in anything he had offended me, he was sorry." The bishop told him he had good reason to be sorry, and that it grieved him (who, if it were in his power, would not so much as make his finger ache), to see that a man in whom there were many good parts, should be the means of opposing the work of God, which he felt assured he had been called to bring about. "He offered himself at the Lord's board, and I gave him the communion. After dinner he preached from 1 John iv. 10."

But his actions did not agree with his doctrine. At the next visitation, he carried on the same system of



opposition to the good bishop, and said he would appeal to the primate.

There were some who could instruct the people in their own tongue whom Bedell would gladly have provided with livings. Mr. Crián, a converted friar, being one: Mr. Nugent was another. There were also two young men who had been instructed by attending the Irish Lecture at college, one of whom had translated the primate's catechism into Irish. There were several others, he said, that ought not to be passed by, when benefices were to be filled. "And," he adds, "so long as this is the cause of Mr. Dean's wrath against me, whether I suffer by his pen or his tongue, I shall rejoice, as suffering for righteousness' sake. I do submit my actions, after God, to your grace's censure, ready to make him (Mr. Dean) satisfaction, if in any thing, in word or deed, I have wronged him."\*

Again he writes,—

"My most reverend father, my honourable good lord,  
 "The report of your grace's indisposition, how sorrowful it was to me, the Lord knows. Albeit, the same was somewhat mitigated by other news of your better estate. In that fluctuation of my mind (perhaps like that of your health) the saying of the apostle served me as an anchor.—That none of us liveth to himself, neither doth any die to himself. For whether we live, we live unto the Lord; or whether we die, we die to the Lord. Whether we live, therefore, or die, we are the Lord's.

\* Extracts from a letter, dated Kildare, Sept. 18, 1630.



Thereupon, from the bottom of my heart, commending your estate, and that of the church here (which how much it needs you, He knows best) to our common master, though I had written large letters to you, which have lain by me sundry weeks, fearing in your sickness to be troublesome; I thought not to send them, but to attend some other opportunity, after your present recovery, to send, or perhaps bring them. When I understood by Mr. Dean of his journey, or at least sending an express messenger to you with other letters, putting me also in mind, that perhaps it would not be more unwelcome to you to hear from me, though you forbear to answer. I yielded to the example and condition: so much the rather, because I remembered myself a debtor to your grace by my promise of writing to you more fully touching the reasons of my difference with Mr. Cooke; and now a suitor in your court at his instance.

“ And first I beseech your grace, let it be a matter merely of merriment that I skirmish a little with your court, touching the inhibition and citation which thence proceeded against me, as you shall perceive by the inclosed accusation. For the thing itself, as I have written, I do submit it wholly to your grace’s decision.

“ And to enlarge myself a little, not as to a judge, but a father, to whom, besides the bond of your undeserved love, I am bound also by an oath of God: I will pour out my heart to you, even without craving pardon for my boldness. It will be perhaps some little diversion of your thoughts from your own infirmity, to understand that you suffer not alone—you in body, others in

other ways; each must bear his cross and follow the steps of his high master. My lord, since it pleased God to call me to this place, in this church, what my intentions have been to the discharge of my duty, He best knows. But I have met with many impediments and discouragements; and chiefly from those of mine own profession of religion. Some professing kindness for me, have branded me a papist, an Arminian, a neuter, a politician, an equivocator, a niggardly house-keeper, a usurer; that I bow at the name of Jesus, pray to the east, would pull down the seat of my predecessor to set up an altar, denied burial in the chancel to one of his daughters.

“These things have been reported at Dublin; and I have been told that some of the best affected of mine own diocese, induced hereby to bewail with tears the misery of the church: some of the clergy also, as it was said, looking about how they might remove themselves out of this country. Yet, ‘I will go on in the strength of the Lord God, and remember His righteousness, even His only.’ To this I was exhorted, by my lord of Canterbury, when I first came over, and have obtained help of God to do, even to this day.

“How much better to study to be quiet, and to do mine own business, or like Luther, go into my study and pray.

“My lord, I do thus account, that to any work or enterprise, to remove impediments is a great part of the performance.

“And amongst all the impediments to the work of God amongst us, there is not any one greater than

the abuse of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. This is not only the opinion of the most godly, judicious, and learned men that I have known; but the cause of it is plain. The people pierce not into the inward and true reason of things; they are sensible in the purse. And that religion, that makes men who profess it, and shows them to be despisers of the world, and so far from encroaching upon others in matters of base gain, as rather to part with their own,—is magnified. This bred the admiration of the primitive Christians, and afterwards of the monks. Contrary causes must needs produce contrary effects. Wherefore, let us preach never so painfully and piously: I say more, let us live never so blamelessly ourselves, so long as the officers in our courts prey upon them, they esteem us no better than publicans and worldlings; and so much the more deservedly, because we are called spiritual men, and call ourselves reformed Christians.

“I have heard that it has been said by great personages here, that my lord primate is a good man; but his court is as corrupt as others—some say worse—and which, I confess to your grace, did not a little terrify me from visiting till I might see how to do it with fruit,—that of your late visitation, they see no profit, but the taking of money.

“For my part, I cannot bethink me of any course fitter for the present, than to keep the courts myself, and set some good order in them. To this purpose I have been at Cavan, Belturbet, Granard, and Longford, and do intend to go to the rest, leaving, with some of the ministry there, a few rules touching those things



which are to be redressed, that if my health do not permit me to be always present, they may know how to proceed in my absence.”

The other bishops, far from supporting Bedell in this, allowed him to fall under censure, without any interposition in his favour, as in a common cause there would have been. Even the primate told him, that the tide went so high, he could no longer assist him. But the bishop was not disheartened; and in thanking Usher for the assistance he had already given, he added, that with the help of God, he would try if he could stand by himself. He went home, still determined to go on in his courts as he had begun, notwithstanding his being censured,—for he had a spirit which would suffer martyrdom rather than fail in anything which lay on his conscience. Mr. Cook (his chancellor, whom he had suspended on equitable charges, and was by him cited to appear at the primate’s court) gave him no further disturbance, and never called for the costs, £100, but named a surrogate, to whom he gave directions to be attentive and obedient in all things to the bishop. He was himself, probably, subdued by the deference which he saw evinced by all people to the authority of this apostolic man.

But Bedell’s example was not suffered to pass into a precedent: it was thought more expedient to keep up the authority of lay chancellors in Ireland; yet private orders were given, to let him go on as he had begun. Many years afterwards, his chancellor told Mr. Clogy, that “he thought there was not such a man on the face of the earth as Bishop Bedell; that he was too hard for



all the civilians in Ireland; and that if he had not been borne down by mere force, he had overthrown the consistorial courts and recovered the episcopal jurisdiction out of the chancellor's hands."

Bedell considered that all church power was for edification, not for destruction; he dispensed the justice which belonged to his courts equally and speedily; he cut off many fees and much expense, which had made them odious; and when persons deserving severe censure were brought before him, he considered that the censure of the church ought not to be as the revengeful acts of tyrants, but like the discipline of parents, whose purpose, in correcting their children, is to produce amendment. His chief study was to lead offenders to a true sense of their transgressions. Many of the Romish priests were brought into his courts, under scandalous accusations, which opportunity he made use of in pointing out the tyrannical imposition of their church in enjoining celibacy.

Mr. Baily, a presumptuous young man, pretended that there was a lapse of the benefice, which the bishop had given to Mr. King, and by this means he obtained it for himself, though it was in the bishop's gift. One of the abuses of that time was the facility with which unprincipled clerks made out that an incumbent was dead, or had no right induction to his benefice, or had forfeited it; and hence they procured a grant of the living from the king—thus was the incumbent turned out without redress. Upon the present occasion, it was falsely asserted that the translator of the scriptures into Irish had forfeited his living.

Baily, the informer, came down with a grant of it under the great seal; and took forcible possession of the benefice. Bishop Bedell had given him a vicarage, and taken an oath of him to hold no other. He was now cited before the bishop for his violent and unjust intrusion on another man's rights, and for perjury. In order to cover himself from the last imputation, Baily procured a dispensation from the Prerogative Court— notwithstanding his oath never to hold more than one benefice. Bedell looked upon this as one of the worst and most scandalous artifices of popery, to dissolve the most sacred of all bonds;—it grieved his soul to see so base a thing acted in the name of Archbishop Usher, though it was done by his surrogates. Without regarding it, however, the bishop served Baily with several decided canonical admonitions, and finding him still inflexible, he deprived him of the vicarage he had given him—excommunicated him, and gave orders that the sentence should be published throughout the deanery: upon which Baily's clerk appealed to the Prerogative Court, and the bishop was cited to answer for what he had done. He made his appearance, but refused to answer—or give an account of a spiritual censure which he had inflicted on one of his clergy; this was beneath the office and dignity of a bishop, before two laymen, though they were the primate's surrogates. He excepted against the incompetency of the court, on two accounts; the primate was not there in person—and they who represented him had given clear evidence of their partiality, which he had offered to prove to the primate himself. It appeared, by many

indications, that they had prejudged the matter in Baily's favour, and had expressed great resentment against the bishop. Without any respect to the dignity of his office, they kept him an hour and a-half waiting among the crowd. Many other manifestations of contumely and contempt did not provoke him to any hasty or unbecoming expressions of anger, while he still maintained his ground. But his enemies prevailed so far, that he was declared contumacious—and the perjured intruder was confirmed in the benefices to the exclusion of Mr. King.

The strangest part of this transaction was the conduct of the primate, who could not be prevailed on to interpose, nor stop the unjust prosecution that this excellent man had fallen under for so good a work.

It appears from the following letter written by Bedell, in answer to one which he had received from the primate, that his affections were alienated from him:—

“ Most reverend father, my honourable good lord,  
“ The superscription of your grace's letters was most welcome unto me as bringing under your own hand the best evidence of the recovery of your health, for which I did, and do give hearty thanks unto God. For the contents of them, as your grace conceived, they were not so pleasant. But, as the wise man saith, the words of a friend are faithful. Sure they are no less painful than any other. Unkindness cuts more to the heart than malice can do. I have some experience, by your grace's said letters, concerning which I have been at some debate with my-



self, whether I shall answer them with David's demand, 'What have I now done?'—or as the wrongs of parents, with patience and silence. But Mr. Dean telling me, that this day he is going towards you, I will speak once, come of it what will. You write that the course I took with the papists was generally cried out against; neither do you remember, in all your life, that anything was done here by any of us, at which the professors of the gospel took more offence, or by which the adversaries were more confirmed in their superstitions and idolatry; wherein you could wish that I had advised with my brethren, before I would adventure to pull down that which they have been so long in building. Again, what I did, you know, was done out of a good intention; but you were assured that my project would be so quickly refuted with the present success and event, that there would be no need my friends should advise me from building such castles in the air, &c.

“My lord all this is a riddle to me. What course I have taken with the papists; what I have done at which your professors of the gospel did take such offence, or the adversaries were so confirmed; what it is that I have adventured to do; or what piece, so long a building, I have pulled down; what those projects were, and those castles in the air so quickly refuted with present success, as the Lord knows, I know not. For truly, since I came to this place, I have not changed one jot of my purpose, or practice, or course, with papists, from that which I held in England, or in Trinity College, nor found (I thank God) any ill success; but the slanders only of some persons discontented against



me for other occasions; against which I cannot hope to justify myself, if your grace will give ear to private information. But let me know, I will not say, my accuser (let him continue masked till God discover him), but my transgressions, and have place of defence; and if mine adversary write a book against me, I will hope to bear it on my shoulder, and bind it to me as a crown.

“ For my recusation of your court, and advertisement of what I heard thereof, I see they have stirred not only laughter, but some coals too. Your chancellor desires me to acquit him to you, that he is none of those officers I meant; I do it very willingly; for I neither meant him nor any man else; but thought it concerned your grace to know what I credibly heard to be spoken concerning your courts. Neither, as God knows, did I ever think it was fit to take away the jurisdiction from chancellors, and put it into the bishops' hands alone; or, so much as in a dream, condemn those that think they have reason to do otherwise; nor tax your grace's visitation: nor imagine you would account that to pertain to your reproof, and take it as wrong from me, which, out of my duty to God and you, I thought was not to be concealed from you. I beseech you pardon me this one error.

“ For that knave whom (as your grace writes) they say I did absolve, I took him for one of my flock, or rather Christ's, for whom he shed his blood. And I would have absolved Julian the Apostate under the same form. Some other passages there be in your grace's letters, which I,—but I will lay mine hand

upon my mouth, and craving the blessing of your prayers, ever remain,

“Your grace’s poor brother, and humble servant,

“WILLIAM KILMORE.”

“Kilmore, March 29, 1630.”

A convocation was held in Dublin, in 1634, the fifth year of his incumbency, and when the subject was discussed of the version of the scriptures and Prayer Book for the use of the native Irish, it met with no small opposition from Bramhall, Bishop of Derry, who grounded his arguments on politics and maxims of state, especially on the act of Henry VIII. Bedell, seconded by Usher, answered him from the principles of theology and the good of souls. These arguments prevailed, and the convocation passed the following canons:—“Where most of the people are Irish, the churchwarden shall provide, at the charge of the parish, a Bible and two Common Prayer Books in the *Irish tongue*.”—“Where the minister is an Englishman, such a clerk may be chosen as shall be able to read those parts of the service which shall be appointed to be read, in *Irish*.”

In 1638, all the fortitude and piety of Bedell were needful to bear him up under an accumulation of trials. The beloved partner of all his joys and sorrows was taken from him. He was enabled to preach her funeral sermon on “A good name is better than precious ointment; and the day of death, than the day of one’s birth.”

Deeply feeling the loss he had sustained, his dis-

course on the occasion called forth the sympathy of his hearers.

At this period, when he must have anticipated a successful termination to his laborious undertaking, a much more formidable opposition was raised than the preceding one. It came from a very powerful and unexpected quarter. It proceeded not from any Irishman, nor any Roman catholic: his opponents were English protestants!

In 1633, Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, had been chosen Chancellor of Trinity College, Dublin. He, and the Earl of Strafford took part with those who objected to the publication of the Irish scriptures. The reason assigned was Mr. King's incompetency for this work, which they affirmed would draw contempt upon the undertaking. But Mr. King had been engaged to carry on the translation by the advice of Archbishop Usher and other eminent men; and Bedell, finding that he was perfectly familiar with the Irish tongue, had appointed him to a living, for which he was peculiarly adapted. On pretence of some slight ecclesiastical delinquency, the archbishop's surrogates deprived Mr. King of his living and imprisoned him; and the man who informed against him, though entirely ignorant of the Irish language, was appointed to supply his place.

Bedell expressed great sympathy for the unjust sufferings of his aged friend; but the contempt thrown upon the translation of the Bible touched him more closely, and induced him to address the following letter to the lord-lieutenant.



“ Right hon. my good lord,

“ That which I have sometimes done willingly, I do now necessarily, to make my address to your honour by writing. The occasion is not my love of contention, or any other matter of profit, but God’s honour and (as he is witness) yours. I have lately received letters from my Lord of Canterbury, whereby I perceive that his grace is informed that Mr. King, whom I employed to translate the Bible into Irish, is a man so ignorant, that the translation cannot be worthy of public use in the church; and, besides, obnoxious, so that the church can receive no credit from anything that is his. And his grace adds, ‘ that he is so well acquainted with your lordship’s disposition, that he assures himself you would not have given away his living had you not seen just cause for it.’—I account myself bound to satisfy his grace herein, and desire, if I may be so happy, to do it, by satisfying you. I do subscribe to his grace’s assured persuasion, that your lordship, had you not conceived Mr. King to be such as he writes, would not have given away his living.

“ But, my lord, the greatest, justest, wisest men do, and must take many things upon the information of others, who themselves are men, and may sometimes, out of weakness or some other cause, be deceived. Touching Mr. King’s silliness, (which it concerns me the more to clear him of, that I be not accounted silly myself,) I beseech your lordship to take information, not by them who never saw him till yesterday, but by the ancient churchmen or statesmen of the kingdom, in whose eyes he hath lived these many years,—



as the Lord Primate, the Bishop of Meath, the Lord Dillon, Sir James Ware, and the like. I doubt not but your lordship shall understand, that there is no such danger that the translation shall be unworthy, because he did it; being a man of that known sufficiency, for the Irish especially, either in prose or verse, as few are his matches in the kingdom. And shortly, not to argue by conjecture and divination, let the work itself speak—yea, let it be examined *rigoroso examine*; if it be found approvable, let it not suffer disgrace from the small boast of the workman.

“Touching his being obnoxious, it is true that there is a scandalous information put in against him in the High Commission Court, by his despoiler, Mr. Baily, (as my Lord of Derry told him, in my hearing, he was,) and by an excommunicate despoiler as myself, before the execution of any sentence, declared him in the court to be; and Mr. King being cited to answer, and not appearing (as by law he was not bound), was taken, *pro confesso*, deprived of his ministry and living, fined an hundred pounds, and decreed to be attached and imprisoned. His adversary, Mr. Baily, before he was sentenced, purchased a new dispensation to hold his benefice, and was, the very next day after, as appears by the date of the institution, presented in the king’s title (although the benefice be of my collation), and instituted by my lord primate’s vicar, and, shortly after, inducted by an archdeacon of another diocese. A few days after, he brought down an attachment, and delivered Mr. King to the pursuivant. He was trailed by the head and feet to horseback, and brought to Dublin,

where he hath been kept, and continued under arrest, these four or five months; and hath not been suffered to purge his supposed contempt by oath and witnesses; that by reason of his sickness, he was hindered, whereby he was brought to death's door, and could not appear and prosecute his defence; and that, by the cunning of his adversary, he was circumvented,—entreating that he might be restored to liberty, and his cause to its former state. But this hath not availed him. My reverend colleagues of the high commission do some of them pity his case. Others say the sentence passed cannot be reversed, lest the credit of the court be attached. They bid him simply submit himself, and acknowledge his sentence just. Whereas, the bishops of Rome themselves, after most formal proceedings, do grant restitution, *in integrum*, and acknowledge that *sententia Romanæ sedis potest in melius commutari*. My lord, if I understand what is right, divine or human, these be wrongs upon wrongs, which, if they reached only to Mr. King's person, were of less consideration. But when, through his side, that great work, the translation of God's Book, so necessary for both his Majesty's kingdoms, is mortally wounded; pardon me, I beseech your lordship, if I be sensible of it. I omit to consider what feast our adversaries make of our rewarding him thus for that service, or what this example will avail to the alluring of others to conformity. What should your lordship have gained, if he had died, as it was almost a miracle he did not, under arrest, and had been at once deprived of living, liberty, and life? God hath reprieved him, and given your

lordship means, on right information, to remedy, with one word, all inconveniences. For conclusion, good my lord, give me leave a little to apply the parable of Nathan to David to this purpose. If the way-faring man that is to come to us, for such he is, having never yet been settled in one place, have so sharp a stomach that he must be provided for with pluralities, sith there are herds and flocks plenty; suffer him not, I beseech you, under the colour of the king's name, to take the coset ewe of a poor man to satisfy his ravenous appetite. So I beseech the heavenly physician to give your lordship health of soul and body. I rest, my lord, your lordship's most humble servant in Christ Jesus.

“ WILLIAM KILMORE.”

Such was the treatment of a man whose translation of the Bible into the Irish language still exists. The parentage or birth-place of Mr. King cannot be traced; neither is there found on any tombstone an inscription to mark the time or place of his interment. We hear no more of him, after this melancholy detail given by Bishop Bedell, or of his cruel persecution in the eightieth year of his age. Nothing more is said than that Bedell failed in his efforts to restore him to his place and employment; and his name is left among those—

——“ Who lived unknown,  
Till persecution dragg'd them into fame,  
And chas'd them up to heaven.—Their ashes flew,  
No marble tells us whither. With their names  
No bard embalms and sanctifies his song:  
And history, so warm on meaner themes,  
Is cold on this.”\*

\* See Anderson's *Literary Hist.*



At the conclusion of Bedell's life, Burnet says, "Here I must open one of the bloodiest scenes that the sun ever shone upon, and represent a nation all covered with blood, that was in full peace, under no fears nor apprehensions; enjoying great plenty and under an easy yoke; under no oppression in civil matters, nor persecution on account of religion. The bishops and priests of the Romish communion not only enjoyed impunity, but liberty in their worship, almost equal to that which was by law established."

They wanted nothing but empire and a power to destroy all that differed from them: and suddenly this happy land was turned into a field of blood.

Their bishops were resolute in fulfilling the oath they took at their consecration, to "persecute all heretics to the utmost of their power" and their priests, educated in Spain, had brought from thence the true spirit of their religion, which is ever breathing out cruelty.

The circumstances of the time were favourable to their purpose. Britain was so embroiled, that they reckoned upon gaining the mastery before any forces could be sent over to check their progress.

It was given out that what they were about to do was by the king's authority, and for his service; for the further confirmation of this assertion, a seal was cut from another charter, and put to a forged commission, giving warrant for the execution of their project. And because the king was then in Scotland, they made\* use of

\* The puritanic party, who were already prejudiced against Charles, at hearing of the great seal, at once declared that they were a *sold people*.



a Scotch seal; and said that the English in Ireland would be so much in the interest of the English parliament, nearly in rebellion against the king, that they could not serve him better than by making themselves masters in Ireland, in order that they might take part with the king against his rebellious subjects.

Thus they lulled apprehension to sleep, and the nation was imposed on. The conspirators were bound together by many oaths. The castle of Dublin had a well-stored magazine, laid up by the Earl of Strafford for the army which he intended to lead into Scotland, if peace with that country had not rendered it unnecessary. The castle being weakly guarded by a few careless warders, it would have been easily taken by surprise, and the stores would have furnished the rebel army with arms and ammunition; and not only the metropolis, but the whole island, would have been their own. This was the plan they had laid, and kept so secret, that not the least suspicion of it transpired until the night before it was to have taken effect.

The lateness of the season was premeditated for the breaking out of the rebellion, for in the winter there would be a difficulty in transporting forces from England. They reckoned upon receiving succour themselves from France, and supplies of arms, which Cardinal Richelieu had promised them.

The castle of Dublin, contained arms for ten thousand men, with fifty-five pieces of cannon, and a considerable quantity of ammunition, with but fifty men to guard it. On the night before it was to have been seized, an Irishman named O'Conolly, who had been converted

from Romanism, informed the justices of the conspiracy—and they instantly used every means in their power to defend the castle. The alarm quickly spreading through the city, the protestants were all up in arms. Of the three leading conspirators, Moore, Maguire, and Mahon, only the first escaped—the two last were taken prisoners: and Mahon gave information to the justices of the project of a general insurrection: but it came too late to prevent its bloody execution. The rebellion commenced by the seizure of the houses, cattle, and goods of the English, who fell separately into the hands of their enemies. From being unsuspecting of the coming storm, they had made no preparations to defend themselves, as has been already stated from a different author. A universal massacre of the English commenced; no age, no sex, no condition was spared—fathers, mothers, and children, fell together. Whole families were slaughtered under the same fell strokes. Those who hoped to save their lives by flight, met death at every turn. The victims were pursued with relentless cruelty. No safety, no shelter, was to be found from neighbours, relations, friends or companions. The very hand from which protection was implored, dealt the deadly blow. “Without provocation, without opposition, the astonished English, living in profound peace and full security, were massacred by their nearest neighbours, with whom they had long maintained an intercourse of kindness and good offices.” But the blow which inflicted death, was merciful, in comparison with the lingering, agonizing tortures, which ingenious cruelty devised for thousands of their fellow.

mortals. It is heart-rending to read the details, which are here slightly glanced at. They are shocking to humanity, and scarcely could be credited, but that they have been attested by undoubted evidence. Whole houses, with their inmates shut up, without a possibility of escape, were burned together. From Ulster, rebellion spread over the other three provinces of Ireland, like some frightful contagion, sweeping away thousands and tens of thousands. Some who were suffered to escape, were stripped of their clothing, and turned out naked to buffet against the cold and tempest of an unusually severe season. The roads were crowded with these wretched fugitives, trying to escape to the capital. Many who were feeble, old, or sickly, sunk overpowered, and, on the way-side, lingered out the few hours of their wretched existence. Those who survived the rigour of cold, hunger, and weariness, met with the care and commiseration, in Dublin, which their deplorable situation required, and they were tenderly lodged in different houses.\*

It may be easily imagined how much Bishop Bell was affected by the storm which raged around him, though it did not yet break in upon himself. It seemed as if some secret guard protected his dwelling, while nothing was heard or seen on every side but blood, fire, and desolation. For many weeks he remained unmolested in a house completely defenceless. A great number of his neighbours fled to him for shelter. He received all who came, and shared what he

\* Hume. Temple.



had with them; telling them, that as all expectation from men had failed, they must prepare to meet their God: and to this end they spent their time in prayer and fasting, which of necessity they were forced to, for provisions failed.

Bedell ascribed it wholly to that overruling power, which stills the raging of the sea and the madness of the people, that they let him thus alone, and even expressed their esteem for him. They seemed overcome by his exemplary conversation among them, together with the tenderness and charity they had experienced from him; so that they often said, he should be the last Englishman that should be put out of Ireland. He was the only Englishman in the whole county of Cavan, that was suffered to live undisturbed. His house, his out-buildings, his church and churchyard were full of people, many of whom, but a few days before, living in ease and great plenty, were now glad of a little hay or straw to lie on, and some boiled wheat for their sustenance; while kept in hourly expectation of the sword, already reeking with blood, to shed theirs also. They were now eating the bread of affliction, and mingling their drink with their tears. The bishop continued to encourage this weeping assembly, by preaching from the third Psalm, and reading appropriate passages,—“But thou, O Lord, art a shield for me, I will not be afraid of ten thousands of the people, that have set themselves against me round about.”

At length, Bedell received a message from the rebels, to dismiss the company which had collected



about him. This cruel order he refused to obey, resolving to live or die with those who had fled to him in their distress. He received another message, that though they loved and honoured him above all the English that ever came to Ireland, because he had never done wrong, but good to many, yet, as they had received orders from the council of state at Kilkenny, if he would not put away the people who had gathered round him, they should take him from them. His answer was, "Here I am, the Lord do unto me as seemeth good to him. The will of the Lord be done."

On the 18th of December, the rebels put their threats in execution; they seized the bishop, his two sons, and Mr. Clogy, the minister of Cavan, and carried them prisoners to Lockwater Castle,—which was a small tower in the midst of a lake, about a musket-shot from land. There had been a little island, but the water had risen and covered the ground round the tower. The prisoners were not allowed to take anything with them. The rebels conveyed the bishop on horseback, but made his companions walk. When they reached this cold, damp, broken edifice, they put irons on all but Bedell himself.

Soon after, it pleased God so to abate their fury that the irons were taken off, and no disturbance was given in the worship of God, which was the only comfort now left to them. Their abode was very miserable, in a ruinous condition, and open to the storms of an unusually severe winter, and, as the rebels had stript their prisoners of their clothing, they had no defence against its inclemency. Among the prisoners, there was an

Englishman, named Castledine, once a poor carpenter, who had come to Ireland with nothing but his tools, tied in a bundle, on his back. He was employed by Sir Richard Waldren, in the carpenter's work of a castle which he built in the county of Cavan; but, before it was finished, the proprietor, by his extravagant living, had dissipated his property, and was obliged to leave the kingdom. In the space of thirty years, through the blessing of God on his honest industry, Castledine was enabled to purchase the estate, and, having given one of his daughters in marriage to Sir Richard's youngest son, it was his intention to have given him the estate also, as he had no son of his own. He was a man highly esteemed for piety and works of charity. He made himself useful to his fellow-prisoners in the old tower: by procuring some old boards, he contrived to patch up the breaches which exposed them to the inclemency of the weather. They were all marvellously supported. They did not suffer as evil doers, and were not ashamed of the cross of Christ; but rejoiced in God in the midst of their afflictions. The bishop especially, took joyfully the spoiling of his goods and the restraint of his person, comforting himself in the assurance that these light afflictions would quickly work for him a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory. The day after his imprisonment, being the Lord's day, he preached to his little flock, on the epistle for the day, which set before them the humility and sufferings of Christ. On Christmas Day, he preached on Gal. iv. 4, 5, and administered the sacrament; their keepers kindly providing them with bread and wine, as also with

an abundance of provisions, but did not cook them, which they, who had never learned that art, did, as well as they could, for themselves.

On the 26th December, the bishop's eldest son, Mr. William Bedell, preached on the last words of St. Stephen; which was a proper subject of meditation for those who were in daily expectation of being compelled to bear the like testimony to their faith.

The second day of January was the last Sabbath-day of their imprisonment, Mr. Clogy preached on St. Luke, ii. 32, 33, 34. Their keepers never disturbed them in their religious exercises, and treated them most gently; often telling the bishop that they had no quarrel with him personally, nor any other objection than that of his being an Englishman.

When Bedell was taken from his house, the titular bishop took possession of it and all that belonged to him; and the next Lord's day, said mass in his church.

On the 7th of January, by an exchange of prisoners, the bishop, his sons, and Mr. Clogy were taken out of the old tower, and permitted to go to the house of an Irish minister, Denis O'Sheridan, a convert from popery, and married to an Englishwoman. He continued a firm protestant, and relieved many who came to him in their extremity. Here the good Bishop Bedell spent the few remaining days of his pilgrimage, having his latter end full in view; so that he seemed dead to the world and all its concerns, while hasting for the coming of the day of God. During his last Sabbaths on earth, though there were three ministers pre-



sent, he read all the prayers and lessons himself, and preached on all those days.

January 9th—the 44th Psalm, being the first psalm for the day, being so applicable to the sufferings of the English, he preached on the whole of it. “They were killed all the day long as sheep appointed to be slain.” On the following Sabbath-day, the 16th of the month, he again preached on the first psalm for the day (the 79th), which was also applicable—When the temple was defiled and Jerusalem laid on heaps—when the dead bodies of God’s servants were given to be meat to the fowls of heaven, and the flesh of his saints to the beasts of the earth: and their blood was shed like water, and there was none to bury them. He concluded with that equally appropriate prayer, —“O remember not against us former iniquities: let thy tender mercies speedily prevent us, for we are brought very low. Let the sighing of the prisoner come before thee; according to the greatness of thy power preserve thou those that are appointed to die.”

On the 23rd, he preached on the last ten verses of the 71st Psalm, observing, how well they expressed his own circumstances: “O God thou hast taught me from my youth, and hitherto have I declared thy wondrous works: now also when I am old and gray-headed forsake me not.”

The 30th was the last day he had strength to preach, and he again chose the first psalm appointed for the day, (the 144th) the 7th and 11th verses, which he repeated again and again, in such a manner, that to all present, it appeared that he was indeed hasting to



the day of God, and that his heart was crying out, "Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly. How long, how long?" His manner was so impressive and so affecting, accompanied with so many sighs, that the little assembly about him were all in tears, and felt a strong presage of his approaching dissolution, which proved but too true. The day after, he was seized with illness—which on the second day was known to be ague; and on the fourth, apprehending his speedy change, he called for his sons and his son's wives, whom, he addressed, at intervals, as nearly in the following terms as their memory could serve them to take down his words in writing:—

∴ "I am going the way of all flesh, I am now ready to be offered up, and the time of my departure is at hand. Knowing, therefore, that I must soon put off this tabernacle, I know also, that if the earthly house of this my tabernacle were dissolved, I have a building of God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens. A fair mansion in the new Jerusalem, which cometh down out of heaven, from my God. Therefore to me, to live is Christ, and to die is gain; which increaseth my desire even now to depart, and to be with Christ, which is far better. Hearken, therefore, to the last words of your dying father; I am no more in this world, but ye are in the world; I ascend to my Father and to your Father, to my God and your God; through the all-sufficient merits of Jesus Christ my Redeemer; who ever liveth to make intercession for me; who is the propitiation for all my sins, and hath washed me from them all in his own blood; who is worthy to

receive glory, and honour, and power; who hath created all things, and for whose pleasure they are and were created.”

“I have kept the faith once delivered to the saints; for the which cause I also suffer these things; but I am not ashamed, for I know whom I have believed, and I am persuaded that he is able to keep that which I have committed to him against that day.”

He blessed his children and those around him in an audible voice, in these words, “God, of his infinite mercy, bless you all, and present you wholly, and unblameable, and unproveable in his sight, that we may meet together at the right hand of our blessed Saviour Jesus Christ, with joy unspeakable and full of glory. Amen.”

He continued to speak in the same strain, at intervals, until his utterance failed; cheerfully waiting for his change, which came at midnight, on the 7th of February, when he fell asleep in Jesus—and entered into rest and obtained his crown, we may say, of martyrdom; for though he did not suffer by the hand of the executioner, his death was hastened by ill-treatment, imprisonment, and a weight of sorrow of fifteen weeks endurance, as surely as if slain by the sword among the first sufferers.

Mr. Sheridan and Mr. Clogy made application to the titular bishop for permission to bury him, where it was his own wish to be laid, beside the remains of his beloved wife. They found a melancholy change in his house, which had been a house of prayer and good works—it bore the mark of revelling and drunkenness.

The name of the present bishop was Swiney, a fit name, Burnet says, for such a character: he had a brother, whom Bedell was the means of converting, and he had maintained him in his own house, until he had found out a way of providing for him. During the time of greatest agitation, the titular bishop made an offer to come and stay with Bedell, to protect him from violence, which offer he declined in the following letter, written in Latin, translated by Burnet.

“ Reverend brother,

“ I am sensible of your civility in offering to protect me, by your presence, in the midst of this tumult; and upon the like occasion I would not be wanting to do the like charitable office to you: but there are many things that hinder me from making use of the favour you now offer me. My house is strait, and there are a great number of miserable people, of all ranks and ages, of both sexes, that have fled hither for a sanctuary; besides that some of them are sick, among whom, my own son is one. But that which is beyond all the rest, is the difference of our way of worship.

Under our present miseries, we comfort ourselves with the reading of the Holy Scriptures; with daily prayers, which we offer up to God in our vulgar tongue; and with the singing of psalms: and since we find so little truth among men, we rely on the truth of God and on his assistance. These things would offend your company, if not yourself; nor could others be hindered, who would pretend that they came to see you, if you were among us; and, under that colour, those murderers



would break in upon us, who, after they have robbed us of all that belongs to us, would, in conclusion, think they did God good service by our slaughter. For my own part, I am resolved to trust to the Divine protection. To a christian and a bishop, who is now almost seventy, no death for the cause of Christ can be bitter: on the contrary, nothing is more desirable. And though I ask nothing for myself alone, yet if you will require the people, under an *anathema*, not to do any other acts of violence to those whom they have so often beaten, spoiled, and stripped, it will be acceptable to God, honourable to yourself, and happy for the people if they obey you: but if not, consider that God will remember all that is now done. To whom, reverend brother, I do heartily commend you.

“ Yours, in Christ,

“ WILLIAM KILMORE.”

“ November 2, 1641.”

“ To my reverend and loving brother, Dr. Swiney.”

According to his own desire, he was interred close by the remains of his wife, on the 9th. The native Irish, while he lived among them, used to call him “ the best of English bishops;” “ The singular marks of honour and affection which they paid him at his funeral, even in the great heat and fury of the rebellion, do shew, from experience, that the Irish may be drawn by the cords of a man, and that gentle usage and Christian treatment will prevail with them, when the contrary methods will not. In their opinion, he was an heretic, yet they suffered him to be interred in his own burial-

place, desiring, if his friends thought fit, that the office proper for that occasion might be used according to the liturgy. Nay, the chief of the rebels, gathering his forces together, accompanied his body to the churchyard with great solemnity, and discharging a volley at the interment, cried out in latin, "Requiescat in pace, ultimus Anglorum!" While one of the priests who were present exclaimed, "O sit anima mea cum Bedello!"

Thus lived and died Bishop Bedell; and though dead, he yet speaketh. His person was tall and graceful. There was something in his look which commanded veneration. His grey hairs were to him a crown of beauty and honour. His old age was vigorous; his strength continued firm to the last. The week before his last illness, he was able to walk, and leap a broad ditch, so actively, with his sons, as to surprise them.

His chief recreation was the cultivation of his garden. His judgment and memory never failed. He always preached without notes. His style was clear, full, and simple. Every day, after dinner, and again after supper, there was a chapter in the Bible read at his table, no matter who were present, protestants or Romanists—Bibles were laid before each person. In his latter years, the Irish translation was brought, and he usually explained any difficulties which occurred.

There was nothing superfluous in his dress or furniture; plainness and simplicity were observed in both. His table was well covered with such fare as the country provided, and many were hospitably entertained at it. A number of poor Irish families were served from his kitchen; and at Christmas time, he always had the poor

to eat with him at his own table—for he had brought himself to bear with their rudeness and the sight of their rags. He conducted himself towards all people with such a winning humility, that he got into their hearts. He lived with his clergy as if they had been his brethren. At visitations, he accompanied them to such poor inns as the country afforded, and partook of their coarse fare, in preference to that of the rich and great in the neighbourhood, whose invitations he declined on these occasions. He never kept a coach, but performed his journies on horseback. When in Dublin, he always walked through the streets with a servant attending—except on public occasions, when obliged to ride in procession with his brethren.

He had family prayer three times a day; in the morning, before dinner, and after supper; and was always his own chaplain. He was most exemplary and exact in his observance of the sabbath-day—preaching twice regularly, and catechising once.

Bishop Burnet says, “that Usher was too gentle to manage the rough work of reforming abuses.” But if he was gentle, he had a gentle spirit to deal with, (though a firm one). Bedell’s patient continuance in well-doing on various occasions, when hindrances lay in the way, proved that he practised that which he preached on, “Learn of me, for I am meek and lowly.” “Finally,” he says, “he that in matters of controversy, shall bring meekness to his defence, undoubtedly he shall overcome in the manner of handling; and if he bring truth also, he shall prevail at last in the matter.”

Bedell did not confine himself to the translation of



the scriptures, he translated other writings which contained eloquent recommendations of them—these were some homilies of Chrysostom and Leo, which he translated into English and Irish, and circulated with his catechism. While the translation of the Old Testament into Irish was progressing, he compared it with the English, and both these languages with the Hebrew, the Septuagint, and the Italian version of Diodati.

Bedell's critical expositions filled a large trunk, which was carried off by the insurgents. By means of a native Irishman, to whom the bishop had been useful, this treasure was delivered to the owner, and thus his valuable translation was preserved, along with several volumes, and the beautiful Hebrew manuscript of the Old Testament which he had procured from Rabbi Leo, at Venice. Bedell afterwards presented it to Emanuel College. It consists of three folio volumes, in pages of two columns, with an illumination round the first page of each volume, and some letters gilt, has the vowel-point, and the mossora.\*

Bedell passed twelve years in laborious exertions for the conversion of the Irish, and spared neither his income, nor the energies of his mind and body, in his efforts to be useful to them. He felt that he was called of God to do this work, and that many discouragements must not dishearten him. He gave a proof of his disinterestedness in giving up one of his bishoprics—he refused another which was offered him in England—

\* See *Bedell's Life*, by Burnet; and Dyer's *University of Cambridge*.

and amidst the commotions and distractions around him, courageously stood his ground until the Lord, in whom he trusted, delivered him from the evil to come. While this good man lived among the Irish, he fed the hungry and clothed the naked.

The greater portion, by far, of his papers and books were lost. His translation of the scriptures, so providentially preserved, lay for forty years unnoticed!

Bedell did not love the pomp of a choir, nor instrumental music; he thought, while it delighted the ear, it carried the mind away from the more serious matter of making melody in the heart to God; which is indeed singing with grace in the heart.

He was so exact an observer of ecclesiastical rules, that he would perform no part of his function out of his own diocese, without obtaining leave of the ordinary; even in the case of his step-daughter's marriage, which took place in Dublin. It was her anxious desire, as also that of Mr. Clogy, to whom she was united, that Bedell should perform the ceremony, but he would not, until he had taken out a licence for it in the Archbishop of Dublin's consistory.

Bishop Burnet says, in his preface to his "Life of Bedell," "I had a great collection of memorials put into my hands by a worthy and learned divine, Mr. Clogy; who, as he lived long in this bishop's house, so being afterwards minister of Cavan, had occasion to know him well.

"I confess my part in this was so small, that I can scarcely assume anything to myself but the copying out what was put into my hands."

Some interesting fragments have escaped the wreck of time, written in 1650, by Mrs. Thomasen Head, "*For the benefit of her children.*" Her family is supposed to be extinct. We know nothing more of her than that she was a native of England, living in Ireland at the time of the dreadful massacre of the protestants, in 1641. Her address to her children is thus prefaced,

" My dearest children,—

" Grace, mercy, and peace be to you, from God our Father, and Jesus Christ our Lord.

" You have been companions with me in all my troubles, and my sorrows have been therefore enlarged, by your sufferings. You best know the weight of my burden, because you only sympathise in my afflictions. You cannot but remember how, by the providence of God, we pitched our tabernacle in that pleasant place, Ireland. What an heritage did your dear father, now with God, think he had purchased both for himself and us! But while we were singing peace, behold sudden destruction! It was just with God, that we, who had been partners in the sin, should be included in the punishment. God had a controversy with Ireland, and he designed to begin at the sanctuary—his own house.—But in this must we read infinite love:—for though others (precious saints) were stripped of all—yea, and of their lives too,—our God did not only preserve our lives, but something also to cover us, that we might know how to prize mercy the better all our days.

" Oh! what a sanctuary was God to us, when we



fled for our lives to the Isle of Man!—What humanity did those strangers show us!—How did God make up all our wants in our free and loving entertainment!—We that were the most despicable in all the ship,—no money to help us, no friend to speak for us, were taken into the best family in all the island!—There God became to us all in all, sheltering us so long that we could at length pass to and fro with safety.

“At last, after many difficulties and hardships, how were we brought into our native land again, after we had thought we should see it no more!—O that these marvellous deliverances might be engraven upon the tables of your hearts, never to be forgotten till time shall be no more! Blessed be the Lord, who remembered us in our low estate; for his mercy endureth for ever!

“Here did God intend to bring us into the wilderness of sorrow. Here he stripped us bare indeed. He took away the light and delight of our eyes, and the very joy of our hearts—your dearest father, whose death was much aggravated by the circumstances attending it: but it was the Lord’s own doing, though it seemed grievous to us; *and though God’s dealings are often secret, they are ever just.* If we seriously consider, ‘Why did God throw down our tent here?’—that we might have a tabernacle above, eternal in the heavens.”

Mrs. Head tells her children, that inward sincerity, humility, lowliness of mind, a patient waiting, self-denying spirit, are evidences of a work of grace.

“Be earnest with God to give you those *evidences*

for a better and more enduring inheritance, which can never deceive you ! so shall you be truly rich, though here you possess nothing.” “ God hath taken from me three of my children, but they are not lost, they are laid up: though death has them in his hands, he has them not in his power. But, above all, God hath taken him from me, whom I accounted dearer than my life,—such a man, such a minister, such a saint, and such a husband, as considered collectively, this earth will not easily parallel. But it was just in God to deny me those favours which I was careless in keeping, and undervalued in enjoying.

“ Now though God conveyed some comfort by these lower things, yet, whatever I received from possessions, children, husband, health, or any other blessing, it was conveyed by Him who still remains, though these are taken from me. And he still reserves the comfort in Himself, and hath conveyed it in a purer and sweeter way. His immediate comforts I have found to be the strongest comforts; I therefore know not what to fear, since I know in whom I have believed;—for how can I be discouraged with the prospect of any misfortunes, since I perceive their issue to be so happy ?—O let not my heart fear any cross or loss, for all these lower things are as nothing to the least comfortable glimpse of God’s blessed face.

“ I confess that he hath but lightly touched me, when he might justly have crushed me into pieces. For what though he hath deprived me of some most precious jewels, which he had lent me, but now has taken away, because I knew not how to use them.” “ Further, how

hath my soul been borne up, when I have compared my afflictions, though great, with the more heavy ones of others!—This hath made me seriously confess, that my greatest crosses have been but fatherly favours, in comparison with their dreadful punishments.—For what, though I have lost my riches, and have suffered much in the dreadful calamity of Ireland, I escaped untouched, and had my life for a prey; I did not lose even one drop of blood, when there was such a flood let out of the veins of many precious saints, who were far better than I. And what, though I have lost my dearest husband, who was more precious to me than all the world besides; and with him many friends, who were true to me so long as I was in prosperous circumstances;—I have still some friends, and such as are most precious and dear to me,—who regard and take care of me. Oh! how many friends did God create for me before ever they saw my face!—What supplies have I received from them! How have they ministered to my necessities. Whereas others, who have had far greater wealth, have, with it lost all their friends, and so have been brought to great misery. God hath sweetly taught me to submit my neck to the yoke. Yet I must not bear my afflictions without feeling. It is stupidity, and not patience, when the sense of feeling is wanting. There is no difficulty in bearing the yoke when no pain is felt.

“I have lost that precious friend, who was the companion of my life, the joy of my heart, and the cause of my earthly contentment. Who would esteem the world, that hath lost, in one person, all that it can give?



“My prosperity did never better my spiritual estate, but rather made it worse. I did not set that value upon mercies that I now do. I was more prone to sin, and had more provocations. I was farther off from God and had less of the power of godliness. For as the moon, when it is at the full, is farthest distant from the sun, from whom she receives her light and brightness, so when we are in the midst of prosperity, we are usually the farthest off from God, the author and fountain of all our good.”

These extracts taken from Mrs. Head's MSS. give evidence to the spirituality of her views, and her deep experience of that heavenly training which enabled her to endure to the end. Her MSS. fell into the hands of James Franks, A.M., Curate of Halifax. They were all written for the instruction of her children, and plainly never intended to be published. The editor made some corrections in the original MS. which were necessary, from the period when they were written, but they have been done sparingly, and without any important alteration. There is throughout her MSS., so much of the Saviour and her entire dependence on Him, that there can be no doubt but that her foundation was sure. Mrs. Head's clear views of salvation through Christ are traced especially in her “*Evidences for Heaven.*”

Her first evidence is a deep conviction of sin, with restless prayers for sanctification and mercy, through Christ. Her second evinces her deliverance from a state of bondage. “The Holy Ghost, by putting an efficacy into the law of God, and making it powerful

to work on my heart, hath brought me from the terrors of Mount Sinai, where I had been long at school, to those 'sweet waters of Shiloah, that go softly.' Here I have learned comfortable lessons of grace; for I have understood that there is a Saviour, what a Saviour he is, what he hath done, and for whom. The Spirit of God hath enabled me to read the gospel, and the dear lines of love and life which are written in it. I have been convinced that my God hath freely given me an escape from the hideous curses of the law, by the precious blood of Jesus; that He hath commanded me to believe in his name; yea, that He even *beseeches* me to be reconciled to him. Yes, *me*, who had never thought of reconciliation, though I had offended, and who cannot live without Him. Oh! what comfort springs from such grace! Now did my soul conceive hope of mercy. Now did I earnestly seek, yea, hunger and thirst for Christ's righteousness. Nothing but Christ could satisfy my restless soul.

“Above all other saints, I have a most dear and reverend regard for all God's true ministers and faithful ambassadors; not merely because they are Christians, but because they are sent of God to execute their holy functions, for the gathering together of God's people; and because I have received from them, to my eternal comfort, the glad tidings of life and peace. Their feet, therefore, (that is, their approaching and coming to me) have been very beautiful, and delightful.”\*

\* How beautiful upon the mountains, &c. Isaiah, lii. 7.

## CHAPTER XVI.

---

Resistance made by the English Settlers against the Rebels—Acts of atrocious cruelty—Lord Caulfield barbarously murdered—Earl of Ormond Lieutenant-General of the Army—Complaints against the Lords-Justices—Siege of Drogheda—Brave conduct of Sir Henry Tichborne—Rebels defeated—Martial law enforced—Reprehensible conduct of the Justices—Rebels led out by Sir Phelim O'Neil—Arrival of Owen O'Neil—General Synod convened at Kilkenny—Confederacy formed—Covenanters in Ulster—Arrival of Rinuncini the Pope's legate—Discovery of the King's private Letters.

AFTER the termination of the first outbreak and subsequent massacre, the English gentlemen, in different parts of Ulster, who had escaped the fury of their assailants, set about some means of defence from future attacks. A number of these fugitives had found a safe asylum at Carrickfergus, where they were protected, armed and encouraged by Chichester, the governor. At Lisburn and Lurgan there were forces stationed. In the latter place, Sir William Brownlow had a store of ammunition for the defence of his castle and town. Derry, Belfast, and Augher were well-prepared for resistance. The garrison at Augher gallantly sustained a storm, and repulsed the rebels.



Charles had promised to send relief, and accordingly he sent fifteen hundred veterans, commanded by experienced officers, lately disbanded; they were collected and despatched to Ulster, with arms, ammunition, and some money, which the king procured through the assistance of the Duke of Lenox.

The advantages gained by these forces were considerable: the rebels were compelled to raise the siege of Enniskillen, and Lord Maguire's castle was taken by storm. Sir Phelim O'Neil was driven from the siege of Castle Derick, with disgrace and slaughter; but he met with a more decided repulse, where he was much more confident of victory. He assaulted Lisburn, not knowing of a reinforcement which Sir Arthur Tyringham had brought to the garrison. At a very critical moment, further succour arrived, under the command of Sir George Rawden, a brave officer, and one of the English colonists. The violent attacks of the rebels were steadily repelled, and they were put to flight, leaving a greater number of their slain than of those whom they had assailed.

Sir Phelim O'Neil, maddened by these defeats, gave orders to his agent, Macdonel, to renew the massacre of English protestants, and the sanguinary work was pursued throughout three adjoining parishes. Lord Caufield, who had been conveyed to one of O'Neil's houses, was now barbarously murdered, with many other prisoners, to whom freedom and restoration had been promised; but instead of this, they were goaded on to a place of execution. One hundred and ninety persons were hurled from the bridge of Portadown.

But a speedy death terminated their sufferings; while the greater number were condemned to linger long in tortures, variously contrived.

Roger O'Moore, and his promiscuous mob, which he called "*The Catholic Army*," were determined on "a general extirpation of the English, root and branch." Hence the youngest infants were slaughtered with their parents. To give the particulars would be a repetition of horrors already recited. In reference to this time, Plowden, being a Roman catholic writing for his own party, naturally says, "Here I wish to draw an impervious veil over every scene of blood and horror which defiled the actors." He thinks that the massacre was neither premeditated, nor prepared for, and gives as one of his reasons the weapons which they made use of. "Sir John Temple admits, that 'these rebels at their first rising out had not many better weapons than staves, scythes, and pitch-forks.'" Yet with these, according to Borlase, the first insurgents in Ulster got possession of most parts of the kingdom. They were unwieldy, yet merciless weapons! We may form some idea of the defenceless multitudes; men, women, and children, driven like sheep to the slaughter, hewn down as the tender grass falls before the sweeping scythe, well-whetted, for execution; and the pitch-forks, and the thick knotted clubs,\* must have been equally cruel and deadly, in the hands of an infuriated rabble, with hearts as barbarous as their weapons.

The rebels made an attack upon Lurgan, which Sir

\* Called *Shillelahs*.

William Brownlow was forced to surrender, on terms of security to the inhabitants, and permission to carry away their effects. But no terms were kept, nor life, nor property spared.

The Earl of Ormond having been appointed lieutenant-general of the army, would have led out his forces at once, against the rebels, but every effort to oppose them was checked by the lords-justices; and some deep politicians did not scruple to insinuate that they acted under the direction of the ruling faction in England, in not trying to crush the rebellion. Munster and Connaught were preserved, without any assistance from them of soldiers or arms. The presidents of these provinces, Sir William St. Leger, and Lord Ranelagh, strengthened by the English protestants, and the loyalty of the Irish gentry, maintained the tranquility of the inhabitants. Uliac, Earl of Clanricarde, though a Roman catholic, united himself with the preservers of peace in Connaught, Lord Ranelagh, Lord Dillon, and Lord Mayo.

A considerable party in Ireland, well-affected towards the king, and at the same time aware the present insurrection had not been unprovoked, and might easily be suppressed by a timely exertion of such force as Ireland could supply, determined on making this known to the king, without the intervention of the rulers, whom they despised and suspected.\* They drew up a memorial, containing their causes of complaint against the lords-justices, and recommending that Lord

\* Carte, i. p. 227. Leland.



Ormond should be appointed chief governor, as the most effectual means of suppressing the rebellion, without any assistance from England. Lord Dillon was commissioned to present this memorial to Charles. Hoping to counteract its effects, Parsons and Borlase despatched a private letter to the Earl of Leicester, signed only by themselves and their faction, declaring that they could not depend on the other members of the council, nor open themselves before them with such freedom as was suitable to their duty and station. They made other misrepresentations respecting Lord Dillon, and the commission with which he was charged; and in consequence both he, and Lord Taafe, who accompanied him, were seized at Ware, by order of the commons; his papers, being taken from him, were suppressed; and both lords were detained in custody, until their communications could be of no avail.—Through the negligence of their guard, they found an opportunity to escape, and they waited on the king at York,—but it was then too late to offer their propositions. Leland says, “Whatever were the professions of the chief governors, the only danger they really apprehended, was that of a too speedy suppression of the rebellion. Extensive forfeitures was their favourite object, and that of their friends.”

November 29. The rebels drew together a considerable force in order to lay seige to Drogheda. Their numbers were augmented by many who were compelled to unite with them as the only means of safety to themselves. Their appearance spread a general consternation. A body of five hundred foot, and fifty

horse, principally composed of the despoiled and undisciplined English, were sent from Dublin, to reinforce the garrison at Drogheda. At Julian's Town Bridge they suddenly encountered two thousand five hundred of the rebels, by whom they were defeated, and their arms and ammunition taken. This trifling advantage emboldened the rebels, and they marched triumphantly towards the town, which they invested.\* Drogheda was neither well fortified nor provided for a siege. On the first alarm from Ulster, Sir Faithful Fortescue, the governor, had received a small reinforcement from Lord Viscount Moore. He represented to the state, the absolute necessity of an additional force, and offered to raise soldiers at his own expense; but receiving no encouragement, he resigned his commission, which was given to Sir Henry Tichborne. Lord Moore offered to raise and maintain six hundred men, until money should be sent from England, on condition of their being afterwards incorporated into a regiment under his own command. Lord Ormond approved of the proposal, but it was rejected by the lords-justices, and Sir Henry Tichborne was left to maintain his important post in the best manner he could. But if the town of Drogheda was ill-provided, so were its besiegers. They wanted artillery, ammunition, and all such implements as were necessary for the carrying on a siege: they had not even tents to shelter them from the inclemency of a cold tempestuous winter. Their being quartered in the adjacent villages, afforded them

\* Carte. Leland.

an opportunity of cutting off all means of communication and supplies of provisions for the royal army. Both officers and soldiers murmured under the deprivations they endured, and there were many desertions. The prospect of famine was more appalling than the immense superiority of numbers. It was reported that sixteen thousand of the insurgents were quartered in the vicinity.

Sir Simon Harcourt arrived from England with eleven hundred men, which ought to have incited the lords-justices to help forward the military operations; but they were now engaged in a pursuit more interesting to themselves, which was the legal conviction of the lords and gentlemen who had taken part in the rebellion, as preparatory and necessary to the forfeiture of their estates.

A circumstantial account of the siege of Drogheda is given in Sir Henry Titchborne's "Narrative":—"Not," as he says, "having taken the report nor the testimony of others," but that which his "own eyes beheld of the wonderful mercies of God;" and singular deliverances from violence, death, and famine, which he had himself experienced. He reminds his lady, to whom he addresses his "Narrative," that nothing can befall us but that which is pre-disposed by the Almighty Maker of all things." "God hath blessed me with wonderful deliverances, and hath used my weakness as an instrument to manifest His mighty power."

On the memorable 23rd October, 1641, Sir Henry Titchborne was living at Donsoghly, within four miles of Dublin; in this time of general terror, when the



news of the horrible massacre was spread, and the English and protestants fled from their dwellings, Sir H. Tichborne left his, with his family, and proceeded by night to Dublin; having, on that morning, discovered and dispersed a party of villains lurking in his premises. On the following day he was sent for by the lords-justices and council, then debating about the best and speediest way to put a stop to the increasing calamity. Tichborne received orders from the board to raise a regiment of one thousand soldiers, and march with all expedition to Drogheda: from whence daily news arrived, of imminent danger, from treachery within, and invasion outside the walls.

October 26. Sir Henry began his levy, and on the 4th of November, he led his army to Drogheda, where many reports assailed him, some false, others exaggerated, of the prodigious numbers of the rebels, and their near approach. By such reports, he was twice deluded into sending out a party against the insurgents when none were to be found. Their plan appears to have been to draw the forces out of the town, in order that the rebels might take possession of it, which could easily have been effected by means of the powerful party, on their side, within the walls.

Tichborne found a deficiency in the supply of provisions, and perceiving that a considerable quantity of corn was in stack at Greenhills, about half a mile beyond the east gate, and that the enemy were quartered a mile beyond that again, he sallied forth at an early hour in the morning, with carriages, a guard of two hundred foot, and a troop of horse, leaving an equal

division of the garrison at the west gate, under the conduct of Serjeant-Major Lovell, with instructions to issue from thence. He had taken the precaution of sending scouts, (a lieutenant with thirty musketeers,) beforehand, to take possession of an advantageous ground. About half-way between the town and Green-hills, an old Irish woman, who lived outside the walls, warned the governor that at least three thousand of the Irish army were marching towards him. He gave no credit to this report, until it was corroborated by the appearance of the lieutenant, with his musketeers, in breathless haste, "sweating and blowing." "He imprudently declared, in the audience of all the soldiers, that there were at least four thousand of the enemy nigh at hand, and that there was danger of being surrounded, by their advancing on several sides. Such reports should never be communicated, except in private to the commander of the forces." The consequence of this intelligence, delivered in public, was the immediate desertion of some, both horse and foot, who fled to the town for safety: and their example would have been general, but for Tichborne's steadiness and resolution in exhorting the men to consider their favourable position, which would enable them to oppose ten thousand rebels. The forces advancing in the rear were their own men, and not the enemy, as the lieutenant, blinded by his fears, supposed them to be. They were coming on in the way he had directed. With these persuasions he could hardly reassure the soldiers, and before they were fully prepared for an assault, the rebels came upon them with a great shout, and gave fire. At the second

firing, the soldiers returned it;—in the midst of the smoke, the governor cried aloud, *they run, they run;*—the cry was re-echoed in the rear, and seconded by all. The musketeers, on the higher bank, seeing their commander alight from his horse, in order to partake of the same danger as his men, came bravely forward; whereupon the rebels fled, and were pursued for about three-quarters of a mile, the remainder of their forces looking on at a distance, and drawing together to make resistance. Sir Henry, perceiving this, retreated in good order, and saw all his men safe within the gates, there being only four men hurt, and two horses killed. About two hundred of the rebels were slain, including a priest, three captains, and one of the O'Neils, the serjeant-major-general of their northern army." "For," he adds, "God fought for us; and from this time forth so dismayed the rebels, that afterwards they never stood before us."

At one o'clock, on the night of St. Thomas's eve, the rebels, coming on with a great shout, assaulted the town, but the garrison being prepared for them, they were repulsed, and retreated to their quarters, after the loss of many lives.

On the 7th of January, 1642, early in the morning, Tichborne, with eighty of his cavalry, and three hundred infantry, made an attack on the rebels, at Rathmullan, outside St. John's gate. After a slight resistance, their breastworks were forced, their quarters entered, and, at the least, one hundred of their men were killed on the spot,—others were forced into the river and drowned. At this moment, a great body of rebels



was seen marching towards them from Platten and other quarters. Tichborne faced and charged them with his reserve, while the soldiers were drawing off, and retiring from the victory just achieved. "By God's singular blessing," he writes, "to whose glorious working all these actions are to be wholly ascribed, we suddenly routed them, and killed above forty on the place,—not adventuring to pursue them far, because the rebels were numerous, and in arms, throughout all their quarters." His soldiers carried off muskets, corslets, cows, &c.

The rebels tried to stop the channel, in order to prevent their receiving supplies by water, "but God disappointed them. On the 11th of January, our shipping came from the Skerries, in one tide, to the quay,—a rare occurrence, and hardly known in the memory of man. That night I exhorted the officers to be very vigilant on their guards." He expected an attack from the rebels at a moment when the joy of his men, because of their seasonable relief, might have rendered them less watchful. He could not, as he was in the habit of doing, go out himself that night, because of several despatches to be made up for Dublin. About four in the morning, while busily writing, he heard, at short intervals, the discharge of five muskets, and as he thought, a kind of muttering noise, amid the howling of a tempest:—starting from the table, and snatching up his pistols, he gave the alarm, and the guard collecting about him, they hastened towards the bridge;—undismayed at the shout of the rebels, and although he did not find that vigilance in the main guard he expected,

by increasing the alarm, a concourse of officers and soldiers gathered around him, "and God prospered us so well, that finally we scattered them, killing many, and taking about fifty prisoners. God's workings are wonderful, and, oftentimes, especially in matters of war, produce great effects out of small and contemptible means." Of this he gives an instance,—when he left his lodging that night, his servant followed with his horse, at all times a restive animal, but on this occasion quite unmanageable; suddenly breaking loose, he galloped furiously over the stones in the dark streets;—the rebels, believing that a troop was coming upon them, dared not advance, and thereby time was given to prepare for their reception, and defeat.

On the 7th of February, a body of the rebels drew out of their head-quarters at Bieulieu, but being met by the governor with an equal number of men, after some skirmishing, they retreated. Tichborne says, they were now kept ever in action; they had no rest, even on the sabbath days. Having received information of a prey, which might be taken with some hazard, they set out a little before daylight, on Sunday morning, and amid shouting and shooting, made a prey of eighty cows and two hundred sheep; they returned, he says, "in time to serve and praise God in the congregation that morning."

On Sunday, the 21st of February, at about four o'clock in the morning, Sir Phelim O'Neil made an attempt upon the town, and had placed several scaling-ladders so noiselessly as not to be discovered, until a man had ascended one, where the wall was lowest, at

the back of the governor's lodging. The sentinel having discerned him, watched his opportunity, and as soon as he had reached the top of the ladder, knocked him down with the butt-end of his musket—"calling to the court of guard, who, by issuing out suddenly, with ease repulsed the rest." Many were hurt and slain by a discharge of shot from the walls, according to the report of Sir Phelim O'Neil's drummer, who escaped from him on that morning. About noon on this day they "received another relief of men and victuals, which arrived wonderfully, in one tide, as the former had done, by God's singular providence."

On another occasion, when the governor seemed beset on every side, he encouraged his men, by reminding them of former deliverances, and "God's continual blessing" accompanying them; so that they marched resolutely to the rencounter, where were numerous rows of great furze, sufficient to cover an ambush, into which Tichborne apprehended they were purposely drawn; but on perceiving disorder amongst the rebels, the officers beating the men with their swords, in order to force them on, he hastened the charge while they were dismayed and running confusedly; a few shots totally disbanding them, "every man shifted for himself."

March 1st, a foraging expedition was successful on the south side of the Boyne, near Colp, under the direction of Sir John Borlase, and a considerable quantity of corn was brought into the garrison. On the evening of the same day, Sir Henry Tichborne, Lord Moore, &c. &c., encountered the rebels, whom they defeated; and the rout would have been general, but for



a bog, into which Tichborne, and some others, inadvertently plunged in the dark, and before they could extricate themselves, the rebel commanders escaped to the other side of the river. Sir Phelim O'Neil, during the conflict, had concealed himself, as Tichborne was afterwards informed, in a furze-bush. This victory was important in clearing the south-side of the river, by which the army obtained an abundant supply of corn and provisions. Lord Moore was very successful in another engagement, he forced the rebels from an advantageous position—four hundred of their men, and seven officers were killed; Art Roe Mac Mahon was taken prisoner, for whose head, by proclamation, four hundred pounds had been offered. All this was done, Tichborne writes, without his aid. He thus continues—“The evening after this day's glorious work, wherein God, as in former times, sent us great deliverance, the rebels abandoned their head-quarters at Biulieu, and the villages adjoining it, and marched secretly away to Dundalk.” A few days afterwards, he “summoned Platten, a strong castle garrisoned by the rebels, within two miles of Drogheda;” after some hesitation it was surrendered, on condition that the garrison should, unarmed, carry off some effects and provision. The Marquis of Ormond was on his march from Dublin to the relief of Drogheda, and arrived in time to rejoice with the victors for a train of deliverances.

Ormond would have prosecuted these victories to the total overthrow of the northern rebels, if his intention had not been frustrated by the state directors, who, under pretence of its being a hazardous expedition, re-

called him, and ordered Tichborne to proceed to no greater distance, in pursuit of the rebels, than to admit of their return the same day to lodge within the walls. This order was reversed on the governor's petition to the council that he should not be thus limited.

Sir William St. Leger, the Lord-President of Munster, is represented, by Leland, as a furious fanatic, executing vengeance on the rebels of that province for their cruelty in the slaughter of defenceless protestants. Sir Charles Coote is also described as being inveterate in the infliction of martial law. After having driven the rebels from Wicklow castle, which they had besieged, the indiscriminate carnage that succeeded, is compared to that of the barbarians themselves. But such are the deeds which human beings, under the controul of an evil nature, exercise towards each other—blood for blood, burning for burning, until the whole country exhibits a scene of misery, waste, and desolation. Being appointed governor of Dublin, he fought his way thither through a band of rebels, the sept of O'Tool, who opposed his progress.

The most alarming crisis of the rebellion occurred at the beginning of December, in the defection of the English Pale. Roger O'Moore first brought over Lord Gormanston, whose example and influence induced the other inhabitants of the Pale to join the cabal. Two meetings were held, the first at a place called the Hill of Crofty: the second at Tarah Hill. The Lords Fingal, Gormanston, Slane, Louth, Dunsany, Trimbleston, &c. &c., and nearly two thousand of the principal gentlemen assembled together, and formed an impor-

tant union, according to a plan concerted by Roger O'Moore. They professed to take up arms merely in self-defence and the hope of effecting a speedy accommodation. By this specious assumption, a certain dignity of manner, and protestations of loyalty, they made a deep and favourable impression; and the combination would have been formidable but for a disagreement amongst the leaders: Maurice, Lord Viscount Roche and Fermoy, refused to be commanded by Lord Mountgarret, and insisted that his own county of Cork should have its own general. Lord Roche was too powerful, and his followers too numerous, to be resisted by Lord Mountgarret, who retired in disgust to the county of Kilkenny. While this competition existed, St. Leger gained time to arm and discipline his men, to collect and encourage the English, and to enable him, as the spring advanced, to draw out such a body of men as opposed the enemy in the field, and saved the province of Munster, the complete reduction of which had been intended.

March 21st, Slane Castle, which was in the hands of the rebels, was retaken. On the 23rd, about two thousand of the insurgents, under the command of Phelim O'Neil, Lord Louth, and several of the nobility and gentry of the Pale, were seen, from the top of a high hill, in two divisions in the valley beneath. They also were routed from their position, several officers slain, and at least six hundred private soldiers. Tichborne, with his men, rested at Atherdee (*i.e.* Ardee) on the 24th, and met with no opposition from the rebels, who were seen in parties at a distance. That



evening he consulted with Lord Moore on the expediency of prosecuting their recent victory, before the rebels could resume their courage and collect their scattered forces. Lord Moore, and all the officers, highly approving of the proposition, they marched on the following day to Haggardstown, a village within two miles of Dundalk, where they lodged that night. In the morning they advanced to the town, Sir Phelim O'Neil was posted without the gate with his horse; but, on the approach of his opponents, he withdrew within the walls, giving fire from thence, which was kept up, until the English soldiers were under the walls and forced the gate; both horse and foot entered. After a struggle, the town was taken, and given up to pillage. Tichborne sums up all, saying, "The number of the slain I looked not after, but there was little mercy shewn in those times." When the news of his success reached Dublin, he received directions from the authorities to abandon the town; but it was of too much importance to be abandoned: neither did Tichborne deem such a proceeding just or honourable, without a more express command, being confident that he could maintain the town against all the attacks of the rebels. Their numbers were increased by the accession of additional forces from the north, and they stationed themselves in a strong castle towards the Fews, four miles from Dundalk. Tichborne evinced his readiness, on several occasions, for an attack, but they kept within their fastness, with one exception, when a party of their cavalry was discomfited, and a man, named Toby Guinne, taken prisoner; and though a

prime favourite of Sir Phelim O'Neil, he was hanged within his view, and that of his battalions.

1642. An army of ten thousand Scottish auxiliaries, destined for the reduction of Ulster, arrived about the middle of April. The first division, under Robert Monroe, took possession of Carrickfergus; being joined by a detachment of the royal army, they advanced to Newry, and the castle was surrendered. But no entreaties of the English officers could prevail on Monroe to prosecute these advantages; he had private instructions from the leaders of the English commoners, which had more influence with him than anything they could urge. Leaving a garrison of three hundred in Newry, he made an excursion to Dunluce castle, as a friendly visitor to the Earl of Antrim, but his real intention he accomplished, in making the earl a prisoner, and in the seizure of his castle and effects, which he left in the custody of the Scottish troops.

Before Monroe left Newry, Lord Conway sent a letter to Sir Henry Tichborne, inviting him to come and consult with him and Major-General Monroe, in what manner to proceed against the rebels. Sir Phelim O'Neil had set fire to Armagh, and the protestants still remaining there, were barbarously butchered by his followers. Carlingford had been delivered up to Tichborne, which the Scots earnestly pressed him to give into their hands, but he refused, and says, it "had been as great a weakness in me to do, as it was presumption in them to desire, without the direction of the state." After having attended the conference, for which purpose he was invited to Newry, he left them, believing

that they fully intended to march to Armagh against the rebels, and to chase them out of all their fastnesses in the north. But instead of this, they employed themselves in plundering the country.

The return of the Scotchmen, without any enterprise, was joyful tidings to Sir Phelim O'Neil and his followers; but it did not render them more courageous in taking the field: they permitted many inroads on their quarters, and many losses, without an attempt at resistance.

Tichborne, at his own expense, raised parapets and platforms, repaired walls, made trenches, and a draw-bridge, to secure Dundalk. He placed three pieces of ordnance, which he had taken from the rebels, without any charge to the state, or allowance given him. Even a store of sixty tons of coal for the garrison, was laid in at his expense. The country and fields about Dundalk, abounding in corn, were reaped by the soldiers for their sustenance.

From the beginning of the siege of Drogheda, which lasted more than seven months, Tichborne never received, from the public fund, more than five month's subsistence,—and he never received aught in remuneration for all he expended,—nor had he any other means of supporting his men than by the prey which was taken from the rebels.

Tichborne accompanied Lord Lisle to Trim, in an expedition against the rebels, from whence they were expelled. Clone, in Westmeath, was taken from them, and Carrimacross, in the county of Monaghan, with great store of prey, and lessening of their numbers.

Lord Moore having received a commission from his



majesty to take charge of the county of Louth and barony of Slane, Tichborne delivered to him the garrison of Dundalk, as being comprehended in the grant, with all the stores which he had provided: and resuming his station at Drogheda, he again found a dearth of provisions; hence his first care was to replenish the stores, by purchasing with ready money, and making prey of cattle.

Drogheda was favoured in the ministry of an excellent clergyman, the Rev. Nicholas Bernard, D.D., chaplain and librarian to the primate. In every extremity he exhorted his congregation to look to the Lord for deliverance. The Christmas festivals were observed with solemnity by the soldiers. They all received the communion, which occupied two or three days. When provisions failed, and many were dying, Dr. Bernard preached, at St. Peter's Church, on "Give us this day our daily bread." His congregation remained from morning till evening in prayer, which was answered in a remarkable manner.—The tide brought in a great shoal of fishes, which were taken in the river. Soon afterwards, vessels, with relief, came within the bar, and quantities of food were discovered in the country, left by the rebels. This account is taken from Dr. Bernard's "Narrative of the Siege."

The lords-justices were still averse to any decidedly vigorous operations, yet they could not deny the necessity of sending the soldiers from Dublin to seek provision in the enemies' quarters. The Earl of Ormond was commissioned to lead three thousand foot and five hundred horse towards the river Boyne, in order to

prosecute the rebels with fire and sword. This expedition was limited to eight days, with a strict injunction not to pass the river. The justices would afterwards have retracted their commission, but the earl would not relinquish the expedition.

Whatever were the professions of the lords-justices, their actions proved that a speedy suppression of the rebellion was all they really dreaded.

Sir Phelim O'Neil had been repeatedly foiled by Sir Henry Tichborne; and, at the first intelligence of Lord Ormond's march, he raised the siege, and retired precipitately to Ulster. This news Lord Ormond instantly conveyed to the justices, with a desire that his commission should be enlarged, in order that he might pursue the rebels to Newry, and crush them by a total overthrow while in their present state of consternation. The only answer he received was a repetition of the order not to pass the Boyne. Thus the rebels had time given them to collect their men,—to return with invigorated courage,—and to regain the positions they had deserted;—and Sir H. Tichborne had great difficulty in preserving Drogheda from another invasion.

Two inactive months recruited the spirits and resources of the rebels. Sir Phelim O'Neil again appeared at the head of an army, which was soon defeated and dispersed by the English forces in Ulster, under the command of two brave officers, Sir Robert and Sir William Stewart. Monroe refused to give any assistance. The Scotchmen chiefly occupied themselves in ravaging the country, and exporting numerous herds of cattle to Scotland.

Meanwhile the English officers, unaided, made great

exertions in reducing forts garrisoned by rebels; but their progress was checked by an order from the Earl of Leven,\* prohibiting them from besieging any place, or stationing a garrison in any town of Ulster, without the permission of the Scottish commanders. He was himself preparing to embark with the main body of Scottish auxiliaries.

The rebels were again on the brink of despair, when they were revived by the joyful intelligence of the arrival of their long-wished for, and long-expected, Owen O'Neil. After a tedious voyage from Dunkirk, he landed at Donegal, with one hundred officers, and a considerable supply of arms and ammunition. This favourite of the people was triumphantly conducted to the fort of Charlemont. Owen O'Neil was an experienced officer, and had served, with much credit to himself, in the Imperial and Spanish armies. He possessed qualities which Sir Phelim O'Neil had not, and which gave him great advantages over his relative, as head and leader of an Irish sept. He was appointed general of their forces, and conducted himself in a very different manner from that of his predecessor. Heartily condemning the barbarities and massacres which had disgraced their cause, he dismissed the prisoners in safety to Dundalk, and declared that he would rather join the English than permit such excesses to remain unpunished.

The Earl of Leven arrived in August;—the forces under his command, including those of the provinces,

\* General Leslie, created Earl of Leven in 1641.



were twenty thousand strong, and could easily have crushed a much more formidable enemy than the wretched remains of the rebel army in Ulster:—but Leven came and went, without performing any actual service. A short correspondence passed between him and Owen O’Neil, upbraiding each other: the one that he came into Ireland to support so bad a cause; the other, that he had marched into England against his king. The earl, in committing the army to Monroe, warned him to expect a total overthrow, if Owen O’Neil should once collect an army. Monroe made no effort to prevent this: he remained inactive,—while, in every province, the rebel forces were re-uniting and increasing.

Sir Charles Coote was sent to dislodge a party of rebels stationed in the village of Swords; they were soon routed, and, in accordance with the commands of state, martial law was executed with the utmost rigour. The whole country round was wasted with fire, sword, and pillage.

Lord Ormond, with two thousand foot and three hundred horse, was detached to Naas, where the rebels of Kildare and the adjacent counties had collected their force, and held their councils. He executed his orders, as it appears, with needful severity. The rebel leaders were dissatisfied; Lord Gormanston sent a remonstrance and threat that, if such proceedings were continued, the wife and children of the earl should answer for it. Ormond, in reply, wrote, by permission of the council, to Gormanston, taxing him with his rebellion, vindicating his own conduct, and, in conclusion, said, “My wife and children are in your power; should they

receive any injury from men, I shall never revenge it on women and children: this would not only be base and unchristian, but infinitely beneath the price at which I rate my wife and children.”\*

Another reinforcement arrived from England, long and anxiously expected, of fifteen hundred foot and four hundred horse, under the command of Sir Richard Grenville and Colonel George Monk; but as they brought neither money, nor provisions, the distresses of the state were increased by additional numbers.

The sudden flight of the northern rebels had the effect (not very pleasing to the justices) of dissolving the union which they had lately formed with the insurgents of the Pale, who had, in general, stood aloof from the Irish of Ulster. Several gentlemen of the Pale, wishing to make submission and be at peace with government, addressed themselves to Lord Ormond, who applied for instructions in what manner he was to treat those who surrendered. The lords-justices, expecting that their own services would be rewarded by a large portion of forfeitures, resolved on discouraging these pacific overtures. They directed Ormond to make no distinction between noblemen and other rebels: to receive those who surrendered only as prisoners of war, and to contrive that they should be seized by the soldiers, without admitting them to his presence.† Consequently, men were put into custody in Dublin, who were of respectable character and family—engaged in no action with the rebels, and averse to their proceedings

\* Leland.

† Carte. Leland.

—some of themselves sufferers by their rapine, and known protectors of the English, yet they were indiscriminately denied access to the justices; closely imprisoned, and threatened with the utmost severity of the law.

The Earl of Castlehaven was imprisoned; and if he had not effected his escape, he, probably, would have been put to the rack, as Sir John Read and others were, to draw confessions from them. The statements of protestant, as well as Roman catholic authors, agree in their representation of the arbitrary and unjustifiable proceedings exercised by the lords-justices, which were intended to involve the principal families of the Pale in the obloquy and punishment of first concerting the insurrection.

On the 14th of January, 1642, the king signed a commission directed to the Marquis of Ormond, the Earls of Clanricarde and Roscommon, Viscount Moore, Sir Thomas Lucas, Sir Maurice Eustace, and Thomas Bourke, Esq., to meet the principal confederates (who had petitioned his majesty to listen to their grievances) to receive in writing, what they had to say or propound.

