

only refer to the question put by the Lord Chancellor — "Pray, Mr. Emmett, what caused the late rebellion?" and to the reply to it of Emmett—"The free quarters, the house-burnings, the tortures, and the military executions, in the counties of Kildare, Carlow, and Wicklow." In fact, persecution and disaffection followed in the order of cause and effect; the turbulence of the Defenders can only be looked on as the consequence of the Orange depredations, and the excesses of both parties the plea for the attempt of uniting the people of all religious denominations in one great national society.

Sir Jonah Barrington considers the idea of Orange Societies arose from the association of the aldermen of Skinners' Alley; the latter owed its origin to the restoration of the old corporate body to their former power and privileges, at the departure of James the Second. Their meetings were for the indulgence of that kind of Cherokee festivity, which is indicative of sanguinary struggles or successful onslaughts, past or expected. Their grand festival was on the 1st of June, the anniversary of the Battle of the Boyne, on which occasion the charter-toast was drunk by every member on his bare knees. At the time of Sir Jonah's initiation, "his friend, Doctor Patrick Dugenan, was the Grand Master." The *standing dish*, at the Skinners' alley dinners, was sheep's trotters, in delicate allusion to King James's last use of his lower extremities in Ireland; and the cloth being removed, the charter-toast, the antiquity of which was of so ancient a date as the year 1689, was pronounced by the Grand Master on his bare joints to the kneeling assemblage, in the following words: "The glorious, pious, and immortal memory of the great and good King William, not forgetting Oliver Cromwell, who assisted in redeeming us from Popery, slavery, arbitrary power, brass money, and wooden shoes," &c. &c. &c. The concluding part of this loyal toast is a tissue of vulgar indecencies, and imprecations on "priests, bishops, deacons," or any other of the fraternity of the clergy who refuse this toast, consigning their members to the operation of red-hot harrows, and their mangled carcasses to the lower regions. In detailing the particulars of these brutal and bacchanalian proceedings, Sir Jonah says, "it may be amusing to describe them"—and then he denominates the association as "a very curious, but most loyal society; and that "their favorite toast was afterwards adopted by the Orange societies, and was still considered the charter-toast of them all. Sir Jonah's notions of mirth and loyalty were, no doubt, in accordance with those of the circle in which he moved. Indeed, he prefaces this account of the exuberance of zeal of the Skinners'-alley aldermen, with a declaration of his own political sentiments; as being, though not an ultra, one in whom loyalty absorbed almost every other consideration.

Few of the Orangemen in the north were probably actuated by the motives to which their proceedings are commonly attributed. It is generally supposed that they were animated by a blind, indiscri-

minate fury against the people, solely on account of their religion. This is not a fair statement, and whoever inquires into the history of these times will find it is not true. These men were impelled, as their descendants are, by a simple desire to get possession of property belonging to people who had not the power to protect it, and to give their rapacity the colour of a zeal for the interests of their own religion.

It is doing the Ascendency party a great injustice, to suppose that their animosity to their Roman Catholic countrymen arose from a spirit of fanaticism, or of mistaken enthusiasm in their religious sentiments. The plan of converting souls by converting the soil of the old inhabitants of a country to the use of the new settler, is of ancient date. With this party the matter is one of money and of property in land, which wears the outward garb of a religious question.

The Puritans who sought refuge in America, when they found the most fertile portion of Massachusetts in the possession of the Indians, did not think of dispossessing the rightful owners of the broad lands they coveted, without giving the sanctimonious air of a religious proceeding to their contemplated spoliation.

They convened a meeting, which was opened with all due solemnity, and the following resolutions are said to have been passed unanimously:—

Resolved, That the earth is the Lord's, and the fullness thereof.

Resolved, That the Lord hath given the earth as an inheritance to his Saints.

Resolved, That we are the Saints.

How far the ludicrous may be found herein to mingle with the historical data, it is hard to say, but the spirit in which similar conclusions are arrived at in "the Island—proverbially—of Saints," it is impossible not to recognise in the above mentioned theological and political resolutions. The zeal of Orangeism in behalf of religion cannot impose on a close observer. The penal code was framed for the protection of confiscated property; and the assumed hostility to the religion of the people who were dispossessed, was only a practice in accordance with the purport and pretence of the iniquitous statutes, which had already legalized three general confiscations within a period of 200 years. This legalized system of rapine and proscription has been productive of evils which still are felt, and those who, along with the lands of the proscribed people, obtained all the political privileges that were thought essential to the security of their new possessions, would have been more just than the generality of mankind, if, having power to protect the spoils they had obtained, or were encouraged to expect, they had not abused their privileges, and did not see in every extension of the people's liberties, another encroachment on the limits, now daily narrowing, of their power, property, and political pre-eminence.

