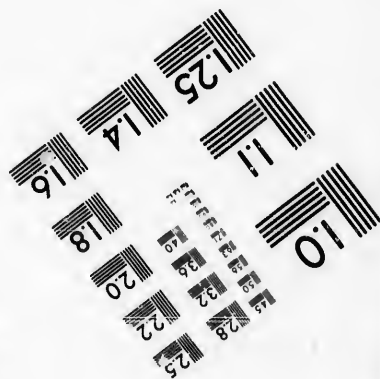
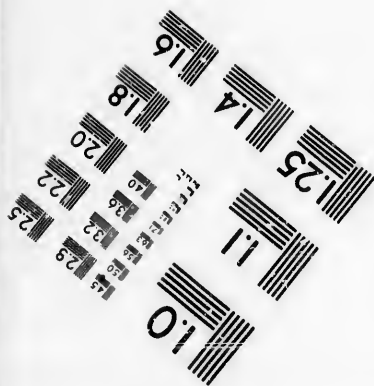
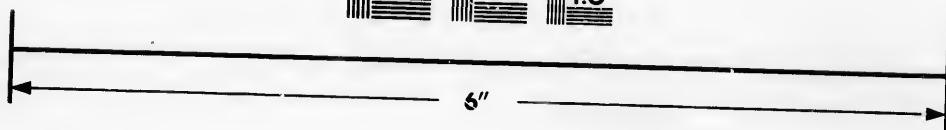
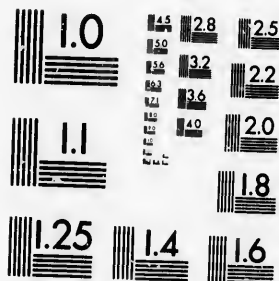


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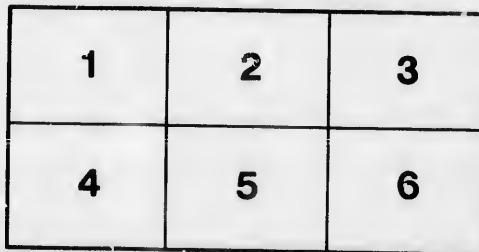
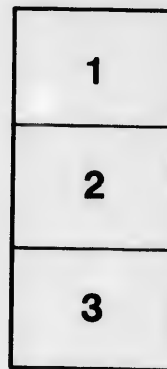
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THE
LIFE AND DEATH
OF
LORD EDWARD FITZGERALD.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY THOMAS DAVISON, WHITEFRIARS.

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Right Hon^{ble} Lord Edward Fitz Ger...

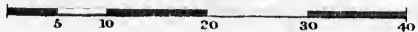
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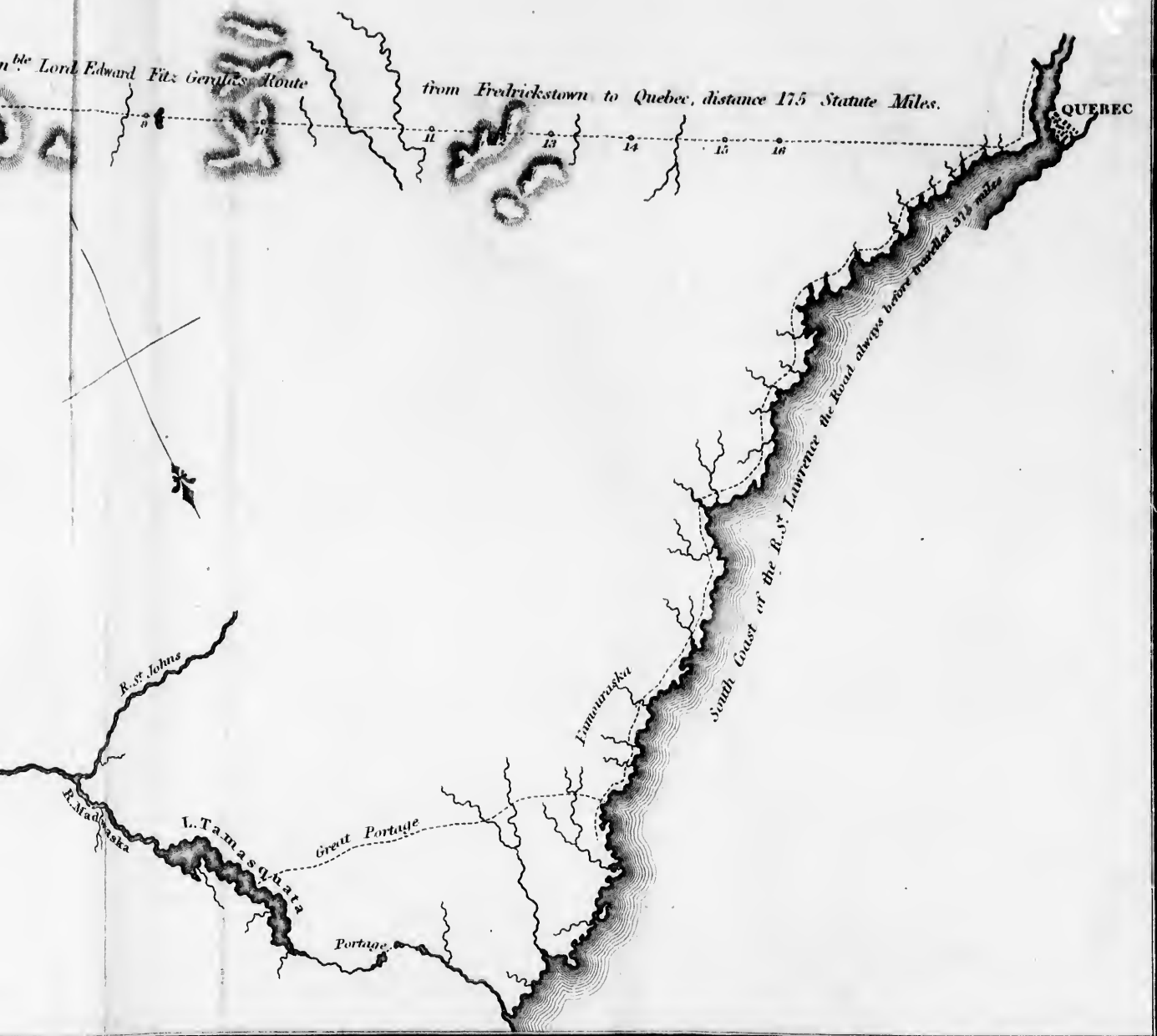
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The Figures on the Route denote the different Encampments.



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THE
LIFE AND DEATH
OF
LORD EDWARD FITZGERALD.

BY THOMAS MOORE.

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Victoris timuère minas, nunc excipe saltem
Ossa tui Magni.

LUCAN.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

SECOND EDITION.

LONDON:
LONGMAN, REES, ORME, BROWN, & GREEN,
39, PATERNOSTER-ROW.

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THE
LIFE AND DEATH
OF
LORD EDWARD FITZGERALD.

TOWARDS the close of 1797 the fervour of the insurrectionary spirit had, in the great seat of its strength, the North, visibly abated; and to the enforcement of martial law throughout Ulster, during the summer, that party, whose panacea for the ills of Ireland had been, at all times, and under all circumstances, the bayonet, were anxious to attribute this change. But though the seizure, under General Lake's Proclamation, of so large a quantity of arms, must have a good deal weakened the means of the United Irish in that quarter, it is also evident that there were still arms

enough in their possession to give them confidence in their own strength, as their first impulse was to rise and employ them against their despoilers. This desire, indeed, seems to have sprung up, in the very wake of Martial Law, throughout the whole province, and the objections and obstacles raised by most of the Dublin leaders,—from a conviction, as they themselves state, that, without French aid, such an attempt would be unavailing,—first caused that discordance of views between the Ulster and Leinster delegates, which continued from thenceforth to embarrass the counsels of the conspiracy, and, at last, contributed to its failure.

Notwithstanding the dissent, however, of their Dublin brethren, some of the more sanguine leaders of the North still persisted in their endeavours to force a general rising, and Lowry, Teeling, and others proceeded to Dublin to concert measures for that purpose. A plan of insurrection,—in drawing up which, it is said, some Irish officers, who had been in the Austrian service, assisted,—had already been agreed upon ; and, what was far more important, some of the regi-

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ments then on duty in Dublin having received intimation of the intended design, a deputation of sergeants from the Clare, Kilkenny, and Kildare militias waited upon the Provincial Committee of Dublin with an offer to seize, in the name of the Union, the Royal Barrack and the Castle, without requiring the aid or presence of a single citizen.

This proposal was immediately laid before the Executive; and Lord Edward most strenuously urged, as might be expected, their acceptance of it. But, after a long and anxious discussion, their decision was to decline the offer, as involving a risk which the present state of their preparations would not justify them, they thought, in encountering. The whole design was, therefore, abandoned, and its chief instigators, Messrs. Lowry, Teeling, and Tennant,—the first a member of the Executive Committee of Ulster,—were forced to fly to Hamburgh.

To popular ardour, when at its height, the postponement of action is a check seldom recovered from; and it is the opinion of those most conversant with the history of

the conspiracy, that the Leinster leaders, by their want of enterprise and decision at this moment, let pass a crisis far more pregnant with chances of success than any ever presented to them*. The people of

* That such was Tone's view of their conduct, as far as he could judge from the reports of the fugitives who had joined him at the Texel, will appear from the following passage in his Diary.—“ August, 1797.—By what Lowry and Tennant tell me there seems to have been a great want of spirit in the leaders in Dublin. I suspected it very much from Lewine's account, though I saw he put the best side out; but I am now sure of it. However, I did not say so to them, for the thing is past, and criticising it will do no good, but the reverse. The people have been urgent more than once to begin, and, at one time, eight hundred of the garrison offered to give up the barracks of Dublin, if the leaders would only give the signal; the militia were almost to a man gained over, and numbers of these poor fellows have fallen victims in consequence. It is hard to judge at this distance, but it seems to me to have been an unpardonable weakness, if not downright cowardice, to let such an occasion slip. With eight hundred of the garrison and the barracks to begin with, in an hour they would have had the whole capital, and by seizing the persons of half a dozen individuals, paralysed the whole Government, and, in my opinion, accomplished the whole revolution by a single proclamation. But, as I said already, it is hard to judge at a distance

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1797. LORD EDWARD FITZGERALD.

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the North who had been induced to curb their first impulse by an assurance of the speedy arrival of the French, when they now saw weeks pass away, without any appearance of the promised succours, began naturally to abate in their zeal, and even to suspect they had been deceived. From having been taught thus to look for aid to others, they lost confidence in themselves; and an interval of grace being, at the same time, proclaimed by the government, within which those who submitted and gave up their arms were to receive full pardon, the good effects of such rarely tried policy were manifested by the numbers that, in all parts of the North, hastened to avail themselves of it.

To these causes of the abatement of fervour among the Northerners must be added another, of a still deeper and more important kind, which began to come into operation about the middle of 1797, and, from that time, continued not only to mo-

I am surprised that Emmet did not show more energy, because I know he is as brave as Cæsar of his person. It seems to me to have been such an occasion missed as we can hardly ever see return."

derate their enthusiasm in the conspiracy, but materially influenced the character of the rebellion that followed;—and this was the growing apprehension, both upon political and religious grounds, with which the more scrupulous among the Presbyterian republicans regarded that alliance, which the organization of the Catholic counties was now admitting into their league. Already had there, for some time, existed among the lower orders of Catholics, associations known by the name of Defenders, half political, half predatory, to which the Chiefs of the Union had always looked as a sort of nursery for their own military force,—the hardy habits of these freebooters (for such they had now become), and their familiarity with the use of arms, appearing to offer the kind of material out of which good example and discipline might succeed in making soldiers.

In the North the United Irishmen and the Defenders, though concurring in fierce enmity to the state, had been kept wholly distinct bodies, as well by the difference of their religious tenets, as by the grounds, but too sufficient, which the latter had for

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considering all Presbyterians as foes. In most other parts of Ireland, however, the case was different. Wherever the bulk of the population were Catholics, the Defenders formed the chief portion of the United force;—or, rather, in such places, the system of the Union degenerated into Defenderism, assuming that character which a people, lawless from having been themselves so long outlawed, might have been expected to give it. Hence those outrages and crimes which, perpetrated under the name of United Irishmen, brought disgrace upon the cause, and alarmed more especially its presbyterian supporters, who, not without reason, shrunk from the hazard of committing the interests of the cause of civil and religious liberty to such hands. Under this impression it was that the leading United Irishmen of the Counties of Down and Antrim were anxious to inculcate the notion that the Presbyterians could dispense with Catholic aid; and so much had the repugnance of the two sects to act in concert manifested itself, that at a meeting of Captains, on the 31st of July, at Downpatrick, strong fears

were, we find, expressed "that the Dissenters and Catholics would become two separate parties."

But though this, and the other causes I have adverted to, had, at the commencement of the year 1798, a good deal checked the advance of the conspiracy in that region which had given it birth and strength, there were still immense numbers organized and armed throughout the North, who, under Protestant leaders,—such as were, at this time, the great majority of the United Chiefs,—would have felt too confident in their own power of giving a direction to the revolution to have any fears from the predominance of their outnumbering allies. Whatever of physical strength, too, might have been lost to the Union in Ulster had been more than a hundred fold made up by the spread of the organization elsewhere; and from the returns made, in the month of February this year, to Lord Edward, as head of the Military Committee, it appeared that the force at that time, regimented and armed, throughout Ireland, amounted to little less than 300,000 men.

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The object of the Military Committee, just mentioned, was to prepare a plan of co-operation with the invader, or of insurrection, if forced to it, before the invader came. The hope of succours from France, though so frequently frustrated, was still kept sanguinely alive, and to the arrival of an armament in April they, at the beginning of this year, looked with confidence,—the strongest assurances having been given by M. Talleyrand to their agent at Paris, that an expedition was in forwardness, and would be ready by that time.

On the 28th of February Lord Edward's friend, Mr. Arthur O'Connor, was, together with Quigley, the Irish priest and others, arrested, on their way to France, at Margate; and a paper being found on Quigley, addressed to the French Directory, inviting earnestly a speedy invasion of England, the whole party were, on the 6th of March, committed to the Tower, on a charge of High Treason. In consequence of this arrest the office of the Press newspaper,—a journal which had been in the year 1797 established in Dublin, for the express purpose of forwarding the views of the

Union *, and of which Mr. O'Connor had lately become the avowed editor,—was by order of the government, searched, and all the materials and papers belonging to the establishment seized. “Among the persons,” says a ministerial newspaper of the day, “who was in the house where the Press was printed, were found Lord Edward Fitzgerald and Counsellor Sampson. Lord Edward seemed peculiarly affected by the visit of the magistrate, and interested himself much to comfort the woman of the house, who had been brought by mischievous delusions into embarrassment and trouble ; and offered her and her family a residence in his own house, as some compensation.”

It being now clear that with, or without, French aid the struggle must soon come, Lord Edward and his colleagues

* In this newspaper the author of the present Memoir confesses to have made his first essay as a writer of prose, and among those extracts from its columns which are appended to the Report of the Secret Committee, for the purpose of showing the excited state of public feeling at that period, there are some of which the blame or the merit must rest with an author who had then but just turned his seventeenth year.

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urged on, with redoubled zeal, the preparations for the encounter. A Revolutionary Staff was formed, and an Adjutant-General appointed in each county to transmit returns to the Executive of the strength and state of their respective forces,—to report the nature of the military positions in their neighbourhood, to watch the movements of the King's troops, and, in short, as their Instructions* (drawn up by Lord Edward himself) direct, to attend to every point connected with the species of warfare they were about to wage.

In this formidable train were affairs now proceeding; nor would it be possible, per-

* One part of these Instructions ran thus:—
“Those in the maritime counties are charged, on the first appearance of a friendly force upon the coast, but especially on the most certain information being had of the debarkation of our allies, to communicate the same, in the most speedy manner, to the Executive. They must then immediately collect their force and march forward, with as many of the yeomanry and militia as possible, each man to be provided with at least three days' subsistence, and to bring on all they can of carts, draft horses, horses harnessed and horses to mount cavalry, with three or four days' forage; taking care to seize nowhere the property of a patriot where an enemy can be found to raise contributions on.”

haps, to find, in the whole compass of history,—taking into account the stake, the odds, the peril, and the daring,—another instance of a conspiracy assuming such an attitude. But a blow was about to fall upon them for which they were little prepared. Hazardous as had been the agency of the Chiefs, at every step, and numerous as were the persons necessarily acquainted with their proceedings, yet so well contrived for secrecy was the medium through which they acted, and by such fidelity had they been hitherto fenced round, that the government could not reach them. How little sparing those in authority would have been of rewards, their prodigality to their present informer proved. But few or none had yet been tempted to betray; and, in addition to the characteristic fidelity of the Irish in such confederacies, the same hatred of the law which had made them traitors to the State kept them true to each other.

It is, indeed, not the least singular feature of this singular piece of history, that with a government, strongly intrenched both in power and will, resolved to crush its oppo-

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nents, and not scrupulous as to the means; there should now have elapsed two whole years of all but open rebellion, under their very eyes, without their being able, either by force or money, to obtain sufficient information to place a single one of the many chiefs of the confederacy in their power. Even now, so far from their vigilance being instrumental in the discovery, it was but to the mere accidental circumstance of a worthless member of the conspiracy being pressed for a sum of money to discharge some debts, that the government was indebted for the treachery that, at once, laid the whole plot at their feet,—delivered up to them at one seizure, almost all its leaders, and thus disorganizing, by rendering it headless, the entire body of the Union, was the means, it is not too much to say, of saving the country to Great Britain.

The name of this informer,—a name in *one* country, at least, never to be forgotten,—was Thomas Reynolds; and the information he gave that led to the arrests at Bond's, on the 12th of March, will be

most clearly set before the reader in the following extracts from his evidence:—

“ It was about the 25th February, 1798, that, in travelling with Mr. Cope to Castle-Jordan in order to obtain possession of some lands to which we were jointly entitled, I was induced by the persuasion of this gentleman, on whose friendship and honour I had the most implicit reliance, to disclose to him, in part, the extent of the conspiracy. I added that in order to enable government to counteract it entirely, I would procure a man who could get to the bottom of it, and detect the leaders. In consequence of this I did, in the name of a third person, communicate to Mr. Cope for government all I knew of the plans and views of the United Irishmen, and particularly the proceedings of the meeting at Bond’s of the 19th of February, 1798, which I had got from Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and the intended (Provincial) meeting of the 12th of March, also at Bond’s, which meeting was in consequence apprehended.

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knowledge of the intended meeting of the 12th of March, I applied to Bond, at whose house Daly had said it was to be held; and Bond referred me to John M'Cann as the man who was to regulate that part of the business, and to give any information that might be necessary about it. I accordingly applied to M'Cann, who said, that unless I brought up the returns from the County Committee of Kildare, I could not be admitted to the Provincial, neither could he give me any information thereof, till I showed him said returns. On communicating this to Mr. Cope, he advised me to go down to my county, which I accordingly did, on the Saturday week before the arrest of the meeting at Bond's. On the Sunday I went to Castledermott, where for the first time I met my officers, and settled returns of men and arms, &c. after which I called upon Daly at Kilkullen, who I knew was in possession of the returns, and who wrote a copy of them and gave it to me. On bringing this paper up to Dublin, I showed it to M'Cann, and asked him the time of the meeting of the Provincial; when he said that it was very

odd there was not any increase in the returns since the last meeting, and that the delegates must be in town on the Sunday evening. M'Cann then promised that he would breakfast with me on Sunday, 11th March, 1798, at my house, No. 4, Cumberland-street, and tell me all particulars as to the time and place of the Provincial Meeting. Accordingly, M'Cann did come on the next morning, Sunday, to breakfast; but no particular conversation then took place, as Mrs. Reynolds was present.

“After breakfast, M'Cann and I walked to the bottom of Church-street, when he told me that, at ten o'clock on Monday morning, I must be at Oliver Bond's, and desired me to be punctual, as particular business would be done. Not wishing to be at the meeting, as I knew it was to be arrested, I wrote a note to Bond, which I sent on Monday morning, stating that Mrs. Reynolds was taken very ill; that I could not consequently bring my money at the hour appointed, and begged him to make an apology for me to M'Cann on that account.”

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The above information being laid by Mr. Cope before government, a warrant from the Secretary of State's office was placed in the hands of Mr. Swan, a Magistrate for the County of Dublin, who, on the morning of Monday, 12th of March, repaired to Mr. Oliver Bond's house, attended by thirteen sergeants in coloured clothes, and by means of the pass-word,—“Where's M'Cann? Is Ivers from Carlow come?”—obtained ready admission to the meeting, and arrested all the persons there assembled*. Among the chief leaders mentioned in the warrant, there were,—besides Oliver Bond himself, who was one of the most respectable and opulent merchants in all Ireland,—Dr. MacNeven, Emmet, and Sampson, both barristers of eminence, and Lord Edward Fitzgerald. Of the four last-named, none happened to be present at the meeting; but separate warrants being

* Among the papers found at Bond's, consisting chiefly of Returns from the Officers of the Union, there was a list of toasts and sentiments, of which the following is a significant specimen:—“Mother Erin dressed in green ribbons by a French milliner, if she can't be dressed without her.”

instantly issued against them, MacNeven, Emmet, and Sampson, were at no very long intervals after apprehended*, and Lord Edward alone contrived to elude pursuit.

It has been my good fortune to have intrusted to me, with liberty to make extracts from it, a short Journal which was, about this time, begun by Lady Sarah Napier †, for the kind purpose of preserving, during a severe illness of her husband, such particulars of the events then passing as it would most interest him, when convalescent, to know. The minute domestic details connected with her noble relative's fate, which she has here so simply, but with so much feeling and strength of character, recorded, are such as could have been in no other way accessible, nor in any other shape half so interestingly conveyed.

* Counsellor Sampson, however, having fled to England, was seized at Carlisle, and there committed to prison; nor was it, if I recollect right, till the beginning of May that he was brought back, in custody, to Dublin.

† Aunt to Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and mother of the distinguished historian of the Peninsular War, to whose kindness I am indebted for the use of so precious a document.

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“Monday, March 5th.

“News came from London this week that four or five men were taken up at Margate, trying to escape to France with some plot; for that, having come to Dover, they put their baggage on a cart, and followed it themselves on foot towards Margate—offered immense sums—seemed to know the way—that many odd things caused suspicion, and they were apprehended. One of them said he was Arthur O'Connor, and going abroad with the other gentleman: that on the cart was found boxes with papers expressive of their being a sort of ambassadors, from the U. I. M.* to the Directory at Paris, to give assurances of the good reception the French would meet with in Ireland, and to *press* their immediate coming. The gentlemen denied the baggage was theirs. They were carried to the privy council, and put into the Tower.

“This is all the substance I have gleaned from the little I have heard; and, on the other hand, it is *since* said that all these suspicious circumstances are a fabrication,

* United Irishmen.

and that nothing can be found against O'Connor of any sort. Yet Mr. Ogilvie writes me word, it is generally believed, he will be hanged; but many at first said he would get off. I will try to be more mistress of the subject against you read this, which I have carefully kept from your hearing as long as I thought it dangerous to give your thoughts such serious grounds for working them on, which in your weak state is hurtful and retards recovery. I have since heard from Mr. Henry that Edward never was troubled about O'Connor, and said that he had nothing *odd* with him but 1200 guineas. * * * * *

He is to be tried at the Kent Assizes.

“ March, 1798.

“ It was fortunate I kept O'Connor's business from you, as it at first appeared linked with one much more interesting to us all; but *I believe* I may say with truth, that it was the artful management of government so to dispose the scenery, that the most knowing ones were taken in *at first*; but that it is certain that an event which took place *here* is in no way whatever

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1798. LORD EDWARD FITZGERALD. 21

the consequence of this English business, but a mere repetition of Russell and Nelson's business, and will end the same way, to the disgrace of government. However, here is the story :—

(“ Mr. Pelham was dying, and therefore, poor man, is free from *this* business. Lord Castlereagh was sent for *express* from Dundalk, to do Mr. Pelham's business.)

“ Mails came from London, and a Council called, and *then* determined to take up many U. I. M.; for, early on Monday, 12th, messengers were sent to Oliver Bond's house, to take up all then sitting at a Committee; when they entered the house, the table was full of papers: a serjeant said, ‘ if you don't all hold up your hands, I will shoot you.’ The papers seized were of the utmost importance, and carried to council. Counsellor Emmett, Oliver Bond, Jackson the ironmonger, Sweetman the brewer, and others were taken. Counsellor Sampson made his escape; Dr. M'Nevan was taken in his own house; and report made a thousand stories of where Edward was. Some said at the Committee, others *at Dr. M'Nevan's*; that the sheriff seeing him, said to

the messengers, 'Is not Lord Edward in your warrant?' 'No;' upon which Edward walked in the streets; and then heard a separate warrant was out for him, on which he disappeared, and has never been heard of since.

"The separate warrant went by a messenger, attended by Sheriff Carlton, and a party of soldiers, commanded by a Major O'Kelly, into Leinster-house. The servants ran up to Lady Edward, who was ill with the gathering in her breast, and told her; she said directly 'there is no help, send them up:' they asked very civilly for her papers and Edward's, and she gave them *all*. Her apparent distress moved Major O'Kelly *to tears*; and their whole conduct was proper. They left her, and soon returned (Major Boyle having been with two dragoons to Frescati, and taken such papers as were in their sitting-room, and not found Edward) to search Leinster-house for him, and came up with great good-nature to say, 'Madam, we wish to tell you our search is in vain, Lord Edward has escaped.' Dr. Lindsay returning from hence went to Leinster-house to her, and there found her in

the greatest agitation, the humour quite gone back, and he was a good deal alarmed for her; but, by care, she is, thank God, recovered.

“Mrs. Pakenham wrote *that* night to my sister a letter I hope you will see, for it was trying to make the matter as light as she could to my poor sister, yet forced to say what, of course, she heard from Mr. P. and Lord Castlereagh.

“ Tuesday, 13th.

“ My sister brought me the letter *in the greatest despair*. I was shocked at the *event*, but by no means alarmed at the description, and told her I was *sure* Edward ran off to avoid a prison *only*, and that it would all prove a second edition of Nelson’s, &c. I said this, yet my mind sunk within me, at the idea of its being from O’Connor’s business.

“ Wednesday, 14th.

“ My sister went off early to town with Emmy to breakfast at Mrs. P.’s, appointing C. Fitzgerald to meet her, and wishing to hear from him what he had done relative to

my sister and the duke; but instead of Charles she found Lord Castlereagh, who told her, 'though the two brothers differ, yet nature is strong, and Lord Charles was so overcome on Monday, hearing this event, that he set off early on Tuesday for the country, to get out of the way.'

"Louisa then asked questions. Lord C. said, 'I fear I cannot answer your questions, for you know I am bound to secrecy; but pray don't believe any reports you hear, for, upon my word, *nothing has yet transpired*. You may rely on the earnest wishes of government to do all they can for Lord Edward, who is so much loved, and as he can't be found, no harm can happen to him. I pity Lady Edward most exceedingly, and will do all in my power to send her back her private letters.' Mr. P. spoke as usual, of Edward, *fine flummery*, and said he only hoped in God he should not meet him, as it would be a sad struggle between his *duty* and *friendship*. Louisa took all this, as it was intended she should; but when she was out of the room, Emily heard 'Sir G. S. express *his hopes that Lord Edward would be caught*, and

she did not *hear* or *see* any thing like a contradiction to this wish from any of the company.

“From thence Louisa went to Leinster-house, where poor little Pamela’s *fair, meek*, and pitiable account of it all moved her to the greatest degree, and gained my sister’s good opinion of her sense and good conduct. My sister charged her not to name his name,—not to give a *soul* a hint of where he was, if she knew it, and to stay at Leinster-house, seeing every body that called, and keep strict silence,—to which Pamela agreed. Louisa went back to the *set*, and told them how meek and gentle Pamela was; that she did not suppose any of the government people would insult her, but underlings might; that she would, as soon as her breast admitted of it, see every body, who was so good as to call on her, to show she was not plotting mischief. *They* gave great praise to her sense and good conduct (though I hear, before this, Mr. P. had said her sickness was a sham), and my sister came home with Dr. Lindsay quite satisfied that, in this miserable business, Lady Edward was secure of his innocence and safety,

and government all good-nature; but still in such *horrors* about either his *having* invited the French, or his being punished for it, that she cannot bring herself to name the subject without *agony*.

“ By this time I had heard from *others*, that all Dublin was in consternation on Monday morning; that upon the papers being carried to council, the Chancellor was sent for *at the courts* to attend it; that he dashed out in a hurry, and found a mob at the door, who *abused him*, and he returned the abuse by cursing and swearing like a madman. He met Lord Westmeath, and they went into a shop and came out with pistols, and the Chancellor *thus* went on *foot* to council.

“ Thursday, 15th.

“ I heard from Mr. Berwick that government had ordered no mention of this transaction should appear *in any paper*. He told me of the strange absurd reports of their having behaved so ill in the searches, &c., and I told him Lady Edward had written to thank Major O’Kelly for his humane conduct.

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1798. LORD EDWARD FITZGERALD.

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“ My sister had promised to go again, but did not. I heard daily from Lady Edward, and found she had recovered her spirits in so sudden a manner, that every body is convinced she knows where he is, and that he is safe and innocent. I sent her £20 in case she wanted ready money, but she returned it, and sent me word she had plenty, for that they had some by them, and that she was going to take a house to get out of Leinster-house, which was grown detestable to her, and to have a quiet home of her own to lie-in in. She bid me tell my sister Leinster to be *quite, quite* easy. To *write* would be folly in *her*, and indeed in *us*, for *all letters are opened now* ; so I only wrote to Mrs. Johnston, and made a child direct it, desiring *her* to send for Mr. Ogilvie, and show it him. We know nothing yet of how my poor sister will take it—I fear very badly. Government intended a proclamation to take Edward, but thought better of it.

“ I was surprised by a visit from Captain M * *. *He* began about Edward : I said I was sure he was innocent, though he made no secret of his opinions, but

that nobody dreaded a Revolution more, from the goodness of his heart, and that he only ran off, I was sure, from the dread of prison. 'But,' said M., 'surely he 'knew the consequence of sitting at a Committee?' 'I believe he never was there.' 'Oh! I beg your pardon,' said M. 'he was seen there, as I understand.' 'I am sure,' said I, 'you think your authority good, very naturally, but *I doubt* every authority.' 'But surely,' said he, 'they would not dare to take him up without sufficient grounds?' 'If I had not *seen it done* twice here, I should think as you do; but I know all their ways too well, and you will see that I am right.' We then talked of poor Doyle, of M * *s own situation, who is aide-de-camp to Lord Clanricarde, with whom he was in Corsica, and whom he likes of all things. He spoke with the greatest regard of you, came down on purpose to inquire about you, and says he will come whenever you are able to see him. He told me of a servant of Mr. Lee's being killed by a soldier's bayonet the day before in the streets, because some men, among whom was this servant, were seducing soldiers;

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that Lord Tyrawly came among them, and tried to send them away. This servant was impertinent to him : he drew his pistols, and a soldier struck the man, who died on the spot.

“ Friday, 16th.

“ Captain M * * seemed to think ill of the U. I. Men and laugh at the farce of every body going armed with pistols, saying, ‘ *he* never had been attacked,— out at all hours of the night.’

“ Saturday, 17th.

“ St. Patrick’s Day. All *quiet!*

“ The same day came the surveyor that lived with Plaw, merely to acknowledge his obligations to you ; he has been in the North with Lord Downshire, and, being in Dublin, could not resist his wish to see you. Mr. Swinburne came, as you know, merely to inquire after you. I suspect he avoided seeing me on account of Edward’s business.

“Saturday, 24th.

“Captain Armstrong came for the third time and you saw him. From *him* I heard that the prisoners would come off well; that there was no Committee, only some of them assembled to consider what was to be done about the *Press*. That the report of a *dreadful map*, found in Lady Edward’s care, was one of Dublin, with notes written by a clever gunmaker, who had marked the weak parts and who had sent it to Lord Edward. That no sooner had this man heard of the noise it made, than he went to government and said it was *his*, which he had shown to Lord Edward. They asked him for what purpose he had drawn it? ‘For my amusement,’ said he. So that by Armstrong’s account, nothing would come of all this business, and by Lady Edward’s and others, I was in hopes it would prove so. Reports say Edward was seen in a post-chaise with his brother Charles at Newry, but it is false, I fancy; others that he is at Leinster-house, and at Carton,—all false, I believe.

“When Mrs. P. came on Tuesday, Mr. Conolly was setting off. Louisa said she

would go and fetch Lady Edward to Castle-town, and he *forbid* it. From Dundalk he wrote, 'There will not be the same objections in June to her coming to Castletown.' We cannot guess what *that* means. All Saturday we were in expectation of the Naas prisoners' return, and anxious to know their fate.

"Sunday, 25th.

"This morning, being in your room, my sister* came, and I saw she looked disturbed.

* * * * *

I took no notice of her looks, but she gave me a letter from Mr. Ogilvie, saying, my poor sister† was supported by her confidence in Edward not deserving *any thing* by word or deed, but that Sophia and Lucy were terribly affected. He also said that the poor little duchess‡ was given over by all who came from Bristol, but that he, the duke, did not see it. This letter accounted to me for her low looks. As she was going, she beckoned me out, and said that she

* Lady Louisa Conolly.

† The Duchess Dowager, Lord Edward's mother.

‡ The Duchess of Leinster.

must tell me a secret, though she had reasons not to reveal it; but since I had determined to sit up this night, it was necessary to tell me not to be alarmed, if, early in the morning, I should hear a bustle, for that an officer, she thinks a Mr. Longfield, came from Naas, and asking for Mr. Conolly, seemed disappointed. He then asked to speak to Colonel Napier, and hearing that he was ill, asked if any gentleman was in the house, and at last begged to speak to Louisa herself, who went down to him. He told her that an order was given in General Wilson's district, including *this* place, to search for arms, and *disarm every body*. She asked if officers were included; he said he believed not ultimately, but that no exclusion was made in the order which he showed her, signed by General Hewitt, and it is very strict. He asked how many arms she had: she guessed *twenty*. He said, 'Have you *twenty* servants to use them?' 'Yes.' 'Then we won't trouble you. For it was the fear of alarming you with all the military that will be about to-morrow *early* that brought me, and we won't come here, as it is only meant for the disaffected, and

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others must go through the ceremony.' Louisa said, 'Pray, sir, don't let your civility interfere with your duty—search the house, if you choose it.' 'That must depend on the magistrates,' said he, 'for Sir Ralph Abercrombie's new Order hampers us sadly now. I wish I knew who were disaffected—can you tell me?' 'No,' said Louisa, 'I can tell you who are *not*, but I don't know who *are*; but may I beg to know if you *must* go to Colonel N., for he is so ill, it may alarm him to hear a bustle.' 'Yes, I suppose we must, but of course we shall give a receipt for the arms, and he will know where to find them.'

"Thus did my dear sister so *alter her nature*, that she submitted to be *disarmed*, and leave her house a prey to vagabonds—and she was *not* glad the prisoners were released*. What perversion in the noblest nature may be compassed by cunning, by nerves, and by habits of hearing terror rung in her ears for years! I had neither time nor thoughts to answer,

* This alludes to Lady Louisa having, the day before, checked some of her sister's children who were expressing their joy at the liberation of the prisoners tried at Naas.

argue, or try to convince her. I thanked her for the notice, and rejoiced to be *prepared*;—and on reflection, I *now* determine to refuse to allow the search, or to give up the arms. And I am *well awake* in the expectation of these *offenders*, who want to leave us to *Defenders*. N. B. The Naas prisoners all returned to Celbridge at six o'clock.

“ In the interim I return to Mr. Henry’s conversation in the morning before my sister came. He told me that O’Connor would be tried *soon*, and he understood nothing would be done to him, though Mr. Ogilvie wrote me word he would be hanged. Henry also says, *entre nous*, there *was* a Committee, and that government say they knew of it a month ago; that the delegates of each province send *their* delegates to Dublin, and that Edward was to order for Leinster how they were to proceed—*as is said*. That he stayed in Dublin some days, and foolishly was visited by many, and at last removed for fear of being found out. That government made a furious noise for two days, but dropped it in a moment, and that he believes they wish him to escape;

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but that he (Henry) fears Edward will be tempted to draw the sword and throw away the scabbard, for that they (I don't know who Henry includes in *they*) all say that if Edward is taken or touched, they *won't bear it*.

“Now what am I to think of all this? How far can I rely on Henry's opinion? who does he take it from? He also told us, Lord Ormond and Sparrow made themselves constables, searching for Edward with two dragoons, the latter vowing he would bring him dead or alive; but all this vapouring ceased soon. Henry also told me government *abused Sir Ralph Abercrombie*, who was going to *resign*; but that as the King and Dundas were fond of him, it was expected to make a dust first.

“You asked me to-day if something was not the matter with me. I think with such a load of interesting things on my mind, I fight a good battle with myself, and keep very equal in my attendance and manner to you. What will not affection do, when what we adore may suffer from the least inadvertence? I made a little trial of your wish about the arms, and your

answer decided me, for I am your representative in this instance.

“ Among these things, I forgot to mention a trifling thing, comparatively speaking, but which agitated me a good deal. On Sunday, 4th, Farrell rode Sam to town for Lindsay, and going into Coyle’s, a soldier of the Fermanagh, pushed the horse *out of his way*. Farrell was endeavouring to do the same, when another soldier, of the same regiment, stuck his bayonet in the horse’s flank, and wounded him. Farrell called out; but instantly giving the horse to Coyle’s people, he ran to examine the man, and marked him in his memory, then returned, attended to the horse, and called every body to witness it. An officer of Frazer’s saw it all, and said he would write to you; but hearing you were ill, told Farrell to tell you, when well, that he would vouch for his good conduct. Farrell, not content, went to look for Mr. P. to make his complaint; but not finding him, would not risk being late, and came home gently with Sam, who I hear is quite well, it being only a flesh wound. All my children and servants were *up* about this, and I ready to

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cry for vexation ; but I foresaw that a *fuss* about it might bring on unpleasant stories, such as your horse being stabbed, and then the soldier's revenge at Farrell, and in short many things to annoy you in your convalescence, so I forbid *al' talk*, and took it all on *me*. I sent to Mr. Kempland, and had the whole told *him*, desiring the soldier might be properly punished for being a *brute* to a poor horse, and not because it was a colonel's horse, but a horse. In some days after Mr. Kempland came to fetch Farrell to be witness against the man, at a court-martial, after having kept him in the black-hole a week. I begged to be allowed to obtain his pardon, upon condition he would promise never to hurt *any* horse again, and to have him told that I forgave him, in hopes it would make him more sorry for his fault than if I got him punished. Mr. K. seemed much pleased with my commission, and I hope it will meet with your approbation, as I did it exactly as I thought *you would do*. Since that I send my horses to Mrs. P. or Moirahouse.

“ I forgot to tell you that Captain Hamilton brought me a letter from General

N., by which I see poor Mrs. Oswald is dead, and your poor aunt in the greatest affliction.

“ Thursday, 29th March.

“ I now return to the *arms*, which you know the sequel of*. It cost me very uneasy nights, I own, expecting a domiciliary visit daily. We have heard from my sister Leinster, and she shows so much sense, firmness, and resignation to whatever may be the event, that I am charmed with her elevated and spirited character, and trust it will save her from many hours of misery which poor Louisa passes so unnecessarily for want of using her reason. As I mean to show you this to-morrow, I shall stop.”