The commissioners, after having received a very full remonstrance of all their grievances, transmitted the same to his majesty. It was “subscribed by the Lord Viscount Gormanston, Sir Lucas Dillon, Knight, Sir Robert Talbott, Bart., and John Walsh, Esq., authorised by, and in behalf of, the recusants of Ireland.”

This remonstrance influenced the king “to inform the lords-justices, that he had authorised the Marquis



of Ormond to treat with his Irish subjects, who had taken arms, for a cessation of hostilities for one year."

"Sir William Parsons was superseded, indicted for high crimes, misdemeanours, and treasonable practices. A new commission was issued to Sir John Borlase, and Sir Henry Tichborne, to be lords-justices. The latter was expressly appointed as being considered to favour the cessation." This is said by Plowden, from which Tichborne's own account varies. It is given verbatim—  
"About the latter end of April, when I had prepared to fall into the county of Longford, I was fain to forsake that design and to repair to Dublin, whither I was called by his majesty's letter to be one of his justices; a charge as far above my expectation or desire, as unsuitable to my parts or fortune: yet, there being a necessity of my obedience, I framed myself, to the best of my capacity, to advance the public service; and, finding the army in the highest extremity of want, all ways and means having been already sought and run through for their support, even to the seizing the native commodities of the kingdom, hides, tallow, and such like, taken from shipboard after the customs paid, and exposed to sale, I was wonderfully perplexed; and Sir John Borlase, his majesty's other justice, and myself, with the council, daily assembled. We spent the whole time in sending complaints into England, both to king and parliament; in the meantime borrowing, taking up, and engaging the whole board for money, and all sorts of victual, and commodities convertible to the soldiers relief. Amidst these extremities his majesty's

letter came over, signifying his majesty's sorrow, and disability to relieve us, in regard of the troubles in England. All men's eyes were on the parliament, but no succour in those times arriving from thence to support the forces, his majesty permitted a treaty to be had with the Irish, touching a cessation of arms, in case of all other helps failing, which was generally so disagreeing to the board, that most of them desired to run any fortune and extremity of famishing, rather than yield unto it. And truly, I was so much of that opinion, that when the Marquis of Ormond made offers that if he might be advanced £10,000—part victuals, part shoes and stockings, and part money, that he would immediately draw towards the rebels, and either compel them to run the hazard of the field, or to forsake their quarters and leave them to the spoil of our soldiers, which might prove to them a future subsistence; and when Theodore Scout, and the rest of the merchants in Dublin, had refused to advance the money upon the security of all the lands of the whole board, and the customs of Dublin, for the interest of the money, I moved the board, (there being at that time one and twenty counsellors present, and myself of the meanest fortune amongst them,) that every one for himself, out of his peculiar means and credit, would procure £300—which amongst us all would raise £6,300; for even with that sum, and such means as he should procure himself, the Marquis of Ormond offered to undertake the work, and that there should be no further mention made of a cessation amongst us. But this motion of mine finding no

place, the cessation, in short time, began to be treated on, and was, in sincerity of heart, as much hindered and delayed by me, as was in my power; for I believed it would be hurtful to the public, and, therefore, I cast in rubs to lengthen the treaty, expecting daily relief and money from England, where Sir Thomas Whar-ton was employed with the sad stories of the public miseries. Thus was the cessation laid aside for a while."

Again, in another place, he says, that "overtures of peace were propounded by the Irish party, in my opinion very unequal, as destructive to the protestant religion, exceeding hurtful to his majesty's service, and to the utter ruin of the English interest in the king-dom."

Almost daily some important succour arrived to animate the rebels; another embarkation from Dunkirk, and two vessels laden with arms and ammunition were followed by Lord Gormanston's brother, Colonel Thomas Preston, in a ship of war attended by two frigates, and six vessels laden with all sorts of military weapons and provisions, five hundred officers, engineers, &c. Nantes, St. Maloes, and Rochelle, fitted out twelve vessels with artillery, arms, and ammunition. At the same time, Cardinal Richelieu discharged a considerable number of Irish officers and veteran soldiers from the French service, and sent them, amply provided, to Ireland, with assurances of further assistance if needful.

The titular primate of Armagh now summoned his clergy to a synod. They declared the war which the



Irish maintained to be lawful and pious, and exhorted all persons to unite in their righteous cause.

A general synod was afterwards convened at Kilkenny in defence of the Roman catholic religion. The resident nobility and gentry in Kilkenny, united with the clergy in framing an oath of association, in naming the members of the supreme council, (of which Lord Mountgarret was chosen president,) and in appointing a general assembly of the whole nation, to meet in Kilkenny in the ensuing month of October.\*

The meeting assembled at Kilkenny on the day appointed, and consisted of Roman catholic lords, prelates, clergy, and deputies from the several counties and towns of the different provinces. Though they did not profess it to be a parliamentary meeting, it was formed on the plan of one. There were two parties, composed of the lords and prelates on one side; the representatives deputed by counties and cities on the other: both were seated in the same apartment. An eminent lawyer† sat bare-headed on a stool, as a substitute for the judges, and a speaker‡ was appointed.

We shall pass over the regulations they formed, which cannot be interesting to our readers at present.

In the disposal of their offices, the first conspirators were purposely neglected. This created jealousy and dissatisfaction; Sir Phelim O'Neil especially resented it; and Roger O'Moore sensibly felt the slight, but he died at Kilkenny soon after the convention.

\* Borlase. Leland.

† Patrick Darcy.

‡ Nicholas Plunket.

The Earl of Clanricarde, much to their mortification, steadily refused to join the confederacy. The Earl of Castlehaven, in disgust at the unmerited severity with which he was treated by the chief governors, was easily persuaded to unite with this association.

The army suffered much from not receiving their pay and other necessaries. It was of no use sending petitions to the king, he could do nothing. He was also well affected towards the Romanists, and about the time of the engagement at Edgehill he accepted of their services. The Irish insurgents were favourably disposed towards him, and the Earl of Ormond at length transmitted their petition, which the justices had heretofore prevented. Hence the king issued a commission under the great seal of England, to the Marquis of Ormond, the Earl of Clanricarde, Earl of Roscommon, Viscount Moore, Sir Thomas Lucas, Sir Maurice Eustace, and Thomas Burke, Esq., to meet the principal recusants, in order to receive and transmit their propositions. Burke, the acknowledged agent of the rebels, conveyed this commission to Ireland.

Wishing to remove all authority from the present governors, Charles offered the lord-lieutenancy to the Marquis of Ormond, but he humbly advised his majesty to "delay the sending him an authority to take that charge upon him."\*

The Irish were elated by the advantages they had gained, and now styled themselves, "his sacred majesty's most faithful and most humble subjects."

\* Carte. Leland.

Ormond, however, found the propositions of the confederates totally inadmissible.

The Earl of Ormond received orders to make a treaty of peace with the rebels, upon moderate and equitable terms. Dublin, at this time, was reduced to a miserable state, the inhabitants were plundered to supply the necessities of the soldiery—no rule, no subordination was observed. The Romish clergy denouncing all such as refused to take the oath of association. The rebels increasing in strength, took possession of the important fort of Galway.

To preserve the army from perishing, the new lords-justices and council received the king's warrant to establish an excise.

Peter Scaramp, a father of the congregation of the oratory, sent by the pope, now appeared at Kilkenny, with letters to the council, generals, and prelates, together with supplies of money and ammunition; also a bull, granting a general jubilee, and plenary absolution to all those who had taken up arms in defence of the Roman catholic religion.

While the confederacy was thus gaining ground, the Earl of Ormond evinced a decided attachment to the king, and influenced the army to protect him; but he met with a strong opposition. Every vacancy in the Irish army was replaced by officers adverse to the party which Ormond favoured. This led to sharp contentions, which were submitted to the king, who, in consequence, increased the Earl of Ormond's power over the army in Ireland, and rendered it independent of Leicester, who had been appointed successor to Straf-



ford, but was secretly attached to the parliament, and too solicitous to serve them to assume his government of Ireland. Now, however, he declared his intention to take the reins into his own hands: whereupon the king honoured Ormond with the title of Marquis, and gave him licence to repair to England, at his pleasure, without any detriment to his offices in Ireland, But from the moment that the sword of Charles was drawn, his authority was despised by the governors of Ireland; and they exerted all their powers to seduce the loyalists from their allegiance, and to persecute those whom they could not win.

After much altercation and delay, it was agreed that the agents of the confederacy should treat with the Marquis of Ormond, at Sigginstown, near Naas. The Irish agreed to pay the king £30,000, one-half in money, the other in cattle. The Lords Clanricarde, Roscommon, Dungarvon, Brabazon, and Inchiquin, some privy councillors, and principal officers of the army, attended the meeting, and subscribed to a declaration that this treaty for a cessation, was necessary for the king's honour and service. It was signed by the Marquis of Ormond and the Irish commissioners, on the 15th of September. It was ratified by the justices and council, and notified by public proclamation to the whole kingdom. It was, however, the cause of universal murmuring and discontent.

1643. In accordance with the king's directions, the Marquis of Ormond despatched some chosen troops from the regiments of Leinster and Munster, to the West of England. They were protestants, of English

birth, bound by a solemn oath to protect the protestant religion, and glad to escape from the calamities of Ireland to their native land. Yet scarcely had they landed in Wales, when a fearful rumour spread that four thousand Irish rebels, reeking with protestant blood, had just arrived to perpetrate the same horrors in England. Brereton, the parliamentary commander, transmitted the report to London, knowing it to be false.

On delivering up the sword of justice to the Marquis of Ormond, Sir Henry Tichborne resumed his government of Drogheda; and during the following summer, when the Scotch forces advanced into Westmeath, and on their return lodged at Atherdee, though opposed to his party, he permitted supplies of provisions to be sent them from Drogheda. "I was sent, among others," he says, "to Oxford, with the whole passages of the treaty, and did acquit myself with that freedom in every particular, as became the loyalty and fidelity I owe unto my king and country; and at our return from Oxford, all of us that were upon that employment, were taken at sea, between Wales and Ireland, and carried prisoners unto London, and committed to the tower: a bad recompense for my endeavours. Yet, I cannot justly complain, because foul and false accusations were exhibited against me, which, coming to be justified, had not so much as a shadow of truth."

An exchange of prisoners set him at liberty, and he was again employed in routing the rebels. In passing from Dublin to Drogheda, he says, "we were way-laid by near three hundred rebels, choice horse, well armed

and mounted ; whom, notwithstanding, it being a case of necessity, we boldly charged, killed the captain that led them; and there, in the midst of the rebels, a young man (to say no more of him, because he was my son), of fair hopes, was, to my continual sorrow, unfortunately slain." Tichborne had a small convoy of fifteen horse, and some brave officers of quality, with a party of travellers and merchants; they made good their retreat three miles, after the loss of eleven men. The rebels lost six troopers and two officers.

Some days subsequently a battle was fought at Dungan Hill. Tichborne led on the rear-guard of the English army, and acquitted himself in such a manner, as without his expectation, caused the parliament to vote him £200. He was successful in several other encounters and assaults; but the spirit of jealousy was stirred up against him and many others, equally active in the service, who were imprisoned in Dublin, in Drogheda, and England. In expectation of the same harsh treatment, Sir Henry petitioned Colonel Jones for liberty to withdraw to England, there to undergo a trial for whatsoever crimes were laid to his charge, to be acquitted or punished, according to the decree of justice. His petition being granted, he repaired to London, and received liberty from the council of state to resume his office in Ireland, but, being weary of warfare and of the jealousies of the times, he laid down his arms and sought repose.

Sir Henry Tichborne, in concluding his letter, says,—  
“ I have not written this to glorify myself, but to leave you, my dearly beloved, these few memorials of my



actions, wherein it pleased God to use me instrumentally." He wished his wife to make application for the reimbursement of the sums of money which he had expended for the army from his private property; but, he continues, "do not murmur or repine though your suits and just desires are rejected; for God is all-sufficient, on whom alone I beseech you and your family to depend, making it the sole end of your business to fear him and keep his commandments: so shall you be sure, in all conditions and estates, to find content here, and eternal felicity hereafter, which God grant to us all. The last petition of

"Your affectionate husband,

"H. TICHBORNE."

"June 8, 1651."

The Marquis of Ormond was now appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, but found it impossible to establish order. The Irish confederates were still turbulent and factious; they infringed the articles of cessation; were very tardy about remitting the stipulated subsidies; and refused to send any forces to aid the king in England.

The affairs of Ulster were exceedingly perplexing to the Marquis of Ormond. Owen O'Conolly (the servant by whose means the Irish conspiracy was first disclosed), was now the agent of the English parliament. Letters were sent by him to the English officers in Ulster, recommending them to disclaim the cessation, and to take the covenant. All the officers of the old Scottish regiments, with Monroe at their head, were

eager for it, and had already sent to Scotland for a copy of that famous engagement. Four ministers of the kirk were despatched to tender and enforce the covenant, together with a remittance to Monroe of £10,000, some clothing and provisions, from Scotland. The missionaries travelled through the counties of Down and Antrim, spreading their doctrines, which were received with enthusiasm. Soldiers, officers, gentry, peasantry, all flocked round them, with emulation, to be foremost in the glorious cause,—each accepting the covenant engagement. The prohibitions and menaces of government, and the proclamation published against the covenant, served but to inflame their desire to maintain it,—which even the common soldiers boldly avowed, bidding defiance to their commanders. Audley Mervin, who had vehemently inveighed against the covenant, in the parliament of Dublin, with declamations against the English commons and warm professions of loyalty to the king, was now appointed, by Ormond, to the government of Derry,—but he had no sooner entered upon his office, than he, too, was persuaded to take that engagement which he had so lately detested.

Monroe and his officers had taken the covenant, with great solemnity, in the church of Carrickfergus,—but they did not attempt to enforce it upon others, thinking that the pious exhortations of the ministers would be more prevailing. At length Monroe received a commission, from both houses of the English parliament, under their broad seal, empowering him, in their name, to command the English and Scotch forces of Ulster, to prosecute the war against all who resisted the covenanters.

While the royalists, assembled at Belfast, were holding a consultation how to act when this condition should be required of them, the Scotch general came upon the town by surprise. He made a like attempt at Lisburn, but was unsuccessful.

At length this contention was put a stop to, and an amicable agreement effected between the English and Scotch, which was best for the interest of both.

“The king, greatly perplexed with the state of his affairs, determined on laying the whole burthen and odium of treating with the Irish on the Marquis of Ormond, to whom a commission was sent to make a full peace with the Roman catholic subjects of Ireland, on such conditions as he should judge agreeable to the public welfare, and might produce such an union in that kingdom, as that his majesty might derive assistance from it to suppress the rebels of England and Scotland.” \*

1644. The lord-lieutenant held a meeting, on the 6th September, at Dublin, for the purpose of entering into a treaty with the confederates. The Roman catholic Archbishop of Dublin was one of the commissioners appointed on this occasion. Ormond refused to confer with him, being well acquainted with the spirit of the clergy. Their propositions were too unreasonable to be complied with, and all further proceedings were suspended until April, 1645. About this time, Mac Mahon and Lord Maguire were condemned and executed in London. They had lain two years in the tower:—

\* Carte, *Orm.* Vol. i., p. 508.



they had escaped from thence,—were retaken, and underwent their trial. Lord Maguire had pleaded a right of being tried by his peers, in Ireland,—it was not admitted. He petitioned to have the manner of execution changed:—he would have preferred beheading to being hanged at Tyburn. This also was refused.\*

1645. Charles empowered and commanded the Marquis of Ormond to make peace with the Irish, so that his protestant subjects might be secured, and his royal authority kept up in Ireland, “whatever it cost.” He says, “You are to make me the best bargain you can, and not to discover your enlargement of power till you needs must; and, though I leave the management of this great and necessary work entirely to you, yet I cannot but tell you, that if the suspension of Poyning’s Act for such bills as shall be agreed on there, and *the present taking off the penal lawes* against papists, by a law, will do it, I shall not think it a hard bargaine; so that freely and vigorously they engage themselves in my assistance against my rebels of England and Scotland, for which no conditions can be too hard, not being against conscience or honour.†

The Marquis of Ormond, on the first discovery of the king’s inclination to recede from those terms which he had hitherto professed to hold most sacred, grew impatient of his situation, and petitioned to be removed from the government. He was firmly attached to the protestant religion, and zealous in serving the king, and

\* Leland.

† Carte, *Orm.* Vol. ii. No. xviii.

his services were too highly appreciated by Charles and his ministers to consent to his removal. To reconcile him to his burthen, his authority was enlarged, and a bill transmitted from England, which was enacted in the parliament of Ireland, for remitting to the Irish protestants, both clergy and laity, all rents, compositions, services, twentieth parts, and first fruits, due to the king at Michaelmas, 1641, or at any time since, or to be due at Easter, 1645.

When Ormond applied to the confederacy for two thousand men to assist the Marquis of Montrose, the king's partisan in Scotland, they answered, "that they would send no men to the king's assistance, until such a peace should be settled as might demonstrate that they had really taken arms for the sake of religion, and to establish it in its full splendour."\*

Had Charles relied solely on the Marquis of Ormond for negotiating with the Irish, the result might possibly have obtained for him such a reinforcement as would have given an important turn to his affairs, but he was now unhappily led into a vain dependence on secret councils and private agents.

He created a zealous Roman catholic, generalissimo of three armies, English, Irish, and foreign, with a power of naming all the inferior officers. This favourite was Edward Somerset, Lord Herbert, eldest son of the Marquis of Worcester. Charles empowered him to contract with any of his subjects for wardships, customs, or any of his rights and prerogatives; and he

\* Carte, from *Register of the Supreme Council*.

entrusted him with blank patents, to be filled at his pleasure, for conferring titles of honour.

Somerset had formed a connection, by marrying Margaret O'Brien, the daughter of the late Earl of Thomond, which obtained powerful alliances and possessions for him in Ireland; and before his arrival, about July, Charles conferred on him the additional dignity of the earldom of Glamorgan. The lord-lieutenant received him with the distinction due to his rank, and the favour and confidence in which the king held him. The confederate Irish formed high expectations from his coming with authority to hear their demands, and to grant them such conditions as no other agent could.

The confederates had sent their minister, Belling, on an embassy to Innocent,\* by whom he was received with particular respect. His application was immediately attended to by the appointment of Giovanni Battista Rinuccini, Archbishop of Fermo, a noble Florentine, to be the pope's legate to Ireland. He was an eloquent speaker, and had a conciliating address; but in disposition he was proud, ambitious, vain, austere, bigoted, and superstitious. Inflated with a fanatical impression that he was appointed by Providence to convert the western nations, the legate came fully instructed to unite the prelates in a decided declaration of war until their religion should be established and the government committed to a Roman catholic lord-lieutenant.

\* Carte, Vol. i. p. 550.



The king's cabinet had been seized at Naseby. It contained private instructions to Ormond to conclude a peace with the Irish at any cost. This discovery heightened their indignation against the chief governor to such a pitch, that the document was printed with severe animadversions.

The Earl of Glamorgan did not communicate the instructions or commissions he had received from Charles to Ormond.

Rinuccini received a memorial from the Romanists of England, soliciting that the subsidies should be refused, until the Irish should receive their just demands with regard to religion, and the interests and rights of the English Romanists be equally secured. They proposed a union between them—a mutual agreement to form one body for the defence of the king, provided that a previous concession were made to their demands, with full and satisfactory security for the performance:—for they said, “The king is not to be trusted, when his interest may tempt him to agree with his parliament, to whom he hath so often solemnly declared his resolution to consent to any severities against the Roman catholics. And that there can be no reliance on his word, appears from the case of the Earl of Strafford and the bishops, whom he sacrificed, though sworn to protect them.”

The pope's legate arrived at Kilkenny on the 12th of November. At his first audience with the supreme council, he professed his intentions to promote the interests of religion, and peace to the country. In return, the council assured him that they would take no

step without his knowledge and concurrence. The Earl of Glamorgan made the same declaration as to his own proceedings. He shewed him a letter from the king to Pope Innocent, in proof of his attachment to the holy see. He delivered another letter to the legate, which Charles had written to him, "in which he expressed his satisfaction at his purpose in coming to Ireland, desiring him to unite with the Earl of Glamorgan, and promising to ratify whatever they should mutually resolve on: recommending a punctual observance of secrecy; and assuring him, that although this letter was the first he had written to a minister of the pope, yet he hoped it would not be the last." He says, "when the earl and you have concerted your measures, we shall openly show ourself, as we have assured him—your friend."\*

Rinuccini finding it quite impracticable to bring the council to his measures, resolved on opposing them with all his power. He summoned a private meeting of the Romish bishops, then at Kilkenny, eight of whom attended, and joined in a protestation against the peace, and a resolution to oppose it.

But these secret negotiations were suddenly disconcerted by an important discovery. In an engagement with the northern troops, at Sligo, commanded by Sir Charles Coote, the titular Archbishop of Tuam, who had led on the assault and forced his way into the town, was killed, and in his baggage was found, among other papers of consequence, a complete and authentic copy of the private treaty which the Earl of Glamorgan

\* Leland.

had concluded with the confederates; in which, also, a distinct recital was contained of his commission, and of his oath to the confederates. These papers were, without delay, transmitted to the English parliament. They were printed, and industriously circulated to the dishonour of the king, the scandal of his protestant adherents, and the great exultation of his enemies. Copies were sent to the lord-lieutenant, and Lord Digby, at Dublin; and others were dispersed among the Irish, who were much elated at the discovery of the fulness of the king's concessions—the protestants justly conceiving that the reproach formerly cast upon his majesty must be true—"that he instigated the Irish rebellion, and that his design was to introduce popery, even by ways the most unkingly and perfidious."\*

To allay the public ferment, Glamorgan was committed to custody, and the next day examined before a committee of the council. He freely confessed the whole transaction, referring for particulars to the counterpart of the articles lying among his papers, and which he afterwards produced.†

He sent for a paper to Kilkenny which greatly alarmed the confederates. They apprehended that the discovery it would unfold might produce dangerous consequences to their proceedings. This, however, he secreted, so that the whole of his transactions, were never fully known.

His imprisonment gave him little concern; his expressions testified the contempt he conceived of Digby's

\* Leland.

† Carte, Vol. I. No. 418, p. 553.



accusation. The supreme council made application to the lord-lieutenant for his release, saying, that there were now three thousand men ready to embark for the relief of Chester; that Glamorgan had contracted for transports; but neither the expedition, nor the treaty of peace could be forwarded without his presence.

The lord-lieutenant and council were favourable to this application, and, taking sureties for his appearance, they commissioned the Earl of Glamorgan to repair to Kilkenny, in order to treat with the confederates, for the transportation of forces to Chester; for a remittance of £3,000 to supply the king's army in Dublin; and to conclude the long-depending treaty of peace.

The king, guided by an unfortunate combination of circumstances, together with a failure in courage and sincerity, wrote public and private directions to the Marquis of Ormond: containing, in the first, a peremptory disavowal of Glamorgan's treaty; in the last, he directed that no sentence should be executed, for the present, against him, as misguided zeal had brought on his misfortunes. At the same time, he contrived to transmit secret assurances to his favourite, of his unchanged friendship and confidence.

The Marquis of Ormond, unwavering in his desire to serve the king, wrote to the Earl of Glamorgan.—“My affections and interests are so tied to his majesty's cause, that it were madness in me to disgust any man that hath power and inclination to relieve him in the sad circumstances he is in; and, therefore, your lordship may securely go on in the way you have proposed yourself to serve the king, without fear of interruption

from me, or so much as inquiring into the means you work by.” \*

The publication of the king's message to parliament, disavowing any private treaty with Glamorgan, scarcely checked his confidence, while it surprised and confounded the confederates. But the earl reassured them, by representations, that this was “a forced renunciation.”—He said, he had the king's express instructions, that, “if, by any unfortunate accident, he should be involved in counsels apparently contrary to the powers granted to his lordship, that he should only consider them as an additional motive to hasten to the succour and rescue of his sovereign.” †

Glamorgan had written confidently to Charles, that ten thousand men should speedily be sent to his aid; and he doubted not, but that by his means, he would yet be a glorious and happy prince.

\* Carte, Vol. III., No. 428. Leland.

† Rushworth, *Inquiry*, p. 188.

## CHAPTER XVII.

---

Treaty concluded—Contradictory orders from the King—New Association to resist the Treaty—Opposition to the Lord-Lieutenant—Arrival of the Parliamentary forces—Osmond's resignation of the government—The Church Liturgy prohibited in Dublin—Victories gained by Michael Jones—The Royal cause favoured in Ireland—Collision of Romanists and Independents—Return of the Marquis of Ormond—Death of Charles I.—Preaching of the Gospel in Ireland—Cromwell's usurpation of the government—His successes and massacres—Extracts from his letters—His return to England—Ormond weary of duplicity and insult, once more quits Ireland—Earl of Clanricarde, Lord-Deputy—Fleetwood, Cromwell's Deputy—Confession and execution of Phelim O'Neil—Parliamentary proclamation of peace in Ireland—Charles II. proclaimed King—Death of Cromwell—Observations on his government of Ireland.

1646. THE nuncio's violent protestations against the treaty were of no avail; it was concluded between the confederates and the lord-lieutenant, on the 28th of March. Ormond, in a letter to Lord Digby, says, "One thing I shall beseech you to be careful of, which is to take order, that what shall be directed to me touching these people (the R. C. confederates), if any be, thwart not the grounds I have laid to myself in point of reli-



gion: for in that, and in that only, I shall resort to the liberty left to a subject to obey by suffering." \*

This letter was written subsequently to the king's peremptory command—"I command you to conclude a peace with the Irish, cost what it may." Again he says, "I absolutely command you, without reply, to execute the directions I sent you on the 27th of February last." †

The articles of the treaty are numerous. Romanists were exempted from taking the oath of supremacy, by swearing allegiance according to a new form. A concession was made to the confederates with respect to the independency of the parliament of Ireland on that of England. "It was now agreed, that his majesty will leave both houses of parliament, in *this* kingdom [Ireland] to make such declaration therein, as shall be agreeable to the laws of the kingdom of Ireland." ‡ This was instead of referring it to both legislatures, as was formerly proposed. One of the articles was for the repeal of the old acts of parliament, which prohibited ploughing by horse-tails, and burning oats in the straw. These penalties were objected against, because they *did not* tend to reformation, but rather to encourage and perpetuate a barbarism.

The confederates had entered into an engagement to send over ten thousand men, in two divisions, during the following month; and until these conditions were fulfilled, the treaty was to be considered of no force.

\* Carte, *Orm.* Vol. iii. p. 534.

† Ibid. Vol. iii. p. 431.

‡ Cox, *Appendix*, No. 24, p. 97.

Meanwhile, it was given in charge to the Earl of Clanricarde, who was now made a Marquis.

Peace was to have been proclaimed on the 1st of May.

The Marquis of Ormond issued orders for the first embarkation of four thousand men:—they were levied, but not sent to England. The Earl of Glamorgan and the Marquis of Antrim had undertaken to provide transports, which were not ready at the time appointed.

Munster and Connaught were so much disturbed as to require a military force to reduce them. The confederates represented this as a reason for the delay in sending succour to the king. Inchiquin was in Munster, secretly negotiating with the English parliament; and Sir Charles Coote, with his parliamentary forces, was committing outrages in Connaught. Clanricarde, who had been injured by their depredations, pressed Ormond to proclaim both Inchiquin and Coote traitors.

The king had now resigned himself to the Scottish army, and wrote to the lord-lieutenant forbidding all further proceedings, or engaging him with the Irish on any conditions. This letter caused suspense and confusion on all sides, until the arrival of Lord Digby, from the continent, solved the mystery. He brought intelligence that the king, being held in captivity by the Scots, could send no instructions to his servants, except such as were extorted from him; but that he had found means to apprise the queen, then at Paris, of his situation, directing her, and all his ministers, to pursue the orders he had given when at liberty.

Lord Digby made the same declaration in the privy

council in Dublin, which was signed with his name, and entered in the council books; and, on the 29th day of July, the peace was ratified, and a proclamation issued by the council, enjoining all persons to receive it with due observance and submission.\*

The pope's nuncio had been decidedly opposed to any treaty of peace not framed by his holiness, and not comprising a complete and splendid establishment of the Romish worship. So little was the treaty regarded in England, that Lord Lisle was appointed by the parliament to fill the Marquis of Ormond's place in Ireland. The covenanters in Ulster disregarded it. All parties seemed averse to it. The reformers would agree only to the extirpation of popery, and the whole race of rebellious Irish; while the Irish Romanists were bent upon the utter rooting out of all Englishmen and protestants.

The nuncio finding that all his efforts and remonstrances were of no avail in counteracting the treaty of peace, was resolved on trying the effect of a military force, and easily persuaded Owen O'Neil to enter into his views. He and his followers were already dissatisfied with the supreme council, which had paid no attention to their grievances in the articles of the civil treaty. Part of the rebel forces were a race of barbarous rovers, called Creaghts, having no settled residence; they wandered with their cattle in search of subsistence, committing depredations wherever they appeared. Owen O'Neil sought out, collected, and en-

\* Carte. Cox. Leland.



rolled this lawless band of vagrants among his military force—and such was the army (five thousand foot and five hundred horse) which styled themselves the nuncio's soldiers. O'Neil led them on towards Armagh, and was followed by Monroe, with an army of six thousand eight hundred men. O'Neil was posted between two hills, with a wood behind and the Blackwater on his right. Here the battle of Benburb was fought, and a great victory gained by the Irish, only seventy of whom were slain. Three thousand of Monroe's men were killed, and his artillery, tents, baggage, and provisions taken. An English regiment, commanded by Lord Blaney, bravely stood their ground, until nearly all, with their commander, fell.

The Irish, besides carrying off great spoil, acquired such fame as to increase their numbers almost daily. In obedience to Rinuccini's orders, O'Neil, instead of prosecuting his victories, marched at the head of ten thousand men to Leinster, to oppose the treaty of peace. This formidable army, subject to papal authority, inflated that party, while the presumption of the legate exceeded all bounds. An affray took place at Limerick, instigated by popish priests, and sanctioned by Rinuccini, who assumed authority to expel the magistrates, and to appoint the leader of the tumult to be governor of the city.

The legate convened his clergy at Waterford; and excommunication was denounced against whosoever levied or paid money assessed by the council of Kilkenny, and all soldiers who were employed for this purpose. They bound themselves, by a new oath of association,

never to adhere to any treaty but such as was approved of by their clergy and conscience. In the meantime the supreme council remained inactive—they tried rather to conciliate the clergy than to enforce their authority. They, however, besought the Marquis of Ormond to take some means of repressing the violence of the nuncio. There was no dependance to be placed on Colonel Preston, part of whose army had gone over to the enemy. The lord-lieutenant, with the Marquis of Clanricarde, Lord Digby, and an army of fifteen hundred foot and five hundred horse, arrived at Kilkenny, where they were joyfully received. Hoping to detach O'Neil from the legate, an emissary was despatched to him with munificent offers. Efforts were also made to reconcile Rinuccini and the clergy to the treaty, but without effect, they remained obstinately bent upon resistance.

Ormond met with opposition in almost every direction, and reached Dublin, with difficulty, by forced marches, O'Neil and Preston being on the way to intercept him.

The power of the confederates was at an end. Kilkenny being now open to the legate, he entered the town in all the pomp of sovereignty; and, taking upon himself the direction of affairs, civil and ecclesiastic, he ordered the members of the supreme council, and all besides, who had prompted the treaty, to be imprisoned. This order was executed by Preston, and, in the plenitude of his usurped power, Rinuccini nominated a new council, modelled his armies, and appointed his officers. The Earl of Glamorgan was his most obsequious fol-

lower. A private letter from Charles, assuring him of his steady attachment both to himself and to the cause which he had espoused, was a joyful communication to the popish party. In return for this intelligence, the nuncio made Glamorgan General of Munster, after having disgraced and imprisoned Lord Muskerry. At the same time, he announced his determination to make him lord-lieutenant, as soon as he had expelled the Marquis of Ormond. So confident was this arrogant priest of his ability to seize upon the metropolis and carry all before him, that he wrote (rather prematurely) to Rome for instructions how to arrange the ceremonial between his own office of pope's legate, and that of the new chief governor.

Ormond, in daily expectation of a siege, set about making preparations, but the fortifications of Dublin were miserably out of repair. Vigorous efforts were made by the citizens and soldiers to maintain a siege, but the Marquis saw that it could not be maintained. His own resources were exhausted. He had mortgaged his estate for £20,000, which he expended in the service, and levied £2,000 more from his tenants, for the same purpose. He was at length reduced to the necessity of applying to parliament for aid, offering to carry on the war under its direction; or that he and the council, with the king's permission, would resign their patents, on condition of security to their persons and property, and indemnification from their public engagements. The latter proposition was accepted. Commissioners were appointed to treat with the Marquis of Ormond for the surrender of his government and garrison; and



a regiment of two thousand foot and three hundred horse received orders to repair to Dublin.\*

In the meantime, dissensions among the Irish weakened their powers. Owen O'Neil and his rapacious followers, though they called themselves the pope's army, would obey no orders. They disputed the legate's authority, and claimed the whole island as their own, in right of their ancestors. Thus were they ready to make war with each other, instead of maintaining it against the protestants.

1647. Lord Richard Butler, the Marquis of Ormond's second son, afterwards Earl of Arran, the Earl of Roscommon, Colonel Chichester, and Sir James Ware, were sent to England as hostages for the performance of the Marquis of Ormond's stipulations with the commissioners. The articles were signed on the 19th of June.

On the 28th of July, or sooner, if required by the parliament, Dublin was to be delivered up, with all the king's garrisons, ordnance, ammunition, and stores; together with the sword of state and other ensigns of the lord-lieutenant's authority. The parliament entered into an engagement to protect the protestants, and to give liberty to all, who desired it, to quit the kingdom with Ormond,—who should be permitted to reside in England, on condition of his submitting to the ordinances of parliament.

After the treaty was signed, the commissioners, upon their own authority, prohibited the liturgy by law

\* See Birch's *Inquiry*, p. 244. Carte, *Orm.* Vol. i. 584, &c. Leland.

established, and obtruded the directory into all places of worship. The Bishop of Meath, however, continued the liturgy in the University; and during the time of the persecution, the protestants of the established church attended divine worship there in crowds.

To enter into all the details of these times, would fill too many pages of our condensed history. The state of the kingdom is graphically summed up in "Cromwell's Letters," vol. ii. p. 451, &c.

"The history of the Irish war is, and, for the present, must continue, very dark and indecipherable to us. Ireland, ever since the Irish rebellion broke out and changed itself into an Irish massacre, in the end of 1641, has been a scene of distracted controversies, plunderings, excommunications, treacheries, conflagrations: of universal misery, and blood, and bluster, such as the world, before or since, has never seen. The history of it does not form itself into a picture: but remains only as a huge blot, an indiscriminate blackness, which the memory cannot willingly charge itself with! There are parties on the back of parties, at war with the world and each other. There are catholics of the Pale, demanding freedom of religion, under my lord this, and my lord that. There are old Irish catholics, under pope's nuncios, and Abbas O'Teague of the excommunications, and Owen Roe O'Neil—demanding, not religious freedom only, but what we now call 'Repeal of the Union;' and unable to agree with the catholics of the English Pale. Then there are Ormond royalists, of the episcopalian and mixed creeds, strong for king without covenant; Ulster, and other, presbyterians, strong

for king *and* covenant; lastly, Michael Jones and the Commonwealth of England, who want neither king nor covenant. All these plunging and tumbling, in huge discord, for the last eight years, have made of Ireland, and its affairs, the black unutterable blot we speak of.

“Eight years of cruel fighting, of desperate violence and misery, have left matters worse, a thousand fold, than they were at first. No want of daring, or of patriotism, so called, but a great want of other things !

“Numerous large masses of armed men have been on foot, full of fiery vehemence and audacity, but without worth as armies:—whole hordes, full of hatred, and hating each other—of disobedience, falsity, and noise.—Undrilled, unpaid,—driving herds of plundered cattle before them for subsistence; rushing down from hill-sides, from ambuscades, passes in the mountains; taking shelter in the bogs, whither the cavalry cannot follow them.—Unveracious, violent, disobedient men:—false in speech,—alas, false in thought first of all! who have never let the fact tell its own harsh story to them; who have said always to the harsh fact, ‘thou art not that way, ‘thou art this way!’ The Irish projects end in perpetual discomfiture:—murder, pillage, conflagration,” &c. &c.

“As if wolves or rabid dogs were in fight here; as if demons from the pit had mounted up to deface this fair green piece of God’s creation with *their* talkings and workings!—It is, and shall remain, very dark to us. Conceive Ireland wasted, torn in pieces; black controversy, as of demons and rabid wolves rushing over the face of it, so long—incurable, and very dim to us:—



till here, at last, as in the torrent of heaven's lightning descending liquid on it, we have clear and terrible view of its affairs for a time !\*

“The Marquis of Ormond, a man of distinguished integrity, patience, activity, and talent, had done his utmost for the king, in Ireland, so long as there remained any shadow of hope there. His last service, as we saw, was to venture, secretly, on a peace with the Irish catholics,—papists, men of the massacre of 1641,—men of many other massacres, falsities, mad blusterings, and confusions:—whom all parties considered as sanguinary rebels, and regarded with abhorrence. Which peace, we saw farther, Abbas O'Teague and others threatening to produce excommunication on it, the ‘Council of Kilkenny’ broke away from,—not in the handsomest manner. Ormond, in this spring of 1647, finding himself reduced to ‘seven barrels of gunpowder,’ and other extremities, without prospect of help or trust-worthy bargain on the Irish side, agreed to surrender Dublin, and what else he had left, rather to the parliament than to the rebels: his majesty, from England, secretly and publicly advising that course;—the treaty was completed. ‘Colonel Michael Jones,’ lately Governor of Chester, arrived with some parliamentary regiments, with certain parliamentary commissioners, on the 7th of June. The surrender was duly effected, and Ormond withdrew to England.†

“A great English force had been anticipated; but the late quarrel with the army, had rendered that im-

\* Cromwell's *Letters*, Vol. i. 453, &c.

† Carte's *Ormond*, Vol. i. 603.

possible. Jones, with such inadequate force as he had, made head against the rebels,—gained a great victory over them on the 8th of August, at a place called Dungan Hill, not far from Trim:—‘the most signal victory we had gained:’ for which there was thankfulness enough.”\*

The coarse republican manners of Colonel Michael Jones, and those of his train, formed a striking contrast to the state and decorum observed by the Marquis of Ormond and his court. The inhabitants of Dublin could not contemplate the change but with abhorrence.

Lord Digby remained in the neighbourhood, hoping to bring about the return of the Marquis of Ormond. His chief dependance was on the Roman catholic armies of Leinster and Munster; the latter was commanded by Lord Taafe, and was as unsuccessful as the first: the one being routed by Jones, the other cut to pieces by Lord Inchiquin.

On leaving Ireland, Ormond had presented himself to the king at Hampton Court, and was received with the affection due to his faithful services. When he tendered his commission for the lord-lieutenancy of Ireland, Charles refused it, saying, that he alone was worthy to fill that office. They had some confidential conferences, which attracted the notice of the committee of Derby House: they sought pretexts for seizing the Marquis, who, being apprized that a warrant was issued for his apprehension, escaped to France, and was followed by

\* Cromwell's *Letters*, Vol. i. 283.

Lord Ossory, his eldest son. About the same time, Charles retreated to the Isle of Wight.

The confederates had sent Lord Muskerry and Geoffry Browne to St. Germain's, on an embassy to the queen and Prince of Wales, to confirm the treaty of peace. The Marquis of Ormond was an able and useful assistant to her majesty on this occasion:—according to the advice he gave, the Irish agents were graciously received.

The Earl of Glamorgan had previously arrived at Paris, and brought recommendatory letters from Rinuccini to Cardinal Mazarine. The Marquis of Antrim had given him reason to believe that the queen favoured his pretensions of obtaining the lord-lieutenancy. But Muskerry and Browne were better informed, having received private assurances that the Marquis of Ormond would be reinstated, and that he was soon to return to Ireland, with such assistance as France could send.

A powerful union was formed in Ireland in the king's favour, and the recal of Ormond; while Rinuccini was intent upon detaching that country from England, in order that the pope, as supreme monarch, should govern Ireland with a stately hierarchy.

In order to counteract the operations of the king's adherents, the legate permitted Owen O'Neil to make overtures to Jones, the inveterate enemy of Romanists, as well as of the royal cause. The governor, suspecting that the garrison of Dublin only waited the return of Ormond to declare for the king, received O'Neil with open arms, readily consenting to an accommodation.



His plan was to surprise Kilkenny, and seize upon the supreme council at once. The return of the Marquis of Antrim, who immediately joined their party, gave an additional weight to their proceedings.\*

Paul King, an ecclesiastic, was to have betrayed Kilkenny to O'Neil, but their intentions were discovered, and Lord Inchiquin arrived with his forces in time to frustrate them. O'Neil retreated to Ulster. The supreme council was encouraged with tidings of the arrival of the Marquis of Ormond. He landed at Cork, on the 29th September, 1648, and was received with the respect due to the lord-lieutenant of Ireland.

Among the concessions which Charles had made to the parliament commissioners, was that of rescinding all cessations and treaties with the Irish, at the same time investing the parliament with full power to prosecute the war in Ireland. He informed the Marquis of Ormond of this transaction, directing him to pay no regard to his public commands, but to abide by those of the queen, "Be not startled," he said, "at my great concessions concerning Ireland, they will come to nothing."† If any objected to the sufficiency of his powers from the queen and prince, here was an additional authority to satisfy their scruples.

Ormond was invited to take up his residence in his castle at Kilkenny, where he might dwell securely, and carry on the treaty expeditiously. He was met at some distance from the city by the general assembly, the nobility, clergy, and gentry. Thus honourably

\* Carte, *Orm.* Vol. ii. Leland.

† Borlase.

escorted, he was received in due form by the magistrates, lodged in his castle, surrounded by his own guards, with the honour due to his station; and every mark of respectful attachment was manifested towards him. Some commotions in the army again unsettled him for a short season, but they were quieted by intelligence from the Prince of Wales that a supply of provisions and ammunition was coming; and that he and the Duke of York would soon follow.

The remonstrance of the army to the parliament of England, that the king should be brought to justice, had a sudden and powerful effect in Ireland. The complaints in the protestant army were silenced. The confederates, struck with the king's situation, no longer hesitated about the terms proposed by Ormond. The treaty was concluded, and peace proclaimed: even the clergy expressed satisfaction, and recommended its strict observance.

Twelve commissioners were named by the general assembly, styled, commissioners of trust. They were to take care that the articles of peace should be duly performed, until they were ratified in a full and peaceable convention of parliament. The commissioners were to be joint sharers with the lord-lieutenant in his authority; so that he could neither levy soldiers, raise money, nor even erect garrisons, without the approbation of most of these functionaries.\*

If the Marquis of Ormond had hoped, by these concessions, to serve his royal master, he was too late—

\* Clarendon's *Hist. of the Irish Rebellion*, p. 74.

Charles had been brought to his trial, and the regicides had finished their work, before the news of the Irish treaty reached London.

“How gladly would I draw a curtain over the dismal and unhappy 30th of January, wherein the royal father of our country suffered martyrdom! Oh! that I could say they were Irishmen that did that abominable fact; or that I could justly lay it at the door of the papists! But how much soever they might obliquely or designedly contribute to it, 'tis certain it was actually done by others.”\*

Prince Rupert had arrived at Kinsale with the fleet so long expected and desired by the loyalists.

The Marquis of Ormond, on his return from a visit to him, received the horrible intelligence, and delayed not to proclaim the Prince of Wales, king, in all places subject to the royal authority. So great was the detestation expressed by the Irish at the execution of Charles, that Rinunccini, concluding that submission to the lord-lieutenant would be universal, embarked privately, and wrote to the Irish clergy from France, his inflammatory sentiments, until he was recalled to Rome.†

“The Marquis of Ormond,” Cromwell says, “furnished with a commission from the prince, who now calls himself Charles II., re-appeared there [in Ireland] last year; has, with endless patience and difficulty, patched up some kind of alliance with the papists—nuncio papists, and papists of the Pale; and so far as num-

\* Quoted by Plowden, from Sir Richard Cox.

† Carte, *Orm.* Vol. ii. p. 56.



bers go, looks very formidable. One does not know how soon one 'may be called into the field.' However, there will be several things turn up to be settled first.'\*"

The Marquis of Ormond had too many powerful enemies to contend with, to maintain his important post; meanwhile, if his counsels had been followed, there is little doubt but that Charles II. would much sooner have been established upon his throne. From the beginning, Prince Rupert's study was, in every way, to circumvent the lord-lieutenant. He held a correspondence, for this purpose, with Antrim, O'Neil, and others.

The appearance of Charles in Ireland, at this time, would have had a powerful effect in his favour—Ormond urged his coming.—Three months were wasted in fruitless expectation of his arrival; at last Ormond was obliged to take the field without his assistance. The reduction of Dublin was what he aimed at, but he had not sufficient supplies for this enterprise.

O'Neil and Preston were in league with the governor. The lord-lieutenant's forces in conjunction with those of Lord Inchiquin, consisted of seven thousand foot and four thousand horse,—a very incompetent army to lay siege to the strongly-garrisoned city of Dublin. Yet the attempt was made, and its failure, in a great measure, was attributed to treachery. Fifteen hundred private soldiers and three hundred officers were made prisoners; about six hundred were slain. The Marquis returned to Kilkenny with some remains of his shattered army.

\* Cromwell's *Letters*, Vol. i. 412.

Soon after his defeat, Ormond wrote to the governor to ask for a list of the prisoners he had taken. The following answer was returned,—

“ My Lord,

“ Since I routed your army I cannot have the happiness to know where you are, that I may wait upon you.

“ MICHAEL JONES.”

1649. When Cromwell meditated his expedition to Ireland, he met with Dr. Owen, who had called on General Fairfax. Laying his hand upon his shoulder, he said, “ Sir, you are the man with whom I must be acquainted.” Taking him aside, Cromwell explained to Dr. Owen his intentions respecting Ireland, and his hope that he would accompany him, and examine into the state of Trinity College. Dr. Owen did not consent at first, but eventually he yielded. Arriving in Dublin, in July, he took up his residence in Trinity College, and afterwards in Dublin Castle. He spent about six months in Ireland, and said he was engaged in “ constant preaching to a numerous multitude of as thirsting a people after the gospel as he had ever conversed with.”\*

After his return to London, February 28th, 1650, was appointed as a day of humiliation throughout the kingdom; and being called on to preach before the parliament, in the course of his sermon, he thus addressed his audience,—“ God hath been faithful in doing great

\* Owen's Works, Vol. v. p. 649.

things for you, be faithful in this one,—do your utmost for the preaching of the gospel in Ireland. Give me leave to add a few motives to this duty.—1. They want it.—No want like theirs who want the gospel! I would there were, for the present, one gospel-preacher for every walled town in the English possessions in Ireland. The land mourneth, and the people perish for lack of knowledge. Many run to and fro, but it is upon other errands,—knowledge is not increased. 2. They are sensible of their wants; the tears and cries of the inhabitants of Dublin after the manifestations of Christ are ever in my view.” Again he says, “What then shall we do? This thing is often spoken of, seldom driven to a close!—*First*. Pray the Lord of the harvest, that He would thrust forth labourers into his harvest.

“This, I say, is a work wherein God expecteth faithfulness from you: stagger not at his promises, nor your own duty. However, by all means possible in this business, I have tried to deliver my own soul!

“Is it the sovereignty and interest of England that is alone to be there (in Ireland) transacted? For my part, I see no farther into the mystery of these things; but that I could heartily rejoice that, innocent blood being expiated, the Irish might enjoy Ireland so long as the moon endureth, so that Jesus Christ might possess the Irish.

“If they be in the dark, and like to have it so, it might somewhat close a door on the bowels of our compassion; but they cry out of their darkness, and are ready to follow every one to have a candle. If their



being without the gospel move not our hearts, it is hoped their importunate cries will disquiet our rest, and wrest help as a beggar doth an alms.

“The labourers are ready to say, ‘there is a lion in the way, and difficulties to be contended withal;’ and, to some men, it is hard to see a call of God through a cloud of difficulties: when, if it would but clothe itself with a few carnal advantages, how apparent it is to them! Be earnest, then, with the master of these labourers, in whose hand is their life, and breath, and all their ways, that he would powerfully constrain them to be willing to enter into the fields that are white to the harvest. Secondly, make such provision that those who will go may be fenced from outward straits and fears, so far as the uncertainty of human affairs in general, and the present tumultuary perturbations will admit. This is a work wherein God expecteth faithfulness from you.”

This discourse had such weight with parliament, that, in one week after it was delivered, an ordinance was passed for the encouragement of religion and learning in Ireland. Four commissioners were immediately appointed to proceed to Ireland; and many eminent preachers were sent to deliver the message of mercy, peace, and truth.

Dr. Samuel Winter, of Queen’s College, Cambridge, renounced a living of £400 a-year, and contented himself with £100 in Ireland, in order that he might labour, unremunerated, amongst that benighted people. He was made Provost of Trinity College, which flourished under his care; and he expended a considerable sum, out

of his private property, while there, in promoting public utility.

Dublin was, at this time, highly favoured in the ministry of Dr. Thomas Harrison, Mr. Charnock, Mr. Samuel Mather, Mr. Thomas Patient, Mr. Christopher Blackwood, Mr. Nathaniel Mather, Mr. Edward Veal, Mr. Daniel Williams, &c. &c. Charnock remained three years preaching the gospel to the Irish; the others went on from eight to ten years, labouring faithfully, and enjoying the fruits of their labours. Harrison and Samuel Mather ended their days in Dublin: the latter was a senior fellow in Trinity College. Many other zealous divines were appointed, or went of their own accord, and at their own charge, to Waterford, Clonmel, Cork, Kilkenny, Limerick, Galway, Lurgan, and Carrickfergus.

It was said that Harrison and Mather were beloved of the people, and deeply regretted, particularly Mather.

Four parliamentary commissioners were appointed—Richard Pepys, the chief-justice,—Miles Corbett, Robert Goodwin, and Matthew Thomlinson. In the commission sent to General Fleetwood, they were styled counsellors. This was in the year 1665.

The extract which follows was found in the books of the privy council office, dated from Dublin Castle, and subscribed by the four commissioners.

“ Upon reading the report of Dr. Winter, Dr. Harrison, Mr. Wotton, and Mr. Chalmers, touching Mr. James Carey, and of his fitness and abilities to preach the Word, both in English and Irish; and upon consideration had thereof, and of the usefulness of gifts in

order to the conversion of the poore ignorant natives, it is thought fit, and ordered, that the said Mr. Carey doe preach to the Irish, at Bride's parish, once every Lord's day; and that he doe occasionally repair to Trim and Athye, to preach as aforesaid; and that for his care and pains therein, he be allowed the salary of £60, to be paid quarterly." &c. Subscribed, R. P.—M. C.—R. G.—M. T." \*

Oliver Cromwell having procured his appointment to the Lord-Lieutenancy of Ireland, brought there an army of eight thousand foot and four thousand horse, a train of artillery, and £20,000 in money.

After having made some regulations in the capital, civil and military, he turned his attentions to Drogheda, which was garrisoned by the Marquis of Ormond, under the government of Sir Arthur Ashton, a Roman catholic officer of distinguished bravery. He was amply furnished with choice troops, ammunition, and stores for a siege; but, instead of attempting one, Cromwell, at once summoned him to surrender. On his refusal, the assault was made, and the enemy was bravely repulsed twice: the third time the town was taken—Cromwell promised quarter to all who laid down their arms. They were delivered up, and then, in that defenceless state, all were massacred by his order.

The most satisfactory account of Cromwell's campaign in Ireland is given in the volume already quoted, *viz*:—"Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches, with Elucidations, by Thomas Carlyle."

\* Anderson's *Historical Sketches*.



Let his letters tell his own story, Cromwell arrived in Dublin on the 15th of August. The old newspapers say, "he was received with all possible demonstrations of joy; the great guns echoing forth their welcome, and the acclamations resounding in every street. The lord-lieutenant coming into the city—where the concourse of people was very great, they all flocking to see him, of whom before they had heard so much." He made a speech, which "was entertained with great applause by the people; who all cried out, 'We will live and die with you!'"

The speech (unfortunately lost) is to this effect,—  
"That as God had brought him thither in safety, so he doubted not, by divine providence, to restore them all to their just liberties and properties."

Cromwell having witnessed the repulse of the first attack on Drogheda from the batteries, hastened forward and led on the second in person; of whom it is said, "This man is come into distracted Ireland. He carries acts of parliament, laws of earth and heaven in one hand, a drawn sword in the other."

"He addresses the bewildered Irish populations, at Tredah and elsewhere, 'sanguinary, blustering individuals, whose word is grown worthless as the barking of dogs; whose very thought is false, representing no fact, but the contrary of fact,—behold, I am come to speak, and to do the truth among you. Here are acts of parliament, methods of regulation and veracity, emblems, the nearest we poor puritans could make them, of God's law-book; to which it is, and shall be, our perpetual effort to make them correspond nearer and nearer.

Obey them, help us to perfect them, be peaceable and true under them, it shall be well with you! Refuse to obey them, I will not let you continue living! As articulate-speaking, veracious, orderly men, not as a blustering, murderous, kennel of dogs, run rabid, shall you continue in this earth.—Choose!’—They chose to disbelieve him: they rejected his summons and terms at Tredah: he stormed the place; and, according to his promise, put every man of the garrison to death.” In his letter dated Dublin, 16th September, 1649, he says, “It hath pleased God to bless our endeavours at Drogheda.\* After battery, we stormed it. The enemy were about three thousand strong in the town. They made a stout resistance; and near one thousand of our men being entered the enemy forced them out again. Our men attempted again, and entered; beating the enemy from their defences.

“The enemy had made three intrenchments, both to the right and left (of) where we entered; all which they were forced to quit.

“Being thus entered, we refused them quarter; having the day before summoned the town. I believe we put to the sword the whole number of the defendants. I do not think thirty of the whole number escaped with their lives: those that did are in safe custody for the Barbadoes. Since that time, the enemy quitted to us Trim and Dundalk. In Trim they were in such haste that they left their guns behind them.” Cromwell further states, that in “this garrison,

\* Oliver spells it so, but it was almost universally called Tredah.

were almost all their prime soldiers, being about three thousand horse and foot, under the command of their best officers; Sir Arthur Ashton, he being governor.” “Some seven or eight regiments under the command of Sir Edmund Varney. I do not believe, neither do I hear, that any officer escaped with his life, save only one lieutenant. The enemy upon this were filled with much terror.”

In a second letter dated Dublin, 17th September, 1649, he gives a more particular statement of the storming of Drogheda. “Your army came before the town upon Monday following (3rd September), where, having pitched, as speedy course was taken, as could be, to frame our batteries, which took up the more time, because divers of the battering guns were on ship-board. Upon Monday, the 10th of this instant, the batteries began to play. Whereupon I sent Sir Arthur Ashton, the then governor, a summons, to deliver the town to the use of the parliament of England. To the which receiving no satisfactory answer, I proceeded that day to beat down the steeple of the church, on the south side of the town, and to beat down a tower not far from the same place.” The day after, they planted two batteries against that part of the town-wall next a church, called St. Mary’s. “Being somewhat long in the battering, the enemy made six retrenchments; three of them from the said church to Duleek Gate, and three of them from the east end of the church to the town-wall. The guns, after some two or three hundred shot, beat down the corner tower, and opened two reasonable good breaches in the east and south wall.”



About five o'clock on Tuesday evening, after "a hot dispute," seven or eight hundred men entered, but the place was so stiffly disputed that they were forced to retreat out of the breach, not without considerable loss.

On a second attempt, however, as has been stated, Oliver Cromwell gained the town. "Divers of the enemy," he says, "retreated into the mill-mount: a place very strong and of difficult access, being exceedingly high, having a good graft, and strongly palisadoed. The governor, Sir Arthur Ashton, and divers considerable officers being there, our men getting up to them, were ordered by me to put them all to the sword.\* And, indeed, being in the heat of action, I forbade them to spare any that were in arms in the town: and, I think, that night they put to the sword about two thousand men;—divers of the officers and soldiers being fled over the bridge into the other part of the town, where about one hundred of them possessed St. Peter's church-steeple, some the west gate, and others a strong round tower, next the gate called St. Sunday's. These being summoned to yield to mercy refused. Whereupon I ordered the steeple of St. Peter's church to be fired." "The next day, the other two towers were summoned; in one of which were about six or seven score; but they refused to yield themselves: and we, knowing that hunger must compel them, set only

\* "Sir Arthur Ashton had a wooden leg which the soldiers were very eager for, understanding it to be full of gold, but it proved to be mere timber: all his gold, two hundred broad pieces, was sewed into his belt, and scrambled for when that came to light."

guards to secure them from running away, until their stomachs were come down. From one of the said towers, notwithstanding their condition, they killed and wounded some of our men. When they submitted, their officers were knocked on the head, and every tenth man of the soldiers killed; and the rest shipped for the Barbadoes." The soldiers in the other tower were all shipped likewise for the Barbadoes.

"It is remarkable that these people, at the first, set up the mass in some places of the town that had been monasteries; but afterwards grew so insolent that the last Lord's day before the storm, the protestants were thrust out of the great church, called St. Peter's, and they had public mass there; and in this very place near one thousand of them were put to the sword, fleeing thither for safety. I believe all their friars were knocked on the head, promiscuously, but two; the one of which was Father Peter Taafe, brother to the Lord Taafe, whom the soldiers took the next day, and made an end of. The other was taken in the round tower, under the repute of a lieutenant, and when he understood that the officers in that tower had no quarter, he confessed he was a friar; but that did not save him.

"I do not think we lost one hundred men upon the place, though many may be wounded.

"The defendants in Drogheda consisted of the Lord of Ormond's regiment; Sir Edmund Varney's (lieutenant-colonel) of four hundred; Colonel Byrn's, Colonel Warren's, and Colonel Wall's of two thousand; the Lord of Westmeath's of two hundred; Sir

James Dillon's of two hundred; and two hundred horse."\*

"Owen Roe O'Neil appears to have been a man of real ability; surely no able man, or son of order, ever sank in a dismal welter of confusions unconquerable by him! He did no more service or disservice henceforth; he died in some two months, of a disease in the foot,—poisoned, say some, by the gift of a 'pair of russet leather boots, which some traitor had bestowed on him.'†

Another letter, also addressed to *the Honourable William Lenthall, Speaker of the Parliament of England*, is dated Wexford, 14th October, 1649,—

"Sir,—The army marched from Dublin, about the 23rd of September, into the county of Wicklow, where the enemy had a garrison, about fourteen miles from Dublin, called Killincarrick, which they quitting, a company of the army was put therein. From thence, the army marched through an almost desolated country until it came to a passage over the River Doro, (Dorrha, now called Avoca), about a mile from the castle of Arklow, which was the first seat and honour of the Marquis of Ormond's family: which he had strongly fortified—but it was, upon the approach of the army, quitted;—wherein we left another company of foot."

In their progress towards Wexford, all the castles were in like manner given up and deserted: Cromwell mentions "a village called Enniscorthy, where was a

\* Newspapers in Parliamentary History, (London, 1763).

† Carte, ii. 83.



strong castle, very well manned and provided for by the enemy, and close to it a monastery of Franciscan friars, the considerablest in all Ireland: they ran away the night before we came. We summoned the castle, and they refused to yield at the first; but upon better consideration, they were willing to deliver the place to us; which accordingly they did, leaving their great guns, arms, ammunition, and provisions behind them.

“ Upon Monday, the 1st of October, we came before Wexford, into which the enemy had put a garrison, consisting of ‘part of’ their army; this town having, until then, been so confident of their own strength, as that they would not, at any time, suffer a garrison to be imposed upon them. The commander that brought in those forces was Colonel David Synnot, who took upon him the command of the place. To whom I sent a summons: between whom and me there passed answers and replies.

“ ‘ *For the Lord-General Cromwell.*

“ ‘ Sir,—I received your letter of summons for the delivery of this town into your hands, which standeth not with my honour to do of myself; neither will I take it upon me, without the advice of the rest of the officers and mayor of this corporation, (this town being of so great consequence to all Ireland,) whom I will call together and confer with, and return my resolution to you to-morrow by twelve of the clock.

“ ‘ In the mean time, if you be so pleased, I am con-

tent to forbear all acts of hostility, so you permit no approach to be made. Expecting your answer in that particular,

“ ‘ I remain, my lord,

“ ‘ Your lordship’s servant,

“ ‘ D. SYNNOT.’

“ ‘ *To the Commander-in-Chief of the Town of Wexford.*

“ ‘ Sir,—I am contented to expect your resolution by twelve of the clock to-morrow morning; because our tents are not so good a covering as your houses, and for other reasons, I cannot agree to a cessation.

“ ‘ I rest your servant,

“ ‘ OLIVER CROMWELL.’

“ Whilst these papers were passing between us, I sent the lieutenant-general (Michael Jones) with a party of dragoons, horse and foot, to endeavour to reduce their fort, which lay at the mouth of their harbour, about ten miles distant from us; to which he sent a troop of dragoons: but the enemy quitted their fort, leaving behind them about seven great guns, betook themselves, by the help of their boat, to a frigate of twelve guns lying in the harbour, within cannon shot of the fort. The dragoons possessed the fort, and some seamen belonging to your fleet coming happily in at the same time, they bent their guns at the frigate, and she immediately yielded to mercy—both herself, the soldiers that had been in the fort, and the seamen that manned her; and whilst our men were in her, the town, not

knowing what had happened, sent another vessel to her, which our men also took.

“The governor of the town having obtained from me a safe-conduct for the four persons mentioned in one of the papers, to come and treat with me about the surrender of the town, I expected they should have done so. But instead thereof, the Earl of Castlehaven brought to their relief about five hundred foot, which occasioned their refusal to send out any to treat, and caused me to revoke my safe-conduct, not thinking it fit to leave it for them to make use of it when they pleased.

“On Thursday, the 11th of October (our batteries being finished the night before), we began to play betimes in the morning; and, having spent near a hundred shot, the governor’s stomach came down, and he sent to me to give leave for four persons, intrusted by him, to come unto me, and offer terms of surrender; which I condescending to, two field officers, with an alderman of the town, and the captain of the castle, brought out the propositions enclosed, which, for their abominableness, manifesting also the impudence of the men I thought fit to present to your view, together with my answer,\* which indeed had no effect. For whilst I was preparing of it, studying to preserve the town from plunder, that it might be of more use to you and your army, the captain, who was one of the commissioners, being fairly treated, yielded up the castle to us; upon the top of which our men no sooner appeared but the enemy quitted the walls of the town, which our men

\* Now lost.



perceiving, ran violently upon the town with their ladders and stormed it. And when they were come into the market-place, the enemy making a stiff resistance, our forces brake them, and put all to the sword that came in their way. Two boatfuls of the enemy attempting to escape, being overprest with numbers, sank; whereby were drowned near three hundred of them. I believe, in all, there was lost of the enemy not many less than two thousand; and I believe not twenty of yours from first to last of the siege. And indeed it hath, not without cause, been deeply set upon our hearts, that we intending better to this place than so great a ruin, hoping the town might be of more use to you and your army; yet God would not have it so, but, by an unexpected providence, in His righteous justice, brought a just judgment upon them, causing *them* to become a prey to the soldier, who, in their piracies, had made preys of so many families, and now, with their bloods, to answer the cruelties which they had exercised upon the lives of divers poor protestants: two instances of which I have lately been acquainted with. About seven or eight score poor protestants were, by them, put into an old vessel, which being, as some say, bulged by them, the vessel sunk, and they were all presently drowned in the harbour. The other instance was thus: they put divers poor protestants into a chapel (which since they have used for a mass-house, and in which one or more of their priests were now killed), where they were famished to death."

Cromwell mentions the spoil taken by the soldiers, and a great quantity of things not so portable, besides

one hundred cannon and very good shipping. He says, "this town is now so in your power, that of the former inhabitants, I believe scarce one in twenty can challenge any property in their houses. Most of them are run away, and many of them killed in this service; and it were to be wished that an honest people would come and plant here, where are very good houses, and other accommodations fitted to their hands, which may, by your favour, be made of encouragement to them. As also a seat of good trade, both inward and outward; and of marvellous great advantage in the point of the herring and other fishing. The town is pleasantly seated and strong, having a rampart of earth within the wall, near fifteen feet thick."

According to the account given in the old newspapers (in Cromwelliana), Wexford was left under the command of Colonel Cooke, and Cromwell proceeded with his army to Ross, "a walled town situated upon the river Barrow, a very pleasant and commodious river, bearing vessels of a very considerable burden (seven or eight hundred tons)," as Cromwell states in his official account in a letter to Lenthall, dated Ross, 25th October, 1649. He came before the town on Wednesday, the 17th instant, with three pieces of cannon, and on that evening sent a summons to the governor, Major-General Taaff, who refused to admit the trumpet into the town, but he took the summons, to which he sent no answer; and, on the following day, Cromwell prepared his battery, which, being planted in the night, began to play very early in the morning. The governor then sent proposals to treat; in the mean-

time, stipulating that there should be a cessation of acts of hostility—Cromwell would not comply on any other conditions than his evacuating the town—which he did after some delay—Cromwell says, “leaving the great artillery, and the ammunition in the stores to me. When they marched away, at least five hundred English, many of them of the Munster forces, came to us.” He adds, “Ormond is at Kilkenny, Inchiquin in Munster, Henry O’Neil (Owen Roe’s son) is come up to Kilkenny, with near two thousand horse and foot, with whom and Ormond there is now a perfect conjunction. So that now, I trust, some angry friends will think it high time to take off their jealousy from those to whom they ought to exercise more charity.” (He says this in allusion to a “jealousy of the parliament’s having countenanced Monk in his negociations with Owen Roe, and the old Irish of the massacre.”)

Cromwell’s army was unsuccessful in an attempt upon Duncannon, through the exertions of Wogan, the commanding officer, and the assistance of Lord Castlehaven. But by the acquisition of Carrick, they effected a passage over the river Suir to the city of Waterford, and into Munster, where they took possession of Bandon Bridge, from which the young governor, named Jephson, was driven. Kinsale, with its fort, also surrendered to them, and the Passage Fort, which was of considerable importance in commanding the river Suir. Ormond and Owen Roe O’Neil, had joined their forces, hoping to arrest the progress of Cromwell; but all their efforts failed.

About the end of October, Lord Broghill raised a



troop for Cromwell; and all the garrisons in Munster declared for him.

Ormond, not knowing where to quarter his troops, dismissed them; all Ulster, with the exception of Claremont and Enniskillen, was given up to the republican army.

In the month of December, Michael Jones died of fever at Dungarvan.

“The lord-lieutenant has been rehabilitating courts of justice in Dublin, settling contributions, and doing much other work; and now, the February, or even January, weather being unusually good, he takes the field again, in hopes, perhaps, of soon finishing. The unhappy Irish are again excommunicating one another; the supreme council of Kilkenny is again one wide howl, and Ormond is writing to the king to recall him. Now is the lord-lieutenant’s time.”

About the end of February, 1650, Cromwell again took the field. Ireton commanded part of his army, and Colonel Hewson, now governor of Dublin, commanded an additional reinforcement: with a strong army, they invested Kilkenny, where the plague was making havoc. It obliged Lord Castlehaven, in whose custody Ormond had placed the city, to withdraw, which reduced the garrison to four hundred and fifty:—few in number, yet ably commanded by Sir Walter Butler. They bravely repelled the assaults of the besiegers, and would finally have succeeded, but that when Cromwell was on the point of retreating, the mayor and citizens encouraged him to renew the attack, promising that they would receive him into their town.

Two thousand men of Ulster, commanded by Hugh O'Neil, Owen Roe's kinsman, undertook to defend Clonmel, which was stormed on the 9th of May, 1650. After a hot fight, Cromwell's men fell back; but a breach had been made to which they kept close until the evening. "The fierce death-wrestle" lasted four hours, and on both sides many were slain. At night the garrison withdrew without being perceived; and, before it was known in Cromwell's army, the inhabitants of Clonmel had obtained a parley and articles of agreement. According to the statement of Whitelocke, "They found in Clonmel the stoutest enemy this army had ever met in Ireland; and there was never seen so hot a storm of so long continuance, and so gallantly defended, either in England or Ireland."

Cromwell granted numerous permissions to the Irish officers who had surrendered to embody regiments, and go abroad with them into any country not at war with England. About forty-five thousand went in this way to France or Spain. Letters, pressing the return of Cromwell, caused him to appoint Ireton his deputy—he would fain have seen the surrender of Waterford before he went, but leaving that, with other business, to be settled by Ireton, he sailed, in the latter end of May, for England; having done much work\* in the space of nine months which he spent in Ireland.

The republicans had gained great footing in Ireland but still there were many places which they had not

\* Called by the Irish common people, "The curse of Cromwell."

subdued. The whole province of Connaught was in the hands of the Roman catholics, as were Waterford, Limerick, Galway, the forts of Duncannon and Sligo, the castles of Athlone, Charlemont, Carlow, and Nenagh. They could have more than doubled the forces of their enemies; but all their resources were of no avail, where union, order, and resolution were wanting. To supply the place of Owen O'Neil, they chose Heber Mac Mahon, the titular Bishop of Clogher. He had sufficient influence to collect an army, but no ability in the command of one. He encountered Sir Charles Coote, near Letterkenny, was defeated, taken prisoner, and executed. After a brave defence, Charlemont was surrendered to Sir Charles Coote, by whom the whole province of Ulster was reduced.\*

In a conference, at Limerick, with twenty-four titular bishops, assembled for the purpose, the Marquis of Ormond discovered their duplicity; and, from their insinuations, he was convinced that their aim was to get rid of him and Lord Inchiquin, and to become themselves the absolute masters of the kingdom. He would have placed a garrison in Limerick, but they resisted his will, and wearied him with continual provocations. At one time he was invited to Limerick, and when he went there, a tumult was raised and the gates of the city closed against him. They continued, with bitterness, to inveigh against his administration, and at last insolently required that his excellency should speedily repair to the king, leaving his authority "in the hands

\* Borlase. Carte, *Orm.* Vol. ii.



of some person faithful to his majesty, and trusty to the nation, and such as the affections and confidence of the people would follow." So powerful was the influence of this priestly order, that on a particular occasion when an army was detached on the service, a seditious friar seized the colours, and doomed to eternal perdition all those who should presume to march; instantly, the whole body laid down their arms, and severally returned to their habitations.

In such circumstances, how was the Marquis of Ormond to act, without a protestant officer, except the captain of his guard?—He, however, declared his determination not to remove from the kingdom until forced by inevitable necessity. The bishops bent on their purposes, published "A Declaration of the Prelates and Dignitaries of the Secular and Regular Clergy, against the continuance of his Majesty's Authority, vested in the hands of the Marquis of Ormond, for the Misgovernment of the Subjects, the Ill-conduct of the Army, and the Violation of the Peace." After several accusations, they enjoined the people to obey no orders, but those of the congregation of clergy, until a general assembly should be convened. To give this edict greater weight, a solemn sentence of excommunication was added against all those who should adhere to the lord-lieutenant, or give him subsidy, contribution, or obedience.

The folly of this proceeding was the more remarkable, from the rapid progress of the republican army. A considerable deposit of artillery and stores had fallen into their hands. Naas, Atthy, Maryborough, Castle-

dermot, &c., &c., had been taken by Hewson. Carlow, Waterford, and Duncannon, were surrendered. Ormond, with a few troops, made desperate efforts to prevent the victorious enemy from crossing the Shannon. Ireton and Sir Charles Coote advanced towards Athlone; Clanricarde marched with his forces to oppose them, but at the head of his troops, the sentence of excommunication was pronounced, which exonerated them from all obedience to government. Neither the pressing danger nor any other consideration could induce the proud and bigoted prelates to revoke the sentence. They unwillingly consented to its suspension until Athlone was relieved; and by their own authority they levied forces.

A strange declaration was now published by Charles II., condemning his father for having married into an idolatrous family, to which crime he imputed the calamities which war and bloodshed had brought upon the nation. He added to this, a deep sense of his own guilt in his former prejudices against the cause of God; his opposition to that which was the work of God; and his utter abhorrence of the peace which his father had made with papists, and which he himself had ratified, but now pronounced utterly void, as any peace with blood-thirsty, idolatrous rebels, could not be lawful.

The prelates used this declaration to inflame the people more and more against the Marquis, by imputing it entirely to his misrepresentations.

Ormond seemed to consider it a malicious forgery; but if he did, in reality, his mistake was soon cleared up, by a private letter from the king, telling him that it

was the effect of fear, and could not be binding in Ireland, as it was done without the concurrence of a privy council; and earnestly pressing him to withdraw in time from the kingdom. The Commissioners knowing his value, were loath to part with him, and besought him at least to appoint his successor. He complied with this request, hoping that the friend who supplied his place would be secured from such insults as he had to contend with. After having appointed the Marquis of Clanricarde his deputy, he embarked at the port of Galway, and had a tempestuous and dangerous voyage to France.

The Roman catholics had, in Clanricarde, a chief governor of their own persuasion. The protestant loyalists were dispersed—some having joined the republican party, but the greater number had emigrated to foreign countries. Lord Inchiquin and several protestant officers went, with the Marquis of Ormond, to France; Sir Charles Coote failed in his attempt upon Athlone; Ireton advanced to Limerick, and demanded the citizens to receive his troops for their defence. While they hesitated, Lord Castlehaven arrived with his forces, and persuaded them to close their gates against the enemy. Ireton, not having the means of carrying on a siege, retired, leaving Connaught still in the power of the Irish, as well as a large part of Munster, Limerick, Galway, and Sligo, which would still have enabled them to carry on the war with some prospect of success.

Scarcely had Clanricarde accepted the government, when an embassy from Ireton arrived with proposals to the assembly, that they should abandon their desperate



cause and enter into conditions with the parliament, which would be conducive to the prosperity of the nation. The popish Bishop of Fernes, and other ecclesiastics, were earnest in their efforts to effect the proposed alliance. The assembly made strong objections, and Clanricarde remonstrated on the danger, as well as treachery of such a measure. The determined spirit evinced on this occasion, brought about a seeming change in the sentiments of the Romish clergy. They now professed themselves aware of the danger of forming treaties with such an enemy. This was but a forced compliance: their hatred to Clanricarde and Ormond existed in full force, and they meditated a return to their original confederacy, not regarding the king's authority, as one among them expressed himself, "that idol of Dagon, a foolish loyalty."

Still indulging the fallacious hope, that papal power and their own sovereign authority should yet be established in Ireland, they dispatched the Bishop of Ferns to Brussels, to solicit the protection of the Duke of Lorraine. Charles II. had been in treaty with him, respecting the mortgage of the fort of Duncannon for £24,000; but, as the fort was threatened with a siege, the duke's agents retired without concluding the treaty. It was afterwards renewed by Lord Taafe, who was the bearer of letters of credence from the Duke of York, with earnest entreaties that the Duke of Lorraine would support the king's interest in Ireland; and for the repayment of such sums as he should advance, the security of any place in the kingdom was offered. The duke received Taafe with particular favour, expressed

the deepest interest in the Irish, and gave him £5000 to purchase arms and ammunition, which arrived in the bay of Galway.

In commiseration of the Irish Romanists, the duke declared his readiness to undertake their defence, in person, furnished with such supplies as would soon recover the kingdom; but in return, he should expect implicit obedience. Taafe not being empowered to make such engagements, proposed that the duke should send some person of distinction, authorised to treat with those in power in Ireland. For this purpose the Abbé of Saint Catherine was despatched, and he landed at Galway, while the Bishop of Ferns was on his way to Brussels with a commission from the disaffected clergy, to solicit protection for their country.

The lord-deputy appointed a committee of bishops, nobility, and gentry, to treat with the duke's envoy. His proposals were, that the Duke of Lorraine and his heirs should be accepted as protectors of Ireland, with limitations little less than monarchical authority. Clanricarde would not agree to them—the bishops declared that this was the only means of saving their nation, and vehemently insisted on their being received—but when asked to subscribe to this decision, they refused; and all further proceedings were referred to a treaty with the duke himself at Brussels. Sir Nicholas Plunkett and Sir Geoffry Browne, in conjunction with Lord Taafe, were appointed to this commission. The representations of the titular Bishop of Ferns prevailed over the propositions which the deputy's agents were authorised to accept; and had such weight with

themselves that they disclaimed the Marquis of Clanricarde's commission, and pleaded another authority, more unlimited,—the nation and people of Ireland. The treaty was concluded, investing the Duke of Lorraine with sovereign authority, under the title of Protector Royal of Ireland. Browne resolutely refused to sign his name to the treaty. Lord Taafe had gone to Paris to receive instructions from the queen and the Marquis of Ormond, before any decision had been made, but they did not wait his return, and signed his name without his knowledge or consent. However, the whole contract was broken by a formal protest from the lord-deputy, against the unwarrantable proceedings of his ambassadors. Soon after the king's interests in Ireland became so desperate, that he had nothing left wherewith to purchase the duke's assistance.

In the meantime the Irish clergy took upon themselves authority to rule, as if the protectorship, they so much desired, had been confirmed, but they were roused from their dream by approaching calamity.