#### HAPPINESS.

We are happy in proportion to the good qualities we have cultivated or possess; such as prudence, mildness, patience, and fortitude.

#### REVIEW

OF DR. MADDEN'S NEW WORK, "THE UNITED IRISHMEN."

From the "Freeman's Journal."

Dr. Madden's work divides itself into three parts—an historical introduction, presenting a rapid but well condensed sketch of Irish history down to the close of the last century, and evidently written by another and an abler hand; an account of the proximate causes that originated the Society of United Irishmen, and of the doings of that body when established, including a short narrative of the rising in 1798; and a biographical memoir of the two Sheares's, much more in detail than any other portion of the book.

Dr. Madden, who appears to be a decided and of course exclusive advocate of what is termed "moral force," seems to imply some censure upon the leaders of the United Irishmen, for having resorted to arms to redress the popular grievances, instead of being content to work with the might of popular opinion. This tendency we noticed throughout his production, but particularly in the "Preface." In this conviction he stands by no means alone. He holds it in common with many of the best and wisest Irishmen of the present day, some of whom have given expression to it much more strongly than he has chosen to do. We do not propose here to go into any lengthened discussion of this point. It involves too many and conflicting questions, requires too much minute and protracted investigation to be fitted for the columns of a newspaper. It may not be amiss, however, to say a few words upon the matter.

It is admitted on all sides that the motives of the United Irishmen were purely patriotic, and their object the welfare of their country. If they failed of attaining their end, they did not necessarily incur blame. Where they deserve censure, if at all, is for the means they employed. It may be alleged that those means were grossly inadequate—that, without sufficient preparation, or the slightest prospects of success, they plunged the country into all the horrors of a civil war—that their plans were ill-concerted and worse executed—that even when embarked in the struggle there was division and distrust among the leaders, and among the people dismay and disunion. To all this we answer—Look at the facts. This "Rebellion" so badly planned, so hopeless, so wretchedly managed, though deprived of its principal leaders, frustrated in its original designs, confined to one county and there forced into a premature outbreak, was yet sufficiently formidable to require a military force of beyond 120,000 men, regulars, militia, yeomarry, and volunteers, and an expenditure calculated at twenty-five millions sterling (120 millions of dollars)—to suppress it. The number of United Irishmen enrolled has been variously estimated. When Dr. MacNeven was questioned on this point by a member of the Secret Committee of 1798, he replied—"The number regularly organized is not less than 300,000, and I have no doubt all these will be ready to fight, when they get a fair opportunity." Lord Edward Fitzgerald

was confident that on taking the field he would be joined by at least 100,000 effective men. One thing is certain, that in Wexford alone, which was neither the most populous nor the best organized of the thirty-two counties, the insurgents were upwards of 35,000 strong. Neither were arms wanting, for beyond 120,000 of all descriptions, principally pikes and muskets, were captured by the royal forces.

Having thus seen that the hopes of the Irish leaders were neither chimerical nor inconsiderable, from what we know of their prospects and the actual results, let us examine the objections against the *principles* of their resistance. To do this fairly we must take for our rule that wise observation of Sismondi—as wise a one as ever was made by that profound though prejudiced historian. He says: "There is no greater error, than to suppose that any great event, or epoch, can be profitably viewed apart from the causes by which it was produced and the consequences by which it was followed; the habit of viewing facts apart from the circumstances by which they are connected and explained, can have no other result than the fostering of prejudice, the strengthening of ignorance, and the propagation of delusion."

In estimating the degree of blame which is to be attached to the leaders of the United Irishmen for resorting to arms, we must take into consideration the times in which they lived, when the sword was literally the sceptre, and an appeal to physical force was the universal and unquestioned mode of redress; the tyranny under which the people had so long suffered, for which, as it was thought, every peaceful remedy had been tried in vain, and under which they were suffering, just then, more keenly than ever; the effects of the example set them in their own country by the Volunteers, and that more pernicious one held up by the Revolutionists of France; in a word all the circumstances connected with them both before and after their brief career. It is easy for us, at the distance of nearly half a century, when the smoke and the dust of the conflict have cleared away, and the din and turmoil of the struggle have subsided,—it is easy and pleasant for us to talk philosophically, and reason nicely about the best means of removing a tyranny which drove even wise men mad. With a smile of commiseration for their folly, and of self complacency at our superior wisdom we can point to "public opinion" and "moral force" now as the true means for redressing wrong. But let us not try the men of '98 by a standard which did not then exist. The converse of the maxim, "From him unto whom much is given, much shall be required," is—"Judge not a man by lights which were not given him." The leaders of the Insurrection had no public opinion to work with.—The Catholics of those days were, politically and socially, too unimportant to give tone to the general sentiment. Moral force was an element in politics then unknown. To create the former, and prove the power of the latter, was a task reserved for one, of whom they were but the precursors, with all admiration and gratitude for the