The reader has seen, from this Journal, that, after the arrests of the 12th of March, neither Lord Edward's brother or aunts were at all aware of what had become of him. Whether it had been his intention to attend the meeting at Bond's does not appear from the evidence, but that he was one of those whom the officers

* Her ladyship refused to deliver up the arms, and there was no further step taken about them.

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expected to find there was manifest. On the issuing of the separate warrant against him, they lost no time, as we see, in putting it into execution, and were actually in Leinster House, making their search, when, having hastened home, hearing of the arrests, he was on the point of entering it. His faithful Tony, however, being on the look-out for him, he received notice of what was going on in time to escape. It is difficult, however fruitless such a feeling must be, not to mingle a degree of painful regret with the reflection that, had he happened, on this day, to have been one of the persons arrested at Bond's, not only might his own life, from the turn affairs afterwards took, have been spared, but much of the un-availing bloodshed that was now to follow have been prevented.

Another striking part of the fatality which seems to have marked his every step, was, that he himself should have been the chief cause of the informer Reynolds's promotion to those posts of honour and trust in the confederacy which gave him ultimately so much the power of betraying it. His lordship had, it appears, taken a kind and active part in some negotiation relative to a

lease between Reynolds and the Duke of Leinster, and being deceived, in the course of this transaction, by an appearance of honesty and respectability in the man, was induced, in the unsuspectingness of his own nature, to place entire confidence in him. To what an extent he carried this reliance, the following extracts from Reynolds's depositions will show:—

“In the month of November, 1797, Lord Edward Fitzgerald called upon me, at my house in Park-street, and said that he came to request me to become a Colonel for the Barony of Kilkea and Moon, in which Barony I had then purchased a place. I at first hesitated, but he used many arguments, and I at length agreed to accept the command.

“Lord Edward then said, ‘That there was an honest man in the county of Kildare, Matthew Kennaa, who would call and speak to me about my election to be colonel.’ About the latter end of January, 1798, Matthew Kennaa came to me, and asked whether I would stand my election for colonel, on which I told him, that I would, as Lord Edward had been speaking to me about it. Kennaa

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then said that he knew his lordship had been speaking to me on the subject, and adding, that it was intended I should hold a civil as well as military employment, asked me which I should prefer, being a treasurer or a secretary. To this I answered, that I would rather be a treasurer.

“About the 24th of February I went down to the Black Rock with Cummings and M'Cann of Grafton-street to dine with Lord Edward, where I found Hugh Wilson. It was after dinner on that day, that Lord Edward gave me the Resolutions and Returns of the National Committee*,”

* These papers were all in Lord Edward's handwriting. The Returns will give some notion of the force which he might have been able to rally round him had he lived.

“*National Committee, 26th Feb. 1798.*”

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

	Armed Men.	Finances in hand.
Ulster . . .	110,990	£436 2 4
Munster . . .	100,634	. 147 17 2
Kildare . . .	10,863	. 110 17 7
Wicklow . . .	12,895	. 93 6 4
Dublin . . .	3,010	. 37 2 6
Carry forward	238,392	£825 5 11

with copies of which I furnished Mr. Cope for the government.

“ I expressed some doubts to Lord Edward. whether the United Men could stand in battle before the King’s troops, but he replied to me, ‘ That would not be altogether necessary, as assistance from France was expected; that then some of the United Men would certainly join in the French lines, and of course would soon become disciplined; but as to the multitude, all they

	Armed Men.	Finances in hand.
Brought forward	238,392	£825 5 11
Dublin City .	2,177	. 321 17 11
Queen’s County	11,689	. 91 2 1
King’s County	3,600	. 21 11 3
Carlow .	9,414	. 49 2 10
Kilkenny .	624	. 10 2 3
Meath .	1,400	. 171 2 1
	<hr/> 279,896	<hr/> £1485 4 9”

Among the Resolutions was the following, alluding to some conciliatory motion which was then about to be brought forward by Lord Moira:—

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

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would have to do would be to harass the escorts of ammunition, cut off detachments and foraging parties, and, in fine, make the King's troops feel themselves in every respect in an enemy's country, while the actual battles would be left to the foreign troops.' "

The very day before the arrest of the meeting at Bond's, a conversation, which we find thus detailed by the informer himself, took place between him and his noble patron :—" About four o'clock, on Sunday the 11th of March, I called at Leinster House, upon Lord Edward Fitzgerald. I had a printed paper in my hand, which I had picked up somewhere, purporting to be directions or orders signed by Counsellor Saurin to the Lawyers' Corps. These required them, in case of riot or alarm, to repair to Smithfield, and such as had not ball-cartridge were to get them at his house, and such as were going out of town and did not think their arms safe, were to deposit them with him ; and there was a little paper inside, which mentioned that their orders were to be kept secret. Lord Edward Fitzgerald, upon reading this paper, seemed greatly agitated : he said he thought

government intended to arrest him, and he wished he could get to France, to hasten the invasion, which he could do by his intimacy with Talleyrand Perigord, one of the French ministers. He said he would not approve of a general invasion at first, but that the French had some very fine fast-sailing frigates, and that he would put on board them as many English and Irish officers as he could procure to come over from France, and as many men as were capable of drilling, and stores and ammunition of different kinds, and run them into some port in this country; he said he thought Wexford might do: that it would be unsuspected, and if they succeeded they could establish a rallying point, until other help should come.

“ Lord Edward, after this conversation, walked up and down the room in a very agitated manner: ‘ No,’ said he, ‘ it is impossible, government cannot be informed of it; they never have been able to know where the Provincial meet.’ Shortly after this, the servant came and asked was he ready for dinner. I went away;—he wanted me to stay dinner, but I would not.”

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it was one of the conditions insisted upon by Reynolds, that the channel through which the information came should remain for some time a secret;—a stipulation in which his employers were no less interested than himself, as, by wearing still the mask of a friend, he could retain still the confidence of those he was betraying, and whatever victims his first aim had missed might, from the same ambush, be made sure of afterwards. In pursuance of this policy, we find him, as he himself admits, paying a friendly visit to Mrs. Bond, two or three days after he had marked her husband for death; and even to Lord Edward, whose place of concealment, at this moment, was kept secret, as we have seen, from his own family, this man, under the trust reposed in him, found ready admittance; and, again abusing the frank confidence he had inspired, was enabled to return to his employers armed with fresh proofs, which, though unavailing, as it turned out, against the noble Edward himself, were reserved for the posthumous revenge of disinheriting his offspring. The following is Reynold's own account of what passed on this occasion; and it would be a

task worthy, I think, of a great painter, to consign to canvas his conception of what an interview between two such persons, under such circumstances, must have been;—doing justice at once to the ardour, the gallant bearing, the elevation above all guile and suspicion, that characterized one of the parties, and the cool purpose of deceit, yet consciousness of degradation, which, to any eye, perhaps, but his victim's, must have been visible through the plausibility of the other:—

“I saw Lord Edward Fitzgerald the Wednesday night after, in Aungier-street, at Dr. Kennedy's, having been brought to his place of concealment there. I had little conversation with him at that time, but he desired me to come to him the following evening, at the same place. I did so, and he brought me up stairs, and gave me a paper, which he desired me to deliver as an Address from him to the County, desiring them not to mind what had passed, as it signified nothing; but to fill up the vacancies occasioned by the arrest at Bond's as soon as possible, as the time was at hand when they should be called into action,

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and they might rely on his being in his place on the day of need.

“ He also told me, that he had in his hands £13 as Treasurer to the Barony of Offaly, and £32 as Treasurer to the county of Kildare, which two sums he would take care to have handed over to me. Lord Edward then went away from the house in disguise, under care of a gentleman whom I believe to have been a Mr. Lawless, a surgeon.”

That Reynolds promptly gave information to his employers of the place and circumstances of this interview, there can hardly be any doubt; and that they should have let pass such an opportunity of seizing their noble prey, can only be accounted for either by his quick change of place, which baffled their pursuit, or more probably by that wish to afford him a chance of quitting the country, which, it is well known, *one*, at least, of the powerful members of the cabinet at this time entertained. The thought of abandoning, however, for a single moment, the post of peril assigned to him, had never once entered into Lord Edward's dauntless mind. The very ca-

lamity that had just befallen the cause but bound a spirit like his more ardently to its service. To repair the breaches made in the organization by these arrests,—there having been no less than three members of the Leinster Executive* seized at Bond's,—was now the first great object of his lordship and his friends; and, with such promptitude was this effected, that, on the very evening of the arrests, three other persons were found to fill the vacant places. So anxious, indeed, were they to have it supposed by the people that this discovery had but little deranged their plans, that we find, shortly after, one of the delegates, in his report to an Ulster meeting, assuring them confidently, that the Leinster Committee had recovered wholly from their shock, and that within four days after the arrests, the whole province had been again completely organized.

In order to calm, too, the minds of their

* Towards the close of the year 1797, instead of the affairs of the Union being, as before, under the control of one supreme Directory, sitting in Dublin, there was an Executive Committee established for each of the four Provinces.

followers, and prevent either the panic of some, or the premature violence of others, from having any injurious consequences, they drew up hand-bills, in styles suited to their various readers, and had them distributed among the initiated. From one of these the following ably written paragraphs are extracted:—

“ For us, the keen but momentary anxiety, occasioned by the situation of our invaluable friends, subsided, on learning all the circumstances of the case, into a calm tranquillity, a consoling conviction of mind, that they are as safe as innocence can make men now; and to these sentiments were quickly added a redoubled energy, a tenfold activity of exertion which has already produced the happiest effects. The organization of the capital is perfect. No vacancies existing, arrangements have been made, and are still making, to secure for our oppressed brethren, whose trials approach, the benefit of legal defence: and the sentinels whom you have appointed to watch over your interests stand firm at their posts, vigilant of events, and prompt to give you notice and advice, which, on every occasion

at all requiring it, you may rely on receiving.

“ This recital, Irishmen, is meant to guard those of you, who are remote from the scene of the late events, against the consequences of misrepresentation and mistake. The most unfounded rumours have been set afloat, fabricated for the double purpose of delusion and intimidation. Your enemies talk of treachery, in the vain and fallacious hope of creating it; but you, who scorn equally to be their dupes or their slaves, will meet their forgeries with dignified contempt, incapable of being either goaded into untimely violence, or sunk into pusillanimous despondency. Be firm, Irishmen, but be cool and cautious; be patient yet a while; trust to no unauthorised communications; and above all we warn you, again and again we warn you, against doing the work of your tyrants, by premature, by partial or divided exertion. If Ireland shall be forced to throw away the scabbard, let it be at her own time, not at theirs.

“ Dublin, March 17th
(St. Patrick's Day), 1798.”

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While putting in train all these measures for the retrieval of their affairs, another essential object with them was to procure, somewhere near Dublin, a place of concealment for their noble leader, till circumstances should require his presence in the capital. With this view Mr. Lawless,—the gentleman mentioned in Reynolds's evidence,—applied to a friend of his, a widow lady, who occupied a retired house, on the banks of the canal, in the immediate neighbourhood of Dublin; and who, besides being known not to entertain sentiments unfriendly to the popular cause, was a person of that strong character of mind and generosity of spirit which alone can qualify women to be heroines in such exigencies. To her sympathy, Mr. Lawless felt assured his appeal in behalf of his friend would not be vain. Though knowing nothing more of Lord Edward than what fame brought to every ear, she consented, perilous as was such hospitality, to afford him the shelter of her roof; and it was to this lady's house that, on the night of the Thursday after the arrests at Bond's, he was conveyed, in disguise, by Mr. Lawless,—having contrived

to see Lady Edward and his children before he went.

Her ladyship had, immediately on the disappearance of Lord Edward, removed from the Duke of Leinster's to a house in Denzel-street, taking with her an attached female servant, and her husband's favourite, Tony. The two latter believed,—as did most people,—that their master had fled to France, and it was therefore with no small surprise that the maid-servant (as she herself told the person from whom I heard the anecdote) saw, on going into her lady's room late in the evening, his Lordship and Lady Edward sitting together by the light of the fire. The youngest child had, at his desire, been brought down out of its bed for him to see it, and both he and Lady Edward were, as the maid thought, in tears.

The name he went by, while at the house of the widow lady, was Jameson, and an old and faithful maid servant of the family was the only person allowed to wait upon him. He had not, however, been more than two days in the house, when one of those slight accidents, which seem to defy all caution,

made the secret known to the whole family. A pair of his boots having been left outside his door to be cleaned, the man-servant to whom they had been given for that purpose told his mistress afterwards that he knew "who the gentleman up stairs was;—but that she need not fear, for he would die to save him." He then showed her Lord Edward's name written, at full length, in one of the boots. Thinking it possible that, after such a discovery, her guest might deem it dangerous to remain, Mrs. ** mentioned the circumstance to him. But his fears were not easily awakened:—"What a noble fellow!" he exclaimed, "I should like to have some talk with him." In the hope that it might be an incitement to the man's fidelity, the lady told him his lordship's wish; but he answered, "No,—I will not look at him—for, if they should take me up, I can then, you know, swear that I never saw him."

Though Mr. Lawless had requested shelter but for a few days for his friend, he continued to remain in this unsuspected retreat near a month; and as it was feared that to one accustomed so much to exercise

confinement might prove injurious, he used to walk out, most nights, along the banks of the canal, accompanied generally by a child, who became a great favourite of his, and whom it was his amusement sometimes to frighten by jumping into the boats that were half sunk in the reservoir or basin of the canal. So light-hearted, indeed, and imprudent was he at times, that Mrs. **, who, during his absence on these walks, was kept in a constant state of anxiety and suspense, used often to hear him, at a considerable distance, laughing with his young companion, and more than once went out to meet them, and try to impress upon him the necessity of more caution.

Another subject of merriment between him and his young play-fellow arose from a large bed of orange lilies which grew at the bottom of the garden, and which they had conspired together to root up, some day, when Mrs. ** should be from home.

Among the kind and attaching qualities by which her noble guest was distinguished, none struck Mrs. ** more forcibly than

the affectionate solicitude with which he never ceased to think of Lady Edward and his children; and, in order to tranquillize his anxieties on this head, she herself went more than once to Denzel-street,—taking every precaution, of course, against being watched or tracked,—to make inquiries about his family. She found Lady Edward, who always ran to embrace her, as if they had been the oldest friends, full of gratitude for the attentions bestowed upon her husband; and she also, in the course of these visits, saw the faithful Tony, who lamented to her that “his unfortunate face prevented him from going to see his dear master.”

Of the feelings of his lordship's family, during this interval, wholly uncertain as they were all left respecting his fate, the following letter to Lord Henry Fitzgerald from one of his relatives may afford some notion. Lord Henry was at the time at Boyle Farm, his villa on the Thames.

“ Hanover Square, 21st March, 1798.

“MY DEAR HENRY,

“ I have been making all possible inquiry, and find that no further accounts respecting Edward have arrived. There is a mail to-day from Waterford, which, I understand, mentions that several families have fled to Bristol. I find your family here are easy, and satisfied with the accounts they have received. I wish they may have reason to be so, but I hear reports so very different, and from such authority, that I cannot entirely disbelieve them. I confess I should not have the least reliance on Lady Edward's story, as I believe it to be a fact that a pocket-book of great consequence is now in the hands of the Duke of Portland, and which was taken from her.

“ It is said that his escape will probably be connived at, though I believe that to be very far from the wishes of our ministers in England. If I hear any thing, you may depend upon my letting you know immediately. Let me hear if you intend being in town this week, or soon. I most sincerely feel for you all, and hope that, before it is long, you will

have accounts that will set your minds at ease. I returned from Bulstrode yesterday. I hope our party there may still take place shortly. Remember me kindly to Lady Henry. Assure her, I pity her sincerely for being drawn into a fatal connexion with such a nest of Jacobins.

“ Adieu. Ever yours,
“ C. L.”

I have already mentioned that there was, about the time of the arrests at Bond's, a very sincere wish, on the part of one of the principal members of the Irish Cabinet, that Lord Edward's friends might be able to induce him, by timely flight, to avert the fate which, it was then evident, hung over him; and, however strong the abhorrence in which I must ever hold Lord Clare's political conduct, it gives me, for more than one reason, no ordinary pleasure to be able so far to do justice to the kindlier feelings of his nature, as to state that it was by him this truly humane and generous wish was entertained.

A short time before the arrests of the 12th of March, when the government were

already furnished with full proof against Lord Edward, Mr. Ogilvie, who had been himself but too painfully aware of the extent to which his young relative had committed himself in the conspiracy, hurried over to Dublin, for the purpose of making one more effort to impress upon him the fearfulness of his position, and endeavour to detach him from the confederacy. In an interview which he had, shortly after his arrival, with Lord Clare, that nobleman expressed himself with the most friendly warmth on the subject, saying, "For God's sake get this young man out of the country:—the ports shall be thrown open to you, and no hindrance whatever offered."

Lord Edward was, however, immovable: at the very time when Mr. Ogilvie called upon him, there was a meeting of the chief conspirators in the house, and his lordship came out of the room where they were assembled to speak with him. In vain did his adviser try every means of argument and persuasion: though as alive as ever to the kindness of his old friend, the noble Chief could only answer, "It is now out of the question: I am too deeply

pledged to these men to be able to withdraw with honour."

It is right to add, that as the plans of the plot became further unfolded, the alarm of the government for their own existence superseded every other thought, and all considerations of mercy were lost in their fears. At the period, therefore, where we are now arrived, the search after his lordship was, by the emissaries of authority, pursued with as much eagerness as political zeal, urged by fear and revenge, could inspire.

As it would have been difficult to find a retreat more suited to his purpose, he would, no doubt, have remained at Mrs. **'s some time longer, had not a circumstance which now occurred awakened some fears for his safety. During the absence, one day, of the lady of the house, the maid-servant came in alarm to tell him that she had just seen a guard of soldiers, with fixed bayonets, pass on the other side of the canal. "And I, too," said Lord Edward, "have observed, within these ten minutes, a man whom I know to be a

police-officer looking up earnestly at the house." The maid, whose terrors were naturally increased by the responsibility now thrown upon her, made him instantly put on a lady's night-dress and get into bed; then, darkening the room, as for a person indisposed, she placed a table, with medicine bottles upon it, beside the bed. In this situation he remained for two hours, —but neither policeman nor soldiers again made their appearance; and the scene served but as a subject of mirth for the evening's conversation. It excited, however, some fears;—even his own sense of security was disturbed by it, and his friends thought it most prudent that he should, for a time, at least, remove to Dublin, where, in the house of a respectable feather-merchant, named Murphy, in Thomas-street, he was to be allowed to lie concealed for some days.

While the noble fugitive was thus evading their toils, the government, whose apprehensions still increased, in proportion as fresh disclosures, every day, revealed to them the extent to which the foundations of

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their authority had been undermined, made the whole country at length participators of their panic by a Proclamation which appeared on the 30th of March, declaring the entire kingdom in a state of rebellion; and at the same time with this Proclamation appeared an Order signed by Sir Ralph Abercrombie, authorising the troops to act without waiting for the authority of a civil magistrate*.

* It was on finding himself, as he thought, compelled by a sense of obedience to affix his name to this Order, in opposition to all his own expressed opinions both in public and in the council, that Sir R. Abercrombie wrote to request that he might be recalled from his command. There could scarcely, indeed, be any severer comment upon the acts of the Irish government at this period than what a record of the opinions entertained of it, both by Sir Ralph Abercrombie and Sir John Moore, would furnish. Called to act, as they were, in this frightful struggle, at a time when its last convulsion was so near, and when,—if ever,—the violence of the government might seem to be justified by its danger, these humane and sensible men yet saw too clearly how the danger had been brought about to feel much sympathy for the party whose own injustice had provoked it, nor, while loyally assisting the authorities in their present measures of self-defence, could they forget that a little more tolerance and justice would

As this revival of the famous Order of Lord Carhampton, in 1797, gave full loose to all the licence of the soldiery, while by Indemnity Bills the magistracy were no less encouraged to pass the bounds of the law, those who know what an Orange magistrate was in those times of terror, and recollect Sir Ralph Abercrombie's own description of the army then under him, that "it was in a state of licentiousness that rendered it formidable to every one but the enemy," may be left to picture to themselves some of the horrors to which, between bench and camp, the people of Ireland were now systematically delivered up by their rulers. That it was done on

have rendered such measures unnecessary. Neither was it so much to the government as to the gentry of the old dominant party that the mischiefs which they saw, both actual and to come, were attributed by them; for it is known that Sir John Moore, in reporting to the Lord Lieutenant the state of quiet to which, in the summer of 1798, the county of Wicklow had been reclaimed by him, added that "though the presence of the troops might perhaps be necessary for some time longer, it would be more to check the yeomen and Protestants than the people in general."

system has been since avowed,—the professed object being to goad the wretched multitude into revolt before the arrival of a French force should render their outbreak more formidable; and with such over zeal and efficacy was this work of torture performed that, in the county of Wexford, where the United Irish system had but little extended itself, the effects of the floggings and burnings now introduced there by the loyalists was to convert it into one of the worst hot-beds of the rebellion that followed.

While such was the plan of the government, upon Lord Edward and his friends, whose policy it was to prevent a premature rising, fell the far more difficult task of reining in the impatience of the maddened people, so as not, at the same time, to break their spirit or allow them to fancy themselves deceived. To effect this purpose, all the influence of the Executive was now directed,—weakened, however, as that influence had, to a considerable extent, become, as well from the necessary disappearance of Lord Edward himself from

the scene*, as from the far inferior intellects that had now joined him at the helm; Mr. Lawless† being the only man of real ability whom the late seizure of the other Chiefs had left remaining by his side. All was done, however, that, under such circumstances, could be effected, to sustain the

* That he was not lost sight of, however, in the "mind's eye" of the people appears from passages such as the following, in the publications of the day:—"And thou, noble-minded youth, whose princely virtues acquire new splendour from a fervent zeal for your country's rights,—oh may the Genius of Liberty, ever faithful to its votaries, guard your steps!—may the new Harp of Erin vibrate its thrilling sounds through the land to call you forth and hail you with the angelic cry of the Deliverer of our Country!" (March 27, 1798.) In another Address we find—"When an O'Connor is hunted from his country for the crime of loving Ireland, when Fitzgerald is a fugitive for sacrificing the prejudices of birth to accelerate the happiness of his native land, &c. &c."

† This gentleman, whom I knew slightly, and who was a person of that mild and quiet exterior which is usually found to accompany the most determined spirits, made his escape to France at the time of the apprehension of the Sheares's, and rising afterwards to be a General in the French service, lost a leg in one of the engagements at Walcheren.

hopes of the people; and, early in April, we find delegates despatched to the North and elsewhere, to spread the intelligence that all was in readiness in the French ports for invasion, and that about the middle of the month it was expected the troops would be on board.

But while holding forth this expectation to their followers, the Chiefs themselves could not but be well aware that their chance of any effective assistance from France was now considerably diminished. At no time, indeed, among a purely military people like the French, could a species of warfare so much dependent upon naval tactics for its success have been expected to be very popular; and the result of the two experiments, on a grand scale, against Ireland was not such as could tend to remove their indisposition to such enterprises. The gallant Hoche, who alone felt sanguinely on this subject, was now no more; and the great man who was, at this time, beginning to direct the fortunes of France, looked with no favouring eye either upon the Irish or their cause.

At the time, indeed, when the termi-

nation of his glorious campaign in Italy left Bonaparte at leisure to turn his attention to this subject, the number of fugitives from Ireland in Paris had very much increased; and the indifferent characters of some, with the mutual jealousies and bickerings of almost all,—each setting himself forth as more important and trustworthy than the others,—brought discredit both on themselves and on the country of which they were the self-elected organs. Neither can it be at all doubted that Bonaparte, at this period of his career, when already he saw the imperial crown glimmering in the distance, had begun to shrink from the contact of revolutionists and levellers, and to view with feelings anticipatory, as it were, of the future Emperor, those principles out of which his own power had sprung;—well knowing that these principles were even more potent to overturn than to elevate, and that he had henceforth no choice but to be their victim or their master. It is not to be wondered at therefore that a race like the Irish, among whom rebellion had, he knew, been handed down, from age to age, as a sort of

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birthright, should be regarded by the candidate for empire with no very friendly eye, or that the energies of France which he now wielded should be diverted to objects more consonant with his designs. Had he happened to view Ireland and her cause with Hoche's eyes, who can say what might have been the result?—That he himself, in his latter days, repented of not having played the game of ambition otherwise, appears strongly from his own avowal at St. Helena:—"If instead," he is represented to say, "of the expedition to Egypt, I had undertaken that against Ireland, what could England have done now?—On such chances do the destinies of empires depend*!"

* "Si au lieu de l'expédition de l'Égypte, j'eusse fait celle de l'Irlande,—si de légers dérangements n'avaient mis obstacle à mon entreprise de Boulogne, que pourrait l'Angleterre aujourd'hui? A quoi tiennent les destinées des Empires!"—Mémoires de Les Cases. If there be not some error in reporting this remark of Napoleon, it would appear to imply, that Ireland was, after all, the real object of the Boulogne armament.—See, for some remarks upon this subject, the acute and able Commentary on the Memoirs of Tone by Colonel Roche Fermoy.

So ill protected was the South of Ireland at this time, notwithstanding all the warnings that had been

We left Lord Edward on his way from Mrs. **'s to take refuge in the house of Mr. Murphy of Thomas-street, whither he was brought by his friend Lawless, wrapped up in a countryman's great coat, and, in order the more completely to disguise him, wearing a pig-tailed wig. Though his host had seen him frequently before, he was now, for the first time, made known to him as an acquaintance. During the fortnight his lordship passed with him at this period, he lived much the same sort of life as at Mrs. **'s, walking out often at night, along with his host, by the canal, and receiving the visits but of two or three persons, among whom were, if I am rightly informed, Major Plunket* and another mi-

given, that when Sir Ralph Abercrombie made a calculation of the number of troops that could be collected, in case the enemy should appear at Bantry or the Shannon, he found that, in the course of four or five days, six thousand would be the utmost he could muster!

* To this gentleman, who had been in the Austrian service, I find the following allusion in the Personal Narrative of the Rebellion by Mr. Charles Teeling:—"Plunket, that intrepid soldier of fortune, whose fame will be recorded while Buda or the Danube are remembered."

litary gentleman, of the rank of Colonel, named Lumm. To this latter officer Lord Edward had despatched a note, immediately on his arrival, by Murphy, who returned, attended by Colonel Lumm, to Thomas-street, taking the precaution to walk before him all the way.

As it was now more than a month since he had seen any of his family, he could no longer restrain his impatience for an interview with them, but, insisting that Mr. Murphy should dress him in woman's clothes, went, attended by his host, in that disguise, to Denzel-street. The surprise, however, had nearly proved fatal to Lady Edward. Some friend being with her at the moment, the servant came to say that there was a lady in the parlour waiting to see her; and, on Lady Edward discovering who it was, and that he meant to remain till next night, her alarm at his danger, and her anxiety about his return, brought on a premature confinement, and her second daughter, Lucy, was then born.

From the house of Mr. Murphy, his lordship, at the end of a fortnight, was removed to Mr. Cormick's, another feather-

merchant, in the same street; and, between this and the residence of Mr. Moore, but a few doors distant, contrived to pass his time safe from detection till about the first week in May. As the connexions of Cormick and Moore, both men of extensive trade, lay chiefly among that class of persons who were most likely to be implicated in the conspiracy, their houses were of course the resort of most of those individuals with whom it was of importance that Lord Edward should communicate upon the business he had in train,—a convenience which, while it facilitated his plans of concert with his followers, at the same time endangered his safety, by putting in the power of so many more persons the secret of his concealment. It is, indeed, suspected by those best acquainted with his position at this period, that it was among the company he so rashly permitted to be collected around him at Cormick's and Moore's, that he met the person whose imprudence or treachery afterwards betrayed him. How unguardedly his life was placed at the mercy of every chance visitor will be seen by the following extracts from the

evidence of a person of the name of Hughes, taken before a Committee of the Lords, in August, 1798.

“Deponent went to Dublin on the 20th of April, and remained there about nine days. He called on Samuel Neilson, and walked with him to Mr. Cormick, a feather-merchant in Thomas-street. He was introduced by Neilson to Cormick, in the office. Cormick asked them to go up stairs; he and Neilson went up stairs, and found Lord Edward Fitzgerald and Mr. Lawless, the surgeon, playing at billiards. He had been introduced to Lord Edward, about a year before, by Teeling; he was a stranger to Lawless; stayed about an hour; no particular conversations; was invited to dine there that day, and did so; the company were, Lord Edward, Lawless, Neilson, Cormick, and his wife. The conversation turned upon the state of the country, and the violent measures of government, in letting the army loose. The company were all of opinion, that there was then no chance of the people resisting by force with any success.”

Notwithstanding the opinion here re-

ported, it had, at this time, become manifest, both to Lord Edward himself and the greater number of those who acted with him, that the appeal to arms could not be much longer delayed, and that, there being now little hope of the promised aid from France, by Irish hands alone must the cause of Ireland be lost or won. Among those who had, from the first, insisted on the necessity of French aid, one or two still strongly deprecated any unassisted effort, and even withdrew from the meetings of the conspiracy, on learning that such a course was to be pursued. Well-intentioned, however, as were the views of these persons, Lord Edward could not but recollect, that to the prevalence of the same timid advisers, in the year 1797, was owing the loss of one of the most precious moments for action that fortune had ever presented to them,—when their Union was still in full strength and heart, and treachery had not yet found its way into their councils. Even granting, too, that to refrain from action would have been the true policy at this moment, such a course, in the present headlong temper of the people,—goaded, as they were, by every

torment that tyranny could devise,—had become wholly impracticable. It was not for those, therefore, who had cheered them to the combat, to let them now plunge into it alone, nor, however desperate the prospect of success, to shrink from sharing the worst with them. Such, at least, were the generous views that determined Lord Edward to take his chance with his fellow-countrymen, and the event was not far from proving, that there was almost as much policy as generosity in his resolution.

That, at the same time, too, he was not unmindful of what these more prudent persons counselled, appears from a letter which, about the beginning of May, reached him at Cormick's, in answer to a request made, through the Irish agent at Paris, that a force not exceeding 5000 men should be sent instantly to their succour. The communication of the agent, expressed in ambiguous phrase, was as follows:—"I have just received a letter from L., who has made applications to the trustees for the advance of £5000 upon your estates, which they refused, saying they

would make no payment short of the entire, and that they would not be able to effect that for four months."

To wait the performance of this promise,—a delusory one, as events afterwards proved,—was now considered impossible; no alternative being any longer left to the people but either to break out into revolt or throw themselves on the mercy of their tormentors. The goading system had done its work; discontent had been ripened into rage; and the half-hangings and the burnings, the picket and the scourge, had left little more to the leaders of the infuriated multitude than to direct that rage which their rulers had roused. To enter into details of the cruelties perpetrated at this period is beyond the scope of my work. But it may be sufficient to say, that if, out of the great mass of uneducated Catholics, by whom, disorganized and without leaders, the partial rebellion that broke out afterwards was sustained, there were some guilty of atrocities that have left a stain on the Irish name, they therein showed themselves but too apt learners of those lessons of cruelty which their own government had,

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during the few months previous to the insurrection, taught them.

It seems to have been about the first week in May, that the resolution was finally taken to prepare for a general rising before the end of that month. Intelligence of the design was transmitted through all parts of the Union, and arrangements made with the Executives of the three other Provinces, so as that the news of the risings of their respective districts should reach Dublin on the same day the rebellion broke out there. Of such importance was it thought to prepare the South for this simultaneous movement, that the younger Sheares, who was now one of the most active members of the Leinster Executive, proceeded, early in May, to Cork, to lay the train for explosion in that quarter.

To the momentous object of gaining over the militias, among whom disaffection had already spread to a great extent, they now applied themselves with a degree of zeal, or rather of headlong rashness, of which the trial of the unfortunate Sheares's discloses a striking example; and such a footing had they, at this time, obtained in

most of the regiments, that we find Lawless, early in May, holding a conference, on the subject of the rising, with a meeting of delegates from almost all the militias in Ireland. By the plan of operations for Leinster, where Lord Edward was to raise his standard, it was arranged that the forces of the three counties of Dublin, Wicklow, and Kildare should co-operate in an advance upon the capital, taking by surprise the camp at Lehaunstown, and the artillery at Chapelizod, and crowning their enterprise by the seizure of the Lord Lieutenant, and the other members of the government, in Dublin.

As it was now known that the pursuit after Lord Edward was becoming every day more active and eager, his friends felt, at last, the necessity of having him removed to some fitter place of concealment; and as none offered that seemed to combine so many advantages, both of security and comfort, as his former asylum at Mrs. * * 's, to that lady's house he was again, at the beginning of May, conveyed. Being uncertain as to his coming on the evening first named, Mrs. * * had gone to the house

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of a neighbour, having left word at home, that she should be sent for "if Miss Fitzgerald, from Athy, arrived." Though so fully prepared to expect him, yet such was her sense of the risk and responsibility she so heroically took upon herself, that when the servant came, between eleven and twelve at night, to say that "Miss Fitzgerald, from Athy, had arrived," so agitated was she by the announcement, that she actually fainted.

Lord Edward's conductors, Messrs. Cormick and Lawless, had themselves experienced some alarm on the way, having heard voices behind as they came along the canal from Thomas-street, which appeared to them like those of persons eagerly in pursuit. In their anxiety they persuaded his lordship, who was, all the while, laughing at their fears, to lay himself down in a ditch, by the road's side, till these people (who, after all, proved to be only labourers returning home) should have passed by; and the plight in which, after having been covered up to the chin in mud, he made his re-appearance among his old friends was to himself a source of much jest and amusement.

The guarded privacy in which, during his first visit here, he had lived, was now no longer observed by him, and scarcely a day elapsed without his having company—sometimes six or seven persons—to dine with him. Fearless as he was by nature, his familiarity, of late, with danger had rendered him still more reckless of it: the companions of his hours, at Cormick's and Moore's, being now in the secret of their Chief's retreat, felt no less pride than pleasure in being numbered among his visitors; and, though he himself was far too temperate to be what is called convivial, that excitement of spirits natural on the eve of any great enterprise led him to relish, no doubt, the society of those who were so soon to share his dangers. To his kind, watchful hostess, however, this unguarded mode of living was a constant source of apprehension and disquiet; nor did his friend Lawless fail earnestly to represent to him the great danger of admitting so many visitors,—more especially, a visitor so inconsiderate as Neilson, who, well known as was his person, used to ride out frequently, in full daylight, to call upon him.

While matters were thus verging towards a crisis, another fatal bolt fell, and almost as unexpectedly as the former, among the conspirators. Through the means of an officer of the King's County Militia, named Armstrong, who, by passing himself off as a person of republican principles, gained the confidence of the two brothers, John and Henry Sheares, the government had obtained an insight into the movements of the conspiracy, of which, quickened as was now their vigilance by their fears, they lost no time in vigorously availing themselves; and, as a first step, on the 11th of this month, a Proclamation was issued, offering a reward of £1000 for the apprehension of Lord Edward Fitzgerald. How far this measure, and the ulterior ones it seemed to portend, had any share in hastening the moment of explosion, does not appear; but it was now announced by the Chiefs to their followers that on the night of the 23d inst. the general rising was to take place.

The awful fiat being thus sent forth, it was seen that, for the purpose of concerting measures with his colleagues, the presence of Lord Edward himself would be necessary

in the capital, during the week previous to the great event, and he was, accordingly, about the 13th, removed from ** to Dublin, leaving his hostess under the impression that he went but to attend some of the ordinary meetings of the Union. In taking leave of her he spoke with his usual cheerfulness, saying that, as soon as these meetings were over, he would return; nor, aware as were all then present of the perils of his position, was it possible for them, while looking at that bright, kindly countenance, to associate with it a single boding of the sad fate that was now so near him.

A night or two after his leaving Mrs. **'s, it appears that he rode, attended only by Neilson, to reconnoitre the line of advance, on the Kildare side, to Dublin,—the route marked out on one of the papers found upon him when arrested,—and it was on this occasion that he was, for some time, stopped and questioned, by the patrolle at Palmerston. Being well disguised, however, and representing himself to be a doctor on his way to a dying patient, his companion and he were suffered to proceed on their way.

It was thought advisable, as a means of baffling pursuit, that he should not remain more than a night or two in any one place, and, among other retreats contemplated for him, application had been made, near a week before, to his former host, Murphy, who consented willingly to receive him. Immediately after, however, appeared the Proclamation offering a reward for his apprehension, which so much alarmed Murphy, who was a person not of very strong mind or nerves, that he repented of his offer, and would most gladly have retracted it, had he but known how to communicate with the persons to whom he had pledged himself.

On the 17th, Ascension Thursday, he had been led to expect his noble guest would be with him; but, owing most probably to the circumstance I am about to mention, his lordship did not then make his appearance. On the very morning of that day, the active Town-Major, Sirr, had received information that a party of persons, supposed to be Lord Edward Fitzgerald's body-guard, would be on their way from Thomas-street to Usher's Island at a

certain hour that night. Accordingly, taking with him a sufficient number of assistants for his purpose, and accompanied also by Messrs. Ryan and Emerson, Major Sirr proceeded, at the proper time, to the quarter pointed out, and there being two different ways, (either Watling-street, or Dirty-lane,) by which the expected party might come, divided his force so as to intercept them by either road.

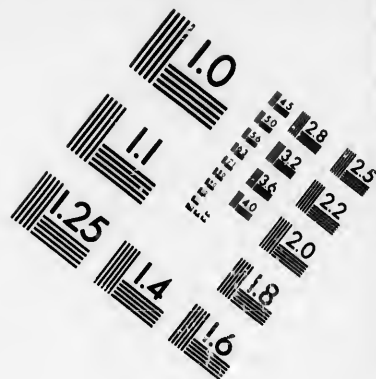
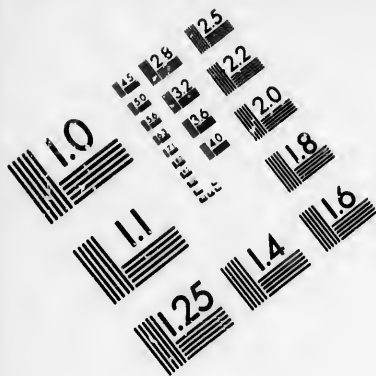
A similar plan having happened to be adopted by Lord Edward's escort, there took place, in each of these two streets, a conflict between the parties; and Major Sirr, who had almost alone to bear the brunt in his quarter, was near losing his life. In defending himself with a sword which he had snatched from one of his assailants, he lost his footing and fell; and had not those with whom he was engaged been much more occupied with their noble charge than with him, he could hardly have escaped. But, their chief object being Lord Edward's safety, after snapping a pistol or two at Sirr, they hurried away. On rejoining his friends, in the other street, the Town-Major found that they

had succeeded in capturing one of their opponents, and this prisoner, who represented himself as a manufacturer of muslin from Scotland, and whose skilfully assumed ignorance of Irish affairs induced them, a day or two after, to discharge him as innocent, proved to have been no other than the famous M'Cabe, Lord Edward's confidential agent, and one of the most active organizers in the whole confederacy.