1651. Sir Charles Coote was directed to advance towards Sligo; but, finding it prepared for a siege, he suddenly drew off his men, and, passing over the Curlew hills, invested Athlone, which was soon taken. Galway was then attacked. Fennel, an officer, had been stationed at Killaloe to defend the passage over the Shannon, but he abandoned his post, and the English army burst rapidly into the western province, and Ireton besieged Limerick. The citizens and clergy, throwing off all subjection to the lord-deputy, chose O'Neil, the brave defender of Clonmel, for their governor. He



maintained his character, by his exertions against the enemy without; but, having no power over the divisions and distractions within the walls, he could not prevent the citizens and magistrates from surrendering the city. Fennel, who had yielded the pass at Killaloe, seized the two principal gates: protected from the governor by the chief magistrate, he turned the cannon on the town, insisted on capitulating, and sent commissioners to Ireton. The clergy strenuously opposed the surrender of the town, well knowing the fatal consequence to themselves, but they could not prevail, and that which they anticipated came upon them; they were cut off by the hand of the executioner, None escaped but the Bishop of Limerick. The garrison were allowed to lay down their arms, and march out; the citizens were permitted to remove with their effects; the services of Fennel were not regarded, he was condemned to die; Wolfe, the friar, who had seditiously excluded the Marquis of Ormond from Limerick, was executed; Geoffry Browne shared the same fate; the brave O'Neil was condemned, but, on re-examination, happily rescued. \*

Galway had not yet been delivered up; but on receiving the terrible summons to yield, on the conditions offered to Limerick, or to expect the doom of the refractory, the citizens were on the point of complying, when they heard of the death of the republican general. —Ireton died on the 26th of November, 1651, at Limerick, of the infectious disease so prevalent at the time.

\* Ludlow's *Memoirs*. Leland.

This event encouraged the citizens to keep possession of their town.

Ludlow was now the commander of the parliamentary forces; and so rigidly did he follow the steps of his predecessors, that universal dismay took possession of the Irish. A submission was tendered, by an assembly held in Leinster, in the name of the nation. The like offer was sent from Galway to Ludlow. Preston, the governor, fled from the impending danger, and the city was surrendered, without the slightest regard to the authority of Clanricarde. He made some vain attempts to oppose them in Ulster. Having taken possession of the castles of Ballyshannon and Donegal, he maintained those posts until driven from them by a superior force, which dispersed his troops. In compliance with the directions of Charles, he accepted the conditions offered by the republicans, and quitted a country which was under the dominion of fanaticism and bigotry.\*

Edmund Ludlow is called an "iron-souled man, whom neither danger could daunt, nor interest bribe, nor mercy win from that which he, mistakenly, deemed his path of duty."

His own words will best describe to what lengths he considered himself justified in proceeding against those whom he denounced as rebels.

"From hence I went to visit the garrison of Dundalk, and, being upon my return, I found a party of the enemy retired within a hollow rock, which was discovered by one of ours, who saw five or six of them

\* Borlase. Leland.

standing before a narrow passage at the mouth of a cave. The rock was so thick that we thought it impossible to dig down upon them, and therefore resolved to try to reduce it then by smoke. After some of our men had spent most part of the day in endeavouring to smother those within, by fire placed at the mouth of the cave, they withdrew the fire, and the next morning, supposing the Irish to be made incapable of resistance by the smoke, some of them, with a candle before them, crawled into the rock. One of the enemy, who lay in the middle of the entrance, fired his pistol, and shot the first of our men into the head, by whose loss we found that the smoke had not taken the desired effect. But, seeing no other way to reduce them, I caused the trial to be repeated; and, upon examination, found that though a great smoke went into the cavity of the rock, yet it came out again at other crevices: upon which I ordered those places to be closely stopped, and another smother made. About an hour and a half after this, one of them was heard to groan very strongly, and afterwards more weakly, whereby we presumed that the work was done; yet the fire was continued till about midnight, and then taken away, that the place might be cool enough for ours to enter the next morning. At which time some went in, armed with back, breast, and head-piece, to prevent such another accident as fell out at their first attempt: but they had not gone above six yards before they found the man that had been heard to groan, who was the same that had killed one of our men with his pistol, and who, resolving not to quit his post, had been, upon the stopping the holes of



the rock, choked by the smoke. Our soldiers put a rope about his neck, and drew him out. The passage being cleared, they entered, and having put about fifteen to the sword, they brought four or five out alive, with the priest's robes, a crucifix, chalice, and other furniture of that kind. Those within preserved themselves by laying their heads close to a water that ran through the rock. We found two rooms in the place, one of which was large enough to turn a pike; and, having filled the mouth of it with large stones, we quitted it."\*

Cromwell appointed his son-in-law, Fleetwood, to be his deputy in Ireland. Two acts were now debated in the English parliament, relative to Ireland; one was for the confiscation of lands, the other for the proper settlement of the claims made by some who had advanced money to Cromwell, on condition of being repaid by the investment of estates in Ireland. The first were to undergo a trial, and if convicted for murders committed in the beginning of the war, their estates were to be entirely confiscated. Among those for whom there was no pardon, were the Marquis of Ormond, Lord Inchiquin, Bramhal, the protestant Bishop of Derry, and the Earl of Roscommon, all whose lives and property were pronounced forfeit. Commissions were issued in the several provinces for the erection of a high court of justice, in order to try those who were accused of murdering the English. After the strictest investigation, two hundred only were condemned to

\* Ludlow's *Memoirs*, p. 181.

death, The perpetrators of those barbarous outrages had, in general, escaped the vigilance of justice; numbers had been cut off in the ten years of continued warfare which followed, and numbers had escaped into foreign countries; added to which, a consuming famine and pestilence helped forward the work of execution.\* In the whole province of Ulster, the great scene of carnage, but one individual was brought to trial, Sir Phelim O'Neil. Lord Caufield discovered and dragged him to justice for his treatment of the kind old nobleman who had hospitably received O'Neil; whose castle he had on the same night seized and rifled, and having borne away its lord, a prisoner, afterwards suffered his barbarian followers to murder him: but the hour was now approaching, when retributive justice was about to do its work. Before the sentence was passed, during his examination, and afterwards, he evinced a magnanimity of spirit which proved that, at that awful moment, he feared God more than man. Being pressed by his judges to confess whether he had not received a commission from Charles I. for commencing the Irish insurrection, he confessed that he had found a patent in the fort of Charlemont, with a broad seal annexed, which, by his direction, had been taken off and fixed

\* According to the opinion of Lord Clarendon, the sufferings of Ireland, from the outset of the great rebellion to its close, have never been surpassed but by those of the Jews, in their destruction by Titus. The powerful army of Cromwell, covered the land with bloodshed. Sir William Petty calculates, that above five hundred thousand of the Irish perished and were wasted by the sword, plague, famine, hardship, and banishment, between the 23rd day of October, 1641, and the same day, 1652.

upon a forged commission. His judges were not satisfied, and told him, if he could produce such a commission from the king, he should have life, liberty, and estate: he again declared that he could produce none. A third time he was tempted in the same way, at his execution: just as he was on the point of being turned off the ladder, the same offer whispered in his ear. He answered in a loud voice, "I thank the lieutenant-general for his intended mercy; but I declare, good people, before God and his holy angels, and all that hear me, I never had any commission from the king for levying or prosecuting this war."

Commissioners of parliament were now appointed. Their first proceeding was to issue a proclamation that rebellion was subdued, and the war was at an end in Ireland.\* Fleetwood was sole commander of the army. Miles Corbet, John Jones, and John Weaver, took part with him in the civil government. The inhabitants of Ireland were now encouraged to pursue their agricultural occupations without molestation, and the English were permitted to import their cattle and grain free of any duty. Commissioners were appointed to levy a fund for the support of soldiers disabled in the public service, and for the widows and children of those who had been killed. Connaught was given up to the Irish, under some parliamentary restrictions. They were to confine themselves within this province, and were not to interrupt or have intercourse with the new English settlers.

\* Nelson. Fleetwood.



1653. The Shannon divided them from the other provinces, and the English were protected from their incursions by garrisons surrounding them.

Courts of judicature were established at Dublin and Athlone.

Another revolution now took place: Oliver Cromwell had forcibly dissolved the parliament, and was declared by his council of officers, Protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland. After some opposition, he was proclaimed by this title in Ireland. Ludlow, and all the zealous republicans were highly indignant. He retained his post of lieutenant-general, but would no longer be a commissioner.

1654. Cromwell sent his son, Henry, to prepare the way for his future government in Ireland. It was a wise measure; for Henry Cromwell was well calculated to reconcile the minds of the people to his usurpation. He discovered the fraudulent proceedings of the commissioners, who, in the distribution of lands, had reserved large proportions for themselves. He found the courts of judicature in a miserable state, and, through the violence of the English soldiers, scarcely a house outside of the walled towns, was left standing. He quitted Ireland, deeply impressed with the conviction that the obstinate republicans ought to be removed from the kingdom.

Cromwell put an end to their power, and appointed Fleetwood lord-deputy for three years, assigning him a new council to assist in the administration. They had orders to suppress popery and profaneness; to encourage pious and gifted ministers of the gospel; to advance

learning; to execute the laws justly; to be careful of the revenue; and to dispense with the order for peopling Connaught with Irish only, unless it should be found conducive to the public utility.\*

The enemies of Cromwell cavilled at this indulgence to the Irish—they objected to the form of administration lately established, saying, it savoured more of a monarchical, than a republican government. The army was discontented, and when Cromwell summoned a detachment to come to his aid against the royalists in England, they mutinied, saying, they had engaged to contend against Irish rebels, but would not go to England, to fight against those who might possibly be their best friends. Ludlow being active in stirring up this spirit of discontent, in order to diminish his influence, his regiment was disbanded.

1655. Henry Cromwell was sent again to Ireland, first as a military officer—and afterwards he was made lord-deputy; his liberality, justice, impartiality, and benevolence, established his authority in the hearts of the people, and so entirely reconciled them to his father's interests, that addresses were transmitted from the army and the inhabitants of every county in Ireland, expressing their resolution of adhering to the protector against all those whose particular animosities served to embroil the public tranquillity.

Most of the old English race, and several of the Irish, were heartily desirous for the restoration of Charles. These dispositions were considerably pro-

\* Thurloe's *State Papers*.

moted by the severity of the commissioners. On the quarrel between the army and the parliament, they dismissed Lord Broghill, Sir Charles Coote, and other suspected persons, and, without any trial, or crime alleged, cashiered more than two hundred officers.

Broghill disclaiming what he called "a ruinous wickedness," formed a design which he communicated to Sir Charles Coote, who, with his father, from interested motives, had joined in the service of the republicans.

The abdication of the protector made the ruin of this party evident. Peace and composure seemed established in Ireland, when the royalists burst from their concealment, and struck down the whole fabric of the republican government. They assembled at Dublin, and seized the castle. Another party soon got possession of Youghal, Clonmel, Carlow, Limerick, and Drogheda. In one week, the principal garrisons in Ireland were in the king's interest. He was invited to come over without delay to this kingdom, but England must first set the example, which General Monk was labouring to produce. In the meantime, a council of officers assumed the legislature of Ireland: they summoned a convocation of estates, where they declared their detestation of the murder of Charles I.; they secured the army by providing for the payment of arrears; and they published a declaration for a full and free parliament.

Ludlow now arrived in the port of Dublin; but, before he had time to do mischief, he was recalled by the parliament of England. A few fanatics, and some Irish, with their popish primate, were the only persons



who declared against the king; the flame of loyalty spread, and Charles was, with gladness, proclaimed in all the principal towns in Ireland; a present was voted to him of £20,000, and £6,000 to the Dukes of York and Gloucester.\*

1658, September 3. Oliver Cromwell closed his miserable life. In perpetual dread of assassination, he wore armour even in bed, and did not venture to sleep, more than two or three nights, in the same chamber. His son Richard succeeded him; and advanced Henry Cromwell to the lord-lieutenancy of Ireland, who, when the power of Richard was tottering, used all his endeavours to support him; and, on the restoration of the rump parliament, he issued a proclamation to preserve the peace, and sent agents to the council of state, with proposals relative to the civil and military government of Ireland; which it was resolved should again be administered by commissioners. When Henry learned that he was to be recalled, and that Ludlow was appointed to command the forces of the commonwealth in Ireland, he told his brother-in-law, Fleetwood, that “he thought it was his duty to prevent those fears and jealousies which might give occasion to interrupt the public peace, by resigning his charge to any one whom they should send to receive it.”

Sir Hardress Waller was commissioned to surprise the castle of Dublin. Henry Cromwell, without attempting any resistance, retired to a house in the Phœnix Park; and had been so regardless of his own

\* Carte. Leland.

interests, while studying that of the public, that he had not wherewithal, at the moment, to pay his expenses to England.

One more extract is added from the summary of Cromwell's campaigns in Ireland.\*

“There goes a wild story, due first of all to Clarendon, I think, who is the author of many such, how the parliament, at one time, had decided to ‘exterminate’ all the Irish population; and then, finding this would not quite answer, had contented itself with packing them all off into the province of Connaught, there to live upon the moorlands; and so had pacified the sister island.† Strange rumours, no doubt, were afloat in the council of Kilkenny, and other such quarters, and were kept up for very obvious purposes in those days; and my Lord of Clarendon, at an after date, seeing puritanism hung on the gallows, and tumbled in heaps in St. Margaret's, thought it safe to write with considerable latitude respecting its procedure. My lord had, in fact, the story all his own way for about one hundred and fifty years; and, during that time, has set afloat, through vague heads, a great many things. His authority is rapidly sinking, and will now probably sink deeper than even it deserves.

“The real procedure of the puritan commonwealth towards Ireland, is not a matter of conjecture, or of report by Lord Clarendon; the documentary basis and scheme of it still stands in black and white, and can be

\* Cromwell's *Letters*, Vol. i. p. 520.

† Continuation of Clarendon's *Life* (Oxford, 1761), pp. 116, &c.

read by all persons.\* In this document the reader will find, set forth in authentic business form, a scheme of settlement somewhat different from that of 'extermination;' which, if he be curious in that matter, he ought to consult. First, it appears by this document, 'all husbandmen, ploughmen, labourers, artificers, and others of the meaner sort of the Irish nation, are to be—not exterminated—no; but rendered exempt from punishment and question, as to these eight years of blood and misery now ended; which is a very considerable exception from the Clarendon scheme! Next, as to the ringleaders, the rebellious landlords and papist aristocracy—as to these also, there is a carefully graduated scale of punishments established, that punishment and guilt may, in some measure, correspond. All that can be proved to have been concerned in the massacre of '41—for these, and for certain other persons, of the turncoat species, whose names are given, there shall be no pardon,—'extermination,' actual death on the gallows, or perpetual banishment and confiscation for these; but not without legal enquiry, and due trial first had, for these, or for any one. Then, certain others, who have been in arms at certain dates against the parliament, but not concerned in the massacre—these are declared to have forfeited their estates; but lands to the value of one-third of the same, as a modicum to live upon, shall be assigned them, where the parliament thinks safest—in the moorlands of Connaught, as

\* Scobell, Part ii. p. 197 (12th August, 1652); see also p. 317 (27th June, 1656).



it is turned out. Then another class, who are open papists, and have *not* manifested their good affection to the parliament—these are to forfeit one-third of their estates, and continue quiet, at their peril. Such is the document, which was really acted on; fulfilled with as much exactness as the case, now in the hands of very exact men, admitted of. The catholic aristocracy of Ireland have to undergo this fate for their share in the late miseries, this and no other: and as for all ‘ploughmen, husbandmen, artificers, and people of the meaner sort,’ they are to live quiet where they are, and have no question asked.

“Incurably turbulent ringleaders of revolt are sent to the moorlands of Connaught. Men of the massacre, where they can be convicted, of which some instances occur, are hanged. The mass of the Irish nation lives quiet under a *new* land aristocracy; new, and in several particulars very much improved indeed: under these lives now the mass of the Irish nation; ploughing, delving, hammering; with their wages punctually paid them; with the truth spoken to them; the truth done to them, so as they had never before seen it since they were a nation! Clarendon, himself, admits that Ireland flourished, to an unexampled extent, under this arrangement. One can very well believe it. What is to hinder poor Ireland from flourishing, if you will do the truth and speak the truth, instead of doing falsity and speaking falsity?

“Ireland, under this arrangement, would have grown up gradually into a sober, diligent, drab-coloured population; developing itself, most probably, in some form

of Calvinistic protestanism. For there was hereby a protestant *church* of Ireland, of the most irrefragable nature, preaching daily, in all its actions and procedure, a real gospel of veracity, of piety, of fair dealing and good order to all men; and certain other 'protestant churches of Ireland,' and unblessed, real-imaginary entities, of which the human soul is getting weary, had of a surety never found footing there! But the ever-blessed restoration came upon us. All that arrangement was torn up by the roots, and Ireland was appointed to develop itself as we have seen. Not in the drab-coloured puritan way!—In what other way is still a terrible debiety, to itself and to us! It will be by some gospel of veracity, I think, when the heavens are pleased to send such. This 'curse of Cromwell,' so-called, is the only gospel of that kind I can yet discover to have been fairly afoot there."

One of the ablest writers of the present day, says, that "in no part of the empire were the superiority of Cromwell's abilities and the force of his character so signally displayed" as in Ireland. "He had not the power, and probably had not the inclination, to govern that island in the best way." No doubt he was imbued with the same national prejudice, which former rebellions had excited in England against the unfortunate natives, whom, when he had vanquished, "he regarded as a band of malefactors and idolators, who were mercifully treated, if they were not smitten with the edge of the sword." If they resisted, he would wholly extirpate them, or, in giving them quarter, he would enslave them. His plan was to destroy in order to build

up again. “The thing most alien to his clear intellect and commanding spirit, was petty persecution. He knew how to tolerate; and he knew how to destroy. His administration in Ireland was an administration on what are now called Orange principles, followed out most ably, most steadily, most undauntedly, most unrelentingly, to every extreme consequence to which those principles lead; and it would, if continued, inevitably have produced the effect which he contemplated—an entire decomposition and reconstruction of society. He had a great and definite object in view, to make Ireland thoroughly English. Thinly peopled as it then was, this end was not unattainable; and there is every reason to believe that, if his policy had been followed during fifty years, this end would have been attained. Instead of an emigration, such as we now see from Ireland to England, to make Ireland another Yorkshire or Norfolk under his government, there was a constant and large emigration from England to Ireland. The native race was driven back before the advancing van of the Anglo-Saxon population, as the American Indians or the tribes of Southern Africa are now driven back before the white settlers.

“The words ‘extirpation,’ ‘eradication,’ were often in the mouths of the English back-settlers of Leinster and Munster, cruel words; yet in their cruelty, containing more mercy than much softer expressions which have since been sanctioned by universities, and cheered by parliaments. For it is in truth more merciful to extirpate a hundred thousand human beings at once, and to fill the void with a well-governed population,



than to misgovern millions through a long succession of generations. We can much more easily pardon tremendous severities, inflicted for a great object, than an endless series of paltry vexations and oppressions inflicted for no rational object at all.”

“Ireland was fast becoming English. Civilization and wealth were making rapid progress in almost every part of the island. The effects of that iron despotism are described to us by a hostile witness in very remarkable language. Lord Clarendon says, ‘which is more wonderful, all this was done and settled within little more than two years, to that degree of perfection that there were many buildings raised for beauty as well as use; orderly and regular plantations of trees, and fences, and inclosures raised throughout the kingdom; purchases made by one from another at very valuable rates; and jointures made upon marriages, and all other conveyances and settlements executed, as in a kingdom at peace within itself, and where no doubt could be made of the validity of titles.’”\*

\* *Critical and Historical Essays*, by Thomas Babington Macauley.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

---

Unsettled state of Ireland—Parliament convened—Dukedom conferred on Ormond—Declared Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland—An Act of Settlement passed—Exportation of Cattle from Ireland prohibited—Act of Explanation—Manufactures of Woollen Cloth and Linen encouraged—Clergy's Remonstrance—Encroachments of the Popish party—Removal of Ormond—Attempt on his life—Restored to the King's favour; returns to his government, and to the work of Reformation—Complaints against him—His Son's vindication of him—General Improvement of the country—Recal of Ormond—Death of Lord Ossory—Death of the King—Accession of James II.—The Earl of Clarendon, Lord-Lieutenant—The Protestant Militia disarmed—Great concessions to Papists—Lord Clarendon removed, and Tyrconnel appointed to fill his place—Innovations on Protestant interests in every quarter—Siege of Derry.

1660. THE presbyterians joined with the royalists at the meeting of parliament, in the returning of members favourable to the restoration of the king; and by the unanimous voice of the assembly, Charles ascended the throne. Sir Charles Coote and Lord Broghill seemed to vie with each other in their zeal for a speedy, unconditional reinstatement of royalty.

Violent dissensions arose from the jealousy and clashing interests of several parties. Various sects and factions, soldiers, adventurers, &c. clamorous for ancient possessions, for religious privileges, for rewards, free pardons, &c.

Amongst these, the old Irish Romanists were the most troublesome. Some, who had been deprived of their estates and compelled to accept of inferior lands in Connaught, took forcible possession of their property, and drove out the intruders. Hence arose rioting and tumults, before the king was established on the throne. These lawless proceedings were represented by the new settlers as the commencement of another insurrection.

When the king arrived in London, both houses manifested their apprehensions of the violence of the native Irish, and petitioned his majesty to inquire into the state of the church and army.

The episcopalians applied to their unfailing friend and advocate, the Marquis of Ormond, to uphold them. He did so, by representing to the king, that episcopacy and the liturgy, being a part of the legal establishment of Ireland, the ecclesiastical benefices in that country, ought, without delay, to be filled by men of piety, learning, and zeal. In compliance with this advice, the most eminent of the clergy in Ireland were nominated to the four archbishoprics, and twelve episcopal sees.

His majesty was petitioned to summon a parliament in Ireland, for the settlement of the kingdom; in consequence of which, after some inquiries and investigations, he published his famous declaration for its settlement. The arrangements, stipulations, and conces-



sions, which were included in this settlement, would be too prolix for our concise history. The declaration was transmitted to three new lord-justices, Sir Maurice Eustace, who was the lord-chancellor, Lord Broghill, recently created Earl of Orrery, and Sir Charles Coote, created Earl of Montrath.

1661. The parliament being convened, neither Romanists, nor virulent fanatics were returned. Both houses began with a declaration requiring all persons to conform to the church government and liturgy, established by law, in which they agreed; and it was published, before the non-conformists had increased their power, by being fully secured in their estates.

The grand object of this parliament was the heads of a bill for settling the kingdom, pursuant to the king's declaration. About which there were long debates, and much discontent.

1662. The Romanists of Ireland sent agents to plead their cause in London. They were without money or friends, and were regarded with abhorrence by the English. The council, unacquainted with the conduct of individuals, were inclined to involve all, in the general guilt of massacre and rebellion. Ormond, who had been created a duke, was the only person able and willing to save them from ruin. He was ready to prove himself their protector and advocate; but they chose another, the son of Sir William Talbot, an eminent lawyer, whose brother, Peter Talbot, was an Irish jesuit, said to have been intrusted with the king's secret reconciliation to popery.

The Roman catholics believed themselves secure in

having such a patron and advocate as Richard Talbot, at whose instigation, they rejected the pacific measures proposed by the Duke of Ormond, and provoked him to withdraw himself from Irish affairs. Their demands were inadmissible by the king, who, to their greater mortification, declared his intention of establishing and supporting the English interest in Ireland. Ormond was, at the same time, appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, where his presence was eagerly desired. The Irish parliament proved their esteem by a grant of £30,000; and, by writ, his son, Lord Ossory, was called to the Irish House of Lords.

The king's marriage, the queen's reception, and the forming of her court, detained the Duke of Ormond some time in London; but he at length arrived in Ireland, with an appropriate train, as lord-lieutenant. He gave the royal assent to the Bill of Settlement, and to a Bill for the Abolition of the Court of Wards; and as a compensation for any deficiency to the crown, a tax was laid on chimnies and hearths.

The settlement of Ireland was a work of incalculable difficulty; nearly the whole property of the kingdom had undergone changes: redress was necessary, but how could it be effected, so as to satisfy contending parties?—Numbers, whose innocence\* was unquestionable, were attainted, driven from their tenements and condemned to remain within the confines of Connaught. The men to whom their property was assigned, were

\* The old inhabitants of Ireland, called innocent papists, had taken no part in the rebellion against the English crown, yet for that reason, were dispossessed by Cromwell.—*Plowden*.

adventurers, who had lent money to parliament for the suppression of the rebellion in Ireland; or unpaid soldiers whose services were in this way remunerated; they could not now be dispossessed, being the only armed force in the kingdom, by which the protestant, and English interest could be supported.

The king issued a proclamation in which he promised redress to the innocent sufferers, and he hoped to keep his engagement by means of large untenanted districts in Ireland, and some other resources. A court of claims was erected, consisting of English commissioners, unconnected with the parties and divisions in Ireland. Four thousand claims were brought before them, requiring restitution of lands, unjustly taken from persons who had been declared innocent. It soon appeared that if these were restored, the funds destined for reprisal to the adventurers and soldiers, must fall very short in satisfying them. The commissioners had found leisure to examine only six hundred of the claims.\*

Great confusion ensued in consequence of one party grasping after the recovery of their parental inheritance, while the other party were resolute in maintaining their new acquisitions.

The soldiers and adventurers, apprehending that the commissioners had received private instructions from his majesty to favour the Roman catholics, and to deprive them of their property, expressed a general disaffection and readiness to join in an insurrection which

\* Hume.



was planned by some officers who had served in Cromwell's army. The castle of Dublin was to have been surprised by a party of the conspirators; but their intentions were discovered to Ormond, by Sir Theophilus Jones, a member of the committee, in time to frustrate their schemes. The seizure of one of the chief conspirators, by Sir Arthur Forbes, in Ulster, while surrounded by his friends, had such an effect as to cause them to seek safety in Scotland. Twenty-five of the chief leaders were seized and suffered punishment. Blood, the most desperate among them, escaped to England.

1662. Charles published, "An Act of Settlement" for Ireland. It would have been a valuable act if it could have produced such an effect. Ceaseless murmurings continued on every side. Numberless perplexed cases were continually referred to the duke, and occupied him for years. As the lord-lieutenant and council were empowered to explain difficulties, and to amend any defects in the act; he said, everything should be explained and amended according to their wishes, and every obstacle removed, by new bills, with his majesty's consent, which he was sure of, if necessary. This answer being voted satisfactory, without one dissenting voice, the famous act was passed, which fixed the general rights of the several interests in Ireland, and established a final and invariable rule for the settlement of the kingdom.

A great diminution of rents, to the amount of nearly £200,000 annually, in England, was attributed to the importation of Irish cattle, though the value of the

cattle, annually imported, fell far short of the deficiency of rents, and although much greater numbers had been imported, without any such deficiency, before the civil wars of England. In 1663, a temporary act was passed prohibiting the importation of fat cattle from Ireland after the first day of July in every year. Two years afterwards, 1665, "in the parliament held at Oxford, a bill was brought in for a perpetual prohibition of importing all cattle from Ireland, dead or alive, great or small, fat or lean."

"In the preamble to the bill, the commons had declared the importation a *nuisance: detriment and mischief* were inserted in the upper house as an amendment." It was "debated among the peers with scandalous indecorum." The Duke of Buckingham exclaimed that "none could oppose the bill but such as had Irish estates or Irish understanding." For this national insult, Lord Ossory sent him a challenge; instead of fighting, Buckingham complained to the house; and Ossory, for a short time, was committed to the tower. The king had expressed his utter abhorrence of the bill, and declared that he never would give his assent; yet he sanctioned it, because he found that otherwise he could not obtain a supply to carry on the war, in which he had involved himself, with the Dutch and with France.\*

1666. An Act of Explanation was passed by the Irish parliament. It was an explanation of the former act, by which Irish property was to be settled.

\* Leland.

The cruel and arbitrary prohibition of the English legislature to the exportation of cattle from Ireland to England, was now severely felt, together with the failure from foreign commerce, which the Irish could not keep up for want of shipping, and by reason of the war with France and Holland.

The Duke of Ormond found it requisite to be on his guard against the popish party, whose turbulent clergy were trying to engage France in a descent on Ireland. The discontents of the soldiery were unabated. At Carrickfergus, the garrison mutinied and seized the town and castle; but this petty commotion was soon subdued, and the duke, having received £15,000 from the English treasury, was enabled, by paying his army, to silence their murmurings. He established a body of militia, principally composed of veterans, and was particularly anxious to leave them armed and disciplined in Munster, where the French were expected to make their first attempt.

The fire of London now recalled him to Dublin, in order to guard against such commotions as might arise from that fatal catastrophe. He proposed that a contribution should be raised for the relief of the sufferers, which was cheerfully agreed to by the privy council, nobility, and gentry of Ireland. The only riches this impoverished country could produce, were their fat cattle, thirty thousand of which were sent to England; but not received there in a right spirit. It was malignantly represented, that this bountiful donation from the Irish was a political contrivance to defeat the prohibition of Irish cattle.



1667. No advantage of increase to the rents of England was gained by this prohibition. Charles wishing to alleviate the distresses of his Irish subjects, by an act of state, permitted a free trade from Ireland to all foreign countries, either in peace, or at war with his majesty. Scotland had followed the example of England in prohibiting Irish cattle, corn, and beef. As a compensation, the king gave the Irish permission to prohibit the importation of linen and woollen manufactures, stockings, gloves, and other commodities from Scotland, as highly injurious to the trade of Ireland. The Irish had broken through the restraints of law, and carried on a clandestine commerce, which they found lucrative, in sending their wool (which was of a superior quality) to foreign countries.

The Duke of Ormond gave great encouragement to the most effectual means of eluding an oppressive law, by leading them to apply themselves to manufactures at home, and industriously working up their own materials. A manufacture for woollen cloth was established at Clonmel, the capital of his county-palatine of Tipperary. Another manufacture was established at Carrick (also belonging to the duke) for wool-combing and making frieze.

But the greatest national improvement was a revival of the linen trade, begun by the Earl of Strafford, but not until now brought to perfection. An act of parliament to encourage the growth of flax, and the manufacture of linen, was passed in Dublin. The duke, at his own expense, sent to the low-countries for persons well skilled in this manufacture; and deputed Sir William

Temple to send five hundred families from Brabant to Ireland. Others were induced to come from Rochelle and the Isle of Ré, from Jersey, &c. Tenements were provided for these artificers at Chapel Isod, near Dublin.\*

A manufacture of cordage, sail-cloth, ticken, linen, and diaper, was brought to great perfection. The Duke of Ormond was also assiduous to cultivate literature and refinement in this country. He found the university in Dublin sadly neglected. Jeremiah Taylor was appointed to regulate this seminary. At the restoration, he returned to Ireland, having formerly lived at Portmore. In 1662, he was nominated Bishop of Down and Connor, and also to the administration of Dromore. He was now appointed Vice-Chancellor of Dublin. Thus was this man exalted on account of his piety and learning, who was the son of a barber, at Cambridge.

While the Duke of Ormond was promoting the best interests of Ireland, his adversaries in London were incessantly at work to effect his downfall. Every idle complaint of misgovernment was eagerly received. At length the lord-lieutenant, dreading the insinuations of disguised enemies,† once more committed the administration to Lord Ossory, and repaired himself to the English court.

1668. While the king's assurances of attachment and protection were reiterated to the Duke of Ormond,

\* Leland.

† The Duke of Buckingham and the Earl of Orrery. Also the junto of five, called the *Cabal*, Clifford, Ashley, Buckingham, Arlington, Lauderdale.

the *Cabal* against him had become too powerful to be refused; and at this very time, his promise had been given to the Duke of Buckingham, that Ormond should be removed from his post in Ireland.

1668. Burnet gives the following account of the king's conduct:—"Many complaints were secretly brought against the Duke of Ormond's government in Ireland, but, he accommodated himself much to the king's humour, and was so much beloved by him, that it was with great difficulty he could be prevailed on to remove him from the government. The way in which he did this, shows what temper he was of. The king sent Lord Arlington to Ormond for his commission. The duke answered, that having received it from the hands of the king, he would deliver it to none other. When Ormond offered his commission to Charles, he denied his ever having sent such a message. However, in two days afterwards, Lord Arlington was sent again to Ormond with the same message. The duke repeated his answer, and on carrying his commission again to the king, he again denied that he had required it. After this, Charles declared in the privy council, the change in the Irish government, at the same time announcing the appointment of Lord Robarts as Lord-Lieutenant. The duke indignantly expostulated with the king on this proceeding: for the third time he denied the part he had taken in it; but not being able to carry on this farce, he employed his brother-in-law, Fitzpatrick, to represent to Ormond, that being resolved not to fall out with him, he did not tell him the truth, fearing that in the heat of argument, he might have been led to use



intemperate language; for though his affairs made a change in the government necessary, yet he would still be kind to the duke, and continue him lord-steward.”

Lord Robarts, afterward Earl of Radnor, was morose and cynical in his administration. In an ill humour he wrote to the king that he had but one favour to ask, which, if granted, he would never ask another, and that was to be discharged from his employment. Lord Berkley succeeded him.\*

1670. The new chief governor, it was believed, had received his appointment through the influence of the popish party. Peter Walsh, a Franciscan friar, had drawn up a remonstrance of the Roman catholic clergy of Ireland, containing a declaration against the authority of the pope, which was very unacceptable at Rome. It was censured as an instrument calculated to do more harm to the church than the persecutions of heretics had ever done. Hence arose a division among the Romanists, and a powerful party of anti-remonstrants were formed, and countenanced by Lord Berkley, contrary to the instructions he had received. In the remonstrance, the clergy of the Romish persuasion acknowledged the king to be supreme head and rightful sovereign of Ireland; and that they were bound to obey him as such: disclaiming all authority of “foreign power, papal or princely, spiritual or temporal, inasmuch as it may seem able, or shall pretend to free them from this obligation, or permit them to offer any violence to his majesty’s person or government,” &c.,

\* Burnet.

&c. The remonstrance was subscribed by several of the clergy, some prelates, and a number of lords and gentlemen.

The pope had constituted Peter Talbot, Archbishop of Dublin, for the express purpose of counteracting the opposers of his temporal authority. This man had a passion for political intrigue; and said the king had appointed him to superintend the whole body of the popish clergy in Ireland.

Lord Berkley came to Ireland with private instructions to favour the Roman catholics. Both he and Sir Ellis Leighton, the secretary, were Buckingham's adherents; and acted under his direction. When the anti-remonstrants triumphantly dismissed the remonstrants from their cures and stations, and denounced them as excommunicated, they could procure no redress from Lord Berkley. He not only refused to interfere, but even to hear them plead their own cause; and when the protestant primate, Margetson, attempted to speak for them, he was reprov'd. Neither was the Duke of Ormond permitted to use his influence in favour of men who were condemned for the doctrine of allegiance to their rightful sovereign.

Meeting with no opposition, Peter Talbot and his colleagues proceeded in the exercise of a foreign jurisdiction, and in severities against whoever presumed to maintain the odious doctrine of allegiance.

Soon afterwards commissions of the peace were granted to Romanists, who were also permitted to inhabit and trade in corporations. Their encroachments became more alarming every day. "They magnified

their power and consequence in Ireland, as well as their attachment to the crown, desired to be restored to their habitations and freedom in corporate towns, to magistracies and military command; that the army should be formed gradually of Romanists; the courts of law filled with their judges; and they even hinted at the propriety of admitting into parliament prelates of their own persuasion.\*”

Blood, who had been attainted for conspiracy and insurrection in Ireland, was one of Cromwell's disbanded officers. Deeply meditating revenge upon the Duke of Ormond, he watched for an opportunity. The duke was returning, at night, from an entertainment in the city of London, where he had been attending the Prince of Orange, when his coach was suddenly stopped in St. James's Street. By some contrivance the footmen had been drawn aside before the duke was dragged out of his coach, and tied behind a man on horseback. Blood's intention was to have hanged him at Tyburn; but Ormond, in struggling for liberty, threw himself, and the ruffian to whose back he was fastened, into the miry ground of a field which they were crossing. At this moment, Ormond's servants coming up, saved their master, while those who would have murdered him, after having hastily and harmlessly fired their pistols, escaped in the darkness.

Buckingham was at first suspected to be the author of this attempt, both from the profligacy of his character, and his deep-rooted enmity to Ormond. Lord Ossory

\* Leland.



soon afterwards seeing him standing beside the king his colour rose, and with unrestrainable indignation he addressed him:—"My lord, I know well that you are at the bottom of this late attempt upon my father.—But I give you warning; if, by any means, he comes to a violent end, I shall not be at a loss to know the author: I shall consider you as the assassin: and wherever I meet you, though standing behind the king's chair, I shall treat you as such; and I tell it you in his majesty's presence, that you may be sure I shall not fail of performance.\*

1671. Blood contrived to carry off the crown and regalia from the tower, after having wounded and bound Edwards, the keeper of the jewel-office. Being pursued, he and his associates were taken, one of whom was identified as concerned in the attempt upon Ormond; Blood was suspected to be the ringleader—when taxed with this crime, he freely confessed it, but would not implicate any of his accomplices. He said, "The fear of death should never engage him, either to deny a guilt, or betray a friend." All these extraordinary circumstances rendered this man a subject of notoriety and general conversation. The king would not be satisfied until he saw and conversed with him. Blood knew how to take advantage of the opportunity and secure his pardou. He confessed to his majesty, that he had been engaged in a plot to murder him above Battersea, where Charles was in the habit of bathing; and that the cause of this design was "the severity exercised over the consciences of the godly, in

\* Carte's *Ormond*, Vol. ii. p. 225. Hume.

restraining the liberty of their religious assemblies: that when he had taken his stand among the reeds, full of these bloody resolutions," he felt an awe of majesty which caused him to relent, and not only so, but to use his influence with his associates to turn them from their purpose. As to himself, he said, he had for a long time felt a perfect indifference about life, he knew he had forfeited it, and now gave up as lost, but before it was taken, he wished to warn his majesty of the danger which might attend his execution. His associates had bound themselves, by the strictest oaths, to revenge the death of any of their confederacy; and that neither precaution nor power could secure any one from the effects of their desperate resolutions.

The king, as it is supposed, actuated by this confession, acquitted the criminal, after having gone through the form of obtaining the Duke of Ormond's consent. Arlington was sent to him, in the king's name, to desire that he would not prosecute Blood, for reasons which could be assigned. The duke, in reply, said, that none need be given, but his majesty's commands, which were alone sufficient. Charles, not content with a free pardon to Blood, granted him an estate, worth £500 a-year in Ireland, encouraged his attendance about his person, and evinced towards him such a decided preference as to cause many to ask his intercession for promotions and appointments at court. And while old Edwards, who had risked his life in defence of the regalia, was neglected and forgotten, the would-be robber and murderer was taken into favour.\*

\* Hume.

The king all along respected the Duke of Ormond, although he treated him with a cold reserve:—neither humbled nor provoked at his conduct, the duke took his place in the council, and in his daily attendance at court, in the same unwavering course of loyalty and sincerity: and hence preserved that dignity and credit which both king and ministers had forfeited. Even in the drawing-room a little circle collected around him with esteem and admiration. The king, on such occasions, sometimes appeared abashed, which drew forth the sarcastic remarks of the profligate Buckingham:—“Sir, I wish to know whether it be the Duke of Ormond that is out of favour with your majesty, or your majesty with the Duke of Ormond: for, of the two, you seem most out of countenance.” The duke compared himself to an old cloak cast into a corner, adding, “and yet even this rusty machine points right sometimes.” Colonel Cary Dillon, soliciting his interest in some suit, said he had no friends but God and his grace.—“Alas, poor Cary!” replied Ormond, “thou couldst not have named two friends less respected at court.”

During the administration of Essex, the duke visited Ireland, and was received with enthusiastic affection.

Kilkenny became so attractive, that Dublin was emptied of its inhabitants of rank.—Two hundred gentlemen were daily entertained at the duke’s table. When he went to Dublin, the cold reception he met with from the viceroy excited indignation, and redoubled the attention of all orders to him who was deservedly their favourite.

The king had not, for several years, spoken con-



fidentially to the Duke of Ormond, but, on the appointment of Shaftesbury to be lord chancellor, he took the duke aside, and asked him what he thought of it? Ormond answered, "Your majesty hath done prudently in committing the seals to Lord Shaftesbury, provided you know how to get them from him again."—The king said no more.

After the duke's return to England, he resumed his daily attendance at court:—Charles, for nearly a year, did not speak to him.

In April, 1677, he was surprised by a message from the king that he would sup with him.—Their meeting was easy and cheerful, without either explanation or discussion on past occurrences. At parting, Charles mentioned his intention of again employing him in Ireland. On the following day, seeing the duke advancing towards him, he said, "Yonder comes Ormond.—I have done all in my power to disoblige, and render him as discontented as others, but he will be loyal in spite of me. I must even employ him again;—he is the fittest person to govern Ireland."

Not long after the duke had once more returned to this important post, he received intelligence of the popish plot, and that it had extended to Ireland;—that Peter Talbot had taken part in it; and that assassins were engaged to deprive him (the lord-lieutenant) of life. Many circumstances rendered this report dubious.—Peter Talbot had, for two years, been afflicted with a mortal disease which rendered him incapable of taking any part in a conspiracy. Richard Talbot, Lord Mountgarret, his son, and Colonel Pep-

pard, were also accused, and directions sent for the seizure of their persons. Lord Mountgarret was eighty years of age, bedridden, and in a state of dotage. Colonel Peppard was unknown, and not to be found in Ireland.\*

From Richard Talbot nothing could be elicited to warrant his detention. He gave security for his peaceable conduct, and left the kingdom.

The Duke of Ormond again applied himself, with steadiness, to the work of reformation in Ireland. He settled the militia, secured the garrisons, disarmed the Romanists, and took measures to preserve the army untainted. The country was infested with vagrants called tories. They lay concealed in mountains and bogs, from whence they occasionally issued for plunder,—always escaping the vigilance of justice, through the protection of relations, and, occasionally, that of Roman catholic priests.

The duke had recourse to an expedient, which necessity alone could justify. A proclamation was published, directing that the relations of tories, known to be such, should be imprisoned until these marauders were put to death, or delivered up to justice,—and that the titular priest, in whose parish a murder or robbery had been committed by these tories, should be sent to prison, and from thence transported, if, in fourteen days, the delinquents were not delivered up, or such discovery made, as might lead to their apprehension.

Many of the English, from a secret inclination for

\* Carte, *Orm.* Vol. ii.

rebellion, expressed dissatisfaction, that more severe measures were not adopted.—But they had themselves contributed to the abuses they complained of. They had received the Irish Romanists into corporate towns, from whence they would now have had them expelled. Finding their services useful, they encouraged and admitted them as tenants, tradesmen, and servants. The danger incurred by their re-admission, could not now be remedied without desolating the towns, and inflicting an idle and vagrant life on many of those who should be compelled to quit their tenements.

The lord-lieutenant and council pursued a middle course, and made use of the following precautions:—Romanists were not admitted into the castle of Dublin, nor into any fort or citadel, without special orders. They were prohibited from appearing armed at fairs, which were to be held outside the walls of some of the principal cities. The useless and idle were expelled from towns chiefly inhabited by Romanists. However, these restrictions did not satisfy the malcontents.—They made use of artifices to alarm the duke:—letters were dropped into different post-offices, which contained notice of intended assassinations, &c. Finding that this stratagem failed to produce any effect, malevolent misrepresentations were forwarded to London, importing that the lives of the king's protestant subjects were in imminent danger, and no means used to save them, &c.

After the strictest investigation, Ormond could not discover any cause for this alarm, nor any reason to apprehend an insurrection in Ireland. Complaints against



him were eagerly received in London. Ashley, Earl of Shaftesbury, hoped, by this means, to effect his removal from the government. His artful insinuations in the house of lords, were impatiently listened to by the Earl of Ossory. With the feelings of a son, and the ardour of a soldier, he started from his seat, and, with a flash of indignation at Lord Shaftesbury, he said, “And now, my lords, having spoken of what he has done, I presume to tell your lordships what he has not done. He never advised the breaking of the triple league; he never advised the shutting up of the exchequer; he never advised the declaration for a toleration; he never advised the falling out with the Dutch, and joining with France; he was not the author of that most excellent position, ‘*Delenda est Carthago,*’ that Holland, a protestant country, should, contrary to the true interest of England, be totally destroyed. I beg your lordships will be so just as to judge of my father, and of all men, according to their actions and counsels.”

1681. The known probity of Lord Ossory, together with his conduct as a plain gallant soldier, gave weight to his words, and this open and applicable defence had more effect upon the audience than all the rhetoric of his eloquent and factious adversary. The Prince of Orange was acquainted with the character of both these men; he despised Shaftesbury, and esteemed Ossory, to whom he wrote a letter of congratulations on the new species of victory, which he had obtained.

Though he ever kept from faction, Ossory was the most popular man in the kingdom—and though he never complied with the corrupt views of the court, he

was respected and beloved by the king. About this time his days on earth were numbered; his death caused a universal lamentation, and surmises went abroad that he was poisoned, but they were without foundation.

The Duke of Ormond bore his loss with resignation, and said, "I would not exchange my dead son, for any living son in Christendom."\*

Vain were the efforts of the Duke of Ormond's malignant enemy to remove him. The almost unprecedented tranquility of Ireland falsified Shaftesbury's reports, that rebellion was again rife in that country. No trace of it could be discerned: trade was flourishing; industry increasing; the whole kingdom so prosperous that the king would not listen to any proposal of a change of his ministers in Ireland. Soon afterwards the duke, having appointed his son, the Earl of Arran, as deputy, attended the king, at his desire, in London.

1677. Although Charles was as much a Romanist at heart as the Duke of York, yet not being so bigoted, nor so zealous, he required that the princesses, Mary and Anne, should be brought up in the protestant religion; and in order to secure the interest of the Prince of Orange, by a union with the princess Mary, he invited him to London.

The Prince of Orange met the king at Newmarket, on the 10th of October; but until after he had been introduced to the lady, he declined entering upon business, for he was pre-determined on not forming an

\* Hume.

alliance with a person disagreeable to him for any consideration, political or interested. An interview with the princess at once dispelled his doubts; he found her perfectly amiable in person and character. The king rejoicing in the favourable impression she had made, expected a ready compliance to all he required from his nephew; but until after his marriage was concluded, the prince was averse to any discussions on the terms of a general peace. The Duke of York heard of his daughters intended marriage, as an event already decided.—He was surprised, but yielded a prompt obedience, as he always did, he said, to the king's pleasure. During the whole of his reign, there was no measure which gave such universal satisfaction. The marriage ceremony was performed at Whitehall (on the prince's birthday, the 4th of November), so late in the evening, that it was not generally known at first—but when the news was announced great rejoicings followed.\*

Charles committed the reins of government to the Duke of York, who was neither a friend to the Duke of Ormond, nor to the protestant cause. £61,000 had been drawn annually from the Irish treasury, for the garrison of Tangier; but by the demolition of this fort, the country had been released from this heavy impost; and trade, tranquillity, and industry, promised an increase of riches in Ireland. The Duke of York advised the king to make a change in the army, and represented the Roman catholics as firmly devoted to the crown, while the protestants were to be regarded as an as-

\* Hume.



semblage of factious, fanatical republicans. Colonel Richard Talbot had lately been permitted to return from exile, and, with his usual violence, had inveighed against the administration of Irish affairs, and recommended a general change in the council, magistracy, and army of Ireland. This advice was approved of by the Duke of York, and consented to by the king. The Duke of Ormond had but just resumed the government of Ireland, when, as he expressed himself, "before his head was settled from the agitation of the sea, he received private intimations of his removal."

1681. Hume says, "When the cabal entered into a mysterious alliance with France, they took care to remove the Duke of Ormond from the committee of foreign affairs. The national jealousy was much increased by the exclusion of a man of such probity, loyalty, and honour, from public councils."\*

During the time of Ormond's disgrace, he never joined the malcontents, and even considered it his duty regularly, though with dignity, to pay his court at Whitehall.

When Charles consulted his own interest by shewing favour to the royalists and protestants, Ormond, who was much revered by that whole party, was restored to the government of Ireland, as well as to his former credit and authority. His administration and general tenor of life, equally tended to promote the interest of the prince and people of every persuasion, while he evinced an unflinching attachment to the established

\* Hume, Vol. viii. pp. 28, 29, 30.

religion. He increased the revenue of Ireland to £300,000 a-year; he maintained a regular army of ten thousand men; he supported a well-disciplined militia of twenty thousand: and though the act of settlement had been infringed so far, that papists were permitted to live in corporate towns, they were guarded with so careful an eye, that the most timorous protestants apprehended no danger from them.

The Duke of York brought about the appointment of the Earl of Rochester to the lord-lieutenancy. Formerly the lord-lieutenants were generals of the army, as well as being the governors of the kingdom. Lord Sunderland suggested, that this invested too much power in the same individual, he, therefore, proposed that there should be a general of the army independent of the lord-lieutenant, who should be a check upon him. In this, the Earl of Sunderland's policy was to keep Ireland in a dependence upon the king. Lord Rochester was much mortified, and said, the chief governor could not be answerable for the peace of the kingdom if the army were not subservient to him. But any thing he could urge was little regarded.\*

This change in all departments was for the palpable purpose of introducing Roman catholics, and establishing their religion. The newly-appointed governor was so limited in his authority that it was little more than nominal. Colonel Richard Talbot was made lieutenant-general, and the forming of a popish army committed to his charge. The Duke of Ormond, thus expresses

\* Burnet.

his feelings on the subject, in a letter to Sir Robert Southwell:—

“I was much to seek what it could be that was fit for the king to command, and yet would be hard to impose upon me to execute. For such things the king was pleased to say were to be done by my successor; but now I think that riddle is expounded in the restraints put upon my Lord Rochester; one whereof is, that he shall not dispose of the lowest commissioned office in the army. I confess it would have been very uneasy in me to have continued in the government upon those conditions: and I should have thought not very dutiful to have refused to serve the king upon any terms, or in any station. From this difficulty, I thank God and the king, I am delivered, and I am so well pleased that I am, that if it had been told me this was one of the changes intended, I should have owned my remove from the government for a greater favour than my placing in it, in the most prosperous times.”

The Earl of Rochester being unwilling to undertake the government of Ireland, the king seemed again to waver in his mind; and the management of Irish affairs was at a stand.

By what artifices popery prevails, may be traced in the following instance.

1684. The Earl of Clancarthy, at his death, left to his wife the guardianship of his children—she was a protestant; her husband's family were all papists, for this reason she did not consider it prudent to have her son educated in Ireland, though by a protestant preceptor. She took him to Oxford, and committed him



to the care of Fell, who was Bishop of Oxford, and Dean of Christ Church; in such hands she accounted him safe. But his uncle, Colonel Mc Carthy, an honourable man in other matters, was not so when zeal for his religion interfered. In order to pervert his nephew, he obtained a letter from the king to the Bishop of Oxford, signifying his pleasure that the young earl should see the amusements of London during the Christmas revels. The bishop too easily consenting, he was sent, and fell into the snare: by a marriage with one of Lord Sunderland's daughters, he was led to forget the precepts of his education and turn to popery. Thus was the king himself instrumental in taking "an infant out of the hands of his guardian, and marrying him secretly, against which the laws of all nations have taken care to provide very effectually."\*

1684. The death of Charles II., gave place to his brother James, Duke of York, who then ascended the throne. His exertions to destroy the rights of the protestants, and to recruit his regiments with Roman catholics, convinced the people of England that their liberties and religion were endangered, unless the Prince of Orange rescued them. On his accession, James immediately dispatched the Earl of Castlemaine to Rome, as his ambassador extraordinary, to make his submission to the holy see;—and, on the first Sunday after he was seated on the throne, with all the ensigns of royalty, he went publicly to hear mass, which the laws of England declared criminal for the king to

\* Burnet's *History of the Reign of Charles II.*, p. 601.

do. Memorials were sent from the clergy and protestants of England, addressed to the Prince of Orange, requiring, and praying for his protection.

The prince landed, with fourteen thousand, three hundred and fifty-two men, on the 5th of November, at Torbay; and on the 19th, King James joined his troops at Salisbury, which he left with precipitation, on finding himself abandoned by those in whom he had placed most confidence. His son-in-law, Prince George of Denmark, and the young Duke of Ormond, left him in the night, and went to William's camp. On the first intelligence of this in London, his second daughter, the Princess of Denmark, withdrew to Nottingham. On hearing of these desertions, the unhappy king burst into tears, and exclaimed, "God help me! my own children have forsaken me!"

Happily, protestantism had taken too deep root in England to be much affected by James's short reign: but in Ireland great evil was produced in five years. On the accession of James, the expectations of the Romanists were raised to the highest pitch.—Already, in imagination, they were restored to the lands of their forefathers.

The Duke of Ormond was directed to resign his sword, without delay, to two lord-justices; the reason assigned was his age and infirmities. Upon this occasion, he invited a number of officers to an entertainment, which he gave in a large hospital. It had been erected during his administration, near Dublin, for the reception of old soldiers. After dinner, filling his glass to the brim, he thus addressed the company:—"See, gentlemen!—They say at court that I am old and

doting:—but my hand is steady, and my heart doth not fail;—I hope to convince them soon of their mistake.—This to the health of the king.”

The lord-justices were, Boyle, primate and chancellor, and Forbes, Earl of Granard. The former had high notions of loyalty, and being a high-churchman, was esteemed by the puritans but little removed from popery. The Earl of Granard had married a presbyterian, and was the protector of the puritans in the north. The new council were all protestants. But though these means were taken to support the protestant interest and public tranquillity, the insolence of the Romanists was intolerable; and both parties so violent, that the Earl of Granard signified his desire to be dismissed; but James, finding his services necessary for the present, wrote a letter himself, to assure him that nothing should be done in Ireland injurious to the protestant interest.

During the rebellion of Monmouth, the popish party formed flattering expectations that the puritans would take an active part in its favour, and, in their surmises, Granard was implicated:—but they were disappointed;—there was no commotion,—no sign of disloyalty. Every subject in Ireland expressed abhorrence at Monmouth's attempt, and a resolution to support King James. Reports were, however, industriously circulated, that the protestants had formed a conspiracy to effect a general massacre of Romanists; and that they held nightly meetings to concert their measures. To allay this causeless ferment, the justices issued a proclamation against “night-meeting.”



A letter to the lord-justices and council informed them that Monmouth's rebellion had been widely diffused, and that, for the safety of Ireland, it was necessary to recal the arms of the militia, and deposit them in the king's stores. Let it be remembered that this body was entirely composed of protestants—embodied, armed, and disciplined, by the Duke of Ormond. In resigning their arms, they were left without the means of defence against the enemy, who now exulted over them:—they were aware of this, yet complied with the orders of government without any apparent reluctance.\*

James proceeded gradually with the great work he meditated. Talbot had been constituted Earl of Tyrconnel after Monmouth's rebellion; the Romish clergy of Ireland petitioned the king to establish his authority, so as to secure them in the exercise of their functions; but James did not choose to make a man chief-governor who was but lately ennobled, and very unpopular. He raised the Earl of Clarendon to that dignity, who entered his office knowing that he was not to oppose the king's wishes, and that all corporations and judicial offices were to be filled with Roman catholics.

Ireland was again in a ferment; the disarming of the protestant militia set the tories loose upon the country. The English had no power of resisting their ravages. They had also other enemies, more malicious and inveterate, who brought in false and treasonable accusations against them. The lord-lieutenant was not deceived by them,—he could detect the forgery and its

\* Clarendon's *Letters*.

motives, yet did not venture to oppose them. On his arrival in Ireland, the Earl of Tyrconnel had repaired to Whitehall, and made such representations to the king, as suited the interests of his party, and he was heard with perfect confidence. The Irish gentry crowded to Whitehall to add their testimony to his.

The seals of Ireland were taken suddenly from primate Boyle, and Sir Charles Porter was sent as chancellor from England. Without assigning any reason, three protestant judges were at once removed;\* and Nugent, Daly, and Rice, were raised to the bench. The two first were lawyers; all were Romanists of Irish birth. James would not listen to Lord Clarendon's objections, that the admission of Roman catholics to offices of trust, without taking the oath of supremacy, was contrary to law. He deemed such language impertinent; and these new judges were admitted into the privy council of Ireland, an honour never before conferred on men of their rank. Rice was ashamed, and hesitated about receiving such unusual advancement. Another popish lawyer, Nagle, refused it, fearing that it might interfere with the solid advantages of his profession.

By the king's orders, the Romish clergy were not to be molested in the exercise of their functions. He signified his royal pleasure that their prelates should appear publicly in the habit of their order. The protestant clergy were prohibited from preaching on controversial subjects. They were strictly watched, and

\* Clarend. *Let.* Vol. i. p. 88.

the slightest reflection against popery was conveyed to the king and branded as a token of sedition. The Archbishopric of Cashel had been vacant for six years,\* nor could the king be persuaded to fill it up. Its revenues, with those of other vacant sees, were reserved for the maintenance of popish bishops.

The Earl of Tyrconnel came to Ireland invested with power to regulate and command the army, independent of the lord-lieutenant. He executed the king's command with eager despatch; men were dismissed without cause from the army, and their places filled by Irish Romanists, who were most devoted to the authority of the pope.

Tyrconnel exceeded the king's instructions, which were, that his subjects should be indiscriminately admitted to his service, without regard to religious principles: this unprincipled man issued orders that none but Romanists should be taken into the army. When Lord Clarendon urged his objections to this partiality, as subversive of peace and good will among the king's subjects, Tyrconnel was confounded, and had the meanness to deny his own orders. However, they were given to Lord Roscommon, who resolutely told him so, in terms the most explicit and peremptory.†

The Romanists now declared, that being armed, they could assert their own rights, and would soon have their lands. Some of the old proprietors cautioned the tenants against paying rent to English landlords; and

\* From 1684 to 1690. Clarend. *Let.*

† Clarendon's *Letters.*



some of the popish clergy forbade the people to pay tithes to protestant incumbents.\*

Tyrconnel having already half filled the army with Romanists, hastened to England, accompanied by Nagle, the most able, most acute, and most artful lawyer in Ireland. His purpose in waiting upon the king, was, by subtle arguments, to persuade him to invalidate the Acts of Settlement. Several of the king's counsellors warmly advocated the English interest in Ireland. They represented the danger of breaking in upon establishments of property, by which there was a rapid improvement in the country. The king felt the weight of this argument, and when Nagle was presented, he received him coldly. This led to his writing a treatise on the injustice of the Acts of Settlement. It was published in the form of a letter, which, being dated from Coventry, was afterwards called "The Coventry Letter."†

Clarendon was accused of mal-administration; neither candour nor veracity were observed in the charges brought against him. His defence was clear and satisfactory. His brother Rochester‡ refused to change his religion, and was removed from his office of treasurer. When a successor to Lord Clarendon was a subject of deliberation in the cabinet, the present minister, Sunderland, recommended Tyrconnel, who had stipulated to pay him an annual pension from the profits of the Irish government. By his interest, this dangerous

\* Leland.

† Secret Consultations, &c. Leland.

‡ Rochester and Clarendon, the king's brothers-in-law.

partisan was appointed chief governor, with the title of Lord-Deputy.

Tyrconnel was a man of atrociously unprincipled character, and profane conversation. He would have assassinated Oliver Cromwell, and poignarded the Duke of Ormond; but these were the menaces of malignity without resolution; and his apparent bigotry to popery was merely factious. Such was the popish delegate of a popish prince. The kingdom was violently agitated when Lord Clarendon resigned the sword of state. He embarked at the port of Dublin, and with him fifteen hundred protestant families of that city, who abandoned a country where their peace, property, and lives were subject to the malice of inveterate enemies, exulting in the fulness of triumphant power.

Sir Charles Porter was found too impartial and equitable to be continued in office, and Sir Alexander Fitton was placed at the head of chancery in Ireland. His character for forgery was notorious; but his redeeming qualification was, that he conformed to the king's religion. Sir William Domville, a protestant, long distinguished for his loyalty and abilities, was now called on to yield up his place as attorney-general to the popish lawyer, Nagle. Nugent and Rice were made chief judges; and but three protestants were admitted on the bench. In many instances, either by intimidation or flattery, corporations were prevailed on to surrender their charters.

Among James's innovations, Trinity College\* did not

\* Archives of Trin. Coll. Dublin, MS.

escape. The king's mandate was presented to the governors of the university, to admit a Roman catholic to a professorship, with all its emoluments and arrears of salary. His name was Green. The king's letter nominated him professor of the Irish language—no such professorship had then existed, except in the imagination of James's ignorant advisers, and, therefore, Green could not be appointed.

On the arrival of Tyrconnel, he heard that most of the college plate was to be sent to England for sale, and was now in the port of Dublin waiting for the first ship. He ordered it immediately to be seized and placed in the king's stores. Being advised to refrain from this despotic proceeding, he restored the plate to the university; but when it was afterwards sold, Nugent, the chief-justice, accused the purchaser of having bought stolen goods, the property of the king, and obliged him to give security that he would prosecute the governors of the university; but Nagle's opinion saved them from this outrage. This business was scarcely settled, when, by a letter from the king, orders were given that one Doyle should be admitted to a fellowship, without taking any oaths but the oath of a fellow. This man was a scandalous profligate, but had obtained the king's favour by turning to popery. The oath of a fellow, however, included the oath of supremacy. Doyle refused to take it, and was rejected. Hitherto failing in his attempts, Tyrconnel devised another means of persecuting the university. The principal part of their subsistence, at that time, was an annual pension from the exchequer—this he abolished.



The confusion, depravity, and outlawry, into which the state had now fallen, can hardly be imagined. Trade was ruined, numbers of artificers were reduced to beggary, or driven to other countries for subsistence; while the reckless and ignorant popish ministers cared for none of those things. In England, however, the lamentable decrease of the Irish revenue became alarming. The ministers inveighed against Tyrconnel's maladministration, and the king was urged to appoint another governor. To prevent this, the deputy presented himself before James and made such a plausible representation of the state of Ireland, that he was sent back to his government with orders to dismiss almost all protestant officers still remaining in the army.

Tyrconnel thought of a measure which would convince the king of his zeal and abilities. He proposed to convene an Irish parliament. Heads of a bill were framed, which would have unhinged the whole settlement of Ireland, and given the king power over the greater part of the lands. Rice and Nugent were commissioned to lay this scheme before the English council, and James, without consulting the cabinet, introduced it to the privy council, warmly declaring his condemnation of the Acts of Settlement. However plausibly this project was supported by Rice, it was rendered contemptible by the weak advocacy of Nugent, and they were both dismissed in disgrace from the royal presence. The populace attending them carrying poles, on the top of which potatoes were stuck, while they shouted scornfully, "Make room for the Irish ambassadors!"\*

\* Clarendon's *Letters*, Vol. ii. p. 139.

1688. At the news of the birth of a prince, the joy of the Romanists was at once outrageous and ludicrous. The popish lord mayor of Dublin committed the officers of Christ Church to prison, because "their bells did not ring merrily enough!"\*

From Tyrconnel, James received the first intelligence of the Prince of Orange's meditated enterprise; it was then a subject of derision to the king and Sunderland: but the plot thickened, and the king was roused to a sense of his danger. The Irish Romanists made light of it, and said that the states of Holland being weary of the prince were sending him on a desperate enterprise, which would end as the Duke of Monmouth's had done, by his mounting the scaffold.

From the time that the Prince of Orange landed in England, James was deserted by his subjects. The Irish protestants recovered from their depression, and were on the point of seizing the castle of Dublin; but they were restrained from any active operation until a more decided change took place in England. The king directed Tyrconnel to send him a reinforcement of four thousand men. Orders being again issued for the levying of forces, the Romish clergy enjoined the people to arm themselves in this time of danger; consequently an armed rabble started up, calling themselves the king's soldiers: unpaid and unrestrained by government, a lawless band of depredators were let loose upon the country.

The following anonymous letter occasioned great alarm:

\* King's *State of the Protestants*.

“ December 3, 1688.

“ Good my lord,

“ I have written to let you know, that all our Irishmen, through Ireland, are sworn, that on the 9th day of this month, being Sunday next, they are to fall on, to kill and murther man, wife, and child, and to spare none; and I do desire your lordship to take care of yourself, and all others that are adjudged by our men to be heads; for whoever of them can kill any of you is to have a captain's place. So my desire to your honour is, to look to yourself, and to give other noblemen warning; and go not out at night or day without a good guard with you; and let no Irishman come near you, whatever he may be. This is all from him who is your friend and your father's friend, and will be, though I dare not be known as yet, for fear of my life.”\*

This letter had been dropped on the 3rd of December, at Cumber, in the county of Down, where the Earl of Mount Alexander then resided. Its superscription was, “ To my lord, this deliver with haste and care.”

The popish priests had enjoined their congregations to stand ready armed, that they might instantly obey orders; there was “ a secret intention,” they said. A Derry friar had preached, with unusual vehemence, on Saul's destroying the Amalekites, when the sparing of

\* Secret consults, &c.—*Memoirs of Ireland.*

*Mackenzie's Narrative.*

*Impartial Account of Passages in Ireland, from the Notes of an Eye-witness.* 4to. London, 1689.



one drew forth divine vengeance:—"And Agag was hewn in pieces before the Lord." Copies of the anonymous letter were dispersed, and caused an uproar in Dublin. The lord-deputy's guards were astounded; the castle bridge was drawn up; crowds of men, women, and children, rushed precipitately to the sea-shore—hoping to be rescued from the daggers of the Irish.—Lamentation and woe were heard on all sides. Tyrconnel tried to quiet the people by sending messages to assure them of protection and security, but clamour and shrieking drowned every attempt of the kind. A dreadful panic spread all over the kingdom. A renewal of the massacre of 1641 was every moment expected. Houses and property were deserted, without any precaution being taken to defend them from plunder.

Many fugitive protestants were sheltered in Londonderry. It was surrounded by a firm wall, strengthened with bastions,—yet there were not sufficient fortifications to sustain a siege. Tyrconnel had recalled the garrison of this city to Dublin, who were mostly protestants, under the command of Lord Mountjoy, son of primate Boyle. They were well-disciplined, and much liked by the inhabitants. The deputy sent the Earl of Antrim's regiment to supply their place:—they were all papists—Irish and Highlanders. At the very time that the people were in fearful expectation of the threatened massacre, a body of twelve hundred men arrived at Limavaddy, a village within twelve miles of Derry:—they were tall, meagre, and of a terrible aspect; they were followed by a crowd of women and children. Mr. Philips, the proprietor of the village,

saw these people pouring in, with great alarm. They had more the appearance of a turbulent mob, than the regular forces of government. With speed he despatched tidings to Derry of the troop which were on their way, and would soon enter their town, if they did not close their gates against them. The citizens, already in trepidation, were assembled in the streets, conferring:—some resolute, others irresolute; some wishing to exclude the Romish forces, yet afraid of expressing their wishes. Tomkins and Norman, two aldermen, consulted the bishop: he was advanced in years; cautious from experience; and a lover of peace. Upon these principles, he advised non-resistance and submission. Some of the graver citizens concurred with him. While they deliberated, the troops advanced; two of their officers were already in the town, providing quarters; a detachment appeared within three hundred yards of the Ferry Gate;—at that moment, nine young men eagerly grasped the keys, rushed to the drawbridge, raised it, and locked the Ferry Gate.\* Their example was followed by several other youths, and all the gates were secured. They gave no heed to any timid counsels, but seized the magazine, which afforded them some arms and a small quantity of ammunition. This resolute spirit spread among the citizens, and all declared for a firm resistance. Philips, of Limavaddy, was chosen for their governor; and their numbers were increased by people coming in from the neighbouring districts.

David Cairns, Esq. was unanimously chosen as a fit

\* Walker's *Diary of the Siege of Derry*.

agent to send to England for assistance. A letter of credence was given to him, with full instructions, under the hand and seal of the principal inhabitants; together with a letter to the society in London, from which what follows is extracted:—

“ Right Worshipful,

“ In our sad calamity, and under the greatest apprehensions of our total excision by the Irish in these parts of the kingdom which border upon us, we thought it necessary immediately to despatch David Cairns, Esq. (a very worthy citizen of this city, and lately a member of this corporation), into England, to report our case to you, and to use his endeavours, by all just means, for our speedy relief. On Friday, the 7th instant, several intimations were received here, that on the Sunday following, a massacre was intended by the Irish, in Ulster; and although it caused great thoughts of heart to the most assured amongst us, yet none of the more aged and grave came to any other resolution than to submit to divine providence, whatever the event might be. Just at this juncture, while the young and inconsiderate were consulting their own safety, part of the Earl of Antrim’s regiment, newly levied, and all composed of Highlanders and Ulster papists, came to the river side. The officers entered the city, demanding quarters and lodgings. Our fears became more pungent, but we remained silent, except in our prayers and devotions. Just as the soldiers were approaching the gates, the youthhood, by a strange impulse, ran in one body, and having shut the gates, they put themselves in the best posture of defence they could. We



blamed, but could not guide or persuade them to any less resolution that night; and so the soldiers retired and were quartered in the neighbourhood. The next day we hoped to prevail with those who assumed the power of the city, to open the gates and receive the garrison; but the news and intimations of the general design came so fast, so full from all quarters, that we then blessed God for our present escape, effected by means unforeseen, and against our will. We have eternal obligations laid on us to bless God, whose mercy and providence rescued us from the designs of wicked men, that conspired our ruin, without any provocation on our part; whose inclination it was, as well as our interest, to live peaceably with all men.

“For further particulars we must refer you to Mr. Cairns; and most heartily we do beseech you, as you are men of bowels and charity, to assist this gentleman, how best you can, to secure us from the common danger; and so as that we may live peaceably, obeying his majesty and the laws, doing injury to no man, nor wishing it to any. Your interest here is now no argument to engage you, the lives of thousands of innocent men, women, and children are at stake. May the Lord send deliverance to us, and preserve you all in peace and tranquillity, is the hearty prayer of,

“Gentlemen,

“Your most obedient Servants,

“GEORGE PHILIPS,      SAMUEL NORMAN,  
“JOHN CAMPSIE,      ALEX. TOMKINS, &c.”

“Londonderry, Dec. 10, 1688.”

Letters from Dublin informed the inhabitants of Londonderry that Tyrconnel had ordered Lord Mountjoy and Lieutenant-Colonel Lundy, with six companies of their regiment, to come down and reduce the city to obedience. The governor, George Philips, Esq., with four other principal men, were sent to Mount Gavelin, to treat with his lordship. After a full hearing of his proposals, they refused to comply, unless a protestant garrison were given them; liberty to keep watch and arms as formerly, together with a free and general pardon under the great seal. Lord Mountjoy, not consenting to these terms, declared his intention, on the following morning, to demand an entrance into their city. When he appeared at Bishop's Gate, there was some debating whether or not to admit him; but respect for his lordship prevailed, and he was permitted to enter. Eleven men of the city and county were appointed to treat with him, and the articles proposed by the city were finally agreed upon. In accordance with this agreement, Lord Mountjoy dispatched Lundy to Strabane, where their troops had arrived, in order to dismiss the papists from among them, and to enlist protestants to supply their places. Some of the city officers were sent to see this done. There were, however, but two companies chosen, all protestants, under the command of Colonel Lundy and Captain Stewart. These were received into Derry. The remaining four companies were quartered at Strabane, Newtown-Steward, and Raphoe, one-half being Romanists.

The citizens were so well satisfied that Lord Mountjoy would strengthen the protestant interest, that they

were resolved on following his directions, their governor having freely resigned his charge to him: while he was fulfilling it in the best way, by making all necessary preparations for the safety of the town and people, he was sent for to Dublin, by Tyrconnel. Contrary to the wishes of his friends in Derry, he obeyed the mandate. Tyrconnel's scheme was to send him, with the chief baron, Rice, to France, on a message to King James. Mountjoy, in a letter dated Dublin, 10th Jan. 1689, says, "as soon as I saw my lord-deputy, he told me he intended to send me to the king, conjointly with the lord chief baron, to lay before him the state of the kingdom, and to tell him, he would ruin it for him, and make it a heap of rubbish; but it was impossible to preserve and make it of use to him, and, therefore, to desire his leave to treat for it."

"His lordship went soon after, together with Chief-Baron Rice, to France, where, instead of obtaining an order for the Irish to lay down their arms, he was made a prisoner in the Bastile."\*

Though the townsmen were justly dissatisfied with Colonel Lundy, he was made governor of Derry.

The Governor of Coleraine, Gustavus Hamilton, called a council of war, to consult whether they ought not to quit their town and retire to Derry; not having ammunition to defend themselves from the enemy. Some squadrons appearing before the town, prevented their leaving. They repaired to the ramparts, and a little firing dispersed these troops. On the following

\* Mackenzie's *Narrative of the Siege of Derry*.



morning the whole army, under the command of the Romish general, Hamilton, made an attack upon the town, which was bravely defended. About five in the afternoon the enemy retired in great confusion: their loss is uncertain, as they carried away their dead. Only three of those within the town were killed.

From Lundy's proceedings it was strongly suspected that his intention was to deliver up Derry. A council of war was held, and the following resolution was drawn up:—"We, the officers hereunto subscribing, pursuant to a resolution taken and agreed upon at a council of war, at Londonderry, held this day, do hereby mutually promise and engage to stand by each other, with our forces, against the common enemy; and will not leave the kingdom, nor desert the public service, until our affairs are in a settled and secure posture. And if any of us shall do the contrary, the person so leaving the kingdom, or deserting the service, without the consent of a council of war, is to be deemed a coward, and disaffected to their majesties' service and the protestant interest. Dated April 10, 1689." This resolution, signed by twenty-three of the principal officers, was read next morning, at the head of each battalion, amid loud acclamations of satisfaction, and it was afterwards posted on the market-house.

Mr. Cairns arrived from England, with a letter and instructions from King William to the governor, just in time to prevent the desertion of some of the chief officers, whom Lundy had discouraged by representing the place untenable; and he had offered them passes. When Cairns delivered the king's letter to the governor,

he told him and many others, that the English forces were now at sea, following him to aid their city. This news was very reviving; and the same night a council of war was held, to whom Lundy read the letter he had received; and Cairns imparted to them King William's instructions, and his concern for their safety, for which great preparations were being made in England. Lundy was chosen commander-in-chief.

On the 14th, the enemy were perceived marching towards Strabane. Mr. Cairns went twice to Lundy, pressing him to take such precautions as were necessary to save the city: to which he coldly replied, that he had already given orders. Several notices were sent to him on that day, to draw out his forces, in order to guard the passes, but all such advice was disregarded. If the passes had been maintained, the enemy's horses could not long have subsisted in a place where all the corn and forage had been burned by the protestant army.

The expected English ships and forces entered Lough Foyle on the 15th. Their two commanding officers, Cunningham and Richards, had been instructed to receive orders from the governor, to whom they despatched three several messengers for directions about the landing of the two regiments.

After a long delay, Lundy sent an invitation to Cunningham and Richards to attend at a meeting of the council in town; they were directed to leave their men in the ships.

Lundy (who was president), the two English officers, and thirteen others appointed by the governor, formed the council. They were all, except Lundy himself, un-

acquainted with the real state of the town. None of the inhabitants were called in; and admittance was refused to some who wished to be present.

His majesty's letter and orders, directed to the governor, were presented to him by Colonel Cunningham. He answered, by representing the town in such a state as to render it so untenable, that he had determined on quitting it, and he advised them all to follow his example.

The English officers, being fully convinced that the governor, whom they had received orders to obey, was the best judge of the condition of the town, decided at once on returning to England. From Lundy's statement, which none present contradicted, there seemed little probability that the town could hold out—the enemy, in number twenty-five thousand men, near their gates—and their provisions already exhausted. Colonel Richards was the only person who spoke against the abandonment of the city, which, he said, would be that of the whole kingdom. The council passed the following resolution:—

“ Upon inquiry, it appears, that there is not provisions in the garrison of Londonderry to maintain the men, with the addition of the two regiments on board, beyond a week, or, at the most, ten days. And, as it appears that the place is not tenable against a well-appointed army, it is concluded and resolved upon, that it is not convenient for his majesty's service, but the reverse, to land the two regiments under the command of Colonel Cunningham and Colonel Richards, now on board in the river Lough Foyle. That considering the present



posture of affairs, and the probability that the enemy will soon possess themselves of this place, it is thought most convenient, that the principal officers should withdraw themselves, as well for their own preservation, as in the hopes that the inhabitants, by a timely capitulation, may make the better terms with the enemy; and this we judge most convenient for his majesty's service, as the present state of affairs is."

The officers and soldiers earnestly petitioned for the landing of the English forces, in order that, with their assistance, they might fight the enemy for the preservation of that corner, into which the provisions and wealth of three or four counties were stored. At the very time that the English ships were bearing down below Red Castle, on their return, a public announcement was made that, "It was resolved the English forces should immediately land, and when they were in their quarters the gates should be opened, and all join in defence of the town."

To hood-wink the people more effectually, and divert their attention until the succour intended for them was beyond their reach, Lundy gave orders to the sheriff to provide quarters throughout the city for the English soldiers, which was accordingly done. When this imposition was discovered, the town was, by many, considered as betrayed, and that it would be madness to remain and expose themselves to the fury of an Irish massacre; they therefore escaped to the ships. On the same day, the 18th, a body of foot soldiers, which had retreated from Clady, came, in tolerable order, to the gates, but, by the governor's desire, they were

closed against them; though it was by his command, on the preceding day, that they hastened to them. At the same time the Rev. George Walker came before the gates with a regiment which he had raised for the defence of Dungannon. He was the rector of Donaghmore and Erigle, in the county of Tyrone, and for twenty-six years had been in the ministry. Neither his age nor his profession having gained him admission, he remained with the rest, all the night, outside the walls. At length an officer in Colonel Skeffington's regiment discharged his pistol at one of the sentinels, ordering the gate to be fired. They were immediately thrown open, and the soldiers entered.

Lundy's treachery being now apparent to all, Captain Murray was chosen to command the forces, and every man determined on death rather than deliver themselves up to a merciless enemy. Had the infantry been pursued in their retreat from Finn Water they must have been cut to pieces.

## CHAPTER XIX.

---

Protestant Associations—Tyrconnel intimidated—William and Mary proclaimed in the north-eastern towns—Landing of James at Kinsale—Removal of Protestants from the Privy Council—Derry to be reduced by a slow siege—James attempts it in person—Unexpected salutation from the garrison—Soon weary of the siege, he returns to Dublin—Sufferings of the besieged—Rosen's cruel order—Londonderry relieved—James assembles his Parliament in Dublin—Base coinage—Arbitrary proceedings—Persecution of Protestants.

PROTESTANT associations were formed in different parts of Ulster, under the direction of Lord Mount-Alexander, Blaney, Rawdon, Skeffington, and other leaders. Their declared object was self-defence and the preservation of their religion. Besides county councils, they had a general meeting at Hillsborough, in the county of Down. They had no assistance from government, but were determined to act in subservience to its principles, and to promote the convention of a free parliament. The Irish protestants were now deprived of their unfailing friend and advocate, the Duke of Ormond; his death left a vacancy which Lord Clarendon could ill supply—he was not in favour with the Prince of Orange, whose reply to their applications, through



him, was cold and laconic, "I thank you, I will take care of you."\*

The prince's rapid progress and success intimidated the Irish army; they declared themselves ready to lay down their arms, and return to their former dependance; even Tyrconnel signified to the protestants his willingness to resign the sword, not doubting but that he could obtain King James's permission to yield it up to the ruling power in England. The protestants had an able advocate in the Rev. William King, president of the chapter of St. Patrick's, Dublin; he succeeded to the deanery on the 26th of January, 1689, and was afterwards, successively, Bishop of Derry and Archbishop of Dublin. He had distinguished himself as a writer, by an able reply to Peter Manby, Dean of Derry, who had conformed to the popish religion, and published "The considerations which induced" that fall into error.

King was now actively employed in a correspondence with the friends of the Prince of Orange, in England. Hence he received encouragement to influence the Irish protestants to acknowledge the sovereign providentially appointed for their deliverance from the slavish thraldom of popery. He was their adviser in all difficult cases, and, as a counsellor, was of incalculable benefit; he was also a benefactor in opening the eyes of a powerful body in England, clergy and laity of the established church, who adhered to James, from a false conception of his mild treatment of the protestants in

\* Clarendon's *Diary*.

Ireland: they had been led into this error by deceptive reports, artfully circulated, the falsity of which was developed by private letters from Mr. King. These misstatements, after the arrival of William, and the flight of James, in 1688, gained ground in Scotland, as well as England; even ministers in their pulpits represented the protestants in Ireland as enjoying the greatest freedom, ease and security, in religion and property, under King James and the government of Tyrconnel, while they were actually groaning under an intolerable tyranny.\*

January, 1689. In compliance with the request of both houses of parliament, in England, and the protestants of Ireland, the Prince of Orange, by a letter, summoned the Earl of Tyrconnel to submit to the existing administration in England. The letter was sent by Richard Hamilton, a Roman catholic general, who had distinguished himself in France, and been sent to England to oppose the prince; he was taken prisoner, and set at liberty on his proposing to use his influence with Tyrconnel to abdicate his government—promising, that in case of a failure in his commission, he would return to England. The prince accepting of his proffered services, he arrived in Dublin, but instead of fulfilling his mission, he urged Tyrconnel to maintain his post, telling him that affairs in England were favourable for the restoration of James; and that he was resolved on remaining in Ireland to assist in the military operations. Soon after this, the news that

\* Graham's *History of the Siege of Derry*.

James was coming with a powerful armament, gave an unbridled liberty to the excesses of the deputy and his licentious soldiers. The protestants, in Dublin, were forcibly disarmed; their horses were seized; their persons insulted; and their houses plundered.

General Richard Hamilton marched with an army into the north; and Lord Galmoy, notorious for perfidy and cruelty, was sent, with a strong force, to guard the passes between Connaught and Ulster, in order to prevent the protestants on the western side of the Shannon from joining their friends in the northern counties.

The protestant association of the north-east of Ulster proclaimed William and Mary, king and queen, in the principal towns of that district. Having refused to obey General Hamilton's proclamation to lay down their arms, he advanced against them with a considerable body of troops. Being very inferior in numbers, they retreated from Newry to Dromore—were overtaken, routed, and slaughtered without mercy. About four thousand, rallying, reached Coleraine, and, by the spirited exertions of Lord Mount-Alexander and Sir Arthur Rawdon, they took their stations there, in order to prevent the enemy from crossing the river Bann. The protestants, north-west of Ulster, poured into Enniskillen and Londonderry to seek refuge. Three thousand of the Irish were garrisoned in the fort of Charlemont. Lord Blaney had frequent skirmishes with them, in their attempts to plunder the protestants, and was always successful. On the 13th of March, his castle, in Monaghan, was taken by the Rap-



parees, and his lady, with all the protestant forces in that quarter, had retreated to Glasslough, where they were closely besieged by the enemy; but soon relieved by means of Matthew Anketell, Esq., who came upon them with two troops of horse and three companies of foot, hastily collected. After having dislodged the Irish from this position, Anketell drove them from a Danish fort, on a high ground, where they had entrenched themselves, and kept up a heavy fire on the protestants, who were advancing towards them. Their commander, Major McKenna, and his son, were taken prisoners, and eighty nine of his men were killed in the pursuit: but the victory caused no rejoicing to the victors, their beloved leader was slain.

With great solemnity his remains were interred in the aisle of the church of Glasslough, and an inscription on the tombstone, in the floor, records Anketell's untimely death in maintenance of the protestant religion.

Lady Blaney and her party, with two troops of horse and three companies of foot, escaped to Londonderry.\*

Louis XIV., it is said, had offered to assist James with an army from France, to which he replied, that "he would recover his dominions by the aid of his own subjects, or perish in the attempt." After a tedious voyage, he landed at Kinsale, on the 12th of of March,† and on Sunday, the 16th, proceeded to Cork, where he heard mass in a new chapel erected by

\* Graham's *Siege of Derry*. † *Ibid*.

the Franciscan friars; by whom he was attended through the streets, in their habits. He was received and entertained by Donough, Earl of Clancarthy, who was made one of the lords of the bed-chamber, besides being appointed to the command of a regiment in the royal guards, and made clerk of the crown and peace throughout the province of Munster. Tyrconnel met the king at Cork, and was immediately created a duke, in acknowledgement of his services. On the 24th, James entered Dublin, followed by a splendid retinue of French, British, and Irish, with Count D'Avaux as ambassador of France. The procession was met by one from Dublin, consisting of the magistrates and the whole body of Romish priests in their robes, carrying the host, to which James knelt in solemn adoration, amidst deafening acclamations. From the beginning he manifested a determination to discourage protestants, by dismissing two men of rank from his army, merely because of their religion; and refusing commissions to two others for the same reason, though they were related to the brave Sarsfield, to whose application for their promotion, he answered, "that he would trust none of that religion."\* In the meantime, he found himself in an alarming position, and beheld with dismay the undisciplined, half-armed ruffians, of whom Tyrconnel's army was composed. There was no competent store of ammunition or provision, and scarcely more than eight hundred muskets. "There was not one piece of battering cannon mounted in the island.

\* Graham's *Siege of Derry*.

The field artillery did not exceed twelve pieces, and but two small mortars that could be serviceable.”\* James’s first care was the manufacture of arms for his troops, which was attended with many difficulties. The workmen were protestants, who performed their tasks unwillingly and slowly: there was a deficiency of all kinds of tools and implements; and above all, the king wanted money to provide for, or pay, his army, which, by the dismissal of a multitude of non-efficient men, was reduced to thirty thousand. The King of France had given him four hundred thousand crowns. Complaints assailed him on all sides; the country, already despoiled by the depredations of his soldiers, could no longer afford plunder for their maintenance; and in all his undertakings he found himself controlled by Count D’Avaux, who was sent from France in the character of an ambassador, but was, in reality, a spy upon his actions, and trying to turn every measure to the advantage of his own ambitious master.†

March 21st. On the arrival of the Irish army in the county of Cavan, they surprised the house of Mr. Dixy, Dean of Kilmore, and made his son a prisoner, with eight or ten troopers under his command. On the following day, Lord Galmoy advanced to Belturbet, and invested Crom Castle, the frontier garrison situated on Lough Erne, about sixteen miles from Enniskillen. The walls of the castle were strong, but it had no outwork, fortification, nor fosse, and was commanded by hills within musket-shot. This place was garrisoned

\* Graham’s *Siege of Derry*. † *Ibid*.



by protestants, under the command of Colonel Creighton. Lord Galmoy hoping to frighten them with the semblance of cannon, caused two pieces to be fabricated of tin, covered with a sort of buckram, and painted so as to look like cannon—he had them drawn with eight horses each, with great noise, and apparent difficulty, but he baffled his own purpose by attempting to discharge one of them, it burst and wounded the gunner; perceiving this, the garrison made a sally, seized, and carried off the remaining cannon, which a man carried on his shoulders; and the besiegers were instantly assailed with a hot fire from the castle, but not driven from their position.

On the 21st of March, Captain James Hamilton arrived from London, with four hundred and eighty barrels of gunpowder, and arms for two thousand men; he brought a commission from King William for Lundy, and a considerable sum of money for the garrison. On this day William and Mary were proclaimed king and queen, with great solemnity, in Londonderry, in the presence of the bishop.

“22nd March. Lord Galmoy summoned the garrison of Enniskillen to surrender, and received for answer, that King William and Queen Mary had been proclaimed there on the eleventh of the month, and that they would not only stand upon their own defence, but send what means they could to relieve Crom Castle.”

With the assistance of two hundred of the Enniskilleners, who forced their way into Crom Castle, the garrison sallied forth and drove the besiegers from their

trenches — several of their men were slain, their muskets and other spoils taken. Galmoy retired to Belturbet, where he vented his rage in disgraceful excesses. Oldmixon, in his “ ‘Memoirs of Ireland’, brands him as an infamous wretch, whom no titles could honour.”\*

He sent an express to Creighton proposing an exchange of prisoners; and offered to release Captain Dixy, on the return of Brian Mac Conagher Mac Guire; a captain in King James’s army, then a prisoner in Crom Castle. Colonel Creighton complying with this request, sent Mac Guire to Lord Galmoy, who, instead of keeping his promise, called a council of war; put Dixy and Charleton, his lieutenant, on trial for high treason; and the sentence of death was passed upon them, with an offer to reverse the decree, provided they abjured their religion and joined King James’s army. They were both young men, but too firmly attached to their principles to abandon them, even for life, liberty, and the preferment which was promised. Mac Guire warmly interposed in behalf of the prisoners, but it was of no avail. Galmoy caused both the young men to be hanged on a sign post, in Belturbet, and when they were dead, he ordered their bodies to be taken to the kitchen of the inn, and their heads being cut off, they were kicked through the streets by the soldiers, and then set up on the market-house. Mac Guire, in disgust, resigned his commission, determined no longer to serve King James—he returned to Crom Castle.†

\* Graham’s *Siege of Derry*. † Ibid.

Other acts of savage barbarity are recorded of Lord Galmoy, which we shall pass over.

March 27th. Coleraine was besieged by General Hamilton with his whole army; but the elements favoured the besieged—the rain descending, the rivers overflowing their banks, the wind blowing, and a great fall of snow upon the town, compelled Hamilton and his troops to abandon the formidable position they had taken before the ramparts of Coleraine. The defenders of the town had been exposed to the enemy's fire for some time, with the loss of but three lives. The Irish carried off their dead, so that their number could not be ascertained.

On the 8th of April, James marched with his army towards Ulster. He had twelve thousand men, and a considerable train of artillery. His generals were M. Maumont, commander of the French cavalry; the Marquis de M. Pusignian had the charge of the infantry; he was accompanied by the Duke of Berwick, Lords Netterville, Abercorn, and many other noblemen and gentleman. Sir Michael Creagh, lord mayor of Dublin, attended the king in the double capacity of paymaster of the army, and commander of a regiment of foot. James stopped for a few days at Armagh, then proceeded to Dungannon, Strabane, and Omagh; and found such an insufficiency of arms and ammunition as to make him repeat his orders to Tyrconnel, not to delay sending a supply.

His general officers, after having forced their passage over the Finn, at Cladyford, resolved on joining their forces to advance at once to the gates of Derry, which they doubted not would be opened to admit them.



James received an express on the 17th, informing him that the Derry rebels had offered to capitulate with General Hamilton, who had referred them to De Rosen, as his superior officer; and that the benefit of his majesty's proclamation\* had been offered to them.

This intelligence was very acceptable to James. The acquisition of Londonderry was important, as a place from whence he could easily transmit his army into Scotland. Being now persuaded that his presence would insure his success, he advanced at the head of the army towards the city, and halted on a hill within cannon shot of the walls, which were surrounded by horse and foot, except on the water side. Captain Murray effected an entrance at the head of a body of cavalry, and was joyfully received. He harangued the garrison and citizens on the baseness of surrendering to an abdicated king and a popish army.

A stipulation had been made, that the besieging army should not advance within four miles of the city.

A trumpeter was sent from the garrison to James, requiring an hour's respite, to consider his summons to surrender; regardless of this, he advanced to the walls, and was instantly assailed with a tremendous discharge of cannon and musketry, which continued, with little intermission, throughout the day, and was fatal to many of the army, and an officer was killed near the king's person. Such an unexpected salutation threw James

\* Archdeacon Hamilton had been sent by James to tell the inhabitants that if they would deliver up the town in four days, their past rebellion should be pardoned, and their property secured.

and his undisciplined army into the greatest consternation. He had spent the whole day on horseback, without taking any refreshment, under incessant rain, exposed to the cannon. He began now to doubt the truth of the assurances which Lundy and his council had given of a surrender. That treacherous governor had refused admittance to Murray and his troops, who had fought their way from Culmore, but his orders were despised, and the gate was thrown open.

When Murray became acquainted with the state of affairs, his first care was to prevent a surrender; his second, to form an association to counteract Lundy and his council—all its members were distinguished by a white badge round the left arm. Eight thousand soon surrounded their gallant leader, who exhorted them to expel Lundy and his false cabal, while they set resolutely about the defence of their city. Lundy, aware of the indignation he had brought upon himself, would have kept within his chamber, but being summoned to appear before the council, he attended the meeting. Mr. Walker and Major Baker made some propositions respecting his future conduct among them, and the assistance they could procure; but he declined all further care or concern in their affairs, and seemed only intent upon escaping out of their city. This they facilitated, by sending him off in a boat under the disguise of a bundle of faggots tied upon his back.

The Rev. George Walker and Major Baker were now unanimously chosen to govern the city. They consulted with Murray, the general officer, on the best means of defence. Upon a declaration from the enemy

that deserters would be protected, ten thousand of their people left them. Within the walls, their armed force consisted of seven thousand and twenty men, with three hundred and forty-one officers. These were divided into eight companies. The stores were viewed; all necessary orders were issued and directions given; each regiment had its own position, and each company its own bastion.

Upon any alarm, the officers and private soldiers repaired to their respective posts, without confusion. Eighteen clergymen of the church of England, partook of the dangers and labours of the siege, and each in turn performed divine service daily in the cathedral. There were also seven non-conforming ministers, who were equally attentive to their congregations, and preserved all in order and obedience. They were exhorted to unite in defence of William and Mary, and the protestant religion.

Walker, in his "Diary," says, "We betook ourselves, in the first instance, to our several devotions, in order to recommend ourselves and the cause we undertook, to the protection and care of the Almighty: for truly we could say, with our church liturgy, 'There is none other that fighteth for us, but only thou, O God.'

"And God was pleased to make us the happy instruments of preserving this place, and to him we give the glory; and no one need go about to undervalue or lessen those he was pleased to choose for so great a work; we do allow ourselves to be as unfit for it as they can make us, and that God has only glorified himself in working so great a wonder with his own right hand, and with his holy arm getting himself the victory."



In the city there were thirty thousand fugitives who could render no assistance.

“The bulwarks of Derry consist of an inner and outer wall, the former of which is about twenty feet in thickness, affording an excellent promenade; the height of the other varies, in some places rising above the stature of a man, but generally not more than four feet, forming battlements to the inner one, to which it is united. There, then, the besieged were wont to array themselves, and employ their smaller fire-arms with such effect as they could, to aid their guns, planted on the bastions and lines. Of these they had no more than twenty fit for use, which, with two stationed on the cathedral roof, formed the entire battery for defence of the town.”\*

Walker thus describes their situation, “It did beget some disorder among us, and confusion, when we looked about us and saw what we were doing—our enemies all about us, and our friends running away from us. A garrison we had, composed of poor people frightened from their own homes, and seemed more fit to hide themselves than to face an enemy. When we considered that we had no person of any experience in war among us; and those very persons that were sent to assist us, had so little confidence in the place, that they no sooner saw it but they thought fit to leave it; that we had but few horse to sally out with, and no forage; no engineers to instruct us in our works; no fire-works, not so much as a hand-grenado, to annoy

\* *Derry*, by Charlotte Elizabeth.

the enemy; not a gun well-mounted in the whole town; that we had so many mouths to feed, and not above ten days provisions for them in the opinion of our former governors; that every day several left us, and gave constant intelligence to the enemy; that they had so many opportunities to divide us, and so often endeavoured it, and to betray the governors; that they were so numerous, so powerful and well-appointed an army, that in all human probability we could not think ourselves in less danger than the Israelites at the Red Sea: when we considered all this, it was obvious enough what a dangerous undertaking we had ventured upon. But the resolution and courage of our people, and the necessity we were under, and the great confidence and dependance among us on God Almighty, that he would take care of us and preserve us, made us overlook all those difficulties.”

The army of the besiegers amounted to twenty thousand. James was heard to remark, that if they had been Englishmen, they would have brought him the town piece-meal. His only acquisition was the fort of Culmore, which was not gained by any military achievement. The last act of the despicable Lundy, in his retreat, was to persuade the officer in command to surrender this fortress.

Finding that his assaults were fruitless, James soon grew weary of the siege, and returned to Dublin, where he had summoned parliament to assemble on the 7th of May. Generals Hamilton, Maumont, and the Duke of Berwick undertook to carry on the siege.

On the 23rd, the besiegers planted two pieces of can-

non which discharged balls of ten pounds weight, and did much damage, penetrating walls and garrets. The besieged firing from the walls, and in sallies, killed Colonel O'Neil, Colonel Fitzpatrick, several soldiers, and two friars in their habits—M. Pusignian and Maumont were slain.

On the 24th, the first bombs were thrown into Londonderry, and were repeated on the following day. Hence the ammunition was removed into the vaults of the cathedral, and into dry wells and cellars.

April 26th. With scarcely any intermission the bombs played upon the city from sunset until morning. It was a night of suffering beyond all description. Terror paralysed the hearts of all except the gallant defenders of the wall, who undauntedly stood their ground amidst the shrieks of the sufferers, the thunder of the artillery, and the crash of houses struck by the shells.

Friday, June 5th, was memorable for the like disastrous play of bombs—twenty-six fell, killing, wounding and breaking down houses; the streets were ploughed up. On the previous day one fell on the Diamond House, went through it, and fell within six feet of forty-seven barrels of gunpowder, which had been buried in a dry well. Some of the shells were said to weigh two hundred and seventy-three pounds—but, through preserving mercy, a great number fell without bursting, and did no injury. Those which did burst, were tremendous in their effects. The work of destruction was carried on during the 6th, 7th, and 8th. Two mortars discharged thirty shells, which did great execu-



tion. On the 8th, thirty-five fell into the city. On the 9th there was a cessation, not because it happened to be the Lord's day (for they never regarded the Sabbath), but it was their patron saint's day, St. Colomb Kille. Nine bombs were thrown into the city on the 29th day of June. One falling in the old church, tore up the graves of five human bodies, which were re-interred as soon as the scattered remains could be collected. Walker says, the bombs "plowed up our streets and broke down our houses, so that there was no passing the streets, nor staying within doors, but all flocked to the walls and the remotest part of the town, where we continued very safely; while many of our sick were killed, not being able to leave their houses. The besieged were so closely assailed with great guns in the day time, and bombs in the night, that they could enjoy no rest, but were hurried from place to place, faint from disease and tiredness, which destroyed many of the garrison. The houses thrown down by the bombs, and the timber broken, afforded a seasonable supply of fuel."\*

Pestilence and famine increased the miseries of the beseiged ; but at the time when numbers were dying of hunger a fleet of thirty sail drew near to Culmore. It was commanded by Major-General Kirk, and brought a reinforcement of five thousand men and a supply of provisions. This appearance of relief was hailed with joyful demonstrations, which were soon followed by

\* In the beginning of October, 1822, Mr. William Stewart, architect, in unroofing the church, found several pieces of shells which had remained there since the siege.

signals of deep distress from the steeple. Regardless of both, Kirk, on seeing the enemy draw the cannon to the waterside, set sail and disappeared out of the harbour. Immediately afterwards the besiegers made a boom which crossed the water from Charles Fort to Brookhall; it was formed of oaken beams, bound together with iron chains and strong cables—but this labour, which occupied a week, was in vain—it was rent in pieces by the spring tides. Another boom was made of lighter materials and on a better plan, which promised success.

On Sunday, the 16th, the cathedral bells rang joyfully; twenty sail of ships were seen in the direction of Coleraine; three rounds of cannon were fired from the walls, and answered from the ships. Kirk had turned his fleet into Lough Swilley, and fortified the island of Inch, in order to hold correspondence with Derry and Enniskillen.

On the 18th, Mareschal-General Conrad de Rosen arrived at the besieger's camp, with a reinforcement of one thousand five hundred men. On seeing the city, he contemptuously declared that his men should carry it to him stone by stone; and swore, impiously, that in demolishing it, he would bury its defenders in the ruins. On this accession of their enemy's forces, an order was issued that "no man, on pain of death, should speak of surrendering the city."

The garrison had tried every means to obtain intelligence from the ships in vain. At length a man, named Roche, arrived with a letter from the English general, assuring them that succour, exceeding their

most sanguine hopes, would speedily reach them. Kirk's letter was directed to Walker; it stated that officers, ammunition, and arms, had been sent from the fleet to the Enniskilleners; and that three thousand infantry, one thousand five hundred horse, and a regiment of dragoons had promised to proceed from thence to the relief of Derry: that his own intention was to make a diversion by an attack on the enemy, with a detachment from the island of Inch. There were other encouraging particulars added. Roche had passed through the enemy's outposts, camp, and guard, a distance of eight miles, and swam into the city. He rested but a day in Derry, when he prepared for his return to the fleet; with the governor's letters tied in a bladder, and concealed in his hair, he swam naked to the spot where he had left his clothes on the previous day, but they had been carried off; without clothing he fled three miles, pursued by the enemy, and then, by getting into a thick wood, they lost sight of him. Lacerated with thorns and briars, and covered with blood, he made his way round the woods to the waterside, where he encountered a party of the Irish dragoons, one of whom having broken his jaw-bone with a halbert, he plunged into the river, and being fired at several times, was wounded in the arm, breast, and shoulder. His pursuers, frustrated in their attempts to take him, offered £1000 for his letters, but he refused, for any reward, to deliver them up. In his petition afterwards, to the English House of Commons, he said he would have died in the water, rather than betray his trust. Finding it impracticable to return to the fleet, he swam



back to Derry. Walker contrived to send his letter to Kirk, with another inclosed signed by some of the citizens, representing the extremity of wretchedness to which they were reduced.\*

On the last day of June Governor Baker died, and was succeeded by Mitchelburn.

Rosen sent in a declaration, that if the garrison did not surrender before six o'clock on the ensuing evening, he would drive the protestants under their walls, from Enniskillen to Charlemont; and in case of the appearance of opposition, he would burn and lay waste the country.

The cruel order was issued in the following terms:—  
“As I have certain information that the wives and children of the rebels in Londonderry have retired to Belfast and the neighbouring places, and as the hardness of their husbands and fathers deserves the severest chastisements, I write this letter to acquaint you, that you are instantly to make an exact search, in Belfast and its neighbourhood, after such subjects as are rebellious to the will of the king, whether men, women, boys, or girls, without exception, and whether they are protected † or unprotected, to arrest them and collect them together, that they may be conducted by a detachment to this camp, and driven under the walls of Londonderry, where they shall be allowed to starve, in sight of

\* Roche was afterwards a captain in King William's army.

† The protections, granted by James, were no security. He represented protestants as false and perfidious; “many of them,” he said, “were killed with my protections in their pockets.”—Archbishop King's *State of Protestants*.

the rebels within the town, unless they choose to open their ports," &c. &c. Infants were included in the order, and none of any age were to be permitted to escape. The order was dated July 1st, 1689.

On the 2nd, the mareschal's threatening letter was read in the city: a refusal to treat with him caused his order to be put into execution. The protestants all round the neighbourhood were plundered, stripped of their clothing, old and young, women and children, goaded on by the soldiers, while some were tottering on their emaciated limbs, and falling from excessive debility, lay dying on the way-side. When they came within sight of the city; the men on the walls fancying that this moving multitude must be a reinforcement sent to the enemy, fired at them, but providentially hit none amongst them, while three soldiers were killed in the execution of their commission. When the truth was ascertained, the burst of indignation from the garrison may be more easily imagined than described. The first division of these wretched sufferers consisted of some thousands.\* A gallows was immediately erected on the walls, for the execution of all the prisoners in the city, and a trumpet from the garrison gave the enemy notice that some popish priests would be permitted to come and prepare their people for death according to their own communion. At the same time an offer was made to spare their lives, on condition of the immediate

\* Governor Walker, in his *Diary*, says, that the sight of the gallows, and the importunity of some of their friends, prevailed upon the general to dismiss the poor protestants on the 4th of July, upon which the gallows was taken down, and the prisoners sent back to their chambers or cells.

dismissal of the protestants. No answer was given: while a promiscuous crowd lay in helpless misery beneath the walls; and though enduring the pressure of famine and disease, their only petition to their friends was, never to surrender to their merciless foe.\* This savage proceeding served to confirm the resolution of the garrison, rather to die than submit to the barbarians who were capable of conceiving such a stratagem. Before the order was executed, news of the design reached Dublin, and Dr. Anthony Dopping, Bishop of Meath, made immediate application to James to put a stop to the cruel mandate. He coldly signified his disapprobation of such a proceeding, saying, that though in Ireland such a thing had not been heard of before, it was no uncommon practice abroad. The truth is, that “Rosen, in conjunction with Maumont, had been employed by the French king to dragoon the protestants in Languedoc, whom he treated with unparalleled cruelty.” James sent a letter, dated July 3rd, to prohibit the detention of the sufferers outside the walls of Derry, whom he ordered to return to their dwellings; but they had now no dwellings but such as had been stripped and rifled. In the general devastation of the country, no means of subsistence were left them—a great number perished in consequence.

According to a computation made by Captain Ash,

\* While confined beneath the walls, the wretched sufferers had neither shelter nor provisions; some of their ablest men were stealthily received into the town, and five hundred, totally useless, had made their way in with them, thus adding to the starving multitude which crowded within. To satisfy the rage of hunger, the most nauseous substances were consumed.



five hundred and eighty shells were thrown into Londonderry from the 24th of April until the 21st of July; nor did they cease then: the battering pieces continued, on the succeeding days, to discharge their destructive contents. The miseries of the besieged seemed to exceed all bounds; hunger gnawed their vitals and reduced their strength to the lowest-ebb—six shillings were offered for part of a dog—cats and horses were devoured. At a council of war held on the 24th, it was resolved that five hundred men should sally out of the city next morning at four o'clock, and drive in some cattle which were seen grazing between the outposts and Pennyburn-mill. They issued out of different gates, and came suddenly upon the enemy, who were far from expecting such an attack from men in their exhausted state. Being unprepared they were thrown into confusion and fled, three hundred were killed, including some officers. The garrison lost but three men. They carried off a quantity of arms, knapsacks, and some oaten cakes, pieces of mutton, &c., but they missed the prey of cattle which they aimed at, they had been driven away by the besiegers.

On the 27th, the garrison was reduced to four thousand four hundred and fifty-six men; their sufferings unalleviated, dying daily, they still retained their fortitude, refusing to surrender. Walker says, no prospect seemed now before them, to support life, but the horrible one of eating the bodies of the dead. No man could look forward to the existence of twelve hours in the straitness and horrors of the siege. Yet the governor, far from desponding, felt revived with a super-

natural confidence that the Almighty God would never give them over to be a prey to their enemies. Under this assurance he assembled the emaciated congregation in the cathedral church—where, in eloquent language, he recapitulated their marvellous preservations from time to time during the siege—the strength with which they had been endued to hold out—and the prospect of a speedy deliverance, which he averred was at hand. Immediately after divine service, on the 28th, three ships were seen under sail, approaching the city—the garrison discharged eight pieces of cannon; and from the steeple of the cathedral, slowly waved their crimson flag, to signify the extremity of their distress. The wind was fair, the tide was favourable—“*Now or never! now or never!*” resounded from many a feeble voice. The *Mountjoy* of Londonderry, and the *Phoenix* of Coleraine, laden with provisions, convoyed by the *Dartmouth* frigate, ploughed the waves amidst the incessant fire of the enemy from the fort of Culmore, and from both sides of the river; the ships bravely returning the fire, suffered no damage, and passed the fort. The eager multitude on the walls watching the progress of these relief vessels, were in a state of breathless anxiety. But the transport which was ready to break forth was dispelled in a moment, when the *Mountjoy* struck against the boom, broke it, and re-bounding, ran aground.

The enemy, multitudinously crowding the water-side, reiterated their loud huzzas, while preparing to board the vessel. The stupified spectators on the wall beheld in silent despair. No sound was heard, but the shrill

shrieks of some women and children. An intensity of agony prevailed—when the *Mountjoy* fired a broadside at the enemy, rebounded from the shore, and aided by the sudden swell of the rising tide, floated again into the deep water of the channel. After some contest, in which Capt. Browning and four men were killed, the vessels held their course, steadily and majestically, until they cast anchor at the ship quay, at ten o'clock at night.\*

Language must fail in every attempt to describe the unutterable thanksgivings of that moment; it was as overwhelming as the grief of their disappointment had been—yet it broke forth.—The acclamations of the soldiers on the walls resounded through the town, and guns were fired from the steeple to give notice to the fleet of the safe arrival of the relief, while the cathedral bells chimed melodiously, making many a heart glad. The provisions, in both vessels, were plentiful, and of the best quality, from England and Scotland. Walker says, “This relief arrived here, to the inexpressible joy and transport of our distressed garrison, for we only reckoned upon two days life. We had only nine lean horses left, and one pint of meal to each man. Hunger and fatigue of war had so prevailed among us, that of seven thousand five hundred men, regimented at the commencement of the siege, no more than four thousand three hundred were living, and, at least, one-fourth of these were rendered unservicable.”

\* Sir John Dalrymple says, that this supply of provisions was received in Londonderry with silent gratitude, as a boon from heaven: not with the noisy demonstrations of joy, usual on such occasions.



Great as was this loss, the enemy sustained a greater:—Eight or nine thousand of their men, and one hundred of their best officers. On this memorable night they abandoned the position which they had held before Londonderry for one hundred and five days.

Early on the morning of the 1st of August, the enemy were seen on their march, and rashly pursued by a detachment from the garrison—seven of whom were killed by a rear-guard of cavalry turning upon them. The want of cavalry in Derry, and the exhausted state of the soldiers, saved the Irish army from a hot pursuit. In their retreat, they scarcely missed a protestant house, from Derry to Lifford, that they did not burn. In their hasty march they left many sick and wounded behind them.\*

Be it remembered, that by a charter of James I., Londonderry was destined to be a place of shelter and refuge for protestants. The building of the city was for their protection: therefore, they were authorised to refuse entrance to the kerns and tories of Ulster, who were enlisted in the Earl of Antrim's army.

James and his party were highly incensed against the inhabitants of Ulster, and said, “Had the rebels in the north joined with the king, he would have had such a party in England and Scotland, which, together with the succours he might have sent from Ireland, and the assistance of the French king, would, in all probability, have shaken the government of England, before it had been settled; but the opposition of Enniskillen and

\* Graham's *Siege of Derry*.

Derry lost the opportunity that will not easily be retrieved." King James called them a rabble; however, in conduct, courage, and resolution, they outdid all his experienced generals. All the rest of the kingdom had yielded without a blow;—by patience and perseverance they wearied their enemies, and added so much to their outworks, that, after a siege of fifteen weeks, the besiegers declared, that if their walls had been made of canvass, they could not have taken them.

After the siege was raised, Walker repaired to England, and was most graciously received by the king and queen. On the 19th of November, he received the thanks of the house of commons. He had already published his account of the siege, and been presented with £5000. The University of Oxford made him a Doctor of Divinity, on the 26th of February. While he was in London, Archbishop Tillotson thus expresses himself in a letter to Lady Russel:—"The king, besides his first bounty to Mr. Walker, whose modesty is equal to his merit, hath made him Bishop of Londonderry, one of the best bishopricks in Ireland; that so he may receive the reward of that great service in the place where he did it. It is incredible how much everybody is pleased with what the king has done in this matter, and it is no small joy to me to see that God directs him to do so wisely."\*

In the dedication of his work to the king and queen, Walker thus expresses himself:—"The part that I acted in this service might more properly have been

\* Graham's *Siege of Derry*.

done by other hands; but that necessity which threw it upon me, will, I hope, justify me before God and the world from the irregularity of interesting myself in such an affair, for which, I was neither by education or function qualified; especially since the necessity which called me to it was no sooner over than I resigned, more cheerfully than ever I undertook, the employment, that I might apply myself to the plough, to which I had put my hand.

“I am not at all displeas'd with the reflections which some make, as they think to my disparagement, because all they say of this kind gives to God the honour, in whose Almighty hand no instrument is weak; in whose presence no flesh must glory. But as the whole conduct of this matter must be ascribed to providence alone, as it ought, this should then give them occasion to consider that God has espous'd your majesty's cause, and fights your battles, and for the protestant religion; and by making use of a poor minister, the unworthiest of the whole communion of which he is a member, would intimate to the world, by what hand he will defend and maintain your majesty's interest, and the religion you have deliver'd from those who were ready to swallow both up.”

In all the state of sovereignty, James assembled his parliament in Dublin. Among the lords there were but four or five protestants—the commons were men chiefly nam'd by Tyrconnel. The university return'd two protestant members. The session was open'd, as usual, by a speech from the throne. We shall pass over the acts of this parliament; they were entirely subversive



of the protestant religion and government; but having been rendered nugatory by subsequent events, the detail would not now be interesting. The parliament had granted the king a monthly subsidy of £20,000, to be levied from lands. But this not being found sufficient, he issued a proclamation imposing an equivalent tax on all chattels. He silenced the remonstrance of his own council, on this arbitrary proceeding, by saying, "If I cannot do this, I can do nothing."

In defiance of law, he established a mint in Dublin by the seizure of the implements of a copper coinage. All sorts of base metals were collected, such as old kitchen utensils, broken bells, old cannon, &c., and from every pound weight of such materials (in real value fourpence), pieces were coined, in nominal value £5. James promised that when this money was decried, he would receive it in payments, or make full restitution in gold and silver. His soldiers were paid in this coin. Copper, sufficient to supply the mint, was not easily procured, the town was ransacked in search of it, and private inventories taken of everything in the houses of protestants which were made of that metal. The braziers' shops were first pillaged, then the kitchens of the citizens. Brass pots of every description, skellets, boilers, &c. &c, were converted into this use; even the knockers were taken off the doors—scarcely one was to be seen in the city.

The Governor of Dublin, the provost-martial, and their deputies, held out threats, that any one who refused this coin should be hanged; many instances have been given of this cruel imposition, one of which will be

sufficient to give an idea of the tyrannical injustice exercised at this time.

A charge was preferred against Mrs. Chapman, a widow, by the solicitor of a man who owed her £150 by bond; he alleged, *falsely*, that she had refused to receive this sum in brass money. Kerney, the provost-marshal's deputy, sent his troopers, at ten o'clock at night, to bring her before him. He told her with passionate oaths and execrations, that she should be burned next morning; he had power, he said, to doom to any manner of death he pleased, all who had the temerity to refuse or undervalue the brass money. Her debtor being present, declared in her vindication, that the allegation in the charge was false; that he had never tendered the money to her, that he had merely sent it to her house, and heard she was not at home; yet the deputy-provost abated nothing of his rigour. On that night she was shut up in a closet, without bed or candle. Her solicitor offered security for her until the next morning, but he was answered with a threat, that because of this intercession, he should be tied neck and heels, sent to Newgate, and hanged at his own door.

A messenger was sent to the unhappy woman, in the morning, to desire that she would prepare for death, by burning. Her unjust judge was, however, prevailed on to remit her sentence on her paying £4 fees, and 10s. to the solicitor who had falsely accused her.\*

\* *State of Protestants in Ireland under King James's Government*, page 153, 4th edition.

When brass and copper failed, tin and pewter were substituted. Old debts of £1000 were paid off with this nearly valueless metal. Attempts were made to purchase gold and silver at immoderate rates, with this coin,—but this was forbidden on pain of death. When protestants tried to pay away their heaps of this base coin, by purchasing the staple commodities of the kingdom, James issued a proclamation, which set a rate on these commodities; demanded them at this rate; returned his brass money on the proprietors; and, like a common trader, exported them to France.

While the popish party prevailed, if protestants attempted to purchase corn, or other provisions, with the brass money, these commodities were instantly seized for the king's use:—and the vendors were imprisoned for supplying his enemies.

Archbishop King says, “ We were at a loss what the meaning of taking away corn from protestant farmers, housekeepers, and bakers should be, when there was no scarcity in the kingdom. But Sir Robert Parker, and some others, inadvertently mentioned, in the coffee-house, that they designed to starve one-half of the protestants, and hang the other; and that it would never be well till this were done. We were sensible they were in earnest by the event:—for no protestant could get a loaf of bread in the whole city of Dublin. Twenty or thirty soldiers stood constantly about every bakehouse, and would not suffer a protestant to come nigh them.” \*

\* King. Simon on *Irish Coin*.



James adopted all such measures as the Romish clergy advised for the extension of popery. By a new charter, he converted a school, built by the Duke of Ormond, at Kilkenny, into a popish seminary. Their attempts on the University of Dublin were not relinquished. A mandamus was presented to the governors in favour of Green (formerly rejected by them), that he should now be made senior fellow of Trinity College, but they resolutely refused obedience; and this at a time when no rents could be received—when their pension from the exchequer was withheld—when they had no means of procuring daily sustenance but by the sale of some remaining plate—and when the forces of James stood ready armed, to execute vengeance against whoever had the temerity to oppose his will. They pleaded their own cause before Sir Richard Nagle—they represented Green's incapacity, and the false allegations of his petition, and added, “But there are much more important reasons, drawn as well from the statutes relating to religion, as from the obligation of the oaths we have taken, and the interest of our religion (which we will never desert), that render it wholly impossible for us, without violating our consciences, to have any concurrence, or to be in any way concerned in the admission of him.”

James had promised to defend and augment the privileges of Trinity College. But we have already seen how unfaithful he was to his promises. His short contest with the governors ended in the forcible ejection of fellows and scholars, by the king's soldiers. The property of particular members, the communion

plate, the library, and furniture of the community, were all seized; their chapel was converted into a magazine, their chambers into prisons. Through the intercession of the Bishop of Meath, their persons were left at liberty, but only on condition that three of them should not meet together on pain of death. It has been said that there was a design to convert this university into a college of Jesuits. A Roman catholic ecclesiastic, named Moore, was made provost. He was a learned, liberal-minded man, and with the assistance of Mac Carthy, also of his own order, preserved the library, with its valuable collection of books and manuscripts\* from the barbarous ravages of a licentious army.

The state of the protestant clergy was deplorable; most of them were deprived of the means of subsistence. During this period of persecution, there was a more than usual fervor of devotion among protestants; their places of worship were crowded. The popish government not approving of this, a proclamation was issued, which confined protestants to their respective parishes. In several parts of Ireland there was but one church in two or more parishes, consequently this must exclude many altogether from worship. The next step taken by the Romish clergy was the seizure of churches, both in the country and in the capital. The protestants remonstrated, and the king published a proclamation in order to restrain the clergy, but they, in their zeal, disdained obedience, totally renouncing his authority in ecclesiastical affairs, which involved the

\* Archives of Trinity College, Dublin, MS.

king and priests in a contest. It ended in favour of the latter; and the churches which should have been restored, were represented as strong places unfit to be in the hands of protestants; under this pretext, Christ Church, which had been seized, was still retained—they reported, that in it arms had been found concealed. James's ambition was to make Ireland what he called a catholic kingdom, and therefore, with unbecoming servility, he resigned himself to the clergy; and he now permitted an order to be issued forbidding the meeting of more than five protestants together, even in their churches, on pain of death.\*

Many of the estates forfeited by the Romanists, on account of the rebellion of 1641, were restored by Charles II. After two years deliberation, he passed the act already mentioned, in a parliament held at Dublin, commonly called the "Act of Settlement," whereby a general settlement was made of the kingdom, and commissioners were appointed to hear every man's claim. After this, upon some doubts which had arisen, another act was passed to produce a final settlement, which was called the "Act of Explanation." Each protestant laid his claim before the commissioners, and was forced to prosecute it at considerable expense. A yearly rent, called quit-rent, was reserved to the king out of every acre. These two acts of parliament at Dublin, with other acts at Westminster, together with a certificate from the court of claims, and letters patent from the king, pursuant to the certificates, compre-

\* Leland. Harris's *Life of King William*. Appendix.



hended the title which two-thirds of the protestants, in Ireland, had to their estates. Those Romanists who had forfeited their estates in 1641, were called old proprietors, and still kept up a claim to them, though their lands were forfeited, and themselves outlawed by acts of parliament. They were continually harassing the protestant proprietors with law-suits, and threatening them with an after-reckoning:—they being encouraged to this by letters from court, which obtained favour for them from some of the judges. To put a final stop to these proceedings, the protestants earnestly desired another parliament, which James, Duke of York, by his influence over his brother, Charles II., kept off for twenty-four years, to the great detriment of Ireland, on other accounts as well as this.

The marked favour which James had always evinced towards the Romanists, confirmed their hopes that the time was now drawing near when they should be reinstated: this had the ruinous effect of rendering them idle and useless members of the community.

When James, at the commencement of his reign, in 1685, sent Lord Clarendon lord-lieutenant to Ireland, he charged him to keep the Acts of Settlement and Explanation inviolable. Sir Charles Porter was sent over, at the same time, as chancellor; and received the king's command to assure all his subjects that he would preserve these acts as the magna charta of Ireland. On entering his office, Sir Charles Porter made a solemn declaration of his majesty's intention, on the bench. When Fitton was appointed to that office, he did the same, and termed it "the darling of the nation." The

credulous protestants believed these kind of declarations, which were often repeated. But the modelling of the army, and other preparations for repealing these acts, opened their eyes. These measures were openly proposed in a letter from Coventry, dated October 26, 1686, from Nagle, the new attorney-general.

When King James was Duke of York, he was present at all the debates relative to the settlement of Ireland, and was himself one of the council when the Acts of Settlement and Explanation passed at the council-board. He heard the subject debated, clause by clause, for nearly two years; and having himself a property in Ireland, consisting of one hundred and eight thousand acres of land, valued at £10,000 a-year, he had an interest in the settlement, and perfect information in its concerns;—yet, in his speech at the opening of his parliament in Dublin, he, of his own free will, first motioned the repeal of these acts, which he had given repeated promises and assurances ever to maintain.

The protestants earnestly solicited to be heard at the bar of the house of lords, in order to explain the evils which must ensue from the repeal of these acts:—but they were denied a hearing.

The lands forfeited by the rebellion of 1641, had, finally, been disposed of to men who had signalized themselves in the war; or to purchasers who had expended their wealth in the improvement of the country,—beautifying it with enclosed deer-parks, orchards, gardens, stately houses, and neat villages. It was a hard measure to drive out these industrious proprietors, and reduce them to penury. In hopes that the king might

be moved to relent, an address was drawn up by the chief-justice, Keating, and presented by Lord Granard to the king, whose observation on reading it was, "that he would not do evil that good might come of it;" but his application was incomprehensible.

In this address, they say, "we have sold our estates in England; transported ourselves and families into Ireland, have purchased, improved, and planted there, and have acquired our lands under as secure a tenure as acts of parliament can make them. We have held these possessions from ten to fifteen years; some of us are grown old upon them, and have made no other provision for our posterity."

"See the effects already produced from the report of what is intended by this bill.—From being the most improved and improving spot in Europe; from plenty of money, at seven or eight per cent., to encourage trade and industry (secured by these acts of parliament); from commodious, extensive buildings, newly erected in the cities (including the capital), extending them to double the size; the shipping in the ports proportionably enlarged, beyond what was ever known in this kingdom, to the vast increase of your majesty's revenue. From all this prosperity, Ireland is reduced to the most deplorable condition of any country in Europe. Numbers have flown from it with their families and all that was portable; their buildings, in the very heart of trade, lying waste and uninhabited. Their houses and shops in Dublin are shut up; the herds and flocks in the country are utterly destroyed; our pleasant dwellings are untenanted; the lands uncultivated; and desolation



now reigns in places, a little time ago animated by sounds of industry, and increasing prosperity.”

The policy of the new government was to employ men of the worst character to fill the places which had been in the hands of protestants. Many of their burgesses and sheriffs had been notorious thieves, and some had been branded in the hand. Soon after the Earl of Tyrconnel was appointed governor, one of the new justices of peace made a speech at the quarter sessions; and in setting forth the happiness of the kingdom, under the present wise government, he observed, “amongst other conveniences, it has rid us of tories; for all these are taken into the king’s army.” This was perfectly true—the Earl of Tyrconnel shewed them peculiar favour. Some who had received the sentence of death for burglary, robbery, and murder,—having escaped by breaking open the jail,—were now commissioned officers.\*

Any protestant judges or burgesses who were suffered to remain, being deprived of all power, were rendered mere ciphers.

Mr. Thomas Nugent, son of the Earl of Westmeath, afterwards made Baron of Rivers, had been deprived of his honours and estate for the part which he had taken in the massacre of 1641—he was now placed upon the king’s bench, to try men for their lives and property. Mr. Nugent’s strong Irish brogue, at the bar, attracted particular notice; he was also remarkable for his ignorance in the law. Yet James made choice

\* *State of Protestants in Ireland*, p. 31.

of him to judge whether the attainder of his father and fellow rebels should be reversed, and whether the settlement of Ireland, founded on such outlawry, should stand. What the king intended was palpably demonstrated, by his assigning to such a man the place of chief justice: as fast as the causes were brought before him, all such sentences were reversed.

The appointment of Mr. Stephen Rice (afterwards Sir Stephen) was no less remarkable. He had been a noted cheat and gambler at the inns of court: yet he was well versed in the law, and of quick parts. His chief recommendation seems to have been an inveterate hatred against the protestant interest and settlement in Ireland; he was often heard to say, before he was made a judge, "that he would drive a coach and six through the settlements." This man was chosen by King James for chief baron, finally to determine all suits that lay between protestants and papists, either in common law or equity. His court was immediately filled with popish plaintiffs. Every one who had a forged deed or a false witness were favourably heard; and the sentences he gave were those of a man who fears no retributive justice, nor after-reckoning. It was a considerable time before he would allow a writ of error into the exchequer-chamber, and when it was allowed, it was to little purpose before such judges. All the charters of the kingdom were condemned before him; and it was believed, that if left to himself, in a few years, by some contrivance, all the property of protestants would be vested in the hands of papists, without the procedure of law to attain them. Without any

hearing he gave sentence against the charters of corporations, which he dissolved. In short, nothing but a transcript of the records of the proceedings of this court could give an idea of its unjust oppressions.\*

James's chief counsellors were the popish clergy, and the descendants of those who had shed the blood of the protestants in 1641.

On his accession to the throne, the army of Ireland consisted of seven thousand loyal men, attached to the king's service; both officers and soldiers long inured to it. The Irish protestants were unanimous in their horror and detestation of Monmouth's and Argyle's rebellion. No man in Ireland favoured them, and all were willing to assist in suppressing his majesty's enemies. Many of the officers of this army, in their zeal to serve the king, had purchased their commissions at the expense of all their property, and some had even contracted debts for this purpose; yet no sooner was King James settled on the throne than he began to turn out some of these officers, merely because they were staunch protestants, and firmly attached to the English interest. Three earls' sons were made the first examples—Lord Shannon, Captain Robert Fitzgerald, and Captain Richard Coote, who, with their fathers and relatives, had been active in restoring Charles II. and the royal family to their just rights, in 1660. So was Sir Oliver St. George; he also was superseded at this time. These officers were unexceptionable in every particular, except that they were zealous in the cause

\* *State of Protestants in Ireland.*



of their religion. But it was commonly said, that “King James would regard no man for any service done to him, his father, or brother, but only for future service, that he expected from them.”

The Duke of Ormond was rewarded for his essential services, by divesting him of the government; and the new-modelling of the army was put into the hands of Colonel Talbot, a man, more than any other, detested by the protestants; and who was named by Oates, in his “Narrative,” for this employment; for which he (Oates) was called “a good prophet, though an ill evidence.”

The infantry, stripped of all, were turned adrift to walk barefoot, some one hundred and fifty miles to their friends. The cavalry were, in like manner, disbanded, but not until they were led from their quarters to some distant place where they were unknown. Some hundred protestant gentlemen, who had spent their all on their commissions and equipments, were thus driven to beggary; for though a remuneration was promised for their horses, &c., they either received none, or were kept waiting until they had expended more than was given them.

The proclamation for the seizure of horses specified such as were serviceable only; but the order given was to take all they could find, without distinction, and in what manner they were to be disposed of, was, in a great measure, left to the dragoons by whom they were seized; so that of ten thousand horses, at that time taken from the protestants, not so much as one hundred were reserved for the king’s service, nor had a single troop

been raised out of that vast number. Any officer or soldier finding a protestant in possession of a horse, seized it for himself.

In order to take from the protestants the power of defending themselves or their property, they were deprived of their arms, and were thus left in the hands of merciless enemies. Their arms were given to rapparees and ruffians, who had already robbed them of a great part of their substance. It was like tying a man's hands and turning him naked among wild beasts; this was palpably a means devised for their destruction.

When the Earl of Tyrconnel came deputy to Ireland he found the riches of the kingdom among the protestants; their trade, their industry, and the money they had brought with them, had procured flocks, herds, and houses well furnished with household stuff, plate, &c. The Romanists, idle, ignorant, and superstitious, were in poverty, while numerous begging clergy helped to keep them low. They were not in circumstances to raise an army for the king, nor to maintain one. From the protestants he could expect no such aid, therefore it was determined that the one should be impoverished to enrich the other. The means to accomplish this was to destroy their trade, and by every imaginable impediment, to put it out of the power of protestant tenants to pay their rents. Romish tenants were told they need not pay any, for in a little time the land would be their own. When rent was required of them, they were instructed to say, that they had spent what had been laid up for their landlord to fit themselves, or their sons, for the king's service. Protestants, at this time,

were without any redress or protection; there was no safety for them either in country or town; their houses were plundered and many of them burned to the ground. The following is one instance out of many:— Mr. Thomas Croker, lived at Doughmore, within a mile of Navan, in the county of Meath: perceiving that the protestants were in great terror, and everywhere removing from their dwellings, he consulted some Romish gentlemen in his neighbourhood, on the best means for his security, his large family rendering a removal inconvenient. They answered, “O, dear sir, do not stir; if the world were on fire you need not fear; you have been such an obliging neighbour to us, and to all sorts, that none will harm you, but rather protect you.” Soon after this, they robbed him of part of his stock; upon which he removed with his family to Dublin, leaving his farm-yard, house, and furniture. During his absence, his entire stock of cattle was taken, with his corn and hay, by soldiers from Navan, commanded by Captain Farrel. He had a faithful Irish servant, who warned him not to sleep in his own house—accordingly, he found a lodging elsewhere (it was on a Friday night); the next day he went to Dublin. On Sunday night, May 5th, 1688, they set fire to his house, believing that he was therein; the house and all within it were consumed to ashes. The Romish parish-priest was suspected to be the author of this outrage; he afterwards gave out that Mr. Croker had done the deed himself, to bring an odium on Roman catholics. Hardly a house in the vicinity of Dublin was spared. The small towns and inns in the same neighbourhood,



belonging to protestants, were impoverished, by being made free quarters for officers and soldiers. Sometimes a whole troop of horse was quartered on two or three inns for months together; and, at their departure, there was no remuneration allowed to the innkeeper for the entertainment extorted from him. Sometimes bills were passed which were merely nominal, for they were never paid. Individual soldiers were commonly billeted on three or four houses; from each house a certain rate per week was required for the same man. One private soldier boasted that he had fifteen quarters. The billet was from twelve to eighteen pence; the allowance to officers proportionably greater. If any one ventured to prosecute a soldier for robbery, their officers appeared for them in court, and openly threatened the jury if they found them guilty. On such an occasion, Colonel Luttrell told the jury, that “if his men were found guilty it would be worse for themselves; that the king’s soldiers must not be discouraged, and must be allowed, when in want, to take from those that had.”

The manner in which the protestant prisoners were treated in Drogheda, when the town was surrounded, is never to be forgotten. They were carried to the mount, where it was expected the cannon would play;—they were all tied together so as to receive the shot:—but it pleased God to save them, by the town being delivered up.

Many of the citizens of Dublin were imprisoned in churches, when all other places of confinement were filled. Many prisoners were put into the college and a house called White-Friars, barrels of gunpowder being

placed under them, to blow them up in case of any emergency.

The priests connived at the robberies committed by the new-raised bands against the protestants. They had instructed every man who came to mass to arm himself with a skein and a half-pike; and sometimes a penance or satisfaction for sins, was imposed, which was to rob their protestant neighbours.

This seems improbable, but, says the author of "The State of the Protestants of Ireland under King James's Government," "we have had credible informations of it;" and also, that they were led on by the priests themselves to commit these plunders, they standing by the while.

Some of the most extensive of these robberies were committed in Lent, a time of the greatest penances and abstinences, when to eat flesh-meat was forbidden, —therefore it was not to gratify their appetite that they were tempted to kill whole flocks, and leave them dead on their pasturage. They began this slaughter in November, 1688, and before March was over, there scarcely remained a cow or a sheep to any protestant in Ireland. The riches of the country were the cattle and fine pasturage. It was common for men of property to number in each of their flocks of sheep from six to twenty thousand. The quantity destroyed, in three or four months, were averaged, in value, to a million of money at least. The carcasses of these valuable animals were thrown into bog-pits, by fifties and sixties, after their skins had been taken off.

No complaints to government were of any avail against these depredators.

The lord-deputy resented the protestants defending themselves,—which they did successfully in some instances; hence they were deprived of their arms, which were given to some of the very men who had plundered them. The robbers were thus enabled to wreak their vengeance to the uttermost on those who, in defending their property, had beaten some, and killed others; whose relatives, now in arms, left them nothing they could call their own, and compelled them to fly for their lives. By a particular statute of Ireland it is lawful, and a thing to be rewarded, to kill a robber in the very act of robbing—yet the protestant gentlemen who had done this, were indicted, and bills found against them.

The chief justice, Nugent, at the Cork assizes, publicly designated such robbers, “necessary evils,” and said they could not have done their work without them. From the beginning he encouraged this piece of policy.

But when the protestants were completely routed and plundered, the depredators beginning to rob papists, the government put a stop to these excesses, by issuing a commission to hang the robbers—which was done at Wicklow, Naas, and other places. This was the case when but a few papists were plundered. Many thousand robberies of protestants had passed unnoticed, which made the design of government manifest. For a proof of this see Marquis de Albeville’s instructions to the commissioners, directed to the Lord Chief Justice Nugent, he being secretary of state.

Another species of persecution exercised against pro-



testants was by false accusations and perjuries, of which the following is an instance:—Mr. William Spike, a protestant, held a place in the castle of Dublin, which Dennis Connor, a Romanist, coveted, and in order to obtain it sent in a petition, which was not granted, Spike being found serviceable in his situation—he was retained through the interest of Lord Powis. Connor, still bent upon removing him, forged a letter in the name of a cousin, at Enniskillen. The letter, directed to Spike, expressed thanks for his intelligence of the plot formed to seize Dublin Castle on a day appointed. It also contained abusive allusions to the king himself. Connor watched his opportunity to drop this letter in that part of the castle to which Spike daily resorted, and lurked about in the hope of seeing him seized. The letter was picked up and read—but who can conceive Connor's disappointment when he found that he himself was the person seized; a sentinel having seen him drop the letter. He was examined before the chief justice, (the king, it is said, being present), and had nothing to say in his own vindication, but that as he believed Spike to be a rogue and a protestant, he would certainly betray the king. Yet though he confessed his forgery, and the hand writing was proved to be his, and the sentinel swore that he saw him drop it, the jury brought him in not guilty,—under pretence of want of sufficient proof that it was the identical letter dropped by him.

About the same time a friar was brought to town, who feigned that he was deaf, dumb, and maimed. The Romish clergy had reported that Duke Schomberg had

cut out his tongue and maimed him; and added, that had it been in his power, he would have inflicted the same injuries on all the Roman catholic clergy; and, therefore, they ought to retaliate this treatment on the protestant clergy. King James caused the friar to be examined, by which means the fraud was detected. This, in addition to Spike's forgery, excited the anger of the king, who declared that he saw how they had mis-represented the protestants, and he believed there were as great rogues among the Romanists, as among them. The friars, wishing to acquit themselves of taking any part in this imposition, laid hold on their guilty brother, accused him of being a spy, and not belonging to their fraternity; hence, after a severe lashing, he was carried naked, in a savage manner, through the town to a place of execution, as was supposed, but he was brought back and put into prison, from whence, after some time, he was released, and his habit was restored to him.

It would swell these pages much beyond the bounds intended to detail the numerous instances and contrivances by which the protestants were persecuted, during the short despotic reign of popery. They may be seen at length in the work already quoted.\*

\* *State of Protestants in Ireland.*

## C H A P T E R   X X.

---

Arrival of Duke Schomberg from England, with a great army—  
Reduction of Carlingford and Charlemont—Progress to Dundalk  
—Distresses of the English Army—Cowardly conduct of James  
—Arrival of King William—Battle of the Boyne—James returns  
to France—William returns thanks for his success, on entering  
Dublin—Siege of Limerick—William raises the siege and retires  
unmolested—Committing the conduct of the army to Solmes  
and Ginckle, and the civil government to lord-justices, he em-  
barks for England—War in Ireland carried on—Cork and Kinsale  
taken—Creaghts and Rapparees—Forts taken by De Ginckle—  
Athlone taken—Battle of Aughrim—Siege of Limerick—Treaty  
of Peace.

KING WILLIAM being fully informed of the persecu-  
tion carried on against his protestant subjects in Ireland,  
made preparations to relieve them. Eighteen regiments  
of foot were raised, and five of dragoons, which were  
placed under the command of an experienced general,  
Duke Schomberg. Meeting with no opposition, he  
landed near Bangor, in the county of Down, on the 13th  
of August. His first enterprise was the siege of Carrick-  
fergus, which he reduced, and the garrison were permitted  
to carry off their arms and baggage, of which they were  
afterwards plundered by a party of Ulster Scots.



The duke led his army through a desolated country. Lisburn, Hillsborough, Dromore, Loughbrickland, had been deserted by the protestants. The popish inhabitants now fled, taking with them their cattle and effects.

The Enniskilleners, with Kirk's forces, had joined the duke, at Carrickfergus; and in all the pride of victory (which they had gained over Sarsfield at Sligo), formed the advance-guard. The appearance and equipage of these men were contemptible in the eyes of the English,—yet they had an undaunted spirit, and a fearlessness of the enemy, which rendered their services valuable;—had their advice been followed, in all probability the burning of Newry would have been prevented. The Irish, in retreating, set that town and Carlingford on fire. Schomberg, by sound of trumpet, proclaiming that no quarter should be given where such barbarities were committed, saved Dundalk, which was abandoned without sustaining any injury. The English army advanced and encamped at the distance of a mile, north of the town, in marshy low grounds, having Newry mountain to the east, the river to the south, hills and bogs to the north. James was stationed, with a great army, at Drogheda, but with so little hope of being able to oppose Schomberg, that, but for the interposition of Tyrconnel, he would have retired, not only from thence, but from Dublin also.

The forces of Schomberg had suffered materially in their march—from hunger, cold, rain, and tempest,—through a mountainous, boggy country. Many halted on the way, sick and languishing. In such circum-

stances, the general deemed it more prudent not to advance towards the enemy. Marshal Rosen, on hearing that "he halted," said, "he must be in want of something," and drew his forces on towards Dundalk. Meanwhile, Schomberg fortified his camp in order that the enemy might not force him to an action. A party was detached to seize the pass at Newry, but on the first appearance of resistance, they retreated to Sligo. Another party ventured near the camp, but seeing some cavalry, they returned more briskly than they advanced. At length the whole army, with James at their head, and the royal standard displayed, were drawn out. Schomberg's officers signified their impatience for an engagement, while he calmly observed them, and said, "let them alone, we shall see what they will do." Still they advanced; while Schomberg composedly watched them, with the conviction, that to fight was far from their intention. But as they drew up, in battle array, threatening to storm the camp, the duke despatched orders to his cavalry to return from foraging, and to the infantry to stand to their arms. These orders were cheerfully obeyed; even those who were enfeebled with disease, seized their muskets, in full confidence of victory. At the very moment when a battle seemed inevitable, James drew off his forces to Ardee. Rosen, in dismay, exclaimed, "had your majesty ten kingdoms you would lose them." \*

Duke Schomberg had made an important acquisition in the taking of Charlemont. This fort was so strong

\* *Impartial History, &c. Histoire d'Irlande.* Mac Gheohan.

and well-prepared for a siege, that the Irish governor, O'Regan, when summoned to deliver it, vouchsafed no reply, stoutly declaring,—“the old knave, Schomberg, shall not have my castle.”

The duke took possession of a hill at the distance of half-a-mile from the fort, which could not possibly hold out long from the want of provisions. To starve them out was the easiest way of obtaining it; and when the garrison were reduced to the last extremity, having killed and eaten their horses, Sir Teague O'Regan, in order to make the best terms he could, made a show of provisions to the duke's commissioners, by strewing meal on the top of several barrels of gunpowder; and, to give the garrison a more formidable appearance, a number of women, dressed in men's clothing, were dispersed among them. These expedients so far succeeded, that the governor and garrison were allowed to march out with all the honours of war. The stern old chieftain's dress is described thus:—he wore a scarlet coat and grizzled wig, a white hat and feathers, with a cloak, and boots of huge dimensions; his age was threescore years and ten; his bending figure was deformed by a hump between his shoulders:—such was his uncouth appearance. And, though with undisguised reluctance, there was a native courtesy in his manner of delivering up his beloved fortress to Duke Schomberg:—who dispensed a loaf of bread to each man, woman, and child, as they issued out after their leader.\*

\* “In Charlemont there is a fort on which twenty-two six-pounders are mounted. The castle, in the centre, was once the ancient seat of the Caulfields. This, with all the town, has been



The retreat of James gave no relief to the duke's army,—their distresses increased daily. A contagious fever raged among them with unabated violence. They were quite unaccustomed to the kind of hardships to which they were exposed,—confined to a low damp situation; continually drenched with rain; no means of relief for their malady; numbers, officers as well as soldiers, dying daily. They murmured against their general:—said that he was indifferent to their calamity; that he was old,—in his dotage; that he confined them to a pestilential spot, instead of leading them against an enemy which they were certain of defeating.

Schomberg gave orders that huts should be built to shelter them; but they, despairingly, slighted his orders, and said that they were doomed to destruction. They paid superstitious regard to prognostications of calamity which were recounted to them:—that tremendous meteors were seen hovering over their camp; that shrieks and groans were heard in the air; and other direful presages of woe. At length they became so much inured to misery, that they were insensible to its effects; their companions died unnoticed; the survivors sat upon the dead bodies, or made use of them as a shelter, and when carried out for interment, they complained that they were deprived even of that slight accommodation.

purchased by Government, who in the time of the rebellion, pulled down the principal part of it, to take away all facility of approach to the fort, so that very little of Charlemont remains. The castle is now the barracks, and scarcely appears as if it ever could have been the seat of a nobleman."—*Adam Clarke's Journal*.

The enemy, encamped on higher and firmer ground, mocked at their sufferings, imputing them to a judgment from heaven; and they boasted, that while they enjoyed a clear atmosphere, the heretical army was shut into a valley, surrounded with mountains, and unsheltered from torrents of rain;—yet they were soon afterwards visited with equally grievous calamities, and the decrease of their numbers was as great in proportion.\*

Such was the posture of affairs, when King William gave notice to both houses of parliament that it was his determination to conduct the war in Ireland in person. The spirit in which he undertook this expedition, is thus related by Bishop Burnet† :—

“The king was making all possible haste to open the campaign, as soon as things could be ready for it, in Ireland. The day before he set out, he called me into his closet; he seemed to have a great weight upon his spirits, from the state of his affairs, which was then very cloudy. He said, for his own part, he trusted in God, and would either go through with his business, or perish in it; he only pitied the poor queen, repeating that twice with great tenderness; and wished that those who loved him would wait much on her, and assist her.

\* *Impartial History, &c.*

† I do not flinch from giving Bishop Burnet's authority because of the aspersions of modern semi-papist, sceptical writers: and am glad to quote the sentiments of the late Rev. Robert Anderson, of Brighton. In one of his letters to his brother, he says, “I have always regarded Burnet's *Life and Times* as one of the most instructive and entertaining pieces of history in this or any other language.”—*Letters of the late Rev. R. Anderson*, p. 270.

He lamented much the factions and the heats that were among us, and that the bishops and clergy, instead of allaying them, did rather foment and inflame them; but he was pleased to make an exception of myself. He said, the going to a campaign was naturally no unpleasant thing to him; he was sure he understood that better than how to govern England. He added, that though he had no doubt nor mistrust of the cause he went on, yet the going against King James, in person, was hard upon him, since it would be a vast trouble, both to himself and to the queen, if he should be either killed or taken prisoner: he desired my prayers, and dismissed me, very deeply affected with all he had said. I had a particular occasion to know how tender he was of King James's person, having learned an instance of it from the first hand. A proposition was made to the king, that a third-rate ship, well manned by a faithful crew, and commanded by one who had been well with King James, but was such a one as the king might trust, should sail to Dublin, and declare for King James. The person who told me this, offered to be the man that should carry the message to King James (for he was well known to him), to invite him to come on board, which he seemed to be sure he would accept of; and, when he was aboard, they should sail away with him, and land him either in Spain or Italy, as the king should desire, and should have £20,000 to give him when he should be set ashore. The king thought it was a well-formed design, and likely enough to succeed, but would not hearken to it; he said he would have no hand in treachery; and King James would certainly



carry some of his guards and of his court aboard with him, and probably they would make some opposition, and in the struggle, some accident might happen to King James's person, in which he could have no hand. I acquainted the queen with this, and I saw in her a great tenderness for her father's person, and she was much touched with the answer the king had made. He had a quick passage to Ireland, where matters had been kept in the state they were in all this winter; Charlemont was reduced, which was the only place in Ulster that was then left in King James's hands. The king had a great army: there were about thirty-six thousand men, all in good plight, full of heart and zeal. He lost no time, but advanced, in six days, from Belfast to the river Boyne, near Drogheda, where he landed. King James had abandoned the passes between Newry and Dundalk, which are so strait for some miles, that it had been easy to have disputed every inch of ground. King James and his court were so much lifted up with the news of the debates in parliament, and of the distractions of the city of London, that they flattered themselves with false hopes, that the king durst not leave England, nor venture over to Ireland; he had been six days come before King James knew anything of it. Upon that he immediately passed the Boyne, and lay on the south side of it. His army consisted of twenty-six thousand men; his horse were good, and he had five thousand French foot, for whom he had sent over, in exchange, five thousand Irish foot. He held some councils of war, to consider what was fit to be done; whether he should make a stand there, and put all to

the decision of a battle, or if he should march off, and abandon that river, and, by consequence, all the country on to Dublin. All his officers, both French and Irish, who disagreed almost in all their advices, yet agreed in this; that though they had there a very advantageous post to maintain, yet their army being so much inferior, both in number, and in everything else, they would put too much to hazard if they should venture on a battle: they, therefore proposed the strengthening their garrisons, and marching off to the Shannon with the horse and a small body of foot, till they should see how matters went at sea; for the French king had sent them assurances that he would not only set out a great fleet, but that, as soon as the squadron that lay in the Irish seas to guard the transport fleet and to secure the king's passage over should sail into the channel, to join one grand fleet, he would then send into the Irish seas a fleet of small frigates and privateers to destroy the king's transports. This would have been fatal, if it had taken effect; and the executing of it seemed easy and certain. It would have shut up the king within Ireland till a new transport fleet could have been brought thither, which would have been the work of some months; so that England might have been lost before he could have passed the seas with his army, and the destruction of his transports must have ruined his army; for his stores, both of bread and ammunition, were still on board, and they sailed along the coast as he advanced on his march; nor was there, in all that coast, a safe port to cover and secure them. The king, indeed, reckoned, that by the time the squadron, which lay in the Irish seas, should

be able to join the rest of the fleet, they would have advanced as far as the chops of the channel, where they would guard both England and Ireland; but things went far otherwise. The queen was now in the administration; it was a new scene to her: she had, for above sixteen months, made so little figure in business, that those who imagined that every woman of sense loved to be meddling, concluded that she had a small portion of it, because she lived so abstracted from all affairs. Her behaviour was, indeed, very exemplary; she was exactly regular, both in her private and public devotions; she was much in her closet, and read a great deal; she was often busy at work, and seemed to employ her time and thoughts in anything rather than matters of state; her conversation was lively and obliging; every thing in her was easy and natural; she was singular in great charities to the poor, of whom, there are always great numbers about courts; so the crowds of persons of quality that had fled over from Ireland, drew from her liberal supplies; all this was nothing to the public. If the king talked with her of affairs, it was in so private a way, that few seemed to believe it. The Earl of Shrewsbury told me, that the king had, upon many occasions, said to him, that though he could not hit on the right way of pleasing England, he was confident she would, and that we should all be very happy under her. The king named a cabinet council of eight persons, on whose advice she was chiefly to rely—four of them were tories and four were whigs; yet the Marquis of Carmarthen and the Earl of Nottingham, being of the first sort, who took most upon them, and seemed to



have the greatest credit; the whigs were not satisfied with the nomination. The queen balanced all things with an extraordinary temper, and became universally beloved and admired by all about her."

Duke Schomberg had retired to winter quarters, with about half the forces he had brought to Ireland. Wholesome food and comfortable lodging had restored them to health and vigour. They had some successful conflicts with the Irish, which raised their spirits: and they were still more cheered by the arrival of a supply of provisions from England. Seven thousand well-appointed troops of Denmark landed at Belfast under the command of Prince Wirtemberg.

At the same time a reinforcement of five thousand men, under the conduct of Count Lauzen, arrived from France, to assist James.

1690, April 18. The only frigate he now retained of that royal fleet which once obeyed him, lay in the bay of Dublin, ready to convoy some small vessels to France, laden with commodities for which he had obtruded his base coin on the proprietors.

Firing was heard from sea. The strand was quickly crowded, and James himself rode towards the shore at the head of his guards, expecting to give a welcome to a troop of his English subjects returning to their allegiance—but instead of this, he saw his frigate taken, with the whole convoy, by Sir Cloudesly Shovel, who had sailed from Belfast with a few ships.

King William was received, with transports of joy, at Carrickfergus, on the 14th of June. He was attended by Prince George of Denmark, the young Duke of

Ormond, the Earls of Oxford, Scarborough, and Manchester, with other distinguished personages. They were met by Duke Schomberg, Prince Wirtemberg, Kirk, and other officers, commanding the English, Dutch, and Brandenburg forces. William commenced the exercise of his civil authority in a way which endeared him to the inhabitants of Ulster. The dissenting ministers, who were numerous in this province, had been zealous against the innovations of popery, and one of them had been active in causing the gates of Derry to be closed. Several of these clergymen had patiently endured the miseries of the siege, and throughout Ulster they had shared deeply in the sufferings produced by the war. William, on these considerations, granted them an annual pension of £1200, to be paid by the collector of customs in the port of Belfast; this pension was afterwards inserted in the civil list, and made payable from the exchequer.

In ordering his forces to take the field, William said, "I came not to Ireland to let grass grow under my feet." His whole army, from different quarters, assembled at Loughbrickland. On a dusty, tempestuous day, the king reviewed the regiments; riding eagerly from place to place, he examined every troop distinctively: this was very encouraging to the soldiers, each of whom considered himself under the inspection of his royal leader. He spent the whole day on horseback, at the head of an advanced party, reconnoitring the country, and directing all things necessary for the accommodation of his soldiers. His army consisted of thirty-six thousand men: thus animated and excellently

appointed, marched forward to decide the fate of Ireland—the fleet slowly coasting in view, to provide them with all things necessary, kept up their courage.

In his march, William fared like his soldiers, riding all the day with an advanced party; at night, taking his quarters, with less attention to his own accommodation than to theirs. When asked to sign an order for wine for his own use, he expressed a desire that his men should have it;—“let them not want, I shall drink water.”

James's army lay near Drogheda, on the banks of the Boyne, in number about thirty-three thousand. He insisted on maintaining his present position, expressed satisfaction that at last an opportunity offered of one fair battle for the crown, and he spoke with such animation, that his officers concluded that his intention was to take a signal part in the engagement; however, he took the precaution to dispatch Sir Patrick Trant, one of his commissioners of revenue, to Waterford, to prepare a ship to convey him to France, in case of any emergency.

At the dawn of day, on the 30th of June, King William's army moved on, in three divisions, towards the Boyne. He marched at the head of his advanced guard, and by nine o'clock was within two miles of Drogheda; he rode with his principal officers to the top of a hill, westward of the town, from whence he had a view of his adversaries. Drogheda, on the right, was filled with Irish soldiers, their camp extended in two lines eastward, on the farther banks of the river, having a difficult pass on the left over a morass. The



fords of the river in front were deep and dangerous. The rugged banks of the Boyne, defended by breastworks of huts and hedges, were convenient to be lined with infantry. The view of the enemy's encampment was intercepted by hills to the south-west; but forty-six regiments were numbered. William observed that many might lie concealed behind the hills, and many more in the town. "But," said he, "it is my purpose to be speedily acquainted with their whole strength."

While his army were marching into camp, William, in order to gain a fuller view of the enemy, advanced with some officers, within musket-shot of a ford opposite to Old-Bridge. Alighting from his horse, he sat upon a rising ground.

James's generals, Berwick, Tyrconnel, Sarsfield and others, were likewise occupied in viewing their opponents. Riding slowly on the opposite banks, they discovered the situation of William; and immediately afterwards, forty horse were seen in a field opposite to the place where he sat. Two field pieces were planted under cover of a hedge. William mounted his horse—there was an instant discharge, which killed a man and two horses, on a line with the king.—Another discharge followed, which tore his majesty's coat, and inflicted a slight wound on his right shoulder. His attendants crowding round him, in apparent confusion, was a signal of joy to the Irish, a universal cry, "the Prince of Orange is killed!" rung through their camp. The news spread to Dublin and to Paris. Louis, in an ecstasy, caused the guns of the Bastile to fire.

James had the most advantageous post, on an emi-

nence, where stood the church and village of Dunore. The pass of Duleek, through which he was to retire in case of defeat, was three miles farther to the south. William disposed his army so as to cross the Boyne in three several places. At night he held a council of war, and declared his resolution to pass the river in front of the enemy. Duke Schomberg, with his usual caution, expatiated on the danger of this enterprise; but finding that all he could say was of no avail, he insisted on the necessity of sending a detachment to secure the bridge of Slane, about three miles west of the camp, in order to cut off the retreat of the enemy through the pass of Duleek. His counsel being coldly received, he retired in disgust to his tent, where he received the order of battle, and declared "it was the first ever sent to him." In a similar manner, James, in his council of war, gave offence to Hamilton, upon his recommending that eight regiments should immediately be sent to secure the bridge; James proposed to employ fifty dragoons for this service,—the astonished general bowed and said no more.

At midnight William once more rode through his camp, by torch-light, inspecting each post and issuing his final orders. His right wing was commanded by Count Schomberg, the son of the Duke, and General Douglas—they were to pass at some fords discovered near the bridge of Slane. Duke Schomberg, commanding the central division, was to pass in front of the Irish camp, and the king himself, with the left wing, at a ford between the army and the town of Drogheda.\*

\* *Impartial History, &c.*

Early on the following morning, Count Schomberg with the cavalry, and Douglas with the infantry, which formed the right wing, proceeded towards Slane, with so much more speed than their opponents, that they crossed the river without much resistance. They forced their way, intrepidly, past the enemy, drawn up in two lines, through fields surrounded by deep ditches, and a morass, into which the infantry were ordered to plunge, while the cavalry sought for, and happily found, a firm passage to the right. The Irish, perceiving that no impediment could stop their antagonists, fled before them towards Duleek, and being pursued, many were slain.

The central division was now to pass. The Dutch guards entered the river opposite to Old-Bridge. The French protestants, Brandenburgs, and English, unhesitatingly plunged in,—the infantry holding their arms above their heads.

The Dutch had reached the middle of the river, when they sustained a violent discharge from the houses, hedges, and breastworks, on the banks of the Boyne, without injury, but having gained the opposite banks, formed gradually, and drove the Irish from their posts. Advancing still, they were suddenly assailed by squadrons and battalions of the enemy, which poured out of their concealments from behind eminences. They were, however, repulsed, with considerable execution, by the Dutch, French, and Enniskilleners, who arrived opportunely in aid of the Dutch.