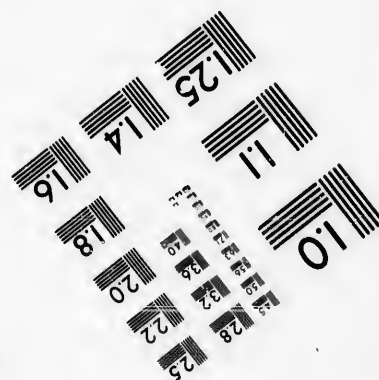
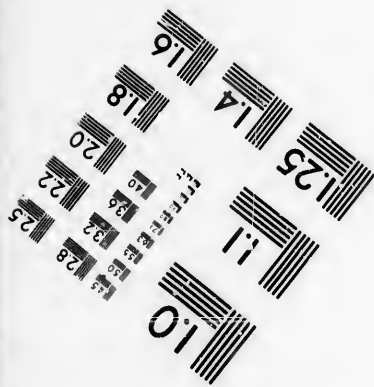
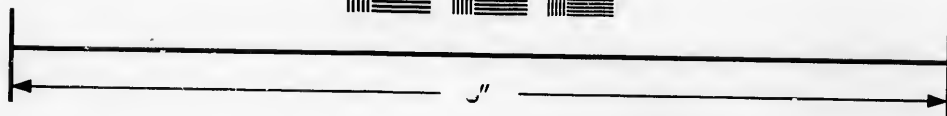
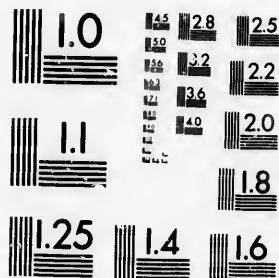
Of the precise object or destination of this party, I have not been able to make out any thing certain ; but if, as is generally supposed, Lord Edward was at the time on his way to Moira-house, it was for the purpose, no doubt, of once more seeing Lady Edward (to whom the noble-minded mistress of that mansion had, since his concealment, paid the most compassionate attention) before his final plunge into a struggle the issue of which must, even to himself, have been so doubtful.

On the following night he was brought from Moore's to the house of Mr. Murphy, —Mrs. Moore herself being his conductress. He had been suffering lately from cold and sore throat, and, as his host thought, looked





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much altered in his appearance since he had last seen him. An old maid-servant was the only person in the house besides themselves.

Next morning, as Mr. Murphy was standing within his gateway, there came a woman from Moore's with a bundle which, without saying a word, she put into his hands, and which, taking for granted that it was for Lord Edward, he carried up to his lordship. It was found to contain a coat, jacket, and trousers of dark green edged with red, together with a handsome military cap, of a conical form. At the sight of this uniform, which, for the first time, led him to suspect that a rising must be at hand, the fears of the already nervous host were redoubled; and, on being desired by Lord Edward to put it somewhere out of sight, he carried the bundle to a loft over one of his warehouses, and there hid it under some goat-skins, whose offensiveness, he thought, would be a security against search.

About the middle of the day, an occurrence took place, which, from its appearing to have some connexion with the pursuit after himself, excited a good deal of ap-

prehension in his lordship's mind. A serjeant-major, with a party of soldiers, had been seen to pass up the street, and were, at the moment when Murphy ran to apprise his guest of it, halting before Moore's door. This suspicious circumstance, indicating, as it seemed, some knowledge of his haunts, startled Lord Edward, and he expressed instantly a wish to be put in some place of secrecy; on which Murphy took him out on the top of the house, and laying him down in one of the valleys formed between the roofs of his warehouses, left him there for some hours. During the excitement produced in the neighbourhood by the appearance of the soldiers, Lord Edward's officious friend, Neilson, was, in his usual flighty and inconsiderate manner, walking up and down the street, saying occasionally, as he passed, to Murphy, who was standing in his gateway,—“Is he safe?”—“Look sharp.”

While this anxious scene was passing in one quarter, treachery,—and it is still unknown from what source,—was at work in another. It must have been late in the day that information of his lordship's

hiding-place reached the government, as Major Sirr did not receive his instructions on the subject till but a few minutes before he proceeded to execute them. Major Swan and Mr. Ryan (the latter of whom volunteered his services) happened to be in his house at the moment; and he had but time to take a few soldiers, in plain clothes, along with him,—purposing to send, on his arrival in Thomas-street, for the pickets of infantry and cavalry in that neighbourhood.

To return to poor Lord Edward:—as soon as the alarm produced by the soldiers had subsided, he ventured to leave his retreat, and resume his place in the back drawing-room,—where, Mr. Murphy having invited Neilson to join them, they soon after sat down to dinner. The cloth had not been many minutes removed, when Neilson, as if suddenly recollecting something, hurried out of the room and left the house; shortly after which, Mr. Murphy, seeing that his guest was not inclined to drink any wine, went down stairs. In a few minutes after, however, returning, he found that his lordship had, in the in-

terim, gone up to his bed-room, and, on following him thither, saw him lying, without his coat, upon the bed. There had now elapsed, from the time of Neilson's departure, not more than ten minutes, and it is asserted that he had, in going out, left the hall door open*.

Mr. Murphy had but just begun to ask his guest whether he would like some tea, when, hearing a trampling on the stairs, he turned round, and saw Major Swan enter the room. Scarcely had this officer time to mention the object of his visit, when Lord Edward jumped up, as Murphy describes him, "like a tiger," from the bed, on seeing which, Swan fired a small pocket-pistol at him, but without effect; and then,

* From my mention of these particulars respecting Neilson, it cannot fail to have struck the reader, that some share of the suspicion of having betrayed Lord Edward attaches to this man. That his conduct was calculated to leave such an impression cannot be denied; but besides that the general character of his mind, bordering closely, as it did, on insanity, affords some solution of these incoherencies, the fact of his being afterwards left to share the fate of the other State Prisoners would seem of itself sufficient to absolve him from any such imputation.

turning round short upon Murphy, from whom he seemed to apprehend an attack, thrust the pistol violently in his face, saying to a soldier, who just then entered, "Take that fellow away." Almost at the same instant, Lord Edward struck at Swan with a dagger, which, it now appeared, he had had in the bed with him; and, immediately after, Ryan, armed only with a sword-cane, entered the room*.

In the mean time, Major Sirr, who had stopped below to place the pickets round the house, hearing the report of Swan's pistol, hurried up to the landing, and from thence saw, within the room, Lord Edward struggling between Swan and Ryan, the latter down on the floor, weltering in his blood, and both clinging to their powerful ad-

* It appears from a letter written by one of this gentleman's friends, on the morning after the encounter,—a copy of which his son, Mr. D. F. Ryan, has kindly furnished me with,—that, immediately on entering the room, Mr. Ryan made a thrust of his sword at Lord Edward, but with no other effect, from the blade bending on his breast, than that of causing his lordship to fall on the bed; in which position Mr. Ryan grappled with him and, in the course of their struggle, received the desperate wound of which he died.—[*Second Edit.*]

versary, who was now dragging them towards the door. Threatened, as he was, with a fate similar to that of his companions, Sirr had no alternative but to fire, and, aiming his pistol deliberately, he lodged the contents in Lord Edward's right arm, near the shoulder. The wound for a moment staggered him; but, as he again rallied, and was pushing towards the door, Major Sirr called up the soldiers; and so desperate were their captive's struggles, that they found it necessary to lay their firelocks across him, before he could be disarmed or bound so as to prevent further mischief.

It was during one of these instinctive efforts of courage that the opportunity was, as I understand, taken by a wretched drummer to give him a wound in the back of the neck, which, though slight, yet, from its position, contributed not a little to aggravate the uneasiness of his last hours. There are also instances mentioned of rudeness, both in language and conduct, which he had to suffer, while in this state, from some of the minor tools of government, and which, even of such men, it is

painful and difficult to believe. But so it is,

“Curs snap at lions in the toils, whose looks
Frighted them being free.”

It being understood that Doctor Adreen, a surgeon of much eminence, was in the neighbourhood, messengers were immediately despatched to fetch him, and his attention was called to the state of the three combatants. The wounds of Major Swan, though numerous, were found not to be severe; but Mr. Ryan was in a situation that gave but little hope of recovery. When, on examining Lord Edward's wound, Adreen pronounced it not to be dangerous, his lordship calmly answered, “I'm sorry for it.”

From Thomas-street he was conveyed, in a sedan-chair, open at the top, to the Castle, where the papers found upon him,—one of them containing the line of advance upon Dublin, from the county of Kildare,—were produced and verified. On hearing that he was at the Castle, the Lord Lieutenant sent his private secretary, Mr. Watson, to assure him that orders had

been given for every possible attention being shown to him, consistently with the security of his person as a State Prisoner.

By the gentleman who was the bearer of this message, I have been favoured with the following particulars,—as honourable to himself as they cannot but be interesting to others,—of the interview which, in consequence, he had with the noble prisoner:—

“I found Lord Edward leaning back on a couple of chairs, in the office of the Secretary in the War Department, his arm extended, and supported by the surgeon, who was dressing his wound. His countenance was pallid, but serene; and when I told him, in a low voice, not to be overheard, my commission from the Lord Lieutenant, and that I was going to break the intelligence of what had occurred to Lady Edward, asking him, with every assurance of my fidelity and secrecy, whether there was any confidential communication he wished to be made to her ladyship, or whether I could undertake any other personal act of kindness in his service,—he answered merely, but collectedly, ‘No, no,—thank you,—nothing, nothing;—only break it to her tenderly.’”

“When I called at Lady Edward’s house, this being in the evening, and after dark, I found that she was absent, at a party at Moira House: I therefore communicated to two of her female attendants the events of the evening.”

The effect produced by this event is thus strikingly described, by one of the historians of the Rebellion* :—“The arrest of Lord Edward visibly occasioned a strong sensation among the mass of the people in Dublin, as their hopes of getting possession of the metropolis, on the approaching insurrection which they meditated, rested much on his valour and skill as an officer. Numbers of them were seen going from one part of the town to the other, with a quick pace and a serious countenance. Others were perceived, in small parties, conversing with that seriousness of look and energy of gesticulation, which strongly indicated the agitation of their minds. A rising to effect a rescue was expected that night; the yeomen, therefore, and the garrison, which it was to be lamented was very thin, remained on their arms all night, and were

* Musgrave’s History of the Rebellion.

so judiciously disposed as to prevent the possibility of an insurrection."

Of the melancholy close of Lord Edward's days, I am enabled to lay before my readers all the minutest details through the medium of a correspondence, which took place immediately on his apprehension, between some of his nearest relatives and friends,— a correspondence as affecting as it has ever fallen to the lot of a biographer to put on record. It would be difficult, indeed, to find a family more affectionately attached to each other than that of which his lordship had been always the most beloved member; and it is only in language direct from such hearts, at the very moment of suffering, that dismay and sorrow such as now fell upon them could be at all adequately conveyed. Of one of the writers, Lady Louisa Conolly, it is gratifying to be able to preserve some memorial beyond that tradition of her many noble virtues which friendship has handed down to us, and to the truth of which the amiable spirit that breathes throughout her letters bears the amplest testimony.

In the accounts given in some of these letters of the circumstances of the arrest,

there will be found mistakes and mistatements into which the writers were naturally led by the hasty reports of the transaction that reached them, but which the reader, acquainted as he is already with the true facts of the case, will be able to detect and rectify. In the desperate resistance which he made, Lord Edward had no other weapon than a dagger, and the number of wounds he is said to have inflicted with it on his two adversaries is such as almost to exceed belief. This dagger was given by Lord Clare, a day or two after the arrest, to Mr. Brown, a gentleman well known and still living in Dublin, who has, by some accident, lost it. He describes it to me, however, as being about the length of a large case knife, with a common buck-handle,—the blade, which was two-edged, being of a waved shape, like that of the sword represented in the hands of the angel in the common prints prefixed to the last Book of Paradise Lost.

The rebel uniform, belonging to his lordship, which was found at Murphy's, passed afterwards into the hands of Mr. Watson Taylor, in whose possession it remained for some time; but the late Duke of York, who

had always been much attached to Lord Edward, and had even offered, when made Commander-in-Chief, to restore him to his rank in the army, having expressed a wish to possess so curious a relic of his noble friend, Mr. Watson Taylor presented it to his Royal Highness, and what has become of it since the Duke's death, I have not been able to ascertain.

FROM LADY LOUISA CONOLLY TO WILLIAM OGILVIE,
ESQ.*

“ Castletown, May 21st, 1798.

“ MY DEAR MR. OGILVIE,

“ I was too ill yesterday to write, but as there sailed no packet, I have an opportunity of letting my letter go now among the first, with the sad narrative of Saturday night's proceedings. Which of poor Edward's bad friends betrayed him, or whether, through the vigilance of the town magistrates, he was apprehended at nine o'clock that night, I know not, but, at a house in Thomas-street, Mr. Serle, the town-major, Mr. Ryan (printer of Faulk-

* Mr. Ogilvie was, at this time, in London.

ener's Journal), and Mr. Swan (a magistrate), got information of him, and had a small party of soldiers to surround the house. Mr. Serle was settling the party, and advised Ryan and Swan not to be in haste; but they hastily ran up stairs, and forced open the door where he was asleep. He instantly fired a pistol at Mr. Ryan, who we have this day hopes will recover. Upon Mr. Swan's approaching him, he stabbed Mr. Swan with a dagger, but that wound is not considered dangerous.

“ Mr. Serle, upon hearing the resistance, ran up stairs, and thinking that Edward was going to attack him, fired a pistol at him, which wounded Edward in the shoulder, but not dangerously. He was then carried prisoner to the Castle, where Mr. Stewart (the surgeon-general) was ordered to attend him. He dressed his wound, and pronounces it not to be dangerous. Lord Camden had ordered an apartment for him, but the magistrates claimed him, on account of his having wounded their people. He was therefore carried to Newgate, and, after the first burst of feeling was over, I hear that he was quite composed.

“Mr. Pakenham has promised to inquire if he wants any comfort or convenience that can be sent him in prison ; and I am going to town this evening, meaning to see Mr. Stewart, the surgeon, to know from him what may be wanted. I am also going for the purpose of hearing whether this event makes any alteration in the determinations respecting Lady Edward’s leaving the country. If it is necessary that she should still go, I shall wish to hurry her off, and will in another letter write you more particulars about her. In the mean time, I have had the satisfaction of hearing, that she bore the shock yesterday better than one could expect, and she had some sleep last night.

“As soon as Edward’s wound was dressed, he desired the private secretary at the Castle (Mr. Watson, I believe, is the name) to write for him to Lady Edward, and to tell her what had happened. The secretary carried the note himself. Lady Edward was at Moira House, and a servant of Lady Mountcashell’s came soon after, to forbid Lady Edward’s servants saying any thing to her that night. Poor Miss Napier, with

my Emily, were at the play that night, with Lady Castlereagh and Mrs. Pakenham, in the next box to the Lord Lieutenant's, where the news was brought to him, and of course the two poor girls heard it all. Miss Napier was so overcome that Lady Castlereagh went out with her, and Miss Napier went instantly to Moira House, knowing Lady Edward to be there. Lady Moira forbid her telling her that night, so that Miss Napier made some foolish pretence to go home with her, and she has never left Lady Edward since. Mr. Pakenham made Louisa Pakenham keep Emily in the box, as they feared that all running out of the box might have the appearance of some riot; and I believe it might be better, but the poor little soul was wretched, as you may imagine. The next morning (being yesterday), Miss Napier told Lady Edward, and she bore it better than she expected; but Mr. Napier, who went to town, brought us word that her head seemed still deranged, and that no judgment could yet be formed about her. He and Sarah are gone again this morning. I wait for the evening, as I wish to go a little better pre-

pared with advice than I could hitherto have been.

“It is my intention to entreat for leave to see him (nobody has been permitted to go since he was carried to Newgate), but I will wait to see surgeon Stewart, and know first the state of his health, and if he would like to see me. The trial, it is thought, will not come on immediately, but as reports are the only information I have upon that head, I shall postpone saying more until I am better informed. My astonishment at finding that Edward was in Dublin can only be equalled by his imprudence in being in it. I had felt such security, at being sure of his having left Dublin Bay, added to the belief, from the Duke of Portland’s office, that he had left the English coast in a boat, that I scarcely felt startled when the Proclamation came out, though I began to wonder why it took place now.

“I received yours of the 15th yesterday morning, with the bad account of the poor Duchess of Leinster’s state of health. It affected me, certainly, but under the impression of Edward’s misfortune, I could

feel no other equal to what *that* has brought upon us. I am very sorry that the poor Duke still deceives himself about her.

“This last week has been a most painful one to us. Maynooth, Kilcock, Leixlip, and Celbridge, have had part of a Scotch regiment quartered at each place, living upon free quarters, and every day threatening to burn the towns. I have spent days in entreaties and threats, to give up the horrid pikes. Some houses burnt at Kilcock yesterday produced the effect. Maynooth held out yesterday, though some houses were burnt, and some people punished. This morning, the people of Leixlip are bringing in their arms. Celbridge as yet holds out, though five houses are now burning. Whether obstinacy, or that they have them not, I cannot say, but you may imagine what Mr. Conolly and I suffer. He goes about entreating to the last,—spent all yesterday out among them, and to-day is gone again. He goes from Maynooth to Leixlip and Celbridge, and begins again and again to go round them.

“We have fortunately two most humane officers, that do not do more than is abso-

1798. LORD EDWARD FITZGERALD. 101

lutely necessary from their orders. At present I feel most prodigiously sunk with all the surrounding distress, but I am determined to exert myself, for the little use I may be of. It would grieve you to see Mr. Conolly's good heart so wounded as it is.

“Yours affectionately,

“L. C.”

FROM COLONEL NAPIER TO WILLIAM OGILVIE, ESQ.

“Dublin, May 21st.

“MY DEAREST OGILVIE,

“I must trust to the manly firmness I know you possess as the only preface which can enable you to support the heavy intelligence I am obliged to convey in this melancholy letter. Poor Lord Edward, *seduced* and *betrayed*, was arrested the night before last by three men sent for the purpose, who took him after a desperate resistance, in which he wounded two of them with a poniard, and was himself shot in the right arm, and bruised and cut in three places of his left. He was first carried to the Castle, and, after his wounds had been dressed, removed to Lord Aldborough's room, in Newgate, on the requisition of the magi-

strates, as one of his opponents appeared to be mortally wounded in the groin. However, this day it is found the intestines are not hurt, and great hopes are entertained of his recovery.

“Lord Ross brought the dreadful intelligence to Castletown yesterday morning, and after a miserable scene, in which I feared their violent hysterics would have ended fatally with both Lady Louisa and Sarah, I set off for Dublin, but was peremptorily refused to be allowed an interview with our unfortunate prisoner. I next went to Geo. Stuart, who dressed his wounds, and attends him; but, missing him, I went to the poor sufferer’s wife; who, kept up by her spirits, bore her misfortunes like a heroine. Alas! she does not know what I dread to be true, that government have strong and even indubitable proofs of *treason*. It is in vain to dissemble: Geo. Ponsonby, who is to be Edward’s counsel, in conjunction with Curran, fears the event, at least if ministers produce what they assert they possess. In short, my dear friend, no time must be lost in applying to the King, or the catastrophe

is—I dare not write what! As no packet sailed yesterday, I have waited till now, that I might guard you against flying or malicious reports; for, among others, it was said yesterday, that Ryan, the man wounded in the groin, was dead; and to-day, that Lord Edward had a locked jaw, both which are utterly unfounded.

“I write this from Moira House. Opposite, in Thomas-street, they are destroying the houses; and I expect, on my return, to find Celbridge and Maynooth in ashes, as that was the ‘Order of the day.’ I inclose this to my sister, who will direct Alexander to give it into your *own* hand, as I dread and shudder at the thoughts of its effect on your dear wife. Good God! how my heart bleeds for her. I can’t write more: my breast is so very bad, and not relieved, you may believe, by the scenes of misery I am every where witness to. I have, however, the satisfaction of thinking, that neither party can accuse me of having abetted them, in thought, word, or deed; and this is no small consolation to an honest man. I hope poor dear intrepid Lady Edward will go to England (where the Privy

Council have ordered her), as Ponsonby says she cannot be of any use here. Adieu, my dear friend ; for God's sake exert your fortitude, and be prepared for the worst.

“ I cannot write more, but I am

“ Very, very sincerely

“ Yours.

“ Lady Moira's kindness, in every sense of the word, has surpassed that of common mothers.

“ My sister, at the King's feet, imploring a pardon on condition of exile, *may* do more than all the politicians, lawyers, or exertions in the whole world : let her try it *instantly*, and never quit him till obtained : stop at no forms or refusals. Human nature must give way.

“ This is intended for the Duke of Leinster, and all the family, none of us being able to write more.”

FROM LADY LOUISA CONOLLY TO LADY SARAH NAPIER.

“ May 22d, 1798.

“ MY DEAREST SAL,

“ Poor Lady Edward *is* to go : when I brought her the passport this morning, it threw her into sad distress, for she had

hoped I could prevail upon them to let her live in prison with him. Lord Castlereagh told me, that it had been a determination, at the beginning of all this particular business, not to admit the friends at all, and that it had not been departed from in any one instance; and that, if Mrs. Emmet saw her husband, it was by stealth, and contrary to the most positive order. I tried for *one* day before she went; but *that*, Lady Edward says, she would not have ventured, on account of his wound, lest it should have caused him fever. Lindsay brought word to-day that he was better. Lady Edward will have her choice of a Parkgate or Holyhead packet on Thursday morning, at five o'clock. I shall, therefore, stay in Dublin till that time, to put her on board, to pay her the last little friendly office in my power.

“In the House of Commons, to-day, the discovery of the conspiracy was announced, which they report to have been found out, but just in due time, as this week was to have completed it. Two men, of the name of Sheares, have been taken up; in the pocket of one of them a proclamation was

found, intended for distribution after that Dublin should be in their possession; and in Mr. Braughal's pocket, a letter, addressed to him, saying, '*Get off as soon as you can, for we are discovered.*' I vouch for nothing, but tell you what I have heard; and know nothing for certain, but my own wretchedness. God bless you, dearest dear Sal.

"Ever yours,

"L. CONOLLY.

"Pray send Mrs. Staples word of my stay in town.

"I saw Mr. G. Ponsonby: he advised her going. I hear that Mr. Curran does the same.

"Dear good Miss Napier, don't look ill. Surgeon Stewart is to write constantly to Lady Edward an account of his health."

FROM THE DUKE OF PORTLAND TO WILLIAM OGILVIE,
ESQ.

"Burlington House,

"Wednesday, May 23d, 1798, 11 a. m.

"DEAR SIR,

"It is with infinite concern that I take upon myself to acquaint you with the very melancholy circumstances which have at-

tended the apprehension of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, when Justice Swan, attended by a Mr. Ryan, entered the room (at the house of one Murphy, in the Liberty) where Lord Edward was in bed. Lord Edward, who was armed with a case of pistols and a dagger, stood in his defence, shot Mr. Ryan in the stomach, and wounded Mr. Swan with the dagger in two places. Major Sirr, on entering the room, and observing Lord Edward with the dagger uplifted in his hands, fired at him and wounded him in the arm of the hand that held the weapon, upon which he was secured. Mr. Ryan's wound is considered to be mortal: no apprehensions are entertained for Mr. Swan's life. Upon so very melancholy and distressful a subject as this must be, it would as little become me as it can be necessary, to assign reasons for this intrusion: the motives will speak for themselves, and I need make no other appeal than to your candour and to your feelings for my justification upon this distressful occasion.

“I have the honour to be,

“Dear sir,

“Your most obedient servant,

“PORTLAND.”

FROM THE DUKE OF RICHMOND TO WILLIAM OGILVIE,
ESQ.

“ Goodwood, May 24th, 1798.

“ MY DEAR SIR,

“ I am much obliged to you for the trouble you have taken, at a moment when you must have so much anxiety on your mind, to communicate to me the very melanchoiy event of Lord Edward's being taken, and the circumstances attending it. God grant that Mr. Ryan may recover!

“ I can easily conceive the oppression of my poor sister's mind; for although I know that she possesses great fortitude, none can stand under the sort of misery with which she may be afflicted. It is in vain to offer any assistance or comfort where none can be of any avail; but she may be assured that no one can sympathize more sincerely in her misfortune than I do.

“ Believe me, my dear sir,

“ Ever most sincerely yours,

“ RICHMOND, &c.

“ P. S. I have sent your letter to Lord Bathurst and Captain Berkeley, who are at Wood End.

“ I read a case a few days ago in the

newspapers, in which Lord Kenyon is said to have expressed, very strongly, his opinion how much it was the duty of any officer executing a warrant to declare who he was, and his authority; otherwise, what dreadful consequences might ensue by a resistance supposed to be justifiable!

“If it should turn out that the persons who arrested Lord Edward did not declare their authority, this speech of Lord Kenyon’s from the bench, of which you may easily get a correct minute, might be useful.

“The letters of to-day were brought by Hyde, the messenger: if you should wish to ask him any questions, he will certainly not return sooner than to-morrow.”

FROM THE DUKE OF PORTLAND TO WILLIAM OGILVIE,
ESQ.

“Thursday morning, 24th May, 1798.

“DEAR SIR,

“Give me leave to assure you, that I am much gratified by the reception my unfortunate intrusion of yesterday met with from you. I wish I could in any degree relieve your anxiety by the accounts I

have received to-day: they are of the 20th, and state no new unfavourable symptoms; but I must not conceal from you, that they give no better hopes of Mr. Ryan's recovery than the letters of the 19th.

“I am, dear sir,

“Your very faithful and obedient servant,
“PORTLAND.”

FROM THE DUKE OF PORTLAND TO LORD HENRY FITZGERALD.

“Whitehall, Friday, 25th May, 1798.

“MY LORD,

“I have the honour of your lordship's letter, in which you desire me to give you an order to be admitted to Lord Edward Fitzgerald, whom you are going over to Ireland for the purpose of visiting. I am therefore to inform your lordship, that as Lord Edward is not under confinement in consequence of a warrant issued by me, I have not the power of complying with your request.

“I have the honour to be,

“My Lord,

“Your lordship's most obedient and
humble servant,

“PORTLAND.”

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FROM THE DUKE OF PORTLAND TO WILLIAM OGILVIE,
ESQ.

“ Whitehall, Friday, 25th May, 1798,

“ Half past 4, p. m.

“ DEAR SIR,

“ I have the pleasure of acquainting you, that since I left St. James's, I have been assured by a person whose accuracy may be depended upon, that he has seen private letters, *but of high authority*, of the 21st, from Dublin, which state, that though Mr. Ryan's wound is a very dangerous one, it is not considered to be necessarily mortal.

“ Very sincerely yours,

“ PORTLAND.”

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

“ Saturday morning, 26th May, 1798.

“ DEAR SIR,

“ By a letter, dated the 22d, I am informed that Lord Edward remains in the same state: that though the ball is not yet extracted, the surgeon who attends him does not think the wound dangerous; and that *great hopes* are entertained of Mr. Ryan's recovery.

“ I am, sir,

“ Your faithful humble servant,

“ PORTLAND.”

FROM LADY LOUISA CONOLLY TO WILLIAM OGILVIE,
ESQ.

“ Castletown, June 1st, 1798.

“ MY DEAR MR. OGILVIE,

“ I have this instant received your two letters of the 26th and 28th of May, and have written to Lord Castlereagh, to entreat for the *order of silence* in the papers. I trust it will be complied with, because it cannot impede the course of justice; and, if I may judge by dear Lord Castlereagh's distress about all this business, I fancy government mean to soften the distress as much as possible, and of course will accede to a thing that cannot counteract justice.

“ I am so entirely of your opinion about dear Edward, that his heart could never be brought to the guilt imputed to him, that I begin to rest my afflicted soul in *hope*, and do not yet give it up; though it was a sad blow to me, yesterday, to hear of Ryan's death. It is said he died of a fever; but when once all the circumstances of that affray come to be known, I do verily believe, that it can only be brought in manslaughter, in his own defence. However, in the confused state that all things are in, and the mystery that involves the truth,

every new thing creates doubt and alarm. I have also written to Lord Castlereagh, to know the mode of proceeding *now*; for, upon the idea of Ryan's recovery, he had told me, that trial was out of the question.

"Louisa Pakenham, who sees Doctor Lindsay every day, sends me constant accounts of dear Edward, who suffers less; and the accounts of yesterday are better than I have had yet, as his appetite and sleep were better. But Lindsay cannot pronounce him out of danger until the balls are extracted, which is not yet the case, though the discharge one day was so great as to make him expect it. The warm weather has been against him.

"My two letters to poor Lady Edward, directed to you, contained all the accounts concerning him, which made it unnecessary to write to you. I long to hear of her arrival in London, and whether she will have permission to remain there. I hope the Duke of Portland will let her stay. I must, for ever and ever, repeat my firm belief of her innocence, as far as *acts of treason*. That she should know dear Ed-

ward's opinions, and endeavour to secrete him when in danger of being taken, I easily believe; and where is the wife that would not do so? As Mr. Conolly justly says, no good man can ever impute *that* as guilt in her. However, I believe that under the illiberal prejudice that has been against her, as a Frenchwoman, ever since she came to Ireland, and which has much increased upon this occasion, I believe it was safer to send her to England. God bless her, poor soul! She is to be pitied more than can be expressed; and I never knew how much I loved her, till she became so unfortunate.

“I wrote word in my last, that Edward had made his will. Lieutenant Stone, of the Derry Militia, has been appointed to stay with him: he is a good man, and I hear that Edward is pleased with him, and got him to write his will, which Stewart and Lindsay signed. I hear that dear Henry is just landed: I am very glad of it. I felt sure he would come, but I thought you would stay with my poor sister. Oh, good God, what is to become of her? I hardly

dared read your letters this morning. Her wish to come over, I also expected; and it is so natural, that I think it must be the best for her, and yet I *dare not* advise. The trial, I hear, is to be the 20th of next month. I shall beg of Lord Castlereagh, when he sends this letter, to tell you as many particulars as he can upon that subject. And now, my dear Mr. Ogilvie, that I have said all I know about him, I must inform you of the dreadful state of this country.

“The *pikes* prove the intended mischief to any body’s understanding, without being in the secrets of either government or the United Men, and the rebellion is actually begun. The north, south, and west, are perfectly quiet, and we have every reason to believe the militia are true to the existing government; so that Leinster is the province devoted to scenes of bloodshed and misery. As yet, there does not appear to be any leader that can be dangerous, and their depending on numbers (which they endeavour to collect by force, as they pass through the country,) shows great

want of skill ; for the numbers must embarrass instead of assisting, and the consequence has been, the loss of hundreds of those poor creatures, who confess they do not know what they are going to fight for.

* * * * *

“ There have been several skirmishes in this neighbourhood : two hundred of them forced through our gates, and passed across our front lawn, at three o'clock on Saturday morning last, the 26th, when I saw them ; —but they went through quietly. However, it is thought prudent to put our house into a state of defence : we are about it now, and we shall remain in it. If I had not for ever experienced the goodness of God upon trying occasions, I should be at a loss to account for my total want of feeling, as to personal danger ; but, knowing his mercy, I feel at this moment a safer natural strength, that can only be sent me from Him.

† The passages omitted contain some local details respecting the rebellion which would not now be read with any interest.

“My heart is almost borne down with what I feel about dear Edward and the family. His mother and wife are two sores that I can find no balm for; and I sometimes am almost sinking under it, but I do not let it get so much the better of me, as not to think of every thing that can serve him; but, alas! how little is in my power, being in no secrets whatever!

“But to return to the rebels: they have a camp at Blackmore Hill, near Rusborough; are in possession of Lord Miltown’s house, another camp at Taragh, and another at Stapletown, near the Bog of Allen. At Dunboyne, the first breaking out appeared; and the town is burnt down all to a few houses. Mr. Conolly tells me, that the destruction in the county from Sallins to Kilcullen bridge made him sick, and that many years cannot restore the mischief. We are happy in having been able to preserve Celbridge, and the poor people, I trust, will find that *we* are their best friends at last. You may be sure that we are protecting them to the best of our power. God bless you. I will endeavour to keep a journal of what passes here: I

shall pretend to no more, for I can know but little of what passes in Dublin.

“ Yours affectionately,
“ L. O’CONOLLY.”

The mutual affection by which the whole Leinster family were so remarkably bound together was even more warm between Lord Edward and Lord Henry than between any of its other members. “ Dear Harry!—he is perfect*” was the enthusiastic feeling which Lord Edward no less sincerely entertained than he thus strongly expressed, and which was answered with a corresponding warmth on the part of his brother. When millions, therefore, were mourning the fate of the gallant Edward, what must have been the sorrow of one so near, and so devoted to him? Soon after the dreadful news reached him, Lord Henry hurried over to Dublin, resolved to share the sufferer’s prison and be his attendant and nurse. But, by a sternness of policy which it seems impossible to justify, even the privilege of a single interview

* See a Letter of Lord Edward’s, vol. i. p. 169.

with his brother was denied to him; and he was left, day after day, in a state of anguish only to be conceived by those who knew the strength of his affections, to implore this favour of the Lord Lieutenant and his advisers, in vain. The following is one of the answers which he received to his applications:—

FROM THE EARL OF CLARE TO LORD HENRY FITZGERALD.

“ Ely Place, Sunday, 3 o'clock.

“ MY DEAR LORD,

“ I am sorry to tell you, that it will be impossible, for the present, to comply with your wishes; and if I could explain to you the grounds of this restriction, even you would hardly be induced to condemn it as unnecessarily harsh.

“ Always very truly yours,

“ My dear Lord,

“ CLARE, C.”

This determination, so harshly persevered in, not to suffer any of Lord Edward's own friends to see him, is rendered still worse by the fact that, in some instances, the go-

vernment relaxed this rule of exclusion ; and I have been told by Mr. Brown,—a gentleman already mentioned, as having received from Lord Clare the present of Lord Edward's dagger,—that, through the favour of the same nobleman, he was himself, a day or two after the arrest, admitted to the noble prisoner. This gentleman's father was, it seems, the landlord of the house in which the fatal event occurred, and having a desire to speak with Murphy, on the subject of the lease, he procured an order of admission from Lord Clare, to which was added also a permission to see Lord Edward. Having first visited the unfortunate Murphy, he proceeded to Lord Edward's room, where his right of entrance was contested by two ruffianly-looking members of Beresford's corps of yeomanry, whom he found standing, with their swords drawn, beside the bed of the sufferer. On his showing the order, however, from Lord Clare, he was admitted ; and having mentioned, in the few minutes' conversation he had with Lord Edward, that he had just been in Murphy's room, his lordship, with his usual kindness of feeling,

recollecting the blow he had seen Swan give to his host with the pistol, said, in a faint voice, "And how is poor Murphy's face?"

Even for the purpose of drawing up his Will, which took place on the 27th of May, no person at all connected with his own family was allowed to have access to him; and Mr. John Leeson, who executed the instrument, sat in a carriage at the door of the prison, while Mr. Stewart, the government surgeon, communicated between him and the prisoner during the transaction. The following is the Sketch of the Will indited under such circumstances:—

"I, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, do make this as my last Will and Testament, hereby revoking all others: that is to say, I leave all estates, of whatever sort, I may die possessed of, to my wife, Lady Pamela Fitzgerald, as a mark of my esteem, love, and confidence in her, for and during her natural life, and on her death to descend, share and share alike, to my children or the survivors of them; she maintaining and educating the children according to her

discretion ; and I constitute her executrix of this my last Will and Testament. Signed, sealed, and delivered, May the 26, 1798.

“ In presence of *.”

During this painful interval, the anxiety of Lord Edward's friends in England was, as the following letters will show, no less intense and active. The letter from the late King will be found to afford an amiable instance of that sort of good-nature which formed so atoning an ingredient in his character. While, with the world in general, it seems to be a rule to speak of living kings in the language only of praise, reserving all the licence of censure to be let loose upon them when dead, it is some pleasure to reverse this safe, but rather ignoble policy, and, after having shocked all the loyal and the courtly by speaking with more truth than prudence of his late Majesty when living, to render justice now to the few amiable qualities which he possessed, at a time when censure alone is heard, over his grave, from others. Seldom, indeed, were the kindlier

* The signatures to the Instrument itself were
“ Alex. Lindsay, Geo. Stewart, and Sam. Stone.”

feelings of George the Fourth more advantageously exhibited than on the subject of Lord Edward Fitzgerald,—not only at the time of which we are speaking, when, on his first interview with the afflicted mother of his noble friend, he is said to have wept with all the tenderness of a woman in speaking of him, but at a much later period, when it was in his power, as monarch, to perform an act of humane justice towards Lord Edward's offspring, which, both as monarch and man, reflects the highest honour upon him.

FROM THE DUKE OF RICHMOND TO LOED HENRY
FITZGERALD.

“Whitehall, June 5th, 1798.

“MY DEAR HENRY,

“Your poor wife has been with me, much alarmed, this morning, at the idea that your generous, but I must say, imprudent offer, of sharing your brother's prison would be allowed of. She very justly fears that it would materially hurt your health, and expose you to many dangers; but we trust more to other reasons than those which are personal to yourself, to hope

you will abandon that plan,—and those are what you yourself state, namely, that some friends think you could be much more useful out than in prison. *In* it you would do no other good than afford a comfort to his mind, which, thank God, has fortitude enough to support itself under all its present pressures; but, *out*, you may be of essential service to him, by a calm and prudent behaviour, which will make you listened to when you represent how impossible it is for him, under the bodily pains he suffers, and the debility they must leave on his mind, to do himself justice on his trial;—that the very ends of justice would be defeated, by arraigning a man, who, from illness, is not capable of defending himself; as the object of justice such as it is the glory of our constitution to distribute, is to give a prisoner every fair means of defence;—that, independently of his bodily and mental complaints, the present state of Ireland, in which men of all descriptions must have their minds much agitated, and their passions stirred with just resentment against the attacks on the constitution, affords no

room to hope for that calm, dispassionate, and fair investigation of truth, which is so necessary to make justice loved and respected; and that therefore a delay of his trial seems necessary to give him fair play, and to convince the world, that, if he is found guilty, he really is so; for, tried under all the present circumstances of his illness, and the temper of the times, it will never be believed that he was fairly convicted, if such should be the issue of a trial now carried on.

“But there is another point of view in which it appears to me that it will be impossible to try him now, and that is the existence of Martial Law at this moment in Dublin. While that subsists, all other law must be silent, and we are told that, in consequence of it, the judges have shut up the courts, and will not try the common suits. With how much more reason must it then be objected, to try a prisoner for his life, for crimes alleged on the very subject that has caused the existence of Martial Law; and, while it exists, how can any juryman, or any witness, or indeed the

judges themselves, feel that they are safe, when they may be taken out of court, or seized the moment they quit it, and be flogged or hanged at the will of the military? I am not saying any thing against these measures: they may have been deemed necessary; nor do I suppose that government would, by their power, influence a judge, juror, or witness; but the fear that underlings may, will produce the same effect, and make men afraid to speak truth that may not be acceptable, lest they should be considered and treated as marked men, and justice will of course not be free.

“No mischief can arise from a delay. Your brother cannot escape; and, whatever may be his fate, government itself will gain infinitely more credit by postponing his trial till the times can afford a fair one, than by hurrying it on, as if they thought they could not convict him but through passion and prejudice.

“I have been with Mr. Pitt, and stated the substance of these arguments to him, and, with his approbation, have stated them to the lord-lieutenant, in whose justice and

moderation I have too much confidence not to believe but that they will have weight. Don't show this letter, so as to make it a topic of conversation, which might do more harm than good: but I have no objection to your making use of it where you think it can be of any real use.