The Irish infantry were led on to the margin of the river by General Hamilton, to oppose the French and



English in their passage; but their courage failed, and they drew back. The cavalry, more successful, drove a squadron of Danes back through the river, the Irish horse pursuing; but turning again, they fell furiously on the French, who were instantly broken, and their gallant commander, Caillemote, was mortally wounded. When borne back to the English camp, as he lay bleeding and dying in the arms of four soldiers, he made a vigorous effort to animate his countrymen who were passing the river, and exclaimed, "A la gloire, mes enfans! A la gloire!" Some confusion ensued, which Duke Schomberg observing, rushed through the river, and placing himself at the head of the Huguenot forces, pointing to some French regiments in their front, he cried out "Allons, messieurs, voila vos persecuteurs!"\* These were the last words spoken by this brave veteran. He received a wound in his head from a party of the Irish horse, who were hurrying him forward, when his own men fired and put an end to his life at the age of eighty-two. Walker, of Londonderry, was also slain on this occasion. An uninterrupted firing was kept up for an hour, when there was a little breathing time, which both armies required.

During this engagement James stood stationary at Dunore surrounded by his guards. The Irish, who retreated, joined him; and drawing up in good order, he once more advanced, until within musket-shot of the English infantry. William, with his sword drawn, encouraging and animating his squadrons, fell on their flank.

\* *Impartial History, &c.*

The Irish, turning quickly, made good their retreat to Dunore ; but here they faced about, and made so vigorous a charge, that the English cavalry, though led on by their king, was forced from their ground. The battle was maintained with equal ardour on both sides, and with variable success. William was seen in the hottest part of the action, constantly exposed to danger. One of his own troopers, mistaking him for an adversary, held a pistol to his head : putting it aside, he said, “What ! do you not know your friends ?” The king’s presence gave double animation to his soldiers.

Hamilton, at the head of his horse, made a desperate effort to turn the fortune of the day, but he was routed, and brought a prisoner to William, who inquired of him whether he thought the Irish would fight any more ? Hamilton answered, “Upon my honour I believe they will ; for they have yet a good body of horse.” The king, with a contemptuous look, recollecting his dishonourable treaty with Tyrconnel, repeated ironically, “Honour ! *your* honour !”

James, being still at Dunore, was advised to retreat with speed, as he was in danger of being surrounded. Their retreat was made in such order as to be commended by their enemies. Their loss was computed at fifteen hundred. William lost scarcely one-third of that number.

When James arrived in Dublin, after having assembled the popish magistrates and city council, he told them that he had been deserted by his army in England ; that his army in Ireland had fled in the hour of danger : and, consequently, that nothing now remained but that

he and they should shift for themselves. He added, that though he was obliged to yield to force, he would never cease to labour for their deliverance : too much blood had been already shed ; providence seemed to declare against him ; and therefore he advised that the prisoners should be set at liberty, and submission made to the Prince of Orange, who was merciful. His reflection on the courage of the Irish troops was not approved of by the officers : they retortingly observed, that while William shared the danger with his men, and encouraged them by his presence and example, James remained a quiet spectator, at a secure distance from the contest for his crown and dignity:—"Exchange kings," they exclaimed, "and we will fight the battle over again !"

James made a precipitate flight to Waterford, breaking down the bridges to prevent a pursuit, where he embarked for France.

Plowden, in a note, gives the following statement from a printed paper at that time circulated in London :—  
"Wednesday, the 2nd of July. At five this morning, King James having sent for the Irish lord mayor and some principal persons to the castle, told them, that he found all things against him ; that in England he had an army which would have fought, but they proved false, and deserted him ; that here he had an army which was loyal enough, but would not stand by him: he was now necessitated to provide for his safety, and that they should make the best terms for themselves that they could. He told his menial servants that he would have no further occasion to keep such a court as he had



done, and that, therefore, they were at liberty to dispose of themselves. He desired them all to be kind to the protestants, and not to injure them or their city; for though he quitted it, he did not quit his interest in it : and so, with two or three in company, he went to Bray, and along by the sea to Waterford ; having appointed his carriages to meet him another way. We hear he did not sleep till he got on ship-board ; and, having been once driven in again, is clear gone off.”\*

1690. Lowered as James must have been in the estimation of the Irish Roman catholics, the interests of their religion, and their hopes of recovering the lands of their forefathers, required their exertions in his favour, and their resistance to the new government.

The army affected to rejoice in the flight of a leader who had no spirit for enterprise. Dublin was threatened with all the evils of anarchy; the authority of James's civil officers was at an end; the prison doors which confined so many protestants were opened, and they came forth filled with revengeful feelings against their persecutors. When on the point of breaking out into acts of violence, they were restrained by a fellow-sufferer, a military officer of the Kildare family. He also had been a close prisoner, and appeared suddenly among the emancipated assembly. The character and family of Fitzgerald, commanded respect; the clergy and gentry united with him, and having gained the keys of the castle, he took upon himself the government of the city. The main guard, composed of thirty Romish

\* *London Gazette. Impartial History, &c.*

militia, at once resigned their arms to the protestant party, who sent an express to King William requesting that assistance which was absolutely necessary: incendiaries had set the suburbs on fire; the house of Sarsfield had been broken open, and other outrages committed. But these commotions were quieted by the opportune arrival of the Duke of Ormond and some of William's troops, which preceded the king himself, who, on his first entrance into the metropolis, hastened to St. Patrick's Cathedral, where he returned thanks to Almighty God for his victory. His camp being at Finglas, a village within two miles of Dublin, he returned thither immediately after the service, and was waited upon by the protestant clergymen, who came to congratulate him on his success, with thankfulness, and praise to God for the deliverance of his church. Before they took leave, a day was appointed for a public and solemn thanksgiving, for which an appropriate form was composed.

William's public declaration of his purpose to free Ireland from Popish tyranny, and the measures he was about to take, in consequence, stirred up that strong party to make a vigorous effort in favour of James. Hence the Jacobites, rallying round their leaders, marched to Limerick and Athlone. William despatched ten regiments of foot and five of cavalry, under the command of General Douglas, to oppose them. Hoping to gain a secure haven for his transports, the king proceeded to Waterford, which town surrendered, after some stipulation, which was partly granted.\*

\* Harris's *Life of King William*. Storey's *Impartial History*, &c. Leland.

Wexford had already declared for King William, and received his garrison. Clonmel had been abandoned by the Irish. The governor of Duncannon Fort when summoned to deliver it, demanded time to consult Tyrconnel; being refused, he prepared for resistance, but on perceiving the army approach, and Sir Cloudesley Shovel, with sixteen frigates, entering the harbour, he was glad to capitulate on the same terms that Waterford had.

Douglas's army, on their way to Athlone, committed excesses which would be inexcusable even in an enemy's country. The soldiers, regardless of the royal proclamation, and their general's orders, plundered and committed murder among a defenceless people, whose execrations followed them. When they drew up at Athlone, Grace, the governor, being summoned, returned an angry defiance. Firing a pistol at the herald, "These are my terms," he said. His garrison consisted of three regiments of foot, nine troops of dragoons, and two of horse, with a large *corps de reserve*, encamped at some distance. The expedition proved inglorious to Douglas, who decamped, at midnight, in terror of the enemy, prosecuting a painful march, by circuitous routes, to join the royal army.

William, determined on the reduction of Limerick, advanced towards that city, which Boileau, with three thousand Frenchmen, undertook to defend. The Irish forces, encamped on the Connaught side, were prepared to supply them with recruits and provisions. The passes of the Shannon were already secured. The division of Limerick, called Englishtown, was nearly



surrounded by the river, and connected by a bridge, with the remaining part, called Irishtown. The city was fortified by strong walls, bastions, and ramparts, with a castle and citadel. King William marched through a country intersected with ditches and hedges, lined with Irish infantry, who were easily dispersed by the king's pioneers levelling their enclosures. No resistance was attempted, until the army came to a pass between two bogs, where Ireton had erected a fort. From hence there were three lanes leading to the town; the broadest of these was filled with Irish cavalry—the musketeers being drawn up on either side, under the hedges.

The English army advanced in order, and by planting two field-pieces, so as to bear upon the enemy's horse, they were forced from their ground. The infantry made some resistance, but they too were driven from their position. Ireton's fort was taken, and another important post, both of which were mounted with field-pieces, directed against the town and outworks.

Spirited on by success, King William encamped within cannon-shot of the walls, and before the arrival of his artillery, which was on its way, he imprudently summoned the governor, Boileau, to surrender. The answer returned was, that Limerick had been given into his charge by King James, and he hoped to merit the good opinion of the Prince of Orange, by being faithful to his majesty, King James.

Baron de Ginckle, the Dutch general, had gained a ford three miles from the town, and posted a strong detachment on either side of the river to secure it.

Unfortunately, a French deserter informed the garri-

son both of the situation of the king's tent, and of the train of artillery, then on its way from Dublin. To these particulars, others were added, which were valuable to the defenders of the city. The whole force of their guns was immediately directed towards the quarter occupied by the king, whose tent was promptly removed.

Sarsfield, with a party of chosen cavalry, crossed the Shannon, at Killaloe, and by unseen paths, well known to his men, lurked among the mountains, waiting the approach of William's artillery. The officer who had commanded the convoy, unapprehensive of danger, had encamped on a plain within seven miles of the rear of the English camp. The main body had retired to rest—their horses at grass, their baggage and cannon carelessly disposed, when the enemy rushed suddenly upon them; both sentinels and waggons were cut to pieces. In vain the convoy, starting from their sleep, attempted to mount their horses, the whole party were slaughtered or dispersed. Sarsfield having collected the cannon, carriages, waggons and ammunition, he filled the cannon with powder, then fixing their mouths in the ground, and laying a train to the heap, he fired it, and retired. The fearful explosion proclaimed the fatal catastrophe to a party which the king had despatched on hearing of Sarsfield's expedition. He had ordered Sir John Lanier, with five hundred horse, to meet the train. The news of this fatal disaster caused great consternation in the English camp, while William calmly considered by what means the evil could be remedied.

After a week's delay, on the 18th of August, he assaulted the town, which was bravely defended. On the 27th, a breach, twelve yards long, was made, and a tremendous firing dislodged the enemy—but the soldiers who had in their ardour hurried within the walls, being unsupported and without ammunition, many of them were killed or wounded. The Irish defended the breach with irresistible courage, even women mingled among the men, casting stones at the besiegers. For three hours a perpetual fire was kept up. A Brandenburgh regiment was blown up, by the powder having taken fire in a battery which they had seized.

Five hundred of King William's men being slain, and one thousand wounded, he ordered a retreat. On the following morning a drummer was sent into the town to demand a truce until the dead were interred; this the governor haughtily refused. The English army were impatient to renew the assault; but the king, being determined to raise the siege, gave orders to disarm the batteries, and they were suffered to retire by slow marches, without molestation. Both here, and from Athlone, the army was attended by a number of protestants, carrying away as much as they could of their effects from their deserted dwellings, which they dared no longer inhabit among a conquering enemy.

King William, leaving his forces at Clonmel under the command of Solmes and Ginckle, proceeded to Waterford, and embarked at Duncannon Fort, with Prince George, the Duke of Ormond and others. He committed the civil government of Ireland to two lord-justices, Lord Sidney and Thomas Coningsby,



with a blank in their commission to be filled by a third name.\*

September 21st. The Earl of Marlborough arrived in Cork-road, and landed without much opposition. Ginckle and Wirtemberg joined him, and brought a considerable addition to his forces.

A dispute arose between Marlborough and Wirtemberg, who should be first in command, it was settled by each in turn taking the command. On the first day the Earl of Marlborough gave "Wirtemberg," for the word—the prince in return, on the following day, gave "Marlborough."

Subsequently, when a breach was made in the wall, Marlborough, who had the command, would have made the garrison prisoners of war. The prince insisting on more favourable terms; they could not agree until the tide returned, and the water was at the highest. The Duke of Grafton, the most esteemed of the sons of Charles II., with other volunteers, bravely waded the river, exposed to the enemy's fire, and posted themselves under the bank of a marsh which served as a counterscarp to the city wall, from whence the Duke of Grafton was borne away mortally wounded. At length the garrison, with their officers, consented to become prisoners of war. The protestant prisoners were now set at liberty; and the protestant magistrates, resuming their offices, proclaimed William and Mary, king and queen. All Romanists were ordered, on pain of death, to surrender their arms, which was a necessary precau-

\* Harris's *Life of King William*. Appendix. *Impartial Hist.*

tion, there being five thousand prisoners of that persuasion in the town.

Cork being now taken, Kinsale was summoned to surrender. The governor answered by a threat, that the messenger should be put to death; but being aware that the town was not tenable, he set it on fire, and placed his reliance on Charlesfort, which was so well prepared for a siege, that when the governor was summoned, he replied, that "in a month hence it would be time enough to talk of it." However, in ten days he capitulated.

Soon after the king's retreat from Limerick, Boileau, with his French troops, joined his countrymen at Galway, where they waited for transports to convey them home. The Irish did not regret their departure; they called them proud fellows, strutting about in "leathern trunks,"—for such they denominated the Frenchmen's great boots; and expressed their astonishment how they could ever be preferred to the brave Irishmen.

On the reduction of Cork and Kinsale, General Ginckle withdrew his troops to winter quarters, which afforded an opportunity to the Irish army to ravage the country, plundering and burning houses and villages. In addition to the distresses caused by a rapacious soldiery, bands of robbers and murderers prowled about, who were under no restraint of law, in peace or war.\*

From the earliest times, Ulster was infested with a savage horde called Creaghts;—issuing from their re-

\* Walker's *Diary. Impartial History, &c.*

treats, with their wives, children, and cattle, they wandered from place to place for plunder.

They now took the title of *Rapparees*, from the Irish name of their half-pike. The narrators and gazettes of these times speak of them as synonymous with the Creaghts; they were driven, by necessity, to lead a wandering life, and were abhorred of their countrymen. They willingly complied with the exhortations of the priests at every mass, that all men should arm themselves and prepare for war. In summer they infested the English camp; and seizing straggling soldiers, they stripped and murdered them. Their assemblies were held at midnight, in solitary places, where they planned their excursions. Their practice was to rush suddenly on their prey, vanishing as suddenly on the least appearance of opposition.

At this time of general misrule, when attempts were made for the reformation of the army, the officers would not obey the civil power, and the soldiers would submit to no authority but that of their officers. The people, in the bitterness of suffering, found that the army dealt worse with them than the rapparees; yet they acknowledged that the Dutch soldiers conducted themselves inoffensively.

1691. General Ginckle supported the garrison of Mullingar by a reinforcement of two thousand foot and one thousand horse. The enemy were encamped near Ballymore, a little town between Mullingar and Athlone; they made a show of resistance, but were soon driven from their post, and fled away in consternation.\*

\* Leland. *Impartial History*. Clarke's *Correspondence*, MS.



Tyrconnel, who had been sent to France for succour, returned gloomy and desponding, with a very inadequate supply of money and clothing. But hopes of more efficient aid were entertained from the arrival of some French officers who declared it was at hand; and soon afterwards, St. Ruth landed at Limerick, with a commission of chief commander. Sarsfield was dissatisfied because of this preference. James had conferred on him the title of Earl of Lucan, which did not reconcile him to the partiality evinced to a foreigner. St. Ruth ordered the towns on the Irish side of the Shannon to be strengthened; he stationed his army behind Athlone, for, by the siege of this town, the campaign was to open. Ginckle assembled his army at Mullingar; he was attended by a number of gallant officers—the Princes of Wirtemberg and Hesse Darmstadt; Talmash, the English general; Mackay, the Scot; Sgravenmore, La Melloniere, and Rouvigny, Count Nassau, &c. &c.—all of whom had distinguished themselves in the Irish war; but when all were collected they were inferior to the enemy in number. The fort of Ballymore was of considerable importance in maintaining a communication between Athlone, Mullingar, and Dublin. It had strong natural fortifications, to which the enemy had added all such as human art could devise. A thousand of their choicest troops were placed there. It sustained the attack of one day, and being reduced, the governor and garrison were made prisoners of war.\* Ginckle ordered the breaches to be repaired, &c., and having seen all finished, he stationed an English garrison in the fort.

\* Clarke's *Correspondence*, MS. Story's *Wars of Ireland*.

1692. On the 18th of June the general advanced with a party of horse towards Athlone, and, from a rising ground, took a survey of the town and the enemy's forces, which were encamped between two bogs, two miles from the Shannon. The lanes through which General Ginckle led his army were, as usual, lined with Irish infantry, which dispersed as he approached. The two quarters, called the English and Irish towns, of Athlone, were connected by a bridge. The enemy seemed determined to defend both sides of the river, but after some loss, they were driven to the bridge, and many were crushed to death while confusedly rushing into the Irish town; several plunging from the battlements into the river were drowned. But a sufficient number of the enemy lay intrenched, on the other side, to maintain a furious firing on the English town. After an obstinate contest, of nine days duration, several breaches were made in the walls and the castle, and it was resolved that the Shannon should be passed by three different ways. One party was to force the bridge; another to cross the ford below it; a third to pass by floats some hundred feet further down. On the morning appointed for this enterprise, the army stood ready for the word of command. The enemy, however, having been informed of their intentions, by deserters, were seen marching in numbers into the town—their best forces were drawn to the works; their granadoes set fire to some fascines on the broken arch; the flames spread; fire and smoke blowing upon the besiegers, prevented the possibility of their saving that part of the gallery which extended towards the enemy. St.

Ruth became so confident of the security of Athlone, that he gave an entertainment in his camp to a number of ladies and gentlemen, with as much elegance and ease as if it had been a time of settled tranquillity. Meanwhile Ginckle convened a council of war to consult whether it were best to retire, or still to attempt the passage of the Shannon. After much deliberation, it was finally settled, that on the following morning they would make the experiment. Two thousand men were appointed for this service; the tolling of the church bell was the signal: the advanced guard boldly entered the river amidst the acclamations of their companions. The Scotch commander, Mackay, waded through it by the side of his men. La Melloniere, Tetteau, the Prince of Hesse, and other officers followed. The horse on which Wirtemberg rode, was shot under him, his grenadiers taking him upon their shoulders waded through the river, and the detachment intrepidly advancing, through fire and smoke, gained the opposite banks, and mounted the breaches next the river, while the Irish, in utter astonishment, fled to their camp, but not without much slaughter.\*

In less than half-an-hour from the time they first entered the river, the English gained the town, and were in possession of the works which remained entire towards the enemy's camp, and their own cannon was now pointed against them. The castle of Athlone was taken, and the governor and five hundred men were made prisoners of war. Twelve hundred of their men were slain or taken during the siege.

\* Dalrymple, from Mackay's *Memoirs*. Story.



The situation of the Irish being now desperate, they resolved on a desperate effort to extricate themselves.—The prisoners said to the English, “It is your fault that you have so many enemies.—We are sensible of our unhappiness in depending upon the French, but you have made it necessary for us:—we must, and will, and are preparing to fight it out.”

One final conflict was mutually agreed upon. The English general, previously to any arrangement, deemed it necessary to publish a proclamation, encouraging those who were weary of arms to make submission.

The Baron de Ginckle, received the following letter from the secretary of the lord-justices:—“I did very much hope that, from this progress over the Shannon, some favourable declaration might have been emitted to break the Irish army, and save the expense of a field-battle. But I see our field-officers regard more adding £50 a-year to the English interest in this kingdom, than saving England the expense of £50,000. I promise myself it is for the king’s, the allies’, and England’s interest, to remit most or all of the forfeitures, so as that we could immediately bring the kingdom under their majesties’ obedience.”

The justices, in deference to the privy counsellors, seemed unwilling to publish Ginckle’s proclamation, but pressing necessity obtained the signatures required, and it was published by government,—offering free pardon to all soldiers and officers who should surrender in three weeks; to all governors of garrisons, who should do the same, free pardon; and full possession of their estates, to such as had any, and liberal rewards

to those who had not, to all officers who should bring with them their regiments, troops, or companies. “A free exercise of religion was granted to all, with such security, in this particular, as a parliament of Ireland might devise, and which the king would endeavour to procure, so as to convince the Irish of the difference between the blessings of English government, and the tyranny of France.” \*

This liberal and extensive proclamation had not the desired effect. St. Ruth collected his forces, posted them advantageously, and waited the approach of the English.

Ginckle strengthened his army by drawing off every detachment from every English post that could be spared. The event of a few days was to decide whether Ireland was to be established under the dominion of England, or still to be harassed with the calamities of intestine war. General Ginckle marched from Athlone on the 10th of June, and encamped along the river Suc, in the county of Roscommon. The Irish were stationed to greater advantage, about three miles farther to the south-west. Their camp was stretched two miles, or more, along the heights of Kilcommeden; a rivulet wound its course among hills and morasses to the left, skirted by a bog nearly a mile in dimensions. Here stood the ruins of an old castle, which, with the neighbouring village, was called Aughrim. It commanded the only pass on that side to the Irish camp, and was intrenched and occupied by Irish infantry.

\* Clarke's *Correspondence*, MS. Story ii. 117—120.

Half-a-mile to their right, the bog extending all the way, there was another pass, through a range of little hills, into more open ground. The slope of Kilcomedan, to the edge of the bog, was intersected by hedges and ditches communicating with each other:—these were lined with the Irish musketeers. From his high position, St. Ruth had a full view of the English movements. Ginckle's army consisted of eighteen thousand. The enemy's forces amounted to twenty-five thousand. The English first drew out, and having crossed the river, prepared for battle. St. Ruth did the same in front of his camp; riding up to each squadron and battalion, he exhorted the Irish officers to fight for honour, liberty, property, and the establishment of their religion “on such a firm basis as the powers of hell and heresy should never shake;”—he told them that “the dearest interests and most honourable engagements of this life, and the ravishing prospects of eternal happiness, called for a vigorous exertion of that valour which their enemies affected to deny them.”\*

July 12th was the day appointed for the engagement; dense fogs obscured the rising sun, and prevented the English from advancing over the disrupted ground: towards noon, all clouds clearing off, they moved forward in good order. Wishing to gain the pass to the right of the enemy, a party of Danes were sent to force it, but they fled, although they must have perceived that a smaller number were prepared to defend it.

\* Leland.



Some English dragoons were despatched on the same service; after an hours obstinate resistance they forced their way beyond the bog, and a skirmish took place, which convinced Ginckle of the spirit and advantages of the enemy. At about five o'clock in the evening, the left wing of the English boldly attacked the enemy, who firmly maintained their posts. The engagement had been continued about an hour and a-half, when St. Ruth drew a considerable part of the cavalry from his left wing to support the right. Mackay, seizing the opportunity to gain the pass by Aughrim castle, ordered several regiments of infantry, in the centre, to march through the bog. Plunging in, they were instantly up to the middle in water and mire: they gained the opposite side safely, but were then assailed with a furious fire from the trenches and hedges, where the enemy had lain concealed. They still advanced, the Irish retiring, in order to draw them on, until, in their ardour, they had arrived almost to the main body of Irish;—horse and foot now poured down upon them, and they were driven back with slaughter. Several prisoners of distinction were taken; and St. Ruth triumphantly exclaimed, “Now will I drive the English to the very walls of Dublin!” But his exultation was short;—the English cavalry, under the command of Talmash, observing the alarming position of the central division, dashed through the fire of the enemy, close by the walls of the castle, and forced through the narrow dangerous pass. St. Ruth asked what they meant?—“They are brave fellows,” he added, “pity it is they should be so exposed.”

The English army, pressing forward from the right, bore down all opposition.\* St. Ruth rode down the hill of Kilcommeden, and having directed one of his batteries where to point the fire, he led a body of horse against them,—but being struck by a cannon-ball, he fell to rise no more. The sight of the fallen warrior, borne away bleeding and dying, and the sad tidings flying from rank to rank, had a paralysing effect;—the cavalry drew back with precipitation;—the disorder spreading, became universal among the Irish forces;—they fled in all directions—the English hotly pursuing and slaughtering, and strewing the ground with dead bodies, to an extent of three miles. Seven thousand were slain; four hundred and fifty taken alive. The English lost seven hundred;—one thousand were wounded. Night putting an end to the pursuit, the victors lay, on their arms, in this field of carnage.

All the enemy's cannon, ammunition, tents, and baggage were taken, with a great quantity of small arms, eleven standards, and thirty-two colours.

Ginckle allowed his troops rest for a few days, and then led them to Galway, which he thought it necessary to reduce preparatory to an attack on Limerick—the final refuge of the Irish. Seven weak regiments formed the garrison of Galway; but they expected Balderog O'Donnell, with six or seven thousand rovers from the north; and Limerick had promised to assist them. Lord Dillon, the governor, bid defiance to Ginckle when summoned to surrender. But after a few days resist-

\* Story.

ance, not being able to hold out, he capitulated, and the garrison was permitted to march out with all the honours of war. A free pardon was granted to the governor, magistracy, freemen, and inhabitants. And full possession of their estates and liberties, under the Acts of Settlement, which had been refused by King William at the surrender of Waterford and Duncannon, was now granted to the Romish clergy and laity; their lawyers were allowed to practise, and their landed proprietors to bear arms. From henceforward, numbers of the Irish deserted the cause, and swore fidelity to the king and queen.

Limerick still held out. On the 25th of August, Ginckle advanced towards the city, which he intended to invest on all sides. The general, wishing to gain the opposite bank of the Shannon, in order to cut off all intercourse between the garrison and the county of Clare, caused a bridge of boats to be formed in the night, by which a considerable body of his forces gained the advantageous position which he desired.

On the 22nd of September, Ginckle, Wirtemberg, and Sgravenmore, with a formidable troop of cavalry and infantry, crossed the bridge of boats, and assaulted the works which covered Thomond Bridge: a desperate conflict was maintained;—through the fire of their musketry, through a tremendous discharge of cannon, the English undauntedly forced their way, and at length succeeded in breaking, routing, and pursuing the enemy. Before the carnage could be stopped, six hundred dead bodies filled the bridge. Above one hundred and fifty were thrust into the river, and one hundred and twenty-



six were made prisoners. On the 23rd the garrison had fired furiously from their batteries for several hours; in the evening they beat a parley. A cessation of three days was granted, and an amicable intercourse was opened between the two armies. About two hundred and forty English prisoners were surrendered to their friends in a miserable condition. They had been abandoned to disease, famine, and the fire of the besiegers: thirty of their number had been killed; the survivors feebly tottered, some fainting, some expiring, and some writhing with the torture of wounds never dressed.

Ginckle had received directions to terminate the war on any conditions. Terms were offered on the last day of the cessation.\* “The Irish leaders required an act of indemnity for all past offences, with a full enjoyment of the estates possessed by them before the present revolution; also freedom for the Roman catholic worship, with an establishment of one Romish ecclesiastic in each parish. They demanded that Roman catholics should be declared fully qualified for every office, civil and military; that they should be admitted into all corporations; and that the Irish army, if willing to serve, should be kept up, and paid the same as the king’s other troops.” Ginckle replied, that although as a stranger he was unacquainted with the laws of England, yet he knew enough of them to be assured that such demands as these were unsuitable to its enactments, and to his own honour. Having restored the Irish prisoners, who had been treated with humanity,

\* Clarke’s *Correspondence*, MS. Story, &c.

he gave orders for new batteries, to continue the siege; but by a second deputation, he was desired to propose such terms as he could grant, and he was very willing to renew the treaty. The terms offered by the Irish were not those of a conquered people; the terms proposed by the Baron de Ginckle were such as evinced attention and indulgence to their claims.\* 1. That all Irish Roman catholics should enjoy the exercise of their religion, as in the reign of Charles II.; that further satisfaction in this particular, should, if possible, be procured for them by the king and queen, when a parliament could be convened. 2. All those included in the capitulation should enjoy their estates, and pursue their callings and professions freely, as in the reign of Charles II. 3. That their gentry should be allowed the use of arms; that no oath, except that of allegiance, should be required of them. 4. Any persons not complying with these conditions, were at liberty to retire, with their families and effects, to the continent, at the expense of government.

King William was aware that the Irish had engaged in the present quarrel from motives which were pardonable: they had fought for a king of their own religion, from whom they expected the restoration of the forfeited lands of their forefathers, or of lands of which themselves had been deprived through the casualties of war.

Sir Theobald Butler was employed by the Irish party to reduce the several points, settled in different con-

\* Story.

ferences, to a set of formal articles. Some of the superiors of the Romish clergy, then in town, attended the progress of the treaty, and probably conferred secretly with Butler, who was an acute and artful lawyer; many particulars, exceeding his instructions, were inserted. De Ginckle observing them, pointed them out to Lord Lucan, with warm expostulations, and the articles of capitulation were reduced to the original intention and agreements of the parties.\*

October 1st, the lord-justices arrived in the camp. On the 3rd, the capitulation was finally settled and signed. The signatures to the civil articles were Porter and Coningsby, the chief governors. The military articles were signed by the general. Not many days after this final settlement, a formidable French fleet arrived in the Shannon, with forces, arms, and provisions for the relief of Limerick. Here was a remarkable interposition of providence, to which another may be added. The lord-justices had prepared a proclamation, offering terms more advantageous than those granted by De Ginckle, but it was suppressed on the first intelligence of a treaty. Hence it was called the *Secret Proclamation*, because, though printed, it was never published.†

\* Clarke's *Correspondence*, MS. Story. Leland.

† See Harris. *Writers of Ireland*, in the article "Cox."



## CHAPTER XXI.

---

Lord Sidney, Lord-Lieutenant—Disputes in parliament—Three Chief-Justices appointed—Encouragement and discouragement of manufactures—Objections against the King's grants—Commissioners appointed, and Trustees—Whigs and Tories—The Earl of Rochester, Lord-Lieutenant—Death of King James—Complaints against the Trustees—Debates in Parliament—Death of King William—Accession of Queen Anne—The Duke of Ormond, Lord-Lieutenant—Parliamentary proceedings—First Dissension among the Protestants of Ireland—The Palatines—Death of Queen Anne—Accession of George I.—Whig Ministry—Impeachment of the Duke of Ormond—Parliamentary proceedings—Wood's half-pence—Sketch of the Life of Dean Swift—Death of George I.—Distress in Ulster—Contest between the English and Irish interest renewed—Discreet government of Lord Chesterfield—Disputes respecting the payment of the national debt—Prudent administration of the Marquis of Hartington—The Patriots reinstated—Public accounts inspected—Parliamentary grants.

1692. October 21. Lord Sidney having been appointed lord-lieutenant, convened a parliament: his first object in doing so was to raise supplies for the discharge of debts contracted during the war. The commons consented to a grant, not exceeding £70,000, but ob-

jected to anything more; pleading inability, and their own right to determine the sum to be raised, and the manner of raising it. His excellency, after a severe reprimand, prorogued the parliament, which again met in November, but with no better success; and on the 5th of September, 1693, parliament was dissolved; several bills of importance remaining to be perfected, and grievances unredressed; which caused such general discontent, that this unpopular governor was recalled, and his charge was committed to three lord-justices, — Lord Capel, Sir Cyril Wyche, and Mr. Duncomb. They did not act in concert. Lord Capel, eager for popularity, paid little regard to justice or equity in his preference of the English to the Irish interest. The other two justices protected the oppressed, and strictly adhered to rectitude of principle in their administration. Lord Capel wishing to have the government in his own hands, made such representations as caused the removal of Wyche and Duncomb, and his own appointment as lord-deputy. Parliament was convened, and the necessary supply for the support of government was granted. All the proceedings in King James's parliament were annulled, and the great Act of Settlement was explained and confirmed. So far things went on amicably: but the intemperance of some whom the lord-deputy favoured, produced a change. The chancellor, Sir Charles Porter, was accused of engendering a spirit of toryism in Ireland, while it was manifestly the interest of government that no new divisions should be obtruded. Those which already subsisted were productive of incalculable evil. The party which prevailed with Lord

Capel moved for the impeachment of the chancellor, in the house of commons; but after he was permitted to speak for himself, the motion was set aside, and he was voted clear of all imputation, by a majority of two to one. Hence arose contentions between the partisans of the deputy and chancellor, which put an end to business for some time.\*

1698. William Molyneux, a representative of the university, published a book, by which he acquired considerable popularity. It was entitled "*The Case of Ireland's being Bound by Acts of Parliament in England stated.*" By a statement of historical facts he undertook to prove, that "the kingdom of Ireland was as independent of the kingdom of England as the latter was of the former." These pretensions highly incensed the English house of commons. A committee was appointed to examine the book, and the acts of the Irish legislature, which could warrant such assertions.

The report of the committee, on the 22nd June, 1698, produced the unanimous resolution of the house—"that the book published by Mr. Molyneux was of dangerous tendency to the crown and people of England, by denying the authority of the king and parliament of England to bind the kingdom and people of Ireland, and the subordination and dependance that Ireland had, and ought to have, upon England, as being united and annexed to the imperial crown of England." They also resolved, "that the bill lately transmitted from Ireland, whereby an act of parliament made in England, expressly

\* Burnet.



to bind Ireland, is pretended to be re-enacted, had given occasion and encouragement to forming and publishing the dangerous positions contained in the said book.”

They, in a body, presented an address to his majesty, beseeching him to guard against any evasion of the laws which directed and restrained the Irish parliament. To which he returned an answer, promising that he would comply with their wishes.

By command of the English government, the book which gave such offence was burned by the common hangman.\*

1699. The English parliament prohibited the exportation of all cloths made of wool, or containing any admixture of it, from Ireland, to any country except South Britain, nor even there, without such duties and restrictions as, in reality, amounted to a prohibition. As a compensation, which was deemed sufficient, for this depression of their woollen manufacture, encouragement was given to that of linen and hemp. But Ulster was the only part of the kingdom where the linen trade flourished. Wool was especially abundant in the south, and easily obtained. The effects of the prohibitory laws were soon seen in the poverty they produced. The country was rapidly recovering from the ravages of war, when this check to free trade compelled thousands of the Irish manufacturers to emigrate to France, and other countries. There they found employment; and by their means the quality and quantity of woollen manufactures were improved and multiplied in those

\* Leland. Plowden.

countries, while the Irish served their own, by causing vast quantities of wool to be sent to them from Ireland. The English traders suffered loss, who had been accustomed to supply these foreigners. The French could now supply themselves, and also undersell the English.\*

In O'Driscol's "Views of Ireland," in the appendix to his first volume, he says,—“The vigorous efforts of Lord Strafford to destroy the woollen manufacture of Ireland, not having fully succeeded, were followed up in the reign of William III., by more decisive measures. The exportation of fuller's-earth and scouring-clay, to Ireland, was prohibited, under severe penalties, with a view to embarrass the manufacture.”

“On the 9th of June, 1698, the lords presented an address to the king, stating ‘that the growing manufacture of cloth in Ireland, both by the cheapness of all sorts of necessaries of life, and *goodness of materials* for making *all manner of cloth*, doth invite his subjects of England, with their families, to settle there, to the increase of the woollen manufacture in Ireland, which makes his loyal subjects, in this kingdom, very apprehensive that the farther growth of it may greatly prejudice the said manufacture here; and praying that his majesty would be pleased, in the most public and effectual way that may be, to declare to all his subjects of Ireland, that the growth and increase of the woollen manufacture there, hath long, and will be ever looked upon with great jealousy, by all his subjects of this kingdom.’

\* Burnet.

\* “On the 30th of June, the commons presented a similar address: and his majesty was pleased to say, in answer,—‘Gentlemen, I will do all that in me lies to discourage the woollen manufacture in Ireland.’

“These addresses were speedily followed by an act, 10 & 11 Will. III., c. 10., prohibiting the exportation of wool, yarn, new drapery or old drapery, from Ireland, on pain of forfeiting ship and cargo, and £500, for every offence,—no acquittal in Ireland being allowed to bar prosecution in England. The permission to export the woollens of Ireland to England, was met by a duty on importation into the latter country, tantamount to a prohibition.

“There is a curious coincidence in the fate of Ireland, as regarding her manufactures, her religion, and her ancient race of gentry. All these were violently plucked up, and others forcibly substituted in their places: and this happened more than once.

“The woollen manufacture sustained a long persecution, and was at length finally extirpated. In place of this, the linen manufacture was substituted.

“Her ancient church, after long struggles with Rome and Britain, was utterly subdued, and the religion of Rome established in its stead, by the strong hand of England. Her ancient gentry, after a contest of five hundred years, submitted to the like fate, and their possessions passed to new proprietors. But the church of Rome was not long triumphant, when she found herself assailed by her own champion so frequently. The new

\* *Views of Ireland*, by S. O’Driscoll, Esq., Vol. i. p. 430.



race of proprietors were not long planted, when they were plucked up, and fell, like the Desmond, before the fickle tyranny which had made them great.\*”

Discontents sprung up on account of grants made by the king, of the confiscated estates in Ireland. Great objections were brought forward against some who had received the most extensive of these grants. Attempts had been made, in the parliament of Ireland, to obtain a confirmation of them,—but none were confirmed, excepting that which had been given to Ginckle, who was created Earl of Athlone. It had now become a popular subject of declamation, to arraign both the grants and those who had received them. Motions were made for a general resumption of all the grants conferred in the present reign. However, all such attempts proved fruitless. Another expedient was agreed on. By act of parliament, a commission was given to seven persons, named by the house of commons, to enquire into the value of the confiscated estates, in Ireland, so granted away; and into the considerations upon which those grants were made. In the debates which ensued, a great alienation was evinced by many from the king and his government.

1700. The report brought from Ireland, by four of the seven commissioners, was the chief business of this year's session. The other three refused to sign the report, alleging that it was false and ungrounded in many particulars; of which they had sent an account to both houses, but no regard was paid to their representations, neither were their objections to the report inquired into.

\* O'Driscol.

They were considered as men brought under the influence of the court, while the first four commissioners were esteemed as upright characters, not to be overcome, or drawn aside from the path of duty. They had acted the part of inquisitors, readily producing all that tended to exaggerate the value of the grants, and the worthlessness of those to whom they were given; while they suppressed every representation that had a contrary effect. They had, evidently, much truth on their side, therefore complaints against their mode of proceeding passed unheeded; the confiscated estates being represented as worth a million and a-half of money, so specious a proposition as the sale of them for discharging so great a part of the public debt, had great weight with the house. All the opposition that was made in the whole progress of this business was ascribed to interested motives. Purchases had been made under these grants, and vast improvements were carried on by the purchasers, which enhanced the value of the estates very considerably. When this was spoken of, no impression was made, nor feeling evinced, but impatience that such details were brought forward. However, a number of trustees were nominated, in whom all the confiscated estates were vested, with an uncontrollable authority to investigate and determine all just claims relating to those estates, and of selling them to the best purchasers; the money raised by the sale to be appropriated to the payment of arrears to the army. When all this was digested into a bill, from the apprehension that many petitions would be offered to the house, which the court would probably encourage, with

the intention of at least retarding their proceedings, the party, in order to prevent this loss of time, passed a very extraordinary vote—that they would receive no petitions relative to the matter of this bill. The case of the Earl of Athlone's grant was peculiar. The house of commons had been so sensible of his valuable services in reducing Ireland, that they had made an address to the king to grant him such a recompense as was suitable to his services: and the parliament of Ireland, aware of their obligations to him, had confirmed his grant of between two and three thousand a-year. He had sold his estate to purchasers, who thought the title unquestionable, yet no regard was now paid to it; and this estate shared the same decree as the others. The bill was long and hotly debated; the king seemed resolved on venturing all the ill-consequences that might follow its being rejected; many in the house of lords, who, in all other things, were firmly on the king's side, were against him in this, apprehensive, as they were, of mischief to himself, from the loss of this bill.

A new ministry was appointed. From the time of King William's accession to the throne, the tories had been constantly opposing his interests. Many of them were believed to be Jacobites in their hearts; they were in general adverse to toleration, and violent in their enmity against dissenters.

The prevalent opposition to the king, and the difficulties which were placed in his way, it was said, chiefly arose from a dislike to men in office, who were his favourites, and had brought about the appointment of their own friends to the best posts. The whigs also



complained of the bad choice the king made of his favourites, and of his frequent absences from the kingdom, to the great neglect of his affairs. Hence, a new set of men were appointed: the Earl of Rochester undertook to bring the tories into his service. He was soon after declared Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. In order that the chief man among the whigs might offer no opposition in the new parliament, Mr. Montague was made a baron, and took the title of Halifax, which had sunk by the death of the Marquis of Halifax, without male issue. Mr. Harley, the newly-appointed speaker of the house of commons, was the head of a family, hitherto the most eminent of the presbyterian party—and was himself of that persuasion—but not having been considered, as he thought he deserved, at the revolution, he made it his business to oppose the court, and to find fault with the whole administration. He had the chief hand, both in the reduction of the army, and in the business of the Irish grants; yet he had the tact to gain both the confidence of the high church party, and of the dissenters. Hence it was agreed that he should be speaker.

1701. The trustees in Ireland continued to investigate the claims of the Irish, and, in many cases, gave judgment in their favour. It now appeared that the sale of the confiscated estates would not amount to the third part of the sum at which they had been valued. While the trustees lived in splendour, managing the whole affairs of the kingdom, no offers were yet made for the purchasing of those estates.

Many publications were disseminated in Ireland to

expose the late management in the house of commons, and the new ministry; the Earl of Rochester, in particular, was accused of being the instigator of all violent motions. The king, in his intercourse with him, found reason to be dissatisfied; his temper was intractable, and his manner imperious; he had no clear conception of affairs abroad: instead of moderating, he inflamed the violence of his party; so that the king often said, that the year in which the Earl of Rochester directed the councils, was one of the most uneasy of his life. Perceiving the king's coldness towards him, he made an offer to resign, which was not opposed. He then went to Ireland, and following the counsel of Harley, tried to please all parties—high church, dissenters, and Romanists, but could not acquit himself to the trustees, so as to give satisfaction to the nation. They had incurred a general odium, being openly charged with partiality, injustice, and corruption.

On the 6th day of September, this year, King James died. He had passed ten inactive years in France;—hunting was his favourite amusement. He was naturally a man of truth and fidelity, but he was so much under the influence of his priests, that when the interests of their church came in competition, all things else were sacrificed. Bishop Burnet says,—“By what I once knew of him, and by what I afterwards saw him carried to, I grew more confirmed in the very bad opinion, which I was always apt to have, of the intrigues of the popish clergy, and of the confessors of kings. He was undone by them, and was their martyr; so that they ought to bear the chief load of all the

errors of his inglorious reign, and of its fatal catastrophe. He had the funeral which he had himself desired, private, and without any sort of ceremony.”

Soon after the session was opened, the Earl of Rochester applied to the king for permission to return to England; this being granted, he signified his intention to the council of Ireland, and was requested, by the whole board, to lay before the king the grievances under which Ireland groaned, through the mal-practices of the trustees, who, stretching the authority which was given them to the utmost bounds the law would admit of, had become oppressive to the nation. He seemed unwilling, yet promised to comply with their wishes. This was followed by petitions, with numerous signatures, from all the different counties, representing the hardships of the act, and the severities of the trustees in their manner of executing it. The whole of this proceeding was said to have been secretly concerted and set on by the court, in order that the king's grants might again take effect, in whole or in part.

The house of commons was moved to proceed severely against the promoters of these petitions; yet, to complain of grievances had been so often asserted to be the prerogative of the subject, that this fell to the ground. No person, however, appearing to justify or corroborate the statements contained in the petitions, they were voted false and scandalous.

The debates had been carried on with so much heat, as to cause the act to be qualified. The trustees were found to have favoured the claims of many Irish Romanists, for whom they had too manifestly shown a



preference;—and having now remained two years, during which time they had expended all the rents produced by the confiscated estates, petitions were sent in, requesting the interference of the house for a redress. In the passing of the act, they had voted against the receiving of petitions, and they were still opposed by the same party:—yet now the current ran another way;—the petitions were all taken in, and justice was done in very many cases—yet still, with an evident partiality to Romanists,—for there was a strong party of Jacobites, whose estates, on that account, had been confiscated. Many bills were brought in relating to Irish forfeitures, which took up the greatest part of the session.

Plowden gives an impartial statement of King William's conduct towards his subjects in Ireland:—“Although several penal and severe laws were passed, during his reign, against the Roman catholics, yet it is but justice to allow, that the royal assent given to them by King William, imported no personal disposition in that monarch to harass or persecute his catholic subjects on the score of religion.”

An act, passed in the first year of his reign, “exempting their majesties' protestant subjects, dissenting from the church of England, from the penalties of certain laws,” which equally affected the Roman catholics;—this, at least, proved his tolerant spirit.

“Had William been better treated by his English subjects, he would have appeared more amiable in their eyes:—for in Holland, where his temper was not ruffled by disappointment and opposition, he was unexception-

ably tolerant, and universally beloved. The unexpected death of the Duke of Gloucester, son of the Princess Anne, in his seventeenth year, and the death of King James, about the same time, gave rise to the act by which the crown was settled on the house of Hanover, which was the last act passed in this reign;—this,\* and the subsequent Act of Abjuration, secured the protestant succession.” †

1702. In the latter end of February the king met with a slight accident by a fall from his horse,—and early in March he was attacked with ague. On the 7th, he said, “Je tire vers ma fin.” The Act of Abjuration, and the Money Bill, were now prepared for the royal assent. The council ordered all things to be in readiness for the passing of those bills, by a special commission, which, according to form, must be signed by the king, in the presence of the lord-keeper, and the clerks of the parliament. The king was very ill; but after having waited for some hours, they were admitted, and the signing of the commission and the bills, caused those acts to pass on the last day of King William’s life. Burnet had free access to him, and observed him closely for sixteen years. The bishop says, “I had a large measure of his favour. The freedom that I used with him was not always acceptable,—but he saw that I served him faithfully, so, after some intervals of cold-

\* This act passed on the 7th of June, 1701. “An Act for the Further Security of His Majesty’s Person, and the Succession of the Crown in the Protestant Line; and for Extinguishing the Hopes of the Pretended Prince of Wales, and all other Pretenders, and their Open and Secret Abettors.”

† Plowden’s *Historical Review*, Vol. i. pp. 208, 209.

ness, he always returned to a good measure of confidence in me. I was, in many instances, much obliged by him:—but that was not my chief bias to him. I considered him as a person raised up by God to resist the power of France, and the progress of tyranny and persecution. The series of the five Princes of Orange, that was now ended in him, was the noblest succession of heroes that we find in any history.”

From the year 1672, to that of his death, the amazing marks of a glorious and distinguishing providence may be traced in the course he pursued. It was the work of God to make him strong for himself.

Pursuant to the act which had settled the succession, Anne, the youngest daughter of King James by his first marriage, ascended the throne, in the thirty-eighth year of her age.

The warlike achievements, and brilliant success of John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough, shed a lustre over the reign of Queen Anne. After great and signal services, he arrived in England about the latter end of November, 1702, and received the thanks of the commons, and, from the queen, a dukedom and pension of £5000.

The queen was firmly devoted to the Church of England, and her partiality to the tories (whom she considered loyal subjects and true churchmen), plainly appeared in her choice of ministers.

Rochester, the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, was her first cousin, and, as chief of the tory faction, maintained considerable influence in council;—but he had a rival in Marlborough, by whom, through the medium of his duchess, the queen’s resolutions were directed.



The conduct of the trustees in Ireland, respecting the forfeited estates, kept up a spirit of agitation and discontent which Rochester took no pains to allay.— Instead of this, by encouraging the factions which he imported from England, he increased the evil. The Duke of Ormond, whose ancestors had been the bulwarks of the protestant interest in Ireland, was chosen to supply his place.

On the 21st of September, 1703, he opened the parliament with a speech to both houses, in which he told them, that his inclination, his interest, and the example of his forefathers, bound him, by indispensable obligations, to promote the improvement and prosperity of his native country.

The high-raised expectations produced by these assurances were not realized; on the contrary, it was soon evident that the Duke of Ormond's intention was the same as Rochester's. He also stirred up a spirit of strife and division among members of the community which had been peaceably disposed.

Burnet says, "Divisions ran through the whole body of the clergy, and to fix these, new names were found out: they were distinguished by the names of HIGH CHURCH and LOW CHURCH. All that treated the dissenters with temper and moderation, and were for residing constantly at their cures, and for labouring diligently in them; that expressed a zeal against the Prince of Wales, and for the revolution; that wished well to the present war, and to the alliance against France—were represented as secret favourers of presbytery, and ill-affected to the church, and were called

*Low Churchmen*: it was said, that they were in the church only while the law and preferments were on its side; but that they were ready to give it up as soon as they saw a proper time for declaring themselves. With these false and invidious characters, did the high party endeavour to load all those who could not be brought into their measures and designs."

The distinction of whig and tory was imported from England; and the violence of party, arising from this distinction, was one of the causes of severity against the Roman catholics. Heretofore, the only divisions in Ireland, were *English* and *Irish*, protestants and papists. "The Earl of Clarendon," Plowden says, "was the first to introduce any party distinction amongst the protestants of Ireland. During his short government of Ireland, in 1685, he evinced his zeal for his master's service, by endeavouring to split the protestants into *whigs* and *tories*, in order to supply his own want of co-operation with the king's wishes to forward the cause of popery, from which he was, by principle, most averse. Both Clarendon and his brother, the Earl of Rochester, who was appointed lord-lieutenant, in the year 1701, and several of the high church clergy, whom they had promoted in Ireland, were inflexible in their convictions, that the generality of those who called themselves whigs, in Ireland, were strongly impregnated with the factious spirit of 1649; and upon this principle they were anxious to subdivide the protestants into parties, in order to discriminate their own party from the real enemies to the crown, who still retained much of the leaven of the interregnum; for hitherto *protestant* and *whig*

had continued to be considered as synonymous in Ireland; and no whig in that country had, till that time, signalized himself by the avowal of any constitutional principal whatever.”\*

The speeches and addresses to the Duke of Ormond, at the opening of parliament, were in a complimentary strain, expressive of their dependance on him, as the only person who could have given them that settlement, which they expected from his government.

Their chief object was to break the power of popery, and the interest that the heads of the Irish families had among them. They followed the example of England, in enacting the succession of the crown, and similar to an act which passed three years before in England; but, with some more effectual clauses, they passed one concerning Roman catholics: it was for an equal division of property among the children of Romanists, setting aside any former settlements or provisions, “unless the persons, on whom they were settled, qualified themselves by taking the oaths, and coming to the communion of the church.” The bill was offered to the Duke of Ormond, with pressing instances that it should be returned under the broad seal of England.

It was well known that the Romanists in Ireland had raised a considerable sum of money to send to England, in order to stop this bill, which was strongly advocated by the Duke of Ormond, and as strongly opposed by those who undertook its resistance. The bill came over when

\* *Historical Review*, &c. Vol. i.—note to page 226.



the parliament was sitting, and men's eyes were directed to the issue. To reject it was not thought safe: but a clause was added, which, the ministers hoped, would hinder its being accepted in Ireland.

This clause was managed so secretly, that it was known only to the council until a report of it was returned from Ireland, after it had been sent there.

Its purport was, that no man in Ireland should be capable of any employment, nor of being in the magistracy of any city, who did not qualify himself by receiving the sacrament, according to the Test Act, which had passed in England, but never, until now, offered to the Irish nation. The persons who added this clause to the bill, hoped that, being clogged with such a weight, those in Ireland who had been most strenuous in promoting it, would not come forward.

The greater part of Ulster was inhabited by Scotchmen, who stiffly adhering to their first principles, it was supposed that a sufficient number could not be found amongst them who would qualify themselves to maintain order and justice in the country. The wisdom and caution of the Irish parliament, were, however, very remarkable on this occasion. They foresaw the utility of the act in regard to the restraint it would lay upon the Romanists, producing thereby a certain and great effect for their common security. Once passed it would never be repealed; but if serious inconvenience should spring from this new clause, a repeal of it might possibly be obtained in a subsequent parliament, either of England or Ireland. Thus the act passed; and the men were outwitted, by an Irish parliament, who ima-

gined that they had performed a masterpiece of policy. They vented their ill-humour by hampering and lessening the Supply Bill, with the addition of many clauses.

Great objections were made to the Duke of Ormond's conduct; and the session ended in so much heat, that it was supposed parliament would not meet again while the Duke of Ormond was continued in the government.

Burnet's "History" leaves no doubt respecting the origin of the dissension among the protestants of Ireland. "No such disputes," he tells us, "had ever been thought of in that church formerly, as they had no records nor minutes of former convocations. The faction here (in England) found out proper instruments to set the same humour on foot during the Earl of Rochester's government, and by his directions. And once set a-going, it went on, through the indolence of the succeeding governors. The clergy were now making the same bold claim there, that had raised such disputes among us; and upon that the party here published those pretensions of theirs, with their usual confidence, as founded on a clear possession and prescription; and drew an argument from thence to justify and support their own pretensions; although those in Ireland never dreamed of them till they had the pattern and encouragement from hence. This was received by the party with great triumph;—into such indirect practices do men's ill designs and animosities engage them. But though this matter was well detected, and made appear to their shame who had built so much upon it, yet parties are never out of countenance; but when one artifice fails they will have recourse to another.

“It was, indeed, but too visible, that the much greater part of the clergy were in a very ill temper, and under very bad influences: enemies to the toleration, and soured against the dissenters.”

1705. “Parliament met, at Dublin, on the 5th of March, and voted £150,000 for the support of the necessary branches of the establishment. A dispute arose between the commons and lower house of convocation, relating to the tithes of hemp and flax, ascertained in a clause of a bill for the better improvement of the hempen and flaxen manufactures of the kingdom. Objections were made to the clause by the lower house, as prejudicial to the rights and properties of the clergy. The disputes were carried on with such heat, that the Duke of Ormond, dreading the consequences, adjourned the parliament to the 1st day of May, when the houses meeting again, came to some resolutions that reflected, obliquely, on the convocation, as enemies to her majesty’s government and the protestant succession. The clergy, in order to acquit themselves of all suspicion, resolved, in their turn,—That the church and nation had been happily delivered from popery and tyranny, by King William, at the revolution:—That the continuance of these blessings were (under God) due to the auspicious reign and happy government of Queen Anne:—That the future security and preservation of the church and nation depended wholly (under God) on the succession of the crown, as settled by law, in the protestant line.”\* Other resolutions followed to the same purport.

\* Smollett.



In June the parliament was prorogued to the same month of the following year. At that time the Duke of Ormond embarked for England, leaving the administration to lord-justices—Sir Richard Cox, lord-chancellor, and Lord Cutts, the commander-in-chief of her majesty's forces.\*

The Earl of Pembroke succeeded Ormond. In the absence of the viceroy, who came to Ireland but for a few months in two years, the lord-justices were implicitly entrusted with the means of consolidating an aristocratic influence.†

1706. In the lord-lieutenant's speech, at the meeting of parliament, he recommended them to provide for the security of the realm against foreign and domestic enemies : her majesty had commanded him to inform them that, considering the number of papists in Ireland, she would be glad of an expedient for the strengthening the interest of her protestant subjects in that kingdom.

July 9, 1707. The commons voted an address of congratulation to the queen on the union of her majesty's kingdoms of England and Scotland. They told her that this great and glorious work was reserved for her, which her ancestors had laboured to produce; and which had given a further security to the peace and safety of her majesty's government, the protestant succession, and the church, as by law established, in England and Ireland. They also presented an address to the Earl of Pembroke, thankfully acknowledging the benefits they had enjoyed in that happy opportunity of

\* Smollett. † Plowden.

meeting under his excellency's government, to enact such laws as were yet wanting to strengthen the protestant interest of that kingdom.\*

1708. A number of Palatines, who were Lutherans, and had been recommended to Prince George's chaplains, came to England in the hope of forming themselves into a colony, through the queen's assistance. When this could not be done they became importunate and burdensome; hence the greater number were sent into the plantations in North America, and many of them to Ireland.†

\* Plowden. † Burnet.

Mr. Wesley, in his *Journal*, dated 1756, mentions the Palatines sent over by Queen Anne. He visited Ballygarrane, a town inhabited by them, and says, they retained much of their former manner of living in their own country; and that he "found much life among this plain, artless, serious people."

In 1758, he says, "I rode over to Court-Mattrass, a colony of Germans, whose parents came out of the Palatinate about fifty years ago. Twenty families of them settled here; twenty more at Killiheen, a mile off; fifty at Ballygarrane, about two miles eastward; and twenty at Pallas, four miles further. Each family had a few acres of ground, on which they built small houses. They are since considerably increased in number of souls, but decreased in number of families. Having no minister, they were become eminent for drunkenness, cursing, swearing, and an utter neglect of religion, But since they heard and received the truth, which is able to save their souls, an oath is rarely heard among them, or a drunkard seen in their borders. \* \* Court-Mattrass is built in the form of a square, in the middle of which they have got a large preaching-house."

The inhabitants of Ballygarrane he speaks of as of a superior character. "Friday, June 5, 1762. I preached at noon in Ballygarrane, to a large congregation, chiefly of Palatines; and so at Newmarket in the evening and the morning following. These have quite a different look from the natives of the country, as well as a different temper. They are a serious, thinking people; and their diligence turns all their land into a garden."

1709. The Earl of Wharton pursued the same course as his predecessor, in upholding the protestant interest, and preventing the further growth of popery.

On the 26th of August, the commons, in their obsequious address to the lord-lieutenant, assured him "that they gratefully acknowledged her majesty's more particular care of them in appointing his excellency their chief governor, whose equal and impartial administration gave them just reason to hope, and earnestly wish, his long continuance in the government."

Plowden, in a note, introduces Swift's sentiments concerning this nobleman, expressed while he was yet living—"He has sunk his fortune by endeavouring to ruin one kingdom, and hath raised it by going far in the ruin of another. His administration of Ireland was looked upon as a sufficient ground to impeach him, at least for high crimes and misdemeanours; yet he has gained by the government of that kingdom, under two years, £45,000, by the most favourable computation; half in the regular way, and half in the prudential."\*

Complaints of the Earl of Wharton were brought before the queen, in an address, from the lords spiritual and temporal, to her majesty, on the 7th of November, 1711:—that he had disturbed the peace of the town of Drogheda, by setting up a meeting-house where none had been for the last twenty-eight years. In dread of the increasing influence of the presbyterians, they were represented to her majesty as unjust in their accusations

\* Plowden. *Comm. Journ.* p. 631.



of being persecuted, while they themselves were the persecutors of their neighbours who had left their sect and conformed, for conscience sake, to the established church. The episcopal order they declared *anti-scriptural*; and their forms of worship, superstitious and idolatrous: and that the legislature had been censured, in a publication, by a writer of their party stating, *that the sacramental test is only an engine to advance a state-faction, and to debase religion to serve mean and unworthy purposes.*"\*

By the Acts of Settlement and Explanation, the forfeiture of lands in the county of Derry, against the London Society, was repealed.

1714. Queen Anne died of apoplexy. The Duke of Shrewsbury had been constituted Lord-Treasurer, Lord-Chamberlain, and Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland.

On the accession of George I., important changes took place in all offices; the tories were excluded and the whigs brought in. The lord-justices of Ireland, Sir Constantine Phipps and the Archbishop of Armagh, were removed; and the Archbishop of Dublin and the Earl of Kildare filled their places.

1715. Remarkable riots in London and Westminster. The clamour of the church being in danger was revived. Even the life guards, who patrolled the streets, were compelled to join in the cry of "High Church and Ormond." King William's picture was burned in Smithfield.

21st June. James, Duke of Ormond, was im-

\* Plowden.

peached of high treason, with other crimes and misdemeanors. He had many eloquent advocates, but the opposite faction prevailed, and the duke's impeachment was carried. Ormond, consulting his own safety, withdrew from the kingdom.\*

On the 12th of November, 1715, the parliament of Ireland was convened, and manifested great zeal for the Hanover succession, and the whig administration. They passed bills for recognizing the king's title; for the security of his person and government; for setting a price (£50,000) on the pretender's head; and for attainting the Duke of Ormond. They granted the supplies without opposition. All those who had addressed the late Queen in favour of Sir Constantine Phipps, then Lord-Chancellor of Ireland, were now brought upon their knees and censured, as a breach of privilege; they desired the lord-justices would issue a proclamation against the Romanists of Limerick and Galway, who, presuming upon the capitulation signed by King William, claimed an exemption from the penalties imposed upon other Romanists. They engaged in an association against the pretender and all his abettors; they voted the Earl of Anglesea an enemy to the king and kingdom, because he advised the queen to break the army, and prorogue the late parliament; and they addressed the king to remove him from his council and service. The lord-justices granted orders for apprehending the Earls of Antrim and Westmeath, the Lords Netterville, Cahir, and Dillon, as persons

\* Smollett.

suspected of disaffection to the government: they then adjourned the two houses.\*

Plowden states, that “an act passed in this parliament to restrain papists from being high or petty constables; although a single arm had not been raised by a catholic, in Ireland, in support of the pretender: and every nerve of government was strained to enforce the rigorous execution of all the penal laws against them. The consequence was a general and most rigid persecution against the catholics for the mere exercise of their religion: their priests were dragged from their concealment; many were taken from the altar whilst performing divine service, exposed in their vestments to the derision of the soldiery, then committed to gaol, and afterwards banished the kingdom.”

1718. The Duke of Ormond held conferences with Cardinal Alberoni, at Madrid, and concerted measures with him for exciting another insurrection, in Great Britain, in favour of the pretender.

“An armament of twelve ships of the line and several transports, was equipped, having on board six thousand regular troops, and arms for twelve thousand men. The command of this fleet was committed to the Duke of Ormond, with the title of Captain-General of his Catholic Majesty. He was provided with declarations, in the name of the Spanish monarch, importing, that for many good reasons, he had sent part of his land and sea forces into England and Scotland to act as auxiliaries to King James. The Duke of Ormond sailed

\* Smollett.



from Cadiz, and had proceeded as far as Cape Finisterre, when the fleet was dispersed by a storm, which put an end to the intended expedition.\*”

At this time Ormond's tenantry were the most numerous of any other landed proprietor in Ireland, and of the same religion as the pretender. Ireland lay more accessible to Spain than Great Britain, and not so well provided for defence against invasion, yet we do not find that even an attempt was made to seduce the Roman catholics of Ireland from their allegiance to the house of Hanover.

1719. November 23rd, parliament opened. “A bill was presented for a Better Security of the Dependancy of Ireland upon the Crown of Great Britain. Maurice Annesley had appealed to the house of peers in England, from a decree of the house of peers in Ireland, which was reversed. The British peers ordered the barons of the exchequer, in Ireland, to put Mr. Annesley in possession of the lands he had lost by the decree in that kingdom. The barons obeyed this order; and the Irish house of peers passed a vote against them, as having acted derogatory to the king's prerogative, in his high court of parliament in Ireland, as also of the rights and privileges of that kingdom, and of the parliament thereof; they, likewise, ordered them to be taken into the custody of the usher of the black rod; they transmitted a long representation to the king, demonstrating their right to the final judicature of causes; and the Duke of Leeds, in the upper house,

\* Plowden.

urged fifteen reasons to support the claim of the Irish peers. Notwithstanding these arguments, the house of lords, in England, resolved that the barons of the exchequer, in Ireland, had acted with courage, according to law, in support of his majesty's prerogative, and with fidelity to the crown of Great Britain. They addressed the king to confer on them some mark of his royal favour, to counterbalance the ill usage they had undergone. Finally, they prepared the bill, by which the house of lords was deprived of all right to pass sentence, affirm, or reverse any judgment or decree, given or made, in any court within that kingdom. It was opposed, in the house of commons, by Mr. Pitt, Mr. Hungerford, Lords Molesworth and Tyrconnel; but was carried by the majority, and received the royal assent." \*

1723. While Great Britain enjoyed perfect tranquillity at this period, Ireland was, in a degree, agitated by a new coinage, which had been introduced by William Wood, who had obtained a patent for furnish-

\* Smollett, Vol. ii.

The Bill for Better Securing the Dependency of Ireland upon the Crown of Great Britain, declares, "that the king's majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords, spiritual and temporal, and commons of Great Britain, in parliament assembled, had, hath, and of right ought to have, full power and authority to make laws and statutes of sufficient force and validity to bind the people and the kingdom of Ireland; and that the house of lords, of Ireland, have not, nor of right ought to have, any jurisdiction to judge of, reverse, or affirm, any judgment, sentence, or decree, given or made in any court within the said kingdom; and that all proceedings before the said house of lords, upon any such judgment, sentence, or decree, are hereby declared to be utterly null and void, to all intents and purposes whatsoever."—5 *Geo. I. c. 5. Plowden*, 249. *Debates in the House of Commons, Vol. i. p. 213.*

ing the kingdom with copper currency. At the meeting of parliament, in September, it was resolved, that the patent had been obtained by misrepresentation; that the halfpence wanted weight; that this coin would be prejudicial to the revenue; destructive of trade, and of dangerous consequence to the rights of the subject; that there would be a great loss to the nation, even if the terms of the patent had been complied with; that granting the power of coinage to a private individual had ever been highly prejudicial to the kingdom, and would, at all times, be of dangerous consequence.

Addresses from both houses were presented to the king relative to this business, which was referred to the lords of the privy council of England. Upon the report of Sir Isaac Newton, and other officers of the mint, Wood's halfpence were pronounced to exceed in value of metal and other properties, any copper currency which had been coined for Ireland in the reigns of Charles II., James II., William and Mary. The king's prerogative to grant such patents to private persons was demonstrated from the example of his predecessors; and it was finally proved that Ireland was in real want of this coinage.

The ferment was not allayed by this decision. It was increased by clever publications, written by Dean Swift and other authors, which succeeded in bringing about the reduction of Wood's coinage from the value of £100,000 to that of £40,000. Thus all clamour was silenced.

The commons of Ireland passed an act for accepting the affirmation of quakers instead of an oath; and voted



£340,000 towards discharging the debt of the nation, which amounted to about double that sum.\*

Dean Swift was the leader of a party called "the Patriots." Their professed purpose was to check the ministry. Being a remarkable person in Irish history, the following sketch of his life may not be unacceptable.

Jonathan Swift was born in Dublin, November 30th, 1667. His nurse had some business which obliged her to go to England, and, rather than part with the infant, she carried him off, unknown to his mother, or any of his relatives. She resided three years at Whitehaven, still retaining her little nursling. Hence Dean Swift, in after life, seemed to believe that England was his birth-place, and often said, "I am not of this vile country, I am an Englishman." But, in a better temper, he was not ashamed of his being Irish, and used to point out the house where he was born. At six years old he was sent to school at Kilkenny, and, at fourteen, entered Trinity College, Dublin. He was obedient to its rules, and regular in his conduct; but his morose temper made him disagreeable to his fellow-students. He disliked and ridiculed the academical exercises,—history and poetry were more suitable to his genius. His neglect of science, in its several branches, prevented his obtaining his degree as Bachelor of Arts on his first application. On his being a candidate for the second time, it was granted, with the addition of *speciali gratia*. This expression, in the Dublin university, is a mark of

\* Smollett, Vol. ii.

contumely and reproach. He quitted the college in great indignation, in order to prosecute his studies at Oxford. Happily for him, the discreditable appendage to his certificate was misinterpreted by the members of the University of Oxford, and passed as a recommendation. He was entered at Hart Hall, now Hartford College, and took his degree of Master of Arts, in 1691. When his academical studies were over, he went to reside at Sheen, with his friend and patron, Sir William Temple. He had frequent opportunities of seeing and conversing with King William, and if he had had an inclination for the army, his majesty would have given him a commission as captain of a troop of cavalry. But he preferred entering the church. He returned to Ireland for this purpose, and was made a prebend by Lord Capel, the deputy, with a stipend of £100 a-year.

The solitude he lived in not suiting his inclination, he resigned his preferment, and returned to Sir William Temple, who, at his death, left him a legacy, and a commission to publish his posthumous works. Soon after the death of his friend, Swift made application to the king for the first vacancy among the prebends of Westminster or Canterbury. This had been promised; its non-fulfillment produced in him that bitterness of feeling towards the king and his courtiers which afterwards pervaded his writings.

The Earl of Berkley, one of the lord-justices, having appointed him his chaplain and secretary, he attended him, in that capacity, to Ireland. Being soon afterwards dismissed, and Mr. Bush placed in this office, Swift wrote his satirical poem called "The Discovery." The

lord-justices made amends by the gift of two livings,—Laracor and Rathbeggan, which brought £260 a-year.

Lord Orrery says, “that as soon as he had taken possession of the two livings he went to reside at Laracor, and gave notice to his parishioners that he would read prayers on the Wednesdays and Fridays. The following Wednesday the bell was rang, and the rector attended in his desk : after having sat for some time, and finding that no one came but his clerk, he began with great composure and gravity—‘Dearly beloved Roger, the scripture moveth you and me, in sundry places,’ &c. Thus he proceeded regularly through the whole service.” His giving way to his natural vein of humour, on such an occasion, sufficiently proves how unfit he was for the sacred office he had undertaken.

During his mother’s lifetime, he seldom failed to pay her an annual visit; and in travelling manifested the eccentricity which characterized his whole conduct. He walked great distances ; sometimes making use of a waggon, and dining with the waggoners — he took pleasure in associating with persons of that class, choosing their lodging-houses to sleep in. “Lodgings for a penny,” over the door, was a strong recommendation. He delighted in low-lived scenes and vulgar dialect ; they were to him an inexhaustible fund of amusement, which his writings, to this day, represent in graphic lines. With these low propensities, pride was prominently conspicuous: he would not be reconciled to his sister because she married a tradesman, though in very good circumstances, and approved of by his uncle and other relations.



He degraded the amiable "Stella," in never acknowledging her as his wife; yet she was married to him by Dr. Ashe, the Bishop of Clogher, in 1716. Sir William Temple left her a legacy of £1000, in acknowledgment of her father's faithful services, as his steward. After the marriage ceremony had taken place, Swift, disdain- ing the low alliance, continued to live as formerly, in a separate house; and, according to the statement of Lord Orrery, absolutely destroyed his wife, who pined in secret and died broken-hearted, in January, 1727.

Swift was of a restless disposition; fond of excursions to Dublin, London, and various localities. His rambling life was the means of his losing the rich Deanery of Derry. Lord Berkley would have given it to him, but was prevented by the intervention of the bishop (Dr. King); who represented the unfitness of a person of his unsettled principles and habits to fill that sacred office.

From the time that Queen Anne died, Swift was found fighting on the side of the tories, whose cause he maintained in pamphlets, poems, and weekly papers. But though the ministers employed him, they did not trust him: they found in him an untractable, haughty, and overbearing spirit. His great ambition was to obtain a bishopric in England; however, he was obliged to content himself with the deanery of St. Patrick, which he acquired in 1713. But he always deeply resented the character given him by Archbishop Sharpe, and by a lady of the highest rank, to the queen, that he was not a Christian.

On his arrival in Dublin to take possession of his deanery, the people treated him with the greatest con-

tempt—throwing stones and dirt at him as he passed through the streets; and he was received by the chapter of St. Patrick most unwillingly. Yet such are the reverses of this revolutionary world, that he who is detested at one time may be idolized at another. This was the case with Dean Swift, who, in process of time, became the most absolute monarch over the Irish people that ever governed them. From the beginning of the year 1714, to 1720, Swift was the champion of Ireland: he took upon himself the character of a political writer, and devoted his time and talents to the interests of his country.

A small pamphlet in defence of the Irish manufactures was his first essay of this kind in Ireland, and to it he owed the turn of the popular tide in his favour.

In his "State of Ireland," Swift says, "Ireland is the only kingdom I ever heard or read of, either in ancient or modern story, which was denied the liberty of exporting their native commodities and manufactures wherever they pleased, except to countries at war with their own prince or state: yet this privilege, by the mere superiority of power, is refused us in the momentous parts of commerce; besides an Act of Navigation, to which we never consented, pinned down upon us and rigorously executed, and a thousand other unexampled circumstances, as grievous as they are invidious to mention."

But the publication of his letters, designated "M. B. Drapier," against Wood's halfpence, gained universal applause, and the enthusiastic affections of the whole Irish nation, by whom he was now called "the Drapier."

When Wood obtained a patent to coin £108,000,\* in copper, for Ireland, which, in enriching the projector, would have ruined the people, the dean opposed the plan; and by the publication of his "Drapier's Letters," he prevailed upon the public to reject the money. Thus he became the oracle of the people; and nothing was adopted, either at Dublin or the country, without consulting the dean and knowing his sentiments.

He continued in this state of popularity until he lost his senses. In 1736, he was seized with giddiness, while writing "The Legion Club," a satirical poem, which he never finished. Though able to see his friends and converse as usual, until 1741, when he became so ungovernable that restraint was necessary; and it was so appointed, by Him who is inscrutable in all his ways, that Swift was the first inhabitant of his own hospital, which he had charitably founded for idiots and lunatics! From the last state he sunk into the first, and lingered out the remnant of his days a helpless, quiet, speechless idiot. A remarkable instance, to mortify human pride, of what first-rate talent may be reduced to. He died about the end of October, 1745.†

Swift's publications were accounted seditious. Whitshed, the chief-justice, solemnly protesting that the author's design was to bring the pretender into the country; the printer was arrested, and brought to trial. This invidious business was deferred from term to

\* Wood's copper-money, poured into Ireland, was made of such base alloy, that the whole mass was not worth £8000.—*Plowden*.

† See *Life of Dr. Jonathan Swift, Gentleman's Magazine*, Feb. 1755.



term, till the Duke of Grafton, who was viceroy, prevented further proceedings by granting a *noli prosequi*.

1725. Lord Carteret, the lord-lieutenant, issued a proclamation, offering a reward of £300 for the discovery of the author of "Drapier's Letters," but none were found, who, for any reward, would betray him. Though Lord Carteret was nominally at the head of affairs, Boulter, the Primate of Ireland, was the chief manager of the Irish government from 1724 to 1742.

1727. On the 11th day of June, George I. was carried off by a sudden death, to whom his son succeeded, George II.

1728. A scarcity of corn drove many of the poorer class to beggary in Ulster; it proceeded from the quantity of land devoted to pasturage, and the small proportion left to the agriculturist. Primate Boulter thus describes its effects:—"We met all the roads full of whole families that had left their homes to beg abroad, since their own neighbourhood had nothing to support them." Emigrations to America, at this time, were averaged at three thousand persons annually, from Ulster alone. They were chiefly the protestant population, who were driven to extremity from restricted commerce and exorbitant rents.

1729. Ireland was tranquil under the good government of Lord Carteret. Parliament assembled in September. The session was conducted with harmony and patriotism; funds were established for the charge of the national debt, and for maintaining the expense of government; wholesome laws were enacted for the encouragement of manufactures, trade, and agriculture;

and wise regulations in different branches of civil economy. Soon after the session, Lord Carteret returned to England.\*

1731. The Duke of Dorset undertook the administration of Ireland. "The Patriots" were on the increase.

1735. The commons made great exertions for the diminution of church property. The emigration of protestants to America was attributed to the oppression of tithes, particularly that of agistment for cattle; but this was an artful representation of land proprietors, whose exorbitant rents was the true cause of this lamentable desertion. Primate Boulter notices this in the following manner:—"The gentlemen say, that it is by tithes, and not by rents, that the poor are distressed. Now I believe that the clergy have not made the proportionate advance in their tithes that the gentry have in their rents; yet it is on the value of tithes they would throw their distress, a notion which takes among the presbyterians, who, it may be supposed, do not pay tithes with cheerfulness." According to his statement, the clergy were obliged to let their tithes "at a very low value, while they suffered the severest hardships from the refusal of their small dues." Agistment for dry cattle was represented as a new and unfounded claim, though the courts of law had determined in favour of the clergy.

1737. A bill was confirmed by royal sanction, in conformity with a prior act of the British parliament, ordering that all the proceedings in the courts of justice

\* Smollett.

should be in the English, instead of the Latin language.

The Duke of Devonshire succeeded the Duke of Dorset in the government of Ireland, being one of the most magnificent of its viceroys, in his splendid style of living and works of utility. He built a wharf in the port of Dublin. His administration was long and unusually tranquil.

1739. The close of this year was rendered remarkable by an intense frost; it was felt throughout the north of Europe, and is still spoken of by the Irish, as the year of the "hard frost," or the "big frost:" it was followed by a famine and mortality, which considerably thinned the population.

1745. Philip Stanhope, Earl of Chesterfield, was appointed to the viceroyalty at a critical period; an unsuccessful war was being waged against France and Spain, and a rebellion in Scotland, in favour of Charles Edward Stewart, the son of the pretender. The new lord-lieutenant discountenanced all party distinctions, and extended the full protection of the laws to Romanists: he encouraged such publications as led the people to perceive the absurdity of expecting useful results from a revolution in favour of the pretender; and evinced a full confidence in the continuance of their peaceable behaviour. He treated every alarming report with ridicule.

Mr. Gardner, the vice-treasurer, came, in breathless haste, one morning, to assure him that the Connaught people were actually rising. "Let me see," he replied, with perfect composure, looking at his watch, "it is



nine o'clock, high time they should rise; your news must be true." Instead of preparing for disturbances at home, he sent four battalions to reinforce the royal army in Scotland; he encouraged volunteer associations for internal service, without any augmentation of the public expenditure; and he avoided the pernicious custom of gaining partisans by reversionary grants. The effect of his administration in Ireland was a universal tranquillity. While thousands in Scotland were in arms, under the banners of the pretender, not a man in Ireland moved towards him. The battle of Culloden was fought on the 16th of April, 1746, in which the rebels were totally routed. Nine days afterwards, the departure of the lord-lieutenant was deeply regretted by the Irish, who, in token of their gratitude, placed a bust of the Earl of Chesterfield in the castle of Dublin, at the public expense.

In the preface to "Lord Chesterfield's Letters," edited by Lord Mahon, it is said, that, "undoubtedly, the most brilliant and useful part of Chesterfield's career, was his lord-lieutenancy of Ireland. It was he who first, since the revolution, made that office a post of active exertion."

The Duke of Shrewsbury had accepted it a few years before, and gave as a reason, "that it was a place where a man had business enough to hinder him from falling asleep, but not enough to keep him awake."