“ Good God! how different will the proceedings in Ireland be from the humane laws of this country in criminal cases, which here, in times of profound peace, remove even the appearance of all military from the town where the assizes are held, lest their being there should be supposed to cause the smallest influence,—how different from a trial in a court, at the doors of which any man may be instantaneously hanged by the military, without trial! But I convince myself the thing is impossible, and that a reasonable delay, and certainly till Martial Law ceases, will be allowed.

“ Adieu, my dear Henry; you will hear from others that your mother sets off to-morrow for Ireland. Her fortitude adds a respect and dignity to her sufferings that I think no heart can resist.

“ Adieu! heaven ever bless and protect you.

“ I am, ever,
“ Your most affectionate uncle,
“ RICHMOND, &c.”

FROM HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS, GEORGE, PRINCE OF WALES, TO WILLIAM OGILVIE, ESQ.

“ Carlton-house, June 6, 1798.
Three-quarters past 5, p. m.

“ MY DEAR SIR,

“ I feel so truly for the Duchess and the unfortunate Edward, that I am sure there is nothing in the world I would not attempt to mitigate the pangs, which I am afraid but too much distress her grace at the present dreadful crisis. I would, were I in the habit of so doing, most undoubtedly write to Lord Clare; though, even were that the case, I should hesitate as to the propriety of so doing, thinking that such an application to *the Chancellor* might be subject to misconstruction, and consequently detrimental to Lord Edward's interests. But I have no hesitation in allowing you to state to his lordship how much pleased I

shall be, and how much I am sensible it will conciliate to him the affections of every humane and delicate mind, if every opportunity is given to poor Lord Edward to obtain an impartial trial, by delaying it till his state of health shall be so recruited as to enable him to go through the awful scene with fortitude*; and until the minds of men have recovered their usual tone, so absolutely necessary for the firm administration of justice.

“This, my dear sir, I have no scruple to admit of your stating in confidence, and with my best compliments to the lord chancellor. My long and sincere regard for both the Duchess and Duke of Leinster would have naturally made me wish to exert myself still more, were I not afraid by such exertion I might do more harm than good.

“Excuse this scrawl, which I pen in the utmost hurry, fearing that you may have left London before this reaches Harley-

* It will be seen by a subsequent letter that the Duke of York exerted himself with such zeal, on this point, that he succeeded in obtaining the Royal consent to a delay of the trial.

street. I am, dear sir, with many compliments to the Duchess,

“Very sincerely yours,

“GEORGE P.

“William Ogilvie, Esq.”

FROM THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES FOX TO LORD HENRY
FITZGERALD.

“St. Anne’s-hill, June 7.

“DEAR LORD HENRY,

“I am very sorry to hear so bad an account of poor dear Edward’s wounds, which give me much more apprehension than his trial, if he is to have a fair one. I understand from Lady Henry that you wish his friends to go to Dublin. I am sure you will not suspect me of a wish to save myself, on such an occasion, and, therefore, I have no difficulty in saying that I think, and that upon much reflection, that my going is far more likely to be hurtful than serviceable to him; but if you and Mr. Ponsonby, his counsel, think otherwise, I will set out whenever you think it necessary. Ill as I think of the Irish government, I cannot help hoping that the trials will be put off for some time at least, from a consideration

1798.

compli-

IRS,
GE P.

RD HENRY

June 7.

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of their own reputation. At any rate, the time between the arraignment and the trial will, I suppose, be sufficient to send for such of us as you wish.

“If you see my dear, dear Edward, I need not desire you to tell him that I love him with the warmest affection. When I hear of the fortitude with which he has borne his sufferings, I hear no more than what I expected from *him*, though from him only could I have looked for so much. God bless you, my dear cousin!

“Yours affectionately,
“C. J. Fox.”

Except as some comfort to the wounded hearts of his survivors, this sympathy was now unavailing. A day or two before these letters, so creditable to the feelings that dictated them, were written, the gallant spirit of him who was the object of all this tenderness had been released from its pains. Through the following memorandums, which I find in Lord Henry's handwriting, may be traced more touchingly than in the most elaborate narrative the last stages of his suffering.

“ Has he got fruit?—does he want linen?

“ How will the death of R. (Ryan) affect him?

“ What informers are supposed to be against him?

“ Upon his pain subsiding, the hearing of Ryan's death (which he must have heard) caused a dreadful turn in his mind.

“ Affected strongly on the 2d of June—began to be ill about 3.—Clinch executed before the prison. He must have known of it—asked what the noise was.

“ 2d of June, in the evening, was in the greatest danger.

“ Mr. Stone, the officer that attended him, removed the 2d of June—could not learn who was next put about him.

“ 2d of June, in the evening, a keeper from a mad-house put with him—but finding him better in the night, left him.

“ June 3d, exhausted, but composed.

“ 3d of June, wrote Chancellor a pressing letter to see E.”

The answer of the Chancellor to the application here mentioned was as follows:—

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FROM THE EARL OF CLARE TO LORD HENRY FITZGERALD.

“ Ely-place, June 3d, 1798.

“ MY DEAR LORD,

“ Be assured that it is not in my power to procure admission for you to Lord Edward. You will readily believe that Lord Camden’s situation is critical in the extreme. The extent and enormity of the treason which has occasioned so many arrests make it essentially necessary, for the preservation of the State, that access should be denied to the friends of all the persons now in confinement for treason. Judge, then, my dear lord, the situation in which Lord Camden will be placed, if this rule is dispensed with in one instance. Mr. Stewart has just now left me, and from his account of Lord Edward, he is in a situation which threatens his life. Perhaps, if he should get into such a state as will justify it, your request may be complied with; and, believe me, it will give me singular satisfaction if you can be gratified. You may rest assured that his wound is as well attended to as it can be.

“ Yours always, truly, my dear lord,

“ CLARE.”

On the same day the following letter from a fellow-prisoner of Lord Edward was written :—

FROM MR. MATTHEW DOWLING TO LORD HENRY FITZGERALD.

“ Newgate, 3d June.

“ MY LORD,

“ Having, in happier days, had some success and much satisfaction in being concerned for you and Mr. Grattan on the city election, I take the liberty of writing to inform you that your brother, Lord Edward, is most dangerously ill—in fact dying—he was delirious some time last night. Surely, my lord, some attention ought to be paid him. I know you’ll pardon this application.

“ I am yours,

“ With respect and regard,

“ MATT. DOWLING.

“ I am a prisoner a few days,—on what charge, I know not.

“ He is now better, and has called for a chicken for dinner.

“ Past 2.

“ Seeing you, or any friend he has confidence in, would, I think, be more con-

ducive to his recovery than 50 surgeons. I saw him a few moments last night—but he did not know me—we'll watch him as well as is in our power."

On the night of the 3d of June, it having become manifest that the noble prisoner could not survive many hours, the hearts of those in authority at length relented, and Lord Henry and Lady Louisa Conolly were permitted to take a last look of their dying relative.

FROM LADY LOUISA CONOLLY TO WILLIAM OGILVIE,
ESQ.

"Dublin, June 4th, 1798.

"MY DEAR MR. OGILVIE,

"At two o'clock this morning, our beloved Edward was at peace; and, as the tender and watchful mercy of God is ever over the afflicted, we have reason to suppose this dissolution took place at the moment that it was fittest it should do so. On Friday night, a very great lowness came on, that made those about him consider him much in danger. On Saturday, he seemed to have recovered the attack, but on that night was again attacked with spasms, that

subsided again yesterday morning. But, in the course of the day, Mrs. Pakenham (from whom I had my constant accounts) thought it best to send an express for me. I came to town, and got leave to go, with my poor dear Henry, to see him.

“Thanks to the great God! our visit was timed to the moment that the wretched situation allowed of. His mind had been agitated for two days, and the feeling was enough gone, not to be overcome by the sight of his brother and me. We had the consolation of seeing and feeling that it was a pleasure to him. I first approached his bed: he looked at me, knew me, kissed me, and said (what will never depart from my ears), ‘It is heaven to me to see you!’ and, shortly after, turning to the other side of his bed, he said, ‘I can’t see you.’ I went round, and he soon after kissed my hand, and smiled at me, which I shall never forget, though I saw death in his dear face at the time. I then told him that Henry was come. He said nothing that marked surprise at his being in Ireland, but expressed joy at hearing it, and said, ‘Where is he, dear fellow?’

“ Henry then took my place, and the two dear brothers frequently embraced each other, to the melting a heart of stone; and yet God enabled both Henry and myself to remain quite composed. As every one left the room, we told him we only were with him. He said, ‘That is very pleasant.’ However, he remained silent, and I then brought in the subject of Lady Edward, and told him that I had not left her until I saw her on board; and Henry told him of having met her on the road well. He said, ‘And the children too?—She is a charming woman:’ and then became silent again. That expression about Lady Edward proved to me, that his senses were much lulled, and that he did not feel his situation to be what it was; but, thank God! they were enough alive to receive pleasure from seeing his brother and me. Dear Henry, in particular, he looked at continually with an expression of pleasure.

“ When we left him, we told him, that as he appeared inclined to sleep, we would wish him a good night, and return in the morning. He said, ‘Do, do;’ but did not express any uneasiness at our leaving him.

We accordingly tore ourselves away, and very shortly after Mr. Garnet (the surgeon that attended him for the two days, upon the departure of Mr. Stone, the officer that had been constantly with him) sent me word that the last convulsions soon came on, and ended at two o'clock, so that we were within two hours and a half before the sad close to a life we prized so dearly*. He sometimes said, 'I knew it must come to this, and we must all go;' and then rambled a little about militia, and numbers; but upon my saying to him, 'It agitates you to talk upon those subjects,' he said, 'Well, I won't.'

"I hear that he frequently composed his dear mind with prayer,—was vastly devout, and, as late as yesterday evening, got Mr.

* The following is Mr. Garnet's note announcing the event:

"Six o'clock, June 3d, 1798.

"Mr. Garnet presents his most respectful compliments to Lady Louisa Conolly, and begs leave to communicate to her the melancholy intelligence of Lord Edward Fitzgerald's death. He drew his last breath at two o'clock this morning, after a struggle that began soon after his friends left him last night."

Garnet, the surgeon, to read in the Bible the death of Christ, the subject picked out by himself, and seemed much composed by it. In short, my dear Mr. Ogilvie, we have every reason to think that his mind was made up to his situation, and can look to his present happy state with thanks for his release. Such a heart and such a mind may meet his God! The friends that he was entangled with pushed his destruction forward, screening themselves behind his valuable character. God bless you! The ship is just sailing, and Henry puts this into the post at Holyhead.

“ Ever yours,

“ L. C.”

From the heart-breaking scene here described Lord Henry hurried off, instantly, to Holyhead, and from thence, in the agony of the moment, addressed a long letter to Lord Camden, of which it would be injustice to both parties to lay the whole before the world;—the noble writer being at the time in a state of excitement that left him scarcely the master of his own thoughts, while in the gross, gratuitous

cruelty which marked, on this, as on all other occasions, the conduct of the Irish government, Lord Camden had no further share than what arose out of the lamentable weakness with which he surrendered his own humaner views to the over-ruling violence of others. This vindication of his lordship,—if vindication it can be called, to defend thus his humanity at the expense of his good sense—was brought forward, during the very heat of the crisis itself, by one who best knew the real authors, of that system of governing from the guilt of which he thus far exonerated his Chief. In boasting of the success of those measures of coercion which had been adopted by the Irish government, Lord Clare expressly avowed, in the House of Lords, that they “were, *to his knowledge, extorted* from the nobleman who governed that country.”

To this best of all testimonies, on such a point, is to be added also the evidence of Sir Ralph Abercrombie, who is known, in speaking of that period, to have always declared, that in every suggestion which he had himself tendered to the Irish

Cabinet, recommending the adoption of a more liberal and conciliatory policy, he had been invariably supported in the Council by Lord Camden; though, when matters came to a decision, the more violent spirits carried it their own way, and the sanction of the Lord Lieutenant was thus yielded to a course of measures which, in his heart, he disapproved. For these reasons, as well as from a sincere admiration of the disinterestedness which, as a public servant, this nobleman has displayed, I most willingly expunge from Lord Henry's letter all such expressions as, though natural in his state of feeling, at the moment, appear to me undeservedly harsh towards the noble person to whom they are applied.

FROM LORD HENRY FITZGERALD TO THE EARL OF
CAMDEN.

"MY LORD,

"A little removed from scenes of misery and wretchedness scarcely to be equalled, I feel myself, thank God! sufficiently composed to write you this letter. I owe it to the memory of a beloved, I may almost say

an adored brother. An uncommon affection, from our childhood, subsisted between us; such a one as * * *. The purport of this, however, is not to give a loose to reproaches alone, but to state to you, and to the world * * * supported by facts. A full catalogue of them would take up many pages; mine is very short. Many indignities offered to him I shall for the present pass over in silence, and begin from the time of my arrival in Ireland, which was last Thursday.

“Surgeon Lindsay, who attended my brother with surgeon Stewart, told me, when I really had imagined my brother to be in a recovering state, that, a few days before, he had been dangerously ill: ‘apprehensive of a lock jaw’ was his expression; and that he had been consulted about the breast. I also learned that he had made his will, &c. Mr. Lindsay added, ‘But, however, he is now much better;’ and told me, also, that the wounds were going on well, and that he did not apprehend any danger from them. When I came to inquire into the circumstances

relating to the signing of the will from others, I find this suffering, dying man, was not even allowed to see his lawyer, a young man he put confidence in, but the paper was handed, first in, and then out of the prison, through the hands of the surgeons. Possibly he might have had little or nothing to say to his lawyer, but a decent consideration of his situation ought to have left him a choice of seeing him or not.

Thus, situated as he was, who would have thought, my lord, but that, upon my arrival, you would yourself have urged me to see him. * * After this came my audience of your Excellency:—* * I implored, I entreated of you, to let me see him. I never begged hard before. All, all in vain! you talked of lawyers' opinions;—of what had been refused to others, and could not be granted for me in the same situation. His was not a common case;—he was *not* in the same situation: he was wounded, and in a manner dying, and his bitterest enemy could not have murmured, had your heart been softened, or had you swerved a little

from duty (if it can be called one) in the cause of humanity.

“ On Friday, the surgeon told me still that the wounds were going on well; but that he perceived, as the pain subsided, that his mind was more than usually engaged. He felt ill treatment. * * * * —but he communed with his God, and his God did not forsake him. But, oh! my lord, what a day was Saturday for him! * * * * . On Saturday, my poor forsaken brother, who had but that night and the next day to live, was disturbed; —he heard the noise of the execution of Clinch, at the prison door. He asked, eagerly, ‘ What noise is that?’ and certainly in some manner or other he knew it; for,—O God! what am I to write?—from that time he lost his senses: most part of the night he was raving mad: a keeper from a mad-house was necessary. Thanks to the Almighty, he got more composed towards morning.

“ Now, my lord, shall I scruple to declare to the world,—I wish I could to the four quarters of it!—that amongst you, your ill-treatment has murdered my bro-

ther, as much as if you had put a pistol to his head. In this situation no charitable message arrives to his relations, no offer to allow attached servants to attend upon him, who could have been depended upon in keeping dreadful news of all sorts from him. No, no; to his grave, in madness, you would pursue him,—to his grave you persecuted him.

“One would think I could add no more,—but I have not yet done. At this very time, a Mr. Stone, an officer, that was in the room with him, whom they tell me he grew fond of and liked, was removed, and a total stranger put about him. Are you aware, my lord, of the comfort, of the happiness, of seeing well-known faces round the bed of sickness, and the cruelty of the reverse? or, have you hitherto been so much a stranger to the infirmities of this mortal life, as never to have known what it was to feel joy in pain, or cheerfulness in sorrow, from the pressure of a friend’s hand, or the kind looks of relations? yet he, my lord, possessed as he was of the tenderness of a woman to all whom he loved, was aban-

doned, most barbarously neglected;—a man to attend him (and that, I believe, only latterly), as a nurse.

* * * *

“ These were his friends, these his attendants on his deathbed in Newgate. Sunday, I urged the Chancellor once more, and stung him so home, with regard to the unheard-of cruelty of hanging Clinch close to my brother, in his weak state, that he *did* seem sorry and to relent. He said, ‘ it was very wrong indeed, that he was sorry for it, that it should not happen again, but that they did not know it,’ was his expression. Oh, my lord! what does not this expression involve? what volumes might be written on these last words!—but that is foreign to my purpose. At last the Chancellor, in a sort of way, gave me hopes of seeing my poor brother,—talked even of the secrecy with which the visit must be conducted. The joy of a reprieved wretch could not exceed mine;—it was of short duration. The prospect that gladdened me with the hopes that in the interval, when he was quiet, I might still be a comfort,—be of use to him,—vanished. A note from the

Chancellor came, saying, that my request could not be granted. What severity could surpass this?

“ In the evening of the same day, the surgeons told me that the symptoms of death were such as made them think that he would not last out the night. Then, I believe, the Almighty smote your consciences! Lady Louisa and myself indeed saw him, three hours before he breathed his last, in the grated room of Newgate. God help you! that was the extent of your charity. This was your justice in mercy,—but I will not embitter the sweet remembrance of that scene, which I hope will go with me through life, by mis-timed asperity, nor will I dare to talk of it * *

* * * * *
* * * * *

“ My grief has plunged me deeper into correspondence with you than I at first wished; but to recount a brother’s sufferings, a brother’s wrongs, and above all, his patience, is, and will be, my duty to the end of my life. I will complain for him, though his great heart never uttered a complaint for himself, from the

day of his confinement. My lord, you did not know him, and happy is it for you. He was no common being. I have now eased my mind of a part of the load that oppressed it, and shall now conclude, returning thanks to that kind Providence that directed my steps to Ireland, just in time to discover and be the recorder of these foul deeds.

“One word more and I have done, as I alone am answerable for this letter. Perhaps you will still take compassion on his wife and three babes, the eldest not four years old. The opportunity that I offer, is to protect their estate for them from violence and plunder. You can do it if you please. I am, &c.”

FROM LADY LOUISA CONOLLY TO LORD HENRY FITZGERALD.

“Monday Evening, 7 o'clock.

“MY DEAREST HENRY,

“To tell you with what heartbreaking sorrow I parted with you this morning is surely unnecessary. God protect you and relieve you, my dear, dear nephew, for doubly dear does your misfortune make you to me. I have sent Sheils for some more hair, the

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little gray cloak, and all the apparel that we saw on him to be put by for you. I have also consented to the funeral's taking place on Wednesday night, from a circumstance Dr. Lindsay informed me of, just as I returned from you, which was the necessity of opening the body, as a coroner's inquest sat upon it, to ascertain the causes of dissolution, which were proved to arise from fever.

“Mr. Stone and Mr. Sheils are to go in the coach, and I have written down the direction for the intermediate attention,—ordering the man and woman who attended him during the illness to sit up these two nights, and sent them necessaries for the purpose. I have got the watch and chain that hung constantly round his neck, with a locket of hair, which I will send you by the first opportunity, along with his own dear hair. I have been also with Hamilton the painter. There are two pictures of him, one for your mother, and the other for you, besides one of Lucy, I believe, for you also. Mr. Hamilton says they are not finished, and cannot be ready to go to England these two months; but he will hasten them as

much as possible, and I will take care to forward them. My love to your dear wife, and believe me ever, my dearest Henry, your most affectionate aunt and fellow-sufferer,

“ L. CONOLLY.”

FROM CHARLES LOCK, ESQ. TO WILLIAM OGILVIE, ESQ.

“ Harley-street, June 9, 1798.

“ DEAR SIR,

“ You will be glad to know that the intelligence of this misfortune has not had the violent effect we feared upon Cecilia. On Thursday we prepared her for it, by informing her that Lord Edward was in extreme danger. She cried very much during the course of the day, and being tired with the agitation, and perhaps soothing herself with a ray of hope, slept tolerably well. Yesterday, I was under the painful necessity of disclosing to her the truth. She had two hysteric fits, and suffered dreadfully all the day ; but, towards evening, became more composed, and was perfectly calm at bedtime. She slept several hours, and is this morning, though extremely low, collected, and seems resigned. Her grief will be

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lasting, but I no longer fear any premature effects from its violence.

"What you write of Lady Sophia and Lucy is very comfortable. If Lady Lucy feared when her brother was arrested that the event would be fatal, from knowing more of the matter than ourselves, it will account for the alarming state of mind she was in previous to her leaving London, and I trust she will be less affected now. I think there is every reason to hope, from the religious temper of mind the dear duchess possesses, that she will support herself under this heavy dispensation with fortitude. My mother has been here constantly, and so has Charlotte, who desires her love to you, and says she does not write since I am writing. She has been of the greatest assistance and comfort to Cecilia, from the composure she has shown from the beginning, and will be so to her mother and sisters when they arrive.

"Lord Henry came to town last night. The Dukes of Richmond and Leinster have been to Stratford-place, but it was thought prudent he should not see any one yet, as he is much agitated and fatigued with all

he has undergone. I shall probably hear from you to-morrow, and I hope good news. Believe me very sincerely yours,

“ CHAS. LOCK.”

FROM THE DUKE OF RICHMOND TO WILLIAM OGILVIE,
ESQ.

“ Whitehall, June 9th, 1798.

“ You will believe, my dear Mr. Ogilvie, how anxious I am to hear of my poor sister. Charles Lock showed me, this morning, your letter to him from Coleshill; and I trust we shall hear again to-morrow, how she is able to bear this dreadful blow. I doubt that now the hopes of saving him, which kept up her mind, and occupied her attention are gone, she will sink into melancholy and wretched regret. The only topics to keep her up are what you so wisely hint at in your letter,—the reflections of how much worse it probably would have ended,—the saving of his fortune for his children,—and the pleasure of now showing to his wife and them the affection one possessed for him. Little Edward will be an occupation for my sister, and the reflection of the shocking scenes

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that have been avoided will afford a comfort for a loss which, any way, was, I fear, inevitable.

"Believe me, I feel much for the terrible task you have had, of conducting Lady Sophia and Lady Lucy from Towcester to Coleshill, and without female assistance. But you have shown such kindness to them all, that the recollection of the real use you have been of, will, I trust, compensate for the pain it has occasioned. You and my sister will be glad to know how those left here go on. As soon as I heard the event, which the Duke of Portland very humanely communicated to me, I sent to Harley-street to know if you was gone, and had a messenger ready to despatch after you, when they brought me word that Lady Henry had sent her servant. I went immediately to Harley-street, and brought Lady Edward here, trying to prepare her, in the coach, for bad news, which I repeatedly said I dreaded by the next post. She, however, did not take my meaning. When she got here, we had Dr. Moseley present, and, by degrees, we broke to her the sad event. Her agonies

of grief were very great, and violent hysterics soon came on. When the Duke of Leinster came in, she took him for Edward, and you may imagine how cruel a scene it was. But by degrees, though very slow ones, she grew more calm at times; and, although she has had little sleep, and still less food, and has nervous spasms, and appears much heated, yet I hope and trust her health is not materially affected. She yesterday saw her children, and all of his family who have been able to come here, but no one else, except Miss Coote, who got admittance by mistake. She is as reasonable as possible, and shows great goodness of heart in the constant inquiries she is making about my sister, Lady Lucy, and Mrs. Lock. It seems a diversion of her own grief, to employ her mind in anxiety for that of those she most loves, and who were dearest to her dear husband.

“The Duke of Leinster has supported himself with great fortitude, though, with Lady Edward, he is often crying. Lady Mary has also great command over herself; Lady Emily less. Dear Cecilia is, I trust, as well as can be expected. They

thought it right to break the business to her by very slow degrees, which, I fear, rather tormented her with a vain hope; but, since she has known the worst, she is more quiet and composed. In one way or other, the effusions of grief must have their vent, but after that one gets somehow reconciled to misery. Lady Charlotte Sturtt's fortitude has not forsaken her strong mind, and, though much distressed, she employs her whole time with Cecilia.

“Lady Henry, too happy to have got her husband back, is totally occupied about him. I called there this morning, but he was not composed enough to see me. Lady Henry told me that he was very angry and violent; that he had written a warm letter to the Lord Lieutenant, and talked of publishing accounts of the treatment his brother had received. One knows Henry's good and warm heart enough to be prepared for his feelings being thus excited by having been so near a witness of events which, in every light, convey such unpleasant thoughts. But I trust that a little calm reflection, and talking with his friends, will convince him that his plans

can do no good, but on the contrary much harm now. Attacks will be retaliated, and perhaps be attended with unpleasant circumstances; and now, I do think, the best friends to poor Edward's memory must wish to have as little said of the past as possible. No doubt some things might have been better: more humanity and attention to him might have been shown, and would have done them credit; but some allowances are to be made for the critical times, in which there were too many things to think of to permit half to be done properly. The Duke of Leinster is quite reasonable and right about keeping all discussions down, and I trust we shall soon bring Henry to our opinions. I have been promised that I shall see him before any body else, except his brother.

* * * * *

“ The Duke of Leinster, Lord Holland, and myself, on hearing a variety of reports, thought it right that something should be published, and accordingly the inclosed was agreed upon, and sent to the papers: I hope you and my sister will approve of it. Lady Henry, this morning, showed

me a copy of poor Edward's will. It was, I think, dated the 27th of May. He makes Henry trustee, to pay off debts, and gives the remainder to his wife for life, and then in equal shares amongst his children; failing of them, to his right heirs.

"You will see in the papers such news as we have about Ireland; it seems but bad; but there are reports to-day, though I believe not as yet confirmed, that the rebel camp at Wexford has been carried with great slaughter; and it is said that the regiments are going from hence. I hear from Charles Lock, that you very prudently mean to stop at Coleshill for some days, and then come up by slow journeys to London. I wished to wait here your arrival, and after a few days' rest, to propose to you all to go to Goodwood, where you will have good air, and a quiet you can never get in this town, which seems to me quite necessary for all. But perhaps my sister may wish to wait in town, to attend Cecilia, or perhaps she may trust her with her mother-in-law.

"I am most anxious that she and all of you should do whatever may, on the

whole, appear pleasanter to her. Goodwood will hold you and my sister, Lady Sophia, Lady Lucy, Miss Ogilvie, Lady Edward and her children, and Lord and Lady Henry. The Duke of Leinster must, of course, stay with his wife, and Lady Charlotte Sturtt will be with her husband; but I can take all the rest, and more if necessary. Don't let my sister fancy that it will be crowding, or distressing me. Far otherwise, I assure you: it will give me real pleasure to be of any use to you all on so melancholy an occasion, and it is on such that the affections of near relations is soothing to grief. I hope, too, that the quiet of Coventry may be useful, for I expect nobody, and at all events should have nobody else then.

“Lady Edward, to whom I have talked on this scheme, seems rather inclined to go to Hamburgh, as soon as she has seen my sister a little more composed, Lady Lucy quiet, and Mrs. Lock brought to bed. She is very naturally suspicious, and disgusted with affairs in this country; and although she says that politics are the last thing she should think of, yet she fancies

she should be quieter at Hamburgh than in England. I wish her to do exactly what her own inclination may lead her to, for I have no other wish than to see her as comfortable as her misfortunes will permit; and it will be no inconvenience whatever for me to have her remain some time at Goodwood. My sister's wishes will determine me to press it or not; as, for my own part, I really should feel a particular pleasure in showing this mark of attention to poor Edward's memory. I have a county meeting at Lewes, on this day se'nnight, the 16th instant, which I wish to attend, and shall be glad if it should so happen that my sister was to come to town before Friday, on which day I wish to set out. But I would by no means wish her to hurry in the least on that account; only let me know your plan, as near as you can, and I will endeavour to accommodate mine to it as well as I can. If my sister don't come so soon, I would go and come back again, and could leave Lady Edward here with Henrietta, taking care first to see the Duke of Portland, and obtain his approbation: but I believe that now they will let her do as she pleases, at

least I cannot see why they should not, especially as from what I can see, she behaves with the most strict propriety: Adieu, my dear sir: assure my dear sister of my kindest and most affectionate love, and tell all her daughters with you how sincerely I sympathize in their sorrows.

“ Ever yours, most truly,

“ RICHMOND, &c.”

FROM LADY LOUISA CONOLLY TO THE HONOURABLE
JOHN LEESON *.

“ Castletown, June 13th, 1798.

“ DEAR SIR,

“ I received both your letters, and acquainted the Lord Lieutenant with the

* On the back of this letter is the following memorandum, in the hand-writing of Lord Henry:—“ From Lady Louisa Conolly—in consequence of a complaint made to her, of the indecent neglect in Mr. Cook’s office, by Mr. Leeson. A guard was to have attended at Newgate, the night of my poor brother’s burial, in order to provide against all interruption from the different guards and patrols in the streets:—it never arrived, which caused the funeral to be several times stopped in its way, so that the burial did not take place till near two in the morning, and the people attending obliged to stay in the church until a pass could be procured to enlarge them.”

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neglect in Mr. Cook’s office, as I thought it right that he should know it, to prevent mischief for the future on such occasions. The grief I have been in, and still do feel, is so much above any other sensation, that the want of respect to my feelings on that melancholy procession was not worth any notice. I should have answered your second letter, but that I expected from it to have the pleasure of seeing you here yesterday. The inclosed letter to General Wilford (which I have left open for you to read) was to have gone to Kildare by a servant of Mr. Conolly’s, five days ago. But as he changed his mind about sending there, I send it now to you, and am,

“Dear sir,

“Your humble servant,

“L. O’CONNOLLY.”

FROM LADY SARAH NAPIER TO THE DUKE OF RICHMOND.

“Castletown, June 27th, 1798.

“It is impossible, my dearest brother, to find expressions suitable to the extraordinary sensations occasioned by the uncommon events that daily fill my thoughts,—

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a succession of anxious doubts, fears, anger, grief, indignation. Public calamities touching each person individually; private concerns awakening all one's feeling; the calls of honour, duty, mixed with pity, and deep concern for the fate of thousands,—all together forms such a chaos, that, with double joy, I catch at those few pleasing ideas that come along with sorrow. Your generous, tender, and noble conduct towards all our afflicted family, but in particular to Lady Edward, has made an impression on my mind of the most consoling nature. It brings forth all those qualities your good heart possessed into their full lustre, and they not only act as a balm to many a wounded heart at this juncture, but secure to yourself those happiest, best of feelings, which no power on earth can rob you of,—that inward blessing of self-approbation that will make your days calm and content amid all these storms.

“ I have hitherto only heard a general exclamation of gratitude from the family,—the Duke of Leinster in particular,—and that Lady Edward was actually gone to Goodwood, from which I augur so much

good to her health and spirits and feelings, that I trust the time is not far off before you will be rewarded by success in your generous solicitude to comfort the afflicted. And when you know her, my dear brother, I will venture to assert you will not think your pains bestowed on an unworthy or ungrateful object. She is *a character*, but it is noble, elevated, great, and not easily understood by those who level all down to common worldly rules. According to the observations you must have made, in reading and experience of characters, you will find hers susceptible of all that belongs to a superior one. Uneven in strength of body and mind, she rises or sinks suddenly with illness and with affections. She launches out into almost ravings from her lively imagination,—sees things in too strong lights,—cannot bear violent checks, but is soothed into reason by tenderness with ease. I know no human being more formed by your tender, patient perseverance to bring her poor distracted mind to composure; and your talents for cheerfully occupying her thoughts will, I doubt not, chime in with her natural youth-

ful vivacity so well, as to give you full powers of consolation over her mind in due time.

“Alas! would I could think your success as sure with our dear, dear sister;—how different must your system be with her! Yet, even in *that* task, I know nobody, next to Louisa, so fit to undertake it, or so likely to succeed. Your affectionate manner to my sister will have all the weight which Nature gives, and, added to that, the pleasing powers of unexpected tenderness;—for, although she knows you love her, yet she has not been so much in the habit of receiving such unequivocal proofs of your kindness, as her grief now produces in your most unwearied attention to her and all hers. I am sure she will feel all these sentiments, because I anticipate them in my own mind as hers, and feel a comfort in the contemplation of what hers must be.

“I thank God and you for the least gleam of sunshine to my beloved sister: she is my first object; but how many, many more wander round my imagination like ghosts! The poor Duke of Leinster—how my heart bleeds for him! I am even now interrupted by the sad tidings of his last and still

deeper misfortune being just at hand*. God grant him fortitude. He has great feeling, little energy, and an accumulation of distress beyond the common lot of man. His lost brother, and the entire ruin of his fortune (perhaps for ever), are the preliminaries to his sorrows: deeply will he feel the loss. No mortal can pity him more than you, for his dear wife's attachment was of that nature never to be forgotten; she was his friend, his counsellor, with an uncommon share of sense, and warmth of heart in all that concerned him, that made her the haven to which he looked in all distresses: she soothed and calmed his griefs, pointed out remedies, and, by occupying him in his tender care of her sorrows, made him forget his own. He will now sink, I fear, into a depth of affliction from which additional ruin will start up. The only chance he has, would be what his nature, I much fear, can never be roused to undertake,—the immediate arrangement of business. The county of Kildare, in which is all his property, is almost desolate, and growing worse every day. The peculiar marked

* The death of the duchess.

object has been to ruin his tenants, and the insurgents will now finish it; for although personal attachment to him makes them very anxious to avoid it, yet necessity forces them to take what they can get. The cruel hardship put on his tenants, preferably to all others, has driven them to despair, and they join the insurgents, saying, 'It's better to die with a pike in my hand than be shot like a dog at my work, or see my children faint for want of food before my eyes;' from hence you may guess he will get no rents.

"Private distresses divert one's thoughts from public evil, yet you see how it brings one back to it on every occasion. A servant is waiting for this letter: I therefore will only add some slight account of our situation, in case you do not hear of it from others. The victory, as it is called, in Wexford, has only secured the town, and killed five thousand,—a lamentable victory; yet, if it tends to save more lives, it is success; but how far it *does* do that, no mortal can yet decide. They say (for I assert nothing) that there were thirty thousand there;—call it twenty, then fifteen thousand

have escaped, and are now, as I to-day hear from Celbridge (where I fear our intelligence is too good), at Timahor, a hill that forms a kind of peninsula in this end of the Bog of Allen. We knew of many thousands between Timahor and Celbridge for this month past; for Colonel Napier has, by his personal attention, kept them off from Celbridge by odd means, too long to explain, but which, being a *ruse de guerre*, which they did not expect, has answered the purpose; and as they waited for the event of Wexford, it could be done. But *now* I fancy it will be the seat of the next insurrection; it is nine miles from hence, and all their outposts within three or five of Celbridge.

“What Lord Cornwallis will do, I cannot say, but probably he will make some military arrangement, and this camp at Timahor again be routed. But what is more alarming is, that in the South, and in the Queen’s County, they start up, so that our troops will never be sufficient to prevent insurrections; though, if well managed, I have no doubt they will drive away the multitudes by a flying camp pur-

suing them in time, and that it will never amount to a *rebellion*, which the Camden government have so imprudently called it.

* * * *

“ I hope some good will arise from **’s disgrace ; indeed it cannot fail, for there will be some system, and the violence of the troops requires to be directed to useful exertions, and not wasted on the innocent as well as the guilty. Dublin is well guarded by a very fine body of yeomanry, but it is not safe to move them. You send us no militia, which is natural enough, and what are we to do ? The small bodies of army quartered every where to stop passes towards the capital are harassed to death by want of sleep, and by going about like a young dog in a rabbit warren, here and there, flying from spot to spot, and catching little or nothing ; for all those calculations of hundreds which you see are commonly from six to ten or twelve men killed, and four or five poor innocent wretches shot at in the fields, and afterward bayoneted, to put them out of pain ;—this a soldier told my sister.

“ Adieu, my dearest brother : I will in

general terms request our most affectionate love from hence to Goodwood inhabitants, and to yourself in particular. My husband gains strength in proportion to fatigue and thinness, I think. I hope it will not essentially hurt him: he made me come here with my children, to clear our house for action, as it is the first to fall on if they come this way; and we expect them every day. My dear sister is as usual much the better for the constant employment of doing good, and much has she now to exert that talent on. Mr. Conolly is at home, well guarded, and wishing to do good, but knows not how. Adieu.

“Ever, most affectionately,

“My dearest brother, yours,

“S. N.”

FROM LADY LOUISA CONOLLY TO WILLIAM OGILVIE,
ESQ.

“Castletown, July 10th, 1798.

“MY DEAR MR. OGILVIE,

“I was most truly thankful to you for yours of the 10th of June from Coleshill, and would have answered the business, part of it directly, had it been necessary;

but as dear Henry is left sole executor to the will, and that he had a copy of it, there was nothing left for me to do. You must also have heard from him, that the dear remains were deposited by Mr. Bourne in St. Werburgh church, until the times would permit of their being removed to the family vault at Kildare. I ordered every thing upon that occasion that appeared to me to be right, considering all the heart-breaking circumstances belonging to that event; and I was guided by the feelings which I am persuaded our beloved angel would have had upon the same occasion, had he been to direct for *me*, as it fell to my lot to do for *him*. I well knew, that to run the smallest risk of shedding *one drop of blood*, by any riot intervening upon that mournful occasion, would be the thing of all others that would vex him most; and knowing also how much he despised all outward show, I submitted to what I thought prudence required. The impertinence and neglect (in Mr. Cook's office) of orders (notwithstanding Lord Castlereagh had arranged every thing as I wished it), had nearly caused what I had taken such

pains to avoid. However, happily, nothing happened; but I informed Lord Camden of the neglect, for the sake of others, and to prevent mischief on other occasions, where a similar neglect might have such bad consequences. You may easily believe that my grief absorbed all other feelings, and Mr. ** is too insignificant even to be angry at. At any other time than this, his pertinence might amuse one,—but now it passes unnoticed.

“ Mr. Stone is an officer belonging to our regiment. I have never been able to see him since, though I long for that satisfaction; but previous to our dear angel’s departure from this life, Mr. Stone was forced to join his regiment, which has been at Kilcullen ever since; and the two last days he was attended by a surgeon, whose manner and appearance I liked. But I shall never lose sight of Mr. Stone, or of being of all the use I can to him for the friendship he showed my beloved Edward,—my beloved Edward, I may well say, for, indeed, my dear Mr. Ogilvie, the sorrow I feel is beyond what I could well have imagined, and I own to you that I do not grow better.

The complicated scene of distress that involves our family is perpetually before my eyes; and that of my dearest sister, whom I love so much better than myself, grieves my heart. Your account of her was as good as I could expect, and I hear that she bore the meeting at Goodwood without any bad effect to her health. I long to hear of her again, and beg, my dear Mr. Ogilvie, that you will write to me. I won't write to her myself, because I really can't. It is so impossible to write on subjects that tear one's very heart-strings asunder, and on no other, I am sure, *could* we write. Her heart and mine are like one, from the affection we bear each other; and, therefore, she must be sensible of all that passes in mine, without my undergoing the painful task of writing it. But I wish greatly to hear of her; therefore, pray write to me, and tell me about the rest of the sad afflicted family.