Chesterfield did not slumber over his work; he found employment for himself and others, and gave as a reason for being able to go through so many affairs, "'I never put off till to-morrow what I can do to-day.' He

was the first to introduce the principle of impartial justice at Dublin—long as it had reigned at London. It is, no doubt, much easier to rule in Ireland on one exclusive principle or on another. It is very easy, as was formerly the case, to choose the great protestant families for ‘managers,’ to see only through their eyes, and to hear only through their ears; it is very easy, according to the modern fashion, to become the tool and champion of Roman catholic agitators:—but to hold the balance even between both; to protect the establishment, yet never wound religious liberty; to repress the lawlessness, yet not chill the affections, of that turbulent but warm-hearted people; to be the arbiter, not the salve of parties;—this is the true object worthy that a statesman should strive for, and fit only for the ablest to attain ! ”

Chesterfield writes,—“ I came determined to proscribe no set of persons whatever ; and determined to be governed by none. Had the papists made any attempt to put themselves above the law, I should have taken good care to have quelled them again. It was said that my lenity to the papists had wrought no alteration either in their religious or political sentiments. I did not expect that it would: but surely that was no reason for cruelty towards them.” \*

Chesterfield often conveyed a keen reproof beneath a good-humoured jest:—thus, being informed by some

\* Letter of Lord Chesterfield, preserved in the Archives of Dublin Castle, and quoted by Lord Mulgrave (now the Marquis of Normanby) in the debate of the House of Lords, November 27, 1837.

exasperated zealots that his coachman was a Roman catholic, and went every Sunday to mass;—“Does he, indeed!” replied the lord-lieutenant, “I will take good care that he shall never drive me there!” When he first arrived in Dublin, in the summer of 1745, a dangerous rebellion was breaking forth in the sister kingdom, and threatened to extend itself to a country where so many millions held the faith of the young pretender. “So able were the measures of Chesterfield; so clearly did he impress upon the public mind that his moderation was not weakness, nor his clemency cowardice:—but that, to quote his own sentiments, ‘his hand should be as heavy as Cromwell’s upon them, if they once forced him to raise it.’ So well did he know how to scare the timid, while conciliating the generous, that this alarming period passed over with a degree of tranquillity, such as Ireland has not often displayed, even in orderly and settled times.”

To these observations the editor adds:—“His name, I am assured, lives in the honoured remembrance of the Irish people, as, perhaps, next to Ormond, the best and worthiest in their long viceregal line.”

Plowden bears a similar testimony to Lord Chesterfield’s just and impartial administration. “He rested the support of his measures upon their rectitude, and chastely abstained from gaining friends by reversionary grants. He opened to the catholics their places of worship, released their priests out of prison, and allowed them the undisturbed exercise of their religious duties. This great statesman well knew, that the Irish, above all other people, were to be gained and secured by con-



fidence, kindness, and liberality. Thus protestants and catholics, whigs and tories, English and Irish interests, all stricken with the glare of rectitude of his measures, united in contributing to render his government agreeable and efficient. Neither in nor out of parliament was a single measure of this excellent governor opposed or disturbed.

“He was universally admired on his arrival, beloved during his stay, and regretted upon his departure.”

On the 25th of April, 1746, Primate Hoadley, Lord Chancellor Newport, and Mr. Boyle, the speaker of the house of commons, were made lord-justices; and on the 13th of September, the Earl of Harrington was appointed to succeed Lord Chesterfield.

At the meeting of parliament, in October 1747, the new lord-lieutenant complimented them on the continuation of his majesty's paternal regard and affection to a *dutiful and loyal people*; and recommended, on their side, a continuance of the same good conduct and vigilance, which, under God, had prevented the communication of the dangerous infection (*i.e.* the Scotch rebellion) to Ireland.

1746. The contest between the English and Irish interest was renewed. Primate Hoadly had succeeded Primate Boulter in maintaining that of the English.

1747. Upon the death of Hoadley the English interest was taken up by George Stone, Bishop of Derry, immediately on his translation to the See of Armagh. He was a man of infamous character, regardless of all duties, sacred or moral: he was haughty, determined, and devoted to his party. Henry Boyle, speaker of the

house of commons, afterwards Earl of Shannon, was his chief opponent, as the leader of the Irish patriots.

“The power of choosing their own magistrates had been taken from the house of commons of the city of Dublin, and placed in the board of aldermen, subject, in its exercise, on each election, to the approbation of the chief governor and privy-council.” Charles Lucas, an apothecary, had been admitted into the common council of the citizens, whose rights he was anxious to promote, but he could not oppose a positive law. By a laborious research into charters and records, he discovered that encroachments had been made on the privileges of the citizens, without the authority of the law; and by publishing his discoveries a furious contest arose. In his publications he asserted the claims of the people and of Ireland as a separate kingdom, with an address to the lord-lieutenant which alarmed the partisans of administration.

1749. In the month of October the house of commons voted Lucas an enemy to his country. Unable to resist the force of opposition, he became an exile, from which he returned, some years afterwards, to be elected a member of parliament for the city of Dublin.

It had been the invariable usage of the commons, since the revolution, to superintend the expenditure of the annual supplies which they raised, in order, if there should be a deficiency, that they might supply it; if a surplus, that they might apply it to the credit of the nation: and the received notion was, that they had a right to dispose of such surplus of the revenue without the consent of the sovereign. Accordingly, in the

year 1749, they prepared a bill with the following preamble:—‘Whereas, on the 25th day of March last, a considerable balance remained in the hands of the vice-treasurers or receivers-general of the kingdom, or their deputies, unapplied; and it will be for your majesty’s service, and for the ease of your faithful subjects in this kingdom, that so much thereof as can be conveniently spared, should be paid, agreeably to your majesty’s most gracious intentions, in discharge of part of the national debt.’”

1751. The Duke of Dorset assumed the government of Ireland, for the second time, in the full persuasion that he could check the progress of patriotism. But he was mistaken: the remarkable suavity of his manners, his moderation, his prudence and caution, which had rendered him popular, did not avail him, when it was discovered that he would sacrifice his principles for court favour, and bend himself to the insignificance of a mere passive tool of government. His son, Lord George Sackville, the secretary, became obnoxious by the loftiness of his bearing, and by his sarcastic, disdainful, and impetuous language, which, although eloquent, was offensive. Primate Stone, whose nod moved the whole Irish government, was execrated in the country, because of his detestable depravity. Under the control of two such characters, it is not to be wondered at that the complaints of “The Patriots” were vociferous.\*

This assumption of right, in the Irish commons, to

\* Plowden.



apply the unappropriated surplus of the revenue, without the previous and express consent of the crown, gave great offence to the British cabinet. According to the instructions which were given him, the Duke of Dorset assured the Irish parliament that he was commanded by the king to acquaint them that his majesty, ever attentive to the ease and happiness of his subjects, would graciously consent and recommend to them, "that such a part of the money, then remaining in his treasury, as should be thought consistent with the public service, be applied towards the further reduction of the national debt; he being ever attentive to the ease and happiness of his subjects." The commons, in their address of thanks, acknowledged the latter declaration, in recommending to them the application of the surplus; but omitted any reference to his majesty's consent, in their zeal for the preservation of their privileges. The ministers in England construed this omission into a wilful encroachment on the prerogative; and the bill was sent back with an alteration in the preamble, purporting his majesty's consent as well as recommendation. The Irish house of commons had resolved on applying £120,000 of that overplus towards the discharge of the national debt.

They passed the bill with the alteration, their attention being now engrossed with other matters. Arthur Jones Nevil, a member for the county of Wexford, surveyor and engineer-general, had been accused of scandalous embezzlement of the public money in a contract for the building and repairing of barracks. After a minute investigation he was found guilty. As a servant of the crown, he had hitherto been protected by the

parliamentary influence of the cabinet; but on the present occasion, by a resolution of the commons, he was ordered to make the barracks fit for the reception and accomodation of the troops at his own expense.

1754. When the Duke of Dorset opened the session this year, in mentioning the surplus of the public money, he repeated the expression of "his majesty's gracious consent"—which word they again omitted in their address: and in their bill of application, they resolved, not only to sink the expression, but also to abate in complaisance to the crown, by leaving out that of "grateful acknowledgement" also. This contest had kindled up two violent factions, and diffused a general spirit of resentment throughout the nation. The committee who prepared the bill, gave a mere unadorned recital of facts, without any of the usual compliments in the preamble. The ministry, intent upon vindicating the prerogative, filled up the omissions, and sent it back thus amended:—"And your majesty, ever attentive to the ease and happiness of your faithful subjects, has been graciously pleased to signify that you would consent, and to recommend it to us, that so much of the money remaining in your majesty's treasury as should be necessary, be applied to the discharge of the national debt, or such part thereof as should be thought expedient by parliament." \* "This then being the crisis which was to determine a constitutional point of such importance, nainely, whether the people, in parliament assembled, have a right to deliberate upon, and vote

\* Smollett.

the application of any part of the unappropriated revenue, without the previous consent of the crown : the zealous defenders of the liberties of their country exerted themselves in opposing the bill, with its alterations, and it was rejected by a majority of five voices. This triumph of patriotism over the acts of ministerial corruption (as it was considered), was celebrated with extravagant rejoicings.”

The national debt of Ireland had been chiefly incurred by an unlimited vote of credit, from the house of commons to government, in 1715. In eighteen years, it had increased, by the poverty of the nation, from £16,000 to £371,000.

In 1749, from a more prosperous state of the country, in the advance of the linen manufacture and other favourable circumstances, a surplus remained in the treasury of £220,000, after the discharge of all the expenses of government; when an act was passed for the application of £128,500 towards the payment of the national debt.

The money still remaining in the treasury was withdrawn from Ireland by virtue of a king's letter, to the great detriment of the kingdom, in which the circulation of this money, in public works, would have added to its riches. All this contest might have been prevented by the insertion of the word *assent* instead of consent.\*

The discontent occasioned by the withdrawing of the public money from Ireland, and the removal of men

\* Gordon. Plowden.



from places under government who favoured the popular cause, exasperated the mob of Dublin, whose terrific tumults alarmed the Duke of Dorset for his personal safety, and he retired from the kingdom under the protection of his guards.

The rejection of the bill was a serious disappointment to the creditors of the public, and the circulation of cash was almost stagnated. These calamities were imputed to arbitrary designs in the government;—an enthusiastic spirit of independency began to influence the people, and if artful steps had not been taken to bring over the demagogues, very mischievous consequences would probably have ensued;—but the clamour was, by this means, diverted from the ministry to the very individuals who had been the idols of popular veneration. Several of “the Patriots” were gratified with lucrative employments; and his majesty’s letter arrived for paying off £75,500 of the national debt, which quickened the circulation, and tranquillized the turbulence of the people.

1755. The Marquis of Hartington, now Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, by prudent measures quelled its intestine broils. The system of Irish government underwent a revolution. Primate Stone, who had been the chief fomenter of many of the late disturbances, was struck off the list of privy councillors by the king’s command; and the greater number of “the Patriots,” whom faction had turned out of their employments, were reinstated with honour.\*

\* Smollett.

Boyle, the great leader of opposition, was made Earl of Shannon, with a pension of £2000 a-year; and John Ponsonby, son of the Earl of Besborough, was appointed speaker in his place. The Marquis of Hartington, afterwards created Duke of Devonshire, by his wisdom, and the excellent law which he encouraged and passed for the benefit of Ireland, entirely allayed the ferment which had continued long among the middling and lower ranks of people. "Among other objects of the attention of the legislature of that country, £10,000 were granted for making the river Nore navigable, from the city of Kilkenny to the town of Innestalge; £20,000 towards carrying the inland navigation from the city of Dublin to the river Shannon; £4000 for making the river Newry navigable; £2000 for the encouragement of English protestant schools; sums of money besides, to be distributed, in premiums, for the encouragement of the cambric, hempen, and flaxen manufactures; also £300,000 to his majesty, towards supporting the several branches of the establishment, and for defraying the expenses of the government for two years." \*

1756. The viceroy returned to England, and the Earls of Kildare and Besborough were constituted lord-justices in conjunction with Lord Chancellor Jocelyn. The government of the kingdom was chiefly managed by domestic interest. The viceroy being resident but one winter in two years, the administration, during the intervening time, was committed to three lord-justices, one of whom was always an Englishman

\* Smollett.

—either the primate or lord chancellor:—the other two were chosen from among the great proprietors of boroughs, who bargained for the procuring of a majority in the house, in favour of measures required by government. These great men, or *undertakers*, as they have been appropriately denominated, made stipulations that certain proportions of regal favours should be left to their disposal;—hence they retained their followers in absolute dependance upon themselves, and the influence of the crown was virtually in their hands.

1756. While England and France were at war, the citizens of Dublin manifested a determination to support the king against his adversaries: hence, they professed it expedient to suspend all complaint of ministerial measures. And, rather than that their sovereign should be deprived of his rightful dominions in America, they proposed that the protestants of Ireland, in number two hundred thousand, fit to carry arms, should be fully prepared to join the armies of England, “in maintaining the honour and dignity of the imperial crown of these realms against all who insult it abroad, or would betray it at home.” In conclusion, they add, “We, his majesty’s protestant subjects, inhabitants of this great metropolis (our hearts overflowing with the strongest and warmest sentiments of loyalty, gratitude, and affection, for his sacred person and family: our confidence resting on almighty power for success, in the cause of true religion and virtue), do hereby solemnly promise and engage to each other,—to our king and country, that we will enter into, and act in any military service which our gracious sovereign shall re-



quire of us, in any part of this kingdom, or of Great Britain, during the present war; and that such of us as are in circumstances to afford it, will arm ourselves at our own expense, whenever his majesty's pleasure for that purpose shall be signified."\*

1757. A committee was appointed to inspect the public accounts. On their report, resolutions were voted in disapprobation of pensions improperly granted on the civil establishment. The annual amount exceeded £44,000, a considerable part of which was given to men not residing in Ireland. The commons and their speaker waited on the Duke of Bedford, then viceroy, with a request that he would lay their resolutions before the king, which he declined, saying, "that he could not suddenly determine whether the transmitting of them to his majesty would be proper." This unsatisfactory answer caused an adjournment, and consequent suspension of public business;—but after a warm debate, the popular party out-voted the courtiers by twenty-one voices. The question was, virtually, whether the people of Ireland should be deprived of parliamentary means of transmitting complaints of grievances to the throne. This controversy being now determined, the lord-lieutenant sent a message to the house that its resolutions should be forwarded to the king without delay. In return for this concession, the commons unanimously voted a bill of supplies, but, unfortunately for Ireland, the resolutions in regard to pensions were not effectually pursued.

\* *Gentleman's Magazine*, July, 1756.

The real poverty of the kingdom increased, while there was a deceitful show of wealth. Even when the treasury was full, public credit was low. Three principal banks failed. The revenue decreased from 1754 to 1757. From want of due encouragement to tillage, the country was visited with famine, especially in Ulster.

Many of the grants made by parliament would have been conducive to public utility, if they had been faithfully executed. Grants conceded to the college of Dublin, in two successive sessions:—£20,000 in the one, £10,000 in the other, were expended in the embellishment of that noble seminary.\*

\* Gordon.

## CHAPTER XXII.

---

War with France—Loyalty and Liberality of the Roman Catholics—Disaffection towards the Lord-Lieutenant—Landing of Thurot at Carrickfergus—His defeat and death—Account of this Invasion by Mr. Wesley—Memoir of Thurot—Bravery of five Irishmen—Death of George II.—George III. proclaimed in Dublin—Whiteboys—Hearts of Oak—Octennial Parliament—Hearts of Steel—Emigrations to America—Indulgence to Roman Catholics—Failure of the Public Revenue—Volunteer Association—Free Trade demanded—Parliamentary Reform under consideration—Alarming increase and proceedings of the Volunteers—Charles Manners, Duke of Rutland, Lord-Lieutenant—Rightboys—Death of the Duke.

1759. THE two houses of Parliament assembling in the latter end of October, received a formal message from the lord-lieutenant, to the following effect:—

That by a letter from the secretary of state, written by his majesty's express command, it appeared that France, far from resigning her plan of invasion, on account of the disaster that had befallen her Toulon squadron, was more than ever confirmed in her purpose of prosecuting war; that in case the body of French troops, amounting to eighteen thousand men, under the command of the Duc d'Aguillon, assembled at Vannes,



and also a sufficient number of transports prepared, should be able to elude the British squadron, Ireland would, in all probability, be one of their chief objects. In a matter of such high importance to the welfare of the kingdom, his grace thought it incumbent upon him to communicate this intelligence to the Irish parliament. He said, his majesty would make no doubt but that the zeal of his protestant subjects of that kingdom had been already sufficiently quickened, by the repeated accounts received of the enemy's dangerous designs, and actual preparations made at a vast expense, in order to invade the several parts of the British dominions. He had received his sovereign's commands to use his utmost endeavours to animate his loyal people of Ireland to exert their well-known zeal and spirit in support of his majesty's government, and in defence of all that was dear to them, by timely preparation to resist and frustrate any attempts of the enemy to disturb the quiet, and shake the security of this kingdom: he recommended them in the strongest manner, to manifest, upon this occasion, that zeal for the present happy establishment, and that affection for his majesty's person and government, by which the parliament of Ireland had been so often distinguished.

Immediately after the communication of this message, the house of commons unanimously resolved to present an address to the lord-lieutenant, thanking his grace for the care and concern he had shown for the safety of Ireland; desiring him to make use of such means as should appear to him the most effectual for the security and defence of the kingdom; and assuring him, that the house

would make good whatever expense should be necessarily incurred for that purpose. This intimation, and the steps taken in consequence, produced such apprehensions and distraction, as had well nigh proved fatal to the public credit. There was such an extraordinary run upon the banks of Dublin, that several considerable bankers were obliged to stop payment.

A sudden stagnation of currency was prevented by the lord-lieutenant, the members of parliament, the lord mayor, aldermen, merchants, and principal traders of Dublin, forming an association to support public credit, and by taking the notes of bankers in payment.

At this juncture there was no appearance of disaffection in Ireland. The wealthy Romanists offered to accommodate the government with large sums of money, in case of necessity, to support the establishment against all its enemies; and the Roman catholics of the city of Cork, in a body, presented an address to the Duke of Bedford, expressing their loyalty in the warmest terms.

They congratulated his grace on the unparalleled successes which had attended his majesty's arms; expressed their sense of the king's paternal care of his kingdom of Ireland; and their own deep gratitude for the protection and indulgence they had enjoyed under his majesty's mild and auspicious reign. They professed strong indignation at the threatened invasion, by an enemy who vainly hoped for assistance in Ireland, from the former attachment of their deluded predecessors. They assured his grace that they would use their best exertions in defence of his majesty's royal person and government against all invaders whatsoever; and would

always be ready to concur in such measures and acts, in common with the rest of his majesty's subjects, as his grace, in his great wisdom, should appoint. Finally, they expressed the most earnest wish, that his majesty's arms might be crowned with such a continuance of success, as should enable him to defeat the devices of all his enemies, and obtain a speedy and honourable peace. This cordial address was transmitted to the Earl of Shannon, to be presented to the Duke of Bedford; and at this critical juncture was very acceptable to the government.

Although there was no disaffection towards his majesty's family evinced at this time, there was a strong disinclination to the lord-lieutenant, which broke out with extraordinary violence among the populace of Dublin. He had bestowed one place of considerable importance upon a gentleman who was obnoxious to many people in the kingdom; and he may have failed in the condescension and affability which are desirable in those who rule a nation. Great pains had been taken to propagate a belief among the lower orders, that an union between Great Britain and Ireland would soon be effected; in which case, Ireland would be deprived of her parliament and independency, and be subjected to the same taxes which were levied in England. Hence arose doubts and jealousies of the government's intentions. The populace were exasperated; they assembled in a prodigious multitude, broke into the house of lords, insulted the peers, seated an old woman on the throne, and searched for the journals in order to burn them if they had been found. They proceeded to further out-



rages, compelling the members of both houses, whom they met in the streets, to take an oath that they would never consent to such an union; or give any vote contrary to the true interest of Ireland. Several coaches belonging to obnoxious persons were destroyed, and their horses killed. A gibbet was erected for one gentleman in particular, who narrowly escaped the ungovernable rage of the rioters. To intimidate them, a body of horse and infantry were drawn out; and they were dispersed in the night.\*

1760. England possessed a powerful armament, while the enemy had not a ship of the line at sea; yet they were so alert with their small privateers and armed vessels, that from the 1st of March to the 10th of June, they had captured two hundred vessels belonging to Great Britain and Ireland. From the 1st day of June, 1756, to the same date this year, they had taken in all, two thousand five hundred and thirty-nine vessels, more than six hundred of which were retaken or ransomed. The British cruisers, in the same space of time, had captured nine hundred and forty-four vessels, including privateers, fishing boats, and small coasters.

In spite of all the vigilance of the British commander stationed in the Downs, Thurot escaped from the harbour, in the month of October, the preceding year, and arrived at Gottenburg, in Sweden, from whence he proceeded to Bergen, in Norway. His original armament consisted of five ships—the *Mareschal de Belleisle*, which was mounted with forty guns; the *Begon*,

\* Smollett.

the *Blonde*, the *Terpsichore*, with thirty guns each ; and the *Marante*, with twenty-four guns. The number of men on board this little fleet was twelve hundred and seventy soldiers, and seven hundred mariners: before they sailed from Dunkirk the number of the former was lessened by two hundred, who were sent on shore sick. In their voyage between Gottenburg and Bergen they encountered a violent storm, which separated them from the *Begon*. Stress of weather detained them nearly three weeks at Bergen, and they did not reach the northern part of Ireland until the latter end of January. Thurot wished to make a descent upon Derry, but tempestuous weather (the wind blowing strongly off shore) drove them out to sea, and parted them from the *Marante*, which they saw no more. Tempest-tost, and threatened with famine, the officers besought Thurot to return to France, which he declared he would not do before he had achieved some service for his country. He tried to procure refreshment by steering to the Hebride island of Isla, where the troops landed, and found black cattle, also a supply of oatmeal, for which they paid a reasonable price. Thurot conducted himself with great moderation and generosity: his appearance in these seas filled the whole kingdom with alarm. Bodies of regular troops and militia were posted along the coasts of Ireland and Scotland. Commodore Boys sailed northward with his squadron, in pursuit of the enemy ; and other ships of war were ordered to scour the Bristol channel, and cruise between Scotland and Ireland.\*

\* Smollett.

1760. On Thursday morning, February 21, at ten o'clock, three frigates appeared between island Magee and the Copeland islands, standing close in shore for the bay of Carrickfergus. They were under English colours, and came to anchor at eleven, about two miles north-east of the castle, within musket-shot of Kilroot-point. At first they were mistaken for English vessels. The small garrison of Carrickfergus, consisting of part of four companies of the 62nd regiment of foot, were exercising in a field about half-a-mile south-west of the castle. Major-General Strode, the commander, sent a detachment to the castle to take charge of the French prisoners, two hundred and sixty-seven in number, who had been sent thither from Cork in October. The remainder of the men continued their exercise, until, in about half-an-hour, information was sent them that the three ships at anchor had taken two fishing-boats, and with them were making for shore.

There was soon no doubt as to who they were. Eight boats were seen close to the shore landing armed men, who advanced towards heights from whence they could command an extensive view: they then marched towards the town. Lieutenant-Colonel Jennings, with two hundred and thirty men, opposed their entrance; but the castle having neither ammunition or provisions was not tenable. The French prisoners were sent to Belfast under an escort of the towns-people. It was not possible that Colonel Jennings could hold out long, with such small numbers, in the defence of unfortified walls and gates. The enemy soon perceiving a deficiency of ammunition, boldly advanced, and were pursued in



their course to the castle, from whence the colonel sallied, and ordered three platoons to the market-place, in order to favour the retreat of the garrison.

While the French and English troops were firing, a child ran out of a house and stood between them. A French soldier perceiving its dangerous position, grounded his arms, and eagerly snatching up the child, conveyed it to a place of safety and returned to the fight.

When their ammunition entirely failed, the soldiers threw down stones and bricks from the castle, in which a breach of fifty feet wide was made. Colonel Jennings made a noble stand; he placed himself before the gate, fronting the enemy, at the head of a few Irish recruits who never had burned powder. They conducted themselves with great intrepidity; their bayonets fixed to receive the enemy: and so far their efforts succeeded as to procure a capitulation on honourable terms.\*

Two thousand militia assembled at Belfast, to oppose Thurot, from different parts of the country,—even some apprentice boys were seen under arms—men came in from all quarters eager for arms to face the enemy, who, instead of advancing further, sent a flag of truce to Belfast, demanding provisions to a large amount, with a threat, that if withheld, they would burn Carrickfergus and then march to Belfast and burn it also. The town was too well prepared to render that practicable; yet as Carrickfergus was absolutely in their power, the gentlemen of Belfast agreed to supply the provisions they required.

\* *Gentleman's and London Magazines*, March and June, 1760.

On the 26th February, the French troops all embarked, leaving Colonel Jennings, and the officers and soldiers with him, at Carrickfergus, under parole not to serve until exchanged. Brigadier-General Flobert, who commanded the land forces, was left at Carrickfergus, wounded in the leg. Their present commander, M. Cavenac, had taken the mayor of Carrickfergus with him, and another gentleman. They carried off some things, and threw the powder, found in the magazine, into the sea.

Captain Elliot was at Kinsale when the lord-lieutenant sent him notice that three of the enemy's ships were at Carrickfergus. At four in the morning of the 28th, they saw, and gave chase to the enemy; they came to an action at nine o'clock, off the Isle of Man, which lasted about an hour and a-half; Captain Elliot's lieutenant boarded the *Belleisle*.\* Thurot, with his own

\* Plowden in a note informs us, that he was himself on board the *Belleisle*. He says, "On account of the penal laws then existing, the author, and several other children of catholic parents being sent abroad for a foreign education, in July, 1759, were taken in the packet by Thurot, between Dunkirk and Ostend, and were actually prisoners on board the *Belleisle* when she was attacked by what Mr. Smollett calls English frigates. The *Belleisle* mounted forty guns, and had another privateer in company with her of thirty-six guns. On the very day of the capture of the packet, three small English vessels, mounting twenty, twelve, and eight guns, commanded by Captain (afterwards commodore) Boys, gave chase to, and came up with the French privateers about midnight, and engaged them briskly until about four in the morning, when they were obliged to sheer off. Thurot's ship suffered so much, that it put into Flushing to repair; where his prisoners lay for several weeks before they were exchanged. Here a mutiny happened on board the *Belleisle*, which Thurot quelled by killing two of the ringleaders with his own hands, and cutting off the cheek of a third."

hand striking the colours, submitted, and his example was followed by the other French captains; the English commodore, taking possession of his prizes, conveyed them into the bay of Ramsey, in the Isle of Man, to repair their damage. Though the *Belleisle* was in a leaky condition, and had lost her bowsprit, mizen-mast, and main-yard, if the brave Thurot had not fallen in the action, it is probable the victory would not have been so easily obtained. In the hurry of the engagement his body was thrown into the sea by his own people.

This defeat of the French was considered so essential to the peace and commerce of Ireland, that the thanks of the Irish house of commons were voted to Lieutenant-Colonel Jennings, for his spirited conduct at Carrickfergus, as well as to the conquerors of Thurot. The freedom of the city of Cork was presented, in silver boxes, to the three captains, Elliot, Clements, and Logie, of the *Æolus*, the *Pallas*, and *Brilliant*. They had all been engaged in the conflict, which was maintained with great spirit on all sides. The loss of the English did not exceed forty men killed and wounded; above three hundred of the French were slain or disabled. The defeat and capture of Thurot was celebrated with signal rejoicings.\*

In Mr. Wesley's "Journal," he says, that he was at Carrickfergus when the French Lieutenant-General Cavenac was there, and that he met with him at the house of Mr. Cobham, a merchant. Cavenac told them that Thurot had received a thousand men out of the

\* Smollett.



king's guards, with orders to land in the north of Ireland, at the same time that Conflans was to land in the south. He said that Thurot had been driven by a storm to Bergen, in Norway, where his ships were much damaged, and his provisions consumed; nor could he, while there, procure a supply at any price. On leaving this place he encountered another storm, which drove him to sixty-six degrees north latitude, from whence he did not get back to Carrick bay till all on board were almost famished, having only an ounce of bread, per man, daily; they then landed, merely to get provisions.

“Is it true,” enquired Mr. Wesley, “that you had a design to burn the town?” “*Jesu, Maria!*” exclaimed Cavanac, “We never had such a thought; to burn, to destroy, cannot enter into the heart or head of a good man.”

Mrs. Cobham gave Mr. Wesley the following particulars of their landing at Carrickfergus. Her little daughter ran in with news,—“O mama, here are three Indiamen in the bay, my brothers are come!” (three of Mr. Cobham's sons who were in the East Indies). The little girl ran back to watch for their landing, but soon returned. “Mama, they say they are Frenchmen; they are landing, I saw their guns glittering!”

After having landed, they divided into two bodies, and marched in different directions, the one to the east gate, the other to the north. There were twelve soldiers and a corporal on the wall, who fired upon them when they drew near. A musket-ball broke the leg of General Flobert, and he instantly fell. A young marquis, being next in command, took his place.

After the English soldiers had fired three rounds, their ammunition failing, they retired; and the French entering the town, met their companions at the market-place, and proceeded with them to the castle. The garrison, in number one hundred and sixty-two, kept up a constant fire. The castle-gate not being barred, the French marquis thrust it open and entered, but was instantly shot dead. Cavenac supplied his place, and drew up his men: when the English, desiring a parley, articed to furnish the French army with provisions in six hours. This, however, could not be done, because of the scarcity in the town. M. Cavenac sent for Mr. Cobham, and desired him to procure provisions from Belfast. On Mr. Cobham's departure for this purpose, he left his wife as an hostage with the general, to ensure his return, for which the hungry French soldiers could not wait:—they were glad to eat raw oats; and wherever they could find food they served themselves: and also made some plunder of linen and clothing. But they neither hurt nor offended man, woman, or child, nor did any mischief for mischief's sake, though often provoked by unmerited insults from the inhabitants, who, without fear or common sense, cursed them to their face, and, with menaces, took up pokers and other weapons to strike them.

While Mrs. Cobham was with the general, a little plain-looking man came in, to whom they all paid particular respect. She thought within herself, "can this be M. Thurot?"—She was right in her conjecture; and invited him to her house to take some refreshment. He readily consented. After having eaten moderately of

some veal which had been prepared for him, and drank three glasses of small warm punch, he assured his kind hostess that he neither had food or sleep for the last forty-eight hours. Mrs. Cobham then said, "you will now like to take a little rest?" Perceiving that he started, she added, "I will answer for your safety, life for life; none shall hurt you under my roof." He quickly replied, "Madam, I believe you: I accept your offer." He desired that two of his men might lie on the floor by the bedside: and after six hours repose, returning her many thanks, he went aboard his ship. He was kept five days in the bay by contrary winds, and when he sailed, he took the Mayor of Carrick, with another gentleman, as hostages for the safe delivery of the French prisoners. As he walked the deck next morning, he frequently started, without any visible cause, and, with a hurried step, exclaimed, "I shall die to-day!" Some time after this, he said to one of the Englishmen, "Sir, I see three ships. Pray take my glass, and tell me freely what you think they are?" After having looked some time, he answered, "I think they are English, and I guess they are about forty-gun ships." Thurot then summoned his officers, and said, "our ships are too foul to fight at a distance: we must board them." Accordingly, when they came up, after a short fire, he ran up close to Captain Elliot and Captain Scordeck, with his twenty-four hussars, and, leaping on board, nine of his men were killed in an instant. Enraged at this slaughter, sabre in hand, he rushed among the English, was disarmed and carried away. Thurot per-



ceiving that some of his men were retiring to their ship, cried out, "why should we throw away the lives of the poor men?" and ordered them to strike the colours. In obeying this order, a man was shot dead, then another, and before a third could effect it, Thurot himself was shot through the heart. Thus fell a brave man, giving yet another proof that "there is no counsel or strength against the Lord."

Mr. Wesley adds, that he had much conversation with the French general, Cavenac, not on the circumstances, but the essence of religion. Without cavilling at any thing Mr. Wesley advanced, he said more than once, with great emotion, "Why this is *my* religion! There is *no true religion* besides it!" \*

It will be curious to trace the origin of Thurot, whose name had become terrible to all the trading seaports of Great Britain and Ireland. An Irish gentleman claimed him for his countryman, at which he laughed, and said he was a Scotchman. His parents were natives of Boulogne; but his grandfather was an Irishman, a captain in James the Second's Irish army. During King James's residence at St. Germain, Captain Farrel was one of his household, and married to Mademoiselle Thurot, whose uncle was a member of parliament of Paris. This union being very contrary to the wishes of the young lady's friends, none of them would countenance her. At the death of the king, Queen Catherine allowed a very small pension to each of the discharged servants. It was Farrel's only means of subsistence,

\* Mr. Wesley's *Journal*, dated May 5, 6, 1760,

and in three years after the death of his royal master, he removed to Boulogne, hoping, that among his wife's relations, he might find some willing to assist him. But here again he was disappointed, and did not long survive his change of residence. Three months after his death a son was born to the disconsolate widow, who followed her husband to the grave, after the expiration of a year; and the little orphan was adopted by her relations, who called him by their own name. Thurot was bred to the law; he married a vintner's daughter, who died in giving birth to our redoubtable Thurot.

The interment of the mother, and the baptism of the infant, were being performed at the same time, the one outside, the other inside the church. This took place at Christmas time, when, in Roman catholic countries, there is a custom that ladies of the highest distinction should stand sponsors for whatever children are brought to be baptized in the churches where they are. Madame Tallard, a lady of considerable rank and property, was taking upon herself this responsible duty for little Thurot, when the extreme anguish of his father attracted her observation. Inquiring into the cause, after the ceremony was over, she learned from the officiating priest the melancholy detail, which touched her heart with commiseration for the motherless babe; that, besides making him a generous present, she left directions that he might occasionally be sent to see her.

About fifteen years afterwards, an Irishman arrived at Boulogne, who, calling himself Farrel, claimed relationship with old Thurot, and by representing the O'Farrels as a great name and flourishing family, in

Connaught, persuaded the father to commit his young son to his care. This boaster was, in reality, a captain of a smuggling vessel, into which he conveyed the boy, and sailed with him to the Isle of Man, where he had some business to transact for the smugglers. Here young Thurot left him, and entered into the service of a more eminent smuggler, whose small vessels, freighted with contraband goods, were habitually passing and re-passing from thence to Ireland. Thurot made several voyages in them, and having remained a year at Carlingford, transacting business of importance for his master, he acquired some knowledge of the English language. Instead of returning to the Isle of Man, he repaired to Dublin, with eleven shillings in his pocket, and became valet to Lord B———, whom he served two years under the name of Dauphine. Then returning to Ulster, he recommended himself to the Earl of Antrim by his skill in sporting. His situation, near the sea, and opposite to the coast of Scotland, was favourable to the trade of smuggling;—he joined himself to a gang of these people. One of his customers was a lady, who stored £50 worth of his commodities in her house, of which the excise officers had notice, and seized them.

Finding himself possessed of £150, the fruits of his smuggling, he went to Edinburgh, where he passed for a seafaring captain, and obtained the command of a little sloop, the *Annie of Edinburgh*. It was freighted with linen, bound for London,—and was burned in the Thames. From 1748 to 1752, Captain Thurot passed many times backwards and forwards from England to



France. While in London,\* he was instructed in mathematics by Mr. Donnelly, an Irish gentleman, famous for his acquirements in this science.

After the year 1752, he resided chiefly at Boulogne, and became king of the smugglers, importing and exporting not less than £20,000 worth of goods yearly. The son of his godmother, Madame Tallard, was president of the province, and had orders from government to be very vigilant in searching for the smugglers which infested the coast. Several were arrested, with Thurot himself. Tallard had been his playfellow, and remembered well the partiality of his mother for him. Though he could not save him from a temporary imprisonment, he did from the hand of the executioner, and was afterwards the means of procuring him the command of one of the king's sloops; and in the beginning of the memorable summer of 1759, he was advanced to the command of his last expedition.†

1760. Smollett gives a remarkable instance of the bravery of five Irishmen and a boy, belonging to the crew of a ship from Waterford, laden with brandy and iron. In her return from Bilboa, she was taken by a French privateer, off Ushant, about the middle of April. The captain of the captured vessel, and all the sailors, except these five men and a boy, were removed, and replaced by nine Frenchmen. While steering towards the French coast, the Hibernians formed a plan of

\* He had lodgings in Paddington, where the author of the "Memoir," from which this extract is taken, accidentally became acquainted with him.—*Gentleman's London Magazine*, April, 1760.

† *Annual Register*, 1760.

insurrection. Brian, their leader, watched his opportunity; four of the Frenchmen were below deck, three aloft among the rigging, one at the helm, and another walking the deck. Now is the time, thought Brian, and tripping up the heels of the steersman, he seized his pistol, fired it at the man on deck; missing his aim, he knocked him down with the butt end of the pistol, and hollowing loud, spirited his comrades to follow his example. Their broad-swords soon compelled the enemy to surrender. They called for quarter; the hatches were shut, and Brian was master of the deck. Thus, with little effusion of blood, a complete victory was gained; the prisoners were secured; and but one difficulty remained—neither Brian, nor any of his associates could read or write; they were totally unlearned in the principles of navigation, but steering adventurously northward, they reached Youghall, where they landed safely with their prisoners.

1760. George II. died suddenly, in the seventy-seventh year of his age, and the thirty-third of his reign. On the 31st October, the lord-justices received an express with an account of this event, and directions for proclaiming George III., which was done in full procession on the following day. Many loyal addresses to his majesty were presented to the lord-justices.—Parliament was dissolved.

1761. The Earl of Halifax being appointed lord-lieutenant, a new parliament was summoned.

1762. In the records of Irish history we seldom find peace during seventy years; yet this was the case when the public tranquillity was interrupted by

men styling themselves Levellers. The conversion of large portions of land from arable to pasture ground, had deprived multitudes of the labouring peasantry of employment and the means of subsistence. To this was added the loss of the woollen manufacture in the south, the exorbitance of tithemongers, extravagant rent for potato ground, and the enclosing of commons. These were the causes assigned by bands of insurgents, who held nightly meetings, and began their depredations by the destruction of fences. At the commencement, they could easily have been suppressed; but the magistrates made no exertions. Their numbers and misdemeanors increasing, they became a formidable body. They felt their own strength, and perceiving that no effort was made to restrain them, they concluded that government had taken alarm; hence they changed their proceedings, put on a ridiculous uniform, and called themselves Whiteboys.\*

Mr. Wesley gives the following account of them in his "Journal:"—"In the beginning of December, 1761, a few men met by night near Renagh, in the county of Limerick, and threw down the fences of some commons which had lately been enclosed; nearly at the same time, others met in the counties of Tipperary, Waterford, and Cork. As no one offered to suppress or hinder them, they increased in number continually, and called themselves Whiteboys, wearing white cockades, and white linen frocks. In February there were five or six companies, of two or three hundred in each, who moved

\* *Dublin Magazine*, April, 1763.



up and down, chiefly by night, but for what end did not appear; only they levelled a few fences, dug up some grounds, and hamstrung some cattle—perhaps fifty or sixty in all. One body of them came into Clohean, about five hundred foot and two hundred horse. They moved as exactly as regular troops, and appeared to be thoroughly disciplined. They now sent letters to several gentlemen, threatening to pull down their houses: they compelled every one they met to take an oath to be true to Queen Sive (whatever that meant) and the Whiteboys; not to reveal their secrets; and to join them when called upon. It was supposed that eight or ten thousand had actually risen, many of them well armed, and a far greater number were ready to rise when called upon. If any refused to swear, they were threatened with being buried alive; two or three they did bury up to the neck, and left them to perish, which they must have done had they not been discovered by some who passed by. At length a body of troops was sent against them; many were apprehended and committed to prison, the remainder dispersed. This is the plain, naked fact, which has been so variously represented.”

“ Wednesday, July 7, 1762.

“ Four of them,” he adds, “ were executed for breaking open houses, who, though they had received absolution from their priest, through terror of death, clung to the ladder shrieking.”

The Whiteboys, after having broken the windows of the inhabitants in Johnstown, in the county of Kilkenny, and committed other outrages, buried a Roman catholic priest up to the neck, first enclosing him naked

in brambles and thorns; they threatened, that every priest they could lay hold of should be served in the same way, who tried to dissuade them from their wicked practices.\*

These southern insurgents were undoubtedly Romanists. Many more would have suffered death for their crimes, but for the scrupulous weighing of evidence exercised by the judges. Sir Edward Aston, lord chief-justice of common pleas, tried great numbers on a special commission, at Clonmel, and acquitted himself in such a manner, as to gain the approbation of the people. On his return he found crowds of men and women lining the road, imploring blessings upon him for his impartial justice.

1763. An insurrection broke out in Ulster, chiefly among protestants: their discontents arose on account of an exaction laid upon each housekeeper to provide for the repairing of roads—six days labour of a man and horse (if he had one) every year. This fell heavily, on the poor especially, by unfair management: many of the roads thus repaired were for private convenience, not public utility. At length the inhabitants of a parish in the county of Armagh, determined on resistance, raised a tumult, which spread through that county, and also Tyrone, Derry, and Fermanagh. Styling themselves Hearts of Oak, they walked, in open day-light, wearing oaken boughs in their hats; and holding their assemblies by day only. They forced all whom they met to take an oath, that they would be true to the king and to the Hearts of Oak.

\* See *Annual Register*, Vol. xviii. 1775.

In the "Dublin Magazine," July 1763, the Oak-boys are represented as a formidable body of insurgents.

They assembled at Market Hill, on the 30th of August, with branches of oak, in number upwards of ten thousand; and again, at Rich Hill, on the 2nd of July, eight thousand. The purpose of their meeting at the first place was to take the cess off the county.

The party assembled at Rich Hill proceeded to the residences of Dean Brandreth and Dean Cope, from both of whom they obtained signatures, that they would take no small dues in future. They next visited Counsellor Blacker, of Tanderagee, who agreed to level the fences which enclosed the commons of that place. In every town in the county of Armagh, from four to five hundred of these men had been raised.

On their visiting Sir Archibald Acheson, he was obliged to grant them their request, which was, not to demand any of the tax laid on at the assizes. In like manner they visited Dr. Godly, and nearly all the other gentlemen in the county.

They required every person they met on their march to accompany them; and if any man refused, he was compelled to ride a mile on a stick, and was then soused in a pond or river.

Mr. Jackson,\* of the mountains, was particularly obnoxious, from being instrumental in laying on the cess. They summoned several gentlemen to meet them on the common of Armagh, where they assembled to the number of twenty thousand. They compelled the

\* Forkhill.



gentlemen to swear they would never be on a jury, nor attempt to lay more than a farthing an acre tax on land, to assist the repairs of new roads; and further, they enjoined them to levy no money for private roads of any kind. This formidable meeting filled above two miles of the road. They were formed into companies, many of them carrying arms and displaying colours. They erected gallows in various places; and struck terror into the minds of the inhabitants, until Charles Coote, Esq., convinced them that a little opposition would soon put an end to such daring proceedings. He arrived at Coote Hill, with a small party, on the 15th of July, and after some resistance, with an additional military force, routed, and put them to flight.

In a few weeks after the commencement of this petty insurrection, it was totally suppressed; with the loss of but three or four lives, and without any destruction of property. In the following session of parliament the old act for repairing of roads was repealed, and an equal cess laid on lands for this purpose.

1762. At the close of this year the war against France and Spain terminated. From the system adopted, of securing a majority in parliament by places and pensions, the expenses of Irish government increased, so that the pensions, in a few years, amounted to £80,000 annually. Such an expenditure for an ascendancy which was not exerted for national benefit, was a ground of declamation to the Patriots, and a handle for their endeavouring to effect a change in the political constitution.

1763. The Earl of Northumberland succeeded the

Earl of Halifax in the government of Ireland. In 1765 he gave place to the Earl of Hertford; Lord Weymouth was nominally the lord-lieutenant, but never came to Ireland.

On the 14th of October, 1767, Lord Viscount Townsend was appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and was judiciously chosen to effect an important change in the system of governing Ireland. His natural disposition was calculated to recommend him to the Irish; social, easy of access, gay, humorous, and full of pleasantry. He made himself popular before he attempted the introduction of any reform in parliament. In latter times, the prolongation of parliaments had been found a serious national evil, of which the Patriots bitterly complained, and earnestly called for redress. Dr. Lucas had frequently failed in his endeavours to procure a bill for limiting the duration of parliament. A septennial bill was now transmitted, and returned with an alteration to an octennial convention. Immediately after the bill was returned, the commons voted a respectful and grateful address to the throne, acknowledging his majesty's "condescension so signally manifested to his subjects in Ireland, in returning the bill for limiting the duration of parliaments, which they considered not only as a gracious mark of paternal benevolence, but as a wise result of royal deliberation."

When the royal assent was given, the people received it with such transports of enthusiasm, that they took the lord-lieutenant's horses from his coach and drew him from the parliament-house to the castle. But the joy of the people did not last long; and with the return

of discontent, Townsend lost his popularity. The writings of Molyneux and Swift had made an indelible impression, which deepened in proportion to the opposition of the English house of commons, by whose order, Molyneux's "Case of Ireland being bound by Acts of Parliament in England stated," was burned by the common hangman. This being considered a political martyrdom, the book was sought after and read with more avidity than ever, and was widely circulated. Dean Swift's writings, adapted to the comprehension of the lower orders, strengthened these principles of freedom. The "Drapier's Letters" were cried about the streets of Dublin, and sold for a penny each; they were read by every man who could read, and listened to by those who could not. And when Faulkner was prosecuted for printing Swift's "Essays," he suffered himself to be imprisoned rather than give up the author. When Lord Chesterfield came to Ireland, and wished to reconcile the minds of the people to a desirable measure, he wrote a letter, exactly in Swift's style (while he was in a state of idiocy), under the signature of "the Drapier," published and circulated it in the same way as those letters had been. Upon the same principles the "Freeman's Journal" was issued, and, afterwards, the "Hibernian Journal." The writers for these papers were the gentlemen of the University of Dublin—Flood, Burgh, Yelverton, Grattan, and others. Dr. Lucas was the director of the "Freeman's Journal."\*

On the 17th of October, 1769, the lord-lieutenant

\* Plowden.



met the first octennial parliament. In his speech, he thus addressed them:—"It is with particular satisfaction that I meet the first parliament limited in duration, that ever assembled in this kingdom. I am confident that you are come together with the justest sentiments of duty and affection to our excellent sovereign, who has gratified the earnest wishes of his faithful subjects of Ireland with that great improvement of their constitution." Lord Townsend particularly recommended the encouragement of the charter school, the linen manufacture, and the prevention of running contraband goods, by which the revenue was much injured.

Mr. John Ponsonby was unanimously elected speaker of the house of commons. The debates and disagreements which ensued, are too tedious, and not sufficiently interesting, to be inserted. With mutual dissatisfaction, his excellency prorogued parliament to different periods, and ultimately to the 26th of February, then to sit for the despatch of business.

1771. Dr. Lucas died. He had proved to the last an incorruptible patriot, when all opposition to the influence of the court was without effect.

1772. After having established the preponderancy of an English interest in Ireland, at a vast expenditure of the Irish revenue, Lord Townsend resigned the government, which was committed to the Earl of Harcourt.

Another insurrection disturbed Ulster. It was attributed to a severe local grievance. The Marquis of Donegal had large possessions in this province, and being an absentee, had left his tenantry to the tender

mercy of his agent, who exacted large fees from the tenants, at the expiration of their leases; many who were unable to pay them were dispossessed, and left without the means of subsistence. In despair and indignation, they formed an association, styling themselves *Hearts of Steel*, and were joined by the discontented peasantry of other counties. By the exertions of the military, some were taken and tried at Carrickfergus; but were acquitted through the partiality of witnesses and jury, as was supposed,—and hence an act of parliament determined that such trials should, in future, be held in counties where the misdemeanors had not been committed.

This was attempted in Dublin, but did not succeed; prejudices were so strong against this unconstitutional law, that the delinquents were acquitted; and in December, 1773, the act was repealed. The insurrection was totally quelled, but not the spirit which engendered it. Many thousands emigrated from Ulster to the American settlements, where they took up arms against the British government, thus powerfully contributing to the separation of the American colonies from the empire of Great Britain.\*

1777. Lord Buckinghamshire took upon him the arduous duties of viceroy at a time when the critical posture of affairs in Ireland required an unusual degree of skill, experience, and judgment. From his speech to the new parliament, it was evident that he felt the importance of his situation, and his own insufficiency.

\* Gordon.

He said that his majesty had been graciously pleased to honour him with a most distinguishing mark of his confidence, in placing him at the head of affairs in Ireland. He might easily have found an abler minister, but, probably, not one more solicitous to justify his choice, in meriting the approbation of the Irish parliament, with whom he had received instructions to co-operate, in every measure, which can advance the improvement, ensure the happiness, and cherish the true interests of Ireland. He added, "I decline making any professions relative to my future conduct; it is by the tenor of my actions that the character of my administration must be determined." The commons, in returning thanks to his excellency, expressed satisfaction in having a chief governor who had rather let his future conduct speak for him, than any previous professions. The lord-lieutenant found the country in a calamitous state; numbers of manufacturers of Dublin, reduced to the lowest state of penury, had no means of subsistence but from public charity; government was unable to make grants, either to promote industry, or to relieve the national distress; every branch of the revenue failed; and such was the poverty of the nation, that the militia could not be carried into effect.

The parliament was under the necessity of raising money at an exorbitant interest: the expenses in 1777 having amounted to above £80,000 more than the revenue; hence £166,000 were borrowed, and attempted to be raised, as formerly, upon debentures, at 4 per cent.

The petitions of certain bodies of men, who had



fallen from opulence to indigence, strongly proved the national distress. “A petition was presented to the house of commons, from the merchants and traders of Cork, setting forth that about November 1770, an embargo had been laid on all ships laden with provisions, and bound from Ireland to foreign countries, which was still continued by government, and had been very strictly enforced:—that in consequence of that long embargo, an extensive beneficial trade, carried on for several years by that kingdom, to France, Spain, Portugal, and Holland, had not only been interrupted, but was in danger of being entirely lost; that they, receiving their supplies from other countries, the usual returns to Ireland were discontinued; new opponents to her commerce had been raised, and her commodities rendered useless and unprofitable; that great quantities of perishable commodities were decaying for want of a free export, to the great injury of the proprietors in particular, and the kingdom in general; that his majesty’s revenue, which heretofore had received large and constant supplies from Cork, had decreased in proportion to the decay of their trade,” &c.

The fatal effects of former emigrations from Ireland to America were experienced by an unquestionable fact, that most of the early successes in America were effected by the extraordinary exertions and prowess of the Irish emigrants (chiefly Ulster men), who bore arms in that cause.

A committee being formed in the English house of commons, to take into consideration the acts of parliament relating to the Irish trade, the Earl of Nugent

observed that their unshaken loyalty deserved encouragement, but oppressive laws had been their only reward. Yet he did not intend to complain, if he did, his generous countrymen would disavow his complaints;—seeing Great Britain in distress, had stifled all resentment; and, forgetful of wrongs, they now, unsolicited, made a tender of their lives and fortunes for the service. But for the narrow policy of Great Britain, which had kept them low, something more substantial than addresses would be sent; their armies would have gone forth for the defence of the country.

Lord Nugent said he had taken a view of all the laws which bore hard upon Ireland; and “he moved that the Irish might be permitted to send on board of British vessels, navigated according to law, to the coast of Africa, and our settlements abroad, all sorts of Irish manufactures, woollen and woollen cloths excepted.” Mr. Pelham professed himself a well-wisher to Ireland, and said, that no man had a higher respect for that kingdom than he had; yet he was not without his doubts, that the present measure would be highly detrimental to the manufactures of England; “the taxes in Ireland being low, and labour cheap, the Irish would be able to undersell us, and thereby ruin several of our trading towns.”

Lord North, in reference to this, said, that “to relax the trade laws would benefit the Irish, and ultimately enrich ourselves; embarked in the same cause with us, they cannot be called our rivals in trade: their rivals are our rivals. The exception of woollen cloth he would say nothing to,—it might not perhaps be just, but it

was a point given up by the Irish, and confirmed by an ancient compact.”

On the 14th of May, 1778, Sir George Saville moved for leave to bring in a bill for the repeal of certain penalties and disabilities provided in an act of the 10th and 11th of William III., entitled, “ An Act to Prevent the Further Growth of Popery.” The motion was carried, in the British house of commons, without a dissentient voice. Eleven days afterwards, Mr. Gardiner made a motion, in the Irish house of commons, for leave to bring in a bill for the relief of his majesty’s Roman catholic subjects of Ireland,—it also was carried in the affirmative, though not without opposition.\*

The removal of the penal code of Ireland must be a cause of thankfulness to all who are acquainted with its cruel enactments, and the rigorous execution of them. Christianity could have nothing to do with it. Mercy, and not sacrifice, is inculcated in all her precepts. The most severe of the penal laws were enacted when England was in the height of her prosperity. She had no enemy to contend with in the field. Ireland was broken down and quieted; her military had enlisted in foreign service. The heads of Irish families had emigrated to Spain, France, and Austria. War had depopulated the country; it lay waste and desolate. Instead of trampling it lower by vigorous measures, if England had devised means for the future renovation and improvement of Ireland, and put them in force, the discontent produced by the penal laws would have found no place,

\* Plowden.



and the effusion of blood, the vast expenditure of money, and an increase of mutual animosity, would have been prevented. It is easier to guard against evils than to remedy them.

“By an act, passed in 1778, Roman catholics were empowered to take leases for any term of years, not exceeding nine hundred and ninety-nine, or for any term of years determinable on any number of lives, not exceeding five. They were now enabled to purchase, or take by grant, limitation, descent, or devise, any lands, tenements, hereditaments, in this kingdom, with certain exceptions, and to dispose of them by will or otherwise, to descend according to the course of common law, devisable and transferable in like manner, as the lands of protestants. By the same law, certain penal acts respecting hearing and celebrating mass; forbidding Roman catholics to keep a horse of or above the value of £5; empowering grand juries to levy from them, in their respective districts, money to the amount of such losses as were sustained by the depredations of privateers; requiring them to provide protestant watchmen; and forbidding them to inhabit the city of Limerick, or suburbs, were repealed.

“So also were the acts which forbade them to teach schools publicly, or to instruct youth privately, of their own profession; and a law was enacted, to permit them to have the guardianship, the care, and the tuition of their own children.” \*

1779. The discontent of the Irish was much in-

\* *Ann. Reg.* 1786, Vol. xxviii.

creased by the refusal of the English legislature to remove the restrictions on their commerce.

The poverty to which the kingdom was reduced, evidently proceeded from the sums of money remitted from thence to England, which were found, for a series of years, to be double the amount of their gains by commerce. The laws for raising a militia could not be executed because of the failure of the public revenue; and even the few troops which were left in the kingdom were paid from the English exchequer. A volume of "Letters on the Commercial Restrictions of Ireland," by the right honourable John Hely Hutchinson, Provost of Dublin College, afterwards Secretary of State, was issued from the press. He was a man of splendid abilities, which he exercised for the good of his country, in temperate, but forcible language.

The few forces which were maintained in Ireland being found insufficient for the defence of the country, the inhabitants of Belfast fearing an invasion, when the power of France became openly leagued with the Americans, sent a memorial to the viceroy, requesting that he would send them a garrison. But he was compelled to refuse;—hence they entered into an association to arm themselves for the defence of the country,—and the same spirit of volunteering spread to other parts of the kingdom. They elected their own officers, and took upon themselves to furnish them with arms and uniform. A subscription was raised to assist them.

The warlike spirit so strongly diffused at this time, produced incalculable advantages. It prevented an invasion of the foreign foe, and allayed the turbulence

of the people at home. Never, at any period of the Irish history, were the laws so strictly observed and enforced.

The Irish parliament met on the 12th of October. The commons, in their address to the king, inserted the following clause:—"We beg leave, however, humbly to represent to your majesty, that it is *not by temporary expedients*, but by a *free trade alone*, that this nation is now to be saved from impending ruin." The Dublin volunteers, commanded by the Duke of Leinster, in uniforms and arms, extended in two lines the entire way from the parliament-house to the castle. The address was carried by the speaker to the viceroy, amid deafening acclamations from the populace. The thanks of both houses were voted, with but one dissenting voice from the lords (that of Lord Lifford, the lord chancellor), to the several volunteer companies, for their spirited exertions in defence of their country.

1779. Lord North, the prime minister, laid three propositions before the English commons, for the freedom of Irish commerce, which they did not oppose. Bills, founded on two of the propositions, passed into laws; the third, concerning a trade with the British plantations, was deferred till after the recess at Christmas.

The concessions already granted were received joyfully at first. But distrust soon again darkened this gleam of sunshine. An opinion became prevalent that without its own legislature, totally independent of the English parliament, the privileges of a free commerce would be precarious. The volunteer associations joined in the following resolution, brought forward by the



Duke of Leinster, on the 9th of June, 1780:—"That the king, lords, and commons of Ireland only, were competent to make laws binding the subjects of this realm; and that they would not obey, or give operation to any laws, save only those enacted by the king, lords, and commons of Ireland, whose rights and privileges, jointly and severally, they were determined to support with their lives and fortunes."

April 19. This year a motion had been made by Henry Grattan, in the house of commons, for their agreement, "*that no power on earth, save the king, lords, and commons of Ireland, had a right to make laws for Ireland.*"

At the instigation of Henry Flood, who knew that a ministerial majority stood engaged to reject it, Grattan withdrew the motion, after a most interesting debate, which lasted till six o'clock in the morning.

1780. A variety of printed papers now issued from the press, were calculated to increase the discontent of the people. The "*Hibernian Journal, or Chronicle of Liberty,*" and the "*Public Register, or Freeman's Journal,*" were particularly obnoxious to government.

The Irish people know how to appreciate works of genius; they delight in reading, hearing, and discussing the political occurrences which more particularly concern themselves. Strong arguments, delivered in a flow of energetic and eloquent language, heighten that enthusiasm which is characteristic of the Irish.

1780.\* By the several acts of parliament which

\* *Annual Register*, 1786, Vol. xxviii.

passed this year, the commerce of Ireland was freed from those ruinous restrictions with which it had been long shackled, through the short-sighted policy and narrow prejudices of the British nation. During the preceding year, in their addresses to the throne, the parliament of Ireland, in firm and manly language, had demanded the restoration of their commercial freedom. In order to enforce this requisition, the inhabitants of the trading towns entered into resolutions to prevent the importation of British manufactures: in prosecuting this determination, many acts of violence were committed, which the civil authority could not restrain. The resolute spirit evinced on this occasion had a forcible effect upon the deliberations of parliament.

23rd December, 1780. Lord Buckinghamshire was recalled. His administration was disapproved of, both by the ministers of England, and the people of Ireland.

The Earl of Carlisle was appointed Lord-Lieutenant. On the 9th of October, 1781, he met the parliament, whose debates and dissensions fill many pages of the history of that time. Several bills were brought forward during the viceroyalty of Lord Carlisle, which did not receive the royal assent.

At this time a new order of knighthood was instituted, *the illustrious order of St. Patrick*, of which the king is always to be the sovereign; the viceroy, officiating grand-master; and the Archbishop of Dublin, chancellor. Among the knights were Prince Edward, the Duke of Leinster, and the Earl of Courtown. They were invested at the castle, on the 11th of March, and on the

17th, the tutelar saint's festival, the ceremony of installation was magnificently performed.

October 1779, to the 15th of November, 1782. The origin and progress of the volunteers is thus described by Francis Dobbs, Esq., a barrister, and a leading member of the association :—“ An expedient free trade, and the fallacy of it, was soon understood. The plain and simple doctrine, that we cannot be free if any power on earth could make laws to bind us, save our king, lords, and commons, quickly prevailed. This became the sentiment of almost every man. It could not be openly, but it was insidiously attacked. These attacks raised many powerful advocates for Irish liberty. The public mind became enlightened; and it was in vain that the supporters of the administration pressed them to attend to their free trade, and relinquish their freedom. With their information the power of the people was also increasing. A variety of causes all tended to add to the volunteers. The gentlemen who had hitherto taken the most active part, were mostly of what is called the country party. Government, not able to suppress, wished its supporters also volunteers. On this principle many new corps were raised, differing much in political sentiment, but who were to become equally useful to their country. Another cause operated strongly: it became highly fashionable. Volunteer rank was an object of ambition; and it was considered the most glorious destination of a gentleman to be at the head of a well-appointed corps. Among the lower orders of men, the smartness of those who had enrolled themselves became an object of envy and emulation.



The idea of glory which attended it, also had its weight; and every able young man felt ashamed that he was not amongst the guardians of his country. The ladies also materially served the volunteer cause. Countrymen, from being slovenly in their dress and awkward in their manners, became neat in their persons, and comparatively polished and refined. In short, various causes operated so powerfully, that almost every man, who could, became a volunteer. But the volunteers, though powerful, had no fixed object; no bond of union; no communication. Detached in separate companies, they, as yet, wanted that connexion which alone could make them beneficial."

The volunteers became a formidable body of forty-two thousand men, armed and organized by no other authority or sanction, but the great law of self-defence. It is singular that the legality of their commission or delegation was never questioned by the Irish government or parliament. The war with America had drained the kingdom of its military forces; there remained but five thousand men to defend the sea-ports. Hence arose the necessity of volunteers arming in defence of their abandoned country. Government having no power to relieve them, encouraged the volunteering system, by delivering out sixteen thousand stand of arms, without any stipulations or restrictions.

Lord Clare, in his memorable speech on the Union, in reference to this time, says—"The imbecility of Lord Buckinghamshire's government had arrayed the volunteer army; and the address to his majesty, voted in 1779, by the commons, demanding *a free trade, as the*

*right of Ireland*, was followed instantly by a resolution of thanks for their array.”

A general expectation of redress was mingled with anxiety and dread of a disappointment.

1780. The British cabinet and parliament granted supplies, necessary for the commerce of Ireland, for a year and a-half longer. Orders were issued to raise £260,000 by treasury bills, or by a lottery, as the lord- lieutenant should direct. On presenting the Money Bills, to which his excellency gave the royal assent, Mr. Percy, the speaker of the house of commons,\* made a speech, which was so well received by all parties, that the house, in returning thanks, asked him to have it printed.

The flattering prospects held out to Ireland were, upon more mature consideration, esteemed fallacious. The proposed system of equalizing the duties between the sister kingdoms, irritated and inflamed the lambent spark of discontent in the public mind, which had never been blown out. At a time when Ireland had an armed force sufficient to assert her rights, it was impolitic in the English privy council to pursue measures so opposite to that for which they petitioned. The bill for punishing mutiny and desertion, for a limited time, in the army, was now made perpetual: and material alterations were made in one of the commercial bills, relating to the article of sugars.

1781. December 28. The volunteers held their first meeting, on the subject of parliamentary reform,

\* 10 *Comm. Journ.* p. 142. Plowden.

at Armagh. The officers of one of the Ulster regiments came to an unanimous resolution—"That to restore the constitution to its original purity, the most vigorous and effectual methods should be pursued to root corruption and court-influence out of the legislative body;" and, with this in view, a meeting of delegates from the several regiments of the province, was convened at Dungannon, on the 15th of February following.

The Earl of Buckinghamshire had been considered too passive in permitting the volunteer system to increase to its present alarming position. They were now a well-organized armed band, fifty thousand strong. In a late review, at Belfast, five thousand four hundred men were drawn out in one body; which performed all military exercises, and exhibited a train of thirteen pieces of artillery. The first regiment of Ulster was commanded by the Earl of Charlemont.

When an apprehension was expressed of an invasion from France and Spain, the volunteers offered their services in a manner very gratifying to the new viceroy: but they were still resolute in their determination to secure a free commerce, by means of a free legislature.

The meeting which took place on the 15th February, at Dungannon, was dreaded by the best friends of Ireland, especially the Earl of Charlemont himself; but what he could not prevent, he tried to remedy—by drawing out a digest (with the help of the two great orators, Flood and Grattan) of resolutions and proceedings of the assembly, which was composed of the representatives of one hundred and forty-three companies, with Colonel Irvine in the chair. We shall pass over



the detail of their proceedings, which are summed up in their address to the minority in both houses of parliament:—"That they knew their duty to their sovereign, and were loyal: that they knew their duty to themselves, and were resolved to be free." They aimed at a commercial and political emancipation of Ireland.

The taxes in Ireland were found deficient at this time, and the national debt had arisen to £2,670,000; the people, irritated against government, were looking to the volunteers for a redress of their grievances.

The tory ministry, unable to stem the tide of public disapprobation, resigned their places, and a whig administration succeeded. The Marquis of Rockingham was placed at the head of the treasury, and Charles Fox was appointed one of the secretaries of state.

Lord Carlisle sent in his resignation; and the Duke of Portland being appointed to fill his place, arrived in Dublin on the 14th of April, 1782.

The parliaments of England and Ireland received messages from the king, on the 9th and 16th of April, "recommending to their most serious consideration the state of affairs in Ireland, in order to such a final adjustment as might give mutual satisfaction to both kingdoms." These messages were delivered by Charles Fox and John Hely Hutchinson.

The first division which took place in the commons, under the administration of the Duke of Portland, was on the Roman Catholic Bills, fifty-seven for, and eleven against them.

We are informed by Lord Clare, that on the 6th of May, 1782, the Duke of Portland wrote to the Earl of

Shelburne (afterwards Marquis of Lansdowne), "recommending to the British cabinet, concession of all the points demanded by the Irish addresses:" at the same time "stating his perfect confidence in the readiness of the Irish parliament to co-operate, in the most effectual measures, either with the king's confidential servants, or by commissioners to be appointed, or through the medium of the chief governor, to settle the precise limits of the independance which was required, the consideration which should be given for the protection expected, and the proportion which it would be proper for them to contribute towards the general support of the empire. In pursuance of the declaration contained in the concluding paragraph of their own address, the regulation of the trade would make a very necessary article of the treaty."

"This communication was made by the Duke of Portland, before the claims of Ireland were brought into discussion in the British parliament: and plainly, on the faith of this representation made to the British cabinet, of the readiness, on the part of Ireland, to settle every question of imperial policy or regulation which might thereafter arise, the subject of the Irish claims was brought on in the British parliament." \*

By agreement, the whole powers of the state were brought to bear upon the point in the houses of both parliaments. On the 17th of May, 1782, the Earl of Shelburne, in the British house of peers, moved to have the king's message, the addresses of the lords and

\* Note in Plowden's *Hist. Rev.*

commons of Ireland in return to it, and the 6th of George I., for the better securing the dependance of Ireland on the crown of Great Britain, read. After they had been read, he displayed the powers of an accomplished orator and statesman in the speech he delivered. He said he wished to invite an open discussion of great national questions: Ireland had, by the papers on the table, demanded four things;—the first, and most essential, was a free constitution, which they could not be said to enjoy while they were subject to laws not made with their own consent.

The condition of the Irish parliament was singularly clogged by ancient statutes (Poyning's Law), framed for the times, which, though softened, were still a great check to their freedom. From this law the people of Ireland wished to be relieved. The perpetuity of the Mutiny Act was another subject of complaint. He thought it just to comply with the desire of Ireland, that there should be no distinction between that country and Great Britain. He concluded with expressing his strong reliance on the affection and gratitude which such fair and liberal concessions would elicit, and strenuously urged the necessity of union, at that moment, with the sister kingdom.

He concluded with reading two motions, the first, for the repeal of *An Act for the Better Securing the Dependancy of Ireland upon the Crown of Great Britain*. The second, that the connection between both kingdoms should be established by mutual consent, upon a solid and permanent footing; and that an humble address should be presented to his majesty,



that his majesty would be graciously pleased to take such measures as, in his royal wisdom, he should think most conducive to that important end.

“The Earl of Carlisle, in an elegant speech, expressed his approbation of the motions. He bore ample testimony to the zeal and loyalty of the Irish; and particularly stated the honourable conduct of the volunteers, and the liberal offers made of their services, when Ireland was threatened with an attack.”

On the 27th of May, 1782, the parliament of Ireland met, according to adjournment. In the Duke of Portland's speech, he expressed great satisfaction at “being enabled, by the magnanimity of the king, and the wisdom of the parliament of Great Britain, to assure you, that immediate attention has been paid to your representations; and that the British legislature have concurred in a resolution to remove the causes of your discontents and jealousies, and are united in a desire to gratify every wish expressed in your late addresses to the throne.” Mr. Grattan then called the attention of the house to the testimony which he bore to the candid and unqualified manner in which his former address had been answered by the lord-lieutenant's speech.

Grattan's speech is too long for insertion; an extract from it will show its tendency.

“As Great Britain and her ministers have unconditionally agreed to the demands of the Irish, I think the spirit of the nation is called upon to make an unconditional grant to England. The sea is the element to which nature points as the scene of British glory: it is there we can most effectually assist her. Twenty

thousand seamen would be a noble support; and we, who have been squandering the public money in all the waste of blind extravagance, cannot, surely, now deem £100,000 too large a sum, when applied to the common defence of the empire;—the sum is trifling, but the assistance of twenty thousand Irishmen would be great;—and gentlemen will now, when they retire to their different counties, have a full opportunity in assisting to raise those men: of manifesting their zeal for the common cause of Great Britain and Ireland. There are also other means of support in our power to give to Britain, though they cannot immediately be entered upon. This country is most happily situated for the construction of docks, and the rendezvous of shipping;—whatever expense might be incurred by such necessary works, would be repaid by the expenditure of the money amongst ourselves, and might be supported by a prudent and economical management of the public revenues, in the savings of the army, and in every different class of extraordinaries. An expense of £17 per cent., in the collection of the revenue, cannot be justified; the commissioners will now see that money is to be paid for labour, not for prostitution;—therefore let us now enter, heart and hand, into the great work of reformation, by giving our support to that ministry which has rescued this country from oppression, and will rescue it from corruption. On this principle I shall move you an address, devoid of all that fulsome panegyric so commonly offered to his majesty: for I think that truth will be the highest compliment to him.” \*

\* Plowden, Vol, i. pp. 608, 609.

In consequence of the address of the commons on the 29th of May, 1782, the lord-lieutenant “issued a proclamation for appointing a day of general thanksgiving throughout this nation, to return thanks to Almighty God for the many blessings bestowed on the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland; particularly for that union, harmony, and cordial affection, which had been happily brought about between these two kingdoms, whose interests were inseparably the same, by the wisdom and justice of his majesty and his councils, in forming and re-establishing their mutual rights, by which the strength, honour, happiness, and glory of the whole empire were augmented; and for the great success of his majesty’s arms against their natural enemies, which they trusted would tend to bring about a happy, stable, and general peace to these kingdoms.”\*

This happy consummation, so long desired and contended for, spread content and joy throughout the kingdom; yet before the bonfires which illumined the hills were extinguished, Discord’s envenomed influence again pervaded the country, within and without the parliament.

The two great rival orators, Grattan and Flood, to whom the civil freedom of their country was attributed, were the main-spring of fresh dissensions. Mr. Bagenal, a man of independent fortune and principles, had proposed, in parliament, “that the house should resolve itself into a committee, to take into consideration what sum they should grant for the purchasing an estate and

\* Plowden.



building a suitable mansion for their illustrious benefactor, Henry Grattan, Esq., and his heirs for ever, in testimony of their gratitude for the unequalled service he had done for the kingdom of Ireland." £50,000 was the sum granted on this occasion. This honourable tribute of gratitude, conferred on Mr. Grattan by the vote and address of the commons, was beheld with a resentful jealousy by Mr. Flood and some of his most intimate friends.

Flood's patriotism lost him one of the most lucrative offices under government, which he had held for seven years. Grattan never had one, but might have had, if the same obstacle had not intervened. When offered a place he was too patriotic to accept it.

Three days after Mr. Bagenal's motion in favour of Mr. Grattan, Mr. Montgomery, of Donegal, called the attention of the house to the merits and sacrifices of Mr. Flood; he gave notice that he intended to move for an address to his majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to restore the Right Hon. Henry Flood to the office he lately held, and in this he hoped for the concurrence of the minister. He would not, he said, move for any pecuniary reward, as he knew the right hon. gentleman in question was above receiving any alms from his country." This motion stirred up great dissensions; the place was no longer vacant, it could not be granted.

A fierce contest was maintained between the two rival patriots, Flood and Grattan.

In the new arrangement of Lord Shelburne's administration, which took place on the 13th of July, 1782,

Lord Temple was chosen to succeed the Duke of Portland in the vice-regency, of Ireland. Every possible despatch was given to parliamentary business in Ireland, in order that the Duke of Portland might close the session; and as far as it could be done, adjust all the arrangements then pending between the two kingdoms, respecting the legislative independence and commercial freedom of that kingdom. Lord Shelburne had been fully as explicit, open, and liberal in his speech to the lords, with reference to Ireland, as Mr. Fox, in his speech to the commons; therefore, it was generally presumed, at first, that the change in the British administration would not be the cause of any change in the system of concession to Ireland.\*

Amongst the several acts which received the royal assent, under the Duke of Portland's administration, was Mr. Eden's act for establishing the national bank. It met with some opposition, but was opened the following year. By this act (21 and 22 Geo. III. c. 16), the bank was established by the name of the Governor and Company of the Bank of Ireland. The subscribers to it were to pay in £600,000, either in cash or debentures, at 4 per cent., which were to be taken at par, and considered as money. This sum was to be the capital stock of the bank, and the debentures to that amount, when received, were to be cancelled by the vice-treasurers. For these an annuity of £24,000 was to be paid to the company, being equal to the interest payable upon these debentures; the stock was

\* Plowden.

to be redeemable at any time, upon twelve months' notice, after the 1st of January, 1794.

Ireland obtained an important acquisition by a Bill for the "better Securing the Liberty of the Subject," otherwise called the *Habeas Corpus* Act, similar to that formerly passed in England.\*

The delegates of forty-five volunteer companies, of Ulster, convened a meeting at Lisburn, in the county of Antrim, on the 1st of July, to deliberate on measures for a parliamentary reform. A committee was appointed to carry on a correspondence with other societies. They held another meeting on the 8th of September following, at Dungannon, consisting of the delegates of two hundred and seventy-two companies; they published resolutions concerning the representation of the people in parliament, and elected five persons to represent each county in a national convention, to be held in the Rotunda, in Dublin, on the 10th of November.

The delegates were chosen by ballot:—for Antrim, Colonel O'Neil, Lieutenant-Colonel Sharman, Colonel Rowley, Captain W. Todd Jones, Colonel T. M. Jones. For Armagh; Earl of Charlemont, Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Walter Synnot, Lieutenant-Colonel Brownlow, Sir Capel Molyneux, Captain James Dawson. For the counties of Cavan, Donegal, Down, Fermanagh, Londonderry, Monaghan, and Tyrone, the names of the delegates are also on record, with their unanimous resolutions.

The Lord Bishop of Derry was one of the delegates

\* Plowden.



for the county of Londonderry; the thanks of the meeting were presented to him for his warm attachment to the volunteer cause, for his attendance and assistance in the business of the day, and for proving himself, upon all occasions, the steady friend of the liberties of Ireland.\*

The convention in Dublin was full and respectable. The measures they proposed were commendable for their moderation. On the subject of parliamentary reform, the right of voting was to extend to all the protestant inhabitants of cities and boroughs who possessed a freehold or leasehold, for thirty-one years or upwards, of the value of forty shillings a-year: that in decayed boroughs, where the number of voters should be less than two hundred, in the province of Ulster; one hundred in Munster and Connaught; and seventy in the province of Leinster; the neighbouring parishes should be admitted to a right of voting: and, lastly, that the duration of parliament should be limited to three years.

Mr. Flood undertook to bring forward the discussion of these propositions in the house of commons, November 29th. On the following day he moved for leave to bring in a bill "for the more equal representation of the people in parliament." This was vehemently opposed by Baron Yelverton, the attorney-general. He said, he "admired the volunteers, so long as they confined themselves to their first line of conduct; but to receive a bill, which originated with an armed body,

\* Plowden.

was inconsistent with the dignity of the house, and the freedom of debate." After a very warm and long contest, the motion was rejected by a majority of one hundred and fifty-eight to forty-nine. A resolution was immediately afterwards passed by the commons, "that it was then necessary to declare, that they would support the rights and privileges of parliament against all encroachments." "They voted an address to the king, in which the lords concurred, assuring his majesty that they were determined to support the present constitution with their lives and fortunes."

On the report made by Mr. Flood of these measures to the convention, they agreed to prepare a counter-address, in the name of the delegates, of all the volunteers of Ireland, "to implore his majesty, that their humble wish to have certain manifest perversions in the parliamentary representation of that kingdom remedied, might not be imputed to any spirit of innovation, but to a sober and laudable desire to uphold the constitution, to confirm the satisfaction of their fellow-subjects, and perpetuate the cordial union of the two nations."

On the 14th of October, 1783, the new Irish parliament met Lord Northington, who succeeded Lord Temple in the administration: he opened the session with speeches to both houses, expressing satisfaction at what had been acceded to them, and congratulations "on the happy completion of his majesty's anxious endeavours to restore the blessings of peace to his faithful people, &c."

On the second day of the session, Mr. Gardiner moved a vote of thanks to Lord Temple; he said

that addresses of thanks had been received by this nobleman from every county in Ireland, for his conduct as chief governor; each of his public measures having carried with it so much wisdom and integrity: and in his private character he had concurred in every thing tending to the interest of Ireland, and had laid down such plans as would have been a national benefit, had he continued in the government; that he had been addressed by all ranks of persons, and nothing but the sanction of the house was wanting to render the thanks of the whole nation universal.\*

1784. The changes which took place in both kingdoms re-animated the advocates for parliamentary reform. William Pitt, son of the Earl of Chatham, was now premier minister; and Lord Northington, who had met with opposition in his eight months' administration, resigned his office, which was filled by Charles Manners, Duke of Rutland.