“The poor Duke of Leinster and his dear girls go to my heart,—exclusive of my own regret for that most truly worthy dear duchess, whose mind I know to have been one of the purest that ever

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mortal had, and fit for heaven. On her own account I hardly know how to regret her, for the very miserable state of her nerves, at all times, deprived her of enjoyment here; and her well-spent life, with the unceasing desire of doing what was right, certainly always gave her an indifference about living, that at times, I have thought, amounted to a wish of its being at an end. But her loss to her family is irreparable; for a better mother never existed, nor one who has instilled better principles than she did into her children. The three eldest I am convinced will never lose the good effects of them, and the three youngest I trust will profit by their example. I am going to town to see them—Cecilia has not been well, but I hope there is no cause for alarm. The situation of the country has separated us sadly, and it was thought more advisable for them to stay at Leinster-house, where the yeomanry corps keep guard, so that I believe they are in the best possible place. I shall venture to persuade poor Bess to come here for a week, as her spirits want help, for she is deeply afflicted at the loss of her dear mother.

“ I have been interrupted two or three times in the course of writing my letter, and that not without agitation; for although I make it a rule to believe, as little as possible, all that I hear, yet these histories of cruelty I cannot at all times avoid. I confess candidly that I hear of them on both sides, and they equally thrill me with horror; but I am determined to pursue, as long as I possibly can, the plan of standing my ground; for I really do not apprehend personal danger, but sufferings. The miseries of the country pursue me day and night, for I have at times most terrible dreams. Lord Cornwallis’s coming at first raised me;—his character has always been so good, and his own sentiments upon his arrival seemed so calculated for restoring us to peace, that a cheering ray pierced through the dreadful clouds that are hanging over us. But, alas! I hear that our Cabinet are all against him,—what can he do? and yet, if he leaves us, I am afraid we are undone. It is astonishing to see the veneration his name creates; and it is my firm belief that, if all sides would submit to him as an arbitrator, he could still save us.

What could be so wise as trusting to an honest man, an experienced military man *, and, above all, an unprejudiced man, who cannot have imbibed any of our misguided passions? All the Irish necessarily must be prejudiced at this moment; suffering as we all do, from various causes, it becomes extremely difficult to steer the little bark of reason, justice, and humanity, that yet remains among us, through the ocean of fear, mistrust, treachery, cruelty, and revenge:—to which catalogue I may add, an extraordinary and unaccountable frenzy that seems to have influenced the lower class; for not one in a hundred have an idea what they are fighting for. However, that part of the people would be in our favour, if ever we were restored to peace; for the same levity that brought them to this pitch would make them forget it, when the thing was once

* It was the opinion of Sir John Moore, of whose sincere love of liberty no one can doubt, that if ever there was a case in which the employment of such an officer as Dictator could be desired, it was that of the state of Ireland,—one honest, strong, and uncompromising hand being alone adequate, in his opinion, to the application of such remedies as she requires.

over, which, if originating from any fixed principle, would not be the case.

“ Our house is a perfect garrison, eighteen soldiers sleep in our saloon, and we are all blocked up, and shut up, except by the hall door, and one door to the kitchen-yard, and are frequently ordered all into the house, upon the alarm being given of the rebels being near Celbridge. Thank God, they have never been in a body since the military company came into it, or else there must have been some battle, which is the thing I dread. Lord Cornwallis *would* have a Proclamation inviting them to come in ; and although it has not been as decided as I am sure he wished it to be, yet many are daily coming in to Mr. Conolly, begging protection, which you may imagine he gives them with the greatest pleasure. I have opportunities of conversing with these poor people, from whom I find that many are forced into the rebellion, and of course are grievously to be pitied. I verily believe that many of them are heartily tired of it. My love to all at Goodwood. And pray tell me something of my dearest brother, whose kind-

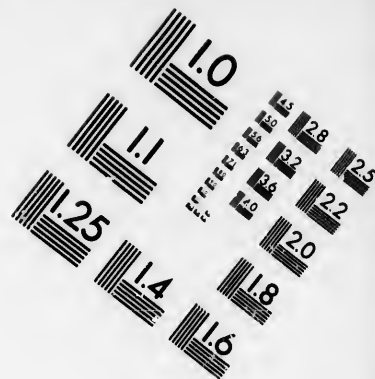
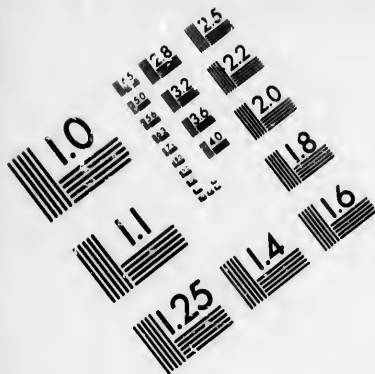
ness, I am sure, does you all so much good.
Adieu. Believe me affectionately yours,
"L. CONOLLY."

FROM THE DUCHESS DOWAGER OF LEINSTER TO LORD
HENRY FITZGERALD.

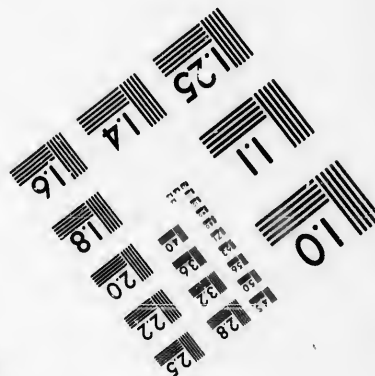
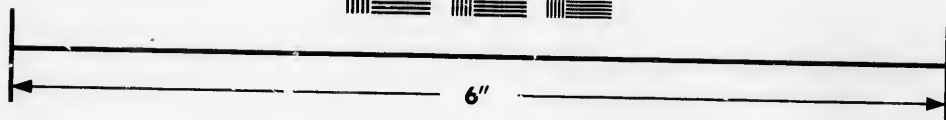
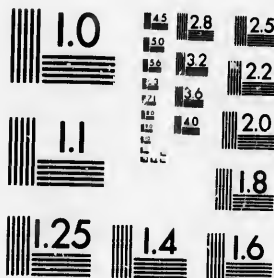
"Goodwood, July 17, 1798.
Fatal year!

"We are neither of us in a state at present, my beloved Henry, to touch on a subject so heart-rending and distracting as all that has passed within these last three months of wretchedness; but I am sure you will be glad to know from myself that I am much better, thanks to Almighty God! and in proportion as I look around for comfort is the wish I feel of seeing you next week. The Leinsters are asked to come; but, at that time, it would make too many. They will probably not stay longer than a week, and then I hope to be blessed with a sight of you. My brother has often asked why you don't come; and the dear little interesting Pamela, who must ever be an object, dear, precious, and sacred to all our hearts, has o'ten expressed a desire of seeing you. Hitherto I have dreaded its





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affecting you too much, but as I hope your mind is more composed, you might perhaps be better able to bear it. This you must judge of yourself, and when you can come, I hope you will.

“I wish for your advice and opinion in regard to dear Pamela’s future destination, as I know it will in great part be determined by that which I give her, and I am really afraid of recommending any particular plan to her for that very reason; but I think we could talk it over more comfortably together. There is no need of hurry, for she is welcome, I am sure, to stay here as long as she likes; my brother is extremely fond of her, and enters into her situation with parental solicitude. Indeed it is one that must move all hearts, and claims all our protection, tenderness, and attention. You, my dear Henry, have been the chosen person for this duty; but we are all ready to share it with you. She seems at present much undecided about going to Hamburgh: Mr. Matheuson’s pressing letters, the cheapness of living, and being perhaps more in the way of seeing those who might give her information as

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to the small chance she may have of recovering her property, are all inducements to go. On the other hand, she hates leaving his family, to whom she is naturally drawn by affection. She hates the appearance as well as the reality of separating herself from us, and wishes us to witness the propriety and good sense with which she always has and always will guide all her actions, and which the ill-nature that has prevailed against her makes more particularly necessary in her case than in any other. She is a charming creature, and the more one is acquainted with her real character, the more one esteems and loves it;— but, even were she not so, *he* adored her: *he is gone!* This is an indissoluble chain, that must ever bind her to our hearts. But here let me stop, lest I break the resolution I made at the beginning of my letter.

“ Mr. Leeson, I understand, has been with you, and you may now have it in your power to know a little, whether she has the power of making a choice as to her motions, for they must greatly depend on

money. We are too poor to give her any assistance, and I believe it is pretty much the case with the whole family, who at any other time would have done it with pleasure; but it is now quite out of the question, and, therefore, to avoid expense must be her first object. This she is very sensible of, and it throws her into irresolution, which is always an unpleasant state, and oftener brought on by the want of money, I believe, with most people, than by any other sort of distress whatever. It is very much ours at present, and I have not the least guess where we shall be the remainder of this year. I am sorry for others, but as to myself it is perfectly indifferent—all, all alike! To see those I love pleased is the only thing that ever can have the power of cheering me. To that I am not insensible.

“ Adieu, my dearest Henry : remember me most kindly to your dear wife. I hope she is well, and will write often to the girls accounts of you both, and of the dear boys. God bless you all.

“ E. L.

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“I inclose this to William, to save postage, as I understand he is with you. Poor dear William! give my love to him.”

Though it would be impossible to adduce any more convincing proof of the amiableness of Lord Edward's private life than what the interest in his fate evinced throughout these letters affords, it would be injustice not to cite also some of those public tributes to his character which both the friends and enemies of his political principles have alike concurred in paying:—

“I knew Fitzgerald but very little, but I honour and venerate his character, which he has uniformly sustained, and, in this last instance, illustrated. What miserable wretches by his side are the gentry of Ireland! I would rather be Fitzgerald, as he is now, wounded in his dungeon, than Pitt at the head of the British Empire. What a noble fellow! Of the first family in Ireland, with an easy fortune, a beautiful wife, and a family of lovely children, the certainty of a splendid appointment under

government, if he would condescend to support their measures, he has devoted himself wholly to the emancipation of his country, and sacrificed every thing to it, even to his blood."—*Diary of Theobald Wolfe Tone.*

"As I suspected, the brave and unfortunate Fitzgerald was meditating an attack on the capital, which was to have taken place a few days after that on which he was arrested. He is since dead, in prison; his career is finished gloriously for himself, and, whatever be the event, his memory will live for ever in the heart of every honest Irishman."—*Ibid.*

"*Sir J. Parnell.* Mr. Emmet, while you and the Executive were philosophising, Lord Edward Fitzgerald was arming and disciplining the people.

"*Emmet.* Lord Edward was a military man, and if he was doing so, he probably thought that was the way in which he could be most useful to the country; but I am sure, that if those with whom he acted were convinced that the grievances of the people were redressed, and that force was

become unnecessary, he would have been persuaded to drop all arming and disciplining.

“*Mr. J. C. Beresford.* I knew Lord Edward well, and always found him very obstinate.

“*Emmet.* I knew Lord Edward right well, and have done a great deal of business with him, and have always found, when he had a reliance on the integrity and talents of the person he acted with, he was one of the most persuadable men alive; but if he thought a man meant dishonestly or unfairly by him, he was as obstinate as a mule.”—*Report of Evidence before the Secret Committee of the House of Commons.*

“The Irish nation could not sustain a greater misfortune in the person of any one individual, than befel it in the loss of Fitzgerald at that critical moment. Even his enemies, and he had none but those of his country, allowed him to possess distinguished military talents. With these, with unquestioned intrepidity, republicanism, and devotion to Ireland, with popularity that gave him unbounded influence, and integrity that made him worthy of the

highest trust, had he been present in the Irish camp to organize discipline, and give to the valour of his country a scientific direction, we should have seen the slaves of monarchy fly before the republicans of Ireland, as they did before the patriots of America. And if at last the tears of his countrymen had been constrained to lament his fate, they would have been received on the laurels of his tomb.”—*Dr. MacNeven.*

“ If Lord Edward had been actuated, in political life, by dishonourable ambition, he had only to cling to his great family connexions and parliamentary influence. They, unquestionably, would have advanced his fortunes and gratified his desires. The voluntary sacrifices he made, and the magnanimous manner in which he devoted himself to the independence of Ireland, are incontestable proofs of the purity of his soul.”—*Ibid.*

“ Lord Edward had served with reputation, in the nineteenth regiment, during a great part of the American war, and on many occasions had displayed great valour and considerable abilities as an officer.

When in the army, he was considered as a man of honour and humanity, and was much esteemed by his brother officers for his frankness, courage, and good-nature—qualities, which he was supposed to possess in a very high degree.”—*Sir Richard Musgrave, History of the Irish Rebellion.*

“Lord Edward Fitzgerald, whose name I never mention without anxiety and grief, and of whom I wish to speak with as much tenderness as possible.”—*Speech of the Attorney General (Toler) on Bond's Trial.*

“The allusion in the following passage of Mr. Curran's speech, to the amiable character of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, will lose much of its force to those who have heard nothing of that unfortunate nobleman, except his fate. His private excellencies were so conspicuous that the officer of the Crown, who moved for leave to bring in the Bill of Attainder, could not refrain from bearing ample testimony to them: ‘His political offences he could not mention without grief; and, were it consistent with the principles of public justice, he would wish that the recording angel should

let fall a tear, and wash them out for ever.'”

— *Curran's Life, by his Son.*

To these high testimonials, in his lordship's favour, I cannot resist the gratification of adding a few words of my own; though conscious that the manner in which his frank, simple character has unfolded itself before the reader of the foregoing pages, renders any further comment on it almost wholly superfluous. Both of his mind and heart, indeed, simplicity may be said to have been the predominant feature, pervading all his tastes, habits of thinking, affections and pursuits; and it was in this simplicity, and the singleness of purpose resulting from it, that the main strength of his manly character lay. Talents far more brilliant would, for want of the same clearness and concentration, have afforded a far less efficient light. It is Lord Bacon, I believe, who remarks that the minds of some men resemble those ill-arranged mansions in which there are numerous small chambers, but no one spacious room. With Lord Edward the very reverse

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was the case,—his mind being, to the whole extent of its range, thrown open, without either partitions or turnings, and a direct singleness, as well of power as of aim, being the actuating principle of his understanding and his will.

It is evident that even a moderate portion of talent thus earnestly and undividedly brought to bear, must be capable of effects far beyond the reach even of the most splendid genius, when tempted, as it is too often, by the versatility of its own powers, to deviate into mere display, and so to lose sight of the end in the variety and prodigality of the means.

Another quality of mind which, both in action and in the counsels connected with it, gave Lord Edward the advantage over men far beyond him in intellectual resources was that disinterested and devoted courage, which, rendering self a mere cipher in his calculations, took from peril all power to influence his resolves, and left him free to pursue the right and the just, unembarrassed by a single regard to the consequences. Never, indeed, was the noble *devise* of the ancient Worthies

of France, "Fais ce que je dois, advienne que pourra," more genuinely exemplified than in his chivalrous character.

How much of self-will there was mixed up in his disposition may be seen throughout the ordinary events of his life. "Make Ogilvie remember," he says in one of his letters, "how obstinate I am when once I take a resolution." But, in him, the tendency of this sort of character to settle into obstinacy was in a great degree counteracted, not only by the natural gentleness of his disposition, but by a spirit of candour which, as we have seen attested by his friend Emmet, rendered him easily convincible by those on whose good sense and good intentions he had reliance. The same candour and gentleness of nature,—however singular such a mixture may appear,—continued to mingle with and influence his feelings even throughout that part of his career when it must have been most difficult to keep them clear of intolerance and bitterness; nor, in warring fiercely against principles which he thought ruinous and odious, did he entertain towards the persons professing them any of that rancorous spirit

which is so rarely separable from the excitement of such a strife. As one who acted by his side throughout that conflict* says of him—"He was the most tolerant of men:—he had no enmity to *persons*;" and the same authority adds, in all the warmth of friendly portraiture, "I never saw in him, I will not say a vice, but a defect."

But while thus a natural sweetness and generosity of temper counteracted in him those defects of obstinacy and intolerance to which a degree of self-will such as he possessed almost always leads, the great efficacy also of this quality in giving decision to the character was no less manifested by the perseverance with which, through all the disappointments and reverses of his cause, he continued, as we have seen, not only to stand by it firmly himself, but what,—despondingly as he must often have felt,—was far more trying, to set an example of confidence in its ultimate success for the encouragement of others. There was, it is true, in these very failures and misfortunes a sufficient

* Mr. Arthur O'Connor, now a General in the French service.

stimulus to a strong and generous mind, like his, to call forth all its energies. Of such spirits reverses are the true whetstones, and, as has been well remarked, "None can feel themselves equal to the execution of a great design who have not once witnessed, with firmness and equanimity, its failure *."

We have seen, accordingly, how unshrinking was the patience, how unabated the cheerfulness with which he was able to persevere under the continued frustration of all his plans and wishes. The disappointment, time after time, of his hopes of foreign succour might, from the jealousy with which he regarded such aid, have been

* From the speech given as that of the Marquis de Bédemar to his brother conspirators on an occasion resembling somewhat the situation of the United Irishmen in 1797,—when the fleet of the Viceroy of Naples, which was on its way to assist him, had been attacked by Corsairs, and disabled from coming:—"Les grands revers qui dans les affaires communes doivent surprendre les esprits sont des accidens naturels aux entreprises extraordinaires. Ils sont la seule épreuve de la force de l'ame, et on ne peut se croire capable d'un grand dessein que quand on l'a vu une fois renversé avec tranquillité et constance."

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easily surmounted by him, had he but found a readiness, on the part of his colleagues, to second him in an appeal to native strength. But, while the elements baffled all his projects from without, irresolution and timid counsels robbed him of his chosen moment of action within; till, at last,—confirmatory of all his own warnings as to the danger of delay,—came that treachery by which the whole conspiracy was virtually broken up, their designs all laid open, and himself left, a fugitive and a wanderer, to trust to the precarious fidelity of persons trembling for their own safety, and tempted by the successful perfidy of others,—with hardly one of those colleagues remaining by his side on whose sagacity he could rely for help through his difficulties.

Still, as we have seen, he persevered, not only firmly but cheerfully, conceiving his responsibility to the cause to be but increased by the defection or loss of its other defenders. After the appearance of the Proclamation against him, some of his friends, seeing the imminent peril of his position, had provided some trusty boatmen (like those through whose means Hamilton

Rowan had escaped) who undertook to convey him safely to the coast of France. But Lord Edward would not hear of it;—his part was already taken. Submitting with heroic good-humour to a series of stratagems, disguises and escapes, far more formidable to a frank spirit like his than the most decided danger, he reserved himself calmly for the great struggle to which his life was pledged, and which he had now to encounter, weakened, but not dismayed,—“animatus meliùs (as Cicero says of another brave champion of a desperate cause) quam paratus.”

While such were the stronger and, as they may be called, public features of his character, of the attaching nature of his social qualities there exist so many memorials and proofs, both in the records of his life and, still more convincingly, in those bursts of sympathy and sorrow which his last melancholy moments called forth, that to expatiate any further on the topic would be superfluous. As son, friend, lover, husband, and father, he may be said to have combined all that most adorns and endears such ties. Limited

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as was his income, he could, at all times, find the means to be generous, the simplicity of his own habits enabling him to be liberal to others;—"he avoided," says the friend already quoted, "every expense for himself; for others his generosity was bounded only by the means to satisfy it." By his servants he was idolized;—"there was not one of us (said an honest old groom of his to me) that would not gladly have laid down life for him." Poor Tony, of whose fate the reader must be desirous to know something, never held up his head after his noble master's death, and very soon followed him.

Besides that charm which the most perfect good-nature threw round all that he said and did, he had likewise in his conversation a vein of natural pleasantry, which was the more amusing from its making no pretensions to amuse, and which, from his great power of self-possession, he was able to preserve in situations where few people could afford to be playful. Of this we have a characteristic instance in what Lady Sarah Napier mentions him to have said, on an occasion of no less danger to himself than

the arrest of his friend Mr. O'Connor, at Maidstone*.

Among those traits of character which adorned him as a member of social life, there is one which, on every account, is far too important not to be brought prominently forward in any professed picture of him, and this was the strong and pure sense which he entertained of religion. So much is it the custom of those who would bring discredit upon freedom of thought in politics, to represent it as connected invariably with lax opinions upon religion, that it is of no small importance to be able to refer to two such instances as Lord Edward Fitzgerald and the younger Emmet, in both of whom the freest range of what are called revolutionary principles was combined with a warm and steady belief in the doctrines of Christianity.

Thus far the task of rendering justice to the fine qualities of this noble person has been safe and easy,—the voice of political enemies, no less than of friends, concurring cordially in the tribute. In coming to consider, however, some of the

* See her Ladyship's Diary, p. 20.

uses to which these high qualities were applied by him, and more particularly the great object to which, in the latter years of his life, he devoted all their energies, a far different tone of temper and opinion is to be counted on; nor are we, even yet, perhaps, at a sufficient distance from the vortex of that struggle to have either the courage or the impartiality requisite towards judging fairly of the actors in it.

Of the right of the oppressed to resist, few, in these days, would venture to express a doubt;—the monstrous doctrine of passive obedience having long since fallen into disrepute. To be able to fix however, with any precision, the point at which obedience may cease, and resistance to the undue stretches of authority begin, is a difficulty which must for ever leave vague and undirected the application of the principle;—a vagueness, of which the habitual favourers of power adroitly take advantage, and while they concede the right of resistance, as a general proposition, hold themselves free to object to every particular instance of it.

How far the case of Ireland against her government, as it stood in 1798, comes under that description which most writers on political science consider as justifying a people in rising against their rulers, must be left to the readers of her previous history to decide for themselves, according to the views they respectively take of the boundaries within which human patience ought to limit its endurance. One of the most ancient, as well as most able expounders of the mutual relations between rulers and their subjects, in speaking of the functions for which a people are qualified, says,—“The safety of every free government requires that the major part of the citizens should enjoy a certain weight in the administration. If this does not take place, the majority will be dissatisfied, and where the majority are dissatisfied, the government will soon be subverted*.”

Had the philosophic politician carried

* Aristotle, *Polit. Lib. 3. cap. 7.* “Ubi enim multi ab honore omni atque dignitate excluduntur, ibi multos reperiri hostes Reipublicæ necesse est: imo plenam talibus Rempublicam ac penitus differtam esse.” Heinsii *Periph.*

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his supposition still farther, and contem-
 plated the possibility of a system in which
 the great majority of the people should not
 only be excluded from all weight and voice
 in the administration, but should be also
 disqualified, by statute, for the acquisition
 of property, insulted, as well as proscribed,
 for adherence to their faith, and, in every
 walk of life, branded, as serfs and outcasts,
 —what duration would the sage's know-
 ledge of human nature have led him to
 assign to such a system?

If in addition, too, to such a proscription
 of the great mass of the people, he should
 be told that, even over the small, patronized
 minority of its subjects, the government in
 question would usurp a power, less glaring,
 but as base, of which corruption was the
 life-blood and peculation the aliment, and
 to support which, therefore, the interests
 and the rights of the whole community were
 made a matter of open traffic between their
 representatives and their rulers,—would he
 not have indignantly applied to a system so
 monstrous, a system thus availing itself of all
 the worst uses to which the sword and the

purse are made subservient by power *, his own strong language, in speaking of the various causes of revolutions :—" In such hands authority itself becomes hateful ; and the feelings of mankind conspire with their reason to destroy a government pregnant only with mischief, deformed by speculation, and disgraced by injustice †."

By such as view in this light the system against which Lord Edward raised the standard of revolt, the question as to the justifiableness of his resistance will not be

* The whole course of the ruling party in Ireland, from 1782 to 1798, is thus strongly and truly traced by Mr. Grattan :—" They opposed the restoration of the Constitution of Ireland ; they afterwards endeavoured to betray and undermine it. They introduced a system of corruption unknown in the annals of Parliament. ... Having, by such proceedings, lost the affection of the people of Ireland, *they resorted to a system of coercion to support a system of corruption, which they closed by a system of torture, attendant on a Conspiracy of which their crimes were the cause.*"—*Letter to the Courier Newspaper, November, 1798.*

† Ὑβρίζοντων τε καὶ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς καὶ πλεονεκτοῦντων. The translation, or rather very loose paraphrase of the whole passage which I have given above, is from Gillies.

found difficult of decision; nor even among those who, while acknowledging the extent of the evil, yet shrink from the desperate nature of the remedy, will there be found many who, on comparing the manifold enormities of the aggressor with the long forbore vengeance of the wronged, can feel a doubt as to *which* of the two parties the blame of that alternative must rest with, or hesitate to pronounce, as Mr. Grattan did deliberately in his place in the Irish House of Commons*—"I think now, as I thought then (1798), that the treason of the Minister against the liberties of the people was infinitely worse than the rebellion of the people against the Minister."

There are persons, it is true, the bias of whose thoughts and feelings renders them incapable of considering the noble subject of these pages in any other light than that of a rebel against legitimate authority, and, as such, politically excluded from the circle of their sympathies. But not so does the feeling of mankind in general requite

* Debate on the Union, Feb. 14, 1800.

the generous martyrs of their common cause. Even where cotemporaries have been unjust*, Time, the great vindicator of those who struggle for the Right, seldom fails to enforce a due atonement to their memories; and, while on those who so long resisted the just claims of the Irish people lies the blame of whatever excesses they were ultimately driven to, the concession, late, but effectual, of those measures of Emancipation and Reform which it was the first object of Lord Edward and his brave associates to obtain, has set a seal upon the general justice of their cause which no power of courts or courtiers can ever do away.

Strong, however, as may be the inherent justice of any cause, it is plain that, without some clear and rationally grounded probability of success, an appeal to arms in its behalf can, by no means, be justified;—

* Few have the courage, like Lord Chatham, to put the matter in its true light, even while the storm is raging, or say, as he did, in the year 1777,—“Those Whigs and freemen of America, whom you, my lords, call rebels.”

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the very interests of the great principle which is at issue demanding, as a moral duty, of its defenders that they should not rashly expose themselves to the disgrace of failure, nor, by any burst of weak violence, provoke a retaliation which may only add to the fetters it is their purpose to break. With this sort of miscalculation, however,—adversely as all that depended upon chance turned out for them,—the leaders of the Irish Rebellion are, by no means, to be charged. It was truly said by Lord Halifax that “there is more strength in union than in numbers;” and the United Irishmen, in combining both these sources of strength, secured to themselves two of the surest elements of success*. When,

* How powerfully they were backed also by property will appear from the following evidence of Dr. MacNeven:—

“Mr. Alexander.—Although talents and education are to be found in the Union, yet there is no comparison, in point of property, between those who invited the French and those who brought in King William.

“Dr. MacNeven.—Pardon me, sir. I know many who possess much larger properties than did Lord Danby who signed the invitation to the Prince of

in addition to this, too, we take into account the expected aid from France, the many embarrassments in which England was involved at that crisis, the disaffection of the Irish militias, and the unprepared state of defence of the entire country, it will be confessed not to have been over sanguine in the Chiefs of the Union to calculate upon a preponderance of chances in their favour.

Even the rebellion that followed, mutilated as it was of native strength, and unassisted from without, yet presented so formidable a front as to incline Sir John Moore to the opinion that, had a French

Orange, or than did Lord Somers who was the great champion of the Revolution. The property of the Union is immense; but persons in a situation to be more easily watched were not required to render themselves particularly conspicuous."

In Emmet's account of his own examination, too, we find, "I was asked by many of the members whether there were many persons of property in the Union. I answered that there was immense property in it. They acknowledged there was great personal property in it, but wished to know was there much landed property; I answered there was."

force, at the same time, shown itself on the coast, the most serious, if not fatal consequences must have ensued. As it was, the cost to the government of no less than 20,000 lives * in putting down what was but a partial movement of the Union,—the North, its head quarters, having scarcely stirred,—leaves awful room for conjecture as to what *might* have been the result, had the whole organized mass, under its first leaders, been set in motion.

Another point connected with and, in some instances, included in the question of resistance is that of the allowableness or expediency of calling in foreign aid,—a resource the peril of which to national independence, in all cases, limits the occasion where it can be at all justifiably employed to a very few. Where the will of a majority of the people is declared in favour of a change, such aid will, of course, be unnecessary. It is, therefore, in the very nature of things, the sort of expedient most likely

* The calculation of the loss on both sides makes it 20,000 on the part of the government, and 50,000 on that of the insurgents.

to be resorted to by a small and desperate minority, or sometimes even by individuals, who, as in the case of Count Julian, the betrayer of Spain to the Moors, or Mac Murchad, who first invited the English into Ireland, have been able, in one reckless movement of revenge, to fix the yoke of the stranger on their country's neck for ages.

That Lord Edward was, throughout, well aware of the peril to which even the purchased aid of France might expose his country's independence has been sufficiently shown in the course of these pages*. Soon after his junction with the United Irishmen, a friend of his, who approved perfectly of their objects, but had a strong objection to the intention of calling in foreign aid, having expressed his opinions to this effect, Lord Edward answered that, without such aid, it would be impossible for them to accomplish their purpose. "This, then, only proves,"

* "I believe, latterly, Lord Edward was rather afraid of invasion, lest the French should conquer Ireland, and therefore urged on the insurrection."—*Neilson's Evidence before the Secret Committee.*

replied his friend (from whom I heard the anecdote), "that the country is not yet ripe for the design, and that you are premature in your movements."

Applied to a country not dependent upon the power of another, this argument would have been conclusive. In the natural course of affairs, indeed, the whole question of resistance, as well as of recourse to foreign succour, lies within a very simple compass. Where the great bulk of a people are disposed to change their government for a better, they have not only the right to do so, but, being the majority, have also the power. In this case, therefore, the intervention of foreign assistance is unnecessary. It happens sometimes, however, that the right is not thus backed by the power,—as in Ireland, at the time we are speaking of, and some years before in America, where the malcontents, though strong on their own land, yet constituted but a minority of the whole empire, and the arm of the stranger from without, however hazardous the alliance, presented one of their few chances of liberation from the intruder within. In Ireland, as we have

seen, this alternative was adopted with reluctance and fear; but so little did the Americans hesitate in resorting to such aid that, in the first public declaration of their independence of Great Britain (May 15th, 1776), the second sentence stated that "measures were to be immediately taken for procuring the assistance of foreign powers." The example of England in 1688, to which the United Irishmen constantly referred, as a justification of their own conduct in inviting foreign aid, was by no means a case in point, and went to establish, indeed, a far more dangerous precedent; it being, in that instance, against a *native* government that the aid of the foreigner was called in, and not only by a minority of the nation, but that minority composed chiefly of the aristocracy,—a class who assuredly have not always shown themselves so worthy as on that occasion of being the sole arbiters and disposers of a whole people's destiny.

For the excesses and, in more than one instance, cold-blooded cruelties by which the rebellion that followed Lord Edward's arrest was disgraced, neither he nor any of

those leaders who first directed its movements, and the spirit of whose views and counsels had departed with themselves, are to be considered at all responsible. In reference to a Proclamation, of a sanguinary character, found upon one of the Sheares's, Mr. Emmet declared, in his examination before the Lords, that he entirely "disapproved of it;—that the old Executive had never meant to spill blood, but rather to retain men of a certain rank as hostages, and if they found them hostile to the Revolutionary Government, to send them out of the country."

Even while present and in full activity, the authority of these chiefs had not been able so to "turn and wind" the fiery spirit they had excited as to prevent it from breaking out into violences the most abhorrent to their own natures; and the charge brought against Lord Edward and his friends of having connived at, if not encouraged, the circulation of an infamous paper, called "the Union Star," the professed object of which was to point out victims for the assassin's dagger, was, by that class of partisans who believe any

thing of an enemy, received with ready credence. In a similar manner, we know, the schemes of the underlings, in the Rye-House Plot, were assumed as matter of real charge and odium against their principals. But the same justice which repels from the memories of such men as Lord Russell and Sydney any suspicion of having sanctioned the cowardly crime of assassination, will reject, with no less indignant promptness, any such aspersion on the name of Lord Edward Fitzgerald.

Of the natural endowments and dispositions of his lordship little more remains to be said. His acquisitions from education or study were, as may be concluded from the active tenor of his life, not very extensive: but he had a retentiveness of memory which, in some degree, supplied the place of study, by enabling him to treasure up with selection and accuracy whatever he heard in conversation. In thus arriving, too, at the contents of books through other men's minds, he became acquainted at once both with the men and the books, instead of studying, in his closet, only the latter. While this faculty was of such advantage

to him, as a man of the world, he had a quickness of eye no less remarkable and useful to him, in his profession, as a soldier. The most hasty glance, in passing through a tract of country, was sufficient, it is said, to put him in possession of all its bearings and military positions: not a ridge or a stream escaped him as he went, and he could have mapped it all, immediately after, with the utmost accuracy.

By these latter remarks we are led naturally to a consideration of his lordship's military character,—a point of view in which he will be found to stand pre-eminent, as, in addition to his great courage and early experience, he appears, also, from the report of persons who were acquainted with his opinions, to have taken enlarged and original views of his art, and to have anticipated some of those lights, on military subjects, which the bolder spirit of modern warfare has, since his time, elicited.

It will be recollected that immediately after he had joined the United Irishmen, their system of organization, which had before been purely civil, was converted, with

scarcely any other change than that of the titles of the officers, into a most efficient system of military force; and it is a proof of the skill and foresight with which this mode of organization had been devised that not only did it thus easily admit of being turned into a compact national armament, but that, from the sound principles of representation on which the whole scheme was constructed, and the facility it afforded of transmitting the will of the Executive to the people, it presented ready made, when wanted,—in the event of their struggle succeeding,—the complete frame-work of a provisional, if not of a permanent government.

In training the people to arms, it was the opinion of Lord Edward, that till they had been perfected in that first rudiment of soldiership, marching,—or, in other words, moving through equal spaces in equal times,—and till they had been brought also to a sufficient degree of celerity and precision in forming from column to line, and from line to column, and in executing these changes of position by dispersion and re-formation,

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it was altogether premature to think of placing arms in their hands. So far was he, indeed, from being impatient to see the people armed that, for this as well as other reasons, his utmost efforts were directed to repress that habit so long prevalent among the lower orders of Irish of providing themselves with weapons by the plunder of gentlemen's houses; his constant observation being that "till the arms were wanted, they would be safest and best taken care of in the hands of their present owners."

Even for the purpose of training troops to be good marksmen, he had a notion, it seems, that fire-arms might be dispensed with, and the expense of the ammunition which target-practice requires be saved. Having observed, while in America, that the Indians, who are almost all expert marksmen, have attained this accuracy of aim by the use of the bow and arrow while young, he was of opinion that, among the means of training a people to national warfare, the same economical mode of practice might be adopted,—the habit of aiming at a mark with any missile, whether bow or sling, being sure to establish that sort of

sympathy between the hand and eye which enables the execution of the one to follow instantly the direction of the other, and this precision of aim once acquired, being, with little difficulty, transferable to the use of the musket or rifle.

That Lord Edward may have thrown out this ingenious suggestion in conversation can be easily believed; but that he had any serious notions of adopting it in his system of military organization for Ireland appears somewhat questionable.

Another peculiarity of opinion attributed to him is that of having preferred the rifle, as an arm of common use, to the musket; an opinion which is at variance, at least, with the first military authority of our age, who has declared “que le fusil est la meilleure machine de guerre qui ait été inventé par les hommes* ;” an opinion, of the sincerity of which there could not be a better proof than that, in the whole Imperial army, there was not a single rifle. Whatever may have been Lord Edward's theory on the subject, it is certain that

* Napoléon's Notes upon Rognard's *Art de Guerre*.

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there occurs no mention of this description of arms in any of the Returns made to the Irish Executive by its officers, nor does it appear in what manner the supply of them, counted upon, it is alleged, by Lord Edward, was to be obtained. It is, indeed, stated that a depôt of such arms was, by his orders, preparing at Brest, which, when the proper time should arrive, were to be run over in luggers, and landed; but for this supposition I cannot find any satisfactory evidence.

Of his lordship's other views, on military subjects, as conveyed in the conversations reported to me, I have not space sufficient to enter into any details. But, on all the points connected with the sort of warfare he was about to engage in,—the advantages to be derived from the peculiarities, both moral and physical, of the country; from the equal diffusion of the population over its whole surface, enabling every district to produce its own army, and thus saving the expense and disorganization of long marches;—the account to which superiority of numbers may be turned by the power

they give of outflanking the enemy,—the prudence of avoiding pitched battles *,—the disadvantage of being the assailant in mountain war †,—on all these, and other such tactical points, the mind of Lord Edward seems to have been considerably in advance of his cotemporaries, and to have anticipated much that a long experience in warfare has taught to Europe since.

At the time of the search after him on the 12th of March, there was found in his writing-box, at Leinster-House, a paper, which is generally supposed to have been the production of his own pen, and with

* “ In imitation of the Central Juntas, they call out for a battle and early success. If I had had the power, I would have prevented the Spanish armies from attending to this call ; and, if I had, the cause would now have been safe.”—*Duke of Wellington's Letters to the Portuguese Regency.*

† “ The attacking party in mountain warfare will have the disadvantage.”—*Révériés du Maréchal Saxe.* In a similar manner, Colonel Napier (without ever having, as he assures me, read Marechal Saxe) says,—“ He who receives battle in the hills has always the advantage.”

the insertion of which, therefore, I shall conclude this part of my subject.

“ If ever any unfortunate cause should put our city, with the other parts of the country, into the possession of a cruel and tyrannical enemy, whose government might, by repeated oppressions, drive us into the last stage of desperate resistance, our conduct then should be regulated in a manner best calculated for obtaining victory.

“ The following thoughts are humbly offered for the inspection of every real Irishman.

“ In such a case every man ought to consider how that army could be attacked or repelled, and what advantage their discipline and numbers might give them in a populous city, acting in concert with the adjoining counties.

“ It is well known that an officer of any skill in his profession would be very cautious of bringing the best disciplined troops into a large city in a state of insurrection for the following reasons :

“ His troops, by the breadth of the

streets, are obliged to have a very narrow front, and however numerous, only three men deep can be brought into action, which in the widest of our streets, cannot be more than sixty men ; as a space must be left on each side or flank, for the men who discharge to retreat to the rear, that their places may be occupied by the next in succession, who are loaded ; so, though there are a thousand men in a street, not more than sixty can act at one time, and should they be attacked by an irregular body armed with pikes or such bold weapons, if the sixty men in front were defeated, the whole body, however numerous, are unable to assist, and immediately become a small mob in uniform, from the inferiority of their number, in comparison to the people, and easily disposed of.

“ Another inconvenience might destroy the order of this army. Perhaps at the same moment, they may be dreadfully galled from the house-tops, by showers of bricks, coping stones, &c. which may be at hand,—without imitating the women of Paris, who carried the stones of the un-

paved streets to the windows and tops of the houses in their aprons*.

“Another disadvantage on the part of the soldiers would be, that, as they are regulated by the word of command, or stroke of the drum, they must be left to their individual discretion, as such communications must be drowned in the noise and clamour of a popular tumult.

“In the next place, that part of the populace, who could not get into the engagement, would be employed in unpaving the streets, so as to impede the movements of horse or artillery; and in the avenues where the army were likely to pass, numbers would be engaged forming barriers of hogs-heads, carts, cars, counters, doors, &c. the forcing of which barriers by the army would

* “The soldier, if posted in the streets of a town will be assailed from the roofs and windows of the houses and lost. He cannot remain there; nor is he much better off, if in the squares surrounded by houses. The examples of Warsaw, that of Ghent, and of Brussels in 1789, sufficiently demonstrate the truth of what I advance.”—*Bulow, Spirit of Modern System of War.*

be disputed, while like ones were forming at every twenty or thirty yards, or any convenient distances the situation might require; should such precautions be well observed, the progress of an army through one street or over one bridge would be very tedious, and attended with great loss, if it would not be destroyed. At the same time the neighbouring counties might rise in a mass and dispose of the troops scattered in their vicinity, and prevent a junction or a passage of any army intended for the city; they would tear up the roads and barricade every convenient distance with trees, timber, implements of husbandry, &c. at the same time lining the hedges, walls, ditches, and houses, with men armed with muskets, who would keep up a well-directed fire.

“ However well exercised standing armies are supposed to be, by frequent reviews, and sham battles, they are never prepared for broken roads, or enclosed fields, in a country like ours covered with innumerable and continued intersections of ditches and hedges, every one of which is an advan-

tage to an irregular body, and may with advantage be disputed, against an army, as so many fortifications and intrenchments.

“The people in the city would have an advantage by being armed with pikes or such weapons. The first attack if possible should be made by men whose pikes were nine or ten feet long; by that means they could act in ranks deeper than the soldiery, whose arms are much shorter; then the deep files of the pike men, by being weightier, must easily break the thin order of the army.

“The charge of the pike men should be made in a smart trot. On the flank or extremity of every rank, there should be intrepid men placed to keep the fronts even, that, at closing, every point should tell together. They should have at the same time two or three like bodies at convenient distances in the rear, who would be brought up, if wanting, to support the front, which would give confidence to their brothers in action, as it would tend to discourage the enemy. At the same time there should

be in the rear of each division some men of spirit to keep the ranks as close as possible.

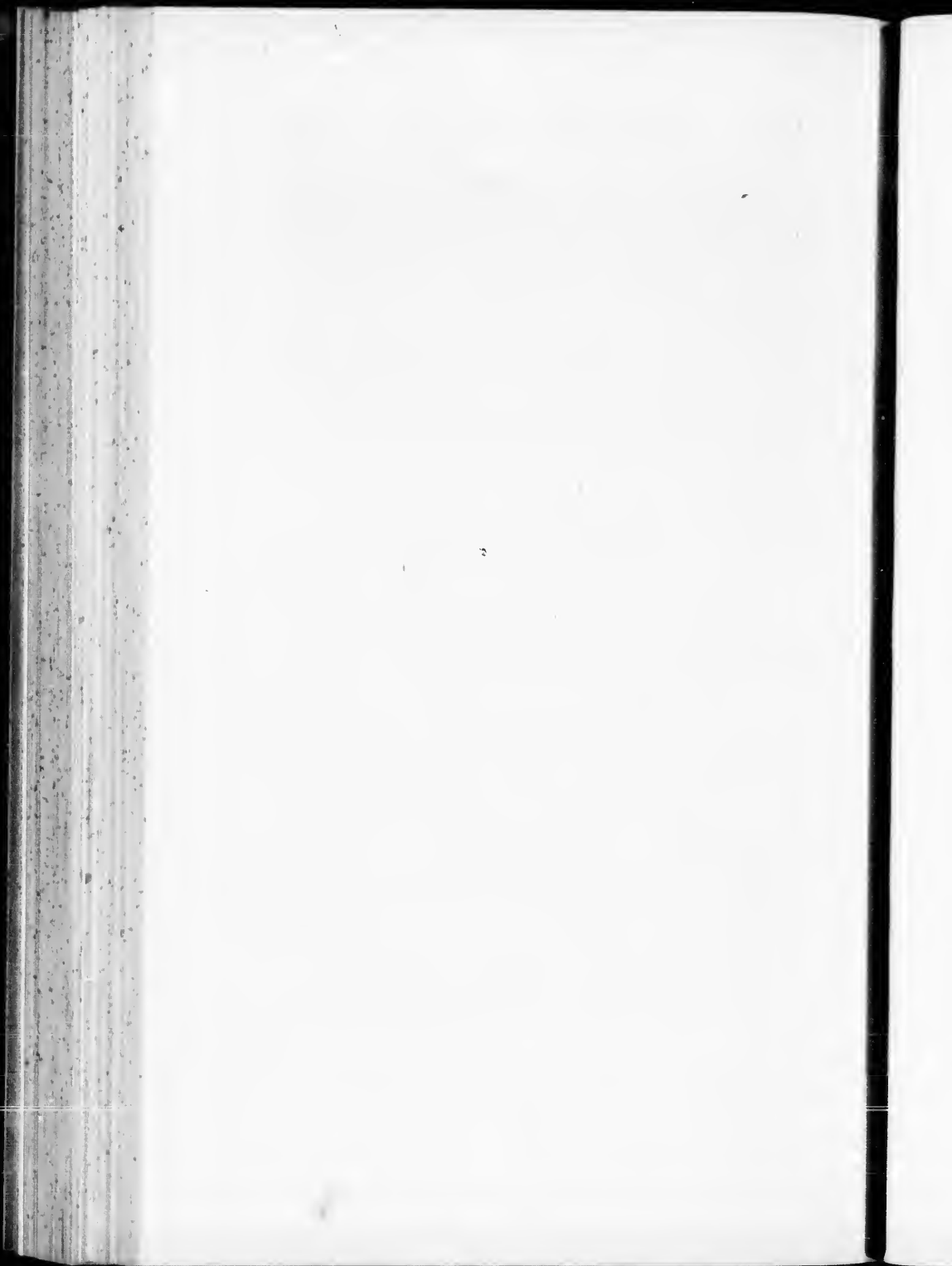
“The apparent strength of the army should not intimidate, as closing on it makes its powder and ball useless: all its superiority is in fighting at a distance; all its skill ceases, and all its action must be suspended, when it once is within reach of the pike.

“The reason of printing and writing this is to remind the people of discussing military subjects.”

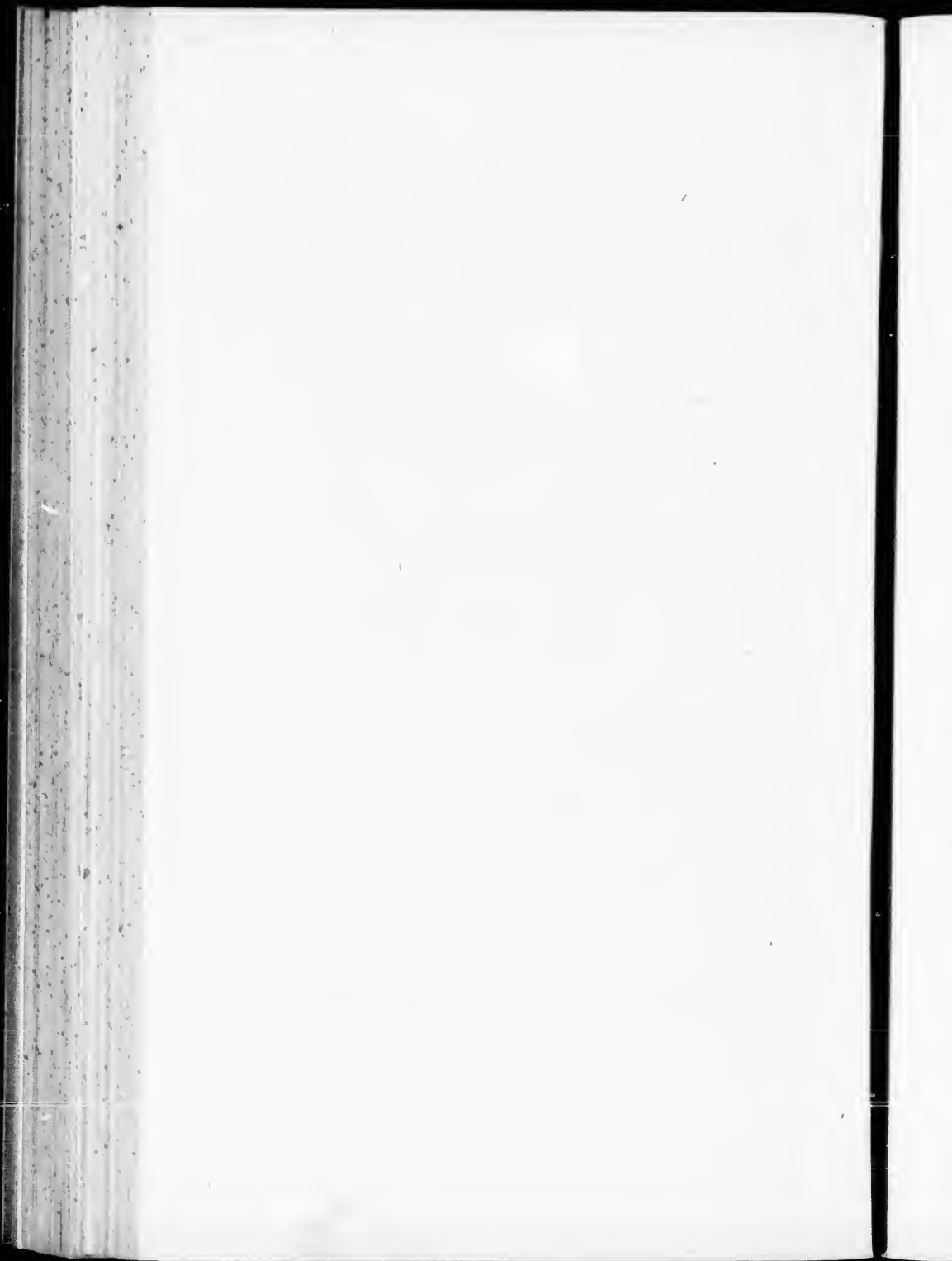
On the 27th of July, 1798, a Bill was brought forward by the Attorney-General for the Attainder of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, Cornelius Grogan, and Beauchamp Bagenal Harvey. After a long discussion and examination of witnesses in both Houses, the Bill passed the House of Lords in the month of September, and received the Royal Assent in the October following.

From among the letters and documents in my possession connected with the history

of Lord Edward's Attainder, I shall select such as appear to me most generally interesting, and throw them into the form of an Appendix for the conclusion of this volume.



APPENDIX.



APPENDIX.

FROM COLONEL NAPIER TO LORD HENRY FITZGERALD.

“ Celbridge, July 28th, 1798.

“ MY DEAR LORD,

“ I feel it incumbent on me to apprize you that Mr. Toler has most humanely thought proper to move for leave to bring in a bill of attainder for the purpose of confiscating the property of your poor brother, as well as that of B. Harvey and Grogan Knox. For his attempt on the estates of the two last, there exists some pretext, as they were tried and condemned by a court martial; but this wanton *posthumous* malignity to Lord Edward is repugnant to every principle of law and equity, and diametrically opposite to the spirit of the constitution, which presumes every man innocent until he has been fairly tried and convicted. However, it accords well with the illiberal rapacity of the prevailing faction in this miserable country, which will move *hell* and *earth* to carry the measure into effect, unless you succeed in disappointing their inhuman avarice by a timely application to his majesty, in any manner you judge most likely to prevail.

* * * * *

“ Lord Cornwallis’s avowed predilection for humane and conciliatory measures gives great offence to the

Robespierres, Neros, and Caligulas of this country, but is applauded by every prudent man, as well as every friend to humanity, and I have strong hopes he will succeed in tranquillising the public mind, of which desirable object (if it be obtained) he must have the sole merit, as nobody can accuse his counsellors of being so weak as to sacrifice either personal interest, or contemptible and indiscriminate resentment, to the softer sentiments of liberality and compassion.

“ Adieu, my dear lord. Present my respects to Lady Henry, with Lady Sarah’s love to you both, and believe me yours most sincerely,

“ GEORGE NAPIER.”

FROM THE DUKE OF RICHMOND TO LORD HENRY FITZGERALD.

“ Goodwood, August 14, 1798.

“ MY DEAR HENRY,

“ As Mr. Ogilvie will, I believe, write to you pretty fully, and the position of writing hurts my stomach, I shall not trouble you long to-day; but I will, as shortly as I can, state my opinion, which is,—that you, as trustee for the children, should instruct counsel to oppose the bill, after presenting a petition to be heard against it in their behalf:—that you should direct your counsel not to attempt any defence, alleging that it is impossible to defend a dead man against accusations of a personal nature, which he alone is competent to controvert; but which, nevertheless, cannot be admitted till proved, and cannot be proved now, because there is no possibility of hearing the accused in his own defence, and without hearing, no man can, in justice, be condemned or convicted:—that therefore, even supposing

all Mr. Reynolds or any other witness may swear to be true, it cannot be received as such, or as sufficient to convict a man in a court of justice, unless the accused has an opportunity of opposing that evidence by other evidence; and that he who knew whether he was guilty or not being dead, and consequently incapable of defending himself, no one else can:—that almost all the acts of attainder in the statute book are made against persons alive, who have fled from justice, and give them a day to appear and defend themselves; if they do not, then their non-appearance is taken for admission, and they are, upon that, adjudged guilty; but this calling on them to appear proves the necessity of hearing them, or at least of giving them an opportunity to be heard.

“Of persons who are dead being attainted there are few examples—I rather believe none since the Revolution; and the only one I can find before, is the attainder of Oliver Cromwell and the regicides immediately after the restoration. That case will be allowed to be a singular one, and the grounds on which it went was the notoriety of their guilt; and certainly no man would deny but that it was notorious that Oliver Cromwell had usurped the regal power, and that those who publicly sat in judgment on Charles the First and condemned him had been concerned in his death. But surely such notoriety is very different from an overt act consisting of private meetings, speeches, papers, commissions, or receiving money to stir up a rebellion. These overt acts may have taken place, but they are not matters of public notoriety like that which alone was thought sufficient to found this single act of attainder against dead persons. The charges against Edward are, undoubtedly, of a very different description, and such as

are not known but by the evidence of one or two men, which evidence he might possibly have disproved ; and therefore upon such *ex parte* allegations to attain, not the man, but his innocent children, must be the height of injustice.

“ On these grounds, I should advise your counsel to say that he will not pretend to enter upon any defence, and thereby give a countenance to such a proceeding ; but that he protests against it as a measure contrary to the first principles of justice. I think this will be far better than getting into a dispute about his being more or less concerned ; in which Reynolds would swear what he pleased, which could not be disproved : and, besides, entering into all this might involve Lady Edward, and raise a spirit against them both. All this would be avoided by your counsel not attempting any defence, but only protesting against the measure. I am, also, clear that Lady Edward should barely petition on the same grounds, and make no defence ; and, above all, that her affidavit should not be produced. The protest of your counsel should also be renewed, when the bill comes on in the House of Lords.

“ Adieu, ever yours,

“ Most sincerely and affectionately,

“ RICHMOND, &c.”

FROM COLONEL NAPIER TO GEORGE PONSONBY, ESQ.

“ Castletown, August 15, 1798.

“ DEAR SIR,

“ As I understand there is much merit assumed by ministers for their lenity in excepting Lord Robert Fitzgerald from the consequences of their posthumous ma-

lignity to Lord Edward and his unfortunate family, and that they attempt to deceive the world by pretending that their humane condescension secures to Lord Robert and his heirs the honours of the family, I trust you will excuse my taking the liberty to suggest the case of Earl Kilmarnock to your contemplation, as somewhat in point on the present occasion. He was tried, attainted, and beheaded during the life of his aunt, the Countess of Errol, who, on her demise many years subsequent to his execution, was succeeded in her title and estate by his son, Lord Boyd, her grand nephew; and this happened without any renewal of the attainder, or any interference of the crown.

“ I shall make no apology for troubling you with this letter, because an excuse would imply a doubt of the sincerity and zeal with which I have seen you adopt the cause of Lord Edward's orphans, whose interest on this occasion is, in my humble opinion, intimately blended with that of the Constitution, since the ministers themselves affirm, they are neither actuated by resentment against the *dead*, nor malevolence to the *living*. I therefore conceive it a fair logical deduction to conclude, that the measure has ‘ plus in capite quam in fronte promittit !’ and having long observed the subsisting variance betwixt these ‘ honourable men’ and the Constitution, I can divine no other enemy to the object of their unrelenting hostility. Our slight acquaintance scarcely warrants the length of this letter, but there are some subjects which would make even a Spartan prolix.

“ I have the honour to be,

“ Dear sir,

“ Yours, with much regard,

“ GEO. NAPIER.”

FROM LADY SARAH NAPIER TO THE DUKE OF RICHMOND.

“ Castletown, August 26th, 1798.

“ MY DEAREST BROTHER,

Yesterday an express came from Sligo, to give notice that three French frigates were on that coast; and from an express this moment received from Mr. Conolly, who is at Lord Ross's, near Enniskillen, we learn that *eighteen hundred men are landed*. The troops, of course, are all under orders for immediate movements:—the yeomanry ordered to do duty again. Lord Cornwallis probably won't *neglect all possible means of defence*, and we hope to look on this event as *good news*; for where the governor is an *honest, sincere, and able* character, and the bulk of the people sincerely against giving up the kingdom to France, surely it is a good thing to show, on one side, to republicans, how little chance they have of success, and, on the other, to detestable leeches of their country that *words and murders* are not the way to *prove loyalty*, but danger and *real fighting*. We shall now see who is the true or the *soi-disant* friend of Ireland.

“ All things considered, it seems not to have given any sensible person the least alarm, and I trust will prove only a predatory descent. I will write you word what bulletins say, for more we are not likely to know; and yet bulletins *were so false* in Lord Camden's reign that they were not to be depended on, but I trust they will now wear the fashion of the times which Lord Cornwallis's *plain dealing* seems to give; for nothing ever was equal to the effect his clemency has had on *all*. Those who sincerely approve of it seem relieved from anxious misery; those who affect to ap-

prove do it with so bad a grace that it is quite ridiculous, and many abuse him openly,—so that the Castle-yard is become a medley of more *truth* than ever was heard in it for years past.

“I say nothing, my dearest brother, about our most interesting subject of affliction; it is too heart-rending to enter on. But what *you* would never suspect possible, in persons who ought to be so tenderly attached to my beloved sister*, *no signs of feeling accompany their conduct*. She feels hurt and miserable, yet is trying to conquer her feelings, not to show them coolness. Oh, my dearest brother, she is not made for this world: her angelic mind passes on them for indifference, and almost for approbation of their conduct, so little do *they* know her who ought to know her well!

“This whole week has been passed in accusing, judging, condemning, and ruining, the characters and properties of poor Edward and his family; and on Sunday Lord and Lady Castlereagh, Mr. and Mrs. P., Mr. and Mrs. F., have made a party to come and dine, and stay here, because Lord Hobart comes; so that all Dublin will hear that the very people who passed the week in plunging daggers in Louisa’s heart hallow the seventh day, by a junket to her house! Mrs. P. is indeed just landed from England, and Mr. P., we have reason to believe, has *avoided* the House of Commons as much as he could; but Lady Castlereagh and Mrs. French went to the House of Commons to hear their *intimate acquaintance*, Lady Edward, traduced and ruined; and the nephew of their aunt, Mr. French, spoke *for* the bill of attainder; and Lord Castlereagh I firmly believe to be the *chief* mover and pursuer of

* Lady Louisa Conolly.

the prosecution against Lady Edward. But Louisa thinks otherwise, and therefore, if you write, say nothing on that subject as coming from me, because my hatred to him vexes her, and never opens her eyes at all ; therefore, having once done my duty in putting her on her guard against a false heart, I have done, and avoid giving her the least additional pain. Adieu, dearest brother.

“ Ever yours,

“ S. N.”

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

“ Castletown, 29th August, 1798.

“ I have no news I can authenticate as coming from Lord Cornwallis, dearest brother ; but from Dublin I find that the French landed great stores, threw up works, and on finding the rebellion in a different stage from what they expected are trying to get off ; but it is believed they must be taken by land or by sea, as such pains are taken to catch them. The *reports of risings* are terribly manufactured by agitators on *both* sides, orangemen and rebels. Government, of course, keeps it down as much as possible ; so that you see, from the nature of such a critical landing, one cannot expect to hear truth, and one must trust to one's own judgment on the reports.

“ From what we learn here, I think numbers are on the wing, but dare not fly, because they still doubt the success, and because *greater* numbers by far plainly declare they will not stir from their harvest work, and that they *will fight* the French, who are only come to rob them of the harvest. Besides this, there are, to

my certain knowledge, a set of the worst rebels, who have *offered* the officer of the City Cork militia, quartered here, to set off under his command, and with his soldiers, (famous *anti-rebels* but not Orangemen), to attack the French; and, also, to my certain knowledge, there is a banditti here, who are trying to muster up a little corps of robbers, who, at all events, will enrich themselves, and, perhaps, appear under the name of United I., if the French succeed, and by that means evade law.—So now you have the pro. and con. in a small circle.

“ I suspect the same sentiments are in the balance in the larger circle, and that Lord Cornwallis, by taking the field with ten thousand men, has two objects; the first to secure the banks of the Shannon, which form a barrier to all Connaught, and prevents a junction of French and northern enemies. Secondly, if it all melts away, he relies on his own conduct at the head of a large army to impress the guilty with fear, and the doubtful with confidence in his government and his character. If I am right, I hope we shall soon see the good effects of his government, notwithstanding the dreadful villany with which every principle he holds out seems to be counteracted in an underhand way.

“ I will not enter on the subject of the attainder, as I have hitherto been so careful not to mention what appears to me to admit of such deep researches, before one can venture to *assert* any thing on the subject; but the newspaper and common accounts I will transcribe:—on a long and interesting debate, in which Mr. Egan spoke finely, the third reading came on Monday, and the votes 42 to 9. It is said, ‘ many people who would have voted against the bill, seeing so large a majority, went out;’ from which it appears that these

persons (who certainly prove one cannot serve God and Mammon), finding their interest in opposition to their conscience, left the field at the moment of conquest; for had they stayed, the division might have run equal; and had the vote been delayed *one* day, Mr. Conolly, just come up to town, yesterday, would have added one, and the Duke of Leinster, expected to-day, would, *perhaps*, have influenced others. By a near vote the question would have come into the House of Lords with double strength for opposition—but what then?—Lord * * has, with his usual weakness of character, been frightened out of his zeal, by the Chancellor (I suppose), though I don't know more than that he *finches*.

“The Chancellor, I suppose you heard, said, with his wonted dictatorial style, that your *queries* were inadmissible *; and of course it required no very great spirit of prophecy, I think, to be assured, as I was from the beginning, that, ‘to consult with one's enemy how one is to beat him,’ was not a very probable means of conquering.”

* * * * *

* The following are the queries, here alluded to, as having been submitted by the Duke of Richmond to Lord Clare:

“1st. Whether it be consistent with the known constitutional justice and laws of the land, to institute a criminal proceeding against a man after his decease, and to hear evidence against him, when he cannot be heard in his defence?

“2d. Whether it be consistent with the known constitutional justice and laws of the land, upon such a proceeding, to adjudge a man guilty who has not been convicted or tried whilst living?

“3d. Whether it be consistent with the known constitutional justice and laws of the land, to make such a judgment the foundation of a further proceeding to affect the property of his heirs?”

FROM THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES JAMES FOX TO LORD HENRY
FITZGERALD.

“ MY DEAR HENRY,

“ I have not written hitherto, because I had nothing to suggest to be done for our poor Edward's heirs, and partly because I had hoped, from an account in the newspaper, which I now find was an erroneous one, that the business was dropped. I see a petition has been presented from Lady Edward on behalf, as I suppose, of her children, as well as herself; but I cannot express the degree to which I am astonished at not seeing any notice taken of this abominable proceeding in any of the newspapers, who are constantly praising Lord Cornwallis's clemency, at a time when a bill is going on exceeding in injustice and tyranny all the past.

“ I do not know how poor Edward's property was disposed of, nor whether his children inherit from him by will, by settlement, or as heirs-at-law, nor, perhaps, is this material, but I should like to know. Dr. Brown, of the College, who is the only attending member of the Irish Parliament that I am acquainted with, is, I hear, in England, but if you think it would be of any use that the Ponsonbys should be written to, that may easily be done. My opinion is, that nothing can be of any use, unless it were a strong representation to Lord Cornwallis, nor should I hope much even from that; but my opinion still is, that the thing is too bad to be possible, and yet, after all that has been done, this is, perhaps, a foolish and certainly a sanguine opinion. I know how the whole of this subject affects

you, but, in the present moment, it is impossible not to think upon it.

“ Yours ever affectionately,

“ C. J. Fox.

“ P. S. If the bill should pass the Irish Parliament, I think there should certainly be a petition to the king against it, in which, I take for granted, the Duke of Richmond would concur.”

FROM LADY SARAH NAPIER TO THE DUKE OF RICHMOND.

“ Castletown, Sept. 2nd, 1798.

“ No news of any importance has yet reached us, my dearest brother, but your own judgment must point out to you the doubtful state of Ireland, which entirely depends on the French landing in sufficient force to make it worth while for all U. I. men to join them; and even then it would, I trust, be more than they can accomplish to surmount the immense number of persons of *common sense* who dread a French government, and will with sincere zeal join their efforts to give the army, *under Lord Cornwallis*, their utmost help. Not so, had Lord Camden and Lord Carhampton remained, for no human being can bring themselves to depend on the weak or ignorant, or on the *false* help they lend. It is like the description of Egypt in the Bible—‘ Trust not to Egypt, for like the broken reed she will bruise thy side if thou rest upon her.’ So that we must consider the moment in which Lord Cornwallis was fixed on to come here as salvation to Ireland; for the balance turned instantly on his coming, and disposed the common people to consider the change of government as an object within *their sphere*. They told my sister and I, ‘ Sure

this is a brave man they've sent us now, he holds the *sword of war*, and the *sword of peace*, and sure we may do as we like now.'

" This in two words shows you they consider *him* as a respectable being, whom it is worth while to be cautious in attacking, and Paddy is shrewd enough if he gives himself time to *think*. Now as this landing is (hitherto) only 1800 men at the most, and called by government 700 only, Paddy has full leisure to think, and does think, I promise you, on this occasion. For example, about 200 stragglers have joined the French, who began by hanging eight men for giving false information: poor Paddy never thought one was to be hanged for lying, and is wofully discomposed. Then the French put the rebels in front of the battle, and this was not civil; consequently, Paddy is all ears and eyes just now, but steadily at harvest, securing the main chance, for if the French land in force, and gain battle after battle, then it is time *after harvest* to join with their pockets full of money.

" This, according to my own observation, is the general state of mind of *rebellious* subjects; and of good subjects one may easily guess the state of anxiety, as so much depends on chance. We do not yet hear of any other landing, and if they try, you know there is, thank God! many a chance in our favour, both by sea and land. In short, to be frightened is folly—to be anxious is natural and unavoidable, for on private accounts one must feel strong sensations of fear about individuals now exposed to battle any day against an active, brave, and clever enemy.

* * * * *

" Lord Yelverton has made a charming declaration on

the second reading of the bill of attainder in the House of Lords, which bill has been tried to be hurried through with shameful haste, but now I trust the protest will have an excellent protector. The Duke of Leinster* just arrived, safe and well—wretchedly low, poor soul! My dearest brother, how every thing gives me reason to love you better and better every day! Adieu,

“ Believe me ever yours.”

In a subsequent letter from the same lively pen, the fair writer says—“ I hope you will read all the debates on the attainder bill; and not wonder if the Irish Parliament now tempts one to *wish* for a Union with England, to mortify those lawgivers to their country, who have made so unjust a use of their power over their

* I avail myself of the mention here of this most amiable nobleman to say a few words relative to his short secession from the Whig party in 1788, to which somewhat too strong a character may seem to have been given in the first volume of this work. It appears from Hardy (*Memoirs of Lord Charlemont*), who does but justice to the character of the Duke, in describing him as “ proverbially liberal,” that not only his Grace, but the greater number of the Irish Whigs of that period, were so far satisfied with the Marquess of Buckingham’s administration, as, during the whole of the session of 1788, to offer but little, if any, opposition to his government. “ The charge, indeed, (adds Hardy) against this opposition, differed totally from the general accusations preferred against them. They were not said to endanger public tranquillity, but they gave no unnecessary molestation to government, and were therefore guilty, according to some persons, of the most inexpiable crime.” The Duke of Leinster, it is true, was one of those who, by taking office, gave a more decided sanction to the government; but the general leaning of his own party in the same direction took from his conduct, on that occasion, all that, in the remotest degree, deserves the name of apostasy.

countrymen." The declaration of the Chief Baron, Lord Yelverton, referred to in the foregoing letter, was to the effect that he "would oppose the bill, as unjust, illegal, and inconsistent with the gracious principle of mercy and lenience, which formed the leading character of Lord Cornwallis's administration."

In the course of the debates on the subject, Lord Clare said with considerable feeling, in referring to some circumstances connected with Lord Edward's death, that "he well remembered them, for, a short time before the death took place, he was witness to one of the most painful and melancholy scenes he had ever experienced."

FROM LADY SARAH NAPIER TO THE DUKE OF RICHMOND.

"September 11, 1798.

"MY DEAR BROTHER,

"The bulletin * which I cannot get, but which will be in the papers, I suppose, will tell you all the particulars we know, and General Lake's panegyrics on every body will speak for themselves. * * *
Your curiosity will naturally lead you to wish for in-

* The Bulletin which gave an account of the surrender to General Lake of Humbert and his small army, at Ballinamuck. "It must ever remain (says Plowden) a humiliating reflection upon the lustre and power of the British arms that so pitiful a detachment as that of eleven hundred French infantry should, in a kingdom in which there was an armed force of above 150,000 men, have not only put to rout a select army of six thousand men, prepared to resist the invaders, but have also provided themselves with ordnance and ammunition from our stores, taken several of our towns, marched 122 Irish (above 150 English) miles through the country, and kept arms in their victorious hands for seventeen days, in the heart of an armed kingdom."

formation relative to the minds of the Irish on this occasion. The little information I can give you will lead you to judge for yourself. In a letter from a very *sensible, good* man in the North, who heads a yeomanry corps, are these words:—

“ ‘ What I foretold, in February, has now taken place, that distinction of religious would produce the worst evils. The five corps of this garrison are equally divided in persuasions, and did live in the most perfect cordiality till now, when within these few days there has arisen dissensions almost coming to blows. The cause of this change in the minds of the men is occasioned by the pains taken by persons in official departments to form Orange lodges, which has had the most pernicious effects. My own opinions have never changed ; but I wish to ask you a question, not from mere idle curiosity, but to determine my own conduct. As these lodges are formed by persons in official departments, am I to consider them as sanctioned and approved of by government ? for, though my own principles are the same as before, I should be extremely sorry, at this critical period, to show any opposition to a measure that government may consider as conducive to the general good ; and, should it be against my principles, I shall retire from the scene.’ ”

“ This letter, dated *September*, proves that what Lord Cornwallis positively asserted, as his most anxious wishes in *July*, is not attended to by those in office out of his sight. The consequence of a government that is undermining its governor you will know. This renewal of ill-blood will have its effect in time, if not stopped ; but, for the present, the North seems perfectly quiet ; the South the same. In Lei-

trim, Longford, Westmeath, &c. the risings were sudden, and as suddenly quelled, you see. Yet in these very counties are numberless proofs of the attachment of the tenants, who flocked to their landlords' houses, to guard them, and behaved with all possible merit, industrious, grateful, and generous,—for they went and reaped the corn, in great bodies, to save it for their landlords.

“ In *our* neighbourhood, which I may well entitle the *doubtfuls*, I can *read* my neighbours' thoughts in their eyes, in the tone of their voices, their gait,—in short, *on connaît son monde*, with a very little observation,—they are all ears, and distrust all they hear. They watch to take the *ton* from Dublin, their constant traffic with which makes intelligence come like lightning—to *them*, though not to *us*. They at first disbelieved the surrender of the French; they now believe it, and put a good face on it, still hankering after a chance of a new force, which is collecting in Wicklow, under a clever man called Holt, who *rejects* mob, and *chooses* his associates. This keeps up the flame, and while it burns, all those who persuade themselves that they acted on principle only, and those who have gone too far to retreat, besides those whom ill-usage has worked up into revenge, all reluctantly give up hopes of success. Yet their own judgments *now* have fair play; they see the lower order quite tired of the business; they see a *vast number* who loudly proclaim their determination to stick to the promise they made to old General Dundas*, who is their hero; for not one of

* A compact entered into by General Dundas with the rebels, in the County of Kildare, for which he was much censured, but which,

those he forgave has returned to the rebels. They see the tide is against them; and, in short, I can perceive by their countenances, that they are low, and sorry, and fearful. But, if they once give the point up, they will return to all their work with a heavy but not a sulky heart; for they are nearly convinced they are conquered by *fate*, not by *force*, and you must know that all the common people are predestinarians, which is a great cause of their hardy courage for moments, and their seeming indifference about death. They have very little shame about running away, being convinced they are reserved for another fight by *fate*, and not by their running.

* * * * *

From all these circumstances one may, I think, decide, that all depends on there being no more landings; for, if any succeed, risings will follow of course. Yet, after all, we have such millions of chances now in our favour, that there is nothing to alarm one: since the United Irishmen, by their own confessions, seem to have so very little head or plan, that no reasonable being could for a moment depend on their government, even if they *could* conquer all Ireland: so that the whole plan, whether of French, Irish, Presbyterian, or Catholic extraction, seems dissolved into impossibilities, and can no longer be a bugbear now, I think, by which government can frighten the world into approbation of despotism. Lord Cornwallis has undoubtedly saved this country from a still more bloody war, which was to have been expected; but the

like every step of conciliation or justice towards the Irish, was productive of the best effects.

United Irishmen themselves have proved they never could have kept Ireland.

“ I ought to apologize for all my political and private accounts of the state of the country, when you certainly must hear it from much better judges and better authority; but, when the whole conversation of societies is turned on political causes, which immediately concern every individual, one can scarce take up a pen and steer clear of them. Indeed, there is but one other subject that comes across us, and it is not pleasant to dwell on it, though one part of it is so gratifying to my very sincere affection for you, my dearest brother, that I cannot refrain from expressing it. From Mary I hear a thousand particulars of your goodness to poor Lady Edward, which I know the full value of. I can trace your generous attention to all her feelings,—your spirited resistance to the torrent that ran against her; your protecting hand that shielded her hopeless situation from the most aggravating circumstances. You gently said in a letter to my sister, ‘ she is not popular.’ I own I was struck with the expression, and wondered how you who could hear nothing of her, but through her family, should have heard so (though it is true *in Dublin*);—but I now find from Mary that the very common people had imbibed prejudice against her, poor little soul, to a degree that is quite horrible, yet a well-known characteristic of the English nation. What is to become of her, my dear brother? I pity her from my soul, for her elevated mind will suffer torture from the necessity of being under obligations to *many*, and I fear no *one* individual can, at this time, soften the bitter pangs of adverse fortune, by generously giving her, under the

tender tie of affection, an income equal to procuring her a comfortable situation. Pride has nothing to do with affection. Obligations from those who know how to grant them nobly become a pleasure to the receiver, as long as he perceives the giver is gratified by the gift; but so *very, very* few can and will be such givers, that I fear she will be subject to all those feelings which poverty is most unjustly expected *not to have*, and which only belong to poverty,—feelings, the nature of which induces one to examine, consider, and value the nature of every *gift*.

“ When I reflect, as I often do, on poor Lady Edward's fate, I cannot help comparing it to my own, and in proportion as my own unworthiness of all the blessings I have had, and the kindness I have received, strikes my recollection, my warmest wishes arise, that she, whose misfortunes have arisen only from the strongest attachment to her dear husband, may meet with the same protection from heaven, and on earth, from friends, as I have done. The former I am sure she will, the latter is more doubtful, yet I hope will not fail;—though circumstances alter the mind of man so much, one can never be sure. Yet surely, in this instance, the world would wonder if the widow and orphans of a man adored by his family are not publicly supported by that very family who acknowledge her attachment to him. A stranger, an orphan herself, lovely in her appearance, great in her character, persecuted, ruined, and banished,—her name so well known as to be brought into the history of the country,—*that history* will, of itself, be the test of the generosity of her family connexions, or their disgrace. I wish those who should first step forward saw it in the light I do, which, exclusive of

affection for her, is of importance, I think, to the family. Adieu, my dear brother, ever most affectionately yours,

“S. N.”

Having passed the House of Lords, the Bill of Attainder was, at the latter end of September, sent to England, to receive the Royal Assent; and, though there could be but little hope, at that stage, of arresting its progress, the friends of the family were resolved to make one more effort and address a Petition to the King. To Sir Arthur Pigott the task of drawing up their appeal was intrusted, and it is with much pleasure I find myself enabled to lay this document before my readers; as a composition more admirable for its purpose—more precious as an example of the adroitness and power with which rhetoric and logic may be made subservient to each other,—has rarely, perhaps, been written.

“ TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

“ The humble petition of Henry Fitzgerald, Esq., commonly called Lord Henry Fitzgerald, Charles, Duke of Richmond, William Ogilvie, Esq., Charles James Fox, Esq., Henry Edward Fox, Esq., and Henry Richard Lord Holland; For and on behalf of Edward Fitzgerald, an infant of the age of four years or thereabouts, only son and heir of Edward Fitzgerald, Esq., lately deceased, commonly called Lord Edward Fitzgerald; and for and on behalf of Pamela Fitzgerald, an infant of the age of two years, or thereabouts, and of Lucy Fitzgerald, an infant of the age of four months, or thereabouts, daughters of the said Lord Edward Fitzgerald; and for and on

behalf also of Pamela Fitzgerald, widow of the said Lord Edward Fitzgerald,

“ SHEWETH,

“ That the said Edward Fitzgerald, Esq., commonly called Lord Edward Fitzgerald, departed this life on or about the fourth day of June last, being at the time of his death seised of some real estate, situated in Ireland, and also possessed of some personal estate, which by his death became vested in his said infant children, as his heir at law and sole next of kin, according to their respective titles to the said real and personal estates, subject to the right of his said widow to be endowed out of the real, and to receive her share of the personal estate.

“ That the said Pamela Fitzgerald, the widow of the said Lord Edward Fitzgerald, is at present absent from this kingdom, on which account alone, as your petitioners have reason to believe, she is not in her own person a party to this petition.

“ That your Majesty’s petitioner, Henry Fitzgerald, is a guardian of the persons and estates of the said infants, and that he and your Majesty’s other petitioners are near relations of the said infant children.

“ That your petitioners have observed with great concern, that a bill has been passed by the parliament of Ireland, and transmitted for your Majesty’s royal assent; for, among other purposes, the attainder of the said Edward Fitzgerald, Esq., commonly called Lord Edward Fitzgerald, under the title of ‘ A bill for the attainder of Edward Fitzgerald, Cornelius Grogan, and Beauchamp Benegal Harvey, deceased, of high treason,’ or some such title; reciting, alleging, and assuming, as the cause and foundation of the said bill, that the said Edward Fitzgerald

did, *during the period of his life*, since the first day of November, 1797, commit and perpetrate several acts of high treason, by *conspiring* together with several false traitors to *raise and stir up* insurrection and rebellion within this kingdom (Ireland), and by endeavouring to persuade the enemies of our Lord the King to invade this his kingdom of Ireland; and did, in pursuance of the said treason, commit several overt acts with intent to depose and dethrone the king, and subvert and overthrow the government of this his kingdom of Ireland: and further reciting that several other false traitors who were concerned in the said treasons and rebellion have already received their trials at law for the same, and have been convicted, and by judgment of law thereupon had, do now stand duly and legally attainted:

“ The said bill therefore enacts, (among other things,) that the said Edward Fitzgerald, commonly called Lord Edward Fitzgerald, deceased, shall be *adjudged to be convicted and attainted of high treason* to all intents and purposes *as if he had been attainted during his life*:

“ And further enacts, (among other things,) that all and every the manors, messuages, lands, tenements, &c., and all other the heredit, leases for years, chattels real and other things, of what nature so ever they be, of the said Edward Fitzgerald, which he or any other person to his use or in trust for him had on the first day of November, 1797, shall be forfeited to his Majesty, and shall be deemed to be in the actual and real seisin and possession of his Majesty, without any inquisition or office taken or found; and that all and every other the goods and debts and other the chattels personal whatsoever, of the said Edward Fitzgerald, whereof, upon

the first of March, 1798, he or any person in trust for him stood possessed, either in law or equity, shall be deemed forfeit, and are vested in his Majesty, without any inquisition or office found. And several provisions follow, for declaring void all subsequent alienations and transfers whatsoever of the property of the said Edward Fitzgerald, and also all previous alienations and transfers except for valuable consideration.