On the 13th of March Mr. Flood again moved for leave to bring in his bill : as the motion was supported by a great number of petitions, and all occasion of offence was avoided by keeping the volunteers out of view, the bill was allowed to be brought in, but, on a second reading, it met with no better success than at first. Repeated disappointments did not cool the ardour of the Irish in the pursuit of their favourite object; but they now turned their hope from parliamentary co-operation, to the more effectual exertions of the volunteer associations, whose legality the government

\* Plowden.



had not yet ventured to question. Several unpopular acts of the new government, in which parliament had some share, greatly increased the general discontent of the nation.\*

7th June. A meeting was held of the aggregate body of the citizens of Dublin, who resolved on presenting another petition to the king, in which there was a proposition to admit the Roman catholic subjects of Ireland to a participation in the rights of suffrage at the election of members of parliament. This measure was not only consonant to the general principle of the reform they meditated, but promised no small accession of strength to the common cause.

On the 8th of July, a petition, very similar to this, was conveyed to Mr. Pitt by the inhabitants of Belfast. In his answer, Mr. Pitt informed them, "that he had been, undoubtedly, and still continued, a zealous friend to a reform in Parliament ; but that he must beg leave to say, that he had been so on grounds very different from those adopted in their petition. That what was there purposed, he considered as tending to produce still greater evils than any of those which the friends of reform were desirous to remedy."

But the severest check to their cause was a disunion among their own members. In an address from the Ulster corps to the Earl of Charlemont, after having expressed the strongest detestation of aristocratic tyranny, they hinted at the necessity of calling in the aid of the Roman catholics, as the most effectual means of opposing it successfully.

\* *Ann. Reg.* Vol. xxviii.

The Earl of Charlemont, in his answer to this address, lamented that, for the first time, he was obliged to differ from them in opinion. He said, he was free from all illiberal prejudice against Roman catholics ; he was, on the contrary, full of good-will towards that respectable body ; but he deprecated a pursuit which would finally impede the prosecution of their favourite purpose.

The opinion of a nobleman so universally and deservedly esteemed, prevailed over the minds of many. The apprehensions of the timid pointed out the danger of this project:—the prejudice against popery had been stifled but not removed. In the month of October the corporation of the city of Dublin voted their thanks to Lord Charlemont for his firm resistance on this occasion.

The meeting of a national congress was too alarming not to attract the attention of government, and vigorous steps were taken to prevent its recurrence. Yet, though the sheriffs were so far intimidated, that they did not attend the meeting in their official capacity, on the day fixed for the election of delegates for the city of Dublin, the meeting was held and the delegates chosen. Having thus acted in defiance of government, actual punishments succeeded the threats which had been denounced. One of the sheriffs was fined, and imprisoned for a week. —April 20th, they held their final meeting.

1785. Notwithstanding the vigorous conduct of the Irish government, during the whole course of this summer, Dublin continued to be a scene of tumult and disorder. The means used to quiet the mob, incensed

them against the lord-lieutenant, and, on one occasion, he narrowly escaped out of their hands, from the public theatre.

After Mr. Pitt had taken a review of all that had been already granted to Ireland by the British parliament, he observed, "that the concessions now proposed to be made to that kingdom, in order to put the two countries on a fair and equal footing, he would reduce to two heads;—First—The importation of the produce of our colonies in the West Indies and America, through Ireland, into Great Britain. Second—A mutual exchange between the two countries, of their respective productions and manufactures, upon equal terms."

1786. The Right Honourable John Forster, speaker of the house of commons in Ireland, in his speech to the lord-lieutenant (March 21st, on presenting the Money Bills at the bar of the house of lords), says, that the expenditure of the kingdom had, for a series of years, constantly exceeded its revenue, which, if suffered to go on, must be ruinous to the country;—that in order to put a stop to this system, the commons, in the last session, had voted new taxes, amounting to £140,000, to increase the revenue of the year. "The effort was great, and the event proved its wisdom. No further addition was wanted; no loan or act of credit was necessary." "A situation," the speaker adds, "unknown to this kingdom for many sessions past." The commons, still intent upon preventing the accumulation of debt, had determined, in this session, to continue

\* *Annual Register*, 1786.



the same taxes; and also, by a considerable sinking fund, to provide for the speedy reduction of the national debt; and, at the same time, “to continue to the agriculturists, the fisheries, and the rising manufactures, of the kingdom, the bounties necessary for their support,” &c.\*

1786. An insurrection commenced in the county of Kerry, which spread through Cork and parts of Munster. Large bodies of men marched, unarmed, and professed to be under the command of a leader, whom they styled *Captain Right*—from whence they were called Right-boys. But it does not appear that they had a leader. Their object, at first, was a limitation of tithe, in which they met with little opposition; but when they passed these bounds, to the limitation of rent, the raising of the labourers’ wages, and opposition to hearth-money, the insurgents drew the attention of government.

1787. An act of parliament was passed at the beginning of this year, for the prevention of unlawful combinations, and tumultuous assemblies of the people. The Right Honourable John Fitz-Gibbon, the attorney-general, from the best information, declared that the clergy, instead of receiving the tenth, as was their due, had scarcely the twentieth. The peasants, in fact, were not able to pay them; nor had they food or raiment for themselves, by reason of the enormous rents exacted from them.

The Duke and Duchess of Rutland had introduced a

\* *Annual Register (State Papers)*, 1786, Vol. xxviii.

style of living unknown before in Ireland, most injurious to health and morals. Devoted to pleasure, profuse, convivial, and courteous in their demeanour, the Irish nobility and gentry admired and imitated them ; and thus acquired such a taste for the same manners, as never afterwards wore away.

The Duke of Rutland's intemperate living brought him to an early grave. He died in October, 1787, in the thirty-second year of his age.

## CHAPTER XXIII.

---

Marquis of Buckingham, Lord-Lieutenant—Riots in Ulster—The King's aberration of mind—Address from the Irish Parliament to the Prince of Wales—Buckingham's administration censured and vindicated—Inflammatory publications—Roman Catholic committees—Association of United Irishmen—Atrocious cruelty of the Defenders—Battle of the Diamond—Orange Association—Alarming increase and proceedings of the United Irishmen—Concessions to Roman Catholics—Attempted Invasion—Arrest of the Provincial Committee—Outbreak of the rebellion—Dinner party at Bargy Castle.

LORD TEMPLE, now Marquis of Buckingham, having resumed the government of Ireland, met the parliament on the 17th of January, 1788.

The expenses of the country exceeded those of Lord Carlisle's administration not less than £660,000 per annum.

The present lord-lieutenant, intent upon a reformation, entered into a rigorous scrutiny, in the different fiscal departments of government, and demanded instant payment of outstanding balances. A universal panic seized the whole herd of official peculators—they were unaccustomed to such investigations; some fled the country, some committed suicide, some shielded them-



selves under the sympathetic protection of superior officers, and others, with a bold face, confronted the enquiries which disgraced and caused their dismissal. The Marquis of Buckingham had upset a hornet's nest, which none of his predecessors ventured to approach. The ordnance and treasury were found particularly defective; the grossest impositions practised daily with impunity; the public stores plundered in the open day. The arms, ammunition, and military accoutrements, condemned as useless, were stolen out at one gate and brought in at another as newly purchased, were charged to the public account. Clerks with salaries of £100 a-year, had country and town houses with splendid establishments.

In the course of this year, the county of Armagh was disturbed by two parties calling them Peep-of-day boys, and Defenders; the first were dissenters, the last Roman catholics. Their numbers had been on the increase since 1785, when an altercation took place between three or four men. A trifling affray sowed the seeds of a wide field of contention; whole districts exhibited the same rancorous spirit of strife and vengeance. On each side they formed associations, embodied and armed themselves.

The Break-o'-days, as they were generally called, attacked the cottages of their Roman catholic neighbours, before the dawn of day, in order to carry off fire-arms, of which they were unlawfully possessed. The Defenders, in revenge, seized every opportunity of assailing their antagonists with such weapons as they could provide themselves, making no distinction between the

Peep-of-day-men and the volunteers. A corps of these, on a Sunday, in passing a Roman catholic chapel, on their way to church at Armagh, were assaulted with stones, by the infuriated congregation. Far from the solemn service having the quieting effect for which it is calculated, on the minds of the volunteers, as soon as it was over, they procured arms, returned to the chapel, though they might have avoided it by another route, and renewed the ferocious conflict, in which some of the original assailants were slain. In consequence of these rencounters, which had become very frequent, the Earl of Charlemont, who was the governor of the county, and the grand jury, published a manifesto against all papists who should assemble in arms, and against all who should attempt to disarm them without legal authority.\*

1788. In the autumn of this year, the king was visited with a malady of the most distressing nature. In the beginning of November, it proved to be a confirmed alienation of mind, which totally incapacitated him from taking any part in public affairs: hence, in the ensuing year, the Prince of Wales was constituted Regent. The Irish associations, in expectation of a change of ministers and a dissolution of parliament, held meetings throughout the kingdom, to make rules and regulations previous to the election of new members. One of their meetings was held on the 3rd of February, at Lord Charlemont's house, in Rutland square.

\* Plowden.

1789. The session was opened on the 5th of February, by the Marquis of Buckingham. In his speech from the throne, he thus expresses himself:—

“My lords and gentlemen,

“With the deepest concern I find myself obliged, on opening the present session of parliament, to communicate to you, that his majesty has been for some time afflicted by a severe malady; in consequence of which he has not honoured me with his commands upon the measures to be recommended to his parliament.

“I have directed such documents as I have received, respecting his majesty’s health, to be laid before you; and I shall also communicate to you, as soon as I shall be enabled, such further information as may assist your deliberations on that melancholy subject.”

In order to prevent the Irish parliament from forming resolutions relative to a regency, before the British parliament’s determinations could be proposed to them for their concurrence, the lord-lieutenant’s secretary, Mr. Fitzherbert, moved the house of commons, “That the house should resolve itself into a committee on the Monday se’nnight, to take into consideration the state of his majesty’s health.” This motion being strongly opposed, as derogatory to the dignity of the Irish parliament, the house met on Wednesday the 11th, when Mr. Connolly moved, “that an address be presented to the Prince of Wales, requesting him to take on himself the government of Ireland, as regent, during his majesty’s incapacity.” A long and violent debate ensued.



In opposing the motion, the attorney-general, Mr. Fitzgibbon, now Chancellor of Ireland, eminently distinguished himself; but, being supported by Grattan, Ponsonby, Curran, and other eminent orators, it was ultimately carried without a division. The Earl of Charlemont, in the house of lords, moved for a similar address to the Prince of Wales. After some debate, it was carried by a majority of nineteen. A protest was entered, signed by seventeen lords.

When the address was presented by both houses to the lord-lieutenant, requesting him to transmit it, his excellency refused to comply, giving as his reason, that under his impressions of official duty, and the oath he had taken, he did not consider himself warranted to lay an address before the prince, purporting to invest his royal highness with powers to take upon him the government of that realm, before the law had invested him with that ability. After some deliberation, the lord-lieutenant's answer was entered on the journals; and Mr. Grattan moved, "That his excellency the lord-lieutenant having thought proper to decline to transmit to his Royal Highness, George, Prince of Wales, the address of both houses of parliament, a competent number of members be appointed by this house to present the said address to his royal highness." The question being put and carried in the house of commons, it was transferred to the lords, who sent the following message in reply: "that the lords had concurred in the resolution of the commons, and had appointed his Grace the Duke of Leinster, and the Earl of Charlemont, to join with such members as the commons should appoint to

present the address of both houses to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales."

The Right Hon. T. Connolly, J. O'Neil, W. B. Ponsonby, and J. Stewart, Esqrs., were the commissioners appointed by the commons to present the address to the Prince of Wales.

Mr. Grattan then moved, "that the two houses of parliament had discharged an indispensable duty, in providing for the third estate of the Irish constitution (rendered incomplete through the king's incapacity), by appointing the Prince of Wales Regent of Ireland."

The delegates of the two houses arrived in London on the 25th, and the day following presented their address to the Prince of Wales, at Carlton House. The king's health had, happily, undergone such a favourable change, that hopes were entertained of his soon being able to resume the government. The prince, after having, in the warmest terms, expressed his thanks to the delegates for the address, which, he said, he received as a proof of loyal and affectionate attachment to the king, informed them of his majesty's restoration; and added, "I find it impossible to express, adequately, my feelings on what relates to myself; I trust you will not be the less disposed to believe, that I have an understanding to comprehend the value of what they have done; a heart that must remember, and principles that will not suffer me to abuse their confidence." He said that in a few days he would give a final answer, "trusting that the joyful event of his majesty's assuming the personal exercise of his royal authority, may then render it only necessary for me to repeat those

sentiments of gratitude and affection to the loyal and generous people of Ireland, which I feel indelibly imprinted on my heart."

On the 12th day of March, the prince was enabled to give a final answer to the deputation from both houses of the parliament of Ireland, which he concluded in the following terms:—"My lords and gentlemen, though full of joy for the event which enables me to take leave of you in this manner, personally, I cannot but regret your departure. I have had the opportunity of acquiring a knowledge of your private characters, and it has added to the high esteem which I had before entertained for you on account of your public merits; both have made you the worthy representatives of the great bodies to which you belong.

"I am confident that I need not add my earnest recommendation to the parliament and people of Ireland, to continue to cultivate the harmony of the two kingdoms, which, in their mutual perfect freedom, will find the closest, as well as happiest, bond of their connection."

March 23rd. The members of the committee, being returned to Ireland, reported the prince's final answer to both houses, which was inserted in the journals, and an address of thanks was voted.

As one in the minority of the Irish parliament had expressed himself, "the lords and commons have proceeded to appoint his royal highness illegally and unconstitutionally,"—a protest against the first address was entered by seventeen lords; so now, the address of thanks to the Prince of Wales, voted in the house of



commons, March 20th, and in the house of lords, March 23rd, was protested against by the same lords.

After the announcement of the king's recovery, congratulatory addresses were poured in from different parts of Ireland.\*

1790. Before the meeting of parliament in Ireland, after a residence of two years, the Marquis of Buckingham was recalled, and the Earl of Westmoreland was appointed to succeed him. The session was opened on the 21st of January, by the usual speech from the throne.

The whole session was a series of fruitless contention. On the second day, Mr. Grattan gave a detail of those grievances which he imputed to the Marquis of Buckingham, and he summed up his charges in the following oration.†—"Such has been the conduct of your reformer. This was the man;—you remember his entry into the capital, trampling on the hearse of the Duke of Rutland, and seated in a triumphal car, drawn by public credulity: on one side fallacious Hope, and on the other many-mouthed Profession; a figure with two faces, one turned to the treasury, and the other presented to the people,—and, with a double tongue, speaking contradictory languages. This minister alights; justice looks up to him with empty hopes, and speculation faints with idle alarms: he finds the city a prey to an unconstitutional police—he continues it: he finds the country overburthened with a shameful pension list—he increases it: he finds the house of commons swarming

\* *Ann. Reg.* 1789. † 10, *Parl. Deb.* p. 15.

with placemen—he multiplies them: he finds the salary of the secretary increased, to prevent a pension—he grants a pension: he finds the kingdom drained by absentee employments, and by compensations, to buy them home—he gives the best reversion in the country to an absentee—his brother: he finds the government, at different times, had disgraced itself by creating sinecures to gratify corrupt affection—he makes two commissioners of the rolls, and gives one of them to another brother: he finds the second council to the commissioners put down because useless—he revives it: he finds the boards of customs and excise united by public compact—he divides them: he finds three resolutions, declaring that seven commissioners are sufficient—he makes nine: he finds the country has suffered by some speculations in the ordnance—he increases the salaries of offices, and gives the places to members of parliament.”

Mr. Grattan again displayed his oratory in an attack upon the minister, on the 1st of February, in which he arraigned the whole system of the late administration, so stedfastly supported by the present. His accusations were determined and fearless.—“I say the present ministers of this country cannot govern Ireland; they cannot govern Ireland for England.”

“The independent country gentlemen never can support a minister who practices extravagance and professes corruption: supporting such a minister they would be country gentlemen no longer,—they would be the servants of the castle out of livery; they must see and despise the pitiful policy of buying the country

gentlemen, by an offer to wrap them up in the old cast clothes of the aristocracy: a clumsy covering, and a thin disguise, never the object of your respect,—frequently the subject of your derision: the country gentleman must recollect how seldom he can procure even an audience from that bench, except when he artificially deserts his cause and his country. Place him on his native hills, and he is a protection against the storm; transplant him to the hot-bed of the castle, he degenerates, and becomes a weed.”

Curran was another conspicuous orator, who occasionally took his stand in the phalanx of opposition. We have some specimens of his eloquence,\* which are so interwoven with sentences of divine inspiration, not understood by him, and therefore misapplied, that no one who loves that sacred Word would like to transcribe nor read them.

In opposing an address to the late lord-lieutenant, Curran said, that “he felt the reverses of human fate. He remembered this very supplicant for a compliment, to which he pretended only because it was no compliment, drawn into that city by the people, harnessed to his chariot, through streets blazing with illuminations; and after more than a year’s labour at computation, he had hazarded all on a paragraph, stating no one act of private or of public good; supported by no man who said he loved him; attested by no act that said he ought to be beloved; defended, not by assertion of his merit, but an extenuation of his delinquency.”

\* 6, *Parl. Deb.* p. 282.



In vindication of the Marquis of Buckingham's character and conduct as viceroy of Ireland, many men stood up of great ability and probity—Mr. Monck Mason, Mr. Fitz-Gibbon, Mr. Corry, the chancellor of the exchequer, &c. &c.

“Mr. Marcus Beresford agreed with Mr. Curran, that the administration of the Marquis of Buckingham exhibited a strong proof of the instability of human grandeur. But little more than a twelvemonth ago, he was introduced with the plaudits of the nation and of the senate. Those twelve months he had, with the most sedulous attention, employed himself for the benefit of the country,—economizing her expenses, and improving her finances. During these twelve months he had not done a single act to merit reprehension, yet such was the fertile disposition of some, and the party spirit of others, that an effort was made to withhold a trifling compliment; while little-minded men could scarcely refrain from insulting a chief governor, by whose favour they hoped no longer to benefit.”\*

Mr. Corry, the newly appointed surveyor of the ordnance, gave the following details of Buckingham's proceedings:†—“The first the public knew of the faults of the officers of the ordnance-board, was the taking possession of their offices: but how different was this appearance from the real fact! It is customary for the ordnance-board, on the arrival of a new lord-lieutenant, to make to him a return of the stores and ammunition in the arsenals and magazines of the kingdom. This

\* Plowden. † 10, *Parl. Deb.* p. 230.

return had been made to Lord Buckingham when he came first here lord-lieutenant, in 1782; a like return was made to him upon his second coming. This nobleman was too much in the habit of examining papers, not to observe, by the difference between those two returns, that some extraordinary peculation had been practised; this was enough to direct his attention to the subject; but so far from proceeding with precipitation, he examined a variety of papers, which took up a great part of his time—from January to August,—and having fully discovered the peculation, he wrote a letter to the persons concerned, desiring them to call a board, and, if possible, explain and justify their conduct. They did call a board, and thus their guilt was fully proved. Buckingham, well knowing the scene of forgery that was then acting, like a wise and vigorous man, as it were by storm, took the different offices; if he had not, his fame would indeed be gibbeted, and not, as now, without foundation. Within twelve hours after he had taken possession of the ordnance office;—an attempt was made to rob it.

“After the discovery of peculation, the constitution of the department was examined—if there was any thing radically wrong; nothing of the kind was found,—it was established in wisdom. What then was to be done?—Not to alter the constitution of the department, but to put men of character and responsibility into the several offices.” \*

The Marquis and Marchioness of Buckingham tried

\* Plowden.

to do away the evil effects of dissipation introduced by their predecessors, by rational amusements and calm sociability.

1790. Mr. Burke published his book on the French revolution, which gave occasion to Paine's "Rights of Man." The first made a deep impression on the public mind: the tendency of the last was to rouse the people to a state of uncontrollable irritability.\*

1791. On the 11th of February a meeting was convened of the general committee of the Roman catholics of Ireland, at which the different resolutions and instructions from various parts of the kingdom were read to the committee. Several leading gentlemen of this committee had formed political intimacies with some gentlemen at the bar of great abilities, and strenuous advocates for all the popular questions that had been recently brought before parliament. The most conspicuous amongst them were the Honourable Simon Butler (a brother of the late Lord Mountgarret), Theobald Wolfe Tone, and Todd Jones. These three protestant gentlemen, in their own names, published some very able and strong arguments for the repeal of all the restrictive laws against the Roman catholics. A permanent union of interest between the protestants of the north (chiefly dissenters) and the Roman catholics, were the measures concerted on during the summer. In the month of June a paper was circulated in Dublin containing the design of an association, to be called the "Society of United Irishmen at Belfast." In the

\* Plowden.



November following a similar society was formed at Dublin, to which James Napper Tandy was secretary, and Mr. Simon Butler, chairman.

Plowden says, that these first societies of United Irishmen were different from those who afterwards entered into a rebellion ; the truth of which the sequel will show.

The anniversary of the French revolution was commemorated at Belfast, on the 14th of July, by the inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood. All the armed corps of volunteers attended, and fired a *feu de joie*. Several emblems were displayed on this occasion, in allusion to the revolution of 1688, testifying their aversion to despotism and arbitrary power.\* They also sent an address to the revolutionists at Bourdeaux, as friends and brothers, to which they received a sympathetic answer :—

“The Society of the Friends of the Constitution at Bourdeaux, to the volunteers and inhabitants of the town and environs of Belfast, in Ireland.

“ Friends and brethren !

“ Yes, generous Irishmen ! Receive this appellation which we have hitherto, *exclusively*, granted to Frenchmen, true friends of our constitution. Receive it, notwithstanding the distance which separates us ; the difference of our idioms, and of our manners: men inspired by a love of the human race, and the spirit of liberty, are mutually attracted, however distant their

\* Plowden.

situations : there is nothing intermediate between them were they placed at the different extremities of the globe. The citizens who agreed to the Declaration concluded on at Belfast, on the 14th of July, 1791, are, then, *all our brethren and our friends*.

“ Your address, read at one of the public sittings of our society, and frequently interrupted by universal bursts of applause, has filled our souls with sentiments of delight; in contemplating the purity, the compass, and the energy of your maxims respecting the natural and political rights of man. We fancied we beheld the standard of liberty, which philosophy this day unfurls in every part of Europe, arrested in its progress on the rock of Ireland, to receive the new homage of an enlightened people.”

1792. This year a new military corps, designated “ The National Guard,” was arrayed and disciplined in Dublin. They wore green uniforms, with buttons engraved with a harp under a cap of liberty, instead of a crown. Their leaders were A. Hamilton Rowan and James Napper Tandy. In imitation of the French, they addressed each other by the appellation of “ Citizen.” They were in high favour, and always cordially greeted by the populace as often as they appeared in the street or on parade.

Government was alarmed : the magistrates received orders to patrol the streets, with troops of horse, each night : and a meeting was prevented, to which the national guards and all the volunteer corps of Dublin were summoned to assemble, on Sunday, the 9th of December, 1792, in order to celebrate the victory of the

French, and the triumph of universal liberty. The summons began in the French style, "citizen soldier."

"Baron Power, in the year 1795, hanged three Defenders and two Peep-of-day-boys.

"In 1797, government sent the attorney-general to Armagh, to dispense justice impartially to both parties. He tried, alternately, two of each party; and some of each being found guilty, were punished."

But soon the Romanists far exceeded their adversaries in acts of cruelty. An instance of this is recorded, which happened in my own neighbourhood and memory. —"On Friday evening, at seven o'clock, a number of miscreants (calling themselves Defenders) assembled at the house of Alexander Barclay, one of the schoolmasters in the parish of Forkhill, near Dundalk, appointed by the trustees of the late Richard Jackson's charities, to instruct, indiscriminately, the children of the said parish. When they rapped at the door, Barclay inquired who was there? One of his neighbours, whose voice he knew, answered, and he immediately opened the door, when the posse rushed in, with Terence Byrne, the man who had spoken. They threw Barclay on his back, stood on him, and stabbed him repeatedly: then fastening a cord so tight round his neck as to force out his tongue, they cut it off as far as they could reach. After having cut off the fingers and thumb of his right hand, they left him bleeding on the floor, while they proceeded to treat his wife in the same brutal manner. The operation, performed with a blunt weapon, rendered it more excruciating and tedious to the sufferers. After having beaten the woman violently, they seized her



brother, a boy of thirteen years old, whose tongue they cut off, also the calf of his leg, and left all three in this mutilated situation.\* The boy had come from Armagh that morning to see his sister.

The Barclays had given no offence to their ferocious enemies; they bore the character of an unoffending industrious family, in the neighbourhood. They were obnoxious to the Romanists because they were protestants, and also on account of their giving instruction to the children of the neighbouring peasantry, of different persuasions, free of expense to their parents; for this purpose, and for the improvement of agriculture, the greater part of Mr. Jackson's large estate was devoted.

In Musgrave's "History of the Rebellion," he says, "Sobriety, secrecy, the accumulation of arms, and the giving assistance to each other on all occasions, seemed to have been the leading object of the Defenders, who were exclusively of the Roman catholic religion. They knew each other by secret signs, and had a grand-master in each county, who was elected at a general meeting, held annually; they had also monthly meetings."

In 1795, they openly and frequently assembled in Armagh, but not without opposition from the protestants. Hoping to put an end to this cruel warfare, an act of amnesty was drawn up and signed by the leaders of both parties; they entered into an engagement, under penalties of £50, mutually to preserve the peace. However

\* Report of the Trustees to the Lord Bishop of Dromore.

it was soon broken; one of the protestant gentlemen, who had signed the friendly compact, was fired at on returning home, which proceeding occasioned the sanguinary battle of the Diamond.

On the following day, the armed multitude assembled and attacked the protestants, who made another attempt to effect a reconciliation, but in vain. The Defenders were heard to declare that they would not suffer a protestant to remain in the country. Reinforcements pouring in from the mountains, redoubled their shouts and firing. The alarmed protestants, collecting all their forces, withstood them; and forty-eight of the Defenders were killed, besides a great number wounded, at the village called the Diamond,\* on the 21st of September, 1795.† The results of this battle were deplorable. The protestants, no longer seeking to be reconciled, exhibited the effects of a deadly hatred, in retaliating upon their adversaries, whose houses they set on fire, destroying furniture and all they could find belonging to Romanists, until they drove them from their empty homes, to seek a shelter in some distant province.

The Protestant Association, which took the name of Orangemen, from the Prince of Orange, originated in Armagh, from whence it spread over the north, and thence to Leinster and the metropolis. Men of high

\* In commemoration of the battle of the Diamond, the first Orange Lodge was formed.

At the breaking out of the Rebellion, in 1798, General Knox assured the government that the security of Ulster depended upon the Orangemen, and that, as ardent supporters of the constitution, they might be entrusted.—*Maxwell*.

† Musgrave.

rank and character joined them. The preservation of public order, was the declared object of their institution ; their professed intention was to protect all loyal subjects, without any inquiry into their religious opinions. Malicious and false reports were circulated against them by the adverse party ; but they were a totally different body of men, and acting on different principles from the original association of protestants, in the north, who had committed many outrages, and rendered themselves particularly odious to the Roman catholics.

1796. An organized system of murder and robbery had increased to such a degree in Ulster, as to bid defiance to the exertions of the civil power. Treasonable associations and assemblies were continued ; the peaceable inhabitants were disarmed ; and many were deterred from joining the yeomanry corps, by law established, lest the midnight assassin should assail them in their beds. The military were attacked in executing their orders ; and the justices of the peace were fired at.

1797. March 4. The murder of the Rev. Dr. Hamilton was perpetrated with peculiar barbarity. He had a living near the banks of Loughswilley, from which he had been absent for some days : on his return home he had stopped at the house of a neighbouring clergyman, the Rev. Dr. Waller. About ten o'clock at night, while the family were seated with their visitor in the drawing-room, the house was surrounded by armed men, who broke the windows, calling loudly for Dr. Hamilton, and swearing that if he were not given up, not an indi-



vidual of the family should be spared. Upon their attempting to escape out of the door, the ruffians fired into the room. Mrs. Waller, in trying to shield her husband, received a shot, which wounded her so desperately that she scarcely survived two hours. Dr. Hamilton fled into a cellar, from whence the domestics dragged him, to prevent the house being set on fire—for this was threatened, with horrid imprecations. Being delivered into their merciless hands, his head was broken, and his body covered with wounds, which soon ended his mortal sufferings.

Dr. Hamilton was well known and esteemed by men of literature. He was one of the original members of the Royal Irish Academy, and an invaluable contributor to its collections. His description of the northern coast of Antrim met with universal approbation. At a distance from the noisy world, in the bosom of an amiable family, he lived tranquilly, in the useful exercise of his talents; devoting his time, principally, to the sacred duties of his calling. When his parishioners became infected by the insidious practices of the United Irishmen, he found it necessary to exercise the authority of a magistrate, yet always temporized by the tenderness of a christian pastor. His exertions were apparently attended with success. The chief disturbers of the peace were either seized or quieted. Some who seemed to have been drawn unwillingly into the conspiracy, made a profession of repentance and contrition; but while they appeared touched with his exhortations, they were plotting to take away his life; and that which they dared not do themselves, was done by their emissaries

at a distance—so deep-laid and closely-connected was that system which bound them to each other.

Had Dr. Hamilton been cut off by some fatal accident, or died a natural death, his loss would have been deeply deplored; but the horrible murder of this excellent man cast an indescribable gloom over the country.

The outbreak in Ulster commenced under a leader whose name was McCracken, a cotton manufacturer. The first engagement was at Antrim: the insurgents were successful. Lord O'Neil was dragged from his horse and killed by a pike-wound. On the retreat of the dragoons, the exulting rebels rushed on with horrid yells, but a sally from the garden of Shane's Castle, where the yeomanry were stationed, together with a few discharges from the garden-wall, dislodged them. Their defeat was decisive; one hundred and fifty of the rebel army were killed and wounded in the town of Antrim; and two hundred were cut down in the rout that followed. An immense quantity of pikes, muskets, and guns being abandoned, fell into the hands of the loyalists. McCracken being deserted by the few who had followed his desperate fortune, was apprehended, convicted, and executed.

A body of the insurgents moved on to Portaferry, with the intention of taking that town. They halted within a mile of the town, at a large and well-stored public-house. Having ordered out its contents, "eatables and drinkables rapidly disappeared." One of the company, a brother of the owner, gave the following account, in his own Scotch dialect:—"My brither cam out quite civil, and 'wha's to pay *me*, gentlemen?"

quoth he. ‘Hoot, man!’ says ane, and ‘Hoot, man!’ says anither, ‘your country will pay you!’ My brither gied a look at me, and I at him, as they moved on; and frae that time I thought I had been lang enow in the army; so I slipp’d behind the dyke, and let them gang on without me. And weel it was I did sae—for afore twa hours’ time they were back again, far faster than they went: and not all of them either. But not ae word did my brither hear o’ the recknin’ frae that hour to this. Aweel, sir, the king’s men, whether sodgers or sailors, always paid decently—so I’ll e’en stick to them for life, when I recover this clout (blow) on my leg.”

Another of the party thus described their proceedings:—after their defeat, having arrived at the residence of Mr. Bailey, of Innishargy, five or six miles from the place of action—“The army lay down on the lawn, while the offishers took possession of the house, and having made themselves free of the cellar, sat down in the parlour, enjoying themsels wi’ the best it afforded. With that, mysel’ with ane or twa mair of us, made up to the open window, and ‘Merry be yer hearts, genteels!’ says we; ‘an’ what’ll ye hae the army to drink?’ ‘Hooh,’ says this ane and that ane, ‘there’s a water-cart in the yard; tak’ it down to the river and fill enough for the people to drink.’ ‘Hech, sirs!’ says we, ‘is that the way of it? Gin we’re aye to be *soles* and ye *uppers*, in that fashion, we may as weel serve King George as the likes o’ ye.’ An’ in five minutes, sir, the hale army melted awa, like snaw aff a dyke!”

“Such lessons as these could not be taught by sword



or bayonet. These men not only abandoned the standard of rebellion, but numbers of them actually joined a yeomanry corps." \*

According to the report of the committee of secrecy, the formidable association, calling themselves United Irishmen, was formed in the year 1791. Catholic emancipation, and parliamentary reform, were the ostensible objects of its founders: but their secret purpose was to separate Ireland from Great Britain, and to subvert the established constitution of this kingdom. This was discovered from a letter, written by one of their leading members, Theobald Wolfe Tone. They professed that they had united "for the purpose of forwarding a brotherhood of affection, a communion of rights, and a union of power among Irishmen of every religious persuasion, and thereby obtain a complete reform in the legislature, founded on the principles of civil, political, and religious liberty."

A brief statement of their purposes was given by Sir Hercules Langrish, in the following address in the house of commons.—"Notwithstanding my prepossessions in favour of the Roman catholics, I was checked, for some time, in my ardour to serve them, by reading of late, a multitude of publications and paragraphs in the newspapers, and other public prints, circulated *gratis*, with the utmost industry, purporting to convey the sentiments of the catholics. What was their import?—They were exhortations to the people never to be satisfied at any concession, till the state itself was conceded;

\* MS. Journal of a Field Officer. See Maxwell's *History of the Rebellion in Ireland in 1798*.

they were precautions against public tranquillity; they were invitations to disorder, and covenants of discontent; they were ostentations of strength, rather than solicitations for favours; rather appeals to the powers of the people, than applications to the authority of the state; they involved the relief of the catholic, with the revolution of the government; and were dissertations for democracy, rather than arguments for toleration." \*

The establishment of the United Irish Society was effected by the catholic committee; for political purposes, they were anxious to procure the support of as many protestants as could be induced to adopt their measures, therefore their principal leaders were chosen of this persuasion. Theobald Wolfe Tone, and Mr. Jones, were both men of talent, called to the bar. The first was the son of a coachmaker, unsteady in character, indiscreet and extravagant, he was unfit for his profession, and had reduced himself to a state of poverty. William Todd Jones was also a needy man; from want of perseverance or exertion, he failed; and though a man of good family, his broken fortune led him into the recklessness of revolutionary principles. They were both mercenaries, paid for their services.

Lord Edward Fitz-Gerald stands foremost among the military leaders. Three brothers were enrolled in the service—Thomas, Temple, and Robert, the sons of the

\* A large impression of Paine's "Age of Reason" was struck off at Belfast, and distributed *gratis*, among the united societies. Quantities were thrown into the yards of meeting-houses, on the Sundays, and copies scattered on the wayside, to be picked up, for the contamination of those who read them.—*Musgrave's Memoirs*.

state physician, Doctor Emmet. They were barristers, as it seems, of first-rate abilities. The way in which the eldest, Thomas Addis Emmet, publicly announced his principles, is worthy of insertion, as related by Dr. Madden:—

“ Emmet was retained for some persons, charged with the administration of unlawful oaths—at the time a capital offence,— and was addressing the court in arrest of judgment.

“ He took up the pleadings in which the words of the oath were recited, and read them in a very deliberate manner, and with all the gravity of a man who felt that he was binding his soul by the obligations of a solemn oath.—

“ ‘ 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 the 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 to the freedom and happiness of this country.’

“ Having read the test,—defended its obligations with a power of reasoning, and a display of legal knowledge, in reference to the subject of the distinction between legal and illegal oaths, which the counsel for the prosecu-



tion described as producing an extraordinary impression, he addressed the court in the following terms:—

“ ‘ My lords,—here, in the presence of this legal court—this crowded auditory:—in the presence of the Being that sees and witnesses, and directs this judicial tribunal:—here, my lords, I, myself, in the presence of God, declare—I take the oath.’ ”

“ He then took the book that was on the table, kissed it, and sat down. No steps were taken by the court against the newly-sworn United Irishman:—the amazement of its functionaries left them in no fit state of mind either for remonstrance or reproof. The prisoners received a very lenient sentence.”

Napper Tandy, without the recommendations of birth, fortune, or any considerable talents, was popular among the disaffected for his sincerity and steadiness; but when he afterwards acted contrary to these principles, he lost their favour.

Henry and John Shears, the sons of a banker in Cork, had received a liberal education, and been called to the Irish bar. They had imbibed revolutionary principles at Paris, where they resided during the wild “reign of terror.” As brothers they were inseparably united by an almost unparalleled attachment.\*

The system formed by the United-men was deep, and darkly planned, to combine all malcontents in a general conspiracy against government, which must have succeeded but for the intervention of Providence, which brought to light their hidden proceedings.

\* Maxwell's *History of the Rebellion in 1798*.

Each member, on admission, was bound to secrecy, by the following test :—“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, collectively or individually, in or out of this society, in pursuance of the spirit of this obligation.”

Handbills were privately printed and dispersed among the United Irishmen, conveying instructions. Abstinence from the use of spirituous liquors was strongly enjoined, on two accounts :—First, for the sake of diminishing the royal revenue ; and, secondly, it would be a means of preserving secrecy. The strictness with which it was observed produced a remarkable change from drunken to sober habits.

The number of men sworn into this conspiracy is stated to have been at least five hundred thousand.

The mode adopted by the rebels to discover an unknown member, was by question and answer.—Quest.—“I know U.” Ans.—“I know N.” And so on, until the letters were repeated in the word *United*. The following questions were used for the same purpose, by the common people :—Q.—“Are you straight?” A.—“I am.” Q.—“How straight?” A.—“As straight as a rush.” Q.—“Go on, then.” A.—“In truth, in trust, in unity, and liberty.” Q.—“What have you got in your hand?” A.—“A green bough.” Q.—“Where did it first grow?” A.—“In America.” Q.—“Where did it bud?” A.—“In France.” Q.—“Where are you going to plant it?” A.—“In the crown of Great Britain”\*

\* *Lives of the United Irishmen.*

One of the tortures inflicted was a pitch-cap. The individual who was condemned to wear it was suddenly seized and brought into a guard-house, where these caps were kept : they were made of coarse linen, or strong brown paper, well coated inside with pitch ; and when heated, were compressed upon the head of the victim, until firmly attached : “ he was then turned out amidst the horrid acclamations of his merciless torturers.”\*

1793. Parliament met on the 10th of January. So alarming did the state of the nation appear to the lords, that very early in the session they instituted a secret committee to inquire into the cause of the disturbances which agitated different parts of the kingdom.

1794. An emissary was despatched from France to reconnoitre the situation of parties in England, and to encourage the disaffected with the hope of meeting the most ample support from the French republic. Failing of success in this mission, he passed on to Ireland (his native country). The man employed by the French, on this occasion, whose name was Jackson, had been a clergyman of the established church. On his arrival in Ireland, he communicated with Wolfe Tone, Hamilton Rowan, and others in the same connection, to whom he made known the purport of his mission from France, and a plan which had been proposed of an insurrection in Ireland in order to facilitate a French invasion. Happily he confided this secret to a person who had not entered into their views, and who unfolded the plot to the British ministry. While busily occupied in his

\* *Lives of the United Irishmen.*



negociation, Jackson was arrested, brought to trial, and clearly convicted of high treason. The manner of his death was a proof of his atheistical opinions : rather than submit to the disgrace of a public execution, he took poison ; and rushed into the presence of the Almighty with the additional stain of self-murder upon his guilty conscience.

Wolfe Tone, Hamilton Rowan, and others implicated in this business, found means to escape to France, where they contrived a mode of communication between their associates and the French government. A proposal was made by which to assist the Irish with a considerable body of forces, to enable them to separate themselves from England, and to form their own republic.

Lord Edward Fitz-Gerald, and Mr. Arthur O'Conner, were appointed to settle the terms of a treaty, which was very acceptable to the Irish. They went to France, and were met by General Hoche, with whom all things were arranged; and the time and manner of the projected invasion were agreed upon.

No artifice was omitted, in their revolutionary plans, by which to embarrass the government of the country, The seduction of the army formed a part of the system from the commencement of the association. Printed papers were industriously circulated amongst the non-commissioned officers and private soldiers, offering the most tempting allurements of promotion to all such as should desert their colours.

1794. The Defenders, becoming daily more numerous, extended their depredations into the counties of

Dublin, Kildare, Westmeath, Longford, Cavan, Leitrim, and a part of Down. They had laid aside their original principle of defence, and had become outrageous aggressors. Still, under the pretence of searching for arms in self-defence, their nocturnal visits were terrific,—not only plundering houses of arms and money—they carried off everything portable, that was of any value, adding severe outrage to robbery. This lawless banditti were composed of the lowest and most degraded orders of the people.\*

A bill was filed against Archibald Hamilton Rowan, for distributing a seditious libel, on the 8th of June, 1793. The trial came on the 29th of January, 1794. After a trial of about ten hours the jury found him guilty. He was sentenced to imprisonment for two years, and a fine of £500. After his commitment, the United Irishmen of Dublin became more daring. On the 1st of May he effected an escape from prison, and a reward of £1000 was offered for apprehending him.

1795. Assemblies of the principal Roman catholics were held, for the purpose of petitioning the king for a participation in all the rights of their fellow-subjects. A total compliance with, or the rejection of their petition, were equally fraught with danger.

The popish population were three to one. The Irish legislature were exclusively protestants,—zealous in opposing demands which would place their antagonists on a level with themselves. Nor was the ministry disposed, essentially, to weaken the protestant interest

\* Plowden.

in Ireland, on which alone it could place any dependence.

In answer to the petition, several material concessions were made:—Marriages with protestants were rendered valid; the right of taking apprentices; of keeping schools; of pleading at the bar; and other privileges, hitherto withheld, were coldly received by the Roman catholics, who aimed at far more important concessions.

At this critical juncture, Earl Fitz-William was appointed to the government of Ireland, and was received with universal satisfaction, because of his inclination to healing measures.

Parliament met on the 22nd of January, and unanimously voted him the most favourable addresses. On the 9th of February, they agreed to the largest supplies that had ever been granted in Ireland.

Lord Fitz-William, in order to recommend himself to the Romanists, employed Mr. Grattan, in whom all confided, to transact with the leading members of the party. On the 12th of February, he moved for leave to bring in a bill for the relief of persons professing the Roman catholic religion. Leave was given, and Mr. Grattan, Mr. Ponsonby, Mr. Forbes, and Mr. Knox, were appointed to prepare the bill.

The exultation of the Roman catholics had never been equalled,—but was soon checked by the intelligence which arrived, that the British ministry was averse to the emancipation they expected. Lord Fitz-William informed them of the great danger that would infallibly result from retracting the assent so formally given to a motion of such importance; and he explicitly



refused to be the person to raise a flame which nothing but the force of arms could keep down. Such were his own words. In consequence of this answer he was dismissed from his post, which was conferred on Lord Camden.

The universal dissatisfaction of the Irish at the removal of Lord Fitz-William, was manifested in the tumults which followed, and which required the intervention of the military.

On the 15th of March Lord Fitz-William took his departure. It was a day of gloom and sadness in Dublin. The shops were shut, no kind of business transacted, and the people, in general, seemed intent on manifesting their dissatisfaction. Some of the respectable citizens drew his coach to the water-side. Lord Camden, on his arrival five days afterwards, met with such a reception as might be expected from an enraged populace. Again a military force was necessary to put a stop to their violence.

October, 1796. In order to repress the formidable force of the union in Ireland, and to repel the French invasion, which was hourly expected, an armed yeomanry were embodied, in addition to the militia and troops of the line. The yeomanry corps were chiefly composed of cavalry, from which circumstance their services were found less useful in a hilly country, everywhere intersected with ditches, than if they had been infantry.

In the month of December the threatened invasion was attempted. The armament designed for this expedition had been all the summer in preparation, at

Brest. It consisted of fifteen ships of the line, ten frigates, beside sloops and transports, for an army of twenty-five thousand men, to be commanded by General Hoche, whose military abilities were esteemed equal to those of any officer in the French service. Through many unforeseen accidents, the fleet was not ready for sailing until the 18th of December. On leaving Brest, some of the largest ships struck upon the rocks at the mouth of the harbour; some were lost, and others rendered unfit for present service. On the day after the departure of the armament, a violent storm arose and dispersed the fleet.—Many of the ships were damaged. During the whole expedition they were assailed by tempestuous weather. He who commands the winds and waves again discomfited the enemies of Ireland, rendering abortive all their schemes and preparations.

Admiral Morard de Galles, commander-in-chief of the French fleet, entered Bantry Bay on the 24th, with seven ships of the line, and ten others. A boat was despatched to the shore, to reconnoitre the country, which was immediately captured,—and multitudes were seen crowding to the beach, preparing to oppose the landing of the French, whose ships were still buffeted with tempestuous weather;—it lasted all the time they were in the bay. At length the admiral determined on quitting it, contrary to the opinion of the land-officers on board, who would have attempted the landing of the troops: but, as General Hoche alone was in possession of the plan of the expedition, the admiral set sail for Brest, where he arrived safely on the last day of December. General Hoche, with the principal officers,

were in a frigate, which had been separated from the fleet in the first storm that scattered it on quitting the harbour, and they had since received no intelligence of them. All, however, with the exception of five ships, arrived at Brest. They were permitted to return home in safety: but against Ireland they could do nothing, which, for sixteen days, was saved by the elements alone from their attacks—the superiority of the English fleet being of no avail on this occasion.\*

Wolfe Tone, who was in one of the French ships, gives the following account of their failure, in his journal.—

December 25th, the admiral had issued orders to cut the cables, and put to sea. On the 26th, Tone writes:—

“The morning is now come,—the gale continues, and the fog is so thick, that we cannot see a ship’s-length a-head: so here we lie in the utmost uncertainty and anxiety. In all probability we are now left without admiral or general: if so, Cherin will command the troops, and Bedout the fleet;—but, at all events, there is an end of the expedition. Certainly we have been persecuted by a strange fatality, from the very night of our departure to this hour. We have lost two commanders-in-chief; of the four admirals not one remains; we have lost one ship of the line, that we know of, and, probably, many others of which we know nothing; we have been now six days in Bantry Bay, within five hundred yards of the shore, without being able to effect a landing; we have been dispersed four times in four

\* *Annual Register*, 1796.



days; and, at this moment, of forty-three sail, of which the expedition consisted, we can muster, of all sizes, but fourteen. There only wants our falling in with the English to complete our destruction.”

In the summer of 1797, the “Union Star” was privately printed and circulated. This infamous paper inculcated the principles of insurrection and assassination. The names of magistrates were given, and such as had served on juries, with a description of their persons, who, on account of their loyalty, or a conscientious discharge of their duty, ought to be assassinated.

A paper, still more licentious, called “The Press,” was published in the name of Mr. A. O’Connor, who was, for more than a year, a member of the executive directory of the Irish Union, and a most active and confidential leader of their treasonable operations, both at home and abroad. The periodical exhortations, widely circulated in his paper, inculcated all sorts of outrage and insubordination:—with every species of misrepresentation and sophistry to villify the government, to extend the Union, to shake the connection with Great Britain, to induce the people to apply to France for assistance, to exaggerate the force and numbers of the disaffected, and, systematically, to degrade the administration of justice.

During the autumn and winter of this year, the minds of the peasantry were ripe for rebellion. Pikes were fabricated in great numbers, and the people were universally armed.

“They had itinerant committees, who went circuit as regularly as the judges. A bar of lawyers were re-

tained to undertake the cause of all persons, in the gross, committed for state offences. Entries of money appear in their proceedings, as having been paid to procure, as well as to buy off, witnesses. Considerable sums of money were subscribed for the purpose of defending such of their associates as should be brought to trial.”\*

1797. The chiefs of the United Irishmen sent Dr. Mac Nevin as emissary to France. He was highly esteemed by them as of good abilities. He laid a project before the French government for an attack upon Ireland, where, he said, the numbers prepared for insurrection were immense: in the province of Ulster alone there were one hundred and fifty thousand. He made application for arms and money, and particularly recommended that the French plenipotentiaries, then treating with Lord Malmesbury, at Lisle, should be instructed to make the dismemberment of Ireland from England a condition of the peace. All this was granted with the exception of the money required. Mac Nevin was authorised to assure the French that they should receive ample compensation for any armament sent by them to Ireland, as well as for that which had been unsuccessful. Resources for this expenditure, he said, could be obtained by the confiscation of church lands, and the property of all those who were opposed to the United Irishmen.

He was particularly commissioned to negotiate for the loan of half-a-million, or at least £300,000, on the same security; and, in case France should hesitate

\* Report from the Secret Committee of the House of Commons.

about advancing so large a sum, he was directed to apply to the court of Spain. But, from a scarcity of money, neither France nor Spain could furnish this needful supply for an object, the accomplishment of which both desired.

The conspiracy was widely extended, and had hitherto been carried on with profound secrecy.

The Irish government had been suspicious, and on the watch for discoveries; but until the month of April, this year, no certain intelligence reached them of the deep-laid plots which were ripening for execution. They had information that there was to be a meeting at a house in Belfast, on the 14th of this month. A party of military entered it, and found two of the association-committee actually sitting. Their papers were seized, which led to other most important discoveries; and the danger and magnitude of the conspiracy was clearly ascertained. Great exertions on the part of government became necessary. The military were increased; the insurrection act enforced; and large quantities of arms were seized.

Multitudes of people assembled to cut down the harvests of various persons. "Eldred Pottinger, Esq., of Mount Pottinger, had twelve acres of oats cut down in thirteen minutes and a-half." From his field they adjourned to that of a poor man, in the same neighbourhood, and, while he was lighting his pipe, they reaped two acres of corn. Mr. William Orr, who lived near Antrim, had his entire harvest cut down in a few hours, by six hundred of his neighbours. They not only reaped the corn of those who had been sent to



prison, but when their hay was fit to be stacked, without the use of horses or carts, they carried it in upon their shoulders. In this way, forty ricks were stacked in a short time, for Mr. Rowley Osborne. Many others, who were then in prison, were thus favoured, as was stated in the "Belfast News Letter." "About fifteen hundred people assembled, and, in *seven minutes*, dug a field of potatoes belonging to Mr. Samuel Nelson, of this town, now in Kilmainham gaol."—"Northern Star."

Sir Ralph Abercrombie, being chief commander of the forces, received orders from the lord-lieutenant to proceed, with his army, into the disturbed counties. This experienced general was vested with full powers to act according to his own discretion. After an accurate inspection, he declared the army to be "in a state of licentiousness, which must render it formidable to every one but the enemy."

In the month of May, 1797, a general insurrection had been determined on. A partial one had taken place in Ulster, which was speedily suppressed by the vigorous exertions of his majesty's troops: and the tranquillity of the country was re-established. A proclamation was issued, dated May 17th, offering pardon and protection to all such as should renounce their treasons and surrender, of which many availed themselves.

In compliance with the wishes of the Romish clergy, the Earl of Westmoreland solicited his majesty's license to found seminaries for the education of young men for the Romish priesthood, which was granted. At the

commencement of Lord Camden's administration, a bill passed for the establishment of a Roman catholic college within the kingdom: in consequence of which, that of Maynooth was appropriated to their communion, and liberally endowed.

Dr. Hussey, the titular Bishop of Waterford, published a pastoral letter to the clergy of his diocese, in which he represented the protestants as a contemptible sect, which must soon have an end. He laid things to their charge of which they were guiltless; and exhorted his clergy to interdict the children of their parishioners, under pain of excommunication, from attending the schools where protestants were educated.

The circumstances of the times required decided and even harsh measures: but a licentious soldiery is a dangerous expedient. Heavy complaints were heard, from different quarters, of the barbarities of which they were guilty. Ireland was, at this time, in a deplorable state.—The occupations of civil life were neglected;—the peaceably disposed had no security, and were mercilessly plundered;—rancour, and tumult, and preparation for war resounded on all sides. A general insurrection was projected, and would have taken place, if France had not failed in her engagements. The agents employed by the Irish plainly perceived the base motives which actuated them: subjugation more than assistance appeared to be the ultimate object of the French government in its apparent interest in Irish affairs.

Baffled in their expectations of co-operation from their French confederates, the United Irishmen came to a resolution that they would proceed to action with-

out their aid. In the month of February, 1798, a military committee was named, which drew up a formula of instructions for their officers and commanders. During the course of this month, and March, the insurgents enthusiastically crowded to their leaders, and were gradually spread over many of the southern districts, still holding an extensive correspondence with their northern allies.

During the month of February, nightly atrocities and horrible murders nearly depopulated the midland and southern counties. In March, a body of three hundred rebels, armed and mounted, in the county of Tipperary, in the open day, rode into Cahir, a large and populous town; searching every house for arms, they triumphantly carried off all they could find—having met with no opposition to this and other acts of outrage.

March 30th. Lord Camden, by a proclamation, gave full power and authority to the several generals of his majesty's troops to put down this rebellion by military force: at the same time, protection and forgiveness were offered to the peaceably disposed, who would submit and lay down their arms, which many did.\*

The coercive system carried on by the army was greatly condemned by many who were decidedly loyal; but Francis Rawdon Hastings, Earl of Moira, did more than condemn—he exerted himself to serve his suffering country. In the March and November of 1797, he had moved in the house of lords—“that a humble address

\* *Annual Register*, 1798.



should be presented to the king, praying him to interpose his paternal interference for the allaying of the alarming discontents then subsisting in Ireland."

"Before God and my country," he said, "I speak of what I myself have seen. I have seen in Ireland the most absurd, as well as the most disgusting, tyranny that ever any nation groaned under. I have seen troops sent full of this prejudice, that every inhabitant of that kingdom is a rebel to the British government. The most wanton insults, the most grievous oppression, practised upon men of all ranks and conditions, in a part of the country as free from disturbance as the city of London. Thirty houses are sometimes burned in a single night; but, from prudential motives, I wish to draw a veil over more aggravated facts, which I am willing to attest before the privy council, or at your lordships' bar."

The Earl of Moira made a third motion on the 19th of February, 1798, in the Irish house of lords, where he offered to produce full proof of many and various acts of barbarous violence, but his motions were all negatived.

"On the very day that Lord Moira made his motion, the Irish committees took a formal resolution to pay no attention to any offers from either house of parliament; and that nothing should be deemed satisfactory but a total emancipation of their country.\*

Nothing but the state would satisfy them, was the assertion of one of their orators.

Thomas Reynolds was a remarkable character in the

\* *Annual Register*, 1798.

rebellion, and a conspicuous actor. He had been a silk manufacturer, for many years, in Dublin: but for some time previous to the rebellion, he had resided at his own place, Kilkea Castle, in the county of Kildare. Lord Edward Fitz-Gerald, and Oliver Bond, influenced him to join their party. He took the oath of a United Irishman, at the house of the latter, in the beginning of the year 1797; and accepted the commission of colonel, with the offices of treasurer and representative of the county of Kildare, as also that of delegate for the province of Leinster.

Oliver Bond was the son of a dissenting minister in Donegal. He was himself a woollen-draper, and had realized a considerable fortune. He had been engaged in treasonable practices since the year 1793.

When the schemes of the conspirators were fully revealed to Reynolds, namely, that all religious distinctions were to be abolished: the constitution to be subverted: the leading members of the government massacred,—and all such persons as should oppose their designs: he was resolved on defeating them by a full disclosure of all he knew. This he did cautiously, and by degrees. The result of his information was, the arrest of the whole provincial committee, at the house of Oliver Bond, in Bridge Street, on the 12th of March. Fifteen members, delegates from different societies, were taken by surprise. Captain Swan, with twelve soldiers, in coloured clothes, suddenly rushed in and seized their papers, several of which were of great importance. Almost all the Leinster delegates were promptly arrested and imprisoned. The conspirators

were confounded;—a traitor was among them, but who that was no man could conjecture. Wolfe Tone, in his diary, thus describes the calamity:—“ I have read news of the most disastrous and afflicting kind, as well for me, individually, as for the country at large. The English government has arrested the whole committee of United Irishmen for the province of Leinster, including almost every man I know and esteem in the city of Dublin. It is by far the most terrible blow which the cause of liberty, in Ireland, has yet sustained. I know not whether, in the whole party, it would be possible to replace the energy, talents, and integrity, of which we are deprived by this most unfortunate of events. I have not received such a shock from all that has passed since I left Ireland. What a triumph for Fitz-Gibbon (Lord Clare) ! These arrestations, following so close on that of O’Connor, give rise to very strong suspicions of treachery, in my mind. I cannot bear to write or think longer on this dreadful event.”

So far were they however from suspecting Reynolds, that he was still admitted as a friendly visitor to Mrs. Bond, after her husband’s arrest:—and while the place of Lord Edward Fitz-Gerald’s concealment was unknown to his own family, so great was the confidence reposed in his reputed betrayer, that Reynolds found free access to him.

After the first days of surprise and consternation had passed away, the revolutionists took courage, and strengthened themselves by filling up the vacancies in their executive.

By an address, issued the 17th of March, they ex-



horted their members to a tenfold exertion and firmness, while they cautioned them against any premature or divided outbreak.

A month's experience deadened their hopes. It was evident, from the proceedings of government, that their secret plans were discovered, and that active measures were taken to frustrate them. Nothing now remained but a sudden, decided blow:—the night of the 23rd of May was appointed for a general rising *en masse*. The signal was to be the destruction or detention of the mail-coaches, after they had left Dublin. A simultaneous attack was to be made on the castle, the prisons, and military posts:—the artillery barracks at Chapelizod, and the camp at Laughlinstown, seven miles south of Dublin.

Their hopes, though deadened, were not dead, while he was still at liberty on whom their firmest basis was built. On the night of the arrest at Bond's house, Lord Edward Fitz-Gerald had escaped from Leinster House, and remained safe in different places of concealment;—and if he could have been prevailed on to desert the cause he had espoused, his escape out of the kingdom would have been connived at. To this effect, it is said, Lord Clare expressed himself to Mr. Ogilvie:—“Get this young man out of the country;—the ports shall be thrown open to you, and no hindrance whatever offered.”

On the 11th of May, a proclamation was issued, offering £1000 for the apprehension of Lord Edward Fitz-Gerald. Who it was that betrayed him, on this occasion, has never yet transpired. On the 18th,

Major Sirr received intimation, from the castle, of the place of his concealment, which had been changed on the preceding night. Accompanied by Captains Swan and Ryan, with the attendance of eight soldiers, in coloured clothes, Major Sirr proceeded to the house of Murphy, a feather merchant, in Thomas Street. Lord Edward was found in bed, in an upper room : on being told that he was a prisoner, a scuffle ensued. Lord Edward inflicted several stabs on his opponents, and wounded Captain Ryan mortally. While endeavouring to make his way to the door, he received the contents of Major Sirr's pistol in the right arm, near the shoulder; he staggered, but still pushing towards the door: the soldiers were called up before he could be disarmed or bound.

Captain Ryan died of his wounds on the 31st of May; those of Swan were numerous, but not severe. Lord Edward's were pronounced not mortal—yet the state of his mind had such an effect upon them, that after an affecting interview and leave-taking, of his brother, Lord Henry, and Lady Louisa Conolly, his sister, he expired on the morning of the 4th of June.

For some nights previous to the 23rd of May, fires were seen on the Wicklow mountains, smoking by day, blazing by night. They extended over all the mountains, from the Scalp to Mount Leinster, in the county of Wexford.

An attack upon the castle and gaol of Newgate had been preconcerted—for the imprisonment of the authorities in the first, and the liberation of the state prisoners in the last. The darkness and silence of

night, with many other favourable circumstances, gave great promise of success. At ten o'clock, Neilson, the leader of a body of rebels which collected in the fields near Eccles Street, left them in order to investigate the position of Newgate, and judge of the best way in which to form the attack; but while he traversed the rough ground, the sudden brawling of a drunken fishwoman and her child, whom he encountered, unperceived, in the dark, betrayed him to the gaoler, and to many other persons whom the outcry drew to the spot. Neilson was known to the gaoler from having been already in his custody; and while his followers were halting, in expectation of his joining them, their captain was arrested and lodged in the prison: as soon as this news transpired, the whole party dispersed.\*

On the night of the 23rd, and the day following, several places were attacked in the vicinity of Dublin: with one exception the rebels were everywhere repulsed.

Prosperous, a small town, seventeen miles from Dublin, was garrisoned by a detachment of the North Cork militia, about forty men, with Captain Swayne, a lieutenant, and twenty of the Ancient British cavalry. Musgrave gives the following statement of this disastrous attack:—On the morning of the 24th of May, the two sentinels were surprised and killed; and while the soldiers lay fast asleep, both the barracks were assaulted. The rebels entered Captain Swayne's apartment, which was on the ground floor, and soon dispatched him. The house (which served as a temporary

\* MS. Journal of a Field Officer.



barrack) was surrounded by the rebels. A fierce conflict ensued, which was soon over. In the underground office there was a great quantity of straw, this was set on fire : the flame and smoke ascending caused the soldiers to rush to an upper story ; but not being able to escape from the increasing heat and suffocation, some, in leaping out of the windows, were received on the pikes of their assailants with ferocious yells. The soldiers made a desperate attempt to fight their way ; but very few escaped from the conflagration and pikemen.

On the morning of the 23rd no certain information of the insurgents' plan of attack had reached the castle. It was late in the day when the executive received the first authentic intelligence that they had actually risen. Their plans had been arranged, and so far succeeded : they were collecting, not only in the adjacent fields and roads, but in the streets of the metropolis : they were dispersed in unsuspected places—numbers of the yeomanry corps were United Irishmen ; the Dublin militia were unsound ; the servants,\* in many families, were sworn to betray their masters : even the lamplighters had entered into the conspiracy. On the evening of the 23rd, the concerted signal was given ; the Belfast mail was burned at Santry ; the Limerick coach was stopped on the Curragh of Kildare, and both guard and coach-

\* The Lord Mayor's servant confessed to his lordship that he was at the head of a numerous body of servants who were to have assassinated their masters ; and that he and his party were to have murdered the Lord Mayor and his family, and two of his servants, who had hesitated to join them : and that this atrocious deed was to have been the signal for the other servants in the vicinity to rise and commit similar enormities.—*Musgrave*.

man were murdered ; the Athlone coach was destroyed at Lucan ; and the Cork mail at Naas.

The Limerick mail was stopped by a numerous band of ruffians, at eleven o'clock at night, by shooting one of the horses. Lieutenant Giffard, of the 82nd regiment, was in the coach. On being asked "who, and what he was?" he replied, "that he was an officer proceeding to Chatham, in obedience to orders he had received." The next interrogation, whether he was a protestant? he answered in the same unhesitating manner, in the affirmative. After a short consultation, the rebels told him, that being in want of officers, if he would take an oath to be true to them, and join them next morning in an attack upon Monastereven, he should command a company; but if he refused, death was the alternative.

The young man replied, that "he had already sworn allegiance to the king ; that he would not offend against God Almighty by a breach of that oath, nor would he disgrace himself by deserting from the king's service, and joining his enemies: that he could not suppose that a body of men would have the cruelty to murder an unoffending individual, who was merely passing on his way to a country from whence he might possibly never return: however, if they were still bent on the conditions they offered, he would die rather than yield." The firm rectitude evinced by a youth of seventeen, far from softening these ferocious men, had the contrary effect; it exasperated them to greater fury against him. He had a case of pistols, which he used with effect. Being a young man of great courage and activity, together with

a natural love of life, he sprung from them and vaulted over a wall six feet high : seeing a light in a house he made towards it, but found no place of refuge. It presented a horrid spectacle of murder—the young and the aged had fallen under the brutal stabs of the pikemen. George Crawford, and his grand-daughter, a child of fourteen, who had thrown herself on his body to protect him, were thus massacred. Crawford had formerly served in the 5th dragoons, had retired on a pension, and was a permanent sergeant in Captain Taylor's corps of yeomanry cavalry. When he was assaulted by the rebels his large faithful dog flew upon them, and tried to defend his master, until they killed him. Crawford was a protestant ; his murderers, calling him a heretic, had no other crime to lay to his charge. Reeking with the blood of the slain, the same band of barbarians met Lieutenant Giffard,\* and soon despatched him ; and the three mangled bodies were thrown into the same ditch. The brave youth, whose memory still lives, was the son of Captain Giffard, of the Dublin regiment.

The rebel army, numbering from ten to twelve hundred men, moved on towards Monastereven, murdering every protestant they met, and one solitary dragoon, as he was crossing the Curragh of Kildare. On the 24th of May, they advanced boldly into the town, which was garrisoned with a yeomanry company of infantry, and a troop of horse. There was not a regular soldier in Monastereven. A warm conflict took place in the main

\* His body was afterwards removed and interred with military honours.



street,—and by the well-sustained musketry of the infantry, and the home charge of the cavalry, the rebels were completely routed;—fifty dead bodies were found in the streets, and many more were killed in their retreat, by the vigorous pursuit of the horsemen. “This gallant action was achieved by loyalists alone, and among the brave men who fought and bled that day, there were fourteen Roman catholics, who belonged to the troop of cavalry.

Very many were the individual murders committed;—isolated families were slaughtered. The town of Rathangan was a scene of extensive butchery: surrendering their arms, on the assurance of protection, did not save the inhabitants. Mr. Spenser was barbarously murdered at his own hall-door. The murders committed at Rathangan alarmed the protestants of Leinster and the south, who had taken part in the conspiracy. The warfare had now assumed a very different aspect from what they expected:—it was more against the church than the state. For this reason many protestants deserted the cause, and obtained favour of the government by giving secret information. Musgrave says, “I shall here mention an incident which throws light on the spirit of the conspiracy and rebellion, and the secret designs of the rebels.—A man named Denis, an apothecary, though a protestant, was the county delegate, and chief conductor of the plot in the King’s county, which was to have exploded in a few days. But the wanton massacre of the protestants, at Prosperous and Rathangan, having convinced him that their extirpation was the main object of the Romanists,

though they had, with singular dissimulation, concealed it from him, who was their leader, he repaired to Tullamore, to General Dunn, who commanded that district, threw himself on the mercy of government, exposed the whole plot, and betrayed the names of the captains, who were immediately arrested. He said to the general, 'I see, sir, it will soon be my own fate.'"

May 24th. Hostilities being directed against the king's government, proclamations were issued by General Lake, by the Lord Mayor of Dublin, and by the lord-lieutenant. All persons, not in military uniform, were commanded to remain within their houses from nine o'clock at night till five in the morning:—with the exception of magisterial and law-officers. All unregistered arms and ammunition were to be delivered up, and a list of the names of the inhabitants of each house was to be fastened outside the doors, signifying who were of the family, and who were strangers. Martial law was to be executed against all persons acting, or in any manner assisting, in the rebellion.

The rebels suffered a calamitous defeat at Carlow, on which they made an attack at two o'clock in the morning of May 25. The garrison had been warned of their design, and were fully prepared. Different parties of rebels, from different quarters, assailed the town, but without order, and with tumultuous noise. They were easily repulsed, and attempted a retreat, but being everywhere intercepted, they fled into houses, which the soldiers set on fire. Eighty houses were burned, and four hundred of the rebels were killed, without the

loss of one loyalist. On the 26th, a party of rebels was completely routed, on the Hill of Tarah.

The county of Wexford, which, hitherto, had been peaceable and industrious, now became a scene of tumultuous rebellion, fomented by popish priests, who headed the insurgents. The parish priest of Kilcormick, a ferocious man, headed a party of rebels. A nocturnal assembly collected, and daylight discovered the hills of Oulart and Kiltomas covered by bodies of armed men. About two hundred of the yeomen marched from Carnew to attack those who were stationed at Kiltomas; a desperate conflict ensued, but was soon over: the rebels fled away in confusion, leaving about a hundred of their men slain. At Oulart they were, unfortunately, successful. They were led on by Father John Murphy. A detachment of the North Cork militia, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Foote, was sent from Wexford to encounter them. At first they fled, but rallied at the priest's command, and furiously assailing their breathless pursuers with their pikes, left none alive but the colonel, a serjeant, and three private men. The loss, on their side, was three men killed, and six wounded.\*

\* " All was solemn silence and anxious expectation ! but still encouraging accounts were received of the North Cork militia, before whom the rebels were said to be flying. But this delusive hope was of short duration. . About four o'clock, Mr. Percival, the high sheriff, rode into town, with the melancholy account of their total defeat and destruction ; and, soon after, Lieutenant-Colonel Foote, and one serjeant, the wretched remains of that fine body of men, were seen pensively riding over the bridge, and approaching the town. And now the solemn silence of that awful morning was succeeded by a truly heart-rending scene. Most of the North



The country now exhibited a scene of horror and commotion,—houses in flames, families flying, in all directions, for protection or an asylum.

Murphy's rabble, in the exultation of their triumph, directed their course to Enniscorthy, on the morning of the 28th, in number about seven thousand.

On the first of June, four thousand of the rebel army marched from Vinegar Hill, in two columns, along both the banks of the Slaney, to attack Newtown Barry. They entered the town without opposition, and were busily engaged in plundering and regaling themselves with intoxicating beverages, when the King's County militia, which had apparently fled as if panic struck, suddenly returning, routed the party with slaughter.

A great army of rebels, under the command of a popish priest, named Philip Roche, assembled on Corrigra Hill, seven miles from Gorey, where an army of fifteen hundred men had arrived, under the command of General Loftus and Colonel Walpole. On the 4th of June, they marched, in two divisions, by different roads, to attack the rebels; but Roche, being aware of their design, removed from his station, and proceeded towards Gorey, with his numerous forces. At a place called Tubberneering, in a narrow pass, he encountered Colo-

Cork militia, who fell in the action at Oulart, were married men, —and, as soon as their fate was known, their widows and orphans ran into the streets, filling the air with their cries, dismaying every heart, and piercing every soul, with shrieks of anguish and despair."—*Musgrave*.

Of these devoted men there were one hundred and ten, rank and file. There were also a troop of cavalry-yeomanry, but most of them were traitors. The detachment had left the town at eleven in the forenoon.

nel Walpole, with his division,—which, being assailed by a tremendous firing, were thrown into confusion; in attempting to rally them, the colonel was killed by a shot through the head. A great number of his men were slaughtered; those who escaped from the massacre, retreated in much confusion. Leaving their artillery for the enemy, they never halted till they reached Arklow, being a distance of thirteen miles. General Loftus, being unable to contend with such numbers, retreated to Carnew, and from thence to Tullow, in the county of Carlow.\*

An attack was made, on the 4th of June, on Ross, by a large body of insurgents, commanded by Bagnal Harvey, who gained possession of the town: but it was retaken by the royal troops, which were bravely rallied.

About three hundred men constituted the garrison,—one hundred of these were the North Cork militia, the remainder were yeomanry. They were vigilant and well-prepared, but, in an open town, had no means of preventing the entrance of an overwhelming mass of assailants. Numbers gained admission through bye-ways, and while the suburbs and town were set on fire, the rebel inhabitants were firing at the soldiers from their windows. The loyalists, though charged with pikes and involved in smoke, retreated to an open space (the market-house square), where they made a firm stand, and killed great numbers of the enemy. After a severe conflict of more than three hours, the rebels were repulsed: but the garrison, being reduced to two-thirds

\* His forces were but three hundred men.

of their number, and the town on fire, the necessity of abandoning it was inevitable. They proceeded to Wexford, accompanied by most of the loyal inhabitants.\*

The insurgents had posted themselves at Three Rocks, a village but two miles and a-half from the town. This place is the termination of a long ridge, called the Mountains of Forth—the northern limit of the Bargy and Forth baronies. Mr. Beauchamp Bagnal Harvey, of Bargy castle, had been arrested, on private information, and imprisoned in the gaol of Wexford. The gaoler delivered to him his key, and he was persuaded, by the officers, to write a letter of entreaty to the rebels, to show mercy to the people of Wexford; — but they were left to these merciless savages, being deserted by the garrison, who retreated to Duncannon. The insurgents had, in reply to Mr. Harvey's letter, promised to spare the lives and property of the townsmen, on condition that all the arms and ammunition should be delivered up to them. No stores, however, of this sort, were forthcoming, which enraged the multitude, who were with difficulty restrained from a general massacre and conflagration. The rebellion spread through the county. It had not yet appeared in Gorey, but the terrified loyalists fled from thence to Arklow.

Immediately after the rebels had taken possession of Enniscorthy, they formed an encampment on Vinegar Hill, from which the town was afterwards garrisoned by

\* “No less than four hundred and seventy-eight dwelling-houses and cabins were burned in the town and its suburbs,—besides a great number of stores, malt-houses, and out-offices.”—*Musgrave*.



reliefs. Immense numbers of the peasantry flocked to this head-quarters on the mountain. They could not have chosen a more favourable position, and, in a few days, their numbers increased to ten thousand. This “enormous mob of unmanageable men, were divided into three corps,—each having a separate camp, a different object, and particular leaders.”

The largest body of rebels had assembled on the hill of Carrickbyrue, under the command of Bagnal Harvey and Father Roche. On the evening of the 4th of June they moved to Corbet Hill, within a mile and a-half of Ross. On the morning of the 5th, the armed multitude, from twenty to twenty-five thousand, advanced to the town. The attack had been expected, and additional forces were sent to strengthen the garrison, in all amounting to fourteen hundred men, under the command of General Johnson. The rebels came on, irregularly crowding together, and, in a wild rush, effected an entrance to the town:—a sanguinary contest ensued. Swarms of armed ruffians still coming forward and taking the place of those who had fallen, the troops, in despair, retreated over the bridge, and a total defeat must have been inevitable, if drink and plunder had not occupied the enemy. In the meantime General Johnson rallied the fugitives, and by his exertions, and the opportune arrival of a large reinforcement from Waterford, the rebels who remained, after a desperate slaughter, were driven out of the town. An amusing instance is related of the ignorant stupidity, rather intoxication, of a man, who was seen cramming his hat and wig into a gun, then crying out, “come on, boys ! her mouth is

stopped!" At that instant the gunner laid the match to the gun, and the wretched savage was blown to atoms. This fact has been confirmed by the affidavit of a person who saw it from a window. The action lasted from five o'clock in the morning until three in the afternoon. The loss of life, on both sides, was immense. Lord Mountjoy, colonel of the Dublin regiment, fell in the first onset. He was universally esteemed and lamented as both a public and private loss.

Some of the rebels, in dispersing, returned to their old camp, at Carrickbyrne. On their first encampment here, they established an outpost at the house of Scullabogue, which had been deserted by its proprietor, Captain King. They converted a large barn, belonging to the premises, into a prison, for any hapless protestant or obnoxious person who fell into their hands. It was thirty-four feet long, fifteen broad, and twelve high. On the morning of the attack on Ross, two hundred and thirty individuals were confined in this place, and in the dwelling-house, guarded by three hundred rebels, under the command of three leaders, Murphy, Devereux, and Sweetman. When the rebel army began to give way at Ross, an express was sent to Murphy, to put the prisoners to death. Murphy refused to comply without a direct order from the general. The messenger soon after arrived, saying, "the priest gave orders that the prisoners should be put to death."—This was enough,—the cruel carnage begun:—those who were confined in the house were led out and shot;—the executioners had pulled off their clothes to facilitate their work. They set fire to the barn, which was the most expeditious

way of destroying the men, women, and children, who were shut in. Their shrieks for mercy were of no avail;—when, by their united strength, they burst open the back-door to admit air, and held it as a shield to ward off the pikes, their hands, or fingers, were cut off. At last the prisoners became incapable, from heat and suffocation, to give utterance to their lamentations, and death silenced the frantic cries of the sufferers.

The depositions of several persons confirm the truth of this transaction, which is fully detailed in the appendix to Musgrave's "Memoirs."

Two Romanists, Thomas Shee and Patrick Prendergast, were burnt in the barn, because they would not consent to the assassination of their protestant masters. William Johnson, also a Romanist, a very old man, who earned a livelihood by playing on the bagpipes, was imprisoned and burnt for playing "Croppies \* lie down." Several of the wives and children of the North Cork militia had been thrust into the barn, though they were papists, because of their connection with the king's soldiers. Others, of the same religion, are mentioned in the details from which these are taken, as having undergone the same penalty for imaginary offences.

After their defeat at Ross, the insurgents dismissed B. B. Harvey from the command, and chose Philip Roche, who had been their leader at Tubberneering: his stature was huge; his manners rough; his habits beastly; his character ferocious. Such a man was well

\* The name of Croppies was given to the rebels because of their cutting off the hair of their victims, and the application of pitch-caps, to tear it out by the root.



calculated to be the commander of such an army : though a priest, he was nearly as illiterate and drunken as his rabble followers. He formed a new camp within a mile of Ross ; passing his time in scenes of drunken revelry—occasionally preaching a sermon, or directing the slaughter of some helpless victim. Maxwell observes, that “ of the rebel chiefs, the priests were decidedly the most despotic, and the most unrelenting, to the unhappy men who were made prisoners.”\*

But the Romish priests were not all of the same description: some exerted themselves to save the lives of protestants. Musgrave gives the following instance: “ Father Doyle, the priest, assembled the protestants in a house under the pretence of baptizing them—though, in fact, he did not perform that ceremony; and he very humanely announced, in order to save their lives, that they were sincere converts to his religion.”

The following account is taken from Sir Jonah Barrington’s “ Personal Sketches.”

“ Bagnal Harvey, who had been my schoolfellow and constant circuit-companion for many years, laughed, at Lady Colclough’s, at my political prudery ; assured me I was totally wrong in suspecting him, and insisted on my going to Bargy Castle, his residence, to meet some old Temple friends of ours, on the ensuing Monday. My relative, Captain Keogh, was to be of the party : I accordingly went there to dinner. The company I met included Captain Keogh ; the two Sheares, who were both hung shortly afterwards ; Mr. Colclough, who was

\* Maxwell. Musgrave.

hung on the bridge ; Mr. Hay, who was also executed ; Mr. William Hatton, one of the rebel directory of Wexford, who unaccountably escaped ; and one other gentleman of the bar. With the Counsellors Sheares (particularly Henry) I had always been on terms of the greatest intimacy. I had extricated both of them, not long before, from considerable difficulty, through the kindness of Lord Kilwarden : and I had no idea that matters, wherein they were concerned, had proceeded to the lengths developed that night.