“ Your petitioners conceive it to be their duty to the said infant children and absent widow of the late Lord Edward Fitzgerald, humbly to represent to your Majesty that the said bill is contrary to the first and most sacred principles of law, of justice, and of the constitution; as it intends, by special and arbitrary provisions, neither known to the law of Ireland, nor analogous to any of its just and wise maxims, to despoil the innocent family of the said Lord Edward Fitzgerald of that property which upon his death vested in them, and which the law secures to them by the same sanctions and protections under which all the rest of your Majesty’s subjects, both in England and Ireland, enjoy their lives, liberties, and property.

“ The best security, Sire, against the injustice, the passion, and violence, which frequently characterize the partial, occasional, and arbitrary acts of power, wherever it is placed, is the observance of the steady course of general and equal law; which, as it ascertains the obligations, secures alike the rights of all, and impartially applies its rules and maxims, through the medium of its tribunals, to the actions of individuals. But, whatever may be the censures which have been by grave and weighty authorities pronounced upon bills of attainder in general, whatever the irregularities and

deviations from the rules of law, or principles of justice, which have sometimes attended their progress, into these we do not presume to enter; because we apprehend that bills of attainder of living persons, or the motives which lead to them, or the maxims which govern them, do not apply to the present bill. We are aware that the *Salus Populi*, of which the legislature, we know, must judge,—that the security of the government, of which the legislature is, we know, the guard,—may sometimes, though very rarely, be supposed to render necessary an anomalous and extraordinary proceeding, which certainly dispenses with some of the most valuable securities for the life, liberty, and property of the subject. But these are still proceedings against living men; and at least the never varying and eternal principle of justice, *not to condemn and punish unheard*, is not violated. In a proceeding in parliament, as on the trial of an indictment, the accused if living may make a full defence; has the important privilege of answering the charge; cross-examining the witnesses against him; contradicting their testimony; showing their incompetence to be heard, or incredibility when heard; and of availing himself of all other means by which falsehood is demonstrated, or innocence established. He has the use of his own talents, and the assistance of the talents of others; and it should not be forgotten that he has the opportunity and advantage of exposing the errors and ignorance of his adversaries. And in whatever human tribunal charge is made, or accusation preferred, no experience will contradict the assertion that it is most frequently in the power of the accused alone to furnish the means of his own defence; to detect fraud; to make falsehood manifest; to develop mo-

tives ; to unravel events ; to point out time, place, persons, the whole train of circumstances which discriminate human actions, and, by imparting to them their true colour and real character, either assert and protect innocence, or fix and ascertain the exact shade and precise gradation of guilt, where guilt does exist. But these inestimable privileges are the privileges only of the living : and accordingly the wisdom, and justice, and mercy, and decorum of the law of England (and we believe the law of Ireland is not different) confine its jurisdiction to the living ; to those who can hold communion with parliaments and courts, with judges and juries, with counsel and attorneys and witnesses. But our law teaches us that, as the persons of those on whom the tomb is closed are no longer objects of human punishment, their actions are no longer of human cognizance, or subjects of temporal judgment, which death in all cases, and necessarily, disappoints of its victim.

“ Of this we shall only lay before your Majesty the striking instances which follow, and apply closely to the subject on which we address your Majesty.

“ We have the authority of Sir Matthew Hale for stating, that, at all times, in all cases of felony or treason, except the single case of death received in open war against the king, and, as that exception will be found to have been soon over-ruled, it may now, upon the same authority, be stated, that from the beginning of the reign of Edward III., in all cases of felony or treason without any exception, *if the party die before he be attainted*, though he were killed in the pursuit (which implies his resistance), or even in open war against the king (a still stronger case), and (still

more) even though he had been tried and convicted, yet, *if he died after conviction*, and before judgment, 'there ensued,' to use Sir Matthew Hale's words, 'neither attainder,' that is, judgment, 'nor forfeiture of lands.'

"And from the eighth year of King Edward III., the judges would not allow an averment that *a party died in open war against the king*, either in rebellion, or adhering to the king's enemies, *without a record of his conviction*.

"And now, by the statute of the twenty-fifth year of the reign of King Edward III., *deproditionibus*, which requires an attainder by conviction, and attainder *per gens de leur condition*, attainder *after death* for adhering to the king's enemies is ousted.

"And nine years afterwards, because subtlety or chicanery might say, that an inquest before the escheator might satisfy those words, the statute of the thirty-fourth year of the reign of the same King Edward, chap. 12th, has, in express terms, for the future, *ousted such attainders or convictions after death of the parties*.

"And this venerable judge, Sir Matthew Hale, a text writer of the highest authority on the criminal law, emphatically lays down, what is indeed engraven on every breast endued with a sense, or animated with a love of justice, that,

" 'No man ought to be attainted of treason, *without being called to make his defence and put to answer*, which is called *arrenatio*, or *ad rationem positus*.'

"And, among several remarkable precedents of justice in support of that just and protecting maxim, Sir M. Hale states the case of Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, condemned for treason, for the death of King

Edward the Second. His heir, Roger Mortimer, in the reign of King Edward the Third, brought a petition of error upon that judgment, and the record of his attainder was removed into parliament, and there entered of record, and errors were assigned *that he had not been arraigned and called upon to answer*; and, by the judgment of king, lords, and commons, the judgment appealed from was reversed and annulled, and the petitioner was restored to the title of Earl of March, and the lands, &c. of his grandfather.

“ It cannot be pretended, and therefore it is not alleged, that the late Lord Edward Fitzgerald was killed in open war against your Majesty, fighting either in open rebellion or for the enemies of your Majesty; the only case in which, even in the least civilized and most irregular times, when the constitution can scarcely be deemed to have been settled, a forfeiture by a proceeding after death could be incurred: and to effect a forfeiture, even in those unruly and turbulent times, and in a case so extraordinary, when death was received in the very act of flagrant and raging rebellion, a presentment in Eyre, a presentment in the King’s Bench, or an inquisition by the Escheator, was indispensable.

“ But this practice has been shown to have been of old time discountenanced and reprobated by the judges of the land, and condemned and prohibited by the authority of parliament.

“ And even the practice of accusing and attainting in cases of treason or felony without indictment or presentment, where the party was taken *living*, with the *mainour cum manu opere*, is, says Sir M. Hale, disused and ousted by the statutes of the fifth year of the reign of King Edward the Third, chap. 9, and the 25th year

of the reign of the same king, chap. 4, according to which statutes, 'none shall be put to answer without indictment or presentment of good and lawful men of the neighbourhood.'

'Attainder, on which, as we have frequently had occasion to show, so much depends, we understand to be the immediate and inseparable consequence of *sentence of death*. When that sentence is pronounced, the criminal is called attaint, *attinctus*, stained or blackened. 'This,' says Mr. Justice Blackstone in his excellent Commentaries, 'is after judgment; for there is great difference between a man *convicted* and *attainted*, though they are frequently, but inaccurately, confounded together. After conviction only a man is liable to none of these disabilities' (the inseparable consequences of sentence of death): 'for there is still' (after conviction) 'in contemplation of law, a possibility of his innocence. Something may be offered at any time before judgment' actually pronounced, and at the very instant that it is about to be pronounced, for which express purpose the criminal is, at that time, asked, whether he has any thing to allege why judgment should not pass against him. 'The indictment may be erroneous, which will render his guilt uncertain, and thereupon the present conviction may be quashed: he may obtain a pardon' (which we understand may be *pleaded* after conviction, and at any time before judgment is actually pronounced), 'or be allowed the benefit of clergy. But when judgment is once pronounced, both law and fact conspire to prove him completely guilty, and there is not the remotest possibility left of any thing to be said in his favour. Upon judgment, therefore, of death, and not before' (that is, when the remotest possibility that any thing

can be said in his favour is exhausted,—merciful law! and not more merciful than wise!) then ‘the attainder of a criminal commences: or, upon such circumstances as are equivalent to a judgment of death, as judgment of outlawry on a capital crime, pronounced for absconding or fleeing from justice, which tacitly confesses the guilt. And, therefore, either upon judgment of outlawry or of death, for treason or felony, a man shall be said to be attainted. The consequences of attainder are forfeiture and corruption of blood.’

“Enough, we humbly hope, Sire, has been urged to satisfy your royal mind that forfeiture of lands and corruption of blood are the legal fruits and consequences, the strict technical effects, of the *attainder* of an existing traitor or felon, who has, at the time of the attainder, blood to be corrupted and land to be forfeited (all alienations of his land between the period of his crime and that of his attainder being by the judgment of the law avoided.) Forfeiture and corruption of blood are indeed the fruits of crime, but fruits which the nice and scrupulous justice of the law disdains to gather until it has given to the criminal every possible opportunity of defending himself, and is enabled to say, *even the most remote possibility of his innocence is now excluded.* May such, Sire, ever be the just description and character of the law of forfeiture and corruption of the blood of an innocent posterity, whilst it is deemed expedient to permit that law to endure, and may none other ever be executed by the sovereign of a free people! Where there is no *attainder* in the lifetime of the subject, the legal root from which alone these fruits spring fails; and we might as well look for an effect of which the sole cause has no existence. If the subject die un-

attainted, who shall take upon him to say that he does not die innocent? Who is authorized to assert that had he lived he ever would have been *attainted*? Who shall presume to allege that the *most remote possibility of his innocence was excluded*? Who will undertake to answer for the issue of his trial, had he lived to such an event? and, supposing him convicted, who will prescribe limits to your Majesty's clemency, or dare to affirm that no motive to mercy, no service he could have rendered, no discovery he could have made, no repentance of his errors, no situation into which his misfortunes, his sufferings, or his offences might have plunged him, could possibly have actuated your royal breast to the exercise of that godlike attribute at any moment previous to the time of his being *stained* by final sentence and the dreadful judgment of the law.

“ If then, Sire, the subject die unattainted, his blood flows unattainted to his unoffending offspring, and his property descends, at the instant of his death, to his legal representatives, whose dominion over it from that moment becomes absolute; whose title is guarded and secured by all the laws of property, by all the rules, and maxims, and statutes, which prescribe and regulate its descent and distribution on the death of the person last seized and possessed. Their title is without defect or imperfection. Their alienations, whether by sale, or mortgage, or settlement, would convey a pure and unadulterated right. In this state of things, to overturn the general law of the land, the security of every man's inheritance, and by an arbitrary act of power, and a fictitious post mortem attainder (a solecism in language and a contradiction in terms), divested of every characteristic of a real one, to sentence innocence and infancy,

on which alone this shocking proceeding can operate, to degradation and dishonour; to create in those who not only have not committed but who are incapable of the commission of crime, the incapacity of inheriting after they *have* inherited; to break and intercept the descent of that which *has* already descended; and to inflict on the unoffending the loss of property which has, in the due course and operation of law upon that property, come to them,—can, gracious Sire, such an instrument of injury and worker of wrong expect to obtain the sanction and authority of a legislative proceeding, which would foul the fountain and pollute the sanctuary of law, and make those records, which ought to be the monuments of truth and justice, a whimsical compound of absurdity, imposture, passion, and tyranny?

“Of examples in good or regular times for this monstrous proceeding, we are, with one exception only, fortunately ignorant; although, since the happy accession of your Majesty’s family, its title to the crown of these realms was long and openly disputed, and twice by open rebellion, and oftener by meditated insurrection and conspiracies to levy war, attempted to be subverted; so that occasions for such examples, and the weak excuse of provocations to such acts of outrage and violence, could not have been wanting. The same observation applies to the reign of King William the third. A recollection of the commencement and events of his reign, and of the conspiracies which were formed for the destruction of his person and government, justifies the conclusion.

“To very remote times, to the melancholy and disgraceful periods of our history, when hostile factions alternately gave away and resumed the royal sceptre,

and the crown was supported, not by the law, but by the sword, we shall not resort; nor shall we ransack the flagitious registers of those rapacious counsels which hunted after forfeitures, and sought a source of revenue in the destruction of opulent subjects. These the judgment of a more just and more enlightened posterity has doomed to their merited fate. But the precedent which, as an exception, we mentioned before, is furnished by the case of the attainder of the regicides, after the restoration of King Charles the Second, among whom four were dead, Cromwell, Bradshaw, Pryde, and Ireton,—a precedent which, as far as it relates to the dead, has never since been followed, and which, in all human probability, there never will, in these kingdoms, be again occasion to follow. And on that act of attainder, whether the measures then pursued against the dead may now be looked back upon with pride or shame, it may be observed, that the acts of treason were not of more enormity than notoriety. The destruction of the person of the king, the subversion of the regal authority, the usurpation of the government, did not admit of any sort of question. That was no case of *conspiring to levy war*, or of *endeavouring to persuade the king's enemies to invade the realm*. There the treasonable purposes were perfectly accomplished, and the guilt of the conspirators was consummated by the complete attainment of their treasonable objects. To the conviction of mankind, from the nature of the case, *the most remote possibility that any thing could be said in contradiction to the facts alleged against the regicides* did not remain; and the dead could not possibly have been tried, could not possibly have been pardoned, before their decease,

because they had overturned the authority under which they were to be tried, and destroyed the source from which grace and mercy flowed. Their wealth, too, in so singular a state of guilt, was presumed to have been the fruit of their successful treasons, and it was alleged at the time, that the fact justified the presumption. We do not make these remarks for the purpose of exercising a judgment which we are not called upon to pronounce on any part of that proceeding, but solely to point out the little resemblance which the case that produced it has to that brought by this bill under your Majesty's consideration.

“ After what has been already alleged, it can scarcely be necessary to add, but the truth is, that Lord Edward Fitzgerald never, during any period of his life, had judgment of high treason pronounced against him; never was convicted of high treason; never was tried for, or arraigned of, high treason; nor had any indictment or presentment for high treason ever been found or preferred against him by good and lawful men of his neighbourhood.

“ Your petitioners, Sire, have always apprehended that the guilt of man cannot be presumed or acted upon, unless it has been established in a due and regular course of law; but in this case the guilt of the dead ancestor is assumed, for the unjust and odious purpose of divesting his innocent posterity of their just and lawful rights, and despoiling them of their absolute and indisputable property. What are the limits to the exercise of such a power? For what injustice, what violence, what oppression, what rapacity may not such a bill be a precedent? What rights of property does it leave secure? Does not the same general and equal

law which assures the inheritance and possessions of all the rest of your Majesty's subjects secure the inheritance and possessions of these unfortunate and oppressed children? Is their title less valid than the title of any other man; or worse secured than if they had acquired it by purchase, settlement, or deed of gift? Upon the principle of this bill, may not any man, or number of men, equally void of offence as these helpless infants, be stripped of their property, and reduced to indigence and misery by an arbitrary, *ex parte*, extra-judicial, posthumous, legislative enactment of the treason of some departed ancestor? What new and unheard-of power is this, which punishes living persons of acknowledged innocence, by trying and condemning the dead? And what ideas of justice must those entertain who thus attempt to violate the sacred rights of property, and perpetrate an act of wrong and violence by exhibiting a mock trial of the dead, where, if there may be accusation, there can be no defence, and if there may be crime, there can be no criminal.

“ If, for any reason beyond our capacity to perceive, it were thought necessary by a special legislative act, made on the spur of the occasion and in the rage of the moment, to *find the fact, and make the law* for dooming the untried dead to a judgment of high treason; we cannot but hope, that your Majesty's love of justice will countenance us in thinking, that even then the bill might have stopped there, without superadding the confiscation and forfeiture of that property, which now by law belongs to his innocent children. Treason *they* cannot have committed, and they are not traitors by birth or inheritance; yet this bill makes them so; and, at the same time that it cruelly renders them, innocent

and helpless as they are, incapable of inheriting any thing else, it presents them with treason for their inheritance, leaves them destitute of the means of education and sustenance, and turns them into the world naked and desolate, in calamity, misery, and despair, as if it were necessary by this bill to embitter their misfortunes and aggravate their sufferings; and to teach them their duties to society, by robbing them of their rights in it.

“ These superadded provisions in the case of perfect innocence cannot but appear the more extraordinary proofs of precipitation and passion, that your Majesty’s royal clemency has been recently extended, (highly to the satisfaction of your petitioners, and, we believe, to that of the rest of your Majesty’s subjects), to several persons, one or more convicted of, and the rest charged with, high treason; all of whom have, consequently, preserved their property, whilst the innocent children of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, those who cannot have been guilty of any offence, are, by the provisions of this bill, made to forfeit theirs. Thus, it appears, that whilst the government of Ireland is remitting the punishments which in the course of law fall upon the guilty, it is extending and aggravating beyond the law those consequences of guilt, which fall only upon the innocent. What would be the sense and feeling of mankind, if, in the case of a tried, convicted traitor, his property were preserved for him during his life, but that effect of his attainder were enforced which forfeits his property after his death, when it would devolve upon his innocent children? that is, that the guilty father should be pardoned, but the innocent children punished! And what less can be said of this bill, when the case of

the innocent children of Lord Edward Fitzgerald is contrasted with that of those who, at the very time of its passing, have been objects of royal mercy in Ireland ?

“ The provisions of this bill are, also, rendered more striking, by considering that several modern statutes which constitute the offence of treason, provide that it shall work no forfeiture of lands, save only for the life of the offender ; and all such modern statutes preserve to the wife of the offender her dower. And in the case of high treason itself, the hereditary punishment of a traitor actually attainted has, during nearly the whole of this century, stood in the statute book tacitly condemned ; as a period has been fixed for its cessation, which in the course of nature must in all probability soon arrive.

“ We trust, may it please your Majesty, that we have urged reasons of sufficient weight against the general principles of this bill of injustice and violence, to induce your Majesty, in your known love of justice and uniform regard for the rights of property, to protect these defenceless orphans in the enjoyment of theirs, and to withhold your royal assent from this bill. But, according to the best account which we have been able to obtain of it, it will in the detail of its provisions be found consistent with the violent and oppressive character of its general principles.

“ In such a bill, instead of loose, and general, and accumulative terms ; instead of recitals of the crimes and convictions and attainders of others ; there might have been expected some legal precision and certainty in the description of the treason charged upon the deceased, and at least some clear and distinct spe-

cification of the overt acts by which it was manifested and to be proved.

“ The bill alleges, that *since* the first of November, 1797, the deceased did commit *several acts of high treason, by conspiring to raise and stir up insurrection and rebellion, and by endeavouring to persuade the enemies of our lord the king to invade his kingdom of Ireland*; and did, *in pursuance of the said treason, commit several overt acts, with intent to depose and dethrone the king, and subvert and overturn the government of his kingdom of Ireland.*

“ Such legal advice as we have been able to procure has instructed us that this contains no legal description of the crime of high treason. To compass or imagine the death of our lord the king is high treason: to levy war against our lord the king is high treason: to adhere to the enemies of our lord the king is high treason. But *conspiring to raise and stir up insurrection and rebellion*, we are informed, is not a description of high treason; though it may, when properly laid, be charged as an overt act of compassing or imagining the king's death. And *endeavouring to persuade the enemies of our lord the king to invade the kingdom*, we are also informed, is not a description of high treason; though persuading the enemies of our lord the king to invade the kingdom may, when properly laid, be charged as an overt act of *adhering to the king's enemies.*

“ But what are the overt acts of what the bill describes as high treason? The deceased ‘*did, in pursuance of the said treason, commit several overt acts with intent to depose, &c.*’ But what these *several overt acts* were, or what *any one of them was*, or where

or when committed, this bill of attainder of treason nowhere informs us ; so that the infant children of the deceased were expected to defend their parent against high treason not described by the charge, and of which no overt act was disclosed by the charge ; although your petitioners are informed, that to sustain a charge of high treason, the treason itself must be first correctly charged ; and next, some act, with the place, time, and other necessary ingredients thereof, by which such treason is demonstrated or made *overt*.

“ If it be true, as we have been informed, that no access was permitted to Lord Edward Fitzgerald after he was taken into custody, no measures could have been concerted in his lifetime for his defence : still, after his death, his infant children were, it seems, expected to undertake that defence, and had their all at stake on it. And yet they were not informed by the charge against him what were the overt acts of treason against which they were to defend him.

“ Neither does the bill state that any of the facts, alleged as they are against the deceased, have been proved at all ; still less which of them, or how, or by what witnesses or evidence, so as to give your Majesty any information to satisfy your Majesty’s conscience or judgment ; although your Majesty is called upon to be a party to this bill, to sit in judgment upon the dead, and to confiscate the property of the living innocent !

“ And whatever confidence in the case of public acts, or in ordinary cases of private acts, your Majesty may constitutionally be expected to place in the proceedings of parliament ; yet, when parliament assume these extraordinary functions of judicial magistracy ; institute

prosecutions of a sort quite unknown to the law, and conduct them on principles utterly repugnant to it; dispose of private rights legally vested in innocent and unoffending persons, whose tender age and incapacity make them peculiar objects of the protection of the law; enact a crime, *ex post facto*, after the death of the alleged criminal, and a confiscation of an inheritance after it is vested, we trust that it will not be thought either unreasonable in itself, or any departure from your Majesty's general confidence in parliament, that a bill of so singular a species, and so terrible an aspect, should not, merely because it has passed the other two branches of the legislature, and without any examination of its principles, allegations, or provisions, receive your Majesty's assent, and obtain the force of law.

“ Moreover, Sire, this bill declares forfeited all the real estate which Lord Edward Fitzgerald had on the first of November, 1797; and makes void all transfers of it subsequent to that time, and yet makes no provision out of it for the payment of any of his debts; though from that time to the time of his expiration, several months afterwards, he had the uncontrolled dominion over his property, and may have mortgaged or charged it for money lent, or other valuable consideration; or, without specifically incumbering it, may have contracted specialty debts upon the faith and credit of his possession of it with a known and just title to it. Was it criminal in his creditors to transact with him the ordinary business of life? or what care or caution have they omitted? What prudence or foresight could reveal to them that after the death of their unconvicted debtor, a special act of parliament should,

by a post mortem attainder of treason, confiscate his property from a date purely arbitrary and capricious; which property was, at that date and at the time of his death, more than sufficient to enable the lawful owner of it honourably and conscientiously to fulfil all the pecuniary obligations for which it was responsible, or which he had contracted.

“The bill also declares all his personal estate forfeited; and carries that forfeiture back to the first of March, 1798; although by his death unconvicted of any crime, independent of the legal claims of his widow and next of kin, all his creditors, at the time of his death, have a legal claim on his personal estate for the payment of their debts. Yet this bill has no respect to such their claim; nor, which is still more extraordinary, does it even make provision for the payment of his funeral expenses out of his personal estate, so that those who contracted for his funeral expenses, or furnished the means of his christian burial, are to be added to the number of persons punished by this bill for the performance of an act of decorum and piety,—the decent interment of his remains. It is not improper to be suggested, that between the first of March, 1798, and the time of his death, his personal estate, or some of it, may have been sold and transferred, and the produce appropriated to the fulfilment of his obligations, or expended in the necessary support of himself, his wife, and children. If, for instance, he had any property in the public funds, it may have been sold at the Stock Exchange, and transferred at the Bank, either by himself or by the authority of a letter of attorney, under the existing laws of this country. Yet the bill attempts, at least, to reach all the personal

estate of which, on the first of March, 1793, he was possessed, though he died unconvicted, and though, by the law of the land, the forfeiture of personal estate, on conviction for treason, does not relate back to any time previous to *conviction*. 'The forfeiture of goods and chattels,' says Sir William Blackstone, 'has no relation backwards; so that those only which a man has *at the time of conviction* shall be forfeited. Therefore, a traitor, or felon, may *bonâ fide* sell any of his chattels, real or personal, for the sustenance of himself and family, *between the fact and conviction*; for personal property is of so fluctuating a nature, that it passes through many hands in a short time, and no buyer could be safe if he were liable to return the goods which he had fairly bought, provided any of the prior venders had committed treason or felony.' So that this bill not only enacts a *conviction* of the dead, but gives to that conviction an effect which it would not have had by law, had it actually taken place in his lifetime: the bill fixes an arbitrary date, for which no reason is assigned, and which has no reference even to its own fictions, for the forfeiture of the personal estate; refuses to pay for the burial of the dead; takes from vendees and creditors their legal property; makes the deceased, against his will, a fraudulent debtor in his grave, a posthumous insolvent, though he died the lawful owner of a sufficiency of assets, real and personal; defrauds his creditors of the fund out of which they are entitled to be paid, and his widow and next of kin of the surplus to which they are by law entitled.

"All which matters are humbly submitted to your Majesty.

"And may it please your Majesty to prove, as is

natural to the known benevolence of your royal mind, the protector of the fatherless children and widow thus desolate and oppressed!—that this unexampled, violent, vindictive and cruel bill, may not be further proceeded in; or, that your Majesty would be pleased to withhold your royal assent from the same.

“And your petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray, &c.

(Signed)

“RICHMOND.

“W. OGILVIE.

“HENRY FITZGERALD.

“CHARLES JAMES FOX.

“HENRY EDWARD FOX.

“HOLLAND.”

FROM THE DUCHESS DOWAGER OF LEINSTER TO LORD HENRY FITZGERALD.

“October, 1798.

“MY DEAREST HENRY,

“I send you a copy of the sketch Lord Holland sent me, by Charles Fox's desire, of a petition to the king, desiring him to order the former petition, which arrived too late, to be laid before him, and this, it is proposed, should go along with my letter, of which here is also a copy. We are now in doubt who should present it: my brother offers, if I wish it, to ask an audience of the king, in his closet, and to add his representations of the business, which may not have reached the king's ear. I have written to Lord Holland to consult Charles about it, and also to know from him, if he thinks the Duke of York would do it; and, if he would, whether that is not the best. I mean to write both to the prince and duke for their approbation of it; at any rate, to the

first, as a compliment due to his good-nature; to the latter, in hopes that, whether he presents it or not, he may back it, as he has great weight and has always shown much feeling. Did you happen to know that he had actually obtained the delay of the trial I so much dreaded, although he had made me no promise, and only made use of terms of compassion when he listened to me, without engaging to do any thing? God bless you, dear angel, and all at Boyle Farm.

“ Ever your affectionate mother,

“ E. L.”

“ TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

“ May it please your Majesty,

“ The humble petition of Emily, Duchess Dowager of Leinster, wife of William Ogilvie, Esq., and mother of the Right Honourable Edward Fitzgerald, commonly called Lord Edward Fitzgerald,

“ SHEWETH,

“ That an humble petition of the Right Honourable Henry Fitzgerald,

“ To your Majesty, against a bill passed by the Parliament of Ireland, and transmitted for your Majesty's royal assent, for, among other purposes, the attainder of the said Edward Fitzgerald, Esq., was, on Friday the 28th of September last, delivered into the office of his Grace the Duke of Portland, one of your Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, in order to its being laid before your Majesty, previous to the passing of the said bill. That your petitioner has been informed, that on the Wednesday, the 3d day of this month, it was intimated to one of the said petitioners by letter from the

Duke of Portland, that the said petition had not reached Weymouth till Saturday morning, the 29th of September last; and that the commission empowering the Lord Lieutenant to give the royal assent to that and other bills had passed the great seal, and had been despatched the preceding evening. That your petitioner, imagining from the circumstance that the said petition may not have been submitted to your Majesty's consideration, beseeches your Majesty, in the humble hope that the reasons which were offered to your Majesty why the said bill should not pass into a law, may be deemed by your Majesty of sufficient weight to induce your Majesty, as an act of personal grace and favour from your Majesty to the innocent and infant children of the late Lord Edward Fitzgerald, by your Majesty's royal grant to restore to them that property of which they were possessed till the said bill was passed, and of which the said bill has divested them. And which your Majesty's petitioner, as in duty bound, will ever pray, &c., &c., &c."

The following are the affecting appeals addressed by her Grace to the three Royal Personages mentioned in her letter:—

TO HIS MAJESTY GEORGE THE THIRD, FROM THE DUCHESS
DOWAGER OF LEINSTER*.

"SIR,

"Your Majesty, who has so often honoured me with condescending goodness in the days of my prosperity,

* This Letter was presented to his Majesty, in the Closet, by the Duke of Richmond, on the 24th of October, 1798.

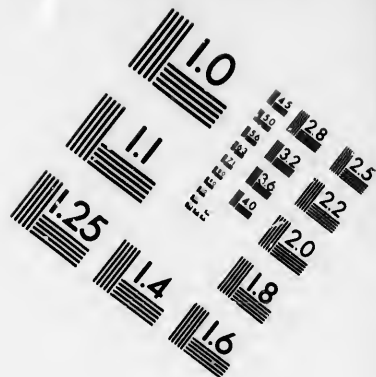
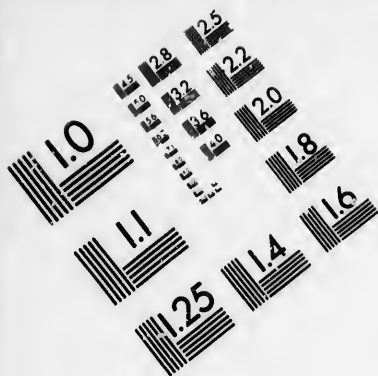
will, I am sure, allow me to apply to you in those of my adversity. Family affection has ever been a marked feature in your Majesty's character, and your subjects have contemplated it with pleasure, as flowing from that benevolence of heart to which, in their distresses, they might safely appeal without the fear of being deemed presumptuous. In this persuasion, sir, I flatter myself you will look with pity on an afflicted parent, in the decline of life, bereft of a favourite child, and sympathize in her sorrows. To the will of Heaven my broken heart submits with resignation, and, transferring to the children of my beloved son that anxious tenderness which filled my bosom, so many years, for his happiness and welfare, I fondly hoped, in this occupation, to find some relief for the anguish of my heart. But, sir, what must my wretchedness be, when I find myself robbed of this comfort by a fatal and unexpected blow, depriving these innocent babes of the little patrimony, which, I am informed, was actually theirs on the death of their father, unconvicted of any crime, and which a most extraordinary exertion of the power of parliament has now taken from them.

“ I did not join, sir, in a petition which their guardians and some of their family presented to your Majesty, beseeching you not to give your assent to this bill, because that petition went into legal discussions, which it did not become me to enter into ; nor do I now presume to say any thing upon the reasons of policy which only could have induced your Majesty to suffer it to pass into a law. No, sir, my hope and confidence is placed in the excellence of your heart. I apply to that benevolence of which your Majesty has the uncontrolled exercise, and of which

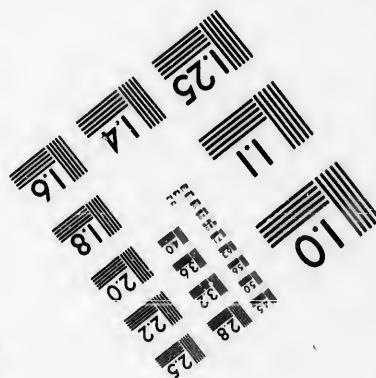
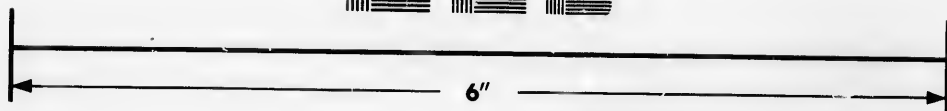
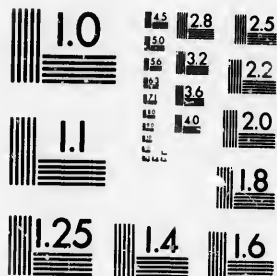
innocent children are sure to find a friend in your Majesty's breast. Your Majesty's parliament of Ireland, certainly misled in some circumstances which would have come out very differently on a fair trial, has thought proper to exert the utmost stretch of its power; and, however hardly used I must ever think my son and his children have been,—his memory blasted unheard, untried, and unconvicted,—and, in their being selected to forfeit their inheritance for an offence never proved by any law, or in any court of justice, I must submit to what is decided. But may I not hope, sir, when, whether ill or well founded, public vengeance has been satisfied by the forfeiture declared by this act, my ever dear son's life lost, and complicated misery fallen on his unhappy family, that your Majesty's natural feelings of compassion for the distressed may be allowed to operate, and your goodness to flow in favour of these helpless innocents?

“Your Majesty's reign has been marked with many restitutions of property, forfeited in the ordinary course of law by offenders regularly convicted of having actually taken up arms to deprive your Majesty and your family of the crown; and the blessings of thousands, with the approbation of all mankind, have followed these bountiful acts. Even at this moment I am informed the property, with the life, of some convicted of what my son can only be suspected of,—since he was never tried,—has been preserved by your Majesty's clemency. How, then, can I doubt but that it will be extended to these innocent children, whose property is now in your Majesty's sole disposal. Oh, sir, I never can forget the humanity and kindness of your two sons, their Royal Highnesses the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York:





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with what goodness they attended to my prayer, that they would intercede with your Majesty for that delay in the trial of my son which would give time for heat and prejudice to subside, and ensure real justice. Tears dropped from their eyes while they listened to my complaint; they seemed to take pleasure in repeating to me the assurance of your Majesty's commiseration in my misfortunes, and in soothing my grief with recalling many little circumstances of your Majesty's former goodness to me. The same benevolence still exists, and I trust will restore to my grandchildren their lost property, a gift for which your Majesty will ever have my most fervent prayers for your happiness; which will relieve my poor little ones from want and beggary, and enable my son's executors honourably to pay his debts; but which can in no respect be more gratifying to me, than in the proof it will afford that your Majesty has not entirely withdrawn your protection from a family long and devotedly attached to your person and government.

“ But if, contrary to these, I trust, neither unnatural or unreasonable hopes, reasons I cannot presume to judge of should still restrain the first emotion which I am sure your Majesty's heart will feel for unoffending children, let me beseech your Majesty not to suffer their property to be sold or given away to others; from whence, however connected with that of the family, it could never be recovered. Preserve it, sir, unalienated in your own hands, and if their innocence be not a sufficient claim for restitution at this moment, at least, sir, reserve to yourself the godlike power of restoring them to their birthright, if by their duty and loyalty to your Majesty, their respect for the constitution, and obedience

to the laws, they should hereafter show themselves deserving of such a mark of your Majesty's favour; and your Majesty may be assured, as long as I live, I shall think it my duty to see them educated in these principles."

TO HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS FREDERICK, DUKE OF YORK, FROM
THE DUCHESS DOWAGER OF LEINSTER.

"Iichenor, Oct. 20th, 1798.

"SIR,

"The sensibility and sympathy with my affliction that your royal highness showed, when I presumed to request your good offices to obtain such a delay in my son's trial as should have given time to passion and prejudice to subside, have made the deepest impression on my heart, and induces me once more to apply to your royal highness as the friend of wretchedness and distress.

"I have ever venerated that humanity and benevolence that shine so conspicuous in your royal father's character; and to these qualities alone I wish to address an application in favour of the innocent children of my beloved and unfortunate son. I have the honour of enclosing a copy of a letter to his Majesty for your royal highness's perusal; and if your royal highness approve of the contents, I should humbly request your royal highness to have the condescending goodness to deliver it to the king.

"The situation of these helpless children will speak forcibly to your royal highness's feelings. They are the children of a soldier and a brave one, who has bled for his king and his country.

"If I durst presume to offer any vindication of my

dear unfortunate son's conduct, it should be an appeal to your royal highness if any officer was more prodigal of his blood, more devoted to his Majesty, and more zealous in his duty, than my brave son, while he had the honour of serving his Majesty, and until his Majesty was unfortunately advised to remove him from that service. Need I add, sir, that a sentence of death would have been an act of mercy to a man of his spirit? But for that fatal measure, my valuable son might either be, now, a living ornament to his profession, and I a happy mother, or I should have had the consolation of his having fallen gloriously fighting for his king and his country. Alas, how much reason have I to complain! But he never imputed any blame to his Majesty; and freely forgave his advisers, though he strongly felt that the treatment was unmerited, and it consequently made a deep and indelible impression on his mind,—even insensibly to himself, as he never would allow it had any effect on his conduct.

“But, sir, when a man who for years had enjoyed a pension from his Majesty's bounty, and who was executed in actual rebellion, has not been included in the bill of attainder, may I not hope that your royal highness will find a favourable moment to represent to his Majesty the difference of my son's case, whose services were not only unrewarded but rejected, and he deprived of the honour of serving in a profession to which he was devoted by inclination and duty.

“I hope it will not appear to your royal highness as if I complained that the name of the unfortunate man to whom I allude had not been inserted in the bill of attainder.—God forbid: I state it only as a striking proof of partiality in the framers and advisers of this

bill, which would alone justify an act of grace from his Majesty.

“Another circumstance I would presume to state as an alleviation and by no means as an excuse for my son,—that whatever his objects and views might have been as to the independence of Ireland, it appears clearly, from the reports of the Irish parliament, that he was the person who prevented the French from sending a large army into Ireland, and resisted the idea of subjecting it to France. So that I hope he might have been betrayed into the fatal error stated in the reports, of thinking that Irish independence was not incompatible with a connexion with Great Britain.

“In humble reliance on your royal highness’s goodness, I will venture to mention another circumstance. In the report of the Irish House of Lords, great stress is laid on a plan, said to have been found among my son’s papers, for the attack of the City of Dublin. That paper was found on the 12th of March; and a few days after, an armourer who worked in the Ordnance-yard in the Castle of Dublin, on hearing it talked of, went to the Under-Secretary of State and desired to see the plan, which, when shown to him, he acknowledged to be his, and that he had sent it, anonymous, to Lord Edward Fitzgerald; and, being asked his reasons for so doing, said, because he understood Lord Edward was a good engineer, and curious in those matters. The plan is not mentioned in the report of the House of Commons drawn up by Lord Castlereagh, who knew the circumstances. I will leave your royal highness to decide, if they could have been unknown to the committee of the House of Lords.

“I fear I have trespassed too long on your royal

highness's patience by entering into the detail of particulars, that from my anxiety may have appeared to me as favourable ; but, after all, sir, I confess to your royal highness, that my whole dependence and hope of success for my petition is in the goodness of the king's heart, and in his majesty's compassionate feeling for my unoffending innocent grand-children, and, I trust, I shall not be mistaken.

“ I have the honour to be, sir,

“ Most gratefully and dutifully,

“ Your royal highness's

“ Obedient servant,

(Signed)

“ E. LEINSTER.”

TO HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS GEORGE PRINCE OF WALES, FROM
THE DUCHESS DOWAGER OF LEINSTER.

“ Itchenor, Oct. 20, 1798.