“ The entertainment was good, and the party cheerful. Temple freaks were talked over, and the bottle circulated ; but at length Irish politics became the topic, and proceeded to an extent of disclosure which utterly surprised me. The probability of a speedy revolt was freely discussed, though in the most artful manner : not a word of any of the party committing themselves—but they talked it over as a result which might be expected from the complexion of the times, and the irritation excited in consequence of the severities exercised by government. The chances of success, in the event of a rising, was openly debated, as were also, the circumstances likely to spring from that success ; and the examples which the insurgents would, in that case, probably make. All this was at the same time talked over, without one word being uttered in favour of rebellion. A system of caution, which, I afterwards learned, was much practised, for the purpose of gradually making proselytes without alarming them. I saw through it clearly ; and here my presentiments came strongly upon me. I found myself in the midst of absolute, though unavowed, conspirators.

I perceived that the explosion was much nearer than the government expected : and I was startled at the decided manner in which my host and his friends spoke.

“ My alternative was, evidently, to quit the house, or give a turn to the conversation. I therefore began to laugh at the subject, and ridicule it as quite visionary; observing, jestingly, to Keogh—‘ Now, my dear Keogh, it is quite clear that you and I, in this famous rebellion, shall be on different sides of the question; and, of course, one or the other of us must necessarily be hanged, at or before its termination—I upon a lamp-iron in Dublin, or you on the bridge of Wexford. Now, we’ll make a bargain ! If we beat you, I’ll do all I can to save your neck ; and if your folks beat us, you’ll save me from the honour of the lamp-iron ! ’

“ We shook hands on the bargain, which created much merriment, and gave the whole after-talk a cheerful character ; and I returned to Wexford, at twelve o’clock at night, with a most decided impression of the danger of the country, and a complete presentiment that either myself or Captain Keogh would never see the conclusion of that summer.”

Sir Jonah Barrington sent immediate information to Mr. Secretary Cooke of what had come to his knowledge, without making any discovery of the source from whence it proceeded. He recommended that a commanding force should be dispatched instantly, to garrison Wexford : and if his warning had been attended to, the town might have been saved, as well as the lives of the protestants whose blood flowed on the bridge.

“ The result,” adds Barrington, “ need scarcely be



mentioned. Every member of that jovial dinner-party (with the exception of myself, the barrister whose name is not mentioned, and Mr. Hatton,) was executed within three months! And on my next visit to Wexford, I saw the heads of Captain Keogh, Mr. Harvey, and Mr. Colclough, on spikes, over the court-house door."

Mr. Grogan, of Johnstown, had also been hanged and beheaded, on the bridge of Wexford, on the previous morning—Mr. Grogan's servant had taken away his head. The other heads were also buried, at the request of Sir Jonah Barrington; who kept his promise in trying to save Keogh.

According to Taylor's "History"—"Bagnal Harvey was in the greatest anguish of mind when he beheld Scollabogue House, and the barn where the murdered protestants were to be seen in every attitude. Several were seen standing up against the walls, and many lying in heaps, in each others arms, among the ashes of the timber of the house, their bodies being burned to a cinder.

"Turning from the scene with horror, Mr. Harvey wrung his hands, and told those around him, that 'as innocent people were burned there as ever were born; and their conquests for liberty were at end.'

"He said privately to a friend, 'I see now my folly in embarking in any cause with these people. If they succeed, I shall be murdered by them—if they are defeated, I shall be hanged!'

"On Saturday, the 9th of June, one hundred and eighty-four skeletons were taken out of the barn, thrown into a ditch near the place, and slightly covered with clay."

## CHAPTER XXIV.

---

Battle of Arklow—Rebels defeated at Vinegar Hill—Massacre at Wexford—A man saved by his dog—Entrance of the triumphant army into Wexford—"The Babes of the Wood"—Good conduct of the Scottish Highlanders—Defeat of the rebels at Castle-comer—Rebels repulsed in several places—Expedients made use of by them—Landing of the French at Killala—Engagement at Castlebar—The town taken by the French—Hasty retreat of the loyalists—Heroic conduct of a Highland sentinel—Protestants protected by the French—Humbert's retreat northward—His surrender at Ballynamuck—Defeat and slaughter of the rebels—Extract from the Bishop's private diary—Humbert's letter to the Bishop of Killala—Failure of the invasion—Napper Tandy at Hamburgh—Conclusion.

A GENERAL insurrection, in the county of Wexford, broke out on Whitsunday, the 27th of May. Father John Murphy, of Boolavogue Chapel, commenced his military career on the evening before: he encamped, with the party under his command, on the hill of Aularde. Murphy employed all his priestly influence to animate, encourage, fortify, and support, his party:—his incentives were religious bigotry and enthusiasm. Plowden says, "He and the other priests who were driven into the rebellion, either by the intemperance of

the loyalists, or hurried away by the violence of their own people, celebrated mass constantly, and prayed and preached in the camps.

Some of the Roman catholic nobility, clergy, and gentlemen, signed a public declaration of their abhorrence of the principles and proceedings of the revolutionists.

The declaration, dated Dublin, 6th May, 1798, is addressed—"To such of the deluded people, now in rebellion against his majesty's government, in this kingdom, as profess the Roman catholic religion."

The wickedness of their conduct, the consequences which must follow, not only to themselves, but to their families, involving their clergy in the same disgrace and ruin, are represented in the declaration, which concludes with their own determination "to stand or fall with the present existing constitution."

The signatures were the Lords Fingall, Gormanstown, Southwell, Kenmare,—Sir Edward Bellew, with forty-one gentlemen, clergy, and the Rev. Peter Flood, D.D., President of the Royal College of St. Patrick, Maynooth, for himself, the professors, and students of said college. \*

The rebel army was composed of twenty-five thousand men,—it has been stated to have numbered thirty-one thousand. About five thousand carried fire-arms; and they had two well-appointed guns.

On the evening of the 9th of June, dense masses were seen moving towards Arklow. The rebels had left

\* Plowden.



Gorey in the morning; their progress was retarded by the depredations they committed—burning and plundering the houses of the protestants, their priests encouraging them, by assuring them that “they were engaged in the cause of heaven, and opposing the enemies of God.” In order to keep up the excitement, these unholy teachers said masses at the end of each mile, “and used every mode of exhortation, and every superstitious device that priestcraft could invent.”

They approached Arklow in an irregular line, each company carrying a green flag. Their priests were seen riding through the ranks, marshalling, and giving orders.\* In the anticipation of their arrival, many of the inhabitants had forsaken their tenements, and tried to escape in fishing boats: for not until the 6th of June, did any military force come to defend them. On that day General Needham led his army into Arklow;—they were few in number to encounter so great a multitude. A long and desperate struggle ensued before the gallant few were crowned with victory. Maxwell says, “On every repulse, and when his deluded followers retreated, Father Michael Murphy, of Ballycanoo, had induced fresh victims to come forward.—Blinded against danger by whiskey and fanaticism, they rushed, on more than one occasion, to the very muzzles of the guns. Were the fact not accredited beyond a doubt, it would not be believed, that the drunken priest persuaded the unhappy savages, who obeyed his orders, that his person was impervious to heretical balls:—producing a handful of

\* Musgrave.

musket-balls, which, he averred, had struck him during the action, or were caught by him, as they innocently whistled by.”

Being nearly dark when the rout became general, the cavalry could not pursue the rebels. They carried off nine cart-loads of dead and wounded. It was supposed that there were one thousand killed,—and not more than sixty or seventy of General Needham’s men. The fate of the rebellion was decided by this victory. The rebels separated into parties, taking different directions.—Some retired to Wexford, taking with them the protestants who had been confined as prisoners in the market-house of Gorey. They had been cruelly treated:—food given them but once in twenty-four hours. They were exposed to many insults:—some had their hair cropped, or torn out, by means of pitch-caps pressed upon their heads;—several were shot, or piked to death.\*

The official account of this battle is as follows:—

“Dublin, 10th June, 1798.

“Accounts were received early this morning, by Lieutenant-General Lake, from Major-General Needham, at Arklow, stating that the rebels had, in great force, attacked his position, in Arklow, at six o’clock yesterday evening. They advanced in an irregular manner, and extended themselves, for the purpose of turning his left flank, his rear and right flanks being strongly defended by the town and barrack of Arklow. Upon their endeavouring to enter the lower end of the town, they

\* Gordon.

were charged by the 40th dragoon guards, 5th dragoons, and Ancient Britons, and completely routed. All round the other points of the position they were defeated, with much slaughter. The loss of his majesty's troops was trifling, and their behaviour highly gallant."

On the 21st of June, General Johnson drove the rebels from their encampment, on Vinegar Hill, to Enniscorthy, where the pikemen made an obstinate resistance, in the streets, while the musketeers, in the houses, fired from the windows on the king's troops. The contest was so vigorously maintained, that "a six-pounder, which advanced into the open space before the court-house, was carried off by a sudden rush of pikemen, and the gunners were killed." But the gun was soon retaken, and the bridge cleared of the enemy. In pursuing them numbers were cut down, among whom was one of their favourite generals, Father Clinch, whom Musgrave thus describes:—

"He was a man of huge stature, with a scimitar and broad cross-belts, mounted on a large white horse, with long pistols, and made such a conspicuous figure on the hill, during the action, and the day preceding it, as attracted the notice of our troops, particularly as he seemed to be constantly employed in reconnoitring them. The Earl of Roden, having singled him out among the fugitives, overtook him after a short pursuit, and received his fire, which his lordship returning, wounded him in the neck. He had discharged his second pistol at Lord Roden, when an officer of the regiment rode up and shot him. He wore his vestments under his clothes.



He had been as active in the cabinet as in the field, having duly taken his seat at the committee at Enniscorthy;—and, mounted on his charger, fully accoutred, he visited the camp daily, on Vinegar Hill.”

A strange instance is given of the stupid ignorance of the rabble which were driven from thence. “A shell from a howitzer falling, it was exultingly surrounded by a crowd of men, each struggling to possess the prize. The effect of the explosion may be imagined; as when the fuse reached the powder, more than fifty of the poor ignorant wretches were furiously contending for the lighted shell!” On seeing the shells, they shouted, in a kind of delirium, “They spit fire at us!”


They were also observed picking up the round shot, discharged from the guns, which embedded the hill.

Gordon says, “It has been remarked, that none of the rebels were so bloodthirsty as those who were most regular attendants at the popish ordinances; and the drunken and careless sort were observed to have the greatest share of good-nature. It is a certain truth, that these savages never had so many masses, nor ever prayed so much, as during their month of usurpation, especially on their battle-days; then all the old men, women, and children, betook themselves to their *Ave Marias*, &c.: and when parties of two or three hundred went round the country burning the houses of protestants, they generally fell on their knees as soon as they set them on fire.”

Every day fresh victims were brought into Wexford by the pikemen. A small sloop, the town-jail, and the market-house, were their several places of confinement.

Some of these wretched prisoners were gentlemen, far advanced in years ; and some were delicate females, tenderly brought up in affluence, but now had no bed, excepting a little dirty straw, strewed upon stones ; their food, black barley bread, coarse boiled beef, and potatoes, without the luxury of a knife or fork. Six rebels were appointed to guard them, whose unceasing insults and threats increased the misery of the captives.

Father Murphy, of Bannow, was one of the infatuated leaders who, like his namesake at Arklow, professed to catch the bullets which were levelled at him. He furnished the people with what he called “gospels;” and said they would ward off the heretics’ artillery from those who wore them round their necks. The following is a copy of one found upon a man who was slain :—

IN THE	INRI.	AND OF THE
NAME OF GOD,		BLESSED VIRGIN,
	I.H.S.	
	A M E N .	

“No gun, pistol, sword, or any other offensive weapon, can hurt, or otherwise injure the person who has this paper in his possession.

“No. 7601.”

“ROCHE.”

These charms were generally fastened to brown tape, and tied round the neck. The poor misguided Irish were told, that unless they paid for them they were of no avail. The price was half-a-crown to the rich—to the poor, sixpence each. Thousands of them were made and sent round the country.\*

\* Taylor’s *History*.

The protestants who had entered into the association, were in continual danger from the ungovernable mob whom they had undertaken to command. Of this Mr. B. B. Harvey is a striking instance. On his trial, he said, "that he became a member of the Irish union three years before : that he imagined the only object was to reform the constitution ; but that he did not, till recently, discover that the popish priests were deeply concerned in it, and that the extermination of the protestants was their determined purpose. That having opposed their sanguinary views, he was deposed, and the command was given to the infamous Father Roche ; that he was then carried to the Three Rock camp, as a prisoner, where he remained a few days, so closely watched, that, with every wish to escape, he found it impossible till the evening that the rebels fled in every direction on the approach of the king's troops."

The ferocious monster, Dixon, gained great influence over the infuriated rabble, by plentiful potations of whiskey, in public-houses, where their orgies were held.

On the 19th of June, the march of the royal army, in all directions, towards Vinegar Hill and Wexford, spread universal alarm : devastation accompanied their progress ; the whole country exhibited a scene of conflagration. From the rebels' camp, situated at the Three Rocks, on the Mountain of Forth, they beheld it ; and from the same commanding position they could discern ships of war off the coast, and gun-boats blocking up the entrance of the harbour. On the approach of the army, the affrighted inhabitants were seen flying towards Wexford. Captain Dixon had received orders to attend



the commander-in-chief of the rebel forces at the Three Rocks; but he had other work to do, and would not obey: he was then in the very act of sending whiskey to about seventy countrymen, whom he had posted in the barracks; these, with a multitude of the most savage and cruel of the mob were thus collected and prepared for the inhuman butchery of the imprisoned protestants.

The victims were led out in groups of tens and twenties; each group surrounded by their appointed slaughterers, carrying a black flag marked with a white cross, to the place of execution. Some were put to death, in various ways, at the gaol; some at the market-house; but the greater number were tortured with a slow death, on the bridge of Wexford, one after another, in the following manner, as described by Plowden;—the victim stood between four men, two in front, and two at his back, armed with pikes, which they thrust into the body: raising it from the ground, thus transfixing, they held it suspended and writhing in agony while any signs of life appeared. Crowds, who had assembled to witness the massacre, rent the air with savage shouts of exultation at seeing their fellow-mortals thus launched into eternity.

On the morning of that day, Dixon had announced their doom to the prisoners. He then rode through the town, proclaiming the heavy tidings;—and he afterwards preceded the solemn procession, holding up a flag, which, on one side, displayed a bloody cross, and on the other, the capital letters, M. W. S., that is, “Murder Without Sin.” It was a day of darkness and terror;—no sunbeam burst from the clouds that

lowered over that scene of horror:—while the town-bell pealed, and the drums beat to arms.

The accounts of the number who suffered on this occasion, vary:—it is said that ninety-seven prisoners had been conducted from the gaol and prison-ship. The slaughter, which had commenced at two o'clock in the afternoon, was prevented at seven, by General E. Roche, who galloped into the town, loudly proclaiming that Vinegar Hill was nearly surrounded by the king's troops,—and ordering that every man should instantly repair to camp. The crowd and the executioners fled promiscuously, in wild terror, leaving three kneeling prisoners on the bridge;—but they were not permitted to live—the Satanic Dixon returned to finish his work,—and having given orders for the execution of the remaining prisoners, they were inhumanly dragged to the bridge, and, after the barbarous murder of six more protestants, a man of mercy interfered for the rescue of the survivors. A Roman catholic priest, Father Corrin, rushed forward, eagerly beseeching them to desist, but in vain.—He then took off his hat, and desired them to kneel in prayer for the souls they were sending out of the world;—they did so, and the priest added, “now pray to God to have mercy on your souls, and teach you to show that kindness towards these prisoners, which you expect from Him, in the hour of death, and in the day of judgment.” This solemn appeal had the desired effect; and the remaining prisoners were led back to the place of confinement.\*

\* There were ten protestant clergy among the prisoners: half

“It is said that not less than four hundred protestants were massacred at Enniscorthy and Vinegar Hill.” For a long time afterwards, their bodies, which were thrown into the river, were seen floating with the tide.\*

Enniscorthy was twenty-five days in the hands of the rebels, and they planted the Tree of Liberty with shouts of “Erin-go-Bragh,” &c. While many were doomed to lingering torture and death, there were some marvellous escapes. Charles Davis, of Enniscorthy, had remained four days concealed without any other sustenance than the raw body of a cock, which he had caught : he was discovered, taken, brought to Vinegar Hill, shot through the body and one arm, violently struck on the head with a pike, thrown on his back into a grave, and covered with earth and stones. His faithful dog scraped away the covering from his master’s face, and by licking off the blood and dirt, cleansed his wounds : after twelve hours’ interment he awoke, as from a trance, pronouncing the name of Father Roche, by whose interposition he hoped to escape from the pikemen. Some one who saw and heard him, raised

the number suffered cruel martyrdom, without mercy or remorse from their executioners, whom they had never offended. The Rev. F. Turner, Rev. R. Burrowes, Rev. S. Hayden, Rev. I. Pentland, and Rev. T. Troche, were the sufferers. Among those who escaped, were the rector of Wexford, the rector of Enniscorthy, and the rector of Camolin. Of the last, I can truly say, from a long and intimate acquaintance, that he was “an Israelite without guile.” He often spoke of the time when he suffered great persecution and imprisonment, but never in bitterness;—thankfulness and praise for deliverance, was accompanied with a spirit of forgiveness and prayer for the deluded and ignorant fanatics, who were hurried on to the commission of atrocious barbarity.

\* Musgrave ; Jackson’s *Narrative* ; Maxwell.



him out of the grave and brought him to a house where he was kindly treated ; and was living, apparently in good health, when Jackson's "Narrative" was written.

The Rev. John Elgee, rector of Wexford, was saved by the lowest of the people, to whom he had been kind and charitable. Many others were rescued from slaughter by the humane exertions which gratitude for past favours excited.

The approach of General Moore's brigade delivered Wexford from the furious band which infested it. The joyful news was announced by Captain Boyd, the member for the town, and commander of a corps of yeomanry-cavalry ; attended by a dozen of these, he galloped through the streets proclaiming deliverance to the inhabitants. "A wing of the Queen's regiment marched into the place, and took military possession."

"Captain Boyd, of the Wexford cavalry, had cautioned the prisoners not to come out till the arrival of the army, lest they might be taken for rebels and put to death." "The entrance of the army was peculiarly striking ; instead of rushing in, with the violence of men enraged, as might be expected, they marched on, in solemn, silent, grandeur : not a whisper was heard through the ranks. But when they advanced and opened the prison-doors, 'and set the prisoners free,' many wept for joy. On the memorable 21st of June, 1798, Wexford was recovered, after having been twenty-three days in the possession of the rebels. One day sooner would have saved the lives of ninety-seven\* protestants, who were cruelly butchered on the bridge."†

\* Some assert that there were not so many. † Taylor's *History*.

General Lake arrived on the 22nd, and the prisons which had been vacated by the protestants, were now filled with their adversaries.

The general issued a proclamation offering a pardon to all those who had been seduced from their allegiance, if they would abandon their wicked course, deliver up their arms, and return quietly to their homes and occupations.

To the chiefs no mercy was offered. When their overtures for peace were rejected, Harvey, of Bargy Castle, and Mr. Colclough, of Ballyteigue, escaped to the largest of the Saltee Islands, where they found a place of concealment in a cave, the entrance to which was artfully hidden. They were, however, discovered, taken from thence, and executed on the 28th. Father Philip Roche, Keogh, and Esmond Kyan were also executed on the bridge. After death, they were decapitated, their heads placed upon spikes, and their bodies cast into the river : Mr. Colclough excepted—at the earnest entreaty of his widow, her husband's body was delivered up to her unmutilated. Kearns was hanged, and another of the rebel generals, Anthony Perry. “Many of their followers died by the sword and gibbet ; others turned robbers; and but few returned to their respective homes.”

The following account of the greater number of the Roman catholic priests who joined in the rebellion at Wexford, is extracted from a letter of Dr. Caulfield, the Roman catholic Bishop of Wexford, to Dr. Troy, the Roman catholic Archbishop of Dublin, dated from Wexford, September 2, 1798. Plowden adds—“The author has this in the handwriting of that prelate.”

“1. Thomas Dixon, of Castle Bridge, had been curate

at the Lady's Island for some years ; but for drinking, dancing, and disorderly conduct, was suspended about four years ago. He again officiated as a priest, and became active in the cause of the United-men.—2. Rev. Father Thomas Clinch, of Camolin; turning out a beastly drunkard, and unfit for duty, was suspended. He joined the rebels, and was killed in the retreat from Vinegar Hill.—3. Rev. Mogue Kearns, of the Duffry, was notorious for drinking and fighting. He joined the rebels, amongst whom he made a gigantic figure, and was hanged at Edenderry.—4. Rev. Father John Murphy, of Boolyvogue, giddy, but not immoral ; was the first to commence the rebellion, and became a signal general in it. He was whipped, hanged, beheaded, and his body burnt in the county Carlow, at Tullow.—5. Rev. Philip Roche, had been a proper man, but indulging in excess of drinking, he joined the rebels, soon became a leader, and was hanged : his body was thrown into the river on the 22nd of June.—6. Rev. Bryan Murphy, was very active in the rebellion. He had the address to procure a protection when the rebels were routed, and lived undisturbed.—7. Rev. — Byrne, a Carmelite, and a very active, zealous rebel ; he was a drinking, giddy man : he also procured a protection.—8. Rev. John Keane, lived a life of drunkenness and irregularities.—9. Rev. John Redmond, a most regular, attentive, zealous priest ; without reproach until he joined the accursed rebellion. He was hanged near Gorey, on the 21st or 22nd of June, 1798.”\*

\* Taken from a note in Plowden's *Review*, Vol. iii., p. 717.



Different characters, of the same name, who had taken part in the rebellion, render it difficult to avoid confusion in a condensed narrative. Thomas Dixon, once a Roman catholic priest, was a relation of the sanguinary monster, Dixon, captain of a trading vessel, to whom the massacres in Wexford are attributed. Three Roman catholic priests are mentioned;—John Murphy, of Boolyvogue; John Murphy, of Ballycanoo; and John Murphy, of Loghnaghur; all involved in the rebellion. The last was the commander of the guard over the prisoners at Scullabogue, who were relentlessly put to death. Mr. Gordon tells us of Father Michael Murphy, who was killed at the battle of Arklow, as being considered invulnerable, by bullets or any other kind of weapon, by his ignorant followers; and that to confirm them in this delusion, he frequently showed them musket-balls, which he said he caught in his hands as they flew from the guns of the enemy. “The same divine protection was believed to be possessed by Father John, the famous fanatic already mentioned.” Mr. Gordon says, “Though I was well acquainted with the extreme credulity of the lower classes of my Romanist countrymen, I could not give credit to this account until I found it confirmed, beyond a doubt, by various concurring testimonies.”

Desperate parties of rebels, in arms, infested the mountains of Wicklow, and the low woods near Enniscorthy. Calling themselves the “Babes of the Wood,” they kept the adjacent country in terror. The bands in the mountains had two captains, Holt and Hacket. They were accustomed to issue suddenly from their

fastnesses to commit depredations, and as suddenly to retire before they could be overtaken. Holt was a protestant, but as his followers were all Romanists, protestants alone suffered from their outrages. At length the dreary season came when neither woods nor mountains could shelter these banditti. Being harassed with incessant pursuits, they diminished, by degrees, until they were no more seen. Hacket was killed by Thomas Atkins, a brave young yeoman officer; and Holt gave himself up to Lord Powerscourt to be transported.

These desperadoes completed the desolation of the counties of Wexford and Wicklow. Many houses in the open country were destroyed; and the towns of Carnew, Tinnahely, Hacketstown, Donard, Blessington, and Kill-edmond, were ruined by fire. Great part of the devastation was committed by the soldiery, particularly the Hessians of Baron Homspech; many loyalists, who had escaped from the rebels, falling into their hands, were put to death.

Far different was the conduct of the Scottish Highlanders in the Marquis of Huntley's regiment: they never attempted to take anything, however trifling, without paying the full value. They were posted at Gorey, which, before their arrival, had been ravaged by General Needham's troops.

Government made compensation for the loss of property: but there were other losses which could never be retrieved—loss of lives; loss of credit; loss of all morality; loss of commerce; loss of industry. It was a time of great gain to many wicked men; while to many others, who were upright in their principles, their losses

were irreparable. Some who had enriched themselves by plunder, made exorbitant claims for losses never sustained, and received the unjust payment they demanded.

On the 23rd of June, Sir Charles Asgill marched to Kellymount with the garrison of Kilkenny; but the rebels had moved to Castlecomer: a thick mist concealing them from the loyalists, they had nearly reached the town unperceived; and if they had not halted twice, to say mass, in all probability the troops would have been cut to pieces. The patrol was fired on without having seen the enemy.

The mist suddenly clearing off, discovered the rebel army, in front and flank, seven thousand in number, forming a semicircle. A retreat being the only alternative, it was effected in such confusion as might rather be termed a rush between the rebels and troops, which should gain the bridge. It was held by a few men of the Downshire and Waterford regiments, whose gallant stand eventually saved the garrison. One wing of the rebels having forded the river, set fire to the town. The defenders of the bridge had retired into some houses which commanded it;—Musgrave says, their perilous situation can be more easily imagined than described:—the bridge crowded with rebels, yelling with rage, crying out for blood, without a soldier to oppose them, and the back houses all on fire.

At length a very sharp, but ill-directed fire from the rebels, commenced on the bridge, which was so effectually answered from the houses, that every rebel, in attempting to cross, was killed. For three hours and a-half this fire was maintained, when Father Murphy,



who had kept aloof from the action, sent a black servant of the Countess of Ormond, whom they had taken prisoner, to offer terms to the men who were firing from the houses. The terms were, that if they marched out with their hats upon their guns, their lives should be spared. To gain time, they sent back the ambassador, after some delay, saying, that they must have a written assurance of mercy. Soon afterwards, General Sir Charles Asgill advanced, with nine hundred men; and a few rounds of grape shot dislodged the rebels, who made an irregular retreat. The town had suffered severely during four days that it was in their possession; the loyal inhabitants were obliged to abandon their homes and property. From Castlecomer to Kilkenny, the road exhibited a train of fugitives—men, women, and children; whose only resource was to seek a shelter from their popish neighbours.

June 29. Lord Cornwallis issued a proclamation, authorising his majesty's generals to grant protection to all such as had merely taken part in the rebellion, on delivering up their arms, abjuring all unlawful engagements, and taking the oath of allegiance to the king. A message, to the same effect, was delivered to the house of commons, on the 17th of July. An act of amnesty was passed in favour of all rebels who had not been leaders, nor guilty of manslaughter, except in the heat of battle, and who willingly complied with the proposed conditions. James Napper Tandy, and about thirty more, were excluded from them. Counsellor Dobbs, a member of parliament, brought about the admittance of some other chief leaders. Though under

sentence of death, Oliver Bond was included in the capitulation, but he died of apoplexy, in prison. O'Connor, Emmett, Mac Nevin, and Samuel Nelson, gave details, on oath, in their examinations before the secret committee of both houses of parliament, the reports of which contain a mass of information concerning the conspiracy, and were published by authority of government.

The rebels, hunted on every side, were now sculking away to their several places of abode. Yet those of Wexford still remained in arms, under some chiefs, and contrived to elude the king's troops by rapid movements, backwards and forwards, from the mountains of Wicklow to the bog of Allen. On the 11th of July, they attempted to pass the river Boyne, at Clonard, but troops from Kinnegad and Mullingar arrived in time to frustrate their designs, which was to raise an insurrection in the western counties. After this repulse, they made a flying march to the counties of Kildare, Meath, Louth, and Dublin, skirmishing with parties of soldiers, and bearing the hardships peculiar to their savage warfare, with a vigour of mind and body worthy of a better cause. At length they were overtaken by the Dumfries light dragoons, at Ballyboghill, within seven miles of Dublin. Finding that they must be surrounded by detachments, from different quarters, they fled, and finally dispersed.

When their ammunition failed, they made use of small round stones, and hardened balls of clay, instead of leaden bullets. The cannon, taken from the army, they managed by applying wisps of hay or straw, in-

stead of matches, not having any. When saddles could not be procured, they made use of books. Large volumes, which they found in the libraries of Stephen Ram, of Gorey, of Colonel Hunte, and the Bishop of Fernes, were opened in the middle, and fastened on the horses' backs with ropes, which also served for stirrups. They screened themselves from the soldiers' shot behind hedges; and from arranging their lines in order, they suffered very little from the fire of the artillery, which they sometimes seized by a furious and rapid onset. Their want of skill prevented much execution: aiming high, they generally missed their opponents, till more experience taught them to level their guns lower. Their pikes served them better, but not so well as they might have done if they had been under any regular commander;—but they were distrustful of each other, and fought without order, all commanding and none obeying. They chose the hills for their stations, which they called camps, though they had but a few tents for their chiefs:—lying on the ground, under the open canopy of heaven;—they had, in general, no other covering for the night than the clothes they wore by day.

It is remarkable that the men who had been most quarrelsome at fairs, and made most use of their cudgels, were least expert in the use of fire-arms or pikes, and, in general, were less vindictive. The more plodding and mischievous men, were those who, in quiet, had brooded over their grievances, without giving vent to bursts of rage.

One thing, to the credit of this unrestrained rabble,



ought not to be omitted. Among their captives there were many young and beautiful women, Gordon says, completely in their power, and, in a single instance, he could not discover that they had met with any insult, or deviation from the most proper respect. He remarks that the Irish peasantry, how defective soever they may be, and bigotted in their superstition, have a native simple politeness of manner in their conduct towards females, whom they treat with respectful attention.

August 22. Three French frigates, with English colours flying, entered Killala Bay. The garrison did not exceed fifty or sixty men; they offered a bold resistance, but were overcome by numbers, and driven into the castle, which they were obliged to surrender. In Bishop Stock's "Narrative," he says, "They hoisted a green flag in front of the castle, with the Irish words, 'Erin-go-Bragh,' inscribed on it, which signifies, in English, 'Ireland for ever;' and they invited the people to join them, assuring them that, if they did, they would enjoy freedom and happiness.

"The first day they passed in landing arms and ammunition; the second in clothing and arming the natives, of whom great multitudes flocked to their standard; and in granting commissions to Irish officers."

General Humbert had marched into the town with an advanced guard of three hundred men, and after having summoned the bishop to a conference, he declared his purpose in coming was to give liberty to the Irish, in separating them from England's oppressive yoke. He then required the delivery of the bishop's horses, sheep, and cows, which, he intimated, would be

remunerated by the Irish Directory, immediately to be established in Connaught.

Soon after the French landed, a shop was opened for the sale of scapulars: and “the Sons of Erin, with their pikes in their hands, were supplied at a regulated price.”\*

The conspirators, in Connaught, were bound by a professedly religious tie, called “The Carmelites:”—numbers of the benighted peasants joined the association. Its chief directors were mendicant friars. At the initiation of each member, he received a scapular, which was hung round his neck with a string: it lay on his shoulder, next to the skin, and was hence called a scapular.—It was a square piece of brown cloth, with the letters I.H.S. inscribed on it. The price to a poor man was a shilling; the rich paid more, in proportion to his wealth. The priest’s benediction was supposed to impart to this badge the virtue of preserving the wearer from all dangers, ghostly and bodily. The purchasers were made to believe that if thrown into the flames of a house on fire, it would extinguish them. To confirm the credulous in this persuasion, some of the first scapulars were made of asbestos, which being cast into the fire, did not consume, and the supposed miracle was attributed to the priest’s benediction.†

The French troops were about one thousand and sixty, rank and file, and seventy officers. The grand army, called “the reserve,” was said to number ten thousand, under the command of General Kilmaine, whose proclamations were profusely distributed.

\* Gordon.

† Ibid.

*“Health and fraternity to the people of Ireland.*

“The great nation has sent me to you, with a band of heroes, to deliver you from the hands of tyrants. Fly to our standards, and share with us the glory of subduing the world! We will teach you the art of war, and to despise the low pursuits of toil and industry.”  
&c. &c.\*

Humbert landed, with eleven hundred men, unprovided with money, necessaries, or any resources. Bishop Stock graphically describes him and his followers:—according to his account, the soldiers were intelligent, active, temperate, patient, and yielding exact obedience to discipline. They were, in general, low of stature, of a pale and sallow complexion,—their clothes rather threadbare, and, to judge from their appearance, little capable of enduring hardships:—yet one-half of these men had served in Italy, under Buonaparte, and the remainder were of the army of the Rhine, which had encountered sufferings sufficient to account for their emaciated forms and wan aspect. Several of them declared that, during the preceding winter, at the siege of Mentz, they had slept for a long time on the ground, in holes made four feet deep under the snow. “An officer, pointing to his leather culottes, assured the bishop that he had not taken them off for a twelve-month.” It was soon perceived that they were “content to live on bread or potatoes; to make the stones of the street their bed, with their clothes on; and the canopy of heaven their only covering.” Humbert him-

\* Maxwell.



self was as singular as any in his army. He had a forbidding countenance, and from his small sleepy eye, he cast an insidious, sidelong glance, which was likened to the eye of a cat, about to spring upon its prey. His education and manners were of the lowest grade, yet, upon occasions, he knew how to assume the deportment of a gentleman. In disposition he was sudden, furious, and violent.—His treatment of the bishop was a proof of the roughness of his character:—not being able to provide him with the horses and vehicles he required, he became outrageous, uttered a torrent of vulgar abuse, and presented a pistol at the bishop's eldest son;—he marched the bishop towards the shore, under a serjeant's guard, declaring that, as a punishment for his disobedience, he would send him to France:—he did not, however, execute his threat, which he excused under the plea of military necessity.

Sunday, the 26th. Humbert, leaving a garrison of two hundred men, and six officers, in Killala, proceeded to Ballina;—a smart skirmish had taken place, on the previous evening, between the French and English, who had advanced to Killala, but were driven back to Ballina, with the loss of a few men. Before they retreated from the town, they hanged an active agent, in whose pocket a French commission was found. Musgrave says, “The French officers having found his body suspended when they entered Ballina, each of them gave it the fraternal embrace, and bedewed it with tears of sympathetic civism; and after having exposed it some time in the street, to excite the indignation of the populace against the loyalists, it was carried to the Romish chapel,

where it lay in state, with as much pomp and ceremony as if this man had been the greatest hero or patriot of the age."

The French officers said they had sailed from Rochelle on the 4th of August, with one thousand five hundred men.

Humbert found several difficulties, which he neither expected, nor was prepared for. He had no money; and in order to supply this deficiency, he issued assignats on the Irish Directory that was to be; but the issuing of drafts on a bank in prospect, was of short duration. It was an airy security, which, when offered, was smiled at by himself as well as by the people.

But a far more mortifying disappointment to the French general was the unwelcome reception he met with from the respectable inhabitants. He had been persuaded that, instantly on his landing, his standard would be crowded by men of responsibility and property: instead of this, he was surrounded by a mob, among whom there were some leaders of infamous character and low habits—Bellew, Dowd, Bourke, and O'Donnel; the last only to be accounted of, for any estimable quality: he exerted himself to prevent pillage, and for several nights patrolled the streets, watching those whom he knew were bent upon mischief. He was killed in the retaking of Ballina, leaving this honorable testimony to his humanity.

Hitherto Humbert had proceeded prosperously, and the alarm, in consequence, became serious; the lord-lieutenant took instant measures to stop his progress. Generals Hutchinson and French were directed to march

with their troops to Mayo; and Lieutenant-General Lake to Galway: on the 27th, the viceroy himself arrived at Kilbeggan—the troops having made forty-four Irish miles progress in two days.

At Castlebar a battle was fought, disgraceful to the loyalists, triumphant to the French, who knew how to improve their victory.\* After the loss of half their numbers, the royalists made a hasty retreat, and in twenty-seven hours after the action reached Athlone, which is sixty-three miles distant from Castlebar. Their defeat is partly attributable to treachery: several of the Longford and Kilkenny militia deserted to the enemy: and it is worthy of remark, that they all met with the kind of death which they merited. There are instances of great bravery given. Musgrave relates that the gaol was guarded by a Highland sentinel (Fraser) whom his friends would have persuaded to fly with them, but he heroically refused to quit his post, which was at the top of some steps. When the French approached to break open the gaol, he charged and fired five times successively, killing a Frenchman at every shot, but before he could charge the sixth time, they rushed upon him, beat out his brains, and threw him, with his sentry-box over him, down the steps.

While Castlebar was occupied by the French, they protected the protestants from insult; but they regarded the Irish mob who joined them, as deserving only of contempt. Musgrave says, “The French ate the best of meat and bread, drank wine, beer, and

\* Musgrave.



coffee, and slept on good beds ; while they compelled the rebels to eat potatoes, drink whiskey, and sleep on straw. They beat and abused them like dogs, in the name of liberty, equality, and fraternity.

The French officers openly evinced an antipathy to the Irish priesthood, while the freest exercise of protestant worship was permitted ; even infidels treated it respectfully.

Doctor Ellison, the rector of Castlebar, had met with great respect from the French officers.—“ While conversing with Humbert and his staff, a drunken priest entered the room to ask the French general’s permission to celebrate mass in the protestant church. Humbert laughed, and replied, that he might say mass where he pleased, provided that he did not require him to attend it. The priest thanked him and was retiring, when Dr. Ellison called him back. ‘ So,’ he said, ‘ you intend offering mass up in my church ?’ ‘ I do ;’ answered the priest. ‘ I cannot prevent you,’ said the rector ; ‘ but mark what I promise. Offer the insult you intend, to my church, and, within one fortnight, I’ll have you hanged upon the steeple !’ The threat had the desired effect.”\*

Bishop Stock gives an honourable testimony to the character of the French garrison under Charost:—“ The protestants of Killala enjoyed, under the protection of the French officers, the privilege of attending divine service, every Sunday, in the bishop’s palace, commonly called the Castle. The cathedral remained shut ; and

\* Maxwell.

the Romanists often threatened to seize it for their own use, but they were always restrained by the presence of Charost and his men."

The bishop states, that with every temptation to plunder, none was committed. Immediately upon entering his dining-room, a French officer, calling for the bishop's butler, collected the spoons and glasses, which he desired him to take to his pantry. While the French remained at Killala, the bishop and his family occupied the attic story of his palace, which was never intruded upon, except on the evening of their success at Castlebar, when two French officers asked permission to tell the news to the family—but they seemed rather mortified at the cold reception their intelligence met with.

On hearing that Lord Cornwallis was within thirty miles of him, Humbert sent off his baggage and cannon, with part of his troops, and on the morning of the 4th of September, marched towards Sligo with the remainder. The following is his own report to the French Directory:—"After having obtained the greatest successes, and made the arms of the French republic to triumph during my stay in Ireland; I have, at length, been obliged to submit to a superior force of thirty thousand troops, commanded by Lord Cornwallis. I am a prisoner of war on my parole." This brief despatch was correctly true.

On the evening of the day that Humbert retreated from Castlebar, the loyalists returned to their former position in that town.

The French general encountered Colonel Vereker, at Colooney, a village five miles from Sligo, where a spirited action was maintained for an hour. On the 7th there

was another conflict, between Drumshambo and Ballynamore, without any important results.

The French were continually harassed, from the time they left Castlebar. Within half-a-mile of Ballynamuck, the rear-guard, under General Sarazin, was overtaken by General Lake ; and to prevent an effusion of blood, the French commander discreetly surrendered. The general surrender which followed prevented the French hussars from being cut to pieces. “When the invaders laid down their arms at Ballynamuck, if blood could atone for treason, it was fearfully exacted.” The sword and halter were unsparingly used. The rebels, in parties, sleeping in the fields, from weariness and drunkenness, were sent to their last account in that state. No quarter was given, nor mercy shown, to these unfortunate wretches, who were cut down in hundreds by an exasperated soldiery.

The rebels kept possession of Killala and Ballina for fifteen days after the French had surrendered. Happily, the officers who commanded both garrisons were Frenchmen, who protected the protestants. The rebel forces, instead of decreasing, augmented every day; they were regularly drilled at their camp in the Bishop’s meadows; and they talked continually of vengeance against the protestants, whom they plundered on all sides.

At length the loud report of cannon announced the arrival of the royal troops at Ballina, and a few shots drove the garrison from the town.

On the 23rd September the rebel forces met the royal army ; and in the battle which ensued about four hundred of these deluded wretches were killed. Bishop



Stock says, "We kept our eyes on the rebels, who seemed to be posted at great advantage behind the stone walls that lined the road. They levelled their pieces, and fired very deliberately from each side on the advancing enemy; yet, strange to tell! were able to kill one man only, a corporal, and wound a common soldier! Their shot, in general, went over the heads of their opponents." The slaughter which took place was tremendous: in whatever direction they fled, they were intercepted and cut down. "The fugitives were swept away by scores; a cannon being placed on the opposite side of the bay, did great execution." Many innocent fell with the guilty, on this and similar occasions, when protestants were forced to accompany their ferocious enemies. Colonel Charost's life was in imminent danger. Bishop Stock says, "Had we lost this worthy man, his death would have spoiled the whole relish of our present enjoyment. Leave was immediately granted to the three French officers to keep their swords, their effects, and even their bed-chambers in the house."

The bishop, in his private diary, dated 5th September, says, "A secret expedition was sent against Sligo last night, which is said to be defenceless, the military having marched to join the army at Athlone. It consists of the Irish levies, under an old French officer, a droll fellow, who said, in my hearing, to the commandant:— 'Do you know what I would do with these Irish wretches, if I had a body to form out of them? I would pick out one-third of them, and, by —— I would shoot the rest!' The same officer, the other day, remarking the religious zeal of the Irish Romanists, said to myself:—

‘God help those simpletons! If they knew how little we care about the pope, or his religion, they would not be so hot in expecting help from us. We have just sent Mr. Pope away from Italy, and who knows but we may find him in this country!’”

An official despatch from the postmaster of Rutland, dated September 17, gave information of a French brig coming into that harbour, and landing three boatsful of men, one of whom was James Napper Tandy, “a brigadier, and commander of the expedition.” “He positively asserted that France would make no peace with Great Britain upon any other terms than Irish independence;” adding, that “they would certainly attempt to land twenty thousand men, who would all perish or succeed.” They expected a welcome reception, being persuaded that they had only to join their friends;—instead of this, the natives fled to the mountains, although they had a great number of Irish on board.

The commanding officers issued two proclamations, headed—

“LIBERTY OR DEATH!

“*Northern Army of Avengers,*

“*Head Quarters, the First Year of Irish Liberty.*

“United Irishmen,

“The soldiers of the great nation have landed on your coast, well supplied with arms and ammunition, &c. &c.

“James Napper Tandy is at their head; he has sworn to lead them on to victory, or die. Brave Irishmen! the friends of liberty have left their native soil to assist you in re-conquering your rights; they will brave

all dangers, and glory at the sublime idea of cementing your happiness with their blood !

“ French blood shall not flow in vain ! To arms !—Freemen, to arms ! The trumpet calls,—let not your friends be butchered unassisted !—If they are doomed to fall in this most glorious struggle, let their death be useful to your cause, and their bodies serve as footsteps to the temple of Irish liberty !

“ GENERAL REY,

“ In the name of the French officers and soldiers now on the coast of Ireland.”

Maxwell, in describing the character of J. N. Tandy, quotes from Shakspeare—“ He had a ‘killing tongue, and a quiet sword.’ ” A bravado in boasting,—a rank coward in acting. He thus addressed the Rutland islanders:—

“ United Irishmen,

“ What do I hear ?—The British government have dared to speak of concessions !—Would you accept of them ?—Can you think of entering into a treaty with a British minister ?—A minister, too, who has left you at the mercy of an English soldiery, who laid your cities waste, and massacred inhumanly your best citizens;—a minister, the bane of society, and the scourge of mankind !—Behold, Irishmen, he holds in his hand the olive of peace: beware! his other lies concealed, armed with a poignard. No, Irishmen, no!—you shall not be the dupes of his base intrigues: unable to subdue your courage, he attempts to seduce you,—let his efforts be in vain!



“Horrid crimes have been perpetrated in your country; your friends have fallen a sacrifice to their devotion to your cause: their shadows are around you, and call aloud for vengeance; it is your duty to avenge their death; it is your duty to strike, on their blood-cemented thrones, the murderers of their friends! Listen to no proposals, Irishmen: wage a war of extermination against your oppressors;—the war of liberty against tyranny,—and liberty shall triumph!

“J. N. TANDY.”

The following letter, from the French commander to the Bishop of Killala, is an honourable testimony, both to the writer and the receiver.

“Dover, October 26, 1798.

“My lord,

“Being on the point of returning to France, I think it my duty to testify to you the extraordinary esteem with which your conduct has always inspired me. Since I have had the good fortune of being acquainted with you, I have always regretted that the chance of war, and my duty, as a military officer, have obliged me, in carrying the scourge of war into your neighbourhood, to disturb the domestic happiness which you enjoyed, and of which you are, in every respect, worthy. Too happy, if, in returning to my country, I can flatter myself that I have acquired any claim to your esteem. Independently of other reasons which I have for loving and esteeming you, the representation which citizen Charost gives me of all your good offices to him, and

his officers, as well before as after the reduction of Killala, will demand for ever my esteem and gratitude.

“I entreat you, my lord, to accept my declaration of it, and to impart it to your worthy family.

“I am, with the highest esteem,

“ My lord, your most humble servant,

“ HUMBERT.”

On the 27th of October, Killala Bay was once more entered by French invaders. They were sent to reinforce Humbert, of whose surrender the directory had received no intelligence. But being incessantly chased by British cruisers, they were obliged to stand out to sea, and make their escape, without holding any communication with the Irish.

Through the representations of Bishop Stock, the Irish administration forwarded the French officers to London, and furnished them with money for their draft on the commissary of prisoners, Niou.

The bishop's report to the London committee obtained “An order, that citizen Charost, Boudet, and Ponson, should be set at liberty, and sent home without exchange. The French commissary, on the part of his government, refused to accept of this mark of respect from our ministry; saying, that the Directory could not avail themselves of so polite an offer, because their officers, at Killala, had only done their duty, and no more than what any Frenchman would have done in a similar situation.”

The squadron, under Commodore Bompert, with three thousand troops on board, had quitted Brest harbour on

the 16th of September, and from the morning of the 17th were watched by some British frigates. On losing sight of them, Bompert steered for Lough Swilly, 11th October, and on the same day were discovered by the British squadron, off Tory Island. During the night a heavy squall damaged two of the French ships, the *Hoche* and the *Anson*. On the 12th, the *Hoche*, a seventy-four gun ship, the *Coquille*, *Embuscade*, and *Bellone*, were captured by Commodore Sir John Borslase. The *Loire* was captured on the 18th, and the *Immortalité* on the 20th.

The failure of this expedition put a finishing stroke to the insurrection. Three of its agents, Tone, Teeling, and Sullivan, were discovered on board the *Hoche*. The two first were made prisoners, and sent to Dublin; Sullivan contrived to make his escape. Tone and Teeling were tried by a military court-martial; they were capitally convicted, and sentenced to undergo the extreme penalty of the law.

Wolfe Tone made a lengthened speech in his own defence, which poor attempt to justify himself, was an aggravation of his crimes. The 12th November was the day fixed for his execution. On the previous evening, he could see the gallows erecting before his windows. According to his son's statement, Tone had determined on avoiding an ignominious death, if such should be awarded him, by self-murder. In the night-time he made a deep incision in his throat. At four o'clock in the morning, the sentry, having discovered what he had done, called in a surgeon, who stopped the blood and closed the wound, which he pronounced dan-



gerous, yet might not be mortal. On hearing this, the wretched suicide muttered, "I am sorry I have been so bad an anatomist." He was decidedly not in a state to be removed. On the morning of the 19th November, he was seized with the spasms of approaching death. The last words he spoke were to the surgeon, who had warned him of instant dissolution if he made an attempt to speak or move.—"I thank you, sir; it is the most welcome news you could give me,—what should I wish to live for?" Falling back, with these expressions on his lips, he expired without farther effort."

Napper Tandy was taken prisoner at Hamburgh, by Sir James Crawford, the British minister. Having received information of his arrival, on the 22nd November, Sir James led the officers of police, attended by a guard, to the inn, before six o'clock in the morning, and having obtained an entrance, Napper Tandy was found writing. The officer who entered his apartment demanded his passport.—"It is here," he replied, taking a pistol out of a trunk, and presenting it at the officer;—but being a resolute man, he seized the pistol, and wrenched it out of Tandy's hands, who was immediately secured, together with his associates. By order of the British minister, they were put in irons, and confined in separate guard-houses.

The inn where they had been bore the sign of the Arms of America. Previous to their seizure, Sir James Crawford had applied to the chief magistrate for a warrant to arrest them as Irish subjects in rebellion against their sovereign, but it was refused. As soon as it was

known that they were arrested and in prison, citizen Marragon, the minister of the French republic, sent a note to the senate, claiming Napper Tandy and his colleagues as French citizens, and threatening to quit Hamburgh unless they were released. The British minister was equally resolute in opposing their enlargement. The senate were perplexed, and held a consultation, which lasted several hours; not being able to determine, they had a second meeting, — the senate ordered two of the prisoners to be unironed. Napper Tandy was in a bad state of health. The French *charge d'affaires*, apprehensive for the fate of the prisoners, offered a considerable sum of money to an officer of the Hamburgh regulars, who had the guard, to let them escape: but he indignantly refused, and proclaimed the attempt to dishonour him. Sir James Crawford, and citizen Marragon, despatched the particulars of this important event to their respective courts. The English cabinet sent positive instructions to their agents for the detention of Napper Tandy, and the other Irishmen, lately arrested at Hamburgh.\*

“Tandy was conveyed to Ireland, arraigned at Lifford, threw himself on the mercy of the crown, pleaded guilty, and was permitted to transport himself.”

“Tandy was spared to prove, by the obscurity in which he subsequently lived and died, how paltry are the qualifications necessary to form an Irish demagogue.” †

It would occupy too many pages of this condensed

\* *Annual Register*, 1798.

† Maxwell.

history to attempt any detail of the debates of Unionists and Anti-Unionists which agitated the politicians of 1799. It has been remarked, that “although an immense number of pamphlets issued from the press, on this occasion, in Dublin; and that the debates in the Irish parliament were protracted to an unusual length; yet, for the preceding twenty years, when any of the great questions which agitated Ireland were discussed, there was a much more forcible display of intelligence, reasoning, ingenuity, and eloquence, than at this time.”

When an incorporating union between Great Britain and Ireland became a subject of parliamentary discussion, a decided aversion was manifested in Dublin and other towns to this measure; and the populace were only restrained from an armed opposition by a dread of the military. Besides the English soldiers, there were many regiments of Scotch Highlanders, regulars, fencibles and volunteers, stationed in the provinces of Leinster and Ulster.

Mr. Grattan, “a pensioned tribune of the Irish nation,” was one of the most zealous opposers of the union, in the house of commons. Being a true orator, as well as an acute reasoner, his speeches made a deep impression. His manner of answering Mr. Corry, the chancellor of the Irish exchequer, who recommended the union, was so cutting and offensive, that he sent him a challenge. A duel ensued—Mr. Corry was wounded; whilst Grattan escaped unhurt.

The following quotations from two speeches, against and for the union, are given as a specimen of the arguments brought forward on both sides.



The attorney-general entered into a history of the progress of faction in Ireland, and inveighed against the leaders of opposition and the whig club, in strong language. Mr. Bushe censured him for endeavouring to identify anti-unionism with disaffection to the sovereign; and after a caution to the ministry against propounding the dangerous doctrine of the incompatibility of British connexion with Hibernian independence, he thus expresses himself:—"You are called upon to give up your independence; and to whom are you to give it up? To a nation which, for six hundred years, has treated you with uniform oppression and injustice. The treasury-bench startles at the assertion—*non meus hic sermo est*. If the treasury-bench scold me, Mr. Pitt will scold them—it is his assertion, in so many words, in his speech:—he says, *Ireland has been always treated with injustice and illiberality*. Ireland, says Junius, has been uniformly plundered and oppressed. This is not the slander of Junius, or the candour of Mr. Pitt—it is history. For centuries has the British nation and parliament kept you down; shackled your commerce; paralysed your exertions; despised your character; and ridiculed your pretensions to any privileges, commercial or constitutional. She never conceded a point to you which she could avoid; or granted a favour which was not reluctantly distilled. They have been all wrung from her, like drops of her heart's blood; and you are not in possession of a single blessing (except those which you derive from God), that has not been either purchased or extorted, by the virtue of your own parliament, from the illiberality of England."

Lord Castlereagh, after having unfolded the plan of the union, in a very long speech, concludes it in the following terms :—

“ Having now gone through the outline of the plan with as much conciseness as possible, I trust I have proved to every man who hears me, that the proposal is such a one as is at once honourable for Great Britain to offer, and for Ireland to accept. It is one which will entirely remove from the executive powers those anomalies which are the perpetual sources of jealousies and discontent. It is one which will relieve the apprehensions of those who feared that Ireland was, in consequence of an union, to be burdened with the debt of Great Britain. It is one, which, by establishing a fair principle of contribution, tends to release Ireland from an expense of £1,000,000 in time of war, and of £500,000 in time of peace. It is one which increases the resources of our commerce ; protects our manufactures ; secures to us the British markets ; and encourages all the produce of our soil. It is one that places the great question, which has so long agitated the country, upon the broad principles of imperial policy ; and divests it of all its local difficulties. It is one that establishes such a representation for the country as must lay asleep for ever the question of parliamentary reform, which, combined with our religious divisions, has produced all our distractions and calamities.”\*

In the Irish house of peers, the Marquis of Downshire opposed the union with indefatigable zeal and

\* See Plowden's *Hist. Rev. of the State of Ireland*. Vol. iii.

perseverance. Without the advantage of great eloquence, his rectitude of character, and steady attachment to his native country, gave peculiar weight to his arguments ; yet, being in the minority, his exertions were of no avail in saving the nation from a union. There was a great majority in favour of this measure in the house of lords: while a protest against it, by twenty peers, was entered on the journals.

1800. June 5th. The bill passed the committee, sanctioned by both houses of the Irish legislature ; and on the 2nd of July it received the king's assent in the British parliament.

This well-digested measure took effect on the 1st day of January, 1801. It is remarkable that a change so important produced no sensation beyond that which might have been expected from any common occurrence. A complete pause succeeded the event. It was now determined, and the public tranquillity was restored. Such was the aspect of affairs at the close of the year. 1801. \*

\* *Annual Register*, 1799, 1800, 1801, 1802.



## A P P E N D I X .

---

*Extracts from the Letters of a Gentleman of good Property, in the County of Armagh, and of undoubted veracity, are subjoined, in confirmation of some facts which have been stated.*

“ Dublin, May 2, 1796.

“ As to public affairs, there is so little consolatory in them, that I turn my thoughts from them as much as possible. I am convinced that a single defeat of the French, either by sea or by land, would change them for the better ; and that a peace, which is not impossible, would set all to rights again : in which case, the wretches who are now so insolent, would cringe more than they have ever done.

“ Do not think that we live without alarms in this city. On Sunday, at seven o'clock in the evening, the trumpets sounded, the drums beat to arms in every quarter of the city, and I received a message that an insurrection was expected. Cavalry and infantry were seen flying in all directions. All this alarm was caused by the assembling of above eight thousand people, on pretence of a funeral :—they marched in military order, four abreast, unarmed ; their line extended from Dame Street to James's Church,—above a mile and a-half ; they would not let a coach pass, and made some gentlemen, who were going to dine at the castle, get out of their carriages and walk. They were dispersed by the cavalry, in James's Street. This is the fourth of these sort of funerals since we came to town ; their purpose for thus assembling is now known :—the United Irishmen, by exhibiting their numbers, want to accustom people to the sight ; and, by degrees, increasing more and more, they may at last attempt some daring enterprise.

“ There are such expectations of an insurrection, that each of the volunteers received a printed paper yesterday, ordering every man to run, armed, to the first guard-house, if two cannon were fired, at the castle, the barrack, or Stephen's green ; or if the bells tolled at the college, Kilmainham, or the custom-house. These precautions prove how vigilant government is. Last week they placed an iron gate at the lower castle yard, so strong, that without cannon it cannot be forced.

“It is supposed that an attempt will be made to liberate the Belfast men, who are confined at Kilmainham and Newgate: if they do, it may be the commencement of a revolution, in the same manner as the taking of the Bastile, in France.”

---

“Dublin, April 13, 1797.

“Your account of Mr. Ennis’s robbery is alarming. I am almost certain we shall be invaded, and, in that case, with so many internal foes, what is to become of us? Sir Capel Molyneux’s house has been robbed, and thirteen hundred ball cartridges taken: they have also obtained a large supply from having robbed the house of Lieutenant Darby, in Lisburn. They are preparing to attack us, so that if the French make good their landing, we may expect a general upset.”

---

“Dublin, April 2, 1798.

“They are, this very day, apprehending United Irishmen, in James’s Street. A large party of the army are now there. It is a fact that there was an ambassador \* from the United Irishmen, at Lisle, last summer, for the sole purpose of preventing the French from treating with Lord Malmesbury about a peace. The ambassador is now in Kilmainham gaol; I have the honour to be acquainted with him. I hope my friend will not be hanged, though I believe he deserves it.”

---

“April 24, 1798.

“Public affairs seem to mend. On Saturday last, nineteen United Irishmen were expelled from the college; and on Sunday, a committee of thirteen were taken in a boat at sea: they had met before in the same manner. This is a fact,—I had it from the officer that was guard over them. In short, the chief leaders are taken; and the party without heads are of little consequence. Good news from England; the opposition, it is thought, will join to support government against the French.”

---

“Dublin, May 27, 1798.

“You have heard of riot, rebellion, and every thing that is bad:—but we are all well, and in perfect safety here. The town is full of ill-disposed people, but it impossible for them to do any

\* Arthur O’Connor.

thing, government is so vigilant and so well-prepared. I am just returned from the castle, where some bad news had arrived. The rebels had surprised and murdered ninety soldiers and seven officers. Every other intelligence of this day is good: four hundred and fifty rebels killed, at Carlow, without the loss of a single man; and sixty-five at Leighlin bridge;—in short, they are beaten everywhere:—not less than two thousand have been already killed. In the county of Kildare, they have offered to surrender themselves and arms, but government will not accept their offer, if they do not also give up their officers and leaders, which they will be obliged to do. Lord Gosford was very near being murdered at Naas: a fellow, with a pike, had got into his room, and was going to stab him, when a centinel, who suspected him, came up and shot the man in the head.

“The Armagh regiment have behaved with remarkable bravery, and in different engagements, have killed three hundred rebels. My son and nephew are in the lawyers’ corps. They mounted guard last night at the parliament house, and are to do the same every night whilst there is any danger. Not less than five hundred barristers mount guard every night; and as many attorneys.”

---

“Dublin, June 4, 1798.

“There are seven regiments, and five thousand volunteers, in Dublin, the half of whom are on duty every night. Any man, excepting a soldier, seen in the street after ten o’clock at night is shot, if he cannot give a good account of himself: so that a general insurrection would be impossible, unless the rebels had beaten the army in every other quarter of the kingdom, which will never be the case.

“When government publish the killing of four hundred,—three thousand have, in fact, been slaughtered, with the loss only of five or six soldiers. The Curragh of Kildare is covered with dead bodies, and no one to bury them, except here and there a woman is seen making a grave for her husband or her son. Wexford is now so surrounded by our army, that they cannot escape; but that which ensures the public tranquillity more than all the rest is, that Lord Edward Fitzgerald died of his wounds, in Newgate, at three o’clock this morning;—while he was alive, the mob still hoped he might be reserved. Now to argue the matter of safety with you, I think we are far more secure than we should be in a solitary house in the country: for should the people rise, there is no sort of protection, independent of what our own exertions might produce. Great numbers have been murdered in the counties of Kildare, Waterford, and Wexford, of the gentlemen and ladies



who remained in their country-houses, while those who fled for refuge to the towns, are safe. The north is quiet; but will it continue so?—The traitors here will do all they can to raise disturbance there, we may be quite sure: though they know it must end in the destruction of the country.

“There are, altogether, five thousand volunteers:—with these, and seven regiments of regulars, we sleep as quietly as you do. Our watchmen, instead of calling the hour, when it comes round, cry, ‘*All is well.*’ At the castle-gate two cannon are placed, with lighted matches, day and night. A bridge of communication between the castle and garden, is broken down, and one hundred soldiers are encamped in the garden. Two yeomen were hanged on Saturday, on the Queen’s Bridge, for going over to the enemy. On the same evening, a wretch was hanged, on Ormond Bridge, who was taken in battle, covered with wounds. I saw him as he passed by our house.

“Ten thousand troops are on their passage from England, and fifteen thousand more are ready to follow, if we should want them. You need not be under the least anxiety about us, we are surrounded with troops all the night, who will not let a single person pass after nine o’clock, when we are all ordered to be in our houses. All public amusements are at an end, as none but the military can go out after sunset.

“The Belfast people have acted sensibly and well; they have offered their services to government, and expressed their detestation of the present conduct of the French in Switzerland, &c. &c. O’Connor was acquitted in England, but is to be sent here again to undergo another trial; we have martial law, and such fellows should be tried by it.”

---

“ June 4.

“In case of their rising in the north, the country gentlemen would be the first victims, as has been the case in other parts of the country where the rebellion broke out. Mr. and Mrs. Blacker, and nine of their children, have been murdered, and three other clergymen, with their families, in the diocese of the Bishop of Ferns. He is safe in town, but the rebels have got possession of his palace, and he fears they have murdered his servants.”

---

“ Dublin, June 20, 1798.

“Here we are still;—all is well;—our affairs are improving every day. From four to five hundred rebels were killed yesterday, at Kilcock, fourteen miles from Dublin. On our side, Sir

Richard Steele was wounded, and a few men killed, but the particulars are not yet well known. Lord Gosford\* had another narrow escape.—On his way to Naas, his carriage was attacked, but his servant instantly gave him his horse, by which means he escaped. The servant was wounded in the elbow.

“English troops are pouring into Dublin, by thousands, daily. An act is passed, in England, for a change of the military—ten of our militia regiments for ten of theirs. This can cast no sort of obloquy on our militia, who, on every occasion, have acquitted themselves in the most praiseworthy manner;—but it must have been a great trial to their feelings, to fight against their own countrymen, many of them of their own religion.

“If the wind permits, our new lord-lieutenant, Lord Cornwallis, is to land this day. By him Tippoo Saib was defeated;—he is a clever man, and esteemed one of the best generals of the age.

“Lord Camden was approved of by all parties, and removes, at his own desire, from thinking that the governing and military powers should be vested in the same hands. The English have behaved nobly to us. They are to send us fifty thousand troops if they are wanted: therefore we need not fear the whole force of the United Irishmen, and their abettors. A decisive battle is this day to take place. The news of to-morrow is anxiously expected from Wexford.

“Mr. Hay, an officer, now in Dublin, was a prisoner for seven days in the camp of the rebels, and they forced him to fight at their head. He says there never was a more vile and undisciplined mob; that his ears still ring with their horrid shouts; that there are at least forty thousand of them; and they are this day to be opposed by twelve thousand regulars. The result is evident,—nothing can save them but their dispersing.

“As in former times, so now, the peaceable districts will enjoy the fruits hereafter; while famine must be the consequence of rebellion in those counties where it has raged. Nothing can exceed the destruction of provisions made by the rebels, wherever they have been. These miserable wretches seem to have no forethought of what they are bringing upon themselves, their wives, and their children.

“It is remarkable how every destructive plot they have formed has been discovered and over-ruled! I have always had a firm re-

\* Lord Gosford commanded the garrison at Naas, which consisted of three hundred of the Armagh militia, and some detachments of cavalry. On the morning of May 24, before day, an attempt was made to surprise the garrison; but the commander had been forewarned, by an anonymous writer, of their design, and his troops were under arms. The rebels, in number one thousand, led on by Michael Reynolds, were quickly repulsed, and pursued with slaughter.

liance on Providence, undeserving as we are, that their evil designs would not succeed against those who wish to serve God in quietness, and peace with their neighbours.

“A dreadful conspiracy was formed at Waterford, to murder all the officers of that large garrison, while sitting at dinner, in the tavern, which was kept by a fellow who had been a servant to our primate, at the time that he was Bishop of Waterford. The mayor, all the magistrates, and principal inhabitants, were to have been massacred at the same time, and the town given up to the rebels. The contrivers of this plot are executed. News is just come in that one hundred and fifty rebels are killed, at Kilbeggan; it is astonishing how they hold out. They are probably kept up by means of the provisions they find in the gentlemen’s houses they ransack, and the wine, beer, and spirits, in their cellars. But these resources must soon fail to such a multitude. I hear a small vessel, laden with bomb shells, which are to be thrown into the town, has sailed for Wexford. In short, nothing is to be seen but the moving of cannon and military stores. No government can be more vigilant than ours is; they must expend immense sums to gain intelligence.”

---

Dublin, June 3 to 26.

“I am here at the fountain-head of news; that of this day is, that a very large party of the rebels have destroyed Lady Ormond’s house, at Castlecomer, in the county of Kilkenny;—Sir Charles Asgill came up with them, and routed them with great slaughter: his force consisted of fifteen hundred men.

“The rebels escaped out of the town of Wexford. Our troops arrived just in time to rescue the remainder of the prisoners. The day before they had stabbed seventy-two with their pikes: nothing could be more barbarous than their behaviour,—dancing and yelling, in the most savage manner, while they were killing their prisoners. They gave them a sort of mock trial, like that of the 2nd of September, at Paris. When our advanced guard entered Wexford, the ladies, who had been made prisoners, were at the windows, crying and laughing, in strong hysterics.—Three acquaintances of ours were among them—Mrs. O—, Miss M—, and Miss C—, a very beautiful girl.—In less than an hour, they were to have been led out to be slaughtered, but for the providential arrival of our soldiers. The rebels are now dispersed in bodies, from three to five thousand;—they range the country, cursing their leaders, by whom they were brought into so great misery:—they are harassed more than it is possible to describe. To give you an idea of the folly of their plan,—at Vinegar Hill, where



they lost from four to five thousand men, but two of our officers were killed, and sixteen private soldiers. At another place, one hundred and sixty were killed, and not one of our men fell—two only were wounded. I think they will soon desert their leaders. A Mr. Grogan is now being tried for his life, at Wexford: he had more than £6000 a-year, property, but had been connected with the rebels at Wexford. It is certain that several of the Romish priests, of the lower order, and a great number of their flocks, have engaged in this rebellion; but the higher orders of their clergy, their nobility, and very many of their religion, among our militia, have behaved admirably. As for my tenantry, if they continue to conduct themselves as they have done hitherto, they may be certain of receiving every encouragement and protection from me, not only at the present time, but hereafter, when I shall have it in my power to serve them.

“The present disturbed state of the country would have been at an end now, if we had prevented the escape of the rebels from Wexford,—but that could not be done, without leaving all the remaining prisoners in the town to be murdered, which the humanity of the generals would not permit.

“The rebels have burned the town of Castlecomer, as well as Lady Ormond’s house there. The country is entirely laid waste wherever they have been,—all is burned and destroyed:—starvation must be the consequence.”

## RETROSPECTIVE GLANCE AT THE STATE OF RELIGION.

THE good Bishop Bedell's efforts for the conversion of the Irish had, apparently, failed. The types sent over by Queen Elizabeth had fallen into the hands of Jesuits, and were taken to Douay. For thirty years no publication appeared in the Irish language. In 1681, some individuals took this deplorable neglect into consideration; and Bishop Bedell's manuscript, in Irish, was inquired for. It had passed from Dr. Sheridan to Dr. Jones, who had been Dean of Kilmore and Ardagh; he was now Bishop of Meath—and deeply interested about the religious instruction of the native Irish. The Hon. Robert Boyle, the seventh son and fourteenth child of the Earl of Cork, evinced the same ardent desire; and consulted Dr. Sall, a native of Cashell (who was then engaged in delivering lectures in Oxford, where he had received his degrees), about procuring a reprint of the New Testament in Irish. Dr. Sall answered, "I bless God for inspiring you to so holy a zeal, and those worthies that join you therein. I doubt not but it may conduce highly to the glory of God, good of those souls, and credit of our government, if the other prelates and pastors of Ireland did use such endeavours as the good Archbishop of Cashell does, by communing with the natives, and winning them to hear and read the Word of God; and, specially, if in the college there were a course taken for obliging or enticing such as expect to have orders to read and declare the Holy Scriptures in Irish: for me, I am more apt to lament than remedy it."

Thomas Price, Archbishop of Cashel, was a native of Wales, and had been educated at Trinity College, Dublin. He obtained a fellowship, and was ordained by Bishop Bedell; whose solemn obtestation left an indelible impression upon his memory. He was afterwards Archdeacon of Kilmore. In his 79th year, Dr. Andrew Sall obtained for him a Prayer-book and the Psalms in the Irish language, which he appointed to be read in the cathedral at Cashel. From the time of his residence there (ten years), as bishop, he had paid particular attention to the native language, and it is said, "Maintained many Irish clergymen to preach to the people in the language of their country." \*

In December, 1678, Mr. Boyle ordered a fount of Irish types to be cast in London from one which had been cut by Mr. Moxon in 1659. We are informed by Mr. Mores, the learned typographer, that it was the only type of that language which had been seen; and that it was cut for Bedell's translation of the Bible.

\* Ware's Bishops. Dublin, 1764.

Mr. Boyle first had the Church Catechism printed, and also the elements of the Irish language; he then applied himself to the work he had most at heart—a reprint of the New Testament. About seven hundred and fifty copies of the New Testament, in Irish, were struck off and circulated during the following year. The next important undertaking was the examination and copying out of Bedell's MS., which was happily effected with the assistance of Mr. Higgins, the Irish lecturer in Trinity College. When properly arranged for the press, Dr. Sall thus addresses Mr. Boyle—"I agreed with the scribe for one shilling for each sheet: the provost and Mr. Higgins think that to be the least he can expect, considering the special difficulty of writing the language. I desire to know your opinion upon that; as also, that the subscriptions may be immediately begun and sent over, to defray the charges of this writing. I wish my stock were as able as my heart would be willing to bear all myself. My labour and industry I will not spare, and will lay aside other studies, I was engaged in, to attend to this work; being persuaded that none other can be of more importance for the glory of God, and the good of souls in this poor country: for the publishing of the New Testament many blessings on you, whose bounty procured this happiness for them."

While Dr. Narcissus Marsh was provost, there were eighty students attending Mr. Higgins's lectures in Irish; and several of the fellows and chief members of the college were receiving private instructions from him in that language. The provost himself took such an interest in it, as to compose an Irish grammar. At this time Dr. Jones, Bishop of Meath, wrote to Mr. Boyle,—“That which gives me the greatest hope of success, is our good provost's care and zeal in training up the present youth in the college in reading the Irish, which, by the books from you now in their hands, is greatly forwarded. This may be a seed-plot for the church. The harvest is great, and the labourers few; therefore is the Lord of the harvest to be earnestly desired to prepare and send forth more labourers.”

A sermon was preached in the Irish language, in the college chapel, once a month, to a crowded audience. The Duke of Ormond's attending these sermons proved his decided approbation.

It seemed now that a stop was to have been put to the work, by the death of two of its most efficient supporters, the Bishop of Meath and Dr. Sall. Upon the occasion of Dr. Sall's death, April 5, 1682, the provost thus expresses himself in a letter to Mr. Boyle—"I intend that the revising of the old translation of the Old Testament and its transcription shall, nevertheless, go on, if I can but discern that, by God's help, I may be able to guide and direct the management of the work, what pains soever it may cost me."



In 1685, the manuscript, comprising seven hundred and nineteen sheets and a half, was sent to London. Mr. Boyle contributed £700 to the printing of an edition containing five hundred copies, in quarto. Dr. Huntington, who was then provost, presented the first bound copy to the lord-lieutenant (the Duke of Ormond), who readily promised every encouragement to this good work, both on its own account and Mr. Boyle's—"That the nations may know, at present, and the generations to come, how much they stand indebted to such a benefactor."

While a few individuals thus united in this laudable undertaking, no public aid was afforded; it being a principle in the politics of the English government, rather to suppress than encourage the Irish language."

The denunciation against the Irish is heavier than that pronounced against the Jews, "The Lord shall bring a nation against thee, whose tongue thou shalt not understand."—Deut. xxviii. 49.

It was not enough to have a strange people come amongst them, speaking in a strange language; but they must so accommodate themselves to their conquerors as to give up altogether and forget their own native tongue, in order to adopt one they could not comprehend: hence it is that the Irish remained so long unenlightened and ignorant among English protestants.

It has been remarked, that Mr. Boyle might contribute large sums to the propagation of divine knowledge abroad, in America, or India; and institute lectures for the defence of natural and revealed religion in England: he might print "*Grotius de Veritate*" in Arabic; the Gospels and Acts in the Malayan tongue; assist in the Catechism or New Testament in Turkish: he might even contribute towards the printing of the Scriptures in Welsh, for Wales; or Gaelic, for the Highlands of Scotland. All these he did, and for all these he was extolled: but to procure the same advantage for his own native country was deemed impolitic. The opposition which was evinced is shown in the following letter from Dr. Marsh, Bishop of Ferns, in March, 1686.

"Upon the hint in your letter, of my lord-lieutenant's favourable thought of this design, of publishing the Bible in the Irish tongue, I made bold to address his excellency about it; and that the rather because I have gotten a great deal of ill-will from some great men in this kingdom for what I have done in promoting this good and charitable work, which has been no small discouragement to me.

"His excellency was pleased to promise his encouragement and assistance towards the carrying it on, both by his purse and otherwise; but withal was surprised to hear what I related of the discouragements and, indeed, threats, that I have had on this account.

“The unwelcomeness of this undertaking to many in this country, I believe, was the reason why the Bishop of Meath (Dr. Dopping, who succeeded Dr. Jones) flew off from prosecuting what he designed and promised; but has ever since been wholly unconcerned and sat neuter. Notwithstanding all which, I hope to finish the designed ‘Irish Grammar,’ wherein I find many unexpected difficulties, and nobody able to solve them. An account of the Irish language, as to the origin and nature of it, long since promised to the provost (Huntington), is now coming to me; if anything material be in it, care shall be taken that it be fitted to be joined with the other. The great charges and care that you have been at in printing the Old Testament, will, I hope, find that acknowledgement, and the pious work that acceptance amongst the generality in this kingdom, which they really do deserve; and that a means may yet be found out of committing the Book of Common Prayer to the press also, in the Irish tongue: that so the design of the *Canons* of this church, which require every parish to have the Bible and Book of Common Prayer, in Irish, may be answered.”

James II. by virtue of his supremacy, claimed a despotic power over the church, though, by an act of his parliament, he had taken away the oath of supremacy. What could be more arbitrary than his command to the Fellows and students of Trinity College, that not more than two or three at a time should meet together, to converse, under pain of death? But the power he exercised over the church was exclusively directed against the protestant religion, which he was bent upon destroying; while he upheld popery, over which he claimed no authority.\*

A universal corruption of manners prevailed at his court; which, if he did not encourage, he did not check; for it was found to subserve the purposes of popery by proselytizing. Men of dissolute character, professing to be protestants, yet, by their practice proving that they were, in reality, without any fixed principles of religion, openly profane and impious, were easily persuaded to abjure a faith which never influenced them, and to adopt any new creed which they found more suitable.

During that memorable year (1688), while popery prevailed, Sir Thomas Hacket, the Mayor of Dublin, bore an honourable testimony to the character of the protestant population. He confessed that not an individual of this persuasion was brought before him for theft, and very seldom for any kind of immorality; whilst accusations, including almost every kind and degree of it, abounded against Romanists. They were particularly remarkable for their

\* See King’s State of Protestants.

profanation of the Lord's day; and when they could persuade a protestant to join in any of their unhallowed excesses, on that sacred day, they were sure of his conversion to popery.

After the siege of Londonderry, in the year 1689, many of the native Irish, forsaking their dwellings in the barony of Innishowan, accompanied the army to the south, where they formed new settlements. In process of time the forsaken tenements were occupied by Scotch Highlanders, whose language (Gælic) was similar to the Irish. These new settlers having petitioned Dr. King, the Bishop of Derry, to provide them a minister who could instruct them in their own language, he appointed two—one to an Irish living, the other was paid by himself. From four to five hundred Irish attended divine service along with the Highlanders, among whom there were none who understood English. The success of preaching in Irish, in Donegal, induced the inhabitants of the northern parts of the county of Antrim, who had come from the Western Isles, and were now in possession of deserted lands, to petition the Bishop of Down to send them such ministers as the Bishop of Derry had provided. In consequence of which, Mr. Duncan Mac Arthur was appointed; and afterwards Mr. Archibald Mac Callum; who were well attended, by both Irish and Highlanders: two or three others were added to these, and the work prospered for ten or fifteen years, when it met with discouragement and fell to the ground. The descendants of those Highlanders who did not emigrate, in general mingled with the Irish.

Our native tongue is the medium divinely appointed for our instruction in the things which belong to our peace, and the eternal salvation of our souls, else why should that transcendent miracle have been wrought which is recorded in the second chapter of the Acts?

The old Irishman, Sedulius, left a saying worthy of note—"Be not children in understanding: but ye ought to know *wherefore* languages were given. Better to speak a few lucid words, in the right sense, than innumerable that are obscure and unknown."

THE END.



This book is a preservation facsimile.  
It is made in compliance with copyright law  
and produced on acid-free archival  
60# book weight paper  
which meets the requirements of  
ANSI/NISO Z39.48-1992 (permanence of paper)

Preservation facsimile printing and binding  
by  
Acme Bookbinding  
Charlestown, Massachusetts



2004









BOSTON COLLEGE



3 9031 025 77919 0