“ SIR,

“ Never, to the last hour of my life, will the remembrance be effaced from my grateful heart of your royal highness's humane participation of the distress by which it was torn, and of the dreadful anxiety that filled my mind in those sad moments. Complicated horrors have since that time overtaken me, and I was destined to feel the severest shock that could befall my declining age. Sunk, as I now am, in the depth of misery and sorrow, I must still reflect with pleasure on the excellence of that nature which promises blessings to so many thousands, and in which, I am certain, I shall find an advocate for the cause of the helpless innocents, in whose favour I have ventured, with submission, to address his majesty, whose goodness and benevolence have ever been conspicuous. From these

virtues, sir, I form a strong hope that my application may not be unsuccessful; and I have taken the liberty, sir, which I hope your royal highness will forgive, of inclosing a copy of my letter for your royal highness's perusal, and, I hope, for your approbation.

“From my dependence on your royal highness's goodness to me, I confess my first idea was to request your royal highness would do me the honour to present my letter to the king yourself; but, on reflection, it struck me as too great a presumption, and besides that, being limited in time, as it must be presented before Wednesday next, I thought it might not be convenient to your royal highness if it had otherwise been proper. I have, therefore, ventured to address this request to His Royal Highness the Duke of York, encouraged by the great kindness and condescension his royal highness showed me on a former occasion. And I hoped that his royal highness might feel an additional interest in the fate of my beloved and unfortunate son, from the circumstance of his having been a soldier, and his having distinguished himself as a brave and gallant officer, until his majesty was unfortunately advised to remove him from his service; and from that hour I date all his misfortunes and my own everlasting misery.

“But I will no longer distress your royal highness's feelings by dwelling on this subject, which drew tears from your eyes the last time I had the honour of seeing you—tears never to be forgot. Allow me then, sir, to hope that the same benevolence will operate in favour of my unhappy little grand-children; to your favour and protection permit me to recommend them; and, confiding in your goodness, my heart will be eased of much of its present anguish, and I shall look towards their welfare in

this world with some degree of comfort. With sentiments, &c., &c., I have the honour to be, &c., &c.,

“ Your royal highness’s, &c., &c.,

(Signed) “ E. LEINSTER.”

The letter that follows, though containing nothing upon the subject of the Attainder, I insert solely for the sake of its remarks on the Orange party in Ireland; remarks which, unluckily,—from the singular sameness of wrong that pervades the whole history of that unhappy country, giving to periods, however remote from each other, contemporary features,—are almost as applicable at the moment I transcribe them, as on the day when they were written.

FROM LADY SARAH NAPIER TO THE DUKE OF RICHMOND.

“ Celbridge, 26th October, 1798.

“ MY DEAR BROTHER,

* * * * *

“ Our rebellion seems lulled by Sir J. Warren’s most gallant conduct. I trust in God it will melt away in consequence of softer measures, which alone take off the energy of resistance. That *justice* is intended by Lord Cornwallis, every day affirms, but that it has not been executed you will see a striking instance of in a court martial, held in Dublin on a yeoman, named Woolaghan, and two others, Charles and James Fox, for the murder of a man who had been believed a rebel, but was then sick, and perfectly quiet. Lord Cornwallis’s order in consequence of this court martial has enraged all the Orange party, who talk of him in the most contemptuous terms; and no

wonder at their rage, for we are too much used to *murder*, alas! to let the murder of this sick man make much impression—' what signifies a rascally rebel?'— But it records in the most public manner, that in most of the yeomanry corps it was an understood thing that they were to go out, without their officers, in no less number than nine (for their own safety), and shoot whomever they *thought* or *suspected* to be rebels, and not to bring them in prisoners.

" Will people still shut their eyes to truth? will they not see that *such* is not the way to conciliate his majesty's subjects, or to wean them from the strong passions that have so formidably armed half the nation against the other?— Deceived by wicked, cunning men, the passions of the spirited and most courageous have been worked upon to a degree of enthusiasm, which government have kept up by the cruel fuel of deliberate barbarities, under the injured name of loyalty,—a name, which has been as much perverted by government, as that of liberty has by republicans.

" I am in hopes Lord Cornwallis's *evident* displeasure will, by being so public, induce a semblance of humanity, at least, if it does not reign in their hearts; for their cruelty will not take such terrible long strides in face of day; and the oppressed in private may *now* venture to discover their sufferings from some hope of justice."

The Act of Attainder, as it regarded Lord Edward, is known to have been considered, by the Irish government themselves, as a measure which could not be defended upon legal or constitutional grounds, but which had been rendered necessary, they thought, by the state

of the country, and as a means of striking terror into the disaffected. No sooner, therefore, had they, in their own opinion, attained this object, than a disposition to relax into a humaner policy showed itself. The first great object of Lord Edward's relatives, after the enactment of the bill, was to secure the property of his infant heirs from passing into other hands; and in this the friendly zeal of Lord Clare, as will be seen by the following letter, most readily seconded them.

FROM THE EARL OF CLARE TO WILLIAM OGILVIE, ESQ.

“Mount Shannon, May 18th, 1799.

“MY DEAR SIR,

“Your letter was put into my hands a very few days since, on the bench of the Court of Chancery, and I inquired in vain for Mr. Leeson, whom you announced as the bearer of it. I have been enabled to get down here for a very few days, during the recess of parliament, and shall return to town in the course of the next week.

“Before I had the honour of hearing from you, Lady Louisa Conolly had written to me on the same subject, and I did immediately mention to her, that the only opening which is left for the children of Lord Edward is an appeal to the bounty of the crown. I understood from the Duke of Richmond, last autumn, that the Duchess of Leinster had presented a memorial to the king in behalf of the poor little children, and that seems to be the only course which can be pursued. Immediately on receiving Lady Louisa's letter, I spoke to Lord Castlereagh to give directions to the Attorney-General, not to take any decisive step for seizing the estate until full time should be given for an appeal to the

crowns, and I make no doubt that Lord Castlereagh has done it. I also recommended to Lady Louisa to apply to Lord Cornwallis to the same effect. This, she told me, she would do by a letter, of which she would make me the bearer, and whenever I receive it from her, you may be assured I will lose no time in delivering it, and that nothing shall be wanting on my part in seconding her application.

“ I have the honour to be,

“ My dear sir, very truly,

“ Your faithful, humble servant,

“ CLARE.”

The history of this small property may be thus briefly, and, as regards the gentleman who was the chief means of saving it to the family, honourably stated. Lord Clare having, with the approbation of government, allowed the estate to be sold in Chancery, —under the foreclosure of a mortgage to which the Attorney-General was made a party,— Mr. Ogilvie became the purchaser of it for £10,500; and having, by his good management of the property, succeeded in paying off the mortgage and the judgment debts, he had the satisfaction, at the end of a few years, of seeing the estate restored to its natural course of succession by settling it upon Lord Edward's son and his heirs for ever.

At the end of the year 1799, Lady Louisa Conolly and Mr. Ogilvie made their first application to the Irish government for a Reversal of the Attainder against Lord Edward, and received assurances from Lord Cornwallis and Lord Clare, that it was the intention of government, should the Union be carried, to

propose a General Bill of Indemnity, as the first measure of the United Parliament, in which Bill the Repeal of Lord Edward's attainder should be incorporated. A change of ministry, however, taking place before the meeting of the first Union Parliament, these contemplated measures fell to the ground; and though every succeeding Irish administration was friendly to the Repeal, it was deemed expedient to defer applying for it till a general peace, when a hope was held out that no obstacle would be interposed to the exercise of the Royal Prerogative in recommending this Act of Grace.

It had been the wish nearest the heart of the venerable mother of Lord Edward to see the attainder removed from the blood of her beloved son, before she died; and being denied this happiness, the last injunction she laid upon Mr. Ogilvie was, that he should spare no pains in accomplishing this, her darling object. The task could not be placed in more efficient hands. Besides the sacredness of this last request, and the affectionate interest he had ever taken in all that related to his favourite, Edward, the resources of this gentleman's vigorous and well-informed mind fitted him eminently for any task where there were difficulties to be surmounted.

After the failure of the hope held out by Lord Clare, the accession of the Prince of Wales to the Regency opened the first fair prospect of success for any application to the government on this subject,—his Royal Highness having, in the most gracious manner, assured the Duchess of Leinster that “he would, as soon as he had the power, recommend the Repeal of the Act of Attainder.” It does not appear, however, to have been till the year 1815 that the performance of this

promise was taken seriously into contemplation. The proposal of the Repeal was then about to be brought forward, under the sanction of government, when, in consequence of the relanding of Napoleon in France, it was thought advisable, by Lord Castlereagh, that the measure should be postponed.

As soon as the excitement and alarm of this event had passed away, Mr. Ogilvie again renewed his application to the government, and, in the ensuing year, the following appeal, marked with all the noble simplicity of her fine character, was addressed by Lady Louisa Conolly to the Prince Regent:—

TO HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE REGENT, FROM LADY
LOUISA CONOLLY.

“SIR,

“Your Royal Highness's goodness to my family on many occasions has invariably left a sense of gratitude on my part, which I hope I am incapable of ever forgetting; but, in one instance (on a very heart-breaking occasion), it was shown with such tenderness and benevolence of heart to my beloved sister, Leinster, at the unhappy period of 1798, that I cannot look back to it without my heart filling at the recollection of the consolation that it afforded her, under the severe pressure of her grief.

“Your Royal Highness then told her, that you would not forget the little boy Edward:—he was not then four years old. She thanked your Royal Highness, and happily lived to see that gracious promise fulfilled, by your Royal Highness's appointment of him to a commission in the Tenth, where your Royal Highness's countenance and protection were sufficient to silence the unpleasant circumstances attached to his

situation; and I trust he has not proved unworthy of that goodness, which my dear sister was sensible of to the last moment of her existence. She had but one more object for that cherished grandson, who had succeeded his unfortunate father in her affections—and this was the Repeal of the Attainder;—her heart was set upon it, and she repeatedly spoke to Mr. Ogilvie and me (should she not live to see it accomplished) never to lose sight of it.

“In humble supplication, as her deputy, I now take the liberty of addressing your Royal Highness, hoping that some circumstances which I have to relate may not appear unworthy of attention. The late Lord Clare, whose kindness I must ever bear the strongest testimony to, often told me that he thought the thing might be done; but, after restoring the property (which the plea of debt sanctioned him to do immediately), he advised the not agitating the question of Attainder until the Union would present a fair opportunity for bringing it forward. Lord Cornwallis and Lord Clare both told me, that, at the meeting of the first Union Parliament, they ‘expected the two countries to shake hands’ and to bring in a general Bill of Indemnity for consigning to oblivion all animosities.

“From a variety of circumstances, these hopes have not been realized, and the Attainder still remains on an innocent individual, whose profession and principles, I can venture to say, place him in the rank of a true, loyal subject, such as I hope he will ever be considered by your Royal Highness, and that a gracious boon will now remove the unmerited stains he still lies under.

“The presumption of this address to your Royal Highness, from a person so long retired from the world

as I have been, would be an unwarrantable liberty, if I did not trust to that indulgence of character which I am persuaded will induce your Royal Highness to forgive one who is, with most unfeigned respect,

“Your Royal Highness’s truly grateful and

“most obedient, humble servant,

“L. CONOLLY.”

Again was the object of Mr. Ogilvie’s anxious pursuit thwarted and delayed, nor was it till three years after, that, chiefly through the kind offices of Lord Liverpool, whose conduct on the occasion reflects the highest honour upon him, he was able to effect his great object. In the year 1819, the Attainder was repealed. The reasons advanced on behalf of the Petitioner on this occasion were the same in substance with those brought forward in 1798; but the following note from Lord Liverpool to Mr. Ogilvie contains the two points on which the justice of the case chiefly turned:—

“Fife House, 24th June, 1809.

“Lord Liverpool presents his compliments to Mr. Ogilvie, and is very desirous, upon communication with others, that it should be stated in the Preamble to the inclosed Bill, that Lord Edward Fitzgerald was not convicted of High Treason upon trial during his life, and that the Bill of Attainder originated and was passed after his death.

“Lord L. believes these facts to be true; and, if they are, they should be inserted in the Preamble, in order that an inconvenient precedent may not be made.

“If Mr. Ogilvie will send Lord L. the Bill, altered

as proposed, he will then obtain the Prince Regent's signature to it, which is necessary previous to its being presented to the House of Lords."

The case of Gerald, ninth Earl of Kildare, was, on this as on the former occasion, referred to, as an historical precedent for the Act of Grace which the petitioner prayed for; and the close parallel which (as I have already remarked at the beginning of this work) is to be found between Lord Edward's story and that of his unfortunate ancestor, Lord Thomas, is thus pointed out in one of the documents prepared to be submitted to the House of Lords, in 1819:—

The Case of Gerald, 9th Earl of Kildare.

He had been for many years employed by Henry VIII. as his deputy in Ireland. By his vigorous administration he had made many enemies, who, by misrepresentation, excited the King's jealousy; and he was called to England to answer the charges against him, which he did when examined before the Privy Council; but he was committed to the Tower to wait the King's pleasure. He died in the Tower on the 12th December, 1534, and was buried in the chapel, as appears by an inscription on his coffin found many years afterwards.

His death is said to have been caused by grief, at hearing that

The Case of the late Lord Edward Fitzgerald.

Lord Edward entered into the army during the American war, and served under the Marquis Cornwallis, Lord Rawdon and General O'Hara, with great distinction, having been promoted to the rank of major, in 1783; but, in the year 1792, was dismissed the service by a letter from the Secretary at War. The causes that led to this measure are known to their Royal Highnesses the Prince Regent and the Duke of York; and were of a political nature.

In the month of March, 1798, 14 individuals were arrested at a meeting in Dublin, with their papers, by a government warrant, charged with treasonable practices,

his son Thomas, whom he had left his vice-deputy, had been induced to resist Lord Gray, who had been sent over by the King as his deputy.

After various conflicts, Lord Thomas was defeated and taken prisoner at Drogheda, in 1535, by Lord Gray, who sent him and his five uncles, two of whom had only been in arms, to England. They were tried and all executed for high treason, on the 2d February, 1535. And in a Parliament, held in Ireland in 1537, an Act of Attainder, 28th Henry VIII. c. 1. was passed against Gerald, Earl of Kildare, his son, Thomas, and two of the uncles, and others.

Gerald, now eldest son of the late earl, being pursued by the King, fled to the continent, where he served under the Duke of Florence, and was eminently distinguished.

On the death of Henry he was recalled by his son, Edward VI., and restored to all his family estates and honours.

In the 1st and 2d of Philip and Mary, letters patent were issued renewing all the grants made by

and committed to prison. And a proclamation was issued for apprehending Lord Edward Fitzgerald, charged as their accomplice. On the 25th of May, Lord Edward was apprehended, after resistance, mortally wounded, and committed to prison, where he died of his wounds on the 4th of June. About this period, insurrections had taken place in several parts of Ireland, which were suppressed by the King's troops. And on the restoration of tranquillity, two acts were passed by the Irish Parliament. The one an act of indemnity and pardon to the 14 ringleaders apprehended in March; and the other, an act of attainder against the late Lord Edward, their associate, and two other men who had been made prisoners at the Battle of Wexford, tried by a court-martial, condemned and executed.

Edward, only son of Lord Edward, was in his third year at the time of his father's death. He was brought up by his grandmother, the late Duchess of Leinster; educated at Eton and Marlow; and before the age of 16, called to his Majesty's service by H. R. H. the Prince Regent, who appointed him a cornet in his own regiment, in which he served during the war in Portugal, Spain, and France, till the

Edward VI. and confirmed by an Irish Act of Parliament, the 3d and 4th of Philip and Mary, c. 2. s. 5. And further, on a petition from Gerald, his brother and sisters, to Queen Elizabeth, to be restored to their blood, an act was passed by the parliament of Ireland, the 11th of Elizabeth, Session 4, c. 2. entitled, An Act to restore Gerald, Earl of Kildare, his brother and sisters, to their blood.

peace in 1814, honoured by the approbation of the Duke of Wellington, and rewarded by his R. H. raising him to the rank of captain in his own regiment before he had attained the age of 21.

Lord Edward's small property was mortgaged; the mortgagee foreclosed. The estate was sold in Chancery, and purchased for £10,500, by William Ogilvie, Esq., who has conveyed it to Captain Fitzgerald, charged with £4000 to his two sisters. Captain Fitzgerald and his sisters have presented a petition to his R. H. the Prince Regent, praying for an act of grace, which his R. H. has been pleased to receive graciously, and to recommend to the Earl of Liverpool.

The prayer of the petition is, to recommend to Parliament to pass a bill similar to the 11th Elizabeth, Session 4, c. 2. to restore Captain Edward Fitzgerald and his sisters to their blood.

The conduct of the Prince Regent, in recommending this act of generous justice, received for its reward two as flattering and honourable tributes as sovereign has ever won from independent minds,—namely, a declaration from Lord Holland, in the House of Lords, “that it was the act of a wise, gracious, and high-minded Prince,” and the following laudatory verses from the pen of Lord Byron:—

To be the father of the fatherless,
 To stretch the hand from the throne's height, and raise
 His offspring, who expired in other days,
 To make thy sire's sway by a kingdom less,—
 This is to be a monarch, and repress
 Envy into unutterable praise.
 Dismiss thy guard, and trust thee to such traits,
 For who would lift a hand, except to bless ?

Were it not easy, Sir, and is't not sweet
 To make thyself beloved ? and to be
 Omnipotent by mercy's means ? for thus
 Thy sovereignty would grow but more complete,—
 A despot thou, and yet thy people free,
 And by the heart, not hand, enslaving us.

It had been my intention, from among the papers with which the kindness of several friends has intrusted to me, to select a good many mere illustrative of the general state of Ireland, during the period to which the chief part of these volumes refers. The documents relating, however, to the Attainder have occupied so much space, as to leave no room but for the two letters and extract that follow :—

FROM LADY SARAH NAPIER * TO THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES FOX.

“ An opportunity of sending you a letter by a private hand happens to occur, and I take advantage of it, my

* In this letter, her ladyship, it will be seen, had no further share than that of acting as amanuensis to her husband.

There is no date to the letter, but it must have been written shortly after the expedition of the French to Bantry Bay ; at which time, Plowden says, “ Catholic emancipation and temperate reform were again confidentially spoken of, and Lord Camden, whose ad-

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dear Charles, merely to indulge myself in the satisfaction of conversing with you, *sans gêne*, upon the present state of politics in both countries, as they affect each individual now too nearly not to make politicians of us all. I certainly care most about Ireland, for whose salvation I had a gleam of hope when it was with good reason known to our family that the prince's coming over was in the balance for a moment. Had it taken place, the *éclat* of his situation, manners, and good-will, would have served for an excuse to many, and a reason to others, to join an administration that was independent of Pitt, and had Lord Moira for minister, whose honour is too strict not to win over millions to trust him; and 'there is a tide in the affairs of men, which,' &c. &c.

"Such a period we *had*, and it is lost;—but still I vainly flattered myself it would be resumed (though late and less effectually), when the M. grew frightened at the blackening storm; but now I despair of success in that line, for the prince seems to have caught the royal distemper; unsteady weakness seizes him at the most important instant of his life, and he timidly withdraws from the active scene the times had so evidently pointed out to him. This appears from the papers saying 'the prince withdrew when the question was put,'—for I know nothing else as yet of the cause, and am anxiously

ministration was pledged to resist these two questions, it was generally expected, would immediately resign. These flattering prospects were encouraged by the then prevailing reports that the Prince of Wales had offered his services to the king to go to Ireland in quality of Lord Lieutenant, with Lord Moira as Commander in Chief. The power of the Irish junta, however, prevailed; the system of coercion preponderated; and the offer even of the heir-apparent to the crown to attempt the conciliation of the Irish people was rejected."

hoping it may be better explained; but now it is a mere milk and water conduct, and not only because the happy moment is lost do I regret it, but who can hereafter depend on his steadiness? What a prospect to us all who hate a republic, as a bad government for these kingdoms, and because we know that even absolute monarchy is better, and a limited monarchy just what is best of all for us. What are we to do? are we to fight for a cause the head of which won't support itself? and yet—what an alternative! must we join rebels and republicans, quite, quite contrary to our feelings and sentiments? No, surely. What then? We must fall the martyrs to our principles and our opinions with our eyes open. This is sad, but I for my own part feel it a necessary duty to myself never to swerve from what I think right because it's convenient. If all Britain insisted on a republic, like France, then I would not oppose them, though I would never join; but if only a part do, then civil war must exist, and includes all misery, to honest men first, and to rogues in the end. This is my creed;—consequently I lament from my heart and soul the failure of the prince's courage, for *s'il avoit de l'étoffe*, much might still be made of it. I like him, nay, love him so much I hate to think him wrong, but I cannot be blind to the errors of my dearest friends, though I can forgive them; and, if it is true, where else are we to look for a plan of support for this poor country? For God's sake, dear Charles, think of it more seriously than just to make it a parliamentary debate. Plan something, and plan in time. I am sure there are many people willing, and a few able, to try to put it into force, but here all is a chaos of self-interest, spite, distrust, and no plan whatever.

“ Yet a plan *might* be made use of to strike all parties with its merits. The trial at least would be made, and, if it failed, your mind would receive comfort from having attempted the salvation of a whole people by trying to avert a civil war. By a plan I mean you to point out what should be done and undone, and who should do it. I know that a very sensible plan of this sort was written, and sent to the prince; but it is too vague, and, besides, I so well know its author, that one day he is be-chancellor'd, another be-Ponsonby'd, another persuaded to believe every thing by a third party, and so on; from such vacillation, what plan can be attended to? I know that there must be *une bonne bouche pour chaque chef, car tout homme à son prix*:— show will do for some, vanity for others, a secret for a third, a job for a fourth, honour for a fifth, and doing good is a sure loadstone to all men of principle, if you can convince them it is *do-able*, which truly, in these times, requires your genius to discover, your eloquence to persuade. But if you are really persuaded, that if such and such engines could all move together, it would save Ireland, why not try? I have no opinion whatever of any politicians here (by the way, when I am such an egotist, pray understand that I speak the opinions of wiser heads than mine, in my own name, for shortness;— for *me*, individual *me*, am nobody in this letter). Government people are so *Pitted*, that they've the insolence to say, ‘ Yes, it's all very true, we are undone, and by our own faults; but now the case is so desperate, you see there is but one remedy, to join hand and heart fairly to rescue us from the impending ruin, for to find fault now is only increasing the evil.’ In short, the plain English is, ‘ I ruined you, I lied, and cheated

you ; but trust me again, and I will try to save you, though I own I don't see how.' You know the answer to that between individuals would be a kick, *tout union*, and a new man taken (and, methinks, Mr. Pitt is getting it) ; but here we have nobody fit to give the kick, though plenty fit to take it.

* * * * *

“ Our near connexions would do very well as kings with viceroys over them, for that's their foible ; they like to be thought the leaders, but both equally dread to be so, because they feel themselves unequal to it, and won't own it ; but both love you, and would delight to follow you, if they understood you. But the difficulty is to prevent their falling into the mistakes their *soi-disant* friends wished to lead them into. In short, opposition is (to apply the old allusion), ‘ a perfect rope of sand.’ As to the great men of power, all is centred in the chancellor, the speaker, and the secretary. As for poor dear Lord Camden, *c'est la bonhomme personifié* ; but as he has no will of his own, he can never do here. The C. and S. are the very devil in obstinacy about the catholics, and will never shrink ; all the rest of their tribe would kiss *your* toe, even if you were in power to-morrow, and of course would kiss the Pope's, if it suited them. Lord Charlemont would be glad of an excuse to relinquish his former anti-catholic violence at least—in every thing else he is right. The Beresfords, like moles, would work underground, but a few civil things and a few places would cool them. In short, if a plan was formed, and known only to Lord Moira, who is the lord-lieutenant I want, and to a very, very few indeed besides him, and if it was suddenly to be put into

execution, it would so amaze the United Irishmen that half their forces would insensibly leave them: for, I believe you may rely on it, that it is only because government has driven them to the brink, that they wish to jump in, and that they would rejoice to have ample room to recover from the danger. As for all dirty placemen and runners, I would make *main basse* of them all, even if you picked them up hereafter; they should do penance first; and the few honourable and good placemen I know, of which there do exist a few, would gladly join you, and serve you well, if your advice came through the medium of such a man as Lord Moira to enforce it.

“ There must soon happen some crisis here. Our king sends millions to slaughter, and yet we cannot, in common sense, wish his crown to fall and to belong to a republic of tyrants, as all republics are. Our prince, whose eyes are open to the impending danger, says he will try to save us, and shrinks at the moment he ought to act. The ministers drive us to perfect ruin in England, and rebellion here; and when they are detected, and driven from their power, you, to whose honest conduct and good sense the power will devolve, will complete our destruction by leaving such dangerous animals loose among us, to work up democracy to its maddest state, to head their party, and hurl the king and the royal family from the throne, and sacrifice your life because you saved theirs. Perhaps you will say, ‘ I grant this, but I had rather they were murderers than me. I will do my duty, and, if I fall, I cannot help it.’ But, dearest Charles, think well what is the duty of the minister of a great country. Is justice to

be out of the question? is the example given to future ministers, not to lavish the lives, fortunes, and happiness of subjects, to go for nothing? and are not a few lives better to sacrifice than millions of innocent persons? Weigh this well, and do not undertake being minister, if you have not firmness to do all its duties. Perhaps you think me bloody-minded,—I do not feel myself so, when I see, on one hand, four or five men tried, condemned, and executed, by the most fair trial, and on the other, a field of battle, a country burned and wasted with fire, sword, and famine. These are serious times, full of events, and you should poise your conduct with them.

“To return to Ireland: I hope you know that nobody can be believed about its state, for every body is more or less deceived by the United Irishmen,—*c'est un bruit sourd, mais sur*, and all we can rely on is that it exists. To form a calculation from the different accounts I hear,—I leave out all reports from the clergy, from the magistrates, from government people,—I only reckon the reports of military men of reason on the *facts* that have come before them, and thus it stands. In the North about 70,000 men, chiefly armed with pikes, many muskets and guns, some ammunition, a captain, lieutenant, and serjeant to each troop or district, who report to private committees, and they to the general committee at Belfast. As soon as any are suspected, they offer themselves as yeomen, take the oath of allegiance, and are quiet. Parties of banditti are employed to collect arms and annoy people; if they fall, it's no loss; if they bring them, it's a gain. The catholics of the South are desirous to avail themselves of the times to abolish tithes and nothing else; the presbyterians of the North look to more. Reform is the handle, and much too plausible to be condemned; but

how is it possible any persons in their senses can expect an efficacious or just reform to arrive in an instant upon an insurrection, unless it was planned, and in the hands of a set of men whose abilities, power, and riches could give them weight? No such set seems to exist. There is not one military genius among them (I don't except even O'Connor's friend, who knows less than he is supposed to do). *That* you will say is easily got from France, which is fertile in them; but a stranger will make no figure with the Paddies at home, for every Paddy will direct, and not one obey; so that I do not at all despair of conquering the *Monsheers* and the 70,000 Paddies all at once, if we had but a general of sense, instead of 40 without it,—or rather a general that the troops loved and trusted, and I know none so fit for that as Lord Moira, who would lead them to certain conquest, if we ever have the misfortune to want to fight our own countrymen. But, I repeat it again and again, his name would disarm the North, and he can never come in any way, but as lord-lieutenant, or minister to the prince, commander-in-chief, under him alone. Why did you let the Duke of York get such false notions about the catholics? for, if he was right about them, he would do here, though not near so well as the prince. Give us but a showy royal lord-lieutenant for the mob, and Lord Moira for the business, and we will soon find the men and the money in Ireland to save it, and we won't ask you for one Englishman. A few Scotch regiments are useful, because they are so very steady, manageable, and active; but Paddy wants only an example of good discipline to follow it,—if their officers would let them, whose fault all irregularity is,—for the men are excellent; but a commander-in-chief who knew his business would

soon set that to rights. Adieu. I dare not make the smallest attempt to excuse what is, I believe, inexcusable, for I have let my imagination run on to suppose you a magician, who have only to wave your wand, and bring us peace and happiness."

FROM LADY SARAH NAPIER TO THE DUKE OF RICHMOND.

" 1797.

* * * * *

" In summer last, upon government finding that an invasion was probable, they began to consider what defence might be necessary. Lord Carhampton is our neighbour, and, without living much together, we have every intercourse of neighbourly society, and Colonel Napier has taken a great liking to him, because he is a plain-dealing, frank character, and extremely active and good-natured in doing justice to all about him. He is an unpopular man, and has been cruelly injured in his character, in the very instance where he deserved the highest praise. From his taking a good deal to Colonel Napier, the sentiments of the latter never were one moment a secret from Lord Carhampton, and it is requisite to explain this before I tell you, that, in the month of August last, Lord Carhampton, meeting Colonel Napier in the streets, said, ' You are the very man I want ;' then, taking him in private, gave a full account of the state of Ireland, saying, ' What we want is a man of science, of judgment, of honour, and honesty, and who will not allow of jobs, to examine the country, and tell us what places are fittest to strengthen, how to do it, what it will cost without a job, and still less without absurd savings in things of importance; and a man whose perseverance will see the thing concluded as

it ought. You are the very man to do all this; but you have such scruples and delicacies about men and places, that we must understand one another first. Take notice, it is no favour we do you, it is *you* do us one, for we want such men as you. If you will undertake this, you will have the common pay, and your expenses paid.' Colonel Napier instantly answered, 'Nothing is so easy as to understand me: first, I feel excessively flattered, and obliged to your lordship, for the manner of this offer, and, whatever comes of it, I shall always be grateful for the confidence you repose in me; as to politics, you know I hold Mr. Pitt to be the bane of his country, and of course could never utter a falsehood and praise him; but never did I for a moment hesitate to follow the duties of my profession, which I hold too high by far ever to subject them to political opinions. The country, you say, is in danger. I am ready and happy to serve it, if in my power. I want no place or emolument, and, if you choose it, I will go directly to such places as you point out, and make my report to you for your private use.' 'Oh no,' cried Lord Carhampton, 'I want to employ you; it is a shame such a man should not be employed in these times, when they are so much wanted. May I name you to the Lord-Lieutenant?'—'Will you be so kind as to give me a short time, to write over for leave from the Duke of York? As there is no actual fighting here, he might think I wished to evade the West Indies, and I hold it my duty to avoid no service whatever; and, being under his command, I wish to write.' 'Do so.' It was done, and Lord Carhampton, who was at that time getting himself made Commander-in-Chief (unknown to us), was some time before he sent for Colonel Napier. When

he did, it appeared that the Adjutant-General here, a very remarkable good officer, had, without letting us know of it, proposed Colonel Napier as a most useful officer to government; and, when the different people each found their protégé to be one and the same person, you will allow it was a flattering way thus *se trouver sur les rangs sans le savoir*. The moment the French fleet was seen, of course he sent in his name to ask for service, and was ordered to head-quarters, where he was trusted, consulted, and employed. His nature is such, that the idea of service animates him, and wholly absorbs his thoughts, in order to leave nothing undone or unthought of that may be necessary. When one sees a person very dear to one appearing in their element,—all activity in a good and useful cause,—don't you, dear brother, comprehend the spirit it gives one? I declare I forgot it was *war*; I only thought it was duty, and not a cloud came across me, to check his ardour in the occupation he was engaged in of calculating the things absolutely wanted to take the field and defend posts. In the midst of all this, what was our astonishment to find Lord Carhampton fly out into the most petulant, peevish attack on Colonel Napier, for saying, in the course of conversation, that 'the war was calamitous and ruinous.' Every soul was in amazement at the strangeness of the attack, and glad to hear Colonel Napier show the proper spirit of a man conscious of his own integrity, loyalty, and honour. Indeed, to do Lord Carhampton justice, he seemed sorry he had given way to this *moment d'humeur*, for at first we thought it nothing else; and, thinking so, Colonel Napier told him fairly, that, as his want of confidence put an end to all pleasure in serving under him, he should undoubtedly resign his place, at

any other period, but, with an enemy on our coasts, it was no time to allow private feelings to interfere, and he should do his duty *without* pleasure equally well as *with* it—but certainly without *pay*, and would take nothing for it. Here it might have ended;—Colonel Napier would have gone, and returned soon, and nothing more said; but, for some reason, still a mystery, though nearly guessed at by us, the next day Lord Carhampton sent for him, and, changing his ground entirely, put it on the most curious reasoning, of which the following is the meaning:—‘I, Commander-in-chief, acknowledging that your merit as an officer may be of essential service, respecting you in my private capacity to the highest degree, do notwithstanding decline recommending you for service *in the north*,—but not in the *south*, where I request you to go with me; and my reason is, that you say conciliatory measures are preferable to coercion *there*, and will answer the purpose; and therefore I should affront Lord Londonderry and Lord Castlereagh, by sending an officer to any part of the north that held *a language different from theirs*. Not that I doubt your loyalty the least, but *we are determined to use coercion only*. Consider, I am only an insignificant part of an administration, and must follow their system.’ This was so true, that what could Colonel Napier do, but bow and assent to his lordship’s assertion of his own insignificance? and there it ended.”

EXTRACT FROM AN UNPUBLISHED PAMPHLET, ADDRESSED TO HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUKE OF SUSSEX, BY THE RIGHT HONOURABLE JOHN PHILPOT CURRAN.

“From any distant retrospects as between these two countries I most willingly abstain, wishing as I do in the

sincerity of my heart to press no claim, and to speak no language inconsistent with the kindest spirit of conciliation and amity. Whatever of harshness may have happened in distant times has passed away; the actors and the sufferers are no more, and their resentments ought to lie buried with them. It might have been hoped that the great compact of 1782, by which Ireland pledged herself, upon the express condition of 'equal liberty,' to abide and partake a common destiny, standing or falling, with Great Britain (vain and fond expectation!) would have been infrangible and immortal. Little did that illustrious man*, whose filial piety had raised the liberty of his native land from the tomb of ages,—little did he foresee that, in eighteen short years, it would be his sad fortune to see the triumphal car exchanged for the hearse, and to see her once more consigned to the darkness of the grave. But so her fate was written; and such the destiny of the dearest of her children; and he has lived to read the inscription upon her monument in the Act of Union. But, perhaps, sir, I ought to ask pardon; I ought not to repine at those inscrutable decrees which ordain that nations shall be mortal as the men that compose them.

“To come down, therefore, calmly to this last epoch of Ireland: if that measure had our free assent, and was really a compact, if there be such a thing upon earth as moral obligation, the terms of that compact should have been exactly performed. If, by the remorseless subornation of a treacherous and perfidious venality, to which the records of human turpitude can produce no parallel, it was forced upon us, how soft ought to be

* Mr. Grattan.

the sympathy of England, and how ardent her wish to indemnify us for our sufferings, and to reconcile us to our fortune. Sir, I feel I am warranted in asserting, that the assent of the catholics of Ireland, which was so laboriously solicited, was obtained upon the express promise of their perfect emancipation; and that promise was violated with that noble contempt of good faith, with which almost every minister preserves his power in defiance of his honour, and prosecutes the vulgar libeller who dares to say that he is a villain. But, sir, if that measure was in fact forced upon us, be pleased to look at the change which we have suffered. From the stature of an independent nation, legislating for herself, exercising that right, without which liberty is but a name, of deciding upon what occasions and to what extent she ought to tax herself, she has sunk to the dimensions of a province, degraded from the rank, and even the name, of a nation, and depending upon the mercy of a power, with which she cannot parley, for adjusting in what contingency and to what amount she shall be a residuary claimant upon the fruits of her own labour; for measuring how much of her blood, instead of feeding her growth, shall be wasted in ruinous and wanton wars, which her independence might have contributed to check, and in the result of which it cannot even be pretended that she can have any ultimate interest; and, last of all, (a state the most humiliating and agonizing!) she is hanging upon the caprice, the ignorance, and the malice of her most rancorous enemies, for such representations as may lead those who are in authority over her, instead of yielding to the natural spirit of mildness and benevolence, to enact such laws of rigour, as supersede every known and ordinary rule of

distributive justice, and shut the gates of mercy upon her.

“ However, the Act of Union did pass—Ireland became extinct—and, we might have thought, forgotten, had it not been for the notices taken of her in the imperial statutes of vengeance or taxation. Profligacy is in general a ready money dealer, and Ireland had in the first instance to pay down the wages stipulated by the minister of England to those honourable gentlemen who sold their country for money. Since that sale and delivery, her pecuniary burdens, the only items of national degradation that can be estimated by numbers, have been increased tenfold. Whatever ordinary comforts she possessed before have vanished in the same proportion; the artificial rise of prices, and the depreciation of all solid medium of payment, sinking under the baleful contagion of a paper currency, has put every thing beyond the reach of attainment, and the only expenditure in which we are able to be liberal is the augmentation of the princely revenues of clerks and viceroys; who, feeling their advancement late, and their tenure precarious, are forced, by the existing circumstances of the just and necessary warfare in which they are engaged, to adopt such expedients as may provide indemnity for the past, and security for the future; and after an interval of fourteen years, during which the makers of those promises have perhaps met in another world with those to whom they were so perfidiously given, our poor people, instead of being planted out in goodly rows in their own native soil, from which they might have drawn nutrition, and have given ornament and shelter in exchange, have been left to wither upon its surface

dry and sapless and inflammable, and ready to receive the spark which every fool and every incendiary may fling upon them to excite a conflagration, in which they themselves at least are sure to be consumed.

“ I well remember, sir, at the moment of that sad catastrophe we were desirous of making the best of our prospect, and placing it in the least intolerable point of view; we were desirous of indignantly remembering the depravity of a traitorous parliament, the wages of whose sin was death, instead of recollecting that during the last thirty years of its life it had wrought a more substantial change in the condition of Ireland by the salutary and wise extension of catholic privilege than had been effected for centuries before. It had given the power of acquiring property, and, grafted upon that acquisition, it had given the elective franchise—constitutional privileges of the most vital importance. It had removed the bars to intermarriage between catholic and protestant; it had given an opportunity of assuaging the sharpness of fanatical antipathy by the precious anodyne of parental and conjugal attachment, of drawing into identity hearts theretofore dissociated, and giving to the conciliated parents a common ear through which they could receive, and melt while they received it, the sacred voice of God and nature from the lips of their babes and sucklings. We were fondly consoling ourselves with the hope that the amalgamation of our country, by the extension of equal rights to all our fellow subjects, would have restored to us more than we had lost by the national suicide. We endeavoured to persuade ourselves that the substantial fruits of good institutions may survive in their spirit even after the letter has been lost In Scotland we had seen the dif-

fusion of popular information, and even the refinements of her metaphysics, aided by the inflexible austerity of a religious independence, purged from all the ferocity of the days of Knox, but retaining an untameable hostility to oppression, a substitute for almost the utter absence of national representation. It produced the effect so finely described by Saint Paul,—‘The heathen knows not the law, yet he doth the things that are therein, the same being written on his heart, and his conscience also bearing unto him testimony.’

“In England, too, the force of constitutional instinct so impressed upon the popular mind has compensated for the purity of representation, which, perhaps, it has survived. In Ireland we hoped it might have been so; but the perfidy we met with has hitherto precluded the experiment.”

THE END.

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NOTE.

The last sheets of this Edition were in the hands of the printer when I had the honour of receiving a communication, on the subject of Lady Edward Fitzgerald's relationship to the late Duke of Orleans, to which I feel myself bound to pay the promptest and most respectful attention. According to the statement transmitted to me, her Ladyship is not, as has been generally believed, daughter to the Duke of Orleans. The Duke himself, it appears, always solemnly denied that she was his daughter, nor has her Ladyship ever been recognised as such by any member of his family.